# Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

## 2nd India-Africa Strategic Dialogue

*Common Security Challenges for the Next Decade: Perspectives from India and Africa*

**November 18-19, 2013**

## Report

## Inaugural session



IDSA hosted the second India-Africa Strategic Dialogue on November 18-19, 2013. While welcoming the distinguished speakers and participants from African counties, Dr. Arvind Gupta, DG, IDSA, stated that globalisation has really turned this world into a global village. A few decades ago, no one could have imagined India, Brazil and South Africa to come together and form IBSA, but it still happened. Then BRICS consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa came into existence. BRICS even came to be recognised as a pole in the current multipolar world.

Dr. Gupta emphasised that in the rapidly changing geo-political and strategic environment, there is every need for India and African countries to discuss issues of mutual concern. Moreover, over the years, as Africa's importance in restructuring the global order has grown, Indian policy makers have come to assign great importance to Africa while dealing with foreign policy making. Under such circumstance, the India-Africa Strategic Dialogue is extremely important and timely.

In recent years, a cooperative structure between India and Africa has been gradually evolving. The two sides have been keen on strengthening global governance, especially with regards to the UN reforms. Over the years, India's involvement in the UN Peace keeping mis-

sions in various African countries has been highly appreciated. At present, both the countries need to develop roust dialogue in order to deal with certain issues of mutual concern, such as, terrorism, maritime security threats, piracy, etc. IBSA, India-Africa dialogue could provide the ideal platform to discuss such issues.

Dr. Gupta concluded by saying that despite the popular belief that India has deepened its ties with African counties just to exploit the latter's untapped resources, it is not exactly true. India in fact is not competing with any other country in Africa for resources. Instead it is trying to facilitate the African counties in knowledge and capacity building, infrastructure development, etc. Nevertheless, India needs to provide further assistance in exploiting Africa's untapped potentialities.

The inaugural address was made by Shri Dinkar Khullar, Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. According to him, in the light of India's deepening relations with African countries, the strategic dialogue is extremely relevant and timely. Africa, just like India, is known for its ethnic, trial and cultural diversities. After suffering decades of negligence, Africa is emerging strongly to tap its economic opportunities.

While briefly talking about India-Africa relations, Khullar mentioned about their role in the struggle against apartheid. Africa played a significant role in India's independence struggle as well, particularly due to M K Gandhi connection with South Africa. As a large portion of the people in India and African continent continue to live below poverty line, both need to join hands in alleviating poverty.

Over the years, African Union (AU) as well as a number of African countries have come to play a strong international role, especially with regards to UN reform. India particularly shares with Africa a common vision on global governance. While discussing the common security challenges faced by both, Khullar particularly mentioned the rise of extremism/terrorism. It is a disturbing phenomenon in recent times. According to him, religious extremism in Somalia emerged around the same time when India had to deal with similar kind of challenge at home. Thus, both sides could cooperate in fighting terrorism. Moreover, common challenges with regard to maritime security, piracy, etc. could also be dealt with jointly.

Khullar emphasised that India's peacekeeping missions in Africa has been highly appreciated. Such missions have helped tremendously in ensuing peace and stability in several African countries. He further stated that despite being a resource rich continent, most of the African states have not been able to take advantage of those resources due to poor state of infrastructure. This is an area where India could invest in Africa and could benefit. The two sides could cooperate in providing useful employment for the youths of both sides and ensuring food security as well.

# Session 1: Common Security Challenges for India and Africa: An Overview

The first session focused on the security challenges currently faced by India and Africa. It was highlighted that in the global security context, the security challenges have increasingly become multi dimensional, as it has come to embrace factors like tensions caused by non-state actors, challenges posed by energy insecurity, drug, arms and human trafficking, problems related to immigration, environmental problems, etc. All these challenges are common to both India and African countries. So there is a need for both to come together and devise a joint strategy to deal with challenges. The joint strategy is necessary as in next few decades, both India and Africa are to emerge as the two overly populated areas, with a large number of young population. As a result, both India and Africa are bound to face similar kinds of socio-economic security challenges such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, etc. So both will need to devise a strategy jointly to deal with challenges and ensure societal security ad stability.

The economic liberalization in the early 1990s pushed India to expand its security horizon. While during the Cold War, India was primarily concerned about tradition/military security threats posed by neighboring states like China and Pakistan, in the post-Cold War era, it became increasingly concerned about non-traditional/non-military security threats as well. Globalisation seemed to play a major role in shaping India's notion of comprehensive security.

As both India and Africa deal with diverse ethnic, cultural, linguistic diversities, they could certainly assist each other in dealing with certain common socio-economic security challenges, such as poverty, diseases, inequality, unemployment, etc. India could definitely provide assistance to Africa in realms of capacity building, education, science and technology. India could be of assistance in making the African states adopt inclusive growth, welfare etc., and appreciate values like justice, democracy, equality, human rights, etc.

Africa is a unique continent where inter-state conflicts have been rare. The states here mostly deal with deep, long intra-state civil wars. African States do not have adequate capacities to build up strong institutional mechanisms to ensure stable and secure society. The dialogue must deal with issues like modern state building in Africa.

In the last two decades, African countries seem to look for an African solution in dealing with their security related issues. African countries should not be left alone in dealing with such challenges, as they are not restricted to Africa alone. There are a number of common security challenges faced by both India and Africa, such as, terrorism, organized crime, disease, etc. But Africa remains one of the most conflict prone zones in the world. Though the collaborative efforts of the African states have reduced the number of arms conflicts, they have not dissipated completely.

In recent times, African states have been increasingly emphasizing on dealing with peace and security issues on a priority basis. It is so because they have come to acknowledge that there is a link with security and development. Security will not be possible without development and vice versa. There is definitely a role external players like India could play in terms of supporting the regional security efforts of the African countries through multilateral institutions like the African Union, while continuing with its support for the UN peace keeping efforts in Africa.

*Report prepared by Pranamita Baruah, Researcher, IDSA.*

# Session 2: Rise of Terrorism and Extremism

The second session of the Second India-Africa Strategic Dialogue, focused on the theme 'Rise of Terrorism and Extremism'. It was highlighted that a number of new issues have emerged in the security discourse such as piracy, narco-terrorism, etc.

Terrorism/extremism has taken centre-stage in Africa after the Kenya and Tanzania US Embassy bombings in 1998 and especially after 9/11. While many interventions have been made at the national and regional and continental levels to combat terrorism/extremism, the main weakness of the approach has been a singular focus on the security/military aspects alone. This approach does not address the root causes of the rise of terrorism/extremism. It was emphasised that this is not merely a security problem – it has socio-economic, legal, political, ideological, technical and doctrinal aspects. There is increasing visibility of issues such as trans-national organized crime, like piracy, drug trafficking, etc. Most terrorist groups indulge in these to finance their terror activities and this needs to be factored into the discourse.

In the Sahel region, in North and West Africa, the most active groups are the Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), Ansar Dine and Boko Haram, which target government buildings, security posts, schools, and foreign diplomatic missions and employ conventional terrorist tactics, including guerilla style

raids, kidnappings, hostage taking, bombing and murder of western tourists, aid workers and suicide bombings. An increasingly worrying trend is that apart from the kidnappings and killings, AQIM and its affiliates are working with drug cartels and other criminal networks in the region to smuggle drugs, arms and other contraband goods to augment their resources and financing for continuous operation.

It was pointed out that terrorism and Extremism in West Africa can be attributed to a combination of three factors: structural weakness of the state; porous borders and the socio-economic discontent of the population; and poor governance, underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment and conflicts.

East Africa remains Africa's underbelly for global terrorism. Countries such as Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda have all served at various times as terrorist safe havens, staging areas or transit points. The region's porous borders, proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, weak law enforcement and judicial institutions, pervasive corruption, and, in some cases, state complicity in terrorist activities, combined with over two decades of instability in Somalia, have provided an enabling environment for Al Qaeda and other violent groups to operate in this region. He specifically pointed to the fact that Sudan had, in the 1990s, been a safe haven for terrorists, including Osama Bin Laden, and terror groups that operated in the Horn of Africa. More recently, Al Shabaab – a locally focused Islamist insurgent group and a transnational terrorist affiliate of Al Qaeda – is most active in the region.

The following are the possible implications of terrorism and extremism on regional security:

1.  Victims of these attacks are suffering from and grappling with political, economic and social impact of terrorism ad extremism.

2.  West and North Africa – Sahel region risks becoming a safe haven for terrorist groups and a springboard for further attacks. It this needs sustained international attention.

3.  Possible increase in transnational organized crimes in Sahel region and maritime piracy in the Gulf of Guinea.

4.  Increased reprisal attacks and kidnapping of foreign nationals in the Sahel region and East Africa.

5.  Co-existence of different religious communities may be negatively affected in some parts of Nigeria.

The efforts taken to combat terrorism and extremism include efforts at the national, sub-regional, continental and global levels. At the national level, these include adoption of anti-terrorism legislative frameworks together with the establishment of counter-terrorist units, especially in East Africa. In West Africa, most of the country-level counter terrorism efforts are being undertaken in collaboration with other states and organizations like the US, European Union, etc. In East Africa, the US is also cooperating with countries in the Horn of Africa

through the East Africa Counter Terrorism Initiative and the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa. At the sub-regional level, most counter-terrorism initiatives are being undertaken in partnerships with the US and its G8 allies. At the continental level, the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU) provides the basis for combating and preventing terrorism in Africa. Counter-terrorism initiatives have focused on detecting, disrupting and defeating transnational terrorist groups, countering resurgence of international terrorism and building capacity of security agencies and terrorism. India's multi-pronged approach to dealing with terrorism over the past six decades can be useful for Africa. There is scope for increased India-Africa cooperation in areas of intelligence, investigation, prosecution and counter-insurgency operations as well.

The session also discussed both Indian and African examples by bringing out the complexity of the issue of terrorism and extremism, and underscored the correlation between the two. India, a country, has faced a number of problems that Africa is facing as a continent, and a number of these problems predate independence. These problems range from proxy war to indigenous threats. There are also lessons to be learnt from both the successes and failures of counter-terrorism efforts and the failures are important since they can become the catalyst for change.

In India, there are four main kinds of terrorism: in the North-East, in Jammu & Kashmir (J&K), Left Wing Extremism (LWE), and Terrorism in the Hinterland, which have resonance with uprisings in Africa. In the North-East, the insurgencies highlighted were the Naga insurgency (1955-56 till date) and the Mizo insurgency (1966-86); latter is a success of sorts since it was effectively resolved. In J&K, there was local dissatisfaction; the issue was hijacked by Pakistan and turned into a proxy war, aimed at achieving Pakistan's strategic gains. LWE, on the other hand, is an ideological conflict and one of the rare conflicts still based on the hardline Communist ideology. Terrorism in the Hinterland includes outfits like the Indian Mujahiddin (IM), Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT).

The facets of the Indian response include:

1. Policy focus on enhancing security and development in the affected region.

2. Three-tiered security mechanism (capacity of security agencies): local police (tier 1), central police (tier 2) and the Army (tier 3)

3. Factor of time: Of the six solved insurgencies in India, the average time is 16 years and that for the unresolved insurgencies is 36 years. The global average is 10 years.

4. Adoption of principle of minimum force.

5. Dealing with the External factor: This aspect is evident both in India (for example, Pakistan's support to the Kashmir insurgency) but also in Africa. It is more deep-rooted than it appears, for example, and has many aspects to it, such as counterfeit currency from Pak; trafficking of drugs and weapons through porous borders; the IM might seem indigenous but its top leadership is in Pakistan.

In correlating issues with Africa, what becomes apparent is that religious terrorism is trans-national and that crime is both a component and a by-product of terrorism.

It was reiterated that Africais not monolithic or homogenous and thusterrorism in Africa can be divided into four categories:

1. Ideology-based terrorism and extremism, based on appeal to radical Wahhabi Islam.

2. Economic-based terrorism, rooted in a sense of alienation, deprivation and structural issues like underdevelopment, poverty and lack of adequate economic opportunities.

3. Mercenary terrorism, used by terror entrepreneurs who exploit the sense of popular discontent/grievances to construct profitable enterprises by blending narcotics, smuggling, kidnappings and arms trade.

4. Political terrorism, which is used by groups such as Nigeria's Boko Haram to challenge the ruling dispensation and present itself as a potential alternative.

There are other outfits in the region that are of importance: various militias in eastern Congo, insurgents in the Niger Delta, Janjaweed in Sudan, the Lord's Resistance Army, Army for the Liberation of Rwanda and the Afrikaner Boeremag in South Africa along with a host of Islamic groups.

What makes the Islamic groups significant is the use of radical Islam as a binding ideology, which makes them part of the global jihadi network. The AQIM is a case study in the cynical use of radical, Islam, and significantly, is a hybrid amalgam of the four abovementioned types of terror outfits. The Nigeria-based Boko Haram is another outfit that uses Wahhabi Islam as its ideological inspiration and its activists are taking advantage of the porous borders in the region and crossing over into Niger, Cameroon and Mali. Al Shabaab is the prime example of this; while primarily confined to Somalia, it has increasingly used Wahhabism to rally disaffected youth, luring them with a vision of a purist Islamic society.

Terrorism in Africa has to be situated in the context of the 'African Resurgence'. Terrorism in Africa is marked by the narrative of the 'other' as the enemy. India can be viewed as being part of the Western camp, hence it becomes the enemy.  Also, there is a resemblance between Westgate mall attack in Kenya and the 26/11 attacks in Mumbai. These attacks were against cosmopolitan societies, and cities and were sending a similar message. Thus, India needs to be concerned as it increasingly moves towards and into Africa. It is more and more possible in future that terrorism in India would have its origins in Sahel and Saharan Africa. American officials worry that a successful terror attack in the US or Europe, planned in Africa and executed by African extremists is only a matter of time. In other words, the new face of militant Islam would be an African one.

The following recommendations were made about what India could do in its approach to Africa.

1.  India should scale up its intelligence and counter-terrorism linkages with African countries as well as at the continental level.

2.  India's policy makers need to scale up development cooperation with Africa.

3.  In the near term, forge comprehensive counter-terror cooperation with the AU and bolster counter-insurgency capacity of individual countries.

4.  There needs to be a greater emphasis on research on Africa while at the same time expanding our reach in Africa.

5.  The French and US initiatives against terror in Africa should be taken note of and India needs to have a separate Africa focus. It could also consider cooperating with countries like US and France.

6.  An only security-centric approach has serious limitations, demonstrated best by the US example. India needs to have a multi-pronged approach from to forge partnerships to deal with terrorism in Africa, which would include a parallel focus on soft power, development, etc.

The question and answer session included a discussion on identification of particular local issues vis-à-vis terrorism and questions were raised as to whether there is a generalized definition or root to explain different kinds of terrorism. The progression of terror attacks in terms of tactics; financial linkages, chain of money transfer of AQIM, MUJAO, Boko Haram; linkage in what is called the Arc of Terror from Nigeria to Somalia; AU's counter-terrorism initiatives; links between piracy and terror finance were also discussed. Discussion also focused on whether categories such as 'failed' or a 'failing' state legitimate or are they used as excuses for foreign intervention; role of media in Africa;; and whether terrorist groups using certain natural resources to fund their activities.

*Report prepared by Neha Kohli, Associate Editor, Journal of Defence Studies, IDSA.*

# Session 3: Maritime Security Challenges

The third session of the dialogue deliberated on Maritime Security Challenges andenhancing India-Africa cooperation to deal with these common challenges.India's role in addressing the Somalia crisis during the Clinton administration was a learning curve for India in terms of the way Somali crisis unfolded. Technological constraints in engaging with African countries during that time was also brought out. Over the years,however, there has been such episodic focus in terms of Indian Navy's engagement with African countries.



The increasing importance of India-Africa maritime security cooperation to confront the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was emphasised during the session. It was also highlighted that the increasing importance of the East Africa as an emerging resource rich area where the amount of exploitation of natural resources has been taking place at rapid pace since last few years. On piracy, he said, though the incidents of piracy have decreased in recent years, but these incidents have reached wider geographic area and also the sophistication of the attacks. This challenge will prevail so long as there is continued instability, lack of governance in the Horn of Africa, and that tied with weak states and their inability to provide security. Economic and political marginalisation in addition to inequitable development further creates fertile grounds for radicalisation of political positions. There is a necessity of expanding cooperation between India and Africa to address the emerging threats such as piracy, mitigating energy shortfall etc. and for capacity building and infrastructure development for better managing the natural resources.

It was emphasised that the lack of governance and ineffective security apparatus in the coastal areas has resulted in favourable conditions for the growth of terrorism, piracy, drug trafficking, gun running, and other illegal activities.

India always aware of maritime terrorism but it is now confronting this threat from the sea. However, he held that after 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks, India has undertaken a major overhaul of its costal security apparatus which involved restructuring of security organisations, infrastructure build-up to bridge the gap in maritime surveillance and reconnaissance, training of personnel, technological improvements and expanding the number of stakeholders. He felt that the challenges to India's maritime security can be best dealt with by increasing its presence further into the seas.

Maritime security can be best achieved by spreading maritime awareness, improving the surveillance system, using modern maritime technology, increasing institutional cooperation and holding regular strategic dialogues between maritime nations. Fishermen are in fact right position to provide best maritime security. They need to be trained and cultivated in this regard. In recent times India has been making efforts in capacity building and sharing best practices with regional coastline countries through a number of activities such as bilateral naval exercises, regular ship visits, training, transfer of naval hardware, and sharing of intelligence.

At the multilateral level, India has adopted a proactive approach and advocated greater emphasis on cooperative maritime security. But the inward-looking approaches of the regional institutional mechanisms are the main obstacles to capacity building efforts. As a result, cooperation and capacity building effortsare in silos. A fully seamless and integrated approach is necessary to bridge the gap and effectively deal with the coastline challenges.

India and Africa have made various efforts in improving their maritime cooperation in recent years. As India's economic engagement with the African countries is growing, it has sought to gradually expand its sphere of influence in the Western Indian Ocean. Consequently, Indian Navy's outreach on its Western flank has resulted in noteworthy maritime endeavours. However, progress in developing a coherent and viable plan of action has been very slow. Both Africa and India have found it difficult to grow of their regional maritime mind-set and made halting headway in developing an effective maritime collaboration.

It was suggested that India should start by agreeing to cooperate on basic maritime security issues such as improving maritime domain awareness, building local policing ability, and training of personnel, it will eventually need to assist in the evolution of an African maritime economy and a comprehensive strategy for maritime development.As Africa looks to enlist the support of regional and international partners, he stressed the necessity of increasing India's role in helping the African nations to integrate their existing institutions and projects into a self-sustaining maritime system. It was believed that that through a collaborative arrangement, India could assist in the creation of an African maritime sector that generates the security, confidence, and efficiency necessary to spark the investment, trade, and jobs vital for the continent's prosperity.

An intense and constructive deliberation followed the presentations. The discussions laid stress on the critical importance of the Navy in countering the emerging maritime security challenges of the 21st century. In this regard, the participants argued for increasing the presence of Navy in the coastline areas, holding regular naval exercises, training, technological and intelligence sharing, and conducting regular strategic dialogues to address the immediate as well as long term security challenges.

*Report prepared by Dr. Saroj Bishoyi, Researcher, IDSA.*

# Session 4: Emerging Energy Challenges in India and Africa

The fourth session of the dialogue focused on the theme 'Emerging Energy Challenges in India and Africa'. It pointed out that the India Africa energy relation is not a buyer-seller relation but a partnership for development. Focus in this respect has been also on what India can offer and slogans must be turned into tangible programs on ground. The Addis Ababa Document is a clear and simple framework for India-Africa cooperation. Bhatia mentioned that energy development cannot take place without focus on infrastructure and sustainability aspects.

China and India are responsible for the rise in global energy demand and that India's energy demand is expected to triple in 2030 from 2010 levels. Africa has vast amounts of fossil and renewable energy; even the knowledge about its reserves is growing as more and more deposits are being explored. At present it is estimated that Africa has 10 percent of the global oil reserves. There are a very few refineries in Africa and this could be a point of focus in Africa-India relationship in the future.

In the earlier era, Nigeria dominated the African energy scene but now the sector has diversified with many producers growing the capacities. Recent and future economic growth in Africa and also in the BRICS countries will push the need for more substantial energy supply. Options for this in the energy matrix include efficiency improvement, focus on renewables etc. Many African countries themselves face energy shortages as intra-Africa energy trade is also very small. Domestic African growth can strain energy trade unless capacity development is undertaken.

India is looking at Africa for growth in the primary energy sector for its growing economy and India also needs to diversify its suppliers and energy sources. As far as Africa is concerned, the risks include domestic growth, competition with other buyers, poor local human resource and transport infrastructure, corruption, regime instability, non-transparency, fragmentation with many states regimes and cultures, growing civil society that can help in transparency but slowdown environmental clearances, price volatility. There are also huge opportuni-

ties in Africa which include affordable and useful technology that Africa needs and India could partner here. However, India needs to be more assertive and proactive in Africa in order to remain active. Relations with Africa would continue to be good only if India continues to see Africa as trade and business partner and not just as a donor-recipient dependent structure.

The session underlined that India is an important player in the new diverse global energy demand. In the new era, focus has to be on renewable energy development and similarly, climate change concerns cannot be ignored. India's biggest challenge is import dependence for energy which also hurts its imports bill and currency value. Economic and population growths will continue to be drivers. Despite high gross numbers per capita energy usage in India is low so it is bound to rise. At the same time, India has not explored the domestic resources completely and the domestic regulatory framework sometimes acts as a constraint. Renewables development is hampered by costs and the gaps between capacity and actual generation. Energy matrix will always be based on the issues of access, price and environmental impact. Therefore technology development is the best option; as of now biofuels compete with food supply, shale gas has environmental implications. India also needs to focus on demand management to improve efficiency.

India's partnership has changed from focus on ideology to more stress on business interests, trade and resources and India also sees Africa as a partner on global forums. Realist perspective guides India's new approach and at the same time there are elements of soft-power approach visible. India's import dependence for crude oil and listed the supply constraints that challenge India's energy security. India only has 0.5 and 0.6 percent of global oil and gas reserves respectively. For energy security, India must explore the options of equity oil, diversified supply and energy diplomacy with Africa. For an outsider, it appears as if India is losing out to China. However, there are also areas where bilateral cooperation is possible.

Nigeria has oil reserves of 37.7 billion barrels and its daily production is 2.2 million barrels per day. Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa and 11th largest in the world. However, even at their full capacity, Nigeria's four refineries produce only about 10 million litres of petrol while local consumption is about 35 million litres per day. Thus, despite good reserves, Nigeria is also bound to import petroleum products. Similar scenario highlights the gas sector as Nigeria's role in global LNG supply has dropped to 7 percent from 10 percent in the past, due to lack of investments. Therefore, India can help Nigeria overcome this constraint by technological support since India also imports oil from Nigeria. Developments in these sectors will have spinoff for economic growth as well as peace.

Infrastructure is an important impediment; however to overcome this, Nigeria's gas master plan aims an investment of $32 billion by 2020. Second impediment is militancy that has hurt the energy sector. The third impediment of vandalism and theft has gradually come under control after the amnesty program. However, vandalism hurts because it is difficult to target and some of the companies have shut their operations due to vandalism. Diversification of laws dealing with the sector, 17 as of now, slows down the process, these are to be combined in the Petroleum Industry Bill. However, it is also caught in controversy due to the most stringent revenue sharing and other clauses.

India can help Nigeria in its international campaign against crude theft which is still not an issue in African Union. India can also help in joint military campaign against militancy, by way of investments and by participating in crude swap arrangements.

Nuclear energy forms an important part of India's efforts to balance its energy imports dependence and it can form an important part of India Africa energy partnership by way of uranium commerce. The NSG exemptions brought the Indian needs to the global limelight. In fact, India is one of the primary propellants of the current phase of nuclear renaissance. India is constructing six nuclear reactors at the moment and plans to have 25 more in the next 20 years.

India will need sustained uranium supply to help its nuclear energy expansion plans. South Africa is likely to emerge as the largest supplier of the uranium. Other countries in the region that are part of this include Malawi. Other countries in the region with proven reserves include Algeria, Burundi, and Congo among others. African uranium has historical linkages with the global nuclear history. Even now France depends on uranium imports from the region for its energy needs.

The Pelindaba Treaty and particularly Article 9 (c) is the biggest impediment to establishing India Africa uranium trade. After the NSG exemptions, India has signed contract agreements with many countries and has already received uranium from France, Russia and Kazakhstan. In Africa, India has an agreement with Namibia and its ratification by Namibia is holding up the commencement of the trade as of now. South Africa has also shown interest in this respect. Even Uganda has initiated the discussions. Larger trade with more countries in Africa is possible if the Art 19 of Pelindaba Treaty is amended. India can give similar undertakings like it has given to the NSG and IAEA for the same and all the same safeguard mechanisms will be applicable.

*Report prepared by Avinash Godbole, Researcher, IDSA.*

# Session-5: India-Africa Strategic Dialogue

The concluding session of this dialogue in the form of a panel discussion on various issues in the India-Africa partnership. In was reiterated that the purpose of this dialogue is to find solutions to the common problems faced by both the sides as well as to seek the way forward for enhancing understanding and cooperation between India and Africa. There needs to be more academic conferences and dialogues between both sides which will be useful in enhancing India-Africa partnership.

Common solutions between India and Africa can only emerge if each side listens to the other aimed at crafting common solutions to our common problems. Since 2008, India has been taking several initiatives for enhancing India-Africa partnership. But there is not enough enthusiasm to these initiatives from African side. Africa's approach to these initiatives has been reactive only. These needs to be more diplomatic initiatives from both the sides. India needs to do a re-balancing of its policies in Africa. India has neglected western Africa. Enough attention should be given this region as well apart from focusing on southern and eastern Africa. There is a need to have an integrated approach. The time has come to develop a macro policy of India towards Africa which should be reciprocated in a similar way. India should also have micro policy towards Africa focusing on specific sectors. India-Africa partnership is doing well and this must be enhanced further.

Food security is of vital importance for both India and Africa. Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for both the sides. There is a need to enhance agricultural partnership between India and Africa. There is a need to have evergreen revolution. He pointed out that globalisation has created a gap between rich and poor. There is also tremendous aspirations among youth due to information technology revolution such as social media etc. It should be deliberated upon what India and Africa can do together to deal with these challenges and opportunities. On global governance issues India and Africa are on the same side. Both the sides need to have regular dialogue on various global issues. India and Africa need to have regional dialogue as well. There are some ongoing dialogues but there is a need to upgrade it. There is need to upgrade the nature of engagement between India and Africa. Other than developmental initiatives, there should also be regular dialogue on political and strategic issues as well.

In order to realise full potential in India-Africa partnership, we need to have better understanding and more need to done in this regard. After 2008, there is better government to government cooperation between India and Africa and there is increased economic engagement but there is no mechanisms to monitor this engagement. There is a need to utilise the Indian diaspora in Africa for enhancing our partnership. Diaspora can play vital role in enhancing India-Africa partnership. He pointed out that treating Africa as one entity is not working. There needs to be bilateral engagements with African nations.

The fragmentation of Africa puts up constraints not only for India-Africa partnership but also for China-Africa partnership and Japan-Africa partnership etc. Something needs to be done to address this constraint. India and Africa should work together for promoting Asia-Africa partnership. Both the sides should develop common understanding in this regard. There needs to be work for India-Africa ocean governance and enhanced maritime dialogue between the two sides. India and Africa should work towards UN reforms as well.

Points made during discussion

- There is a need to evolve a better structure for India-Africa forum summit. This summit is held once in every three years. This time gap is long. The timing of this summit needs to be given a reconsideration. At least, there should be sub-summits between during this period.

- There should be an India-Africa security dialogue at track one level as well.

- A theme based structured dialogue between India and Africa would be helpful in enhancing engagements, understanding and cooperation between both the sides.

- There a need for greater transparency in implementation of various programmes between India and Africa.

- There is a need to set up dialogue mechanisms at track two level which could move up towards 1.5 level which will help in enhancing India-Africa partnership.

- Banjul formula is working fine and we need to continue with it as well as strengthen it.

*Report prepared by Sanjeev Kumar Shrivastav, Researcher, IDSA.*