

## ***Third India-Africa Forum Summit: A Critical Evaluation***

Rajiv Bhatia\*

The mention of ‘India’ and ‘Africa’ together evokes memories of an old and long journey, marked by the frequent reference to Gondwana land of millions of years ago when the two formed part of the same landmass; adventures of commercial and cultural exchanges that began in the pre-Christian era; proximity and problems created by colonization; a shared struggle for independence and emancipation under common icons; and contemporary quest for development, a just world order and strategic partnership. Today, as the major powers compete to strengthen their cooperation with Africa, it is essential to underline that, as compared to them, India has enjoyed the oldest association and the longest friendship with the peoples of the African continent. It is an invaluable legacy and a solid foundation on which to build our common dreams and future plans.

The Third India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS-III), held in New Delhi from 26–29 October 2015, was a memorable milestone in the above-mentioned journey. It is not that African leaders came to India for a conference for the first time; they had come in substantial numbers earlier to attend the Non-Aligned Summit in 1983. But, in October 2015, India hosted a historic summit where all 54 countries of Africa were represented, 41 of them at the level of head of state or government.<sup>1</sup> This was unprecedented, making it the largest gathering of Africa’s high representatives on the Indian soil. Their presence under one roof at Indira Gandhi stadium in Delhi on 29 October 2015 was a message in itself.

This essay attempts to delve deep in order to evaluate the outcomes of the summit. Did the conference achieve tangible results—both from the Indian and African perspectives? It will first delineate the immediate backdrop and context, and then trace the highlights of the two previous summits. The stage

---

\***The Author** is a former High Commissioner of India to Kenya as well as to South Africa and Lesotho. Till recently, he was the Director General of the New Delhi based Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA).

will thus be set for an in-depth examination of how the third summit was organized; how it unfolded; and what it achieved and/or failed to achieve. The overall purpose is to take stock of India's Africa engagement at the end of 2015, and reflect on the road ahead that leads to the fourth summit in 2020.

### **The Backdrop**

Much had happened in the world, including Africa and India, during the period 2011–15, bookended by the second and the third summits. The global economy continued to face slow and uneven growth. The world's attention was focused on US-China strategic competition in East Asia and Russia-West tensions in Europe. The Arab Spring went astray, with tragic consequences in Libya, Syria, Iraq and Yemen, while Europe continued to be mired in its problems ranging from economic stagnation to the massive inflow of refugees and migrants from Arab and African lands. The UN graduated from Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The international community was engaged in preparations for the Conference of Parties (COP21) in Paris and the WTO in Nairobi, both of which followed IAFS-III.

Parts of West Africa were ravaged by the Ebola epidemic which presented a huge challenge. It was the reason why the third summit had to be postponed by a year. Terrorism and the rise of radicalism became a serious problem in several African countries. While piracy was contained off the coast of Somalia, it seemed to have shifted base by re-surfacing on the western coast. On the positive side, Africa's economic resurgence assumed noticeable salience. Besides, African governments displayed remarkable unity and ambition by crafting—and drawing attention to—the African Union (AU)-inspired 'Agenda 2063.' It listed seven 'aspirations', ranging from 'inclusive growth and sustainable development' to Africa becoming 'a strong, united and influential global player and partner.'<sup>2</sup>

In India, the UPA government led by Dr. Manmohan Singh, which had hosted IAFS-I and represented India at IAFS-II, was replaced by a new NDA government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in May 2014. For the first time in three decades, a political party—the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)—secured a clear majority in the lower house of the Parliament. At its swearing-in ceremony, the new government invited all SAARC leaders (and the Prime Minister of Mauritius), thus demonstrating its commitment to the 'Neighbourhood First' policy.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter, Modi launched a highly activist phase in diplomacy, visiting the near and far corners of the world, interacting

with foreign leaders in places from Fortaleza to Fiji. Even though he had visited Mauritius and Seychelles (before the third summit), as part of a voyage which stressed the significance of the Indian Ocean, critics kept criticizing him for neglecting Africa, and raised questions about where Africa fitted into the new government's scheme of things. They seemed to ignore the fact that the new government had received several African leaders, foreign ministers, etc., and that important meetings had taken place with African leaders at international summits, in New York and elsewhere.

In January 2015, the Modi government took the initiative to organize the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas at Gandhinagar, Gujarat, to mark the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's return from South Africa. The president of South Africa was invited.<sup>4</sup> Later, in August 2015, while speaking to the press, Modi pointed out that Africa and the Indian Ocean were 'among the highest priorities for our foreign policy.'<sup>5</sup> In short, there was much interest all around: how would the third summit carry forward the mission of the first two India-Africa summits?

### **First Two Summits**

The first summit, held in New Delhi from 4–8 April 2008, was important as it inaugurated institutionalized dialogue and cooperation between Africa and India. At AU's suggestion which was accepted by India, African representation was determined on the basis of the Banjul Formula.<sup>6</sup> As a result, a small number of African leaders interacted with the prime minister and other leaders of India.

Speaking at the opening plenary session, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh called Africa 'our Mother Continent', and noted:

The dynamics of geology may have led our lands to drift apart, but history, culture and the processes of post-colonial development have brought us together once again.<sup>7</sup>

India was convinced that the 21<sup>st</sup> century would see the African and Indian people coming 'even closer.' The initiative to convene the summit stemmed from a shared desire to impart decisive momentum to the age-old relationship as well as to emulate what Africa's other partners – such as Japan, China and the European Union—were doing to strengthen their relations with it.

The first summit succeeded in creating a new architecture for India-Africa engagement. It highlighted New Delhi's hope that the 21<sup>st</sup> century should be the century of Asia and Africa. The Delhi Declaration, issued at the

conclusion of the summit, reflected the common positions of the two sides on a range of regional and global issues. It also embodied their joint decision to re-define and reinvigorate the decades-old partnership and the many historical and civilizational links. A joint 'Framework for Cooperation' was approved which identified seven specific areas.<sup>8</sup> India announced a liberal package of economic assistance.<sup>9</sup>

As agreed at Delhi, the second summit took place three years later. Still following the Banjul Formula, the conference was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 24–25 May 2011. Through the Addis Ababa Declaration, participants expressed satisfaction over the progress made in the implementation of decisions taken earlier, and decided 'to enhance [their] partnership with new initiatives for mutual benefit.'<sup>10</sup> A fresh package of assistance was announced by India.<sup>11</sup> Objectively speaking, progress was rather slow; but participants quite apparently desired to encourage and stimulate speedier progress in the future. It was recognized that the second summit would help in advancing towards a common vision of a self-reliant and economically vibrant Africa and India.

Two important features of the outcome were the focus on forging India's links with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) of Africa, and the agreement on 'Africa-India Framework for Enhanced Cooperation' in order to supplement the 2008 framework. Finally, the upgradation of 'closer partnership' to 'strategic partnership' was also agreed at the second summit.

### **The Build-Up**

During the period after the second summit, the Banjul Formula came under heavy criticism by many African governments, and particularly the African diplomatic corps in Delhi. In his capacity as director general of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), this author experienced it first hand as the host at a meeting of African Ambassadors and High Commissioners in June 2014. At this interactive meeting, they strongly suggested that all of Africa should be invited to the third summit.<sup>12</sup> In India's official circles too, the view developed that since other big players—Japan, EU and China and later the US—did not adhere to it, India should also move beyond it and adopt an inclusive approach. This thinking was, apparently, conveyed to the African Union, along with an assurance that some prominence would be given to the Banjul Formula-related participants.

With the change of government in Delhi in 2014, the abandonment of the Banjul Formula gathered momentum. The proposal to invite all African countries was approved at the highest political level. This led to the issuance of invitations by the Indian Prime Minister to his counterparts in all the African countries that India recognized. It is on this basis that Morocco, (which is not a member of AU) was invited, whereas *Sahrawi* Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), a member of AU but not recognized by India, was not invited. The dispatch of several Indian ministers of state as PM's special envoys to different capitals and the persuasive efforts by South Block and India's diplomatic representatives on the continent, were duly rewarded by the massive presence of African leaders at the third summit.<sup>13</sup>

IAFS-III was scheduled to be held in December 2014; but this timeframe had to be changed due to the spread of Ebola. The deferment gave to Indian officials the much-needed extra year to prepare assiduously for what turned out to be the largest conference hosted by India in over three decades. Special efforts had to be made for upgrading infrastructure and conference facilities; limited human resource capacity of the ministry of external affairs was enhanced temporarily though special measures; and foolproof security arrangement became a top priority. The conference also needed a generous budget. A journalist termed it as 'perhaps the most extravagant diplomatic event in India's history.'<sup>14</sup> Residents of the capital cribbed about traffic snarls created during the week of the summit. Nevertheless, most observers and participants agreed that the ministry (and all its partners) had 'pulled out all stops to make the event a grand success.'<sup>15</sup>

The summit week was preceded by an array of seminars, dialogues and interactive meetings arranged by apex business chambers, think tanks, and media organizations. Side events were arranged during the summit week itself. Leading TV channels, newspapers, magazines and websites gave ample coverage to the preparations, deliberations, and the end results of the third summit. A few useful publications were also produced to mark the event.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Third Summit**

In the week preceding the summit, the meeting of ministers of commerce and industry took place in Delhi on 23 October. During the summit week, the meeting of senior officials and the meeting of foreign ministers were held on 26 October and 27 October, respectively. The main summit, addressed by heads of state and government, took place on 29 October. The previous day, 28 October, was kept for the arrival of African leaders, and for their bilateral

meetings with the Indian Prime Minister. Additional calls were arranged on 29 October.

Officials and foreign ministers held preparatory discussions in order to give final touches to the outcome documents, particularly the Delhi Declaration. Drafts were under discussion for weeks between India and AU officials. Last minute issues and difficulties were ironed out through watchful endeavours and innovative drafting by the host side.

At the main summit, the opening plenary was addressed by Prime Minister Modi, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe as chairperson of AU, and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Chairperson of the AU Commission. Thereafter, precedence was given to speakers belonging to the Banjul Formula nations. They were followed by speakers in a sequence dictated by protocol.

Modi delivered a well-crafted speech at the historic inauguration, stressing that India-Africa ties represented 'a partnership beyond strategic concerns and economic benefits.' He added: 'It is formed from the emotional bonds we share and the solidarity we feel for each other.'<sup>17</sup> One after another, African leaders went up to the podium to express their views on various facets of this partnership, extolling democracy, the development model and the international role of India, and spelling out their strong interest in forging a closer relationship.

As African voices are not heard in India as often as they should be, it may be useful to present a sample of observations made in the course of the leaders' statements. These may be viewed as a fair indicator of Africa's contemporary perceptions of India.

Several African leaders spoke with great knowledge, sensitivity and empathy. The Namibian President, *Dr. Hage G. Geingob*, said that 'Africa consumes what it does not produce, and produces what it does not consume', suggesting an Indian role to change this situation. President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya recalled that the monsoon brought India to East Africa, and that Kenya remained 'the gateway to Africa.' President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud of Somalia proudly presented himself as alumni of an Indian university, emphasizing the role of Indian education in Africa's progress.

Prime Minister of Lesotho, *Dr. Pakalitha Mosisili*, observed that it was 'truly befitting that we are gathered here today, representing the peoples of Africa and India, during ... October', the month in which Mahatma Gandhi was born. Ethiopia's Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn stated that his country was 'keen to boost [its] multifaceted cooperation with India ... through active promotion of trade and investment.' Jacob Zuma, South Africa's

President, argued that those who suffered from ‘poverty in Africa and India often are women and youth, who should be taking a more active role in the development of Africa and India.’<sup>18</sup>

To appreciate the summit’s outcomes, a close perusal of four documents is very useful, namely (i) Prime Minister Modi’s speech at the inaugural ceremony, (ii) his ‘Closing Remarks’ at the final plenary, (iii) Delhi Declaration 2015, and (iv) Framework for Strategic Cooperation.<sup>19</sup>

The highlights of documents (i) and (ii) may be mentioned below:

- Africa was depicted as ‘the land where history began, humanity grew and new hope rises.’
- The Delhi Summit brought ‘the dreams of one-third of humanity... under one roof.’
- India and Africa were once ‘united by geography’; they are now ‘linked by the Indian Ocean’ as well as by ‘our youth.’ Two-thirds of India and of Africa are under the age of 35 years. ‘And, if the future belongs to the youth, then this century is ours to shape and build.’
- India-Africa partnership is ‘natural’ because their ‘destinies are closely interlinked and [their] aspirations and challenges are so similar.’
- Africa and India are ‘two bright spots of hope and opportunities’ in today’s global economy.
- Africa is valuable to India. ‘African energy helps run the engine of the Indian economy, its resources are powering [its] industries and African prosperity offers a growing market for Indian products.’
- India has helped Africa through \$7.4 billion in concessional credit and \$1.2 billion in grant since 2008; training of 25,000 young Africans in India in the past three years; the process of creating 100 capacity-building institutions; and developing infrastructure, public transport, clean energy, irrigation, agriculture and manufacturing across Africa.
- ‘...technology will be a strong foundation of our partnership.’ Greater cooperation is envisaged in the future in such diverse areas as healthcare, space, Pan Africa E-Network, reduction in the digital divide ‘within Africa and between Africa and rest of the world’, sustainable development of the Blue Economy, clean energy and climate resilient agriculture.
- Moreover, cooperation in negotiations for climate change (in Paris), for Doha Development Agenda (in Nairobi) as well as cooperation in combating terrorism and ensuring maritime security would be deepened.

While stressing the case for UN reforms, including of the Security Council, Modi urged India and Africa to ‘speak in one voice.’

- Partnership with Africa would be further strengthened through a new concessional credit of \$10 billion for the period 2016–20; and an assistance grant of \$600 million. The latter would include \$100 million for India-Africa Development Fund, \$10 million for India-Africa Health Fund, the financing of 50,000 scholarships in India for the next five years, funds for the expansion of the Pan Africa E-network, and of institutions of skilling and training across Africa.
- Responding to Africa’s concerns and suggestions, Modi conveyed, at the concluding session, that India would take into account the ‘special circumstances’ of various African countries; improve further the scholarship programme; create ‘a more supportive environment to live, study and train in India’; give ‘high priority’ to increasing trade and investment flows,<sup>20</sup> and make the trade ‘more balanced’; and facilitate Africa’s access to the Indian market.

In both statements, the Prime Minister acknowledged widespread criticism over slow and inadequate implementation of previous agreements and commitments. ‘There are times when we have not done as well as you have wanted us to.’ He frankly conceded: ‘We are conscious of the shadow that falls between the idea and action, between intention and implementation.’ He promised to strengthen India’s ‘monitoring system’ which would include ‘a Joint Monitoring Mechanism with the African Union.’

Modi concluded, that the summit, ‘is not a new journey, nor a new beginning. But this is a new promise of a great future for an ancient relationship.’

The Delhi Declaration 2015—with its sub-title ‘Partners in Progress: Towards a Dynamic and Transformative Development Agenda—is a document with 34 paragraphs. It reflects the broad agreement reached at the third summit. The first 30 paragraphs record the agreed positions on a wide range of issues. A few are worth mentioning here.

The two sides recognized ‘the connection’ between Africa’s Agenda 2063 with its first 10-year implementation plan and ‘the focused priorities’ of India today in the field of poverty alleviation, provision of healthcare, education, employment, access to modern energy services, and infrastructure connectivity between resources and markets.<sup>21</sup> They welcomed the signing of the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement (TFTA) by 26 African countries belonging to three Regional Economic Communities, namely SADC, EAC and COMESA.<sup>22</sup> India



commended the AU for launching the negotiation process for the establishment of the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) aimed at integrating Africa's markets in accordance with the Abuja Treaty.

Paragraph 31 spells out ten specific areas of cooperation between India and Africa. These are economic, trade and industry, agriculture, energy, Blue Ocean economy, infrastructure, education and skills development, health, peace and security, and multilateral fora. Basic details have been provided under each title.

On the UN Security Council reform, Africa, beset with internal differences, failed to move beyond its conventional position, staying content to take 'note of India's position and its aspirations to become a permanent member with full rights in an expanded UN Security Council. Specialists of UN affairs, however, drew some comfort from the following agreed formulation:

We emphasize the need for an early implementation of the UNGA Decision 69/560, so as to make a decisive push for achieving concrete outcomes on the United Nations' Security Council reform agenda.<sup>23</sup>

The ministerial segment of the summit spent long hours on the diplomatic battle fought between two African camps, led by Morocco and Algeria respectively, with the Indian delegation anxiously waiting outside in order to finalize the Delhi Declaration. The Algerian camp was instrumental in seeking agreement on a line which spoke of opposition to 'colonialism' in the present tense, thereby condemning by implication, Morocco's policies in the Western Sahara. This was stoutly opposed by Morocco and its allies. This intra-African issue threatened to cast a dark shadow on the summit. However, the ingenuity of India's diplomacy came to the rescue. As a result, differences among African delegations were eventually resolved as all states, including India, accepted the formulation suggested by a high-ranking Indian diplomat.<sup>24</sup> It simply put the issue in the past tense, as below:

Recall and reaffirm the principles behind the fight against colonialism, xenophobia, Apartheid and violation of human rights in which India and Africa fought together.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, there were two other important elements in the last section of the Delhi Declaration. Firstly, the establishment of 'a regular formal monitoring mechanism' was agreed. It was charged with the responsibility of reviewing the implementation of the 2015 India-Africa Framework for Strategic Cooperation and its Plan of Action within the agreed timeframe.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, it was decided that the next IAFS would be held in the year 2020.

The fourth document—the Framework for Strategic Cooperation— is 52 para long, and contains an elaborate explanation of areas in which relations should be developed in the future. It reflects the conviction of both sides: that the ‘Strategic Partnership’ represents ‘a multi-dimensional South-South Cooperation and needs to be strengthened to render it more effective.’ While a detailed analysis of this document is not possible due to space constraints, a few of its key features should be mentioned briefly, as below:

1. The importance of cultural ties and people-to-people relations has been stressed. Governments plan to facilitate ‘greater mutual understanding of cultures, traditions and heritage’, a much-needed assurance.<sup>27</sup>
2. To stimulate trade expansion, the growing contribution of India’s Duty Free Trade Preference (DFTP) Scheme for LDCs was highlighted, of which 34 are African countries. India noted the African request ‘to further expand’ this scheme ‘for greater coverage.’
3. Cooperation in the Blue/Ocean Economy emerged as an important, new priority.
4. While the Indian Prime Minister referred to India’s endeavours to establish 100 training institutions in Africa as per its commitment in 2011, this had proved to be a major Achilles heel, and a major cause of criticism of New Delhi as well as AU. The two sides, therefore, agreed to fast track the implementation of ‘those capacity building institutions that have been found to be feasible for continuation under IAFS-III.’ The implication was clear: those institutions not found feasible would now be dropped quietly.
5. India’s role in peacekeeping operations received much-deserved appreciation. The implementation of the agreement to enhance ‘cooperation and coordination’ to combat terrorism would be watched with considerable interest.
6. On-going cooperation between Africa’s Regional Economic Communities and India and its proposed enhancement in diverse areas too merit close monitoring by experts.

### **Assessment**

An objective assessment needs to factor in both Indian and African perspectives on the summit.

The Indian viewpoint was reflected in the editorial comments by India’s leading dailies. *The Hindu* interpreted the conference in positive terms, and saw it taking relations ‘to a higher level with a demonstrated resolve and a

clearly laid-down road map.<sup>28</sup> *The Times of India* noted that Africa's needs were evolving at a fast phase and advised that, to keep up with them, 'India must go beyond its capacity-building activities.'<sup>29</sup>

The *Hindustan Times* entitled its editorial as 'A summit well worth the effort', which said it all.<sup>30</sup> In an in-depth column, Subhajit Roy of *The Indian Express* highlighted how African leaders brought a long wish list for Indian help 'in matters ranging from the reconstruction of an island destroyed by a volcano to fighting the Boko Haram....' He reported that an Indian official suggested a new acronym for the relationship: 'ABBA: Africa for Bharat, and Bharat for Africa.'<sup>31</sup>

The strategic community also saw the summit outcome in a generally positive light. Sanjaya Baru, a leading policy analyst, underlined the significance of expanding ties with Africa, arguing that the diversity of its growth experience and its geo-economic and geopolitical evolution after the Cold War had created 'new opportunities for Indian diplomacy and business.'<sup>32</sup> Rajan Harshe, a reputed academic, suggested that India had 'a great opportunity to reinvent its association with Africa....'<sup>33</sup>

'The potential is tremendous', wrote Raj Chengappa, a scholarly columnist and editor, 'but India and Africa have been late movers in harnessing it and bringing it to fruition.'<sup>34</sup> In evaluating the summit's results dispassionately, I noted that both sides 'tried earnestly to speak in unison', and 'must help each other optimally to reach their common destination.'<sup>35</sup> Vikrom Mathur, a senior fellow at ORF, advised: 'Africa and India must reframe the narratives of their shared paths to shape the common future.'<sup>36</sup>

Concerning the African perspective, writing before the summit, under the banner of Gateway House, Sanusha Naidu, a South African academic, lamented that the Delhi conference generated some hype among the Indian and international media, 'but the same excitement is missing from the African landscape.' She noted that the response to the summit even in the African think tank community was 'muted', and advised that Africa's engagement with India should serve 'the continent's interests.'<sup>37</sup>

The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), a leading African think tank, produced an impressive package of videos, articles, and papers on India-Africa relations in the specific context of the summit. Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, chief executive of SAIIA, observed that these relations were enjoying 'an unprecedented renaissance.'<sup>38</sup>

*The Daily Nation* of Kenya focused on the bilateral dimension, and was of the opinion that the Kenyan president's participation was expected 'to

boost technical and economic cooperation between Kenya and India.’<sup>39</sup> A Nigerian analyst, Bola A. Akinterinwa, wrote that the IAFS-III was ‘quite important in organizational approach, scope of issues covered, and expectations of all the stakeholders.’ A significant implication for Nigeria’s foreign policy, he argued, was ‘how to deal with the rivalry between China and India in Africa.’<sup>40</sup>

### **Conclusion**

A comparison of India’s Africa policy and performance with the policies and performances of Africa’s other partners, especially China, is inevitable. IAFS-III was followed, a month later, by the Johannesburg summit of the Forum of China-Africa Cooperation, held from 4–5 December 2015. But this vital theme needs to be addressed in another paper.

All that can be emphasized here is that China may be neither the only nor even the main driver of India’s expanding engagement with Africa. This engagement will continue to be fuelled by the growing mutuality and convergence of interests in the backdrop of a long-standing friendship between India and African nations.

Both sides will need to play a pro-active role in ensuring appropriate follow-up and monitoring of the agreements reached at the summit. As a first of its kind, the Delhi Summit was organized with a high degree of professionalism and it produced substantial results. But, history will record it as a lasting success only if India and Africa improve their implementation record. For this purpose, they need to seriously consider convening a Ministerial Review Conference in early 2018. However, before that happens, it is hoped that the visibility of Indian leaders on the African continent will increase significantly. It is bound to yield rich dividends.

### **Notes :**

---

<sup>1</sup> Shubhajit Roy, ‘Proposing a new deal: Africa for Bharat, Bharat for Africa,’ *The Indian Express*, 29 October 2015. Attempting a quick comparison, he wrote: ‘The US hosted 47 African leaders (and 50 countries) in 2014 in Washington D.C. China hosted 40 leaders (and 48 countries) in 2006 in Beijing, and Japan hosted 37 leaders (and 49 countries) in Yokohama.’

<sup>2</sup> The list of seven aspirations may be seen in ‘Agenda 2063’ at [http://agenda2063.au.int/en/sites/default/files/agenda2063\\_popular\\_version\\_05092014\\_EN.pdf](http://agenda2063.au.int/en/sites/default/files/agenda2063_popular_version_05092014_EN.pdf), accessed on 27 December 2015.

- <sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that the absence of any reference to Africa in the address by the President of India to the parliament on 9 June 2014<sup>34</sup>the first after the formation of the new government<sup>35</sup>triggered adverse reactions among senior African diplomats in India.
- <sup>4</sup> As President Zuma could not come, his Foreign Minister represented him.
- <sup>5</sup> 'Media Statement by Prime Minister during the visit of President of Mozambique to India', August 5, 2015, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25573/Media\\_Statement\\_by\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_during\\_the\\_visit\\_of\\_President\\_of\\_Mozambique\\_to\\_India\\_August\\_5\\_2015](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25573/Media_Statement_by_Prime_Minister_during_the_visit_of_President_of_Mozambique_to_India_August_5_2015), accessed on 24 December 2015.
- <sup>6</sup> The Banjul Formula stipulates the African representation to be 16 leaders as follows: the Chairperson of the African Union; the previous Chairperson of the African Union; the Chairperson of the African Union Commission; the founding members of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) i.e. Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa; and the countries holding the Chairs of Regional Economic Communities (RECs).
- <sup>7</sup> 'Opening Address by Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India, At the Plenary Session-I of India-Africa Forum Summit Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi', 8 April 2008 at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/1522/Opening\\_Address\\_by\\_Dr\\_Manmohan\\_Singh\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_of\\_India\\_At\\_the\\_Plenary](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/1522/Opening_Address_by_Dr_Manmohan_Singh_Prime_Minister_of_India_At_the_Plenary), accessed on 24 December 2015.
- <sup>8</sup> The seven areas of cooperation were economic; political; science, technology research and development; social development and capacity building; tourism; infrastructure, energy and environment; and media and communications.
- <sup>9</sup> It included \$5.4 billion in Lines of Credit, \$700 million for human resource development, an increase of ITEC training slots from 1,000 to 1,600 every year, and the doubling of long-term scholarships for graduate and post-graduate studies. At [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/1522/Opening\\_Address\\_by\\_Dr\\_Manmohan\\_Singh\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_of\\_India\\_At\\_the\\_Plenary](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/1522/Opening_Address_by_Dr_Manmohan_Singh_Prime_Minister_of_India_At_the_Plenary), accessed on 24 December 2015
- <sup>10</sup> Second Africa-India Forum Summit 2011: Addis Ababa Declaration, 25 May 2011 at [http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/35/Second\\_AfricaIndia\\_Forum\\_Summit\\_2011\\_Addis\\_Ababa\\_Declaration](http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/35/Second_AfricaIndia_Forum_Summit_2011_Addis_Ababa_Declaration), accessed on 27 December 2015.
- <sup>11</sup> 'Address by PM at the Plenary Session of the 2nd Africa-India Forum Summit', 24 May 2011. This package included \$5 billion in Lines of Credit, \$500 million for training institutions and programmes, \$300 million for the Ethiopia-Djibouti railway line, and raising of 2008 commitment by India to establish 19 training institutions to over 100 institutions. At [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/347/Address\\_by\\_PM\\_at\\_the\\_Plenary\\_Session\\_of\\_the\\_2nd\\_AfricaIndia\\_Forum\\_Summit](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/347/Address_by_PM_at_the_Plenary_Session_of_the_2nd_AfricaIndia_Forum_Summit), accessed on 27 December 2015.
- <sup>12</sup> Rajiv Bhatia, 'A plan for partnership', *Frontline*, 25 June 2014.

- <sup>13</sup> This narrative is contracted on the basis of the author's conversations with several official and diplomatic sources.
- <sup>14</sup> Ranjana Narayan, 'IAFS 2015: MEA rises to the challenge', *Towards a New Global Partnership*, SPS, New Delhi: October 2015, p. 38.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> These were produced by institutions such as the Ministry of External Affairs, RIS, ICWA, SPS and ORF.
- <sup>17</sup> 'Speech by Prime Minister at the Inaugural Ceremony of the Third India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi, October 29, 2015 at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-statements.htm?dtl/25977/Speech\\_by\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_at\\_the\\_Inaugural\\_Ceremony\\_of\\_the\\_Third\\_IndiaAfrica\\_Forum\\_Summit\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi\\_October\\_29\\_2015](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-statements.htm?dtl/25977/Speech_by_Prime_Minister_at_the_Inaugural_Ceremony_of_the_Third_IndiaAfrica_Forum_Summit_in_New_Delhi_October_29_2015), accessed on 25 December 2015.
- <sup>18</sup> The extracts from statements by African leaders were taken from IAFS-III website.
- <sup>19</sup> The first document is at: [Statements.htm?dtl/25977/Speech\\_by\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_at\\_the\\_Inaugural\\_Ceremony\\_of\\_the\\_Third\\_IndiaAfrica\\_Forum\\_Summit\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi\\_October\\_29\\_2015](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25977/Speech_by_Prime_Minister_at_the_Inaugural_Ceremony_of_the_Third_IndiaAfrica_Forum_Summit_in_New_Delhi_October_29_2015); the second at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25979/Prime\\_Ministers\\_Closing\\_Remarks\\_at\\_IndiaAfrica\\_Forum\\_Summit\\_2015\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi\\_October\\_29\\_2015](http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/25979/Prime_Ministers_Closing_Remarks_at_IndiaAfrica_Forum_Summit_2015_in_New_Delhi_October_29_2015); the third at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980_declaration.pdf) > at and the fourth at India-Africa Framework for Strategic Cooperation, October 29, 2015, all accessed on 25 December 2015.
- <sup>20</sup> India-Africa trade was valued at \$75 billion in 2014, whereas capital investments from India to Africa grew to \$54.5 billion between 2003 and 2014, according to Chandrajit Banerjee, director general, Confederation of Indian Industry (CII). Please see, "Bridges across the Indian Ocean, *The Indian Express*, 31 October 2015.
- <sup>21</sup> Delhi Declaration 2015- Partners in Progress: Towards a Dynamic and Transformative Development Agenda Para 23 at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980_declaration.pdf), accessed on 25 December 2015.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid. Para 19. The three acronyms stand for Southern African Development Community, East African Community and Common Market for East and Southern Africa respectively
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 9.
- <sup>24</sup> This analysis is based on the author's conversations with reliable sources. See also, Indrani Bagchi, 'Language Skills of Indians Come to the Rescue', *The Times of India*, 29 October 2015.
- <sup>25</sup> Delhi Declaration 2015- Partners in Progress: Towards a Dynamic and Transformative Development Agenda, p. 9, at [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/25980_declaration.pdf), accessed on 25 December 2015.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 10.
- <sup>27</sup> For various facets of this theme, please refer to this author's essay entitled 'India and Africa: People-to-People Relations – the Perennial Bond', 16 October 2015, at <http://>

[www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?25941/India+and+Africa++People+to+People+Relations++the+Perennial+Bond](http://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?25941/India+and+Africa++People+to+People+Relations++the+Perennial+Bond), accessed on 27 December 2015.

- <sup>28</sup> 'Reaching out to Africa', *The Hindu*, 31 October 2015.
- <sup>29</sup> 'Engaging Africa' *Times of India*, 30 October 2015.
- <sup>30</sup> 'A summit well worth the effort' *Hindustan Times*, 30 October 2015.
- <sup>31</sup> Shubhajit Roy, 'Proposing a new deal: Africa for Bharat, Bharat for Africa', *Indian Express*, 29 October.
- <sup>32</sup> Sanjaya Baru, 'Engaging with an aspirational Africa', *The Hindu*, 19 October 2015.
- <sup>33</sup> Rajan Harshe, 'India, Africa, a new story', *Indian Express*, 3 November 2015.
- <sup>34</sup> Raj Chengappa, 'The Next Big Thing', *India Today*, 2 November 2015.
- <sup>35</sup> Rajiv Bhatia, 'Run This Marathon', *Times of India*, 31 October 2015.
- <sup>36</sup> Vikrom Mathur, 'Africa and India: Shared Past, Common Futures', Common Futures, ORF, p.2.
- <sup>37</sup> Sanusha Naidu, 'Articulating the African voice', Gateway House, 25 October 2015, at <http://www.gatewayhouse.in/articulating-the-african-voice/>, accessed on 27 December 2015.
- <sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, 'The Third India-Africa Forum Summit', SAIIA, 26 October 2015, at <http://www.saiia.org.za/news/the-third-india-africa-forum-summit>, accessed on 27 December 2015.
- <sup>39</sup> 'President Uhuru Kenyatta arrives in India to attend 3rd India-Africa summit', *Daily Nation*, 28 October 2015.
- <sup>40</sup> Bola A. Akinterinwa, 'The Third India-Africa Forum Summit and Indo-Nigerian Relations', 1 November 2015, at [www.preereader.com/nigeria/thisday/20151101/282978218870252/TextView](http://www.preereader.com/nigeria/thisday/20151101/282978218870252/TextView), accessed on 27 December 2015.

