

INDIA-AFRICA BRIEF

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ABSTRACT

Over the past decade India has reengaged with the African continent on multiple fronts, including through economic diplomacy and increased development cooperation partnerships. Though grants to African countries represented a small proportion of Indian development assistance, these grants were made to sectors such as information and communication technology, education, and training of government officials, sectors where Indian aid has an advantage compared to foreign aid from traditional donors or rising donors such as China. By 2011/12 the majority of India's aid to Africa was in the form of Lines of Credit (LOCs). These LOCs also built on India's comparative advantage in sectors such as energy exploration and development, agricultural training, and developing of the transport sector. Due to the LOC's nature of essentially being tied aid, they helped foster Indian exports to Africa. These Line of Credits complement aid from other donors and are helping India to reestablish closer bilateral relationships with many African countries. In addition to grants and credit lines, Indian development assistance to Africa has also used its comparative advantage in the information technology sector to build up a low-cost, Pan African e-Network, which is designed to help foster digital connections and development in Africa. Indian development cooperation trends in Africa illustrate the larger narrative of economic diplomacy undergirding India's development assistance program.

COURTING AFRICA THROUGH ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

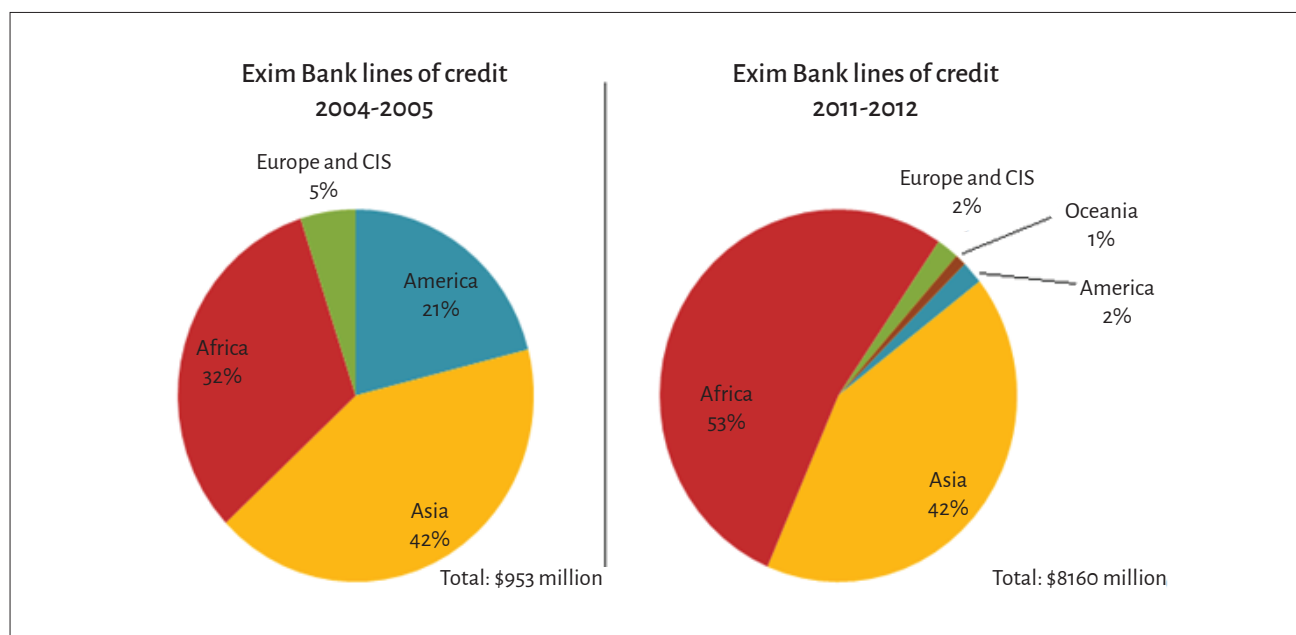


Image showing flags of all the African countries

The African continent has moved to the centre of global economic discussions in the last decade. This movement has been accompanied by a paradigm shift in the discourse around the continent - the 'hopeless' continent has turned into the 'hopeful' continent with potential for economic growth. [1] As an extension of this global interest, India has also increased its engagement with the continent.

The extent of Africa's importance in the Indian development cooperation strategem is demonstrated by the promise of LOCs worth over US\$ 8 billion made by the Indian government to African countries between 2008 and 2011. [2] IDCR calculations have highlighted a substantial disparity between the promised amount and the operative Lines of Credit, as only US\$ 4.3 billion dollars were available as LOCs to African countries between 2004/05 and 2011/12. [3] Despite the disparity between the amounts, African countries currently constitute a prominent position in Indian development cooperation efforts, receiving 53 percent of the operative Lines of Credit by 2011/12. [4] This new emphasis on Africa and the changed modalities of development cooperation are based on overarching changes in Indo-African engagement that have occurred since the turn of the century.

Graph 1: EXIM Bank operative lines of credit 2004/05 - 2011/12 (us\$ million)



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

CONTEMPORARY INDO-AFRICAN BONDS – A MOVE FROM THE POLITICAL TO THE ECONOMIC

In the 20th century, India's engagement with Africa had shifted away from one based primarily on political ties, through support for anti-colonial movements in the African continent and Cold War solidarity in the 1960s, towards greater economic engagement that focused on mutual benefit through economic, technological and educational cooperation. [5]

The focus on economic cooperation has led to profound changes in India's engagement with Africa in the last decade. One of the notable activities that has grown out of the focus on economic cooperation is the Conclave of India-Africa Project Partnership, launched in 2005, as a strong business-to-business platform between the two regions. [6] To date there have been 22 business conclaves and the investments agreed upon during these conclaves have increased from US\$ 6 billion in 2005 to US\$ 64 billion in 2013, [7] further fuelling economic engagement between the two regions.

A rise in trade, since the turn of the century, is another indication of increased engagement. While overall trade volumes have increased with Africa, the percentage of trade saw a slow decline from six percent in 1996 of total Indian trade to nearly five percent in 2005. In 2006 however, trade to African countries rose to eight percent and has been on the rise ever since. [8] The value of Indian trade with African countries has risen from US\$ 4.4 billion in 2000 to US\$ 72

billion in 2013, with Indian exports to Africa witnessing a remarkable rise from US\$ 5.5 billion in 2004-05 to over US\$ 24 billion in 2011/12. [9] In addition to this increase in trade, Indian foreign direct investment in Africa has increased from US\$ 3.2 billion in 2008 to US\$ 5.8 billion dollars in 2012. The phenomenal increase of Indian trade in Africa particularly between 2008 and 2013 is indicative of India's increased focus on economic engagement with African countries.

A stronger focus on political interactions has also fostered closer economic relations. For instance, the Indian government launched the first of thus far two India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) in 2008. [10] The summits were intended as a political platform for leaders from the two regions to interact. [11] The first, held in India, was attended by fourteen African countries. At this summit the Indian government announced an increase of Lines of Credits (LOCs) to African countries from US\$ 2 billion to US\$ 5.4 billion, a duty-free preference scheme for a majority of African countries, an expansion of technical assistance programs, and support, including a US\$200 million LOC for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), among other initiatives. [12] The second summit was held in Ethiopia in 2011 and was attended by 17 African governments. During this summit the Indian government promised African countries a further five billion dollars as credit over the following three years, an LOC worth US\$ 700 million for new training facilities, and a US\$ 300 million LOC to support the development of an Ethio-Djibouti railway line. [13]

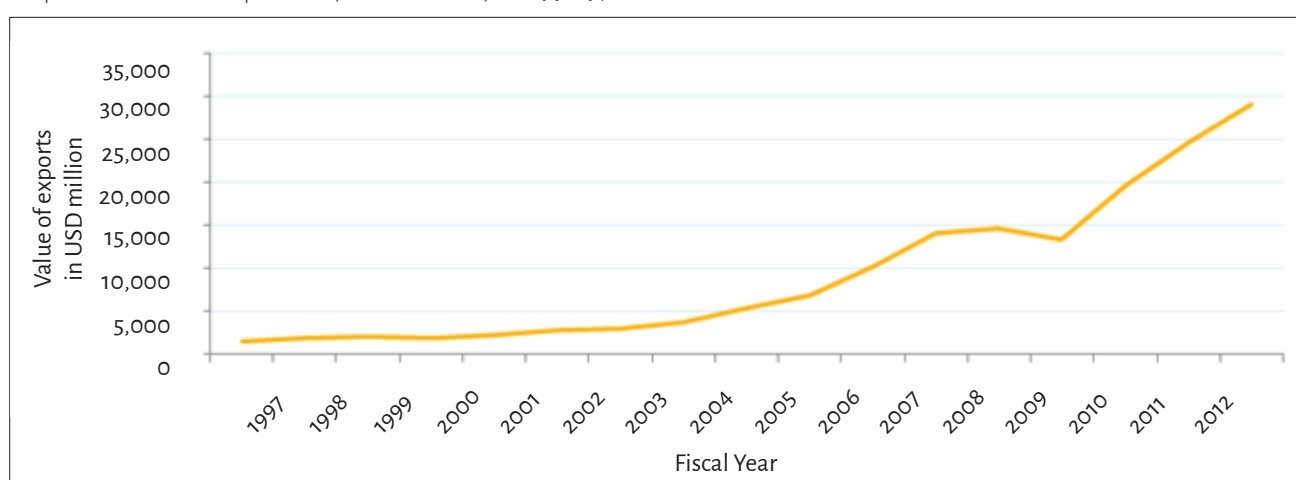
Together these conclaves and summits have institutionalised platforms for interaction between the two regions and have improved the ties of development cooperation. [14]

TRANSFORMATION IN THE MODALITIES OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

India routes development assistance through three trajectories, namely, Lines of Credit, grants and training

programmes. Historically, India's development cooperation focused mainly on Anglophone African countries and was largely limited to technical cooperation and training programs. Since the turn of the century, development cooperation has not only increased in volume, but also in the types of development cooperation that India engages in with Africa.

Graph 2: Rise in Indian exports to African countries from 1996-97 to 2011-12



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

Lines of Credit

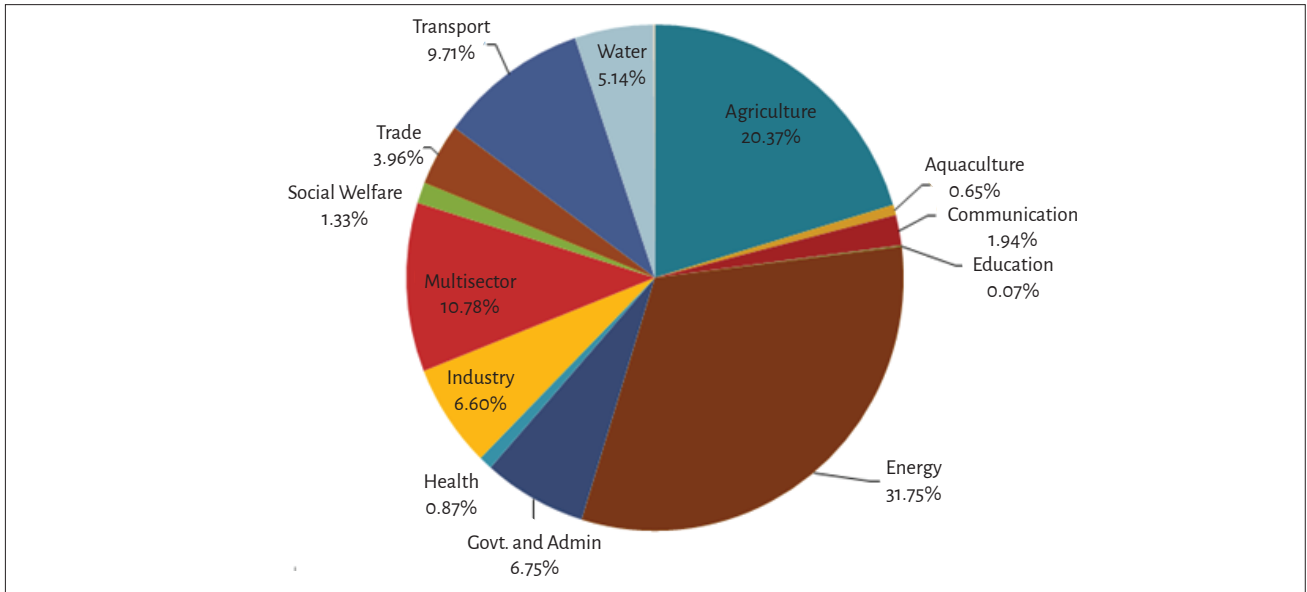
Lines of Credit, or concessional loans, are a new instrument of development cooperation utilised by the Indian government. LOCs have been routed through the Export Import Bank of India (EXIM) from 2004 and there has been a sharp increase in LOCs committed to African countries from 32 percent in 2004 to 53 percent in 2011.

There has also been a significant increase in the volume of LOCs. In 2004/05, LOCs to Africa were valued at US\$ 304 million while in 2011/12 LOCs to Africa were valued at US\$ 4.3 billion. [15] A majority of these current LOCs are directed towards agriculture and energy based projects at 36 and 23 percent respectively.[16] In 2012, seventeen LOCs were made operational and twelve of these LOCs were directed to African countries. This clear emphasis on Africa demonstrates that India is focused on building closer ties with African countries.

Grants

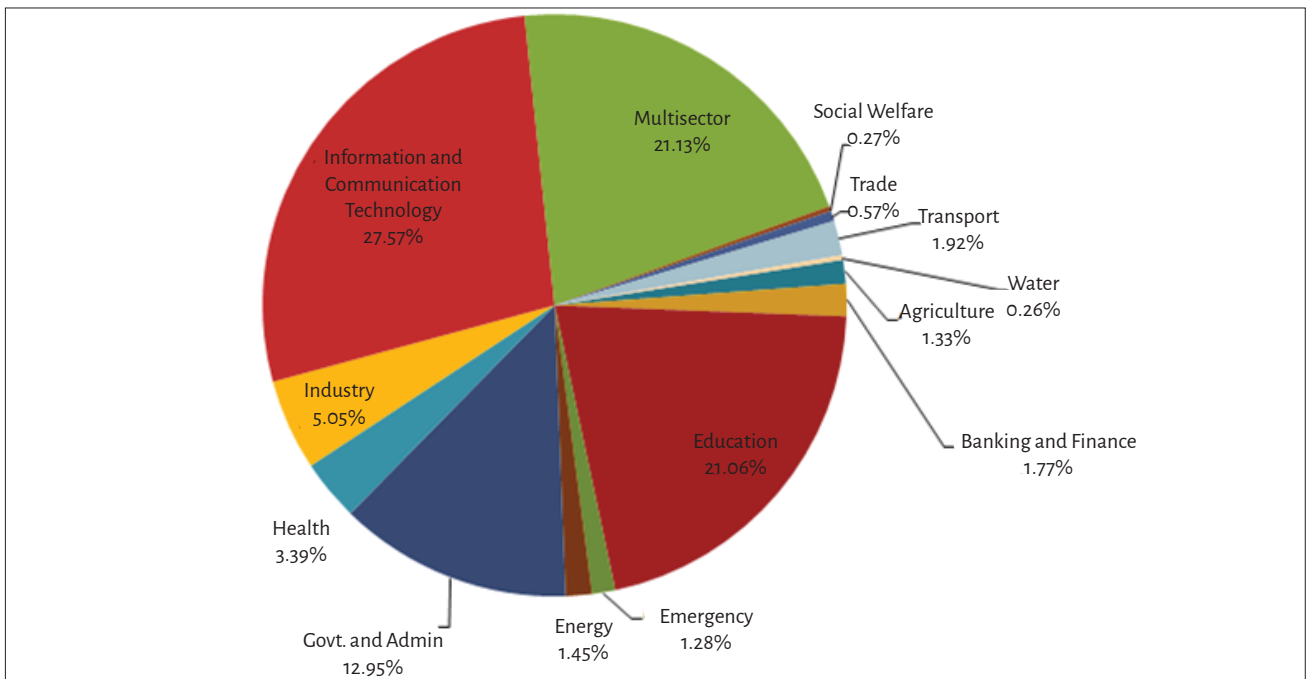
The volume of grants committed to African countries has increased from Rs. 50 million (approximately one million US dollars) in 2000/01 to three billion rupees (approximately US\$ 67 million) in 2013/14. [17] However, the percentage of grants committed to African countries only constitutes an average of four percent of the annual budget of overall Indian grants between 2000/01 and 2013/14. [18] A sectoral break-down of grants to African countries during 2006-13 reveals that 21 percent of these grants were allocated towards education, 28 percent towards information technology, and 21 percent towards multisectoral projects. [19]

Graph 3: Distribution of operative LOCs to African countries according to sector



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

Graph 4: Distribution of grants to African countries according to sector



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

In 2009 the government of India launched the Pan African e-Network in order to help foster digital connections and support development in Africa. The programme's objective was to provide Indian educational and medical support to the participating African countries, remotely, via satellite technology. [20]Telecommunications Consultants India Limited (TCIL), the Indian public sector company, is implementing the project on a turnkey basis through a US\$ 125 million grant. [21] The project will provide tele-

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US\$ 125 million grant. [21] The project will provide tele-consultations with 12 super specialty hospitals in India to selected hospitals in Africa. Indian medical institutions will also offer separate daily consultations, live and offline, to hospitals in the 53 African countries. The project will impart education to 10,000 African students through tele-conferences. [22] [23]

As of 2012, over US\$ 40 million of the 125 million has been spent. [24] By 2013, 12 super specialty hospitals were connected to 48 African hospitals where 460 tele-consultations and over 2,500 CME sessions were conducted. [25] Simultaneously 47 learning centres were connected to five Indian universities, nearly 10,000 students had signed up for various courses and over 3,500 tele-education sessions had been conducted. [26]

Map 1: Countries participating in the pan African e-network



Note: Countries marked in blue are participating nations in the Pan African e-Network.
Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

While the e-Network intends to provide world-class services to African countries and is India's first programme to coherently verbalise the intention of interacting with all 53 countries of the African Union, some practical issues have emerged. The primary issue is the time difference between the two regions which creates a limited window of opportunity for institutions from the two regions to interact during working hours and this issue is compounded by the unfamiliar accents, of the Indian and African professionals have, that impeded communication. [27] While the e-Network is a novel programme, these complications will have to be addressed in order to make the e-Network effective.

INDIAN TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC TRAINING PROGRAMME

One of the first forms of development cooperation offered by the Indian government and indeed the dominant instrument of development cooperation between India and African countries until the 21st century was the Indian Technical and Economic Training Programme (ITEC), and the corollary Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme (SCAAP). [28] The ITEC programme was launched in 1964, as a form of bilateral assistance and capacity building through training programmes, study tours, technology transfers and, in some cases, aid for disaster relief. [29] Africa has received a large portion of ITEC commitments. By 2012, US\$ 2.8 billion had been spent on the programme since its launch in 1964 of which one billion USD had been utilised to support African countries. [30] The Indian government has increased the number of reserved seats in training programmes for Africa from 531 in 2007/08 to 998 in 2010/11. [31] The Indian government, in 2011, also committed itself to offering over 22,000 scholarships to African students over the next three years. [32] This programme has created a network of citizens, from a range of political, civil and business communities in Africa, who have links to India. These links could prove valuable while India forges her ties with Africa in the future.

ANALYSIS: GRANTS AND LOCS IN COMPARISON

Indo-African engagement is undergoing a process of revitalisation. This has resulted in three prominent shifts in the modalities of development cooperation. First, there has been an increase in the overall volume of development cooperation and a more defined focus on LOCs. Second, development cooperation has expanded into West Africa. Third, the sectoral distribution of projects differs markedly, based on the form of development cooperation funding the project.

CHANGES IN THE VOLUME AND THE FORM OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

An analysis of the percentage of Lines of Credit and grants offered to African countries demonstrates India's larger interest in providing LOCs to Africa. While 53 percent of the global commitments of LOCs were directed to African countries between the years 2004/05 to 2011/12, only four percent of global commitments of grants were directed towards Africa during the same period. [33]

The primary reason for the stark difference in these committed percentages is situated in the structure and utility of these two tools of development cooperation. Lines of Credit are tied loans and stipulate that 75 percent of goods and services required for projects be sourced from India. [34] Thus, the very structure of LOCs facilitates the promotion of Indian exports to partner countries. Grants, in comparison, are untied forms of development cooperation and do not foster a market for Indian goods and services.

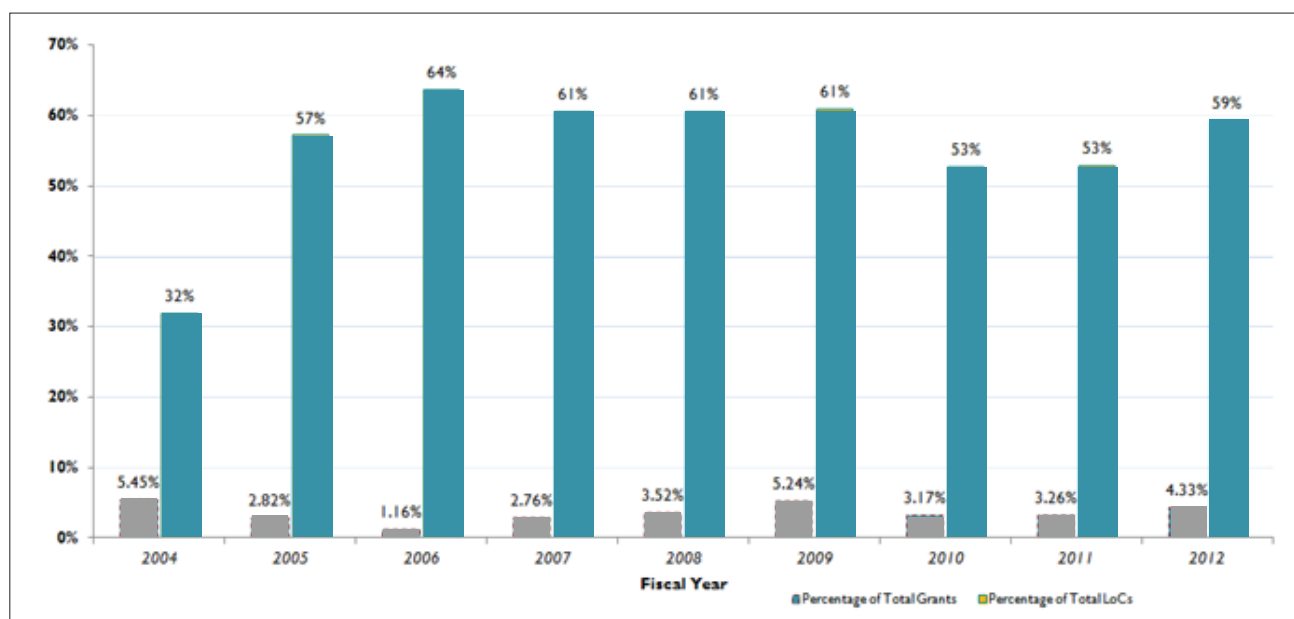
The African market is the second fastest growing market in the world and Africa has a rising rate of private consumption that is set to grow by over US\$ 400 billion in 2020-30. [35] India recognises the potential of African economies and the provision of LOC commitments, in line with India's dictum that development cooperation should be mutually beneficial, are inextricably tied to the possibility of economic opportunity for India in the continent.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

An analysis of the regional distribution of grants and LOCs also demonstrates an emerging trend of focusing on eastern and western African countries. Grants to eastern and western African countries stand at approximately 37 and 36 percent respectively. [36] The LOC data, however, demonstrated a significant difference between commitments to eastern and western African countries at 39 and 30 percent respectively but these two regions were still the top recipients of LOCs. [37]

This movement of credit lines towards West African, including Francophone and Lusophone, countries is a clear shift in Indian development cooperation practices. Historically, India has primarily engaged with Anglophone Commonwealth African countries situated in the eastern and southern Africa as their histories of colonisation and geographic proximity traditionally these African countries to India. [38] West Africa, in comparison, was predominantly colonised by non-British European countries and was not a large player in Indo-African engagement processes. [39]

Graph 5: Percentage of grants and LOCs directed to Africa as a percent of the overall budget of grants and LOCs



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

The shift to west African countries is also apparent in the Techno-Economic Approach to African-Indian Movement (TEAM-9) that was created in 2004 to promote trade and investment in eight West and Central African countries, all located in the oil-rich region of the Gulf of Guinea. An LOC of US\$ 500 million was extended to the group in 2004 and US\$ 200 million was disbursed by 2005 and utilised for a variety of projects including electrification programmes (Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Mali and Senegal), agricultural projects (Burkina Faso, Chad, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Senegal) and Small and Medium Enterprises (Chad, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Mali and Senegal). [40]

This need, to reach out to more African countries and West Africa in particular, is linked to issues of resource security, with a specific focus on oil and gas. India currently imports 75 percent of its oil and this dependence is projected to rise to 90 percent by 2020. [41] India hopes to gain access to African oil and gas resources as the continent currently has 9.5 percent of the world's reserves, to diversify its oil sources and has invested in oil projects in various countries like Sudan, Nigeria, Libya and Egypt. [42] India is also interested in minerals, coal, precious metals and other natural resources to support the expanding Indian economy. [43]

SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION

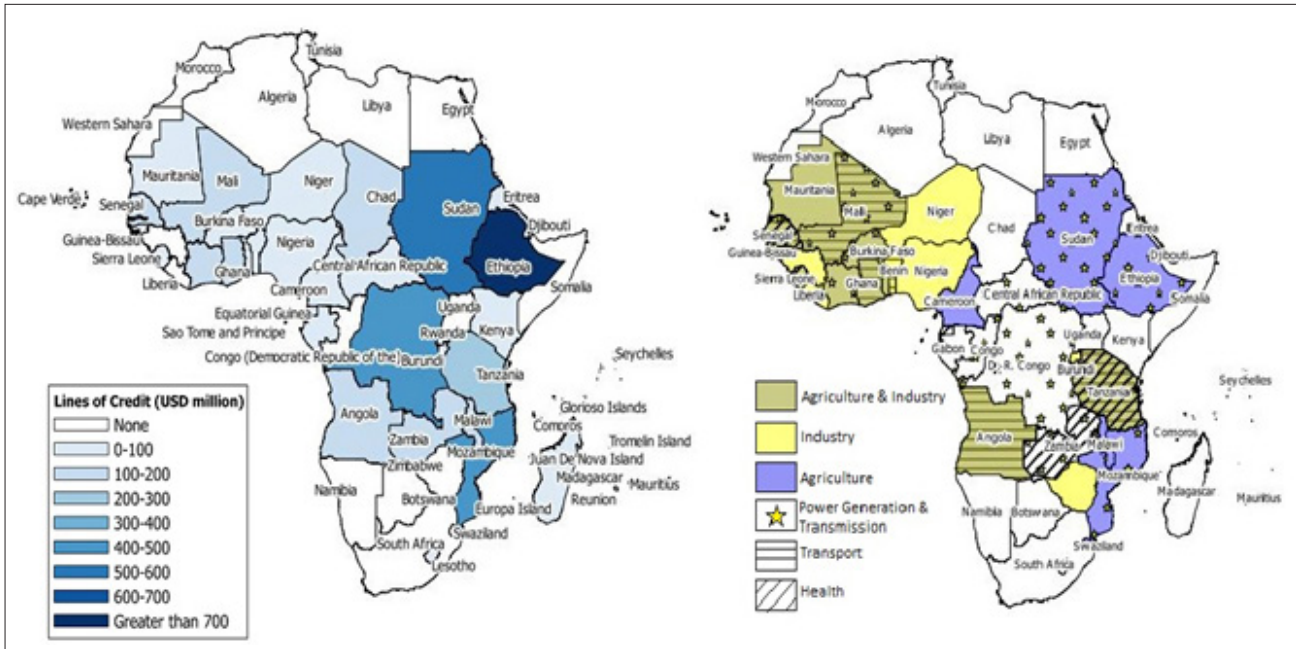
Grants to Africa are still an important component of the Indian development cooperation portfolio as the broad

objective of grants is to 'generate goodwill'. [44] In terms of sectoral distribution, between 2009 and 2011, the bulk of the funding from grants was committed to education and information technology programmes, while the operative LOCs focused on industrial agriculture and energy. [45] By 2013, grants were available in 47 of the 54 African countries, as opposed to the 37 African countries that have LOC-based projects. [46] This wide access of grants to more countries along with the fact that grants and LOCs feed different projects helps Indian development cooperation cover more ground both in terms of region and projects and helps build goodwill between India and African countries.

DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND GOODWILL

The 'goodwill' generated through development cooperation with African nations can be utilised by the Indian government to gather support to change the governance bodies of global institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as these institutions have limited representation of low and middle income countries. [47] India is keen on increasing its influence in these institutions and will require support from other countries to do so. Through India's engagement with Africa, India has the potential to gain the support of the 53 countries of the African Union to bring about these changes. [48]

Diagram 1: Value and sector-based divisions of LOCs



Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

SITUATING INDIAN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF AID

Indian development cooperation efforts in Africa are, on balance, not commensurate with either those of China or traditional donors. Committed official flows of Chinese development cooperation to Africa were above US\$ 20 billion according to the 2011 White Paper by the Chinese government but there are also studies of newspaper sources that indicate that Chinese aid to Africa might lie well above this figure. [49] Aid flows from the United States during the same time period amounted to US\$ 90 billion and traditional OECD-DAC flows amounted to a staggering US\$ 404 billion. [50] Indian development cooperation during the period of 2000/01 to 2013/14 amounted to 1.3 billion rupees (approximately US\$ 289 million) and the value of operational LOCs in African countries between 2004/05 and 2011/12 was US\$ 4.3 billion, reaching over US\$5 billion by mid 2013. [51]

The importance of Indian development cooperation lies in the niche it fills and its complementarity to both Chinese and traditional aid. [52] Chinese aid focuses on large-scale infrastructure projects, while traditional aid focuses on social projects. India focuses on infrastructure projects, but on a smaller scale than China and uses adaptable Indian knowledge in industrial agriculture, communication and internet technology to support projects that may be overlooked by China and traditional donors. Furthermore, Indian ITEC training of civil servants is provided at significantly

lower cost than that of traditional donors and has the advantage of providing the training in English.

The process of India's development cooperation with African countries is effectively redefining the international architecture of aid since Indian development differs from that of traditional donors. First, India has always maintained that its development cooperation is based on a partnership for mutual benefit. In line with this thinking, the flow of Indian development cooperation with Africa is closely tied to commercial interests of trade and investment. [53] Second, the evolution of Indian development assistance and its own geopolitical location in a neighbourhood where it is the sole long-time democracy has led India to disregard differences in political systems and officially stick to the principle of non-interference. In its partnerships with African countries this has meant that India has largely not commented on internal political issues within countries [54] and indeed has disregarded the risks associated with investing in non-democratic countries. For example, 60 percent of India's operative LOCs are currently routed to countries governed by 'authoritarian regimes' with limited access to electoral processes, civil liberties, political participation, and other associated processes. [55] The potential scope for uprisings and indeed regime change within these countries is high and yet Indian development cooperation does not account for these risks. Third, Indian development cooperation is largely demand-driven, due to both historical evolution and capacity within the Ministry of External Affairs. Yet,

while this is touted as a more egalitarian approach to development, it is largely dependent also on the capacity within the receiving country, making it difficult for some countries in Africa where there is low capacity to identify the type of development assistance needed from India to engage in development cooperation with India.

In addition, Indian development cooperation trends in Africa in particular demonstrate a larger narrative of economic diplomacy undergirding India's development assistance program. Built on the notion of South-South cooperation, Indian development cooperation is rooted in the commercial interests of access to African markets and the rich natural resources. The objective of garnering support to reform international institutions has also influenced development assistance efforts in the region. Finally, the relationship between non-traditional and traditional donors has ensured a unique space for India. India cannot hope to compete with large donors such as the United States or China. Yet

the legitimacy it enjoys among many African countries through its decades of engagement in technical assistance and training and the expertise it brings in relevant and appropriate technology should not be underestimated. As Indian development cooperation in African countries continues to increase, the nature of its engagement is likely to impact the global development assistance paradigm, thereby further highlighting Indian engagement in the African continent.

Disclaimer: The values quoted in this article are based on initial calculations by IDCR from publicly available data sources and/or from IDCR's interactions with officials from the Government of India. These values are believed to be accurate, but not guaranteed. They may change as IDCR identifies and addresses discrepancies in the publicly available data. When quoting from this article, please indicate the date it was last updated.

ENDNOTES

1. 1.(The Economist, 2000)(The Economist, 2011).
2. In the 2008 India Africa Forum Summit India (IAFS – I) announced that the country would offer US\$ 5.4 billion to Africa, only US\$ 2 billion of this amount was committed to Africa. During the second India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS – II) in 2011, India offered African countries US\$ six billion in lines of credit. The total sum of these amounts would be US\$ 11.4billion; however if the US\$ 5 billion offered in the IAFS-II was in part financed by the unused amount if the IAFS-I, then the sum of the amounts offered would be US\$ 8 billion. (Singh, M. 2011) (Government of India-African Union, 2008) (Ministry of External Affairs, 2011) (Verma, 2013) (Kaur, 2011b).
3. (Exim Bank, 2004 to 2012).
4. (Exim Bank 2011).
5. (Banerji Bhattacharya, 2010)(Beri, 2005) (Ramamurthi, 1997) (Ministry of External Affairs, 2012).
6. (Indo-African Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Undated).
7. (CII-Exim Bank India, 2013) (CII-Exim Bank India, 2012) (Indo-Asian News Service, 2013).
8. (Department of Commerce 2013).
9. (Department of Commerce 2013).
10. (Sinha, 2010) (Public Diplomacy Division, Undated).
11. (Sinha, 2010) (Public Diplomacy Division, Undated).
12. (Government of India-African Union, 2008).
13. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2011) (Verma, 2013) (Kaur, 2011b).
14. (Varma, 2011).
15. (Exim bank 2011).
16. Calculations made by IDCR based on Operative Lines of Credit from Export Import Bank Website. (Accessed May 2, 2013).
17. Calculations made by IDCR based on Grants and Loans to Foreign Governments, India Budget 2000/01 - 2013/14. Conversion based on average INR-USD conversion rate of 45 rupees to a US dollar.
18. Calculations made by IDCR based on Grants and Loans to Foreign Governments, India Budget 2000/01 - 2013/14.
19. Explain why using only these time lines and give link to article.
20. (Pan Africa, undated).
21. (Pan Africa, undated).
22. (MEA, 2013) (Tandon, undated).
23. Mawdsley and McCann 2011).
24. IDCR Calculations based on Outcome Budgets of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India 2008-09 to 2012-13.
25. (MEA, 2013) (Tandon, undated).
26. (MEA, 2013) (Tandon, undated)(Pan Africa, undated).
27. (Duclos, V, 2011).
28. (Saran, 2012).
29. (ITEC, undated).
30. (Saran, 2012).
31. (Ministry of External Affairs, undated) (High Commission to Zambia, 2012) (Ministry of External Affairs, 2011).
32. (Kaur, P 2011 A).
33. Calculations made by IDCR based on Grants and Loans to Foreign Governments, India Budget 2000/01 - 2013/14 and Calculations made by IDCR based on Operative Lines of Credit from Export Import Bank Website. (Accessed May 2, 2013).
34. (Mullen and Jain, 2013).
35. (Hattingh, 2012).
36. IDCR Calculations based on Outcome Budgets of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India 2009-10 to 2011-12.
37. 37.Calculations made by IDCR based on Annual Reports if the Export Import Bank 2004-05 to 2011-12 (Accessed March 3, 2013).
38. (Singh, 2007).
39. (Singh, 2007).
40. Burkina Faso, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Senegal (Cheru and Obi, 2011)(Suri, 2011).
41. (Naidu, 2010) (Deloitte, 2011).

42. (Naidu, 2010) (Deloitte, 2011).
43. (Naidu, 2010) (Deloitte, 2011).
44. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2012b) Ministry of External Affairs (2012b) Outcome Budget 2011-12, Government of India, pg 224.
45. Calculations made by IDCR based on Operative Lines of Credit from Export Import Bank Website. (Accessed May 2, 2013).
46. Calculations made by IDCR based on Operative Lines of Credit from Export Import Bank Website. (Accessed May 2, 2013) and Calculations made by IDCR based on Grants and Loans to Foreign Governments, India Budget 2000/01 - 2013/14.
47. (Griffith-Jones, 2002) (International Monetary Fund, 2013) (The United Nations Security Council, Undated) (The British Broadcasting Centre, 2012) (Fisher, 2008).
48. (Sinha, 2010).
49. US\$ 20 billion according to the Chinese White Paper on Foreign Aid, however a more recent study by Aiddata on Chinese aid to Africa pegs the amount at US\$ 75 billion dollars. While there are issues with the Aiddata study and given that there is conspicuous absence of project level reliable data from China, the exact amount of aid to Africa from China could be pegged as between the China White paper and the Aiddata report. (Information Office of the State Council, 2011) (Strange et. Al, 2013).
50. (Strange et. Al, 2013).
51. Calculations made by IDCR based on Grants and Loans to Foreign Governments, India Budget 2000/01 - 2013/14 and Calculations made by IDCR based on Operative Lines of Credit from Export Import Bank Website and discussion with Mrs. Poojary of Exim Bank on May 24, 2013. (Accessed May 2, 2013) Conversion based on average INR-USD conversion rate of 45 rupees to a US dollar.
52. (Jager, undated) (UNCTAD, 2013) liv (Ministry of External Affairs, 2005) lv On a scale of Full Democracy, Flawed Democracy, Hybrid Regimes, Authoritarian Regimes and failed States (The Economist, 2012) (Kekic, L. 2007). (Exim Bank, 2013).
53. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2005).
54. On a scale of Full Democracy, Flawed Democracy, Hybrid Regimes, Authoritarian Regimes and failed States (The Economist, 2012) (Kekic, L. 2007). (Exim Bank, 2013).

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