

# Chapter 2

## India–Africa Relations: Historical Goodwill and a Vision for the Future

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India and Africa shared a multidimensional relationship since ancient times. The geographical proximity and an easily navigable Indian Ocean brought the people of the two regions nearer to each other. During colonial times, soon after the conquest of Africa and for restructuring African economy, the free and voluntary relations of the past gave way to colonial needs and preferences. The relations between India and sovereign states of Africa were formally established when both sides gained independence. While the earlier pattern of their relationship was moulded in the colonial frame, it was considered by the leadership of newly independent states as highly inadequate to meet their developmental aspirations as reflected in their quest for South–South Cooperation. The new relationship is being developed on partnership model. As Indian connection is old, multidimensional and with strong historic ties, India enjoys tremendous goodwill in the continent.

This chapter examines the historical relations between India and African countries as a resource for accelerating developmental cooperation under globalization. It will try to examine the strength and uniqueness of the historical foundation for the current Indo–African partnership in the twenty-first century.

### 2.1 Overview of Historical Relations

#### 2.1.1 *Pre-colonial Contacts*

India's pre-colonial ties with Africa have received little attention. It links with Pharaonic, Greek-ruled, Roman-ruled and Islamic Egypt, from the tenth to fourteenth century, extended to neighbouring African lands along the Red Sea. Modern history lays testimony to the fact that enterprising Indian merchants were looking

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for trade routes across the ocean and they set sail across the Arabian sea to the West in the quest to find lucrative markets and to explore new frontiers. In the process they played an influential role in the history of the African countries with whom they came in touch. People from both sides became part of the Indian Ocean 'circuit of trade' (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b).

Indian sea merchants from the Gulf of Kutch in the Western coast of India sailed for East Africa in their very seaworthy dhows, using the alternating sea winds for navigation. The North-East monsoon winds brought these merchant sailors across the Indian Ocean from December to March. After trading and bartering, they returned to East Africa during June and September, using the reverse South-East winds. They sailed regularly to the Zanj coast (Zanj Coast: Zanzibar), as it was called in those times, to obtain incense, palm oil, myrrh, gold, copper, spices, ivory, rhino horn and wild animal skins. They sold cloth, metal implements, foodstuff like wheat, rice and jaggery, besides porcelain and glassware (Sheriff 2010).

Trade was assisted by favourable sea winds and the development of a suitable marine technology. India's skills in harnessing winds and currents of Indian Ocean are traced by scholars in several historical sources. It includes references in Vedas where mention is made of growth of trade and shipping during the Maurayan period, in the dialogue of Budhha during the fifth century BC and in ancient Tamil writings in the context of West Asia and Africa (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b).

*Periplus of Erythrean Sea*, a merchants' sailor guide, written towards the end of the first century AD is a major source for tracing the early history of East Africa and Red Sea coast. It throws light on ancient India's sea-faring culture and maritime activity. It paints a vivid picture of the thriving trade between India and the Western Indian Ocean region, which covered an area extending from the Somali Horn along the African coast of the Red Sea route to Egypt, and other African littoral countries. The importance of the *Periplus* lies in the information that India's trading contacts were confined not only to Egypt and coastal states but also to northern Somalia, ancient land of Punt, kingdom of Kush (Sudan) and Axum.

Indian Ocean system had influence on the hinterland states in Central-Southern Africa, more specifically Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and the interiors of Tanzania (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b). Arab chronicler, Al'Masudi, who had travelled in 915 AD to Persia, India and China, recorded that central African producers of gold and ivory were sending their goods eastward in exchange for cotton and other goods from India and Arabia (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b).

More concrete evidence of the Indian presence in Africa begins to appear during the Islamic age. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1254–1324 AD) had words of praise for the Gujarati and Saurashtrian merchants on Africa's east coast whom he considered as the best and most honourable to be found in the world (Polo and Masefield 2009). Vasco de Gama touched East Africa on his historic voyage to India. He reached Malindi in 1497 AD and found Indian merchants in Mozambique, Kilwa and Mombasa. The use of Indian system of weights and measures and of Indian *Cowries* as currency, pointed to the fact that Indians were playing a key role in this area. Not only did Indian Ocean trade brought economic benefits, it also contributed to the development of internal links in the African

continent even before the advent of Europeans (Jeevanjee 1912). By seventeenth century, the nature of Indian Ocean trade underwent a radical change due to demand for captives who could be sold as slaves (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b). Though the major slave dealers were Arabs, locals Indians used to finance these activities. With the advent of European colonial powers in India and Africa, the trade pattern underwent a significant change as Indo–African relations entered a new era of ‘colonialism’ (Carter 2006).

## 2.1.2 *Contacts During Colonial Times*

### 2.1.2.1 **Movement of People**

Constant movement of people is one of the most important features of Indo–African relations. This movement of people was not one-sided. As people from India went to Africa in different capacities, similarly African people also came to India.

#### Indians in Africa

Trading links facilitated the movement of people. There was a significant presence of Indian traders in Africa during ancient and mediaeval times. The slave trade from the seventeenth century further added to their number. The Indian slaves constituted more than half of all slaves arriving at the Cape in the seventeenth centuries (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b). The French colonized western Indian Ocean islands in the eighteenth century (Reunion in 1664, Mauritius in 1718) and started recruiting Indian slaves for Mauritius and Reunion.<sup>1</sup> By the turn of the nineteenth century, some 20,000 Indian slaves constituted 13 % of the slave population of these islands (Lal 2006). There were also migrations of domestic help, soldiers and seamen to these western Indian Ocean territories. From the 1720s, domestic help, soldiers and seamen were recruited from India for the Mascarenes. Mauritius and Reunion recruited Indian masons, carpenters, blacksmiths and *lascars*. Eventually, Indian slaves population became economically stable. Indian tailors, cobblers and jewelers opened shops. Some overseas Indians workers themselves became owner of slave and land in these islands during the eighteenth century (Carter 2006). Indian workers here frequently married Indian women who had arrived as slaves (Carter 2006).

After abolition of slavery, indentured labour system was introduced to replace freed slaves in the plantation economies. Importation of the ‘indentured labourers’ into Africa took place under British Government which was a key player in the global indenture scheme (Northrup 1995). Each time demands were made for

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<sup>1</sup>Indentured labour system came into existence in 1834 first in British colonies, after abolition of Slavery (1833).

labour by different colonial governments, be it for the agricultural or mining sector or railway construction, the request would invariably be for the ‘coolie’—either Indians or Chinese, also referred collectively as the ‘Asiatics’ (Tinker 1977). This preference had as much to do with the colonial possession of the British Empire and its relations with the territories of supply. The first ship of the Indian indentured labour was sent to Mauritius in 1834. In the 1850s, the British in Natal realized the potential for the cultivation of sugar in the region. They had already experienced the success of Indian indentured labour in a number of tropical territories, such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Mauritius and therefore had a well-established system to tap into (Freud 1995). In East Africa, the British brought in indentured labourers from India in 1860 to construct the railway lines between Mombassa and Kampala and to work in sugar plantation. Along with the indentured workers, there were ‘free passenger’ Indians who went on their own as entrepreneurs and merchants. These were merchants by occupation from Gujarat, largely Muslims and some Hindus. The descendents of these merchants contribute significant share in local GDP of their host countries even today.

### Africans in India

Compared to Indian migration to African territories, African presence in India is miniscule. References of African presence are available in Indian records from the thirteenth century onwards. During Muslim rule in India, African slaves were imported as domestic workers as well as soldiers. These Islamized Africans were able to contribute to development in different parts of India—Bengal, Gujarat and Deccan. Many of them were absorbed in Hindu, Christian or tribal set-up. Malik Amber (1549–1626)—a slave, rose to the position of a Regent in Deccan region (Eaton 2005, Chap. 5).

These Africans are known as Siddis. The first Siddis arrived in India in 628 AD at the Bharuch port. Several others followed with the first Arab Islamic invasions of the subcontinent in 712 AD (Pandya and Rawal 2002). The latter group of Siddis served with Muhammad bin Qasim’s army. They were called Zanjis. Siddis, in mediaeval India, were concentrated on the West Coast—between Bombay and Goa. They dominated this part of India from the times of Mughals till the arrival of European powers. Siddis are, now, found in Gujarat, Karnataka and Hyderabad (Jayasuriya et al. 2003).

Besides Siddis, a different kind of African community sprang from the abolitionist campaign of the nineteenth century. Liberated from ships on seas and freed on the Asian mainland, they were channelled to three different places—Bombay, Pune and Nasik (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b). They were known as ‘Bombay African’, and ‘Nasik Boys’. They identified themselves with European culture, ideas and manners and they differed from local Siddis, who assimilated the local culture and religion (Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003).

### 2.1.2.2 Indian National Congress (INC) and Africa

The political connections between India and Africa during colonial period were through M.K. Gandhi, Indian National Congress, Indian diasporas and the presence of the same British colonial rule in many African countries. The interest and connections of Indian nationalist leaders in Africa date back to 1890 when INC opposed deployment of Indian soldiers in Sudan and Ethiopia as they were not fighting for the cause of India. Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1914 and became a key person in Indian freedom struggle. Gandhi became the leader of colonized people first in South Africa. He started the first political formation in South Africa by establishing the Indian Natal Congress in 1894. The Indian National Congress (INC) inspired African leaders to take up their fight for liberation from colonial rule. In 1928, at the annual Calcutta session of INC, the Indian struggle for freedom was officially linked with world struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It was decided to set up an overseas department to establish contact with political formations and leaders in Africa (AICC Calcutta Session 1928). INC was looked upon as a role model to gain independence. It overtly supported African nationalist leaders. Under Gandhi and later under Nehru, it opposed racist policies of British Government in African countries. Indian National Congress' Working Committee, popularly known as CWC, was repeatedly passed resolution on the discrimination prevailing in the Union of South Africa and Kenya. In 1934, it tendered its sympathies to the Abyssinians.<sup>2</sup> In 1937, it called for an embargo against Zanzibar<sup>3</sup> and it welcomed Wafdist<sup>4</sup> delegation from Egypt to attend the Congress Working Committee meeting in 1939.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the main architect of INC policy towards Africa. He visited Brussels Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in 1927 where he met leaders from North Africa as well as from Sub-Saharan Africa like Leopold Senghor. In his speech there, he pointed out that independence of India would affect the position of all other countries under colonial rule. He said that India was kingpin of one worldwide joint movement for liberation. He realized there that "the struggle for freedom was a common one against the thing that was imperialism; and joint deliberation, and where possible, joint action was desirable" (Nehru 1936). At Conference of Peace and Empire in London in 1928, he said, "we think of India, China and other countries, but we are too often apt to forget Africa and people of India want you to keep them in mind. After all though the people of India would welcome the help and sympathy of all progressive people, they are today, perhaps

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<sup>2</sup>The Abyssinia Crisis was a crisis during the interwar period originating in the 'Walwal incident.' This incident resulted from the ongoing conflict between the Kingdom of Italy and the Empire of Ethiopia, (then commonly known as "Abyssinia" in Europe). Its effects were to undermine the credibility of the League of Nations and to encourage Fascist Italy to ally itself with Nazi Germany.

<sup>3</sup>India imposed trade embargo against Zanzibar because of its inhuman treatment to Indian settlers.

<sup>4</sup>Wafdist means the Member of Wadf Party. Wadf was a nationalist liberal political party in Egypt. It was founded in 1919 and was instrumental in the development of the 1923s Constitution.

strong enough to fight their own battle, whilst that may not be true of some people of Africa. Therefore the people of Africa desire our special attention” (Nehru 1976). While passing through Rome in 1936, he rejected requests for a meeting by Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, as Italians had invaded Abyssinia (now Ethiopia). Back home, he organized nationwide demonstration to denounce his aggression and, in his presidential address of the INC said, “...we have watched also with admiration the brave fight of Ethiopians for their freedom against heavy odds... It is one of the first effective checks by African people on advancing imperialism”. During World War II 5,000 Indian soldiers lost their lives in the decisive battle of Karon against Italians. Indian soldiers under Subhedar Rachipal Ram of 6th Rajputana Rifles captured Acqua Col on the heights of Karon. The latter surrendered after 5 years of grim guerrilla warfare and the heroic liberation campaign of 1941.

Indian under Nehru, therefore since 1928, linked its own freedom struggle with African struggle against imperialism and colonialism and it looked at African decolonization as the continuation of its own struggle. It was politically, strategically and morally committed to support the liberation struggles of Africa. In a broadcast to the nation on 7 September 1946, Nehru said,

We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and denial of freedom must endanger peace elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples and in recognition of the theory and practice of equal opportunity for all races. (Nehru 1946–1961)

### 2.1.2.3 Gandhi as a Link in the Liberation of Africa and India

Mahatma Gandhi played an important role in connecting India and Africa. His philosophy appealed to people across the world, especially to African leaders. Gandhi had gone to South Africa as a professional lawyer in 1893 (Guha 2013). He suffered racial discrimination in South Africa and spent the next 21 years fighting racial discrimination in the country. It was there that he invented his concept of *satyagraha*—a non-violent way of protesting against injustices, the civil disobedience and mass mobilization. His experience in South Africa shaped his political ideology in the later years. In turn “he had a profound impact on the history of the continent, with his work in South Africa preparing the way for his more important work in his homeland” (Guha 2013). By 1919, he became popular as ‘*Mahatma*’ Gandhi. Gandhian technique of mass movement impressed colonial peoples all over the world. In later years, Gandhi was visited by many African leaders, in their search for inspiration and guidance in their own struggles for self-determination (Guha 2013). They had seen that civil disobedience, non-cooperation movement, negotiation, constitutional conferences, boycott of foreign goods (*swadeshi*) and peaceful agitations under Gandhi, yielded effective results. Therefore, the strategy and style adopted by Gandhi became a model for African nationalists. In many cases they adopted the nomenclature of “Congress” to identify their respective parties (Hodgekin 1956). O. Awalowo of Nigeria, J. Nyrere of Tanzania and

K. Nkrumah of Ghana were convinced of the suitability of Gandhian strategy of liberation and they tactfully used the strategy developed in India to fight their own war of independence. Across the continent, African leaders began to share views of the Indian National Congress under Gandhi, claiming the right to equality, the right to political participation and the right to protest. Ceasley Hayford, the founding father of Ghanaian nationalism, established West African Congress on the model of India (Huttenback 1966).

#### **2.1.2.4 Struggles of Indian Diaspora in Africa: Connections with India**

The Indian diaspora under the leadership of M.K. Gandhi established Natal Indian Congress in 1894 to fight against British discriminatory policies in South Africa. Similar political organizations were established by the Indian diaspora in other parts of South Africa like Transval Indian Congress (1903) and South African Indian Congress (1920). Later, Gandhi became the link between them and INC. The leaders of these Indian political formations in South Africa were in constant touch with political leaders of INC and other leftist formation in India. INC had sent several delegations in early twentieth century to African countries to inspect and report on mistreatment and discrimination of indentured labour. They established contact with their leaders and were in constant touch with them later on. Pressure by this group within INC led to the discontinuation of the indentured labour system. Nehru exhorted them to join hands with Black African leaders in their fight against injustice. They were advised to keep native African interest above their interest and not to seek any special privilege over them. This made African leaders feel very comfortable with leaders of Indian diaspora and India's support and connections with Indian diaspora in Africa. The advice of Gandhi and Nehru were respected by these leaders, who in many of their respective host countries, started fight against colonial rule even before native African. South Africa, Kenya and Mauritius saw Indian diaspora getting inspired and exhorted by Gandhi, Nehru and INC and initiating freedom struggles against the colonial powers. This left a long legacy of India's and Indian diaspora's involvement in early phase of African struggle against colonial rule.

#### **2.1.2.5 British Colonial Governments in India and Africa: Connections and Legacies**

A large number of African territories were under British colonial rule. Most of them were colonized by the British long after colonization of India. Many of these African territories were conquered by using troops from India having substantial Indian soldiers. A good number of these Indian soldiers settled down there and married locals. Many colonial administrators moved from India to these newly acquired territories and transferred Indian administrative and legal system over

there. There was constant exchange between Indian colonial government and African colonial governments in these countries. Therefore, one finds common legacies of administrative structure, laws, institutions, colonial architecture, Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence and governance norms. Like at the time of conquest of African territories, during both World Wars, large numbers of Indian soldiers were taken on long-term basis in these territories. A good number of them never returned. They retired in Africa, married local Africans and settled there for good, such as in Kenya and Sudan. Though their number was significant but they got submerged into African ethnic group and form part of 'lost Indian diaspora'. These colonial connectivity left strong common legacies in many areas. Even today people in both regions are surprised by commonality of these long lasting, administrative, legal, juridical and diasporic legacies.

## 2.2 Indo–African Relations Under Nehru and the Rest of the Cold War Period

Soon after the second World War, in 1947, India became independent. On the other hand most of the Sub-Saharan African countries got their independence from late 1950s to mid 1960s. As first colonial country to become independent soon after the War, India was historically placed under fully committed leadership of Nehru to carry forward the movement of liberation and struggle against racial discrimination in Africa. Till African countries joined the rank of free countries, India strongly took their cause to all international forums such as the UN and Commonwealth. Nehru put the full weight of independent India behind these unfinished tasks. Decolonization and end of racial discrimination in Africa became the rallying point of Indo–African relations. The world was divided between Cold War camps. Indian did not want to join any camp as a camp follower. Nehru, therefore, realized the need for Afro-Asian solidarity and their assertion in world order as a third independent group. India could not have followed independent policies domestically and globally if it was to be a camp follower or remain isolated. Therefore, there was a need to push for the liberation of countries in Africa. Since they were not independent territories, India used the channel of Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisations and other such political formations in African countries. This allowed Indian leaders to rear up and pair up with the future leadership of African countries.

*Multidimensional Relations* India's relation with Africa during the Cold War period could be analysed under five major strands—(i) fight against racism, (ii) support to liberation struggles, (iii) Afro-Asian assertion culminating into Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), (iv) policy of active dissociation with Indian diaspora, and (v) economic diplomacy along with security and peacebuilding under South–South cooperation.



### 2.2.1 *India's Role Against Racist Regime of South Africa*

Racial Discrimination policy of South African Government was of deep concern to Gandhi, Nehru and INC. As soon as Nehru became interim PM of India in 1946, South Africa witnessed the launch of passive resistance movement in June 1946 to protest against the '*Ghetto Act*' which was enacted to segregate the residential area of South African population on racial lines. Nehru approached the United Nations to oppose the racial segregation and discrimination through the '*Ghetto Act*'. India moved resolution to denounce and intervene in South Africa under article 10 and 14 of UN Charter. India recalled its High commissioner from South Africa. It broke its economic link with South Africa. At this time, South Africa's share in global trade of India was 4.5 %. All other African countries share put together, were lesser than this. India restored its diplomatic ties with South Africa only when Apartheid was dismantled and South Africa established democratic government in 1994. The Franco-Mexican Resolution in the General Assembly of UN supported by India on this issue is a historic one. The resolution expressed, in no uncertain terms, the world opinion and the reaction of United Nations to the denial of human rights and fundamental freedom in South Africa. It called for 'treatment of Indians in South Africa to be in conformity with international obligation and Charter of the UN'. It became a guiding precedent for the United Nations on the question involving denial of human rights and fundamental freedom (Foreign Affairs Report 1946). Nehru constantly drew attention to the broader issues of racism in South Africa and beyond. On the eve of the formation of his interim government, in a message to Indians in South Africa he wrote, "the struggle in South Africa is ... not merely of Indian issue...It concerns ultimately the Africans, who have suffered so much by racial discrimination and suppression". Though India has initially raised the issue of discrimination of Indians in South Africa, soon India broadened the scope of its UN resolution to include all discriminated under Apartheid system.

Indian position on discrimination of Indians in South Africa emerged during the nineteenth century but independent India soon merged this issue of 'discrimination of Indians' by opposing racialism as such in South Africa. The Indian President explained this shift in his presidential address to Indian parliament, "The question is no longer merely one of Indian in South Africa; it has already assumed greater and wider significance. It is a question of racial domination and racial tolerance. It is a question of African more than that Indians in South Africa" (Lok Sabha 1952). Between 1946 and 1962, the UN General Assembly passed 26 Resolutions which were activated by India and directed against racial discrimination in South Africa. In 1962 UN general assembly called for diplomatic and economic sanction against racist regime of South Africa. The UN declared Apartheid 'a Crime Against Humanity' which 'might endanger international peace and security'. India played a key role in the formation of A Special Committee Against Apartheid set up by UN General Assembly and offered all sorts of assistance to this Committee. On 5 October 1976, a special session of UN Committee Against apartheid was convened in New York to pay a special tribute to India for its crusade against Apartheid. It

was for the first time during 12 years of this Committee's existence that it honoured a member state. Delegates coming from across the world appreciated India for its principled stand against Apartheid during the last 30 years. Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman of Nigeria, the chairman of the Special Committee said on the occasion:

We, in this Special Committee, owe particular appreciation to India for its consistent cooperation. When this Committee began its work on 2 April 1963, the very first document before it was a letter from India offering full cooperation. When this Committee appealed in 1964 for assistance to political prisoners, the very first contribution came from India. We found a response from India for every request we made in the cause of South Africa. (UN General Assembly 1976)

India not only played a crusading role in the UN but in the Commonwealth as well. India joined Tanzania and other African members in stating that it was not possible for them to be part of the Commonwealth if the South African racist regime remained a member of the organization. Nehru said in the Commonwealth meeting, "The Apartheid policy of suppression, separation and segregations is officially declared policy of government there. It becomes a question practically speaking of whether a number of other countries should continue in the Commonwealth". As a result of all these pressures South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth. Indian diplomatic and economic boycott of South African regime continued till 1994 when South Africa became a democratic state under the presidency of Nelson Mandela, at which point India resumed its tradelink and diplomatic contact.

### ***2.2.2 Indian Support to Liberation Struggles in Africa***

Indian support to liberation struggles in Africa during the Nehru period was influenced by Indian's own strategy and experience of freedom struggle. The national interests of a nascent India reinforced its ideological commitment to support freedom struggles in Africa. However, the Indian positions on the African strategy for their freedom struggles, the external support for the same and extent to which Indian state could involve itself in these struggles, were determined by India's own experience to peaceful, non-violent path of struggle, Nehru's world view and sensitivity towards West, and by the limited capacity and vulnerability of the newborn Indian state. Moreover, India under Nehru, wanted to clearly distinguish its support to African liberation struggles in contrast to support that Communist countries were giving through bilateral approach and from the Western countries which were protecting their White Settler Diasporas in the decolonization process. The extent of Indian support to freedom struggles in Africa during the Cold War kept evolving as India grew economically and its national interest too kept changing in short and long term. But what remained constant was the Indian desire to be a proactive, special and non-controversial supporter of African

liberation struggles, at times with mixed responses of African countries and their leaders.

Ideologically, India felt that the Africans should follow a peaceful constitutional path for their freedom struggles as India had done. The Indian preference for non-violence antagonized many African leaders. India itself had made exception from this when it decolonized Portuguese controlled Indian territories by force after its independence. India's refusal to recognize the provisional government of Algeria and its moderate stand on the Congo crisis, its insistence on peaceful decolonization and the Anglo-centric view about colonial withdrawal from Africa displeased both conservative Monrovia and militant Casablanca groups of African countries.<sup>5</sup> It brought differences into the open (Dubey 1990). Moreover, post-Bandung years witnessed that the Chinese militancy and advocacy for armed struggle had more appeal to Africans (Quoted in Kimche 1973) than the Indian pacifism. Chinese spread the propaganda that India had "gone over to the camp of imperialists" (Dubey 1990, p. 271).

The changed circumstances and the urgency of the mid-1960s, along with India's commitment against racial discrimination and colonial holdings, found its expression in a stronger stand on the Rhodesian issues. India had considered Rhodesia as a non-self governing territory. But on 7 May 1965, India became the first country in the world to break off its diplomatic relations with Rhodesia and was one of the first to impose total embargo after the proclamation of Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). The decision to break off diplomatic relations was taken five months before even the declaration of UDI, when the Ian Smith regime ordered elections based on restricted franchise indicating a positive development towards proclamation of UDI (Ali Sadiq 1987a, b, p. 62). India made a false start in Rhodesia by extending its support to party led by Joshua Nkomo and not to party led by Robert Mugabe which came to power after independence in 1980 (Dubey 2010). India not only took corrective action as soon as Mugabe came to power at the conclusion of Lancaster House conference but in order to avoid controversy like this and that of its initial support to FLNA in Angola, decided to support and recognize the groups accepted by Organisation for African Unity (OAU) as legitimate representatives (Dubey 2010).

Indian position in involving itself with African struggles during initial year of Indian independence was seen by African countries as soft. Aba Saheb Pant was sent to Nairobi as an Indian High Commissioner to East Africa even when Kenya was a colony. His home became contact point of all leaders of freedom fighters in East Africa. The British colonial government became so alarmed by his popularity that British Government forced Nehru to recall Pant from East Africa (Gopal 1984a, b).

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<sup>5</sup>The Casablanca Group was an organization of African states (Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali and Morocco) led by Kwame Nkrumah, leading proponent of Pan-Africanism. The Brazzaville Group was made up of 20 African nations, including Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia and Sierra Leone. In general terms, it favoured a less formal confederation of newly independent African states and a more voluntary approach to participation in cultural and economic exchange (and less socialism) than did the Casablanca Group.

This was seen by Africans as a weak support by Nehru. However, soon India became aggressive on this front. When the nationalists of Guinea Bissau set up a government in exile, India did not waste time to ponder over the legality of the newly set up government and granted it immediate recognition. Similarly, when the Angolan civil war was in progress and entire Angola was parceled among FLNA, MPLA and UNITA factions of nation slits, and even the OAU had not yet made up its mind on whom to recognize as legitimate representative of the Angolan people, the government of India announced its decision. (Dubey 1990).

On issue of Namibian liberation struggle, India worked aggressively in the United Nations. When the International Court of Justice deferred (1971) its decision on terminating South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, Indian Minister of External Affairs asserted that, "it is a political question, which has to be dealt with by the conscience of mankind. It is incumbent on international community to close this ugly chapter in the history of international relations" (Dubey 1989). In 1982 India proposed a global meet on Namibia to force South Africa to free Namibia. It was adopted by 130-0 votes in UN. India accorded full diplomatic status to *South West Africa People's Organization* (SWAPO). India pledged to extend all possible diplomatic, military and material support stressing the need for greater political as well as more tangible 'material assistance' to SWAPO. The diplomatic recognition of SWAPO was in sharp contrast to earlier legalistic approach of India on issues of Algerian crisis, Mau Mau rebellion, etc. Both Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh and opposition leader Rajiv Gandhi attended the independence celebration of Namibia in 1990 at Windhoek.

Besides providing diplomatic support for liberation struggles at different international forums like the UN, Commonwealth, NAM, etc., India started extending financial and material support to them. It was a new addition to India's earlier policies where it used to provide mainly diplomatic support. Though its own economic limitations did not enable India to provide meaningful material or financial support to liberation struggles, whatever these material and financial supports it provided were largely given through multilateral channels like bodies of Organisation of African Unity (OAU). In order to avoid controversy of India propping one or other faction during freedom struggle in any African country, Indian deliberately decided for this policy. It was in contrast to Soviet, Chinese or Western policies to support a particular faction to get a puppet regime in power. By 1969 India had spent around US\$1.2 million to assist African liberation movement. By 1977 this amount went up to US\$5 million (Ali 2004). The increase in this amount during this period demonstrates that India's commitment to African liberation was based on solid grounds not on the rhetoric or personal commitment of any particular leader. During 1977-78 it further allotted Rs. 31 million to add strength to its diplomatic moves on liberation movements. India provided African National Congress (ANC) and SWAPO with facilities to man their respective missions in New Delhi. Material and technical assistance were given to South African and Namibian liberation struggles. India also contributed to the UN Fund for Namibia, UN Institute for Namibia, UN Educational and Training Programme for South Africa. Indian External Affairs Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee pledged, at the

Foreign Ministers Conference of Commonwealth, that India would definitely consider any request for arms made by guerrillas fighting against White minority regime of South Africa. At Harare NAM Summit (1986), Action For Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund which is better known as AFRICA Fund was established with a purpose to enable NAM to help all the victims of apartheid in South Africa, Namibia and in the frontline states. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was chiefly responsible for the establishment of it. He was chosen as its chairman. It decided upon a plan of action in close consultation with Southern African Development Coordination Council (SADCC). The nine member group chaired by Rajiv Gandhi launched the Fund with an initial capital of US\$70 million. Indian contribution in this Fund was US\$40 million. This was an indication of the close watch India was keeping on African developments. This aggressive material support in the Indian stand was in sharp contrast to the position, which India took during the Nehru period (1947–1964). India's support to the African liberation did not change with the change of government in New Delhi. In fact, in subsequent years this support kept on intensifying (Dubey 1990).

### 2.2.3 *Afro-Asian Solidarity and NAM*

Afro-Asian Solidarity was seen as crucial factor by Nehru which was to enable newly emerging countries to decide their own course of development under Cold War rivalry. Afro-Asian Solidarity and Afro-Asian resurgence in international arena were to give India and Africa a third option of not being a camp follower of either of super power. In the 1950s, Bandung Conference (1955) and the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference of Cairo (AAPSC 1958) provided a platform to Indian and African leaders to understand each other's perceptions. Speaking at the Bandung Conference in April 1955, Jawaharlal Nehru declared: "There is nothing more terrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few 100 years" (Nehru 1955, p. 291). He added further that "the days when millions of Africans were carried away as galley slaves to America and elsewhere, half of them dying in the galleys... (p. 291)". He urged "... we must accept responsibility for it, all of us, even though we ourselves were not directly involved" (p. 291). He continued "... But unfortunately, in a different sense, even now the tragedy of Africa is greater than that of any other continent, whether it is racial or political. It is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability because we are sister continents" (p. 291).

Indo–Chinese war of 1962 confirmed India's isolation in the Afro-Asian circles since very few African countries expressed their support to India and many were overtly unsupportive. This was due to aggressive armed and economic support of China to African freedom fighters. This was a short phase during which time India had pressing domestic priorities to overcome its military and economic vulnerability.

However, the Indian role through Asian Relations Conference (New Delhi), Bandung meet, several Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization meets, culminated into

first NAM Summit at Belgrade in 1961, where Abdul Nasser of Africa and Nehru played a crucial role. The summit formulated the rationale, strategy and action for members of NAM. Nehru was the main architect and philosopher behind the NAM at Belgrade. His rationalization, vision and utility of NAM were heard with rapt attention at this conference. His vision was an independent space for formal colonial countries away from Cold War rivalry framework. He championed Afro-Asian Solidarity and Afro-Asian Resurgence in international relations. He advocated horizontal cooperation among developing. This Summit marked the beginning of regular institutionalized solidarity meet between India–Africa and other third world countries.

The second NAM Conference was held in Cairo immediately after India–China war in 1964. Nehru was not alive by then. India without Nehru was reduced to insignificance in the Summit. The opinion of radical African countries and India was sharply divided. Krishna Menon harshly commented on Indian performance at Cairo Summit by saying “We became camp followers there...our personality did not make any impact on the conference or on the delegates” (Brecher 1968). In contrast to the speech of Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, who said: “First and foremost we believe in peace, in the settlement of all disputes with peaceful means,” Kwame Nkrumah, stressed that, “as long as oppressed classes exist there can be no such thing as peaceful coexistence between opposing ideologies” (Nkrumah 1964). In contrast to India’s view that Cold War was the root of all tensions, Africans identified colonialism as the root of all tensions.

Contrary to Indian view of non-alignment as ‘respect for peace and active coexistence among peoples and states’; President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea held that non-alignment ‘perfectly expressed the wishes of states to free themselves from the domination of centuries’. The Cairo Summit did not agree with the Indian Prime Minister Shastri’s request to pass a resolution against use of force for settling territorial dispute or to introduce a proposal to send a mission to China to persuade from developing nuclear weapons (Heimsath and Singh 1971). Except Cyprus no other country gave any support to it and many thought it inappropriate even to introduce such a proposal.<sup>6</sup>

India’s isolation vis-à-vis China among African countries, inside NAM Summit, was clear. In content, it was a metamorphosis of Bandung (1955) spirit, if not of Belgrade (1961), where Indian and African leadership acted together. But what was more important and in contrast to Bandung—it was Africa which took place of pride at Cairo Summit and it was African delegates who set the tone for the Summit (Africa Research Bulletin 1964). Further it was a success of Chinese ‘combatant’ approach that succeeded in pushing ‘peaceful coexistence’ from first to the fourth position in the list of items on agenda. The Cairo Summit signalled India the increasing importance of African countries in NAM, the influence which China had

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<sup>6</sup>Similarly when Jakarta preparatory meet for Algiers-Bandung type conference was being held, Egypt put the proposal that no dispute like the Sino-Indian should be considered as precondition for such a meet.

over them, isolation which India faced among African countries and the sorry state in which Indian diplomacy had come to (Pham 2011). It was more than the simple failure of Indian diplomacy. The task before India was to fix national diplomatic priorities. These policy goals had to be adopted with suitable approach in the changed context of the importance that Africa enjoyed under the changed circumstances.

It was in these given circumstances and imperatives that India set out reframing its Africa policy in the mid 1960s. India was searching for a new equation with the African countries. Its policy became selective. Viewing from retrospect, the first priority of Indian policy goals in Africa was to isolate China and Pakistan which had signed “Boundary Agreement”, with China being given Indian territory of Pakistani occupied Kashmir. The second priority was to arrest and then reverse the falling image and influence of India amongst Africans who enjoyed greater numerical strength in NAM and other Third World forums. The strategy adopted was to follow a selective approach in forging new connections and revitalizing older ones from African countries; and to win over reliable friends there. Further India decided that each Chinese move in Africa was to be countered economic diplomacy, visits by leaders, etc. In addition to this, all other leverages available to India for example, Sino-Soviet rift, Indian settlers in Africa, Indian experience as an ex-colonial country were to be used to promote Indian engagement with Africa. These were some of the main drivers which guided India’s Africa policy both for short and long-term engagement from mid-60s onwards.

#### ***2.2.4 South–South Interactions: Diplomacy, Economic Linkages and Peacekeeping***

By the end of 1960 when the colonial question was largely resolved, NAM began to pay attention to economic matters. It was the first time at the Lusaka Conference of NAM (1970) that economic cooperation within the South–South received top priorities. The Lusaka Summit had laid added emphasis on economic cooperation among non-aligned countries. In the Summit, India played an active and positive role in highlighting the main politico-economic problems faced by the developing countries.

#### ***2.2.5 Indian Economic Diplomacy***

The speech of Mrs. Gandhi in NAM Summit at Lusaka for the first time proposed South–South Cooperation through which India was to provide economic and technical assistance among developing nation to counter neocolonial policies perpetuated by the industrially advanced countries. She maintained that

... a realistic appraisal of our competence reveals the possibility of our working together to reduce our dependence on those who do not respect our sovereignty so that economic leverage for thinly disguised political purpose cannot be used against us. Neocolonialism has no sympathy with our efforts to achieve self-reliance. It seeks to perpetuate our position of disadvantage. (Ministry of External Affairs 1970, p. 191)

In fact, by early 1970s African countries started questioning the wisdom of dependent development. The increasing need of South–South Cooperation both in India and Africa, for their own separate reasons, got articulated in various conferences (Chhabra 1986). It was in Lusaka Summit of NAM that both Africans and Indians underlined the need for its implementation. The resolutions on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress were separated from 14 other resolutions of the conference which for the first time dealt with a working programme and preliminary negotiations among non-aligned nations. The host, President Kenneth Kaunda, in his opening address to the conference emphasized the need of economic unity (Africa Research Bulletin 1964). Julius Nyerere of Tanzania pointed to the disappointments among developing countries in developing through the ideas of developed countries. Nyerere stressed that, “for in seeking to overcome our poverty we each inevitably run the risk of being sucked into the orbit of one or other of the Great Powers” and “it is through these questions of trade and aid that our action in world affairs can be influenced, if not be controlled”. He, therefore, asked the Lusaka Conference to consider “the question of how we can strengthen Non-Alignment by economic cooperation” (Ali Shanti 1987a, b). Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi elaborated in details, at the same conference, the potential areas and logic behind South–South cooperation. She assured the conference that “if we decide and, I hope we shall, India will be glad to play her modest part” (Gandhi 1975, pp. 629–97).

Meanwhile, the damaging impact of the India–China war in 1962 on India’s foreign policy was subsequently reversed with India’s victory in Bangladesh war of 1971. Soon thereafter, India went on to consolidate and boost its image. With detonation of its first nuclear device in 1974 at Pokhran(Rajasthan), raised its international image in the matter of defence and global power politics. It was also an event to indicate India’s achievement in scientific and technological areas. With the decisive victory over Pakistan in 1971 India emerged as the ‘primary’ or ‘dominant’ power in the subcontinent. India also signed Indo–Soviet Friendship Treaty at this time without compromising its position as NAM member and successfully utilized it to check possible US alignment with Pakistan in 1971 war. All these developments in South Asia enabled Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to emerge as a popular leader at home who soon commanded a worldwide attention.

Like 1962, the 1971 developments in the subcontinent had a direct bearing on Indo–African relations. Many African leaders viewed that India had emerged as a regional power, which had not only been consistently sympathetic towards their aspirations, but they could turn to it for help and assistance. Indian diplomacy during this period changed its priorities. India’s major concern in Africa was to foster economic cooperation under the umbrella of South–South Cooperation. India utilized all its diplomatic strength at different international forums like UNO, NAM,



‘Group of 77’, etc., to promote and develop South–South Cooperation (Vhora and Mathews 1997). Explaining India’s new policy shift during 1970s the then Minister of External Affairs Mr. Swaran Singh said in Lok Sabha, on 25 April 1972,

...our heads of the Mission have also been told that they have to keep watch over the economic needs of the countries of their accreditation...they should work like commercial salesman on behalf of the private firm and they should not consider this work as inferior or below their dignity. (Ministry of External Affairs 1972, p. 90)

From the very beginning, India’s economic diplomacy, among the developing countries, was largely focused on African countries who responded well to Indian moves in this regard. Thus in the post-Nehru years, and throughout Indira Gandhi years the discussions and deliberation on the global issues—like the world peace, the colonial and racist policies of imperial powers and North–South relations—influenced not only India’s Africa policy but also that of the newly independent African countries towards India.

India soon gained its importance in NAM again. Since Lusaka Summit to New Delhi Summit (1983), the main running issues in all these summits were: (1) the changing concepts of NAM; (2) support to national liberation struggles which has been already discussed above and (3) the increasing emphasis on South–South economic cooperation.

### ***2.2.6 Priorities of South–South Interactions Under NAM***

The question related to the definition and purpose of NAM always surfaced in one way or other. To India, NAM as a movement, equidistant from super power’s rivalry, ‘was the main source of its power’ (Heimsath and Singh 1971, p. 61). In Cairo Summit (1964) ‘combative’, militant views were prevalent, however, India did not deter from its stand. In Lusaka Summit (1970) most of the militant leaders—Nkrumah from Ghana, Ben Bella from Algeria and Nasser from Egypt—were absent, who had vigorously advocated the case of militant struggles. With Lusaka Summit (1970) the appeal for armed struggle was waning. This Summit emphasized on peaceful and non-violent struggle as a method to unshackle the oppressed Black majority. The issue of defining NAM continued at Algiers Summit (1973). Cuba proposed that NAM being anti-colonial and anti-imperialist, Soviet Union was its natural ally. The controversy over the concept of natural ally became very sharp during Havana Summit (1979). In growing divergent position on the nature of NAM, India along with Nigeria helped the host delegation in preparing the final draft. Though it was a compromised draft, it underlined the importance of the unity of the movement. It was in New Delhi Summit and Harare Summit that this controversy was completely side-tracked. The main thrust and focus of Non-alignment shifted to and for the cause of economic cooperation. In Delhi Summit, South–South cooperation was the first item in Agenda as well as in the

Final Declaration. Since then, South–South Cooperation has been an important dimension of Indo–African relations.

### **2.2.6.1 Public Sector and Joint Venture Led Cooperation During Cold War**

In 1964, India launched its Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme and Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP). Under ITEC, India provided assistance under the following major heads—(1) Training fellowships in India (2) Deputation of Indian experts to undertake specific assignments, (3) project aid and (4) external assistance by way of techno-economic studies. The Indian economic initiatives in Africa were multi-pronged and a selective approach of friendship was adopted. During 1960s, India also extended its financial assistance to Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda and Ghana. The reasons behind following economic diplomacy were purely political. However, it itself proved beneficial in the long-run. India's economic relations with Africa became important part of its bilateral relations. Indian state enterprises, which were driving force of economic cooperation during this period, were given 'special guidelines' as to how to contrast their cooperation against multinational companies from the North. This relationship which was attempted to be different from North–South economic linkages gave India an edge over other external players in the continent.

Joint Ventures were also promoted through some reputed private sectors of India. These joint ventures form essential part of India's economic diplomacy. The adoption of joint ventures as a means of economic cooperation among developing countries by India dates back in 1958, when Birla Brothers initiated the setting up of a textile mill in Ethiopia. Since 1964 Government of India adopted a more positive stance towards joint ventures. In that year Indian industrialists Goodwill Mission that visited African countries reported that, "We must actively participate in setting up joint industrial ventures in as large a measure as possible" (Agarwal 1967, p. 353). By 1985, out of 44 Indian joint ventures in Africa 25 were in operation and 19 under implementation. The National Small Scale Industries Corporation of India had helped many African countries to set up organizations for small scale industries, e.g. Small Scale Industries Development Organization (SIDO) in Mauritius, Small Enterprise and Development Organization (SEDO) in Zimbabwe, and Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO) in Zambia. Indian joint ventures in Africa had been successful both in production as well as in project construction or implementation. In the production area, most of the firms were from the private sector, whereas in construction and project construction it was public sector enterprises like Rail India Technical and Engineering Services (RITES), Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT) and Metallurgy and Engineering Consultants (MECON).

### 2.2.6.2 Peacekeeping During Cold War Period

India extended its participation in UN peacekeeping mission ever since UN involved itself in conflict management situation in Africa. India's support in peacekeeping operations in Africa demonstrates its commitment at bringing peace and development to the continent (Gurirab 2000). India has participated in a number of these peacekeeping operations. It was involved in the United Nations operations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ); Somalia (UNOSOM I, II); United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I, II, III) and Observer Mission (MONUA); and also in the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNAMEE), Democratic Republic of Congo.

### 2.2.7 *Nehru and Indian Diaspora Policy During Cold War*

There are over 3 million People of Indian Origin in Africa. They are spread in Anglophone, Lusophone, Francophone and North Africa. Indian settlers had joined the independence movement in various African countries. As a result, after the independence of the African countries, many African leaders were of Indian origin. This helped in maintaining goodwill of India throughout the continent. The principle of the 'paramountcy of the natives' doctrine has been an integral part of India's foreign policy towards Africa ever since India became independent in 1947. Indian residents in Africa had been advised consistently by the Government of India to share the aspirations of their African fellows and not to ask for special privileges that would identify them as minorities demanding special right over majority. After Indian independence, Indian settlers in Africa were also looking up to their motherland for help and support. But the foreign policy of India gave more importance to the ties between India and the African countries; hence the Indians in Africa were told specifically by Nehru that they were as dear to him as any African, so no special consideration was given to Indian diaspora (Gopal 1984a, b, pp. 353–362).

A shuttle change in India's policy about Indian settlers in Africa came when Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited African countries and described them as "Ambassadors of India". It was in contrast from Nehru's view which sounded outright dissociation of Indian settlers from India's policy considerations. The inclusion of 'Indian settlers' in Africa in the policy frame of India was more apparent in Kenya, when India initiated with the Government of Kenya a plan for formation of an Africa–India Development Association (Africendo) with the long-term objective of seeking integration of the Indian community (numbering about 150,000) in the economic life of Kenya (Gopal 1984a, b, p. 272). Though this plan could not translate into reality, it did show the inclusion of Indian settlers in the Indian policy from 1990.

## **2.3 India–Africa in Post-Cold War Period: A Vision to Establish Symbiotic Relations**

### ***2.3.1 Coping with Globalization: Common Challenges of India and Africa***

With beginning of 1990s, Indian economy nosedived. India faced a very high fiscal deficit and dangerously low foreign exchange reserves. The crisis was triggered by the acute deterioration in the balance of payments. In order to cope up with the situation, India was forced into economic liberalization in 1991. It decided to abandon the model of mixed economy of earlier years. Indian Government decided to liberalize and privatize its economy. It started Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) under International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB). There was resistance by established interests to shift from state dominated economy to market-led economy. However, leaders across the political parties developed a consensus to go for market economy. At the same time India also took a ‘U’ turn on its Diaspora policy. In order to bypass the overbearing prescriptions of IMF/WB, India launched long-term Indian diaspora bonds fetching several billions US dollars. With this, India continued its economic reforms with its own sequencing and pace irrespective of IMF wisdom. By end of 1990s Indian economy was back to track with fast growth led by the private sectors.

At the same time due to end of Cold War, all African countries were forced to adopt monitored IMF/WB funded SAP. Most of them adopted market economy as driver of economic development. From a decade long negative growth of 1980s, Africa, as a region, started steadily growing by mid 1990s onward. Those countries having political consensus or political stability achieved positive growth by the turn of the century. It was in this century that Indian private sector moved in determined way to engage Africa.

### ***2.3.2 Liberalized Economy and Linkages Between India and Africa***

India has enhanced its scope of economic cooperation with Africa. It has taken several initiatives for aggressive economic cooperation with the African countries. It included —extending lines of credit to Preferential Trade Area (PTA) countries (since 1992); the creation of a revolving fund of Rs. 1 billion towards regional cooperation with Africa in 1996; a Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation between India and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1997; the Focus Africa Programme (2002); and TEAM 9 Initiative (US\$500 million) in 2003.

Coupled with it, India supported the vision of New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) initiative since its inception in 2001. It was another step indicative of its move to assist African countries in achieving its development goals.

India committed \$200 million to the NEPAD to increase economic interaction with Africa. The aim was to forge closer economic cooperation in the fields of mining, agro-processed products, motor vehicles, its spare parts and Information and Communication Technology (ICT). NEPAD offers large opportunity for India–Africa partnership.

Moreover, since mid-1990s organizations like the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ASSOCHAM), the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and the Federation of Indian Exporters' Organisation (FIEO) identified Africa as an important frontier. These organizations launched programmes to promote economic and business cooperation. This included exchange of information, conducting one-to-one business meetings and organising activities like 'Made in India' shows across Africa (Beri 2003). These Indian chambers have also entered into joint business agreements with Mauritius, Kenya, Zambia, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia.

### ***2.3.3 Rapidly Growing India and the 'New Rush' to Africa***

#### **2.3.3.1 Trade**

As a result of India's proactive policy in Africa—India's trade with Africa is expected to reach at \$100 billion by 2015 which stood at only US\$5 billion a decade ago and was over US\$60 billion in 2012. India's trade relations with Africa varied in terms of region and intensity over the years. By 2011 India has emerged as the fourth largest trading partner of Africa (Zuma 2013). The nature of trade between India and African countries also changed significantly. Till the early 1970s, Indo–African trade was mostly in traditional items like jute manufactures, textiles and clothing. Non-traditional items, viz., engineering goods, iron and steel and chemicals and allied products (including pharmaceuticals and cosmetics) gradually occupied lead position since the mid-1970s. India's imports from Africa consisted mainly of raw cotton; raw cashew nuts, non-ferrous metals (copper, zinc and lead); pearls, semi-precious stones; rock phosphate; and dyeing, tanning and colouring materials in 1970s and 1980s. However, after 1990s, hydrocarbon have become the major imported commodity from Africa, followed by metal products and chemical products. Africa's share in India's total trade has increased steadily and today Africa accounts for nearly 9 % of India's imports as compared to 3.5 % in 2005. India's largest trading partners are Nigeria, Angola, South Africa and Egypt.

#### **2.3.3.2 Energy Resources in Indo–African Relations**

Energy cooperation emerged as prominent area of partnership between India and Africa. It is one of the main drivers of the current partnership. At present India is the

sixth largest energy consumer in the world and projected to emerge as the fourth largest consumer after the United States, China and Japan (WTO and CII 013). India requires to expand its energy supply to sustain its growth levels in order to attain its developmental goals and especially to eradicate poverty.

Presently India imports 70 % of its oil from Middle East. It is seeking to diversify its energy sources, for which it is investing in energy assets outside. In this context Africa's energy potential is very significant for India. About 24 % of India's crude oil imports are sourced from Africa (including the North African countries) (Fee 2006). The Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Limited (OVL) has largest overseas investment over 3\$US billion invested in Sudan. It has also acquired stakes in Senegal, Ivory Coast, Libya, Egypt, Nigeria and Gabon. For its energy requirements India is willing to share with Africa its expertise in exploration, distribution, refining, storage and transportation. Indian investment in this sector should directly assist in the building up of a trained and skilled local workforce capable of efficiently running the assets. India is keen for increasing energy import from Africa. But major issue is as how India is going to reciprocate this by policy and acts which is qualitatively different from traditional buyers in Africa. India has proposed to support food security, human resource development, market access and anything that their 'collective' leadership at AU and Regional organization level request and which India can provide.

### ***2.3.4 Peacekeeping: India in Africa***

Peace is an elusive commodity in Africa which has witnessed scores of conflicts over the years (Beri 2003, p. 227). It is estimated that 18 Sub-Saharan African countries are directly or indirectly involved in conflicts; in 12 others, conflict can erupt at any moment (p. 227). India has participated in a number of these peace-keeping operations.

India extended its participation in UN peacekeeping mission even since UN involved itself in conflict management situation in Africa. India's support in peacekeeping operations in Africa demonstrates its commitment at bringing peace and development to the continent (Gurirab 2000). India has participated in a number of these peacekeeping operations. It was involved in the United Nations operations: in Congo (ONUC: 1960–1964); Angola (United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I, II, III: 1991–1995; Observer Mission (MONUA); in Mozambique (ONUMOZ: 1992–1993); Somalia (UNOSOM I, II: 1993–1994); Liberia (UNOMIL: 1993–1997); Rwanda (UNAMIR: 1993–1995); Sierra Leon (UNAMSIL: 1999–2000). Currently, India's Peacekeeping forces are active in Congo (MONUC/MONUSCO: since January 2005); Sudan (UNMIS/UNMISS: since April 2005); Ivory Coast (UNOCI: since April 2004); Liberia (UNMIL: since April 2007) (India and UN Peacekeeping, online). Currently (2014), there are around 7000 Indian peacekeepers in Africa.

India also responded to the call by the UN Secretary General for female personnel in field missions by sending its first full 'Female Formed Police Unit' for peacekeeping mission in Liberia. This unit also reached out to women and children, in addition to performing its normal peacekeeping function (Rao 2006). The professionalism and the social/community sensitivity of the Indian troops in African countries is well known. India's role in UN peacekeeping in Africa has been much appreciated by the local population. In a conference in New Delhi, the Namibian Foreign Minister was quick to express appreciation of Indian response to the African hour of need (Gurirab 2000, pp. 384–385).

### ***2.3.5 Security Issues in Indian Ocean: Africa-India Engagement***

The Indian Ocean has become a key strategic arena in the twenty-first century. One reason for this is the growth of the Asian economies and their increased need for raw materials, including energy from the Middle East and Africa to provide for their economic growth. The changing geopolitical situation in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) in the last decades, has acted as a stimulus for the littoral nations to examine their presence and engagement in the sea.

In the mid-1990s, Indian foreign policy largely focused on improving its relations with its immediate neighbours like Bangladesh, China, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It positioned itself as a regional power. This aspiration was fundamental to India's support of the IOR-ARC regional grouping. Sheer membership of the IOR-ARC linked India to the large number of African Indian Ocean Rim states (Vines and Oruitemeka 2008). India, positioning itself through bilateral and tri-lateral efforts, has strengthened its relations along the African Indian Ocean Rim, notably with Mauritius, the Seychelles, Madagascar and coastal states such as Tanzania, Mozambique and Kenya.

The significance of the Indian Ocean to India's economic development and security is immense. Most of India's trade is by sea and nearly 89 % of its oil arrives by sea. Avoiding disruption in the sea lanes of communication in the Indian Ocean are vital for India's economy. The Indian Navy has patrolled the Exclusive Economic Zone of Mauritius since 2003 (Berlin 2006, p. 72). India has similarly agreed on a defense cooperation with Seychelles through a Memorandum of Understanding drawn up in 2003 for India to patrol its territorial waters.

Piracy and counterterrorism also feature in India's increasing naval interest in African part of Indian Ocean Rim. A significant percentage of India's trade including oil and fertilizers passes through the Gulf of Aden. According to Indian Government figures, annual Indian imports through the Gulf of Aden route alone are valued at US\$50 billion while exports are pegged at US\$60 billion. Therefore, the safety and unhindered continuity of maritime trade through this route became a primary national concern since it directly impacts India's economy (Gokhale 2011).

Moreover India's large sea-faring community who are embarked on-board both Indian and foreign flagged vessels, accounts for 6 % of the world's sea-farers (Indian Navy 2013). Piracy along the coast of Somalia has been a threat to shipping starting from second phase of Somali Civil War since early twenty-first century (Khan n.d.). In order to protect Indian ships and Indians employed in sea-faring duties, Indian Navy commenced anti-piracy patrols in the Gulf of Aden commencing from October 2008. A total of 1104 ships (139 Indian flagged and 965 foreign flagged from 50 different countries) have been escorted by Indian Navy ships through the Internationally Recommended Transit Corridor (IRTC). The Indian Navy has undertaken various initiatives to strengthen its anti-piracy efforts. Merchant ships are currently escorted along the entire length of (IRTC) that has been promulgated for use by all merchant vessels (Indian Navy n.d.).

Apart from bilateral initiatives, India supports and participates in multilateral forums for this purpose. Besides Indian Ocean Rim Association (IOR-ARC), India participated in the formation of 'Indian Ocean Naval Symposium' (IONS) which seeks to increase maritime cooperation among navies of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region by providing an open and inclusive forum for discussion of regionally relevant maritime issues. In the process, it endeavours to generate a flow of information between naval professionals that would lead to common understanding and possibly cooperative solutions. East African countries including—Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, France, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan and Tanzania—actively participate at this forum.

### ***2.3.6 Redesigning Institutions of Global Governance: India and Africa***

The twentieth century global power architecture had changed. New powers emerged and old powers lost their place of primacy in economic arena. The old structures of institutions of global governance have continued without evolution, adoption and recognition of new demographic and economic powers. Indian and African countries had been demanding the reorganization of institution of global management like UN and its Security Council, World Bank, IMF, WTO. India and African Union, both agree for restructuring of the UN Security Council and its enlargement for inclusion of legitimate representation of Indian and African countries. They agreed to mutually support each other's claim in the Council. India and South Africa, an African country, work for additional financial intuitions visualized through BRICS bank. They cooperate for assertion and recognition of emerging democratic powers through forum of IBSA. They coordinate their respective positions in trade negotiations and formation of climate control regimes. They work together to overcome their disadvantage as developing countries under globalization process. Both regions show their commitment and coordination in



getting their legitimate place in new global order which is monopolized by victors of Second World War.

### ***2.3.7 India and Africa: New Partnership Model and Terms of Economic Engagement***

India started its African policy that was request-based but soon realized that it needs to get into a more proactive engagement. Under new global rush to Africa, India wanted to retain its non-exploitative, non-dominating image within Africa. India differed from other external powers in Africa as it opted for the Banjul formula of African Union for cooperation with Africa, which gives collective bargaining strength to African countries. Banjul formula was based on a decision of the African Union Summit taken at the Gambian capital in July 2006. Under this formula, besides Chairs and Director Generals of Regional Economic Communities (REC), five founding members of the New Partnership of Africa's Development (NEPAD), the Chair and of the Heads of State and Government implementing committee of NEPAD, the Chair of the African Union, the past Chair of the AU and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission represent African countries on behalf of Africa. It is through this collective body, AU intends to set the terms of engagement for any major external partner of Africa. India is one of the rare and major partners who opted to submit itself to operationalize its engagement through Banjul formula of AU.

It is this group of African head of states selected by AU that participated in the India–Africa Forum Summit held in 2008 at New Delhi. India's expanding engagement with Africa was seen as a renewed approach with launching of the first India–Africa Forum Summit (IAFS). The Delhi Summit saw a series of activities that brought together business leaders, artists, academics, editors, journalists and civil society representatives, who articulated their hopes and plans for renewing this relationship. The collective endeavor was towards redefining and reinvigorating the decade-old partnership and historical and civilizational links between the African continent and India. The two documents adopted during the 2-day summit were 'the Delhi Declaration' and 'Framework for India–Africa Cooperation' with a view to preserve the unique, equitable partnership model which Indian wanted to retain with Africa. These documents covered just about every area of partnership ranging from agriculture, trade and infrastructure to energy, science and technology and cultural exchanges that have the potential to transform the lives of over two billion people who live in India and Africa, which can transform the nature of India–Africa relationship. India was looking to transform the relationship with Africa from one of immense political goodwill to a large functional economic partnership. Both India and Africa have young growing populations with requirement for education and employment as well as inclusive growth. The second IAFS Summit at Addis Ababa (2011) therefore, aimed at highlighting the common understanding of

international issues and to emphasize the desire of both regions to work together. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at the second Summit aptly described India as a partner in Africa's resurgence and announced US\$5 billion line of credit to the African continent. Apart from the developmental aid, the Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh also announced US\$700 million to build new institutions and training programmes and US\$300 million to establish the Ethiopia-Djibouti railway line. Capacity building has been at the core of India's engagement with Africa, so the PM announced the establishment of 80 new institutions at Pan-African level which include an India–Africa Integrated Textiles Cluster, India–Africa Centre for Medium Range Weather Forecasting and India–Africa Food Processing Cluster. In the education sector India offered a virtual university and 22,000 total scholarships for African students in the next 3 years. There is a large presence of African students in India who come through the scholarship programme of ICCR.

There is also proposal to set up an India–Africa University for Life and Earth Sciences. India has been getting a huge response from Africa in the field of education and training programmes. Indian Institute of Foreign Trade (IIFT) plan to set up an institute in Kampala and Uganda after getting a positive response from the IIFT at Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania. The Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme has been a success in African countries. This gave India reason to give 900 training slots to Africa which will give a total of 2500 training positions for the next 3 years. In addition to this India has also proposed to establish institutes for English language training, Information Technology, entrepreneurship development and vocational training. The current engagement shows that there is less control and more partnership as well as more people-centric, sustainable relationship.

## 2.4 Conclusion

Indo–African relations are very old and multidimensional. The relationship evolved by constant interaction and migration of people, trade and ideas. Both suffered colonial exploitations, subjugations and territorial fragmentations. Both contributed to each other in their fight against colonization and racial discriminations. Both borrowed from each other ideas, strategies and support to carry forward their freedom struggles. Both witnessed substantial migration of people to other region who occupied place of prominence in their host countries. India being the first colonial country to become independent and as a 'jewel in the crown', contributed significantly and in unmatched way to liberation and anti-racial struggles of African countries. It played a leading role to keep these countries as prime movers of NAM, giving them unique bargaining strength during Cold War period. India being a middle-level technological and knowledge power contributed in economic drive of South–South cooperation. During Cold War phase, it consciously introduced mandatory guidelines for its economic enterprises in Africa to preserve Indian goodwill. There were differences of opinion, clash of interests as happens in the

interactions of sovereign self-respecting nations but all of them were quickly and easily overcome due to mutual respect and goodwill that existed for India in Africa. Rising India was seen as a benign friendly power for African countries. Indian diplomatic and subsequently economic might had always been sensitive and proactive to promote Africa interest. The large Indian diaspora in Africa which is spread in Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone and Arab Africa, gives it a unique opportunity to utilize the heritage resource for promoting bilateral relations.

The traditional goodwill and multidimensional relations were underutilized by both regions. Globalization, rising Indian economy, growing urge of Africa to diversify its economic linkages, provide new opportunity for two regions to strengthen their economic engagement. In order to retain its special appeal and goodwill in Africa, India is the only important power which accepted the Banjul formula of African Union, giving options to African countries to decide the term of engagements. India, being an aid recipient country in the recent past, made first major attempt as a donor partner to commit over US\$10 billion to Africa under Banjul formula. African countries have also responded positively to Indian new economic engagement initiative. When the emerging players and traditional powers are competing in accessing African resources, the competitive edge of India is its historical goodwill, multidimensional relations, large Indian diaspora along with its constant urge to adopt all possible strategy to retain this unique strength. However, the challenge is whether Multinationals of South, originating from India or by Indian diaspora, and operating in mineral resources, hydrocarbon, agriculture or other sectors of African economy will be helpful in preserving this goodwill?

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