

INDIA'S REINVIGORATED RELATIONSHIP WITH AFRICA

Updated on December 16, 2016

Dr Rani D Mullen

Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program, Centre for Policy Research

Kashyap Arora

Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program, Centre for Policy Research

ABSTRACT

The 21st century is witnessing a substantial re-engagement of India and Africa. Though India and Africa have a history dating back millennia, bilateral relations for most of the 20th century were tepid as each focused inward, first on anti-colonial struggles and then on building up their independent countries. However, since the turn of the century India has re-engage with Africa as both experienced significant economic growth and face similar development challenges on their path towards sustained progress. Acknowledging the importance of mutual cooperation, both India and African countries have been engaging with each other through bilateral and multilateral initiatives, including the Pan-African e-network, India-Africa Forum Summits, such initiatives signal India and Africa's mutual interest in strengthening their relationship and South-South cooperation. Furthermore, in a changing global order where OECD countries are experiencing low growth trends and with the emergence of new multilateral institutions such as the BRICS countries-led New Development Bank, these rising powers are influencing global governance, geoeconomics, as well as the global development architecture. This report analyzes the changing India-Africa relationship, with a special focus on development partnerships between the two regions and the future potential of the relationship.

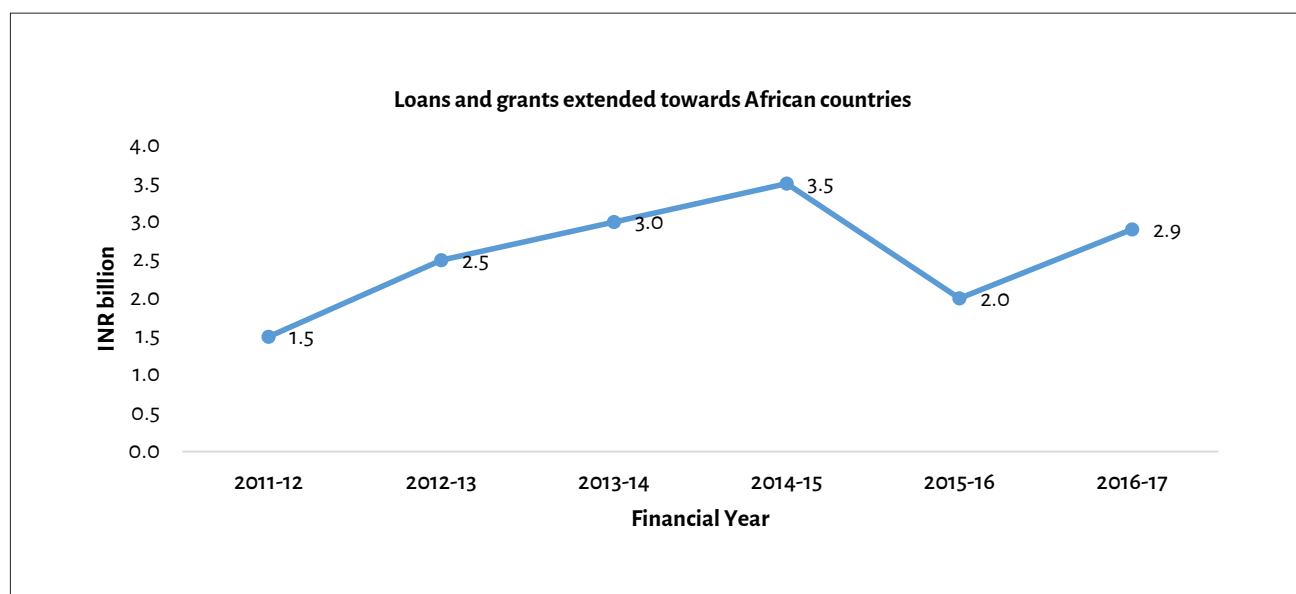
INTRODUCTION

The relationship between India and Africa dates back centuries and has been based primarily on trade, movement of peoples, and cultural exchanges. Further, during the second half of the 20th century, this relationship was one largely based on political, ideological ties and some trade. However, over the past decade India's relationship with countries in Africa has undergone a huge transformation to a one focused on building mutually beneficial economic and political relationships. The changing Indo-African relationship is characterized by a greater focus on capacity building, development cooperation, and economic and technological initiatives. Crucially, India now views its development cooperation with Africa not merely in economic terms, but as a process that is sustainable only if located within a larger political, social and intellectual environment.¹



India's reinvigorated relation with the African continent today takes place at three different levels: Pan-African, regional, and bilateral. Furthermore, India's relation with Africa has also been fostered by a comprehensive set of diplomatic mechanisms and summits such as the India – Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), India Regional Economic Communities (RECs) meetings, annual India – Africa trade ministers meeting, regular meetings of joint working groups, inter-governmental joint commissions, foreign office consultations, and business enclaves. These also include the crucial 'Pan-African e-Network' project and interactions at various multilateral forums such as the 'Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation' (IOR – ARC).²

Figure 2: Graph highlighting the sum of Loans and grants committed towards Africa in the Expenditure budget



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

MAIN FACETS OF INDIA'S PAN-AFRICAN ENGAGEMENT

A crucial element of India's engagement with Africa has been its rising pan-African nature. It includes five broad areas of engagement: India-Africa Business Conclaves, India Africa Hydrocarbons Conference (IAHC), India Africa Forum Summits (IAFS), institutionalized cooperation with African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and India's flagship Pan African e-Network project. Organizations such as the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) have also been instrumental in creating a business platform enabling African and Indian companies to come together and strike deals through regular conclaves, particularly the 'Conclave on India-Africa Project Partnership'.³

Regular state-level interactions through the India-Africa Forum Summits (held in April 2008, May 2011, and October 2015), have also provided opportunities for consultation at the highest political level between government representatives of multiple African nations and the Indian government. These summits have helped refocus the India-Africa relationship on economic and development cooperation issues, especially human resource development and technical capacity building. They have also helped devising concrete development partnership projects. In particular, the third India-Africa Forum Summit also provided an unique opportunity for wider discussions on a range of key global issues important to India, including the reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).⁴

The Government of India also followed up on the third India-Africa Forum Summit with a forty- five percent increase in its Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) 'loans and grants' development assistance commitments towards Africa for the fiscal year 2016-17.⁵ Furthermore, at the pan-African level, India has also established the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Government of India Forum, which links India with 14 countries from southern Africa. India also offered capacity building support to the 'Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa' (COMESA) and the 'East African Community' (EAC) with whom it has also signed memorandum of understanding (MoUs) for cooperation. India also became a member of the 'African Union (AU) Partners Group' (AUPG).⁶ The AUPG serves as a forum for partner countries to coordinate and engage with the African Union on political as well as development issues and meets periodically in the Addis Ababa.⁷

Pan-African e-Network

Of all the Government of India initiatives in Africa, the project with the largest visibility and pan-African impact has been the Pan- African e-Network, which was inaugurated in February 2009. The e-network project was initially conceived and approved by India's Union Cabinet in July 2007 at a budgeted cost of US\$ 125 million. This initial cost was to cover the cost of supply, installation, testing and commissioning of hardware and software, end-to-end connectivity, satellite bandwidth, and operations and maintenance (O&M) support along with provision of tele-education and tele-medicine services to fifty-three African countries for five years. In 2010, the project

was also awarded the Hermes Prize for Innovation by the European Institute of Creative Strategies and Innovation.⁸ Seeing the success of the project, a share of the recent grant of US\$ 600 million committed by India during the third India-Africa Forum Summit in 2015 was also earmarked for further expansion of the Pan African E-Network.⁹

Figure 1: Map representing African countries (highlighted in blue) that have participated in the Pan African e Network



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

The network has also been equipped to offer e-governance, e-commerce, infotainment, resource mapping and meteorological services in participating African countries, besides providing VVIP connectivity among the Heads of State of African countries through a highly secure closed satellite network.¹⁰ Moreover, within the network, tele-education services have already been set up in five Indian universities (e.g. Amity University, University of New Delhi and University of Madras) and five regional university centers in Africa (e.g. Makerere University in Uganda, Yaounde University in Cameroon and Alexandria Faculty of Commerce in Egypt). The Indian government has also set up tele-medicine services in twelve super specialty hospitals of India (including in HCG Bangalore, All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in New Delhi, and Apollo hospitals in Chennai) and five regional super specialty hospitals in Africa (e.g. Super Specialty Hospital in Nigeria, Republic of Congo and Mauritius). Forty-eight learning centers, forty-three VVIP Nodes (for video-conferencing and Voice over IP among the Heads of States) and forty-nine patient end hospitals have also been set up in various African countries.¹¹

Within the e-network program, around 10,000 African students were also registered by the end of 2013 with Indian universities for various postgraduate, undergraduate and

certificate courses.¹² Thus, overall, the e-network project, which is Africa's biggest ever in the information and communication technologies (ICT) sector, has been instrumental in assisting Africa to overcome the digital divide. It has also been successful in creating demand for India's tertiary health and education services provided at a fraction of their cost in upper-income countries.¹⁴

India-Africa Forum Summits

While analyzing India-Africa ties, it is important to understand that both India and Africa have much to gain from cooperative initiatives especially considering their common interest in crucial global issues such as reforming of the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Moreover, India's growing economic and global position, along with the fact that Africa carries significant weight in multilateral fora such as the United Nations General Assembly by virtue of the large number of countries in Africa, many of which are doing well economically, make the India-African relationship a significant and mutually beneficial partnership. Also, given the commonalities in development challenges confronting the two regions, strong partnerships in the form of greater south-south development cooperation, economic as well as bilateral agreements in areas of comparative advantage are mutually beneficial.¹⁵ Recognizing these benefits of stronger Indo-Africa ties, the two partners have convened India-Africa Forum Summits at regular intervals since 2008. These summits have also provided a structured platform for political and economic interaction between Indian and African leaders.¹⁶

The first and second India-Africa Forum Summits were structured on the Banjul Formula (2006), which was adopted by the African Union in 2006 at its summit in Banjul, Gambia.¹⁷ Following this formula only a select few African leaders were invited to the first two summits. However, by the third summit, India parted with the Banjul formula and invited all 54 African countries, which resulted in the grandest India-Africa Forum Summit to date.¹⁸



Source: 3rd India-Africa Forum Summit

First India-Africa Forum Summit, 2008

The First India-Africa Forum Summit was held in April 2008 in New Delhi and signified India's deepening commitments towards the African continent. Crucial initiatives undertaken by India during the summit focused on increased Indian financial cooperation with Africa, including an increase in India's Lines of Credit (LOCs) extended towards Africa to US\$ 5.4 billion and US\$ 500 million in grants between the period 2008 to 2013.¹⁹ The summit also introduced a Duty-Free Tariff Preference Scheme for Least Developed Countries (LDCs) with 34 of 35 identified LDCs belonging to Africa. Additional financial support in the form of a US\$ 300 million credit line to the 'New Partnership for Africa's Development' (NEPAD) program, and an increase in the 'Aid to Africa' budget for projects in areas of capacity building and human resource development. Furthermore, the Indian government increased the number of Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) training slots offered annually to Africa from 1,100 to 1,600, as well as doubled the number of long-term scholarships offered for graduate and postgraduate studies to 500.²⁰

Second India-Africa Forum Summit, 2011

The second India-Africa Forum Summit, "Enhancing Partnership: Shared Vision" was held in May 2011 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This summit was crucial to enhance bilateral engagements since it served as a platform for looking at the achievements of the first summit and focused on further strengthening the India-Africa partnership. During the summit, the Indian government announced a comprehensive financial commitment towards the African continent that was to be spread over the next three years. This commitment included comprised of LOCs and grants worth US\$ 5 billion and US\$ 700 million respectively. The grants were intended to support the establishment of new institutions and training programs. In the field of human resource development, New Delhi also committed a substantial number of scholarships and training slots to the African continent, with a total tally of 22,000 scholarships committed towards the African continent over the three-year period between 2011-2014. India also committed to help in establishment of over eighty new institutions in consultation with African Union, including institutions at the Pan-African, regional and bilateral levels. New collaborative institutions were also to be set up in sectors such as agriculture, rural development, food processing, soil, water testing laboratories, integrated textile cluster, weather forecasting, life and earth science, information technology, vocational training, English language centers and entrepreneurial development institutes.²¹

Several conferences and workshops were also initiated to ensure increased efficiency of the summit recommendations and outcomes. For example, the 'India-Africa Trade Ministers Dialogue', which was first organized in May 2011, now takes

place on an annual basis. This ministerial-level annual meeting focuses on trade-related bilateral issues and assesses the progress made in meeting targets set during the Summits.²² The ministerial-level annual meeting determined that approximately US\$ 3.5 billion in Indian credit lines had been utilized by African countries by October 2015.²³

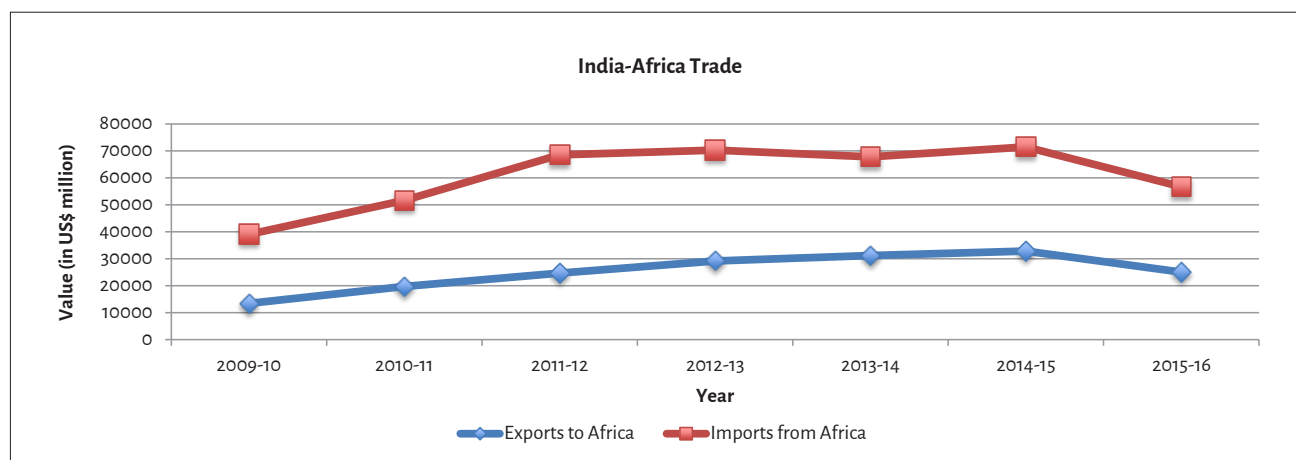
Third India-Africa Forum Summit, 2015

The Third India-Africa Forum Summit was held in New Delhi during October 2015 and was the largest such gathering between India and heads of African states. It was also the first such summit to be hosted by Indian Prime Minister Modi. Forty-one heads of state and hundreds of senior officials from fifty-four of the fifty-five African countries attended the summit, making it the grandest of all India-Africa Forum Summits.²⁴ India invited specialized Africa-centric organizations such as the African Development Bank and UNAIDS, along with countries including Singapore and United Arab Emirates to act as special observers to the summit.²⁵ Global issues discussed during the summit included the future scope of global food security, trading regimes, terrorism, and climate change. There were also discussions on measures to enhance India-Africa mutual support in specific fields pertaining to the formation of the UN Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism, Continental Free Trade Area-Negotiating Forum (CFTA-NF), greater cooperation among countries with great potential for using solar energy, public stockholding food security, safeguard mechanisms in agriculture for developing countries, and reform and expansion of the UNSC.²⁶

During the summit the Indian government also significantly increased its development initiatives in Africa by making commitments for additional concessional credit lines worth US\$ 10 billion. These LOCs are to be extended to African countries between 2015 and 2020, along with new grants worth US\$ 600 million. The grant package also included a US\$ 100 million India-Africa Development Fund for infrastructure creation, US\$ 10 million India-Africa Health Fund to build capacity by training African health-care workers and researchers in Indian hospitals, and fifty thousand scholarships for training and studying in India between 2015 and 2020, India also committed to the continuation of support for expanding the Pan African e-Network project and institutions of skilling, training, and learning across Africa.²⁷

Overall, the cooperative measures undertaken during the India-Africa summits provide further impetus to African countries to resurrect struggling sectors such as agriculture and health care through greater Indian technological inputs and capacity development initiatives. India, on the other hand, relies heavily on the African continent for fulfilling its ever-expanding energy demands, for African backing in the United Nations General Assembly for India's aspiration of greater

Figure 3: Graph highlighting bilateral trade relation between India and Africa (2009-10 to 2014-15)



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

representation on the UNSC, and increased voting rights allocations for India at the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.²⁸

TRADE AND INVESTMENT FLOWS BETWEEN INDIA AND AFRICA

Trade Relations

Although India's trade relationship with Africa is not as large in volume as that with China, however, it has witnessed an impressive fifteen-fold growth between 2000-01 to 2014-15, growing from around US\$ 4.5 billion in 2000-01 to approximately US\$ 71.5 billion in 2014-15.²⁹ Moreover, at the Annual India Economic Summit (2014) hosted by the World Economic Forum, African leaders and Indian industrialists set an informal bilateral trade target of US\$ 500 billion to be reached by 2020. This trade surge is expected to be primarily led by India's growing energy needs, since from 2005 onward India's rapid economic growth led to huge increases in India's imports of minerals and fuels from Africa. Apart from oil, Africa also continues to be an important source of coal, natural gas and uranium. The rise in crude oil imports from Africa has been accompanied by a simultaneous growth in India's exports of refined petroleum products to Africa, largely as a result of Africa's limited and India's surplus refining capacity. The decade between 2006 and 2016 also witnessed a marked increase in agricultural trade between India and Africa, though India's agricultural exports to Africa increased mainly due to exports of non-basmati rice exports. African countries also discovered India as a major destination for its cash crops. Moreover, African agricultural imports towards India are likely to get a boost in the future due to India's Duty Free Tariff Preference (DFTP) Scheme, which gives an added advantage to imports from Africa's Least Developed Countries (LDCs).³⁰

Over the past decade Indian exports to Africa have also moved up the value chain with the overall composition of Indian exports to Africa being much more diversified and technology intensive, led by pharmaceuticals, electronics and communication materials. However, exports from Africa to India remain concentrated in a few commodities of which crude oil remains the largest.³¹

Investment Flows

India-Africa investment flows, particularly Indian private sector investments, have witnessed a substantial growth over the past decade. India is the fifth largest investor in Africa behind US, France, Malaysia and China.³² Indian private sector companies have made extensive investments in new ventures across range of sectors, including telecommunications, energy, power, healthcare, agribusiness, information and communications and pharmaceuticals among many others.³³ Some of the prominent Indian multinational enterprises (MNEs) operating in Africa include the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Limited (ONGC) and Essar in the hydrocarbon sector, Vedanta resources in copper mines, Arcelor Mittal in iron ore mining, TATA Steel in Ferro chrome project, IFFCO in fertilizer production, Bharti Airtel in telecom, Ranbaxy and Cipla in pharmaceuticals and Mahindra in tractors, spanning across multiple African countries. Indian ICT companies such as Infosys, Wipro and Tech Mahindra have also displayed an understanding of the needs of African markets. India's largest telecom operator in Africa, i.e. Bharti Airtel, already runs networks in seventeen African countries. Agriculture has also emerged as an important and innovative field for collaboration between India and Africa. Companies like Jain Irrigation have made investments in African countries including Kenya, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Nigeria to bring water conservation

practices in Africa.³⁴ However, in contrast to the increased investments from Indian private sector in Africa, the rise in direct African investments to India have been mainly through the island-state of Mauritius. The island state was the second largest source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows to India during 2015-16, with total flows amounting to US\$ 8.4 billion.³⁵

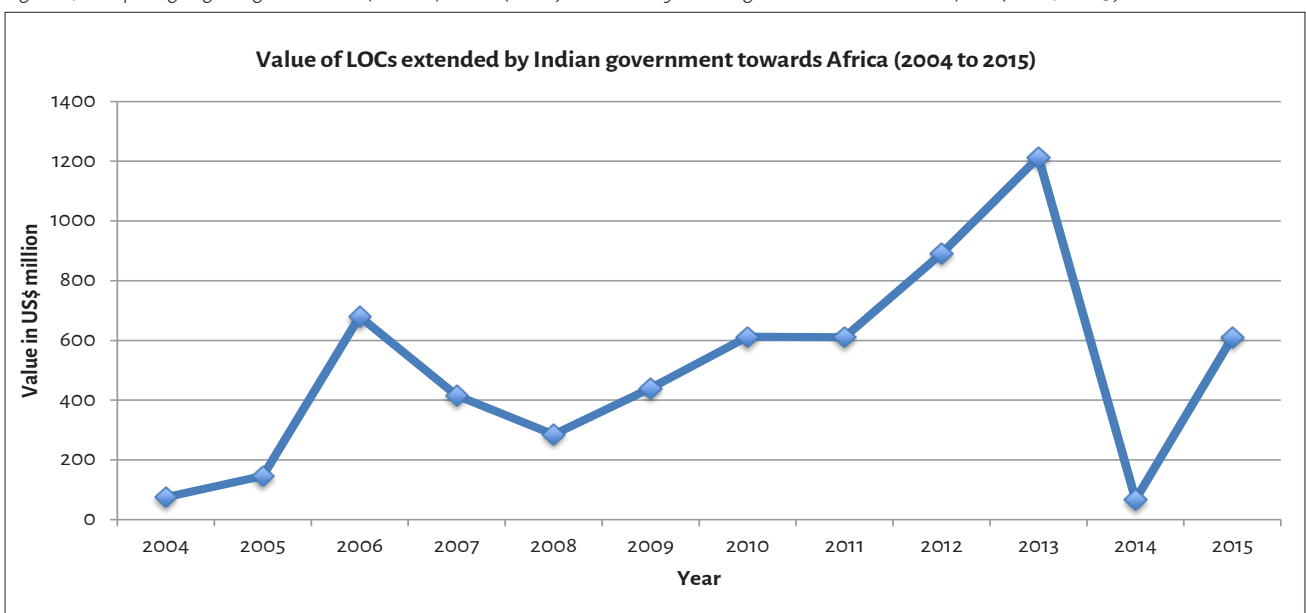
Significant opportunities for promotion of bilateral investments between the two regions have emerged mainly due to the Indian government's signing of multiple agreements and memorandum of understanding (MoUs) with its African partners in areas of agriculture, labor, science and technology, coal, mineral resources, oil & gas. These agreements have been accompanied by devising of newer platforms such as India-Africa Business Conclaves, India – Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), annual India – Africa Trade Ministers meeting, Indo-Africa ICT Expositions and regular high level bilateral diplomatic visits to strengthen commerce ties between India and Africa.³⁶ Further, given Africa's growing consumer markets and India's launch of its 'Make in India' program, the African continent holds great potential for the Indian corporate sector. Similarly, the agricultural potential of the African continent is enormous given that 60% of the world's cultivated arable land is in sub-Saharan Africa. Africa also has vast natural resources and mineral deposits, which Indian companies have already started mining and buying in order to use them to produce consumable goods in India and then sell these products back to African countries.³⁷ Trade and financial flows between India and African countries has

increased significantly over the past decade and will continue to do so given mutual interests.³⁸

DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND AFRICA

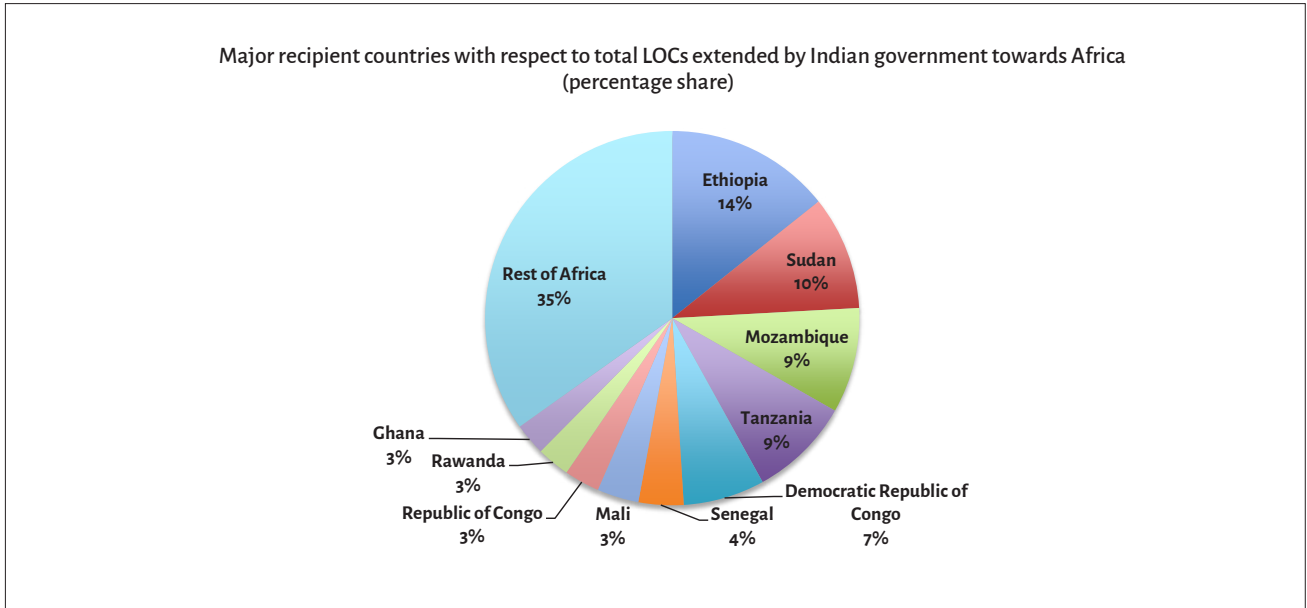
Due to a common colonial history, India's development cooperation with Africa was historically largely limited to Anglophone African countries and to technical cooperation and training programs. However, since the turn of the century, the nature of India's development cooperation with Africa has experienced a significant change, with India emerging as a prominent development partner across Africa. This can be seen from India's recent development initiatives, including investments worth US\$10 billion and US\$2 billion towards francophone and lusophone African countries respectively.³⁹ India's development cooperation with African countries has also evolved to incorporate varied avenues such as trade and investment, capacity building, technology transfer, grants and concessional loans.⁴⁰ Moreover, India is also fostering development cooperation with Africa through several new initiatives, such as launching of the India-Africa Forum Summits, becoming a full time member of the African Capacity Building Foundation, launching of a special 'Team 9' initiative connecting India with francophone Africa, and contributing significantly towards U.N.-mandated missions in Africa.⁴¹ However, arguably the most significant and popular aspects of India's development cooperation program are its principles of non-conditionality, no policy prescriptions, and respect towards the sovereignty of partner nations. This is exemplified

Figure 4: Graph highlighting the value of lines of credit (LOCs) extended by Indian government towards Africa (2004-2015)



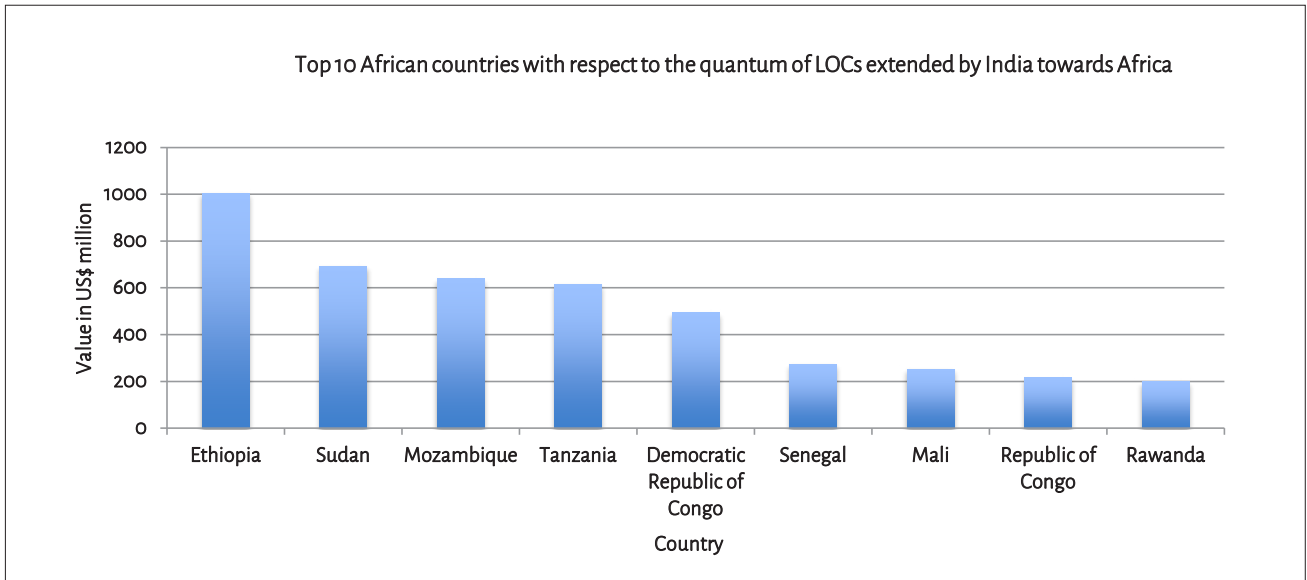
Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

Figure 5: Pie chart (A) Major recipients of Government of Indian line of credits extended towards Africa (till FY 2015-16)



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

Figure 5: Graph (B) Top 10 African recipient countries of Indian government lines of credit (till FY 2015-16)



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

through India's government-to-government approach. As a result of these principles, the development cooperation projects undertaken by India in Africa are based on recipient nation's demands and are implemented in a consultative and collaborative manner, often using the country's domestic workforce, particularly on grant projects. India's development cooperation also offers the advantage of low-cost training and study programs in English. Overall contrasts with the aid allocation and contracting policies of most developed countries, as well as those of some developing countries such as China and gives India a comparative advantage in the development assistance field.

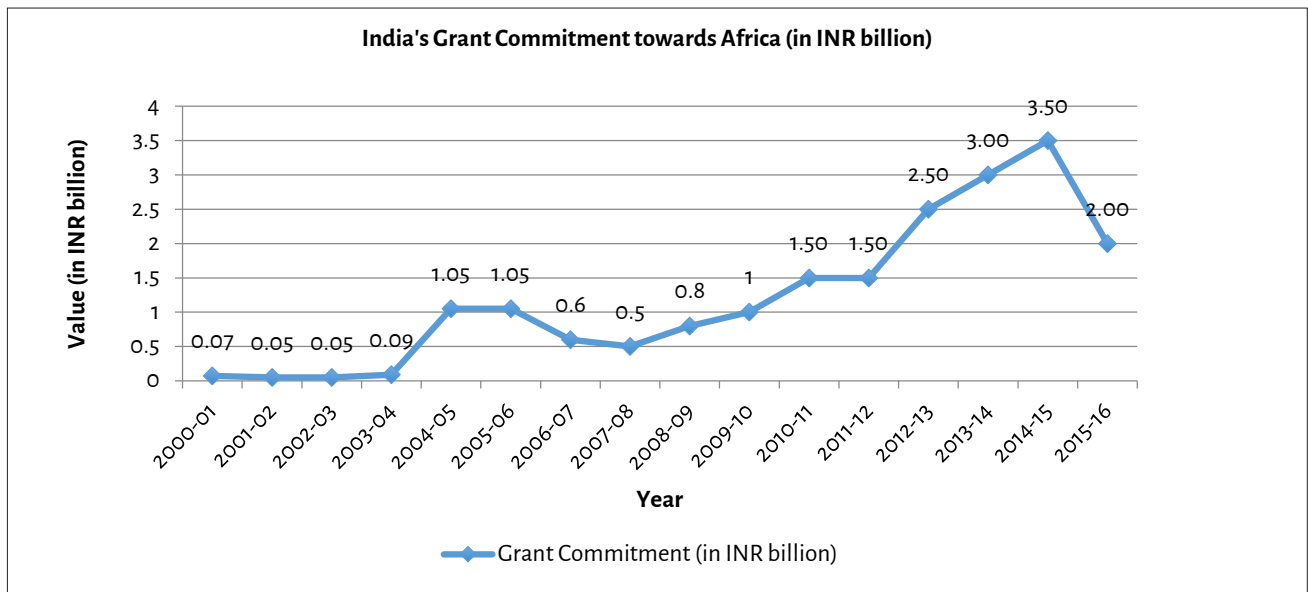
The next section analyzes India's three main instruments for undertaking development initiatives in Africa: lines of credit (LOCs), grants and (c) capacity building training program, schemes and scholarships, most of which operate under India's flagship Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program.⁴²

LINES OF CREDIT (LOCs)

India views its LOCs as an integral part of engaging in "mutually beneficial" development partnerships. Crucially, LOCs also provides impetus Indian exports. Around fifty-eight percent of the total credit lines extended by the Indian government between 2006 and April 2015 have been

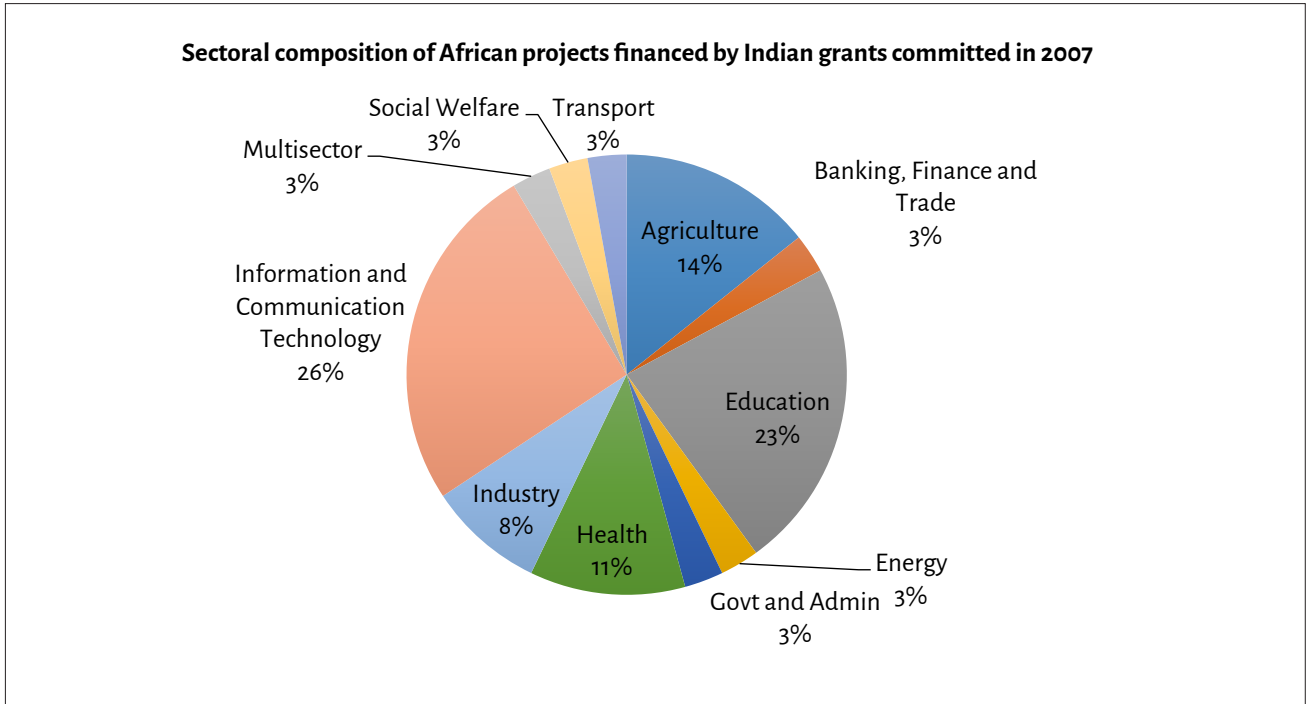
directed towards Africa.⁴³ Moreover, approximately sixty-five percent of the loan package extended by the Indian government during the first and second India-Africa Forum Summits were disbursed by January 2015.⁴⁴ This in turn has been followed by an announcement during the third India-Africa Forum Summit that LOCs worth US\$ 10 billion will be disbursed over the five year period from 2015 to 2020.⁴⁵ Furthermore, India has also dispensed concessional credit to Africa through Export Import Bank of India (EXIM bank) for approximately 137 projects in various sectors including agriculture, industry, and information technology, energy, infrastructure development, healthcare, and transportation.⁴⁶ Some of the projects in Africa, which are currently financed through Indian government credit lines include an industrial park and textile project in Angola, a power plant in Comoros (Moroni), hydro-electric power project in Democratic Republic of Congo, a rural electrification project in the Republic of Congo, a 28 MW nyaborongo hydropower project in Rwanda, a rural electrification and fisheries development project in Senegal, water supply augmentation project in Tanzania, sugar factories in Ethiopia, and health posts in Zambia. Future Indian LOC-financed projects include a light rapid transport project in Mauritius (US\$ 200 million), a hydroelectric project in Burkina Faso (US\$ 184 million), an agriculture-strengthening project in Ghana (US\$ 150 million), Mauritania's solar diesel hybrid rural electricity project, Senegal's rice self sufficiency program, and an electrification expansion project in Gambia.⁴⁷

Figure 6: India's grant commitments towards Africa in INR billion, 2000-01 to 2015-16



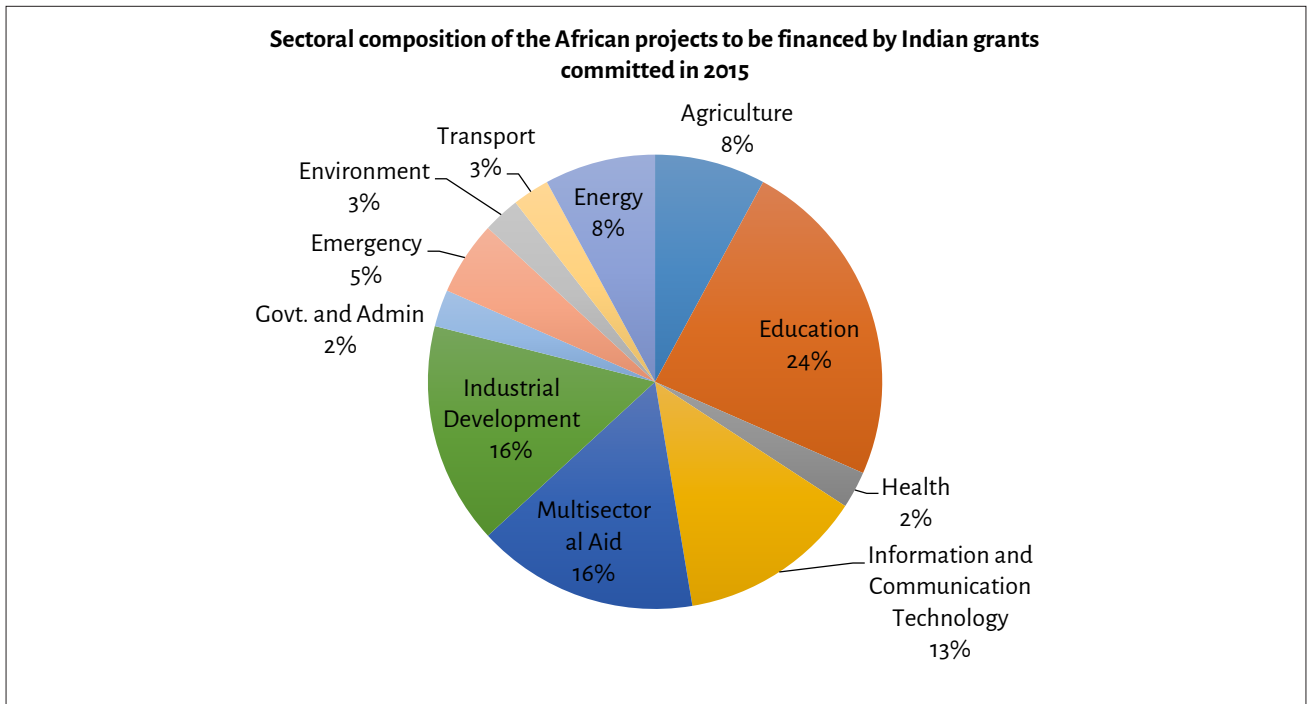
Source: Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program at the Centre for Policy Research

Figure 7: Sectoral composition of African projects financed by Indian grants, 2007



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

Figure 8: Sectoral composition of African projects to be financed by Indian grants, 2015



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

Grants

Extension of Indian grants towards Africa is a relatively recent phenomenon that has witnessed a substantial rise since the turn of the century. These grants are multi-sectorial, covering projects in diverse sectors such as Information and Communication Technology (ICT), education, government, and administration. Over the last decade, the Indian government has also extended financing of US\$ 1.1 billion towards the Pan-African e-Network. Along with an allocation of US\$ 700 million for the establishment of institutions of professional and academic training for African nationals, India also announced provision of US\$ 500 million over the next five to six years for projects in critical areas from a separate line item in the Indian budget titled 'Aid to Africa'.⁴⁸ During the third India-Africa Forum Summit in 2015, India also committed to grants totaling US\$ 600 million to Africa, including US\$ 100 million for the India-Africa Development Fund and US\$10 million to the Africa Health Fund.⁴⁹

The Indian government has also been working towards fulfilling commitments made during the first two India-Africa Forum Summits. For example, India has set up more than 100 training institutes across Africa in diverse areas including agriculture, food processing, information technology, English language centers, and entrepreneurial development institutes.⁵⁰ It has also taken initiatives to establish and upgrade institutes such as the India-Africa Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (IAIEPA), the Pan-African University for Life and Earth Sciences, the India-Africa Institute of Agriculture and Rural Development, the India-Africa Institute of Information Technology (IAIIT), and the India-Africa Institute of Foreign Trade (IAIFT), as well as setting up of hospitals and local capacity in drug production for strengthening Africa's healthcare sector.⁵¹ India has established educational institutions such as the Centre for Indian Studies in Africa (CISA) and the India-Africa Network at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, alongside programs such as the Cotton Technical Assistance Programme (C-TAP).⁵² It has developed vocational training centers in, for example, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia, and set up Human Settlement Institutes to assist in dealing with the challenges of rapid urbanization in several African countries.⁵³ Under the framework of Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), New Delhi has also written off debts totaling US\$ 24 million owed to India by Ghana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.⁵⁴

Capacity Building under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) and Africa-Centric Programs

Importantly, capacity building programs form a significant and growing part of India's engagement in Africa. Both India and Africa have experienced high economic growth rates which are projected to continue in the coming years

and also have a large youth bulge and a consequent demographic dividend. Thus, to help Africa to capitalize on its demographic dividend, India has shown keenness to share some of its experiences and undertake human resource development and capacity building initiatives in the continent. These initiatives have been carried out through varied programs, including the ITEC program and the 'Special Commonwealth Assistance for Africa Programme' (SCAAP). India has also supported capacity building through scholarships to African countries provided under the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and through the African Union Commission (implemented by the Indian Department of Agriculture Education (DARE) and Indian Council of Agriculture Research). Most of these programs have witnessed a significant rise in funding over the past decade. For example, over the past few years funding for SCAAP has increased significantly from US\$ 2.56 million in 2009-10 to US\$ 5.43 million in 2015-16. Furthermore, India, which has been granting scholarships to African nationals since the 1960s, extended 40,000 scholarships during the four years in between the second and third India-Africa Forum Summit in 2011 and 2015 respectively. During the third India-Africa Forum Summit, Prime Minister Modi further announced 50,000 scholarships over the next five years for African students and professionals.⁵⁵

In addition, the Indian private sector in collaboration with their government has also been conducting training programs such as the C. V. Raman International Fellowship program. This program aims at providing African researchers with opportunities to conduct collaborative research with leading researchers and Research & Development (R&D) institutions at Indian universities in the areas of science and technology (S&T).⁵⁶ These different capacity building and training programs administered by the Indian government over the past 50 years have been a growing component of India's grants to Africa.⁵⁷

THE RISE OF INDIA'S OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION WITH AFRICA

India's engagement in Africa has a history that builds on the Indian diaspora, the common colonial history, and the shared struggle for independence. Yet in the aftermath of India's independence in 1947, India was itself a poor country struggling to modernize and develop, with little extra resources to share with Africa. India's financial situation, however, has changed dramatically over the past decade, and with it so has India's development partnership with Africa in terms of volume of lending, number of countries with which India had development partnerships, and the different instruments of development cooperation with which India engages in African countries. Moreover, the non-conditional

and mutually beneficial development partnership approach of India's development cooperation has led to an increased demand for Indian development cooperation with Africa.⁵⁸ India's development cooperation can also be described as being complementary to both Chinese and traditional western donors, Indian government also smaller-scale projects, and uses technical skills for capacity building in avenues such as industrial, agriculture, communication and internet technology.⁵⁹ Further, Indian credit lines are cheaper compared to such credits and loans from traditional donor countries, given the lower cost of Indian manufactured goods and services.⁶⁰

India's enhanced development cooperation with Africa over the past decade is particularly noticeable in social sectors such as healthcare and education, where investments in low-cost technology and large scale skill training and transfers have provided India with an advantage in these sectors. Moreover, India has also undertaken a variety of initiatives to enhance consultations and better understanding of the needs in African countries by becoming a full-time member of the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) and an observer at bodies such as the South African Development Community (SADC) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).⁶¹

Yet India's development cooperation with Africa remains, as openly stated by the Indian government, "mutually beneficial". India has limited financial resources and technical know-how in comparison to Chinese and Western economies, which makes India's increased development cooperation with Africa particularly noteworthy. India's development cooperation with Africa is also driven by India's ambition of securing a seat on the UNSC and greater voting rights on multilateral bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Moreover, Africa enjoys a strong advantage at global institutions of governance, due to its sheer voting numbers.⁶² Thus, India and Africa gain from their development partnership – as do any development assistance relationships. Importantly, African countries also gain low-cost development assistance and capacity building. India has also received support of African countries in its aim to gain representation and a greater voting share at global institutions of governance. This was apparent during the third India-Africa Forum Summit, where at least ten African leaders voiced their support for expansion of the UN Security Council with some among them also being open towards their support for India's inclusion as a permanent member of the UN Security Council (UNSC).⁶⁴

FUTURE POTENTIAL OF INDIA-AFRICA TIES

Both India and Africa represent important growth poles in today's world and with both facing similar development challenges, there is now more incentive than ever to work together in mutually beneficial development partnerships. There are four areas in particular where Indo-African cooperation is likely to expand: 1. In building of infrastructure, 2. Financial inclusion; 3. Energy resource development, including alternative energy sources, and 4. Technical assistance, ranging from training of government officials to specialty health care provision. With regard to infrastructure, India and African face an infrastructure deficit, which was reported by the World Economic Forum as a major bottleneck for India's and Africa's development and growth.⁶⁵

While neither India nor Africa have the deep pockets of China, India's expansion of infrastructure particularly in its urban areas has provided Indian companies with low-cost expertise in building and maintaining infrastructure. With access to Indian government subsidized loans and credits for Indian companies seeking market entry into African countries, Indian companies are building on their domestic expertise and won infrastructure building contracts from Ethiopia to Zambia and Zimbabwe in 2016.

Both India and Africa also face the challenge of financial inclusion, since large proportions of their rural populations remain without formal bank accounts. Here again, India is building on its domestic expertise in government-funded microenterprise programs and recent efforts at financial inclusion of the poor through, for example, provide a bank account for every Indian household. Through Indian development assistance, technical training, and global partnerships, India is sharing the newly acquired financial inclusion expertise with African countries.

Another area with significant potential for collaboration between India and African countries is in the development of energy resources. Sub-Saharan Africa holds around seven percent of the world's conventional oil and six percent of gas resources. Moreover, around sixty percent of Africa's total recoverable conventional natural gas resources belong to this region. However, due to lack of adequate financial resources, African nations still export these natural resources and import back processed products at significantly higher price. India, on the other hand, is one of the leading global consumers of energy and is hugely reliant on oil imports for fulfilling its energy needs. This can be observed by India's

dependence on imports to fulfill around four-fifths of its oil needs in the year 2015-16.⁶⁶ Thus, with India's refining capacity and Africa's supply of energy resources, there is ample opportunity for both to conceptualize an energy partnership, which fulfills their energy needs in a sustainable manner.⁶⁷ This is particularly the case since the successful development of low-carbon economies is important to both India and Africa in their quest for sustained economic growth and progress.⁶⁸ Indian government Lines of Credit to African countries and investments by the private sector have started focusing on this common development need for developing renewable energy sources.

All these challenges to expanding growth and development in Africa and India also represent areas with room for greater cooperation and have been a focus area for Indian development assistance and technical assistance to African countries. The sharing of development success in these sectors has also characterized Indian development cooperation with African countries. This is particularly the case for large-scale initiatives being undertaken in both the regions, such as India's plans to expand renewable energy solutions through significant expansion of solar energy (Prime Minister Narendra Modi has targeted 100 GW of solar power by 2022). African countries have also launched initiatives such as M-PESA, a very successful Kenyan mobile-based platform for money transfer and financial services.

Importantly, within a decade after its launch M-PESA services have transformed the way economic transactions take place in Kenya.⁶⁹ India is also collaborating with Seychelles to develop technical and scientific capabilities for harnessing the ocean in a more responsible manner. These are few examples of the significant synergies that both India and Africa are exploring for mutual benefit.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

Over the last decade, the India-Africa relationship has witnessed a strong revival and has come to be characterized by economic diplomacy and mutual support at the regional as well as global level. Both regions face similar development challenges. India and Africa also have benefit from bilateral and multilateral agreements that foster stronger development cooperation and enhanced commercial ties, as well as knowledge-sharing and exchange of best practices. Further, given India and Africa's geostrategic position and rapid economic growth rates, both have similar development needs and concerns about democratic representation and at governance bodies and international financial institutions. Mutually beneficial development cooperation between India and African countries can not only change their fortunes, but it can also enhance both of their roles in the future global governance structure and geo-economic order.

ENDNOTES

1. See "India and Africa: Development Partnership", December 2012, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS) Discussion Paper, available at http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf, last accessed on 19th October 2015.
2. See "Ministry of External Affairs: Annual Report 2014-15", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India website, available at http://mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25009_External_Affairs_2014-2015_English_.pdf, last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
3. See "India and Africa: Development Partnership", December 2012, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS) Discussion Paper, available at http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf, last accessed on 19th October 2015.
4. See "India - African Union Relations", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, March 2012, available at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/india-african-union-relations-march-2012.pdf>; "Delhi Declaration 2015: Partners in Progress: Towards a Dynamic and Transformative Development Agenda", 29th October, 2015, available at http://mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980_declaration.pdf, last accessed on 23rd November, 2015. http://www.iafs.in/documents-detail.php?archive_id=322
5. Based on the Grants and Loans to Foreign governments document, Expenditure Budget, Government of India Union budget.
6. See "Advent of a 'Game Changer'? India's Economic, Political and Strategic Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1991 until 2014", December, 2014, India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs December 2014 70: 341-357, last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
7. See "Annual Action Programme 2015 for the Pan-African Programme", 16th November, 2015, European Commission, available at https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/annex-9-ausp-3_en_o.pdf; "India - African Union Relations", March, 2012, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/india-african-union-relations-march-2012.pdf>, both last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
8. See "India's Pan-African network gets Hermes prize", 13th August, 2010, Deccan Herald, available at <http://www.deccanherald.com/content/88383/content/215034/F>, last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
9. See "Why Africa?", 13th January, 2016, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), available at http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/why-africa_dshaw_130116; "Third India-Africa Forum Summit: Priorities, Proposals and Prospects", 16th November, 2015, Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), available at <http://www.icwa.in/pdfs/IB/2014/ThirdIndiaAfricforumsummitlB16112015.pdf>; "India-Africa Forum Summit", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/india-africa-forum-summit-2015/index.html#>, all last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
10. See "Pan African e-Network Project: About the Project", Pan-African e-Network website available at <http://www.panafricanenetwork.com/Portal/ProjectDetails.jsp?projectidhide=13&projectnamehide>About%20the%20Project>; "Pan African e-Network Project (PAENP)", January 2013, Ministry of External Affairs website, available at http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Pan_African_e_docx_for_xp.pdf, both last accessed on 4th December 2015.
11. See "Pan African e-Network Project: Implementation Status", Pan-African e-Network website, available at <http://www.panafricanenetwork.com/Portal/ProjectDetails.jsp?projectidhide=7&projectnamehide=Implementation%20Status>, last accessed on 4th December 2015.
12. See "Pan African e-Network Project (PAENP)", January 2013, Ministry of External Affairs website, available at http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Pan_African_e_docx_for_xp.pdf, last accessed on 4th December 2015.
13. See "Text of PM's statement at the third India-Africa Forum Summit", 29th October, 2015, The Hindu website, available at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/resources/text-of-pms-statement-at-the-third-indiaafrica-forum-summit/article7817691.ece>, last accessed on 4th December, 2015.
14. See "India-Africa Partnership Towards Sustainable Development", Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS) and Forum for Indian Development Cooperation (FIDC), 2015, Available at http://ris.org.in/pdf/India_Africa_Partnership_Towards_Sustainable_Development_Report.pdf, last accessed on 10th April 2016.
15. See "Beyond China and Africa: a focus on India", 25th June, 2013, Democracy in Africa website, available at <http://democracyinafrica.org/beyond-china-and-africa->

- a-focus-on-india/; "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, both last accessed on 9th September, 2016.
16. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrica.pdf>, last accessed on 1st November 2015.
 17. See Dubey, Ajay Kumar, Biswas, Aparajita "India and Africa's Partnership: A vision for a New Future", Springer India, 2016; NUPI Report "India in Africa. Implications for Norwegian Foreign and Development Policies", by Stein Sundstøl Eriksen, Aparajita Biswas, Ajay Dubey, Øyvind Eggen and Mzukuzi Qobo.
 18. See "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, last accessed on 9th September, 2016
 19. See "India and Africa: Development Partnership", December, 2012, Research and Information Systems (RIS) Discussion Paper 180, available at http://www.ris.org.in/sites/default/files/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf, last accessed on 9th September, 2016.
 20. See "Agricultural development and food security in Africa", Zed Books, available at <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:617151/FULLTEXT01.pdf>; "India - African Union Relations", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, March 2012, available at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/india-african-union-relations-march-2012.pdf>; "Zambia-India Relations", The High Commission of the Republic of Zambia New Delhi, India, available at <http://www.zambiahighcomdelhi.org/hczambia.php?id=Relations>; "PM's Opening Statement at the India-Africa Forum Summit", 8th April, 2008, Prime Minister's Office, Government of India, available at <http://archivepmo.nic.in/drmanmohansingh/speech-details.php?nodeid=643>; "Advent of a 'Game Changer'? India's Economic, Political and Strategic Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1991 until 2014", December, 2014, India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs December 2014 70: 341-357; "Statement by MOS (ST) on 'New Partnership for Africa's Development: progress in implementation and international support' at the 64th Session of the UN General Assmeby, 20th October, 2009, Ministry of Eternal Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/1254/Statement+by+MOS+ST+on+New+Partnership+for+Africa+Development+progress+in+implementation+and+international+support+at+the+64th+Session+of+the+UN+General+Assembly>, all last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
 21. See "PM's address at the Plenary Session of the 2nd Africa-India Forum Summit", 24th May, 2011, Prime Minister's Office, Government of India, available at <http://archivepmo.nic.in/drmanmohansingh/speech-details.php?nodeid=1026>, last accessed on 9th September, 2016. <http://www.pib.nic.in/newsite/erelcontent.aspx?relid=72302>
 22. See 'India and Africa: Development Partnership', December 2012, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS) Discussion Paper, available at http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf; Joint Statement of India-Africa trade ministers, Department of Commerce, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, 21st May 2011, available at http://commerce.nic.in/trade/Joint_Statement_India_Africa_Trade_21_05_2011.pdf, , both last accessed on 19th October 2015.
 23. See "India-Africa Brief", 5th August, 2013, Indian Development Cooperation Research, available (IDCR) Program, available at <http://idcr.cprindia.org/blog/india-africa-brief>; "Statement by foreign secretary at India Africa hydrocarbon conference", 10th December 2011, Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Government of India, available at <http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/13957/ement+by+Foreign+Secretary+at+India+Africa+Hydrocarbon+Conference>; "Transcript of media briefing by secretary (west) on 3rd India-Africa Forum Summit (October 16, 2015)", 17th October 2015, Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Government of India, available at http://mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/25945/Transcript_of_Media_Briefing_by_Secretary_West_on_3rd_IndiaAfrica_Forum_Summit_October_16_2015, all last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
 24. See "India-Africa summit will see biggest gathering of African nations, says Narendra Modi", updated on 18th October, 2015, available at <http://www.ibnlive.com/news/india/india-africa-summit-will-see-biggest-gathering-of-african-nations-says-narendra-modi-1153287.html>; See "India announces 10 billion concessional credit to Africa", 30th October, 2015, The Wire website, available at <http://thewire.in/2015/10/30/india-announces-10-billion-concessional-credit-to-africa-14448/> both last accessed on 1st November 2015.

25. See "Modi to score big point with Africa summit as record number of 51 countries confirm participation", 9th October 2015, First Post website, available at <http://www.firstpost.com/world/modi-to-score-big-point-with-africa-summit-as-record-number-of-51-countries-confirm-participation-2462922.html>, last accessed on 4th November, 2015.
26. See "Speech by Prime Minister at the inaugural ceremony of the third India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi (October 29, 2015)", 29th October, 2015, Ministry of External Affairs website, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25977>; "Modi sweetens Africa ties with \$10bn credit line", 30th October, 2015, Times of India website, available at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Modi-sweetens-Africa-ties-with-10bn-credit-line/articleshow/49588713.cms>; last accessed on 1st November 2015.
27. See "Speech by Prime Minister at the inaugural ceremony of the third India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi", 29th Oct 2015, Ministry of External Affairs website, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25977>; "PM Modi addresses African heads of state", Indian Express website, available at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/pm-modi-addresses-african-heads-of-state/>; "Outwards to Africa", 22nd September, 2016, The Hindu, available at <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/columns/outwards-to-africa/article9056343.ece>; "Why Africa?", 13th January, 2016, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), available at http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/why-africa_dshaw_130116; "Third India-Africa Forum Summit: Priorities, Proposals and Prospects", 16th November, 2015, Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), available at <http://www.icwa.in/pdfs/IB/2014/ThirdIndiaAfricforumsummitIB16112015.pdf>; "India-Africa Forum Summit", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/india-africa-forum-summit-2015/index.html#>, all last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
28. See "Delhi Declaration 2015: Partners in Progress: Towards a Dynamic and Transformative Development Agenda", 29th October, 2015, available at http://mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980_declaration.pdf, last accessed on 23rd November, 2015.
29. See "Next month's India-Africa Summit will be Modi's biggest global diplomacy spectacle", 6th September, 2015, The Firstpost India website, available at <http://www.firstpost.com/world/next-months-india-africa-summit-will-be-modis-biggest-global-diplomacy-spectacle-2423048.html>, Last accessed on 23rd November 2015.
30. Trade statistics are calculated using EXIM Bank database (2000-01 to April 2014-June 2015).
31. See "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, last accessed on 9th September, 2016.
32. See "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, last accessed on 9th September, 2016.
33. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrica.pdf>; "India positions itself as a reliable investment partner for Africa", 28th Oct 2015, The Economic times website, available at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/finance/india-positions-itself-as-reliable-investment-partner-for-africa/articleshow/49561225.cms>, both last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
34. See "India's Modi sets sight on Africa", 11th September, 2015, Deutsche Welle website, available at <http://www.dw.com/en/indias-modi-sets-sights-on-africa/a-18708286>; "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrica.pdf>, both last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
35. See "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, last accessed on 9th September, 2016. See "FDI inflow from UAE to India more than doubled to \$ 1 bn, 31st August, 2016, The Hindustan Times, available at <http://www.hindustantimes.com/business-news/fdi-inflow-from-uae-to-india-more-than-doubled-to-1-bn/story-yqK8y7HF7Chp9ap9CuNdL.html>, last accessed on 16th December, 2016
36. See "India-Mauritius Relations", High Commission of India (Port Louis, Mauritius), available at <http://indiahighcommauritius.org/pages.php?id=33>, last accessed on 10th April, 2016.

37. See "Ministry of External Affairs: Annual Report 2014-15", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India website, available at http://mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25009_External_Affairs_2014-2015_English_.pdf, last accessed on 19th October 2015.
38. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrica.pdf>; "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, both last accessed on 9th September, 2016.
39. Based on Exim Bank Operative LOCs database (as on 9th Nov, 2015).
40. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrica.pdf>, last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
41. See "Debate-India and the new 'Resurgent Africa'", January-March, 2012, Indian Foreign Affairs Journal Vol.7, available at <http://www.associationdiplomats.org/publications/ifaj/Vol7/7.1/DEBATE.pdf>; "Beyond China and Africa: a focus on India", 25th June, 2013, Democracy in Africa website, available at <http://democracyinafrica.org/beyond-china-and-africa-a-focus-on-india/> last accessed on 19th October 2015.
42. See "India-Africa Brief", 5th August, 2013, Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Program, available at <http://idcr.cprindia.org/blog/india-africa-brief>; "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, both last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
43. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrica.pdf>, last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
44. See "India and Africa sharing interlinked dreams", 28th January 2015, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?24742/India+and+Africa+Sharing+interlinked+drea ms>, last accessed on 19th October 2015.
45. See "Speech by Prime Minister at the inaugural ceremony of the third India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi (October 29, 2015)", 29th October, 2015, Ministry of External Affairs website, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25977>; See "Modi sweetens Africa ties with \$10bn credit line", 30th October, 2015, Times of India website, available at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Modi-sweetens-Africa-ties-with-10bn-credit-line/articleshow/49588713.cms>; both last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
46. See "Transcript of Media Briefing by Secretary (West) on 3rd India-Africa Forum Summit (October 16, 2015)", 17th October, 2015, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/25945/Transcript+of+Media+Briefing+by+Secretary+West+on+3rd+IndiaAfrica+Forum+Summit+Octob er+16+2015>, last accessed on 19th October 2015.
47. See "Ministry of External Affairs: Annual Report 2014-15", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India website, available at http://mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25009_External_Affairs_2014-2015_English_.pdf, last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
48. See "Advent of a 'Game Changer'? India's Economic, Political and Strategic Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1991 until 2014", December, 2014, India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs December 2014 70: 341-357; See "India and Africa: Development Partnership", December 2012, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS) Discussion Paper, available at http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf; "Address by EAM at India-Africa Business Partnership Summit", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?892/Address+by+EAM+at+IndiaAfrica+Busine ss+Partnership+Summit>, both last accessed on 30th November, 2016. See "Address by EAM at India-Africa Business Partnership Summit", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?892/Address+by+EAM+at+India Africa+Business+Partnership+Summit>, last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
49. See "Speech by Prime Minister at the inaugural ceremony of the third India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi (October 29, 2015)", 29th October, 2015, Ministry of External Affairs website, Government of India, available at <http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25977>; See "Modi sweetens Africa ties with \$10bn credit line", 30th October, 2015, Times of India website, available at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Modi-sweetens-Africa-ties-with-10bn-credit-line/articleshow/49588713.cms>; both last accessed on 1st November, 2015.

50. See "66th Republic Day of India", 26th January, 2015, Zambia Daily Mail website, available at <https://www.daily-mail.co.zm/?p=18336>; See "India and Africa: Development Partnership", December 2012, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS) Discussion Paper, available at http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf, both last accessed on 19th October 2015.
51. Projects data taken from the Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDCR) Grants database.
52. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrika.pdf>, last accessed on 1st November 2015.
53. See "India and Africa: Development Partnership", December 2012, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS) Discussion Paper, available at http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf; "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrika.pdf>, both last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
54. See "Advent of a 'Game Changer'? India's Economic, Political and Strategic Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1991 until 2014", December, 2014, India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs December 2014 70: 341-357, last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
55. See "India-Africa Brief", 5th August, 2013, Indian Development Cooperation Research, available (IDCR) Program, available at <http://idcr.cprindia.org/blog/india-africa-brief>; "The African Scholarships", Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) website, available at <http://www.iccrindia.net/africascholarships.html>; "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrika.pdf>; "Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership", 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, all last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
56. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrika.pdf>, last accessed on 1st November 2015.
57. See "Statement by External Affairs Minister at Ministerial Meeting of Third India-Africa Forum Summit (October 27, 2015)", Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, available at http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25968/Statement_by_External_Affairs_Minister_at_Ministerial_Meeting_of_Third_IndiaAfrica_Forum_Summit_October_27_2015; "India-Africa summit: beyond the event", The Hindu, 9th November 2015, available at <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/columns/indiaafrica-summit-beyond-the-event/article7862362.ece>, both last accessed on 10th April, 2016
58. See "Shifting Currents: India's Rise as a Development Partner", United Nations University Centre for Policy Research, November 2015, available at http://ssc.undp.org/content/dam/ssc/documents/news/2015/UNUCPR_ShiftingCurrents_Aneja_.pdf, last accessed on 11th April, 2016
59. See "India-Africa Brief", 5th August, 2013, Indian Development Cooperation Research, available (IDCR) Program, available at <http://idcr.cprindia.org/blog/india-africa-brief>, last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
60. See "India and Africa" Forging a strategic partnership", 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrika.pdf>, last accessed on 1st November, 2015.
61. See "Advent of a 'Game Changer'? India's Economic, Political and Strategic Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1991 until 2014", December, 2014, India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs December 2014 70: 341-357; "India and Africa: Development Partnership", December 2012, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries (RIS) Discussion Paper, available at http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/dp180_pap.pdf, both last accessed on 19th October, 2015.
62. See "Emerging Economies and Africa's Natural Resources: Avoiding the 'Resource Curse' and Building More Resilient Societies", The North-South Institute, available at <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Brief-Cheru-Emerging-Economies-and-Africa's-Natural-Resources.pdf>, last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
63. "India-Africa Forum Summit: PM, African leaders push for UNSC reforms, 25th December, 2015, The New Indian Express, available at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/india-africa-forum-summit-pm-african-leaders-push-for-uns-c-reforms/>; "African Union backs India's UNSC bid", 6th July, 2007, The Indian Express, available at <http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/african-union-backs-indias-uns-c-bid/204068/>, all last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
64. See "India, Africa take ties to the next level", Live Mint, 11th April 2016, available at <http://www.livemint.com/Home-Page/IXRJ8tBU6sNNUxNG4ruMKI/India-Africa-take-ties-to-the-next-level.html>; "India and Africa" Forging a

strategic partnership”, 20th October, 2015, published by Brookings India, available at <http://www.brookings.in/wp-content/downloads/indiaandafrica.pdf>, both last accessed on 10th April, 2016. See “India-Africa Forum Summit: PM, African leaders push for UNSC reforms”, 25th December, 2015, The Indian Express, available at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/india-africa-forum-summit-pm-african-leaders-push-for-uns-c-reforms/>, last accessed on 16th December, 2016.

65. See “The Global Competitiveness Report 2014-2015”, World Economic Forum, available at http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GlobalCompetitivenessReport_2014-15.pdf, last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
66. See “India’s dependence on crude oil imports on rise as consumption increases”, 22nd April, 2016, The Economic Times, available at <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/energy/oil-gas/indias-dependence-on-crude-oil-imports-on-rise-as-consumption-increases/articleshow/51934359.cms>, last accessed on 16th December, 2016
67. See “Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership”, Observer Research Foundation (ORF), available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>; “India heading for the centre of the global energy stage, IEA says”, 27th November, 2015, International Energy Agency (IEA), available at [https://www.iea.org/newsroom/news/2015/november/india-heading-for-the-centre-of-the-global-energy-stage-](https://www.iea.org/newsroom/news/2015/november/india-heading-for-the-centre-of-the-global-energy-stage-iea-says.html)
68. See “Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership”, 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, last accessed on 9th September, 2016.
69. See “M-Pesa And The Rise Of The Global Mobile Money Market”, 12th August, 2015, Forbes, available at <http://www.forbes.com/sites/danielrunde/2015/08/12/m-pesa-and-the-rise-of-the-global-mobile-money-market/#28f6415a23f5>, last accessed on 30th November, 2016.
70. See “Common Futures: India and Africa in Partnership”, 2015, Observer Research Foundation, available at <http://www.orfonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Common-Futures1.pdf>, last accessed on 9th September, 2016.

iea-says.html, both last accessed on 30th November, 2016. “India’s Economic Opportunities In Africa: Will Modi’s Visit Deliver?” 3rd August, 2016, Mainstream Weekly, available at <http://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article6594.html>; “India’s Africa Drive – OpEd”, 9th December, 2016, Eurasia Review, available at <http://www.eurasiareview.com/09122016-indias-africa-drive-oped/>, all last accessed on 16th December, 2016.