India's Africa Policy in the Post-Cold War Era: An Assessment

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Abstract

In the post-Cold War era, with the emergence of an independent Namibia and a democratic South Africa, the main agenda that had brought India and Africa together—the fight against colonialism and institutionalised racialism—has disappeared. India's Africa policy indicates a slight change as also some consistency in the post-Cold War era. It appears to be composed of five mantras: promoting economic cooperation, engaging the people of Indian origin, preventing and combating terrorism, preserving peace and assisting the African defence forces. There exists enormous goodwill for India in Africa and India should take advantage of it to further strengthen ties through a new partnership.

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Introduction

India and Africa[1] have a relationship that can be traced back to ancient times. Contacts and trade between the people of the eastern seaboard of Africa and the western seaboard of India have been going on for centuries. However, the relationship has swung from a period of great emotional and political solidarity in the 1950s and 1960s to selective engagement in the 1970s and 1980s. In the post-Cold War era in Africa there is a growing perception that it was marginalised, both politically and economically. Politically, Africans felt relieved that Super Power domination in the continent had ended. On the other hand there is a feeling that they are of little strategic importance to the major powers. Economically Africa is of little importance to the major players in the world economy—the Western economies, the multinational corporations and the banking institutions.

This perception was painted mainly by Afro pessimists, who felt "if Africa is pushed off the world's surface, none or only few would miss it."[2] It was pushed by hard facts that around 300 million Africans live on US $ 0.65 or less per day, more than 250 of every 1,000 children die before the age of five and in more than 20 countries one in ten adults has HIV/AIDS.[3]

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Nevertheless, on the positive side, the continent has witnessed a trend towards democratisation that is visible in multi-party elections across the continent and the emergence of a democratic South Africa. It is also visible in the launch of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) through the joint efforts of South Africa and Senegal. This action plan promises to remove the tag of the 'Hopeless Continent'.

Against this backdrop the paper examines India's Africa policy in the post-Cold War era. The cornerstone of India's Africa policy in the past has been the support for the struggles against colonialism and racialism in Africa. The emergence of a democratic South Africa has brought an end to the apartheid struggle in Africa. In this changed situation what is the focus of India's Africa policy? This is the main question that will be addressed in this paper. The term 'Africa' refers to the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. Since there are close to fifty countries in Africa, an analysis of bilateral relations is not undertaken.

Historical Background

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister laid the foundation for India's Africa policy. The importance of Africa, he felt, arose from the fact that "though separated by the Indian Ocean from us, it is in a sense our next door neighbour."[4] There were two major strands of his policy towards Africa. The first was the support for the struggle against colonisation and racial discrimination in South Africa. On these issues India was very active at the United Nations. The second was related to the people of Indian origin settled in Africa. He advised the Indians to identify themselves with the local community, adopt a more positive attitude towards the political aspirations of the people of their adopted countries. In economic matters, he advised them not to seek any special privileges at the cost of equal opportunities for the Africans.[5] The Africans acknowledged both Nehru's and Mahatma Gandhi's support for the African struggle. Mazrui, says that Gandhi's message of non-violence and passive resistance inspired many black leaders in Africa including Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.[6] Similarly, as the Cold War began, Nehru's principle of non-alignment appealed to the Africans.[7]

However, towards the end of Nehru's tenure, India's Africa relation dipped to a low. Few African nations gave diplomatic support to India bilaterally or at multilateral fora like the Non-aligned Movement (NAM).[8] This was due to a number of factors. India's defeat in the Sino-Indian war in 1962 caused a setback to the image of India as a leader. Second, India's hesitation in fixing a date for the end of colonialism (on the logic that it was unrealistic) in Africa at the Belgrade NAM Summit in 1961

made it look soft towards the colonial powers. Third, its insistence on African liberation movements to adopt peaceful means as opposed to China's overt gestures towards arms assistance was not appreciated. Fourth, immediately after the 1962 war, India was busy countering China at every multilateral forum.[9]

However, by the mid-1960s India undertook a serious reassessment of its Africa policy and adopted some fresh initiatives. Indira Gandhi's African Safari in 1964 was aimed at measuring the depth of African solidarity with India. Subsequently, India stopped treating African countries as a bloc and became selective in its friendship. It also launched a policy of economic diplomacy. This was flagged off by the launch of the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme in 1964, primarily to counter China's aid diplomacy. By the 1970s, India's stature had risen in African eyes; the Indo-Soviet Treaty (1971), the 1971 war, the Green Revolution, and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) in 1974 probably contributed towards this change. Emphasis on economic diplomacy increased in the early 1970s in tandem with the realisation among developing countries in Asia and Africa of the need for economic cooperation among themselves. Adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1980 underlined the importance given by the Africans to regional and South-South cooperation. The impact of these initiatives was an increase in India's trade with Africa, with the balance of trade favouring India.

In the 1970s and 1980s India continued to support liberation struggles in Africa. It worked closely with the Africans in the fight against apartheid in South Africa and Namibia; not just at the UN but also at other multilateral fora such as NAM, and the Commonwealth. India had accorded diplomatic status to the African National Congress (ANC) in 1967 and SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation) in 1985.[10] Apart from diplomatic support, India also provided financial and material aid to the liberation struggles in Africa, not directly but through multilateral institutions like the OAU, The UN Fund for Namibia, UN Educational and Training Programme for South Africa and finally through the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund. The AFRICA Fund was established by NAM under Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's leadership in 1986 to assist frontline states and liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. According to one estimate India provided Rs 36 million by 1977-78 while India's initial contribution to the AFRICA Fund was Rs 500 million which included private and individual contributions of Rs 25 million.[11]

As far as India's policy towards people of Indian origin (PIO) is concerned, Mrs. Indira Gandhi initially advanced a policy of engagement. During her African Safari she called them Ambassadors of India. The African states resented the changes

in India's policy towards the PIOs. When Kenya and Uganda launched the policy of Africanisation and asked Indians to leave the country, Government of India's sympathy and concern towards the PIOs was resented.[12] These developments had an impact at three levels. First, is realisation of the fact that the Indian government's support to the African liberation movements was not reciprocated by the Africans in giving protection to the people of Indian origin.[13] Second, the Government of India reverted back to the policy of disengagement with the PIOs. Subsequent governments till the late 1990s continued this policy. Third, the Government of India's hesitation in welcoming the expelled Indians back into its fold, in turn, made them realise the limits of the policy towards them and the fact that they had been left to their own fate in their adopted countries.

Recent Policy

In the post-Cold War era, granted that Indians and Africans were allies in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid, both now need to march together to the tune of geo-economics. Based on historic friendship, we can still be partners in the struggle against under-development, poverty and other common problems.

India's Africa policy in the post-Cold War era, it appears, is composed of five *mantras*:

- Promoting economic cooperation
- Engaging the PIOs
- Preventing and combating terrorism
- Preserving peace
- Assisting the African defence forces

These are discussed below.

Promoting Economic Cooperation

In the early 1990s the government stressed that, " ... in the future, new relationships based on concrete economic, technological and educational cooperation will assume enhanced significance."[14] It needs to be pointed out though that India's objectives with regard to this policy have remained the same over the years, i.e., "creation and consolidation of strong economic bonds among countries of the South and the use of India's relative economic strength for development of these countries on mutually beneficial basis."[15] India engaged Africa economically through technical assistance, training and trade. The broad trends are as follows:-

Technical Assistance

India has extended technical assistance to African countries under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme and the Special Commonwealth Africa Assistance Plan (SCAAP). This involves the following aspects: -

- Training (civil and military)

- Projects and project-related assistance such as supply of equipment, consultancy services and feasibility studies

- Deputation of experts

- Study visits of senior officials/decision makers to India.

The programme covers various fields.[16] The fastest growing segment of ITEC is consultancy and project assistance. This involves preparation of feasibility studies, project reports, setting up pilot projects and research centres in the agricultural sector, etc. A number of African countries have received assistance in this area.

Over the past four decades, India has provided more than US $2 billion in technical assistance to the countries of the South and most of it has gone to Africa.[17] In the 1990s, a number of projects were initiated with Indian help. An Entrepreneurial Training and Demonstration Centre (ETDC) costing US $ 4.49 million has been constructed in Dakar (Senegal) by Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT) and handed over in June 2000.[18] In Namibia, India has assisted in setting up a Plastic Technology Demonstration Centre.[19] In 1994, the government launched a programme for cooperation with select African countries for the development of small-scale industries (SSI). These countries were Nigeria, Senegal, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana and Ethiopia. The government offered finance for implementation of these programmes under ITEC. A small-scale industry development project is also under execution in Zimbabwe. An important training-cum-demonstration project entitled Indian Farmers Project is to be set up in Burkina Faso.[20] In Senegal, Indian officials have been involved in providing feasibility studies for a dairy development project and an incense stick project.[21] Feasibility studies for establishment of a poultry vaccine laboratory in Mali and for improvements in the education system in South Africa were also conducted.[22]

Since 1964, India has also provided civil training to over 14,500 trainees from various countries, mainly from Africa, under the ITEC programme.The countries were Nigeria, Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe and South Africa.[23]

Trade

In the last decade a number of initiatives were launched to promote trade with Africa. Apart from the government, the private sector also pitched in to explore the African markets.

From the mid-1990s, organisations 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 a thrust area and 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. These chambers have also entered into joint business agreements with Mauritius, Kenya, Zambia, Uganda, Zimbabwe Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia.

The Government Initiatives [24] are:

- *US $6 million EXIM line of Credit to PTA countries:* In September 1992, the EXIM Bank signed an agreement with the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) Bank to extend an US $ 6 million line of credit to members of the PTA only for import of capital goods from India. The PTA covered 21 countries from Eastern and Southern Africa.[25] In 1994 the PTA was replaced with the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).

- *Engaging West African Countries:* In an effort to strengthen political and economic ties with West African countries, the then Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao visited Burkina Faso and Ghana in November 1995.

- *Revolving Fund for Africa:* In 1996, Prime Minister, H.D. Deve Gowda announced at the G-15 Summit in Harare the creation of a revolving fund of Rs. 100 crores towards regional cooperation with Africa.[26]

- *MoU with SADC:* A Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation between India and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was signed in October 1997 which envisaged both government and private sector cooperation in the region, similar to the one followed by COMESA and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

- *Meeting of HoMs/Commercial Representatives*: Meeting of Heads of Missions (HoMs) / commercial representatives of Indian missions in Eastern and Southern Africa under the Chairmanship of the Minister of State for Commerce Industry was held in June 2000. A similar meeting was convened in October 2000 in West Africa.

- *Focus Africa*: The Focus Africa programme was launched as part of the EXIM Policy 2002-2003. Encouraged by the Focus initative in Latin America, the government launched a Focus Africa initiative. Selected Indian missions will provide business promotion services to visiting Indian exporters/ businessmen at a nominal fee by setting up business centres. The first phase of Focus Africa will focus on Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Mauritius, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Ghana. Firms exporting to these markets will be given 'Export House' status subject to a mininum export of Rs 5 crores.[27]

Overall, the trade between India and Sub-Saharan Africa has grown from US$ 893 million in 1991-92 to US$ 3,390 million in 2000-2001, registering as increase of more than 280 per cent in 9 years. (See Fig. 1) Its imports from the region have increased from US$ 458 million in 1991-92 to US$ 1,581 million in 2000-2001.[28] Nigeria, Mauritius, Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana have been the major trading partners during this period. India has signed bilateral trade agreements with 19 countries in Africa.
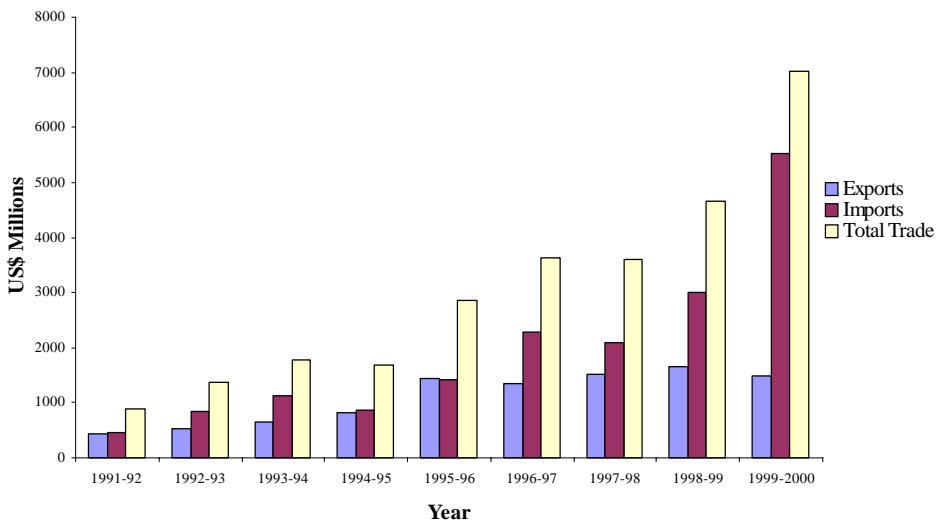

Fig. 1: India's Trade with Africa

Source: Ministry of Commerce, *Focus Africa* at http://commin.nic.in/doc/focus.htm.

Mahatma Gandhi had said, "The commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of western exploiters."[29] But the laws of the marketplace appear to be inexorable! Most of our imports from Africa consist of minerals, petroleum products and raw materials, while our exports are textiles, pharmaceuticals, engineering goods, etc. (See Fig. 2) The composition of Africa's trade has caused some anxiety among some Africans too. Adebayo Adedji, former Executive Secretary of the Economic

Commission of Africa (ECA) states that, "The traditional scenario that obtained in our trade with the developed world, whereby our country supplies the former with commodities and imports there from manufactured products including capital goods, is being reproduced, deliberately or not, in our intra-third world trade … I feel…such a situation is completely unacceptable to us."[30] This is a reality that the Africans have to face and the composition of trade would be changed only with greater level of economic development in these countries.

Future of Exports

Despite the number of initiatives launched by the Indian government, Indian exports are still a miniscule part of total African imports (see Fig. 2). The Indian Commerce Minister feels that Indian exports to Africa are sub-optimal. The problems of trading with Africa are wellknown—large payments to Indian exporters being stuck due to foreign exchange crunch; language problem; lack of awareness about the African potential, ongoing conflicts; and lack of direct shipping lines to Africa. In today's market-driven economics, the government's role is limited; it can act as a facilitator alone.[31] The competition in trading with Africa is indeed hotting up.
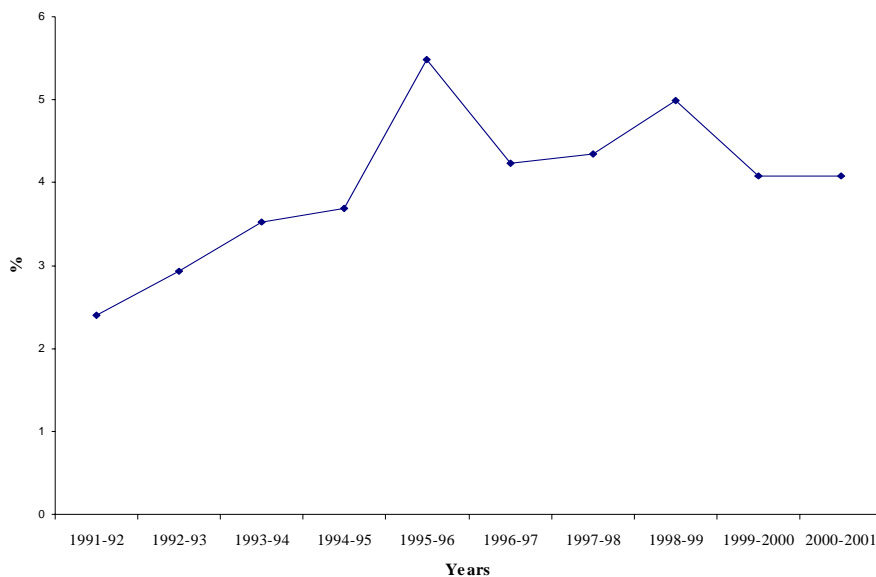

Fig. 2 : Percentage Share of Indian Exports of Total African Imports
Source: Ministry of Commerce at http://commin.nic.in/doc/focus_africa.htm.

Advent of AGOA

The good news is that Indian textile exporters need to take advantage of the opportunity to export goods to the US without restrictions, through the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA), signed in 2000. Thirty-five countries in Africa are eligible for AGOA, but only 17 have qualified for exporting to the US through AGOA.Countries like China and Malaysia have got excited with AGOA and plan to increase investments in Africa. Malaysia has already invested in a textile unit in South Africa in 2002.

Pharma Success

In April 2001, the South African government won the case against multinationals to import generic AIDS drugs.[32] This landmark judgement has opened the gates for pharmaceutical exports from India of generic AIDS drugs to Africa. Around 20 million people living in Africa are infected with the AIDS virus.[33] These anti-retroviral drugs, or ARVs, could be supplied by the Indian companies at a fraction of the cost of Western drugs. Nigeria was the first country to import these from Cipla and Ranbaxy. India has seven pharmaceutical companies manufacturing ARVs. A four-day Africa-India Health Summit organised by the Government of India brought together 16 African countries.[34] Leading pharma companies showcased their capabilities and products. At the end of the Summit the ground was laid for joint ventures in African countries. South Africa and Kenya have signed agreements for joint ventures with Indian firms.

Cashing the Information Boom

India has made a name in Information Technology and there is good scope for IT exports to Africa. Only half a million Africans have access to the Internet, and therefore there is a pressing need to narrow the 'digital divide'.[35] The Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) has launched an initiative to accelerate the adoption of information systems in Africa. There is tremendous scope for joint ventures with India in this field.[36]

NEPAD

This new initiative undertakes to promote and protect democracy and human rights in exchange for sustained levels of aid, investment and economic engagement with the developed world. A summit with the investors was organised in Dakar in April 2002. Subsequently, the Africans have engaged the G8 countries, the European Union and India. The G8 countries have pledged support to NEPAD and launched an African Action Plan at the G8 Summit in June 2002.[37] Among the G8 countries, Japan has been actively supporting the cause of African development. In

1993 the first Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) was held. This was followed by TICAD II in 1998 while TICAD III is scheduled to be held in September 2003.[38] African development issues are on the agenda of the second EU-Africa Summit to be held sometime in the near future.[39] The Indian government also appears to consider NEPAD as a viable action plan,[40] and a conference was organised in July 2002 with 30 representatives from industry and the finance sector of a number of African countries.[41]

Engaging the PIOs

The government of India has tried to engage people of Indian origin (PIO) in the post-Cold War era. While the Congress government's approach was cautious, the BJP government has turned the policy around. The PIOs are now the focus of the government's foreign policy initiatives in different regions of the world. It organised the first-ever meet of parliamentarians of Indian origin at New Delhi in December 1998.[42] It also offered a PIO Card. However, at US$ 1,000 there were very few takers. The Global Organisation for People of Indian Origin (GOPIO) called for a reduction to US$ 250.

In September 2000, the government set up a high-level committee on the Indian diaspora as a major initiative.[43] The mandate of the committee was to make a comprehensive study of the global Indian diaspora and to recommend measures for a constructive relationship. The report was submitted on January 8, 2002. Some of the prominent recommendations[44] are:

- Offer of Dual citizenship to PIO/NRIs living in select countries (United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Western Europe, Singapore) under the rubric of the Citizenship Act

- Fee reduction in PIO Card scheme

- Celebration of 'Pravasi Bhartiya Divas' on January 9 (the day Mahatma Gandhi returned from South Africa) every year

- Setting up of a 'single window' organisation, a Pravasi Bhartiya Bhawan, to deal with the PIO/NRI issues.

The government has accepted most of these recommendations. In keeping with the suggestions, the government organised three-day long celebrations commemorating the Pravasi Bhartiya Divas in January 2003. A number of conferences were held involving professionals, intellectuals, businessmen and parliamentarians of Indian origin.[45]

The recommendations of the high-level committee has led to a debate and one view is that they seem to benefit the NRI/PIOs in Europe and America more than

those in Africa. Organisations like GOPIO have welcomed the dual citizenship move. In fact, they have been demanding it for a long time.[46] It seems to have created three categories of PIO's—one, people who live either in Europe or North America who can claim dual citizenship; two, those who have Indian nationality only (e.g., those in the Gulf); and three, people who only have the citizenship of the countries of residence (e.g. Africa and the Caribbean). It has led to disappointment amongst people of Indian origin in Africa who feel the Government of India has been discriminatory.[47] Some argue that PIOs in Eastern Africa may not be interested in dual citizenship.[48] In the past the people of Indian origin in East Africa suffered due to the fluctuating policies of the Government of India. After independence, these PIOs had assumed that the Government of India would come to their rescue when they were in trouble. However, India overlooked them in its bid to cultivate relations with the Africans. Indeed, very few Indians took up the Indian government's offer of resettlement in India when they were asked to leave Uganda and Kenya.

Preventing and Combating Terrorism

The September 11 terrorist attacks demonstrated the destructive power of terrorists. India strongly condemned these attacks as did the African countries. Africa came to the limelight when the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya were attacked in August 1998. Terrorism struck Africa again in November 2002 when a terrorist bomb exploded at a hotel complex in the coastal town of Mombassa.[49] About twelve people lost their lives in the attack. Almost simultaneously, a chartered plane of Israel's Arkia Airlines narrowly missed a missile attack while taking off from Mombassa Airport.[50]

It is estimated that there are more than a dozen countries in Africa, where terrorist groups (mainly as part of the Al Qaida network) have established a strong presence.[51] Sudan and Somalia figure prominently in that list. Sudan was declared a rogue state by the US because it provided a safe haven to a number of terrorist organisations, including the Al Qaida. Osama bin Laden was quite active in Sudan from 1991-96. Nevertheless, the Sudanese and the Somalian governments joined other African countries in condemning the terrorist attacks against the US. About 25 Africans from 13 different African countries had lost their lives in these attacks.

In the war against terrorism, most of the African countries have pledged non-military support to the United States government. Kenya and Djibouti offered access to sea and airport facilities to the US military, though in Kenya the opposition parties asked the government to give an explanation on this issue in the parliament.[52] South Africa had offered non-military support, including intelligence sharing.[53]

The September 11 attacks and the subsequent attacks on the Indian parliament on December 13, 2001 have led to a greater understanding of the Indian position on terrorism by the Africans. The African countries supported in the past India's moves to deter terrorism, at multilateral fora. At the Durban NAM Summit in September 1998, the African countries including South Africa supported the Indian proposal for international action against terrorism. Last year, in October, Senegal hosted a conference on terrorism that was attended by heads of states of 27 African countries. This meeting enabled the African states to take a common stand against terrorism. It also sought to devise an African anti-terrorism accord that would allow extradition of terrorists from one state to another. Such a crucial provision was missing in the earlier OAU Convention on Terrorism (1999).

Promoting Peace

Peace is an elusive commodity in Africa which has witnessed scores of conflicts over the years. 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.[54] In a number of these conflicts, the Blue Helmets were deployed. 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) and Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNAMEE). Some of India's contributions to peacekeeping efforts are given in Table 1, below.

Table 1: India and UN Peacekeeping in Africa			
Place	Operation	Duration	Contribution
Angola	UNAVEM I UNAVEM II UNAVEM III MONUA	1989-91 1991-95 1991-95	30 MOs 3 MOs 452 troops, 20 MOs, 11 civilian police
Mozambique	ONUMOZ	1992-94	940 all ranks in 1993
Somalia	UNOZOM II	1993-94	1 Inf. bde., HQ staff: 4,967 all ranks
Liberia	UNOMIL	1993-97	20 MOs
Rwanda	UNAMIR	1993-95	Inf. Batt., 800 troops
Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	1999-2000	3100 Troops
DRC	MONUC	2000-	29 MOs
Ethiopia/Eritrea	UNMEE	2001	1 Inf. Batt

Source: Alan Bullion, India and UN Peacekeeping Operations. *International Peacekeeping.* Spring 1997, **4** (1) 113-114. See also www.un.org/dpko/dpko/co_mission/co_miss.htm.

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 India response to the African hour of need.[55] Nevertheless, it has also got its share of brickbats. In Sierra Leone Major-General V.K. Jetley got caught in controversy, with the Nigerian and other governments of the West African coalition which demanded his removal.[56] General Jetley had accused senior African military commanders of the UN peacekeeping force of colluding with the rebels to mine diamonds illegally. The West African nations perceived the presence of Indian UN peacekeeping forces in Sierra Leone as 'interference'.[57]

Assisting the African Defence Forces

India has been providing military training to officers and JCOs of the African defence forces. Most of the African countries lack military training institutions and, therefore, the officers are often sent abroad either to the military colleges of the former colonial powers or friendly countries in the developing world. Since the 1960s India has provided military training to a number of Africans, primarily from Anglophone Africa. Training is imparted in national institutions under the three wings of the defence services, including the National Defence College New Delhi and the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington. The training covers fields such as security and strategic studies, defence management, artillery, electronics, mechanical, marine and aeronautical engineering, anti-marine warfare, logistics management and qualitative assurance services.[58] During the period 1990-91 to 2000-2001, around 800 officers and JCOs from 12 African countries (Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal, Madagascar, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda) were provided training by the Indian Army under ITEC.[59] India has also sent training teams to various African countries like Botswana, Zambia and Lesotho. As part of its cooperation in defence, India has supplied a small quantity of conventional arms to the Africans.

India has supplied patrol crafts (SDB Mk-2 type) to Mauritius and Guinea Bissau (one each) in 1993, and light helicopters (SA-316 B Aloutte-3 and SA-315B Lama) to Namibia (two each) in 1994.[60] India has also imported weapons from South Africa.[61]

Conclusion

India's Africa policy indicates both change and continuity in the post-Cold War era. The people of Africa have acknowledged India's support in the past and there is a lot of goodwill towards India. They are attracted towards the new image of India in the 21st century as the new centre for technology and commerce in Asia.

India should reciprocate and follow the EU and the Japanese examples for cooperation to mutual benefit. Economically, this partnership with Africa would

entail working closely with Africa on NEPAD. Culturally, it would entail greater interaction with People of Indian Origin in Africa. Similarly, it involves the task of bringing Africa closer to the people of India through events like the Festival of Africa in India.Educationally, it would involve greater bilateral interaction between the two regions at all levels—school, college and university. Internally, it should lead to popularising African studies in our country. Diplomatically, it should involve looking at ways and means to garner support for India's strategic interests.

Acknowledgement

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1. Africa in this paper refers to the 48 countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa: Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, and Cameroon. Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Congo, (DRC), Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Uganda, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Zambia and Zimbabawe.

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14. no. 11, p.55
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16. They are diplomacy, mass-media, foreign trade, management, audit and accounts, banking, manpower planning, agriculture, rural development, small-scale industries, telecommunications, rural development computer and information technology etc. See Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1990-91 to 2001-2002.
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18. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report 2000-2001, p.51.
19. Ibid.
20. Government of India, Annual Report 1997-98. Ministry of External Affairs; New Delhi. pp.117-18
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs at http://www.mea.dev.gov.
24. We have covered the multilateral initiatives only; there have also been a number of initiatives taken bilaterally like the Revolving Fund for Mauritius of Rs. 20 crores by former Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao while visiting Mauritius in March 1992.
25. They are Angola, Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Swaziland, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe
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