Africa Trends

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Disclaimer

Editor's Note

We are pleased to bring to you the first issue of *Africa Trends* for 2018.

In the cover story Kishore Kumar Khera points to the trend of rising military expenditures in Africa and cautions that they must be tempered if Africa is to achieve its developmental goals.

In the first commentary Rajeesh Kumar highlights the fragilities that endanger the prospects for sustained peace in Liberia.

In the second commentary Mathew Sinu Simon makes a case for a soft approach by the Government of Mozambique in dealing with the distinctly local causes of radicalisation.

In the viewpoint, Swaim Prakash Singh analyses the visits of the Indian President Ram Nath Kovind to African countries and posits that such visits are important as elements of soft diplomacy.

Reviewing the book entitled *Making Africa Work*, Divisha Srivastava highlights the importance of getting the economics of Africa's development right as several African countries make the transition from conflict.

We look forward to your feedback.

Covery Story

MILITARY EXPENDITURE IN AFRICA

An audit of required military capabilities and therefore, military expenditure in Africa, is essential. Efforts need to focus on scaling down of conventional military capabilities. An appropriate step taken in this direction at this juncture will assist Africa in achieving its visionary goal of Agenda 2063.

Kishore Kumar Khera*

Africa aspires. In 1963, 33 independent African states gathered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to form the Organization of African Union, now the African Union (AU). On the occasion its Golden Jubilee in May 2013, Africa's political leadership re-dedicated itself to the Pan African vision of an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa. The continental aspirations are well documented in 'Agenda 2063'.[1] With a clearly laid out implementation plan for well-articulated goals to meet the aspirations, Africa is moving in the right direction[2]; albeit a little slowly. The main reasons are intertwined and interrelated - conflicts and slow economic growth. To top this, the governments are splurging on building their military capabilities.

Agreed that military capabilities are essential to ensure security and thus economic activities. But these need to be developed in accordance with the envisaged threat scenario. The capability development programmes need to meet essential targets first prior to looking at desirable characteristics. Secondly, the expansion of military capabilities needs to be in harmony with the national strategy and within the means available. Expenditure on non-essential military capability development not only impacts on other governmental schemes internally but also sets off a chain reaction in the region leading to an arms race. Gradually and systematically, the regional military expenditure increases and developmental goal relegated. Therefore, it is essential that the AU monitors developments in this respect and keeps 'Agenda 2063' within reach.

> **Governments in Africa spend 100 percentile points more than the world average on their armed forces.**

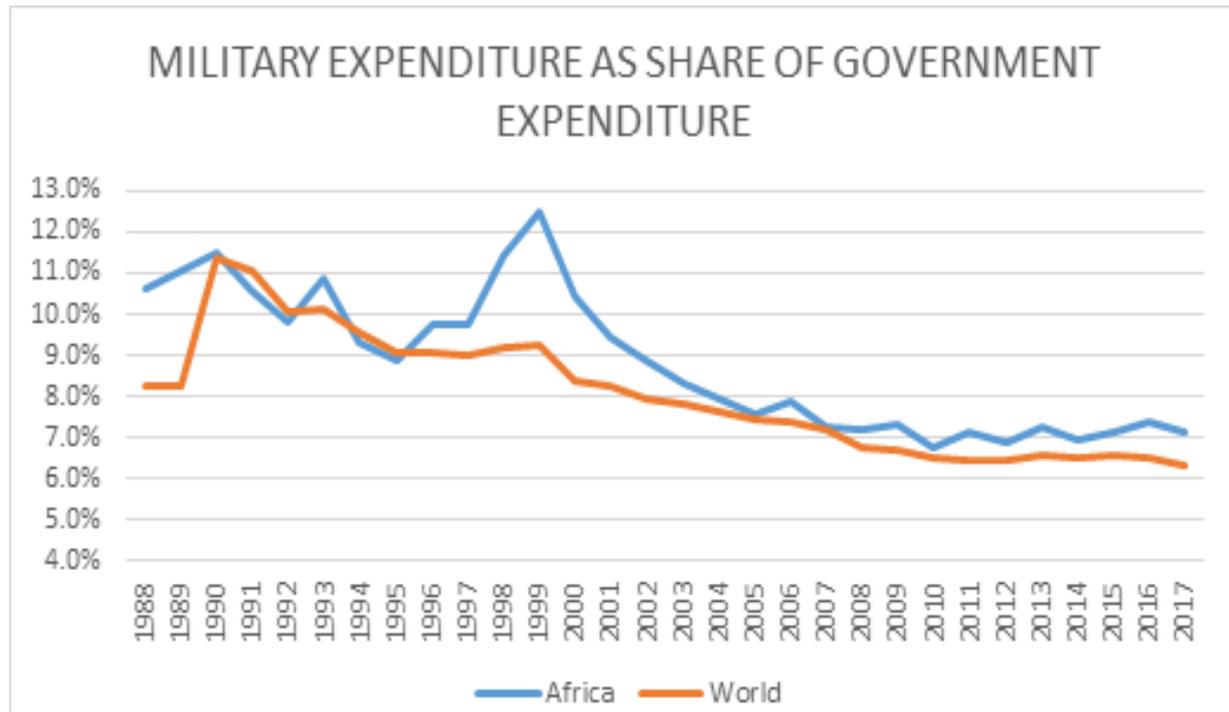### Trends in Military Expenditure

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) database on military-related expenditure up to the year 2017 indicates that Africa, on an average, is spending more than

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* Group Captain Kishore Kumar Khera, VM, is Research Fellow, Millitary Affairs Centre, IDSA.

the world average on its military (Figure 1).[3] Governments in Africa spend 100 percentile points more than the world average on their armed forces. In fact, that has been the trend for the last 30 years. After the end of the cold war, the world over, government expenditure has been declining steadily. The same is not true for Africa. After peaking over 12.5 per cent of government expenditure in 1999, it has come down but continues to stay higher than the world average. A cause of concern.

Figure 1: Military Expenditure as the Share of Government Expenditure

Source: Graphics based on data collated from SIPRI Database

In absolute terms, the military expenditure in Africa is much lower than the world average. However, in the last 30 years, Africa share of world military expenditure has increased from 1.9 per cent to 2.3 per cent. Today, per capita military expenditure in Africa is around one-sixth of the world average (Figure 2). Trend analysis of the last 30 years indicates that per capita military expenditure in the world has increased by 26.8 per cent and in Africa, it has grown three times faster. Low base and inflation can be cited as contributory factors, yet the growth rate is alarming. This accelerated growth in military expenditure in Africa obviously has socio-economic costs. The development growth has been stunted and goals of Agenda 2063 pushed a little further.

... accelerated growth in military expenditure in Africa obviously has socio-economic costs.

Figure 2: Average Per Capita Military Expenditure (at current US $ rate)

Source: Graphics based on data collated from SIPRI Database

Military expenditure as a share of GDP is an important parameter and often utilised as a benchmark in assessing international military spending. On this account, Africa is spending a lower share of its GDP than the world average (Figure 3). In the last three decades, the share of GDP the world spent on the military has come down from over 3.7 per cent to 1.9 per cent in 2017. Africa's military expenditure nearly matches the world trend reaching 1.5 per cent of its GDP in 2017. For developing and underdeveloped countries, this still is a huge financial burden and needs to be further corrected.
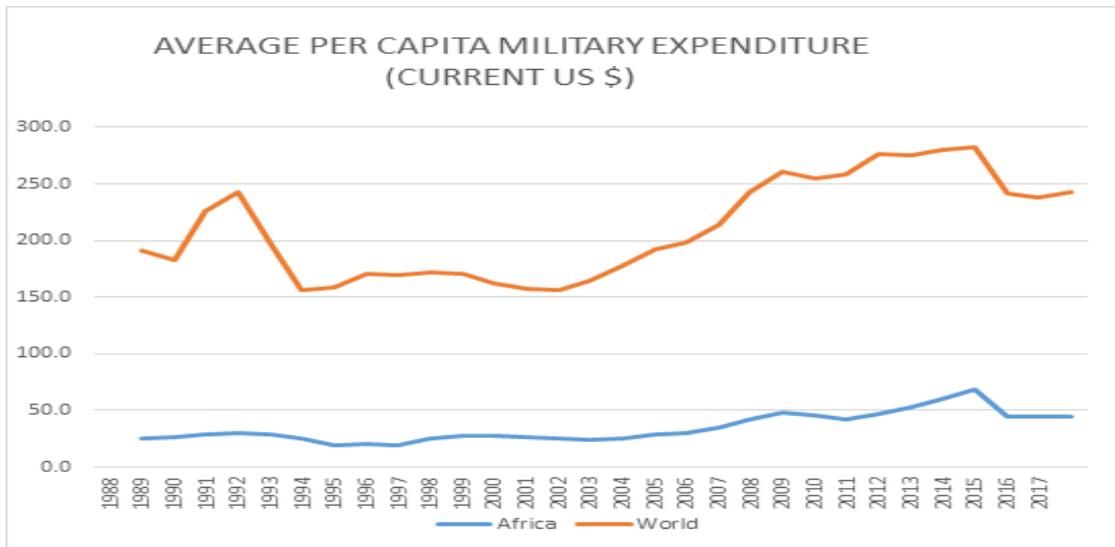
Figure 3: Military Expenditure as Share of GDP

Source: Graphics based on data collated from SIPRI Database

In the last 30 years, seven countries account for three fourth of the total military expenditure in Africa (Figure 4). The scenario has not changed much and Algeria continues to be at the pole position with a greater lead over other nations in military spending in Africa (Figure 5). The big spenders in this arena need to relook and reassess their threat perceptions and synchronise it with the military capabilities that need to be developed. While countries in North Arica need preparations to deter any expansion of conflict from war-torn West Asia, the same is not true for central and southern part of Africa. Induction of frontline combat aircraft like SU30 and Gripen in countries with no military threat to its borders is perplexing.

Figure 4: Military Expenditure in Africa from 1988-2017
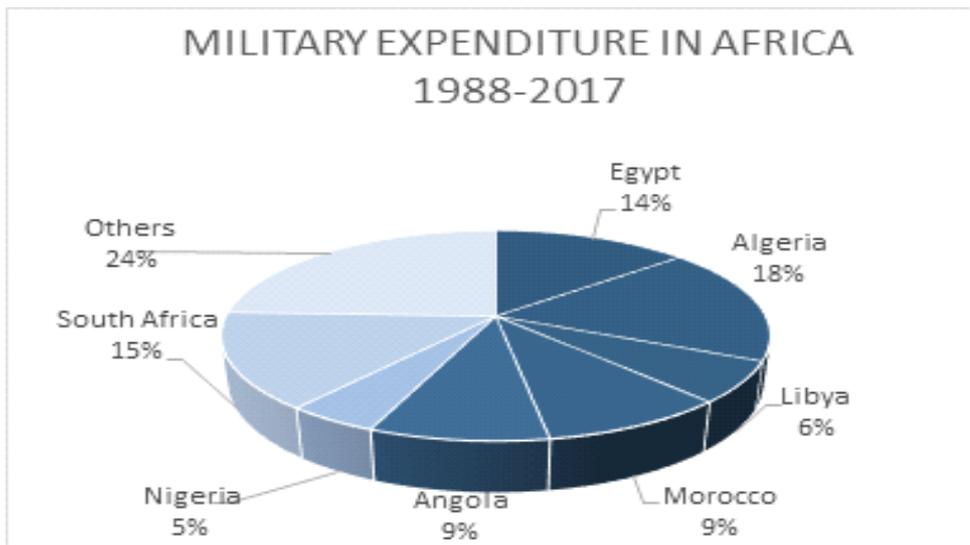
Source: Graphics based on data collated from SIPRI Database

Figure 5: Military Expenditure in Africa in 2017
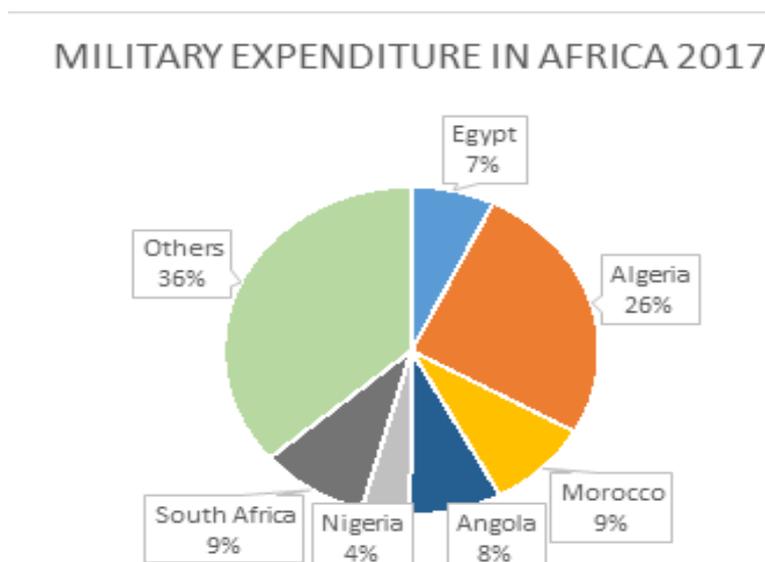
Source: Graphics based on data collated from SIPRI Database

Whys and Wherefores

The Africa Union (AU), since inception, has done a reasonable job of reducing number and intensity of interstate conflicts in the continent. Is there a sense of insecurity among states in Africa? Possibly, yes.[4] That appears to be the main reason for the development of military capabilities in certain countries. A perception seems to prevail that developed military capability allows negotiations from a position of strength. This possibly has resulted in large spending on militaries. The AU needs to take initiative to build and evolve robust and transparent conflict-resolving mechanisms. That will allow states to cut back on their military expenditure. Secondly, democracy is still taking roots in Africa. Militaries, being loyal to the state, tend to be pampered by the ruling class who intend to retain control of the state.[5] For internal dynamics and extension of control, states exercise little direct control over military expenditure. This mechanism suits the political class and the military but the state suffers. Lastly, in most parts of the world, military expenditure skips professional scrutiny and hides behind the garb of national security. A fertile ground for corruption. In fact, Agenda 2063 unambiguously lists corruption as a major risk.[6] Procurement of high value desirable military hardware instead of low-value necessary equipment is a common folly. A number of high-value deals for military equipment in Africa may not meet the essentiality criteria. With communication improving, democracies will mature so will transparency. This will allow growth of apolitical militaries with enhanced professionalism. The result will be a rationalisation of military expenditure.

> *A perception seems to prevail that developed military capability allows negotiations from a position of strength.*

Way Forward

Africa, despite plenty of natural resources, remains low in the Human Development Index.[7] It needs to develop its infrastructure. However, with finite financial resources, investments need to be prioritised and the government expenditure on military needs to be rationalised. Operationally, the possibility of large interstate conflicts is low and diminishing further. Credit for this goes to the visionary leadership of the African Union. However, intrastate conflicts and non-state actors continue to threaten Africa. These have the potential to derail Agenda 2063. The threats, that Africa faces today, do not need strong and large conventional military forces. But what is required is - small and potent groups that can move quickly to thwart potential threats. To implement this strategy, the most critical tool is battlespace transparency. A synergetic pan Africa approach can ensure a high level of transparency with a large number of sensors monitoring the critical areas. This approach will help Africa skip the third and fourth generation of conventional capability reforms and move directly to what is relevant today. Broadly, the focus needs to be on trimming the conventional military capabilities and building smart forces that can handle the security challenges of tomorrow. Infusion of technology in intelligence and decision making loop along with the development of rapid deployment capabilities will hold the key. It will lead to significant resource conservation and achievement of "Silencing the Guns by 2020'.[8] An audit of required military capabilities and therefore, military expenditure in Africa, is essential. Efforts need to focus on scaling down of conventional military capabilities. An appropriate step taken in

this direction at this juncture will assist Africa in achieving its visionary goal of Agenda 2063.

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[1]   The African Union Commission, *Agenda 2063, Frame Work Document*, September 2015, at www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063.pdf (accessed on July 17, 2018).

[2]   The African Union Commission, *FIRST TEN-YEAR IMPLEMENTATION PLAN 2014 – 2023*, September 2015, at www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063-first10yearimplementation.pdf (accessed on July 17, 2018).

[3]   SIPRI Databases, at https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex (accessed on July 17, 2018).

[4]   See n. 1, p. 102.

[5]   Ibid, p. 62.

[6]   Ibid, p. 64, p. 102.Modest progress is being made in fighting corruption, however according to Transparency International, four out of five African countries are below the world average and there is corruption in the military.

[7]   UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 2015, at https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoypizjW3WknFiJnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/Human_Development_Report.html (accessed on July 17, 2018).

[8]   See n.1, p. 119. *Silencing the Guns by 2020* aims to fulfil the pledge of the AU Heads of State and Government meeting on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Anniversary of the founding of the OAU, "not to bequeath the burden of conflicts to the next generation of Africans", "to end all wars in Africa by 2020" and "make peace a reality for all African people and rid the continent free of wars, end inter- and intra-community conflicts, violations of human rights, humanitarian disasters and violent conflicts, and prevent genocide."

Commentary

IS LIBERIA READY TO KEEP ITS OWN PEACE?

After the UNMIL exit, sustaining the peace that was achieved with the help of UN peacekeepers is the most significant challenge before the government. It needs a comprehensive vision, more resources, and stronger political will. It also requires international, regional and sub-regional support.

Rajeesh Kumar*

On 30 March 2018, the United Nations officially ended its nearly 15 years of peacekeeping in Liberia. The United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established in October 2003 with an objective to aid the implementation of the ceasefire agreement following the conclusion of nearly two decades civil war in the West African country. Since then the peacekeepers endeavoured to protect civilians, supported humanitarian and human rights activities and assisted in national security reform. They also worked hard to ensure a smooth transition of power and developed a peacebuilding plan for the country. However, when the blue helmets exit from Liberia, the most significant concern is the sustainability of peace.

Civil Wars in Liberia

Liberia survived two brutal civil war in 1989-1996 and 1999-2003. The conflicts caused the death of 250,000 people and displaced over a million more. The first one began on Christmas Eve 1989, with the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor launching a civil war against the government of Samuel Doe. Beyond the typical ethnic element, patronage of *Krahns* over *Gios* and *Manos*, economic causes also played a significant role in the Liberian civil war. Liberia's rich natural resources, including diamonds, gold, and other minerals, helped the rebels sustain their fight against the government. Hence, the conflict persisted through more than ten peace agreements and 20 cease-fires.[1] The war also claimed the lives of more than 250,000 people.

> **Liberia's rich natural resources, including diamonds, gold, and other minerals, helped the rebels sustain their fight against the government.**

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*   Dr. Rajeesh Kumar is Associate Fellow, ALACUN Centre, IDSA.

The war became bloodier in its last phase. During these years, this West African country also witnessed the growth of warring factions from two to seven groups. However, in 1996, the conflicting parties managed to sign a peace agreement. The outcome was significant for two reasons. First, it ended the seven years of brutal conflict. Secondly, it led to elections in Liberia, and Charles Taylor with around 75 per cent vote share became the president. The shaky nature of peacebuilding process, failure of national reconciliation and issues with disarmament and demobilization process resulted in a short-lived peace in Liberia. In April 1999, the country plunged into its second civil war, when a militia called Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) launched armed attacks.[2] The conflicts lasted till August 2003, when an ECOWAS-brokered peace deal that offered asylum for President Taylor in Nigeria and proposed an ECOWAS vanguard intervention force. In October 2003, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) took over peacekeeping operations from ECOWAS.

UNMIL

UNMIL was established formally by Security Council resolution 1509 (2003) of 19 September 2003 upon the August 2003 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The mission was one of the largest and widely supported peacekeeping operations in the Sub-Sahara with 77 countries contributing military forces and police personnel. UNMIL deployed more than 180,000 peacekeepers over 14 years, and the Security Council renewed its mandate 16 times.[3] It assisted three democratic presidential and legislative elections in Liberia and disarmed more than 100,000 ex-combatants.

UNMIL is also significant due to the large number of Indian peacekeepers, including an all-women unit. India became the first UN member country to send an all-female peacekeeping unit. The Indian women contingent, the Formed Police Unit (FPU) served in Liberia for nine years, and they became model to the local women to participate in policing and the relevant rule of law frameworks.[4] The then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon noted that "through their unwavering performance, professionalism and discipline, including during the Ebola epidemic, these brave women gained the respect of both the

India became the first UN member country to send an all-female peacekeeping unit.

Government and the Liberian people."[5] Similarly, Ellen Johnson also underlined the contribution of the women peacekeepers in "inspiring Liberian women, imparting in them the spirit of professionalism and encouraging them to join operations that protect the nation."[6]

President George Weah's remarks describe how vital was the presence of UN peacekeepers in Liberia and their role in country's transition to peace. In January 2018 he said: "in our darkest days, the UN stood with us," and "We will not fight again, we promise you."[7] As the UN peacekeepers exit from Liberia, the country no longer faces threats from any armed groups. Moreover, with the help of UNMIL, and other regional and international agencies, three successive democratically elected governments have made remarkable efforts to strengthen the rule of law and to revive the economy. However, serious challenges remain in Liberia. First, the anticipated dividend of peace has not reached the majority of the

population, yet. Secondly, many of the root-causes of the conflict have not been addressed by the successive governments.[8] Hence, the most significant concern when UNMIL exit from Liberia is, the preparedness of the country to keep its own peace.

Sustaining Peace

 Exit of UNMIL generated both hopes and uncertainties. On the one hand, the Liberian government, a large section of people and international community believe that the country is ready to keep its peace. For instance, national police chief Chris Massaquoi observed that "we are ready, capable and committed…our security institutions are very prepared to provide the security as needed and are keen on building on the level of work we have started in securing the peace we all enjoy today."[9] President Weah also described the UNMIL departure as a new dawn for Liberia. The relative peace in the last 14 years, three peaceful power transfer, the developments regarding security sector reforms, and national reconciliation back their claim. The security apparatus including armed forces have gone through a thorough restructuring process and evolved into a professional 'force for good.'

However, there are many worries about the country's ability to sustain the peace. According to Brooks Marmon, in the last few years, Liberia experienced a series of setbacks in its efforts to establish itself as a functioning state. He cites the examples of election-related violence in 2011, mob attacks against several corporate and public institutions as well as against police stations in 2015.[10] Similarly, the Ebola outbreak badly hit the Liberian economy, and a high rate of poverty still exists. The prolonged civil war destroyed much of the infrastructure and country lacks good roads, schools and hospitals. The economic implications of UNMIL withdrawal is another dilemma. Many Liberian businesses depended solely on UNMIL-generated demands.[11] The exit also limits international attention and voluntary funding, on which most of the peacebuilding projects are envisioned.

> **Many Liberian businesses depended solely on UNMIL-generated demands.**

Moreover, sustaining peace needs to address the root causes of conflict. Political and social systems founded on "privilege, patronage, the politicisation of the military and corruption, poverty, lack of access to justice and politicization of ethnicity" were the primary reasons of Liberian civil wars.[12] Intra-communal cohesion and trust are still missing in the country, and some communities remain fragmented. Peacebuilding lacks a solid strategy to bridge the ever-present, multiple divisions in the Liberian society, indigenous versus settlers, tribal versus regional. The spreading land dispute between the Mandingo and Mano Nimba County and similar tensions in Bong region are cases in point. When IDPs and refugees return, recovering and transferring their lands to them will also be a significant challenge for the government.

Addressing the issues of war-affected youth, including reintegration former child soldiers and ex-combatants will also be crucial to nurturing the peace. The UN estimates at least 30,000 children are used as combatants in Liberia. Access to justice is another significant issue in Liberia due to the country's outdated legal system and ingrained corruption. Many

judges have been accused of receiving bribes to grant bail or acquit defendants in criminal cases. In terms of reconciliation, most of the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), including prosecution of war criminals, remain unimplemented. After nearly almost ten years, the TRC recommended war crimes court has yet to form.

Intra-communal cohesion and trust are still missing in the country ...

To conclude, Liberia is going through the most significant period in its transition history. After the UNMIL exit, sustaining the peace that was achieved with the help of UN peacekeepers is the most significant challenge before the government. It needs a comprehensive vision, more resources, and stronger political will. It also requires international, regional and sub-regional support. One can only hope that Africa's greatest footballer ever, George Weah will make all the efforts to achieve this.

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1   Charles T. Call, "Liberia's War Recurrence: Grievance over Greed", *Civil Wars*, Vol.12, No.4, 2010, p.349.

2   George Klay Kieh , "The Roots of the Second Liberian Civil War", *International Journal on World Peace*, 26:1, 2009, p.8

3   "'UNMIL Facts", April 23, 2018, at https://unmil.unmissions.org/unmil-facts (accessed on June 15, 2018).

4   "Open Debate Women and Peace and Security", at https://www.pminewyork.org/content (accessed on December 27, 2018)

5   "Secretary General pays Tribute to first All-Female Police Serving with UN Liberia Mission for Nine Years", February 12, 2016, at https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/highlight/2016-02-12.html (accessed on July 15, 2018).

6   "Liberia Bids Farewell to Indian Female Peacekeepers", January 27, 2016, at http://www.unic.org.in/pressrooms/liberia-bids-farewell-to-indian-female-peacekeepers/, July 15, 2018.

7   "Peace and Security", March 29, 2018, at https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/03/1006221 (accessed on December 29, 2018).

8   "The story of UNMIL", at https://reliefweb.int/report/liberia/story-unmil (accessed On July 15, 2018).

9   Robtel Neajai Pailey and Thomas Jaye, "The UN Had to Go, but Is Liberia Really Prepared for Peace?", July 14, 2016, at http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2016/07/14/the-un-had-to-go-but-is-liberia-really-prepared-for-peace/ (accessed on December 29, 2018)

10   Brooks Marmon, "Why the UN Can't Leave Liberia", *Foreign Affairs*, 16 June 2016.

11   Daniel Forti and Lesley Conolly, "The Mission Is Gone, but the UN Is Staying: Liberia's Peacekeeping Transition", at https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/1812_Liberias-Peacekeeping_-Transition.pdf (accessed on December 29, 2018).

12   Amanda Lucey and Liezelle Kumalo, "Sustaining peace in practice Liberia and Sierra Leone", at https://cic.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/sustaining_peace_in_practice-liberia_and_sierra_leone.pdf (accessed on January 3, 2018).

Commentary

RADICALISATION IN SOUTH EAST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF MOZAMBIQUE

The distinct feature of radicalisation in Mozambique is that local issues enable the Ansar ul Sunna to conduct its nefarious activities. So rather than take a hard approach, it would serve the Government well to address the growing local concerns of unemployment, social exclusion and underdevelopment in order to curb the influence of Islamic extremism in Mozambique.

Mathew Sinu Simon*

A United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report of 2017- 'Journey to Extremism in Africa: Drivers, Incentives and the Tipping Point for Recruitment' claims that deprivation and marginalisation, underpinned by weak governance, were primary forces driving young Africans into violent extremism.[1] The report also observes that 51 per cent of young Africans who joined extremist organisations cited religion as a reason for joining an extremist group, 57 percent of them admitted to understanding little to nothing of the religious texts or interpretations, or not reading religious texts at all. In the light of this report, an assessment is made of the rise of radicalism in Southeast Africa, with a focus on Mozambique.

The journey to radicalisation

Following the growth and spread of Boko Haram and Al Shabab in eastern and western parts of Africa, radicalisation has percolated to Mozambique.[2] Coastal northern Mozambique has a long history of trade and movement of people with the rest of East Africa. People in this area are predominantly Muslim. The offshore discovery of one of the largest natural gas fields in Africa in 2010 triggered dreams of wealth, but so far there has been little impact locally. Mozambique has also become increasingly corrupt in recent years and its coastal north has become a major centre for ivory, timber, heroin and ruby smuggling - with the involvement of police and other government officials. Local smuggling barons incorporated the militant young men into their networks and paid them well. The border with Tanzania is not controlled and there has always been a movement of people. This has worsened because of increased smuggling - mainly from Kenya, Somalia and the Great Lakes through Mozambique to South Africa.

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*   Dr. Mathew Sinu Simon is Research Analyst, Internal Security Centre, IDSA.

The deadly mix of poverty, corruption and smuggling has created a space for radical elements to grow. A new Islamist militant group, Ansar al-Sunna (Supporters of Tradition) is gaining a foothold in Mozambique, East Africa.[3] Locals call the group "Al-Shabaab", although they appear to have no direct links with the Somali group of the same name. It arose in the northern districts of Cabo Delgado in Mozambique first as a religious group, but by 2015 began to radicalise further and include military cells. Its early members were followers of Aboud Rogo Mohammed, the radical Kenyan cleric who was shot dead in 2012, by unknown assailants. The early Ansar al-Sunna members were followers of Rogo's work. They first settled in Kibiti, in southern Tanzania before entering Mozambique.[4]

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Ansar al- Sunna carried out a flurry of brutal attacks in Mozambique since October 2016.   They were instrumental in coordinated attacks on three Mocimboa da Praia police installations on October 5, 2017. Then, on January 11, 2018 they attacked a community from the administrative post of Olumbe, Palma district and killed seven people and burned down their houses. This was followed by a deadly attack on May 16, 2018, when a group of young men armed with guns and knives attacked Ilala, a coastal locality in Macomia. The recurrent violent attacks in terms of, shootings, stabbings, arson and killings were most evidently high in the month of June 2017. A common trend by way of their modus operandi is that they attack and decapitate people indiscriminately with machetes and firearms and burn down their houses and villages.

According to the study entitled "Islamic radicalisation in northern Mozambique: the case of Mocimboa da Praia" (2017), members of Ansar al-Sunna have been recruited through family ties and mosques.[5] This study found that the group's leaders have links (religious, military and commercial) with fundamentalist groups in Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and the Great Lakes region. They differentiate themselves from the orthodox Muslims of Cabo Delgado by adopting a distinctive dress – white turbans, shaved heads, long beards, and black shorts. The group members allegedly enter mosques wearing shoes and carrying weapons. The group's leaders ostensibly shun dialogue with other Muslims. Radicalised youth in the country apparently sold their property to finance their trips to Somalia. The group has used jihadist videos similar to those used by radical movements in Africa to promote and radicalise its following.

The group claims that mainstream Mozambican mosques have abandoned the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed and are a degenerate form of Islam. Ansar al-Sunna calls for the implementation of Sharia law and refuses to recognise Mozambican law. They refuse to send their children to official schools, and reluctant to enter into any dialogue with

... members of Ansar al-Sunna have been recruited through family ties and mosques.

Mozambican state bodies or with the local religious leaderships. The study also stated that the group's social base is among unemployed and marginalised youth, particularly speakers of the Kimwani language.[6]

The training camps are located in the Cabo Delgado districts of Mocimboa da Praia, Macomia and Montepuez, where training is provided by former Mozambican police personnel. Nuro Adremane and Jafar Alawi are said to be the leaders of the group.[7] In terms of composition, the group includes Mozambicans, Tanzanians and Somalis. Reports also state that members are mostly Mozambicans from Mocimboa da Praia, Palma and Macomia districts.

Ansar al-Sunna calls for the implementation of Sharia law and refuses to recognise Mozambican law.

Poaching, trafficking in ruby, timber and wood are said to be the group's main source of income, which are mainly used to purchase military equipment and communication. According to an estimate, the group generates at least $3 million a year from trafficking in timber and $30 million from rubies, although these figures are likely exaggerated.[8] The growth of Ansar al-Sunna is a troubling development for Mozambique as the group has focused its activities on Cab Delgado, known as a hub for mining and petroleum exploration. Recent reports also suggest that subcontractors for Anadarko, the oil firm leading the development efforts, had suspended work in Palma over security concerns. [9]

... the Mozambican Government has stepped up its offensive in the form of a military crackdown.

As Ansar-al Sunna is a relatively young terror group, the Mozambican Government has stepped up its offensive in the form of a military crackdown. In late December 2017, government forces carried out a helicopter raid and a bombardment from naval vessels on the village of Mitumbate in Mocímboa de Praia District, which was believed to be the group's stronghold. Government forces reportedly killed 50 people including women and children and detained some 200 others apart from security measures, the government approved a proposal for a law to combat terrorism.

Conclusion

The distinct feature of radicalisation in Mozambique is that local issues enable the Ansar ul Sunna to conduct its nefarious activities. So rather than take a hard approach, it would serve the Government well to address the growing local concerns of unemployment, social exclusion and underdevelopment in order to curb the influence of Islamic extremism in Mozambique. In terms of long term stability, the government and multinational corporations should make investments in community development, thereby providing the local population with better employment opportunities. There is a need to promote civic education for young people in the affected areas, which will be translated into a plan of action, with tasks and responsibilities, monitoring mechanisms and deadlines, to prevent radicalism of any kind undermining national stability.

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[1]   United Nations Development Programme, *Journey to Extremism in Africa: Drivers, Incentives and the Tipping Point for Recruitment*, New York, 2017, at http://journey-to-extremism.undp.org/content/downloads/ UNDP-JourneyToExtremism-report-2017-english.pdf (accessed on August 30, 2018).

[2]   Ibrahim Ahmed, "Experts Alarmed at Rise of Jihadi Terrorism in Mozambique", *VOA News*, June 11,

2018, at https://www.voanews.com/a/experts-alarmed-at-rise-of-jihadi-terrorism-in-mozambique/ 4434140.html (accessed on August 30, 2018).

3   Sunguta West, "Ansar al-Sunna: A New Militant Islamist Group Emerges in Mozambique", *Terrorism Monitor,* Vol. 16, Issue 12, June 14, 2018.

4   "Mozambique Al Shabab behead 10 villagers", *The Standard*, May 29, 2018, at https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001282236/mozambique-al-shabab-behead-10-villagers (accessed on August 30, 2018).

5   Pereira, Joao, Salvador Forquilha, and Saide Habibe, *Islamic Radicalization in Mozambique: The Case of Mocimboa Da Praia*, Report, 2017, (unavailable online), cited in Adrian Frey, "Mozambique: Islamists funded by illegal trade in timber and rubies – AIM report", *Club of Mozambique*, May 23, 2018, at https://clubofmozambique.com/news/mozambique-islamists-funded-by-illegal-trade-in-timber-and-rubies-aim-report/ (accessed on August 30, 2018). The research was undertaken by two independent bodies, the Institute of Economic and Social Studies (IESE) and the Civil Society Support Mechanism (MASC).

6   The Kimwanis are the smallest ethnic group in Cabo Delgado, greatly outnumbered by speakers of the Makua and Makonde languages in Mozambique.

7   "Authorities name 2 Mozambican men suspected leaders of Mocímboa attacks; link them to Tanzania, Sudan, Saudi Arabia", *Club of Mozambique*, December 4, 2017, at http://clubofmozambique.com/news/authorities-name-2-mozambican-suspects-for-leading-mocimboa-attacks-link-them-to-tanzania-sudan-saudi-arabia/ (accessed on August 30, 2018).

8   See n. 1.

9   "Mozambique flee islands to escape terror attacks, work halted on gas projects", *Zitamar News*, June 8, 2018, at https://zitamar.com/mozambicans-flee-islands-escape-terror-attacks-work-halted-gas-project (accessed on August 30, 2018).

Viewpoint

ACT AFRICA - A CASE FOR SOFT DIPLOMACY

More concentration on the soft diplomatic efforts with greater emphasis on people to people connects and carrying out capacity building where people matter should be the focus of the government. Soft diplomacy through regular and assertive visits by top functionaries of the nation namely the President, Vice President, Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister is the best strategy to enhance relations with African countries.

Swaim Prakash Singh*

Introduction

India's engagement with Africa, especially at a time when the partner region's geopolitical and geo-economic situation is changing, deserves serious consideration. Africa is increasingly being viewed as a land of opportunity and promises, not a region of conflict and poverty as before.[1] The assertive approach and a wave of reassurance by Prime Minister Narendra Modi to the African polity and leadership could be seen during the third India-Africa Forum Summit hosted at New Delhi in 2015. Unlike the previous approach of the Banjul formula, under which only a few African countries participated in the summit, the 2015 event was highly subscribed by the heads of state was the indication of well-crafted international diplomacy and commerce. Participation of all 54 countries including Heads of State of 40 countries did give an indication that Africa considered India as its natural partner. The multilateral summit gave India an opportunity to engage with every country in the continent. It is imperative for India to cement its spadework by consistent efforts.

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*　Wing Commander Swaim Prakash Singh is a Research Scholar and is currently posted at Joint Control and Analyses Center (JCAC), a joint setup of the Indian Air Force and Airport Authority of India.

is the best strategy to enhance relations with African countries. In this context the visits by the President of India, Ram Nath Kovind, to some countries in March-April 2018 is significant.

In March 2018, the President of India paid a significant visit to two historically friendly countries of Madagascar and Mauritius. This was followed by visits to three more African countries namely Equatorial Guinea, Swaziland and Zambia. It is not a coincidence that all his visits have been to Africa; for they reflect the importance given to Africa in Indian foreign policy. It also reflects President Kovind's personal commitment to that relationship.[2]

The Presidential Visits: An Analysis

March 2018

Indian President Ram Nath Kovind was on a six-day official visit to island nations of Mauritius and Madagascar from March 11, 2018.[3] The two countries share a rich common heritage. Bilateral relations have strengthened considerably in recent years as part of India's growing engagement with Africa.[4] The President's first overseas tour of the year to Mauritius and Madagascar however, were significant as the country is reaching out to the Indian Ocean countries and tapping its diasporic ties. These visits of President Kovind held lot of significance as Mauritius and Madagascar are located in Indian Ocean, a region where China has been increasing its naval presence in recent times. India, which now perceives the Indian Ocean region as its area of dominance, knows it has to strengthen ties with member countries, especially the island nations, which can so easily succumb to China and its deep pockets. The Indian advantage over China in this region is the cultural, historic and diasporic connect.

Visit to Madagascar

Kovind was also the first president from India to ever visit Madagascar, and the country marked this occasion by bestowing him with its highest honour to a non-citizen the *Grand Cross of the Second Class*. Striking strong bond with Madagascar, President Kovind reiterated India's affection and feeling for the country is symbolic of the shared aspirations for Africa and for the Indian Ocean Region.

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More importantly, he handed a USD 80.7 million Line of Credit for agriculture and mechanisation to Madagascar. The President also inaugurated a centre for geo-informatics application in rural development that has been created with assistance from India. India and Madagascar signed an umbrella agreement in the field of defence wherein, both the countries will explore various ways of co-operation in the field of defence. A significant development was signing a MoU for amended air service agreement for improving connectivity between the two countries.

Visit to Mauritius

In Mauritius, the President was the chief guest at the island nation's golden jubilee of independence celebrations, a high honour. He also inaugurated the World Hindi Secretariat building as well as laid foundation stones for two important, India-aided projects - a social housing scheme and an ENT hospital.[5]

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India announced a new USD 100 million Line of Credit for defence procurement by Mauritius. India will also supply a Multi-Purpose Offshore Patrol Vessel to Mauritius under this Line of Credit. The other agreements/memorandum of understanding (MoUs) signed include an MoU on cooperation between Nalanda University in Bihar and Mauritius; an MoU between the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) in India and the Public Service Commission of Mauritius; an MoU on the establishment of an Ayurveda Chair at the University of Mauritius and an agreement to facilitate cultural exchanges between the two countries.

He also succeeded in connecting with Indian diaspora and youth of the country through his well thought-out speeches. He conveyed that India sees Mauritius as central to the emerging institutional architecture of the Indian Ocean Region and we want to sail together, and sail far, in these majestic waters. Our aspiration is for Mauritius to rise as a leading economy and a voice for peace and stability in the entire Indian Ocean Region.[6]

April 2018

President Ram Nath Kovind embarked on week-long visit to three African countries, the energy-rich Equatorial Guinea, Swaziland and the copper-rich Zambia from 7-13 April 2018. This can be seen as part of the government's efforts to refashion and consolidate ties with Africa.

Visit to Equatorial Guinea

Visit to Equatorial Guinea, situated along Africa's Atlantic coast marks the first ever visit by an Indian head of state or government to these countries. India's relationship with Equatorial Guinea is dominated by strong partnership in the oil and gas sector. Equatorial Guinea is the fourth largest supplier of natural gas to India.

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The first ever visit of a Head of State from India to Equatorial Guinea, symbolised the desire of both parties to reinforce the excellent relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the two countries. Both countries acknowledged the excellent long standing bilateral relations and reaffirmed their commitment to further strengthening existing ties. They reviewed areas of cooperation in oil and gas, mining and geology, health, agriculture and fisheries, and capacity building. In the spirit of the reinforcing the cooperation between the

two countries, the MOU on cooperation in the field of Traditional Systems of Medicine, cooperation in the field of Medicinal Plants and action plan on cooperation in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) were signed.[7]

Apart from great potential in expansion of bilateral trade relations including agriculture, energy, mining and ICT, a major thrust area identified was harnessing renewable energy resources, with the two heads of state expressing satisfaction at the establishment of the International Solar Alliance at the Founding Conference and Summit held in March, 2018 at Delhi. India also offered to set up an Entrepreneurship Development and Vocational Training Centre and an English Language Training Laboratory in Equatorial Guinea, signifying India's desire to contribute to capacity building and training. Government of India's decision to open a resident Diplomatic mission in Malabo was received very passionately by the hosts.

Visit to Swaziland

The maiden state visit of any President of India to Swaziland too could be seen as a contribution to soft diplomatic efforts. Though only two bilateral MoUs on cooperation in health sector and for exemption of visas for holders of diplomatic/service passports were formalised, yet this visit did strike a chord for a new beginning of bilateral relations between the two countries.

India has taken the right steps in choosing to construct select infrastructure of monumental nature in Swaziland. While addressing a joint sitting of the Swaziland Parliament, President Kovind announced that India would support construction of the new Parliament building of Swaziland through technical and financial assistance. This announcement was warmly received by the members of parliament.

India's initiative of providing more number of educational scholarships, drugs helping the fight against HIV-AIDS, expansion of renewable energy infrastructure and setting up 20 solar charging stations in various low-electricity access areas of Swaziland does speak of India's effort to help benefit the masses of the country. The inauguration of the Information Technology Centre built through a concessional credit-line of USD 20 million from the Government of India to the Government of Swaziland, providing new credit-line of USD 10.4 million to help establish a Disaster Recovery Site, donation of 500 blankets to the charitable initiatives and NGO, opening of a resident Indian diplomatic Mission in Swaziland and offering to reciprocate with a similar mission in New Delhi in the near future[8] can be seen as major achievement of this visit.

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Visit to Zambia

India and Zambia are time-tested friends; the friendship is built on the strong foundation of bilateral trade and economic engagements. Development partnership and economic cooperation are key pillars of India-Zambia relations. That the bilateral relations have

prospered is evident from the fact that India is one of Zambia's largest trading partners. This Presidential visit was more a trip for consolidation and signified the wish for constant engagement.[9]. Based on the background of commerce, economics and trade, India emphasised on the need for opportunities for its businesses to explore in the fields of social enterprise to new technology; from community projects to highways; and from "Digital India" to "Smart

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Zambia". As part of a global cause, the common agenda for both the countries was the Solar Alliance. President Kovind expressed appreciation for Zambia having signed the International Solar Alliance agreement and looked forward to early ratification of the agreement from the Zambian side.

The mutual agreements in form of MoUs were of routine nature- double taxation avoidance, judicial cooperation, mutual visa waivers for officials and diplomats and of the Entrepreneurship Development Institute that India proposes to build in Zambia. The highlight of the visit was commencement of work on the 93-km Lusaka Traffic Decongestion Project. The Lusaka Traffic Decongestion Project has received substantial financial support from the government of India and is being executed by an Indian company, AFCONS Infrastructure.[10]

Conclusion

New Delhi has been trying to drive a foreign policy agenda in Africa underscored by people-to-people and business-to-business exchange. This comes as a complement to India's growing diplomatic investments in Africa. In the past four years, India's top leaders visited 25 African countries. Though less in number when compared with Chinese President Xi Jinping's 79 visits to 43 African countries in the last 10 years, a change is in the wind with India's recent announcement to expand its presence in the continent from 29 to 47 embassies by 2021.[11] In totality, the presidential visits in the first half of the year 2018 could be termed as a success, especially with Equatorial Guinea and Swaziland. The President being felicitated with the highest civilian honour of these two countries and the timing of the visit of President especially to Swaziland has put the India's firm commitment towards Africa to the fore. The visit to Zambia could be termed as another meaningful trip for trade and commerce. The visit to Mauritius and Madagascar was an ideal example of a successful engagement by connecting with diaspora and youth of the host nations. Here too, the President was honoured with highest civilian honour.

The President's visits could be seen as a well-crafted soft diplomatic approach and is a good start in such direction. The diplomatic efforts towards the sustenance of bilateral relations must go on with full speed, vision and actionable commitments in the future too.

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5   Rekha Dixit, "Reach out, win over: Significance of Kovind's Mauritius, Madagascar tours", March 16, 2018. Narrative on the website of Diplomacy, at https://www.theweek.in/news/india/2018/03/16/ Reach-out-win-over-Significance-Kovind-Mauritius-Madagascar-tours.html, (accessed on December 20, 2018).

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10   Press Release, "President of India Ceremonially Commences Work on 93-Km Lusaka Traffic Project; Says Economic Cooperation is a Key Pillar of India-Zambia Relations", Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, April 12, 2018, at https://presidentofindia.nic.in/press-release-detail.htm?1306 (accessed on December 16, 2018).

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Book Review

Divisha Srivastava*

'Making Africa Work', was written as a practical guide keeping in mind the urgency and necessity to meet the new challenges due to the population explosion that Africa is likely to experience . It calls for harnessing positive forces and facilitating change in a continent which has long been ridden by old status quoist systems of patronage. This book is the result of extensive research undertaken by the Brenthurst Foundation, which has been working for the past thirteen years to empower African countries by developing practical policy recommendations and identifying best practices. Renowned researchers and authors Greg Mills and Jeffrey Herbst are old collaborators, who have worked extensively on Africa. Their work is further illuminated by the experiences of Dickie Davis, a retired Major General from the British Army who has devoted his post-military life to work on African issues and Olusegun Obasanjo, a former president of Nigeria.

The authors highlight how, by post-colonial standards, Africa was enjoying unprecedented economic growth until recent times. The growth rates, however, were not universal because of disparities in access to resources and services. Using other developing countries especially from East Asia as an example, the authors highlight the need for sustained efforts to promote governance-led economic change in Africa. The book has eleven chapters which have been organised around major economic sectors and across three major themes dealing with the African people, their economy and the leadership of African nations. The introduction discusses the nature of challenges that Africa is facing today and is projected to face. Every chapter begins with the key steps that can ensure success and the challenges and opportunities that arise in the given domain. The arguments are further substantiated by illuminating statistical evidence.

*   Divisha Srivastava is a Ph.D. Scholar at the Department of International Relations, South Asian University (SAARC Initiative), New Delhi.

The first section deals with Africa's 'People and Cities' – the continent is facing higher populations than ever and they are all moving towards the cities. Due to poor management, nationalisation of key industries and funding shortages – the factories and manufacturing centres which were once a matter of urban pride, now lie in ruins. This population explosion, lack of employment and rapid urbanisation has also created a conducive environment for crime to fester, leading to a state of anarchy in the once beloved urban centres, where lives are being led with great uncertainty and stress, making the security and safety of people a major concern. Since their independence, African leaders have felt content with the economic systems they had inherited, because strong state intervention gave them opportunities for patronage and corruption. However, because the leadership was largely uninterested in major reforms and distributed gains among their preferred constituents, the systems of today are not capable of responding to the huge demands that arise from a rapidly growing population. While authoritarian governments have been preferred and did succeed in providing returns and control in the short term, it has been seen across the world that democratic institutions are necessary for consistent and stable returns. Accountability ensures performance, and since democratic systems are voter driven – they can ensure effective implementation of policies and efficient governance. This ties in with the need for basic transportation and communication systems required to run the country smoothly and thus facilitate further development. Economic growth in the continent has been stagnating because of severe infrastructural deficits. The incompetence of the current infrastructural systems stems from years of negligence, politicisation, inefficient policy-making and severe under development.

The second section deals with the current state of Africa's economy. Despite Africa's fertile and rich soils, the agricultural sector has not been able to realise its full potential. Government policies have not been in sync with modern farming practices. In order to facilitate better agricultural production, the entire ecosystem needs to be reworked, including industries related to seeds, irrigation, fertilisers, farming equipment, storage, transportation, along with governmental systems regulating subsidies, leases and landholdings. Farming needs to be made safe and stable, wherein the people are provided with incentives to commit their life's savings, immovable investments and labour. Similar reorganisation is required in the mining sector which faces a severe lack of stable, efficient and transparent regulatory mechanisms. Mining is a cyclical sector dependent on the sensitive balance between supply and demand. African countries need to create positively reinforcing cycles which can benefit all stakeholders especially because mining requires long term capital and labour investments with slow returns. The risks involved also need to be reduced in order to drive foreign investments.

The manufacturing sector also needs to be reworked to ensure that foreign companies 'move to Africa'. Competitiveness can bring Africa at par with the other global players, and coupled with bureaucratic efficiency, can create a conducive environment for investors to set up manufacturing centres. The governments need to invest in skill based education and training to produce a labour force capable of manufacturing. The services sector can also benefit similarly by ensuring effective training, better systems of telecommunication and efficient regulation coupled with easier access and removal of protectionism. Tourism, health &

medicine, banking & insurance are sectors which benefit not only the local populations but also foreign partners and nationals. Integration of technology with economic processes would further ensure an open economic system with faster delivery, better returns and effective monitoring. This would also bring the local populations at par with the rest of the world through trade, exposure and better access to information.

The third section provides insights into how leadership can 'make Africa work.' The mind-set of the leadership needs to shift from aids to investments, which can be guaranteed by creating stable, certain and regulated economic spheres. Just aid has not been able to cope with the funding challenges that sub-Saharan Africa faces, and has further weakened the linkages between leaders and their electorate by enriching only the elites. State performance could further be improved if it is owned and driven by local impetus. Chinese assistance and investments have been important for the continent's economic growth but the governments need to ensure optimal utilisation of these resources in order to deal with Africa's developmental concerns. Planning can be used as a mechanism to ensure prioritisation, appropriate utilisation and resourcing, effective management and good governance. The governments need to circumscribe the role and influence of foreign governments while making sure that they themselves engage in 'business partnerships' and do not promote their own primacy. This decentralisation can be ensured with democratic institutions which hold representatives accountable. Africa is in dire need of effective leadership which is strong enough to let go of control and can delegate its duties to specialists to ensure efficient implementation.

Unlike books which follow an academic approach to make their arguments, this book is envisaged as a technical handbook which can provide usable solutions to those in positions of power and engaged in African policy making and also as an extensive guide for those who are in general interested in understanding the continent. One of the downsides however, is that the solutions and 'takeaways' are often reduced to a list of important points which are not always well defined, leaving the reader wanting to know more. The book is factually dense but often utilises East Asian examples like Singapore as a reference point and doesn't always take into account the varied success stories from within Africa itself. A lot of weight has been put on the role and responsibility of the leadership in reinvigorating their failing systems. 'Making Africa Work,' believes that a strong and determined leadership is crucial to mitigate the impending and inevitable issues Africa is expected to face – and therefore aims to inform the current and upcoming leadership with an action-oriented blueprint, but where does this leadership come from and what drives them could be explored further. The leaders of tomorrow, the book argues, need to be better equipped to face the challenges which come with the projected growth rates, before their existing systems get overwhelmed and institutions fail. Together the four authors amalgamate years of experience, observation, and research supported by extensive statistical data, evidence and analysis which provides a detailed vignette of how African economies have been functioning so far and what needs to be done in order to 'make Africa work' in the coming future.

Call for Contributions

IDSA invites articles, commentaries and book reviews for publication in *Africa Trends*, a biannual magazine on Africa. Submissions can focus on security, political and economic issues relating to African countries. Articles may focus on analysing bilateral, regional and multilateral developments of strategic significance to India's engagement with African countries.

Articles could be of approximately 2000 words. Commentaries can range between 1,000-1,500 words (excluding footnotes) and book reviews between 600-1,000 words. Guidelines for contributors may be found at: http://www.idsa.in/africatrends. Submissions may be emailed to the Editor at idsa.africatrends@gmail.com.

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The Centre's research focus includes understanding developments in the African region and analysing various hotspots like Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, and the Indian Ocean Region. It also focuses on bilateral, regional as well as multilateral engagements between India and the countries of Africa. The Centre also endeavours to analyse India's engagement with Latin American countries, particularly in forums such as the IBSA and BRICS.

In addition, the Centre carries out research on the broader theme of India and the United Nations. It deals with important topics that come up in the Security Council and those that have relevance and significance for India's foreign policy.

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Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
No.1, Development Enclave,Rao Tula Ram Marg,
Delhi Cantt., New Delhi - 110 010
Tel.: (91-11) 2671-7983   Fax: (91-11) 2615 4191
Website: http://www.idsa.in
E-mail: contactus@idsa.in