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Q U A R T E R L Y

- India-Africa relations: Perspectives 2010
- The meaning of the FIFA World Cup for South Africa
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ALSO in the issue

- The realities of child labour in Africa
- India's ties with Lusophone Africa





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26 TIME TO REVISIT INDIAN OCEAN RIM

India needs to step up efforts to improve its ties with Lesotho as China makes inroads in this landlocked country, says **Mohammed Khalid**

34 THE 2010 WORLD CUP: WHAT IT MEANS TO SOUTH AFRICA?

The World Cup has shown that the South African government can deliver on its promises. It's time to deliver on its poll pledges, says **Sanusha Naidu**



18 INDIA-AFRICA RELATIONS: PERSPECTIVE 2010

At a time when Africa has become a region that has attracted increasing global attention, several factors are bringing India and the African countries closer, says **Rajiv Bhatia**

36 A NEW NEO-SCRAMBLE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

The meddling by western powers has sharpened the faultlines in northeast Africa. The region should take charge of its destiny through federalism, says **Dr. Suresh Kumar**



48 CHILD LABOUR IN AFRICA: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Africa will lose its demographic dividend if children are forced to trade education for work, says **Rashmi Kapoor**



72 THE TEMPLE TOWN

A pious yet sleepy place, Gokarna promises colourful memories, replete with reverberating mornings and moonlit skies

8 NEWS & EVENTS: India, South Africa to spur UN reforms

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and South African President Jacob Zuma discussed a wide swathe of bilateral and global issues

44 LUSOPHONE AFRICA: INDIA'S NEW NICHE DIPLOMACY?

India should activate its diplomatic and economic engagement with five Portuguese-speaking African countries, says **Constantino Xavier**

66 BOOKS & IDEAS

74 DOCUMENTS

78 CONTRIBUTORS



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■ From the Editor's Desk

It's time for Afro-optimism

Afro-pessimism is out; Afro-optimism is in. Not too long ago, there was only a minority of diehard faithfuls who believed that the much-reviled African continent, for all its endemic problems like tribal feuding, territorial rivalries and poverty, will turn around, showing clear possibilities of rejuvenation and resurgence. Now that minority of optimists has swelled to include hitherto despairing voices.

A new report from the McKinsey Global Institute discovers a distinct surge of optimism about Africa's present and future and warns that those who ignore the continent's economic potential do so at their own risk. According to the report, Africa's collective gross domestic product rose at a 4.9 percent annual rate from 2000 through 2008, twice the pace of the last two decades. The report, fittingly titled "Lions on the Move: The Progress and Potential of African Economies", shows that Africa's combined economic output, valued at \$1.6 trillion in 2008, is now equal to Brazil's or Russia's and predicts that the growth momentum will be sustained. It also busts the stereotype of Africa as a repository of primarily extractive resources and points out that the biggest business opportunity in Africa lies in consumer goods and services, followed by natural resources, agriculture, and infrastructure.

The report, one hopes, will dispel stubborn prejudices of those who nurtured them with blind disregard to realities on the ground. If any further proof was needed to win over sceptics, South Africa sprang a pleasant surprise by hosting a stunningly successful FIFA World Cup. The soccer spectacle captivated the world and introduced the uninitiated to the continent's undying appetite for life and its implacable exuberance to get things done amid challenges and adversities.

In the run-up to the World Cup, there were cynics who, betraying their subliminal racism, doubted that an African country could pull it off. In South Africa itself, as Sanusha Naidu points out in her perceptive article, debates are still raging on whether South Africa should have spent \$6 billion in building new roads, stadia and other allied projects amid pervasive poverty and human suffering. But once the tournament started, the euphoria and that heady feeling of being part of history-in-the-making acquired a momentum of its own. "And by all accounts, South Africa rose to the occasion by hosting a successful tournament, which embodied a resurgent continent," writes Naidu. But the author is no flag-waving nationalist. She writes revealingly that the successful hosting of the World Cup raised the bar for the presidency to deliver on its poll pledges. The sound of vuvuzela, will "continue to remind the South African people that our government must be held accountable", she writes.

Against this backdrop of a renascent continent and growing global confidence in its economic potential, India hosted South

African President Jacob Zuma in June. It came as a surprise to many that Zuma could find time to visit India days before the soccer madness swept his country, but the charismatic African National Congress leader, whose links with India go back decades, chose New Delhi as his first overseas destination, underlining the importance South Africa attaches to deepening its multi-faceted relations with India. The visit proved to be a big success with both nations reiterating their support for each other for a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

Underscoring a new economic synergy, the two sides launched the India-South Africa CEOs Forum and decided to expand their \$7.5 billion bilateral trade to \$10 billion in the next couple of years. Zuma outlined a template for a new partnership between India and South Africa for the development of the larger African continent. "India and South Africa could both make a significant contribution to the establishment of Africa as the next global growth centre," he told Indian business chambers.

This focus on development-centric partnership was also visible in interactions of Indian and African leaders in the last few months. Seychelles President James Alex Michel visited India in June that saw the signing of two economic pacts and renewed efforts to jointly combat piracy in the strategic Indian Ocean. External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna went to Mauritius and Mozambique with a similar message to partner African countries in spurring their development and renewal.

The sealing of Bharti Telecom's \$10.7 billion deal with Kuwait's Zain that gave it access to burgeoning markets of 15 African countries was another milestone, marking a fresh burst of enthusiasm in the Indian private sector about investing in Africa. It is this blend of private enterprise and the pursuit of a robust Africa policy by the Indian government that holds the key to India's success in Africa amid fierce competition among status quoist and emerging powers for its resources and markets. In his article, Rajiv Bhatia, a former Indian envoy to South Africa, sketches out a blueprint to imbue the growing India-Africa partnership with more economic content and strategic weight. Building on initiatives of the 2008 Forum Summit, Bhatia suggests that it was time that India seized the moment and moved beyond grand-sounding political declarations and action plans to time-bound implementation of its promises. He also advocates greater interaction between media and civil societies of India and Africa that could give the relationship the resonance it sorely needs.

In the end, it is people who are at the heart of a genuine transformation of a diplomatic relationship. Only by knowing each other's society, culture and politics better, more than two billion people of India and Africa can partner their ongoing transformation and take their rightful place in the shifting global architecture. **Manish Chand**

VISITS

India, S. Africa ink three pacts, to jointly help spur UN reforms

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and South African President Jacob Zuma discussed a wide swathe of bilateral and global issues

India and South Africa have signed three agreements aimed at enhancing business ties and connectivity. The two countries also reiterated support for each other for a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council and agreed to jointly work for the reforms of the global body.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and South African President Jacob Zuma, who was on his first visit to an Asian country on June 4 held talks in New Delhi, covering a wide swathe of bilateral and global issues, including the intensification of economic ties and closer coordination over global issues, including the UN reforms.

"Today, President Zuma and I have decided to impart a forward-looking character to these ties, and to further broaden our cooperation," said Manmohan Singh.

"We have agreed to focus on the expansion of our economic, trade and investment relationship," he said, underlining South Africa's "influential role in world affairs".

Acknowledging the rising global clout of the two countries, Manmohan Singh and Zuma called for speeding up reform of the UN and international decision-making institutions to reflect contemporary realities.

"We will step up our efforts for the reform of global institutions, including that of the UN Security Council," Singh said. "We agreed to support each other's candidatures for the non-permanent seat for the 2011-12 term," he said, describing Zuma's maiden visit



Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (left) and South African President Jacob Zuma shake hands before delegation-level talks in New Delhi on June 4, 2010.

to India as "a milestone in India's relations with South Africa".

"We are one on this matter. The world that has changed must be reflected in its institutions," said Zuma. "We can't continue to be governed by the rules and regulations of the early 40s."

"India has given leadership in the developing world on a number of issues. This leadership continues," Zuma said while describing his three-day visit to India that began on June 2 as a "success". After the talks, the two sides signed three agreements, including a memorandum of understanding

(MoU) on agricultural cooperation, an air services pact and an MoU between the Foreign Service Institute of India and the Diplomatic Academy of South Africa. The agreements were signed in the presence of Dr. Singh and Zuma. The two leaders mandated the next meeting of the Joint Commission to develop concrete plans for implementation of the decisions taken by them.

The air services agreement provides for three additional stops for all flights, including Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban in South Africa and Mumbai and Thiruvananthapuram in India. Highlighting the "historic and unique" relations between the two countries dating back to the struggle against apartheid, Zuma invited Manmohan Singh to visit South Africa earliest to further strengthen bilateral ties.

"We are very pleased with the outcome of the visit. I enjoyed the music and the food. We are at home in India," said Zuma.

Underscoring a new economic synergy, the two sides launched the India-South Africa CEOs forum in Mumbai on June 3 and decided to expand the \$7.5 billion bilateral trade to \$10 billion in the next couple of years.

Zuma began his visit to India from Mumbai with 200-odd businessmen to give fresh momentum to trade and investment between India and South Africa.

Africa can be developed as the next economic powerhouse with assistance by both South Africa and India, Zuma said in New Delhi on June 4, even as he urged both countries to further ramp up economic ties.

"India and South Africa could both make a significant contribution to the establishment of Africa as the next global growth centre," Zuma said in his address to a joint meeting with the three Indian business chambers.

He said there was a vast potential for economic development beyond the border of South Africa.

"There are around 200 million peo-

Highlighting the "historic and unique" ties between the two countries dating back to the struggle against apartheid, Zuma invited Manmohan Singh to visit South Africa to further strengthen ties

ple in the southern African region alone and 1 billion across Africa," said Zuma, adding: "It (Africa) has also sustained significant levels of average economic growth over the last few years - thanks in part to improved political conditions and sound economic policies."

But, there was urgent need to improve infrastructure, transport links, energy networks, as well demand for capital investment, skills technology and knowledge.

"For both India and South Africa, this presents a massive business opportunity," he asserted.

Demonstrating that economics was the new buzzword in bilateral ties, he

was accompanied by 200 businessmen — the largest ever business delegation accompanying a head of state visiting India.

Zuma mentioned the re-launch of the South Africa-India CEOs Forum, which he said will work towards expanding bilateral relationship through closer business ties.

"As governments, we are committed to removing the barriers to trade and investment," he said.

Zuma pointed out that negotiations on a preferential trade agreement with South African Customs Union should be expedited, "so that we may realise the great potential that exists by bringing these two markets closer to each other".

"Together, we have a tremendous capacity to advance our economic agenda within international forums, as we work to advance the interests of all developing countries," he added.

Zuma said there has been a "dramatic increase" in the presence of Indian companies who have invested around \$6 billion in South Africa. "Companies that are household names in India are now becoming commonplace in South Africa," he said, adding "Prominent South African companies are also making an appearance in the Indian market".

South African Minister of Trade and Commerce Rob Davies said the target of \$10 billion for annual bilateral trade was "certainly achievable".

Referring to bilateral trade ties, he said the trade flows have come a long way, increasing a hundred fold from \$45 million in 1993 to \$4.5 billion in 2008. ■

India like elder brother to South Africa, says Zuma

South African President Jacob Zuma on June 3 said that India is like an "elder brother" to his country that has stood by it in good and bad times.

"India is like an elder brother to

South Africa. Both the countries have been supporting each other in times good or bad, and share a remarkable bond of friendship," Zuma said. Acknowledging the 150-year-old affinity between the two countries,

Zuma fondly remembered Mahatma Gandhi and said: "India made a lawyer and South Africa made a social reformer." He was speaking a private welcome function organised at the Taj Hotel in Mumbai.

Botswana opens export and investment office in Mumbai

'Botswana enjoys an excellent relationship with India, marked by mutual commitment to democracy and accountability'

Underlining the economic theme of his visit, Botswana's Vice President Mompoti Merafhe inaugurated the office of his southern African country's investment and export authority in Mumbai. "This is a clear demonstration of the excellent relations that Botswana enjoys with India, which are underpinned by mutual commitment to democracy, transparency and accountability," Merafhe said on June 18 on the occasion of the inauguration of Botswana Export Development and Investment Authority (Bedia).

Bedia is mandated with promoting investment into the African nation and

the Mumbai office is intended to serve as a one-stop-reference centre for investors looking to do business in/with Botswana.

The Botswana leader added that since its inception in 1998, Bedia has been a pioneer in the investment arena and carved a niche for itself in the world business arena by promoting competitive financial service opportunities enabling identify partners in and outside Botswana for business partnerships. Merafhe was on a four-day visit to India. He arrived in Mumbai after meeting Indian leaders in New Delhi, during which two agreements on small, medium and micro enter-

prises, and science and technology were signed.

Merafhe witnessed the signing of a memorandum of understanding on June 16 between National Small Industries Corporation of India and Local Enterprise Authority of Botswana.

In Mumbai, the visiting leader had a meeting with select captains of industry. The Botswana vice president had lunch with the Maharashtra Governor, K. Sankaranarayanan.

He ended his official engagements in India with a visit to the Mumbai-based Shrenuj diamond processing factory. ■

Botswana lays out red carpet for Bollywood

Botswana, a south African nation known for its wildlife and where Amitabh Bachchan and Ashwarya Rai are household names, is aggressively wooing the Indian film industry to shoot their highly popular films in the country and boost its economy.

"We believe that Bollywood can help us boost our economy and we can jointly work for the benefit of each other," said Botswana Vice President Mompoti Merafhe, who ended his four-day India visit on June 19. He met producers from The Film & Television Producers Guild of India and board members of the Film City and asked them to come and explore the landscapes of Botswana.

"There are a number of challenges we are facing right now, including

technological and lack of proper resources, but we have plenty of talent in the country. Many youngsters in our country are educated in cinema studies and are now waiting for an opportunity to showcase their skills," he added.

Merafhe, a retired army officer, revealed that Botswana has myriad exotic locations that Bollywood will find interesting.

"Our country can offer various beautiful locations — from wildlife to scenic beauty, it has everything," he said. Malebogo Morakalad, business development manager, Botswana Tourism Organisation, also assured they will provide easy access and services at subsidised rates to Indian film crews interested in filming there.

"We are ready to provide logistical

arrangements and convenience in getting filming permits. We will also provide facilities at subsidised rates. Although the subsidised amounts are not fixed at the moment, but that can be taken care of when we speak to the film producers concerned. It will depend upon the magnitude of the film," Morakalad told IANS. Hindi movies are popular in the country that has a population of close to 1.8 million, with a large population of Indian professionals. This is the reason Morakalad feels that Bollywood will be a hit there. Hindi film DVDs are sold in the country and some Hindi films also have theatrical releases. "Sometimes, Hindi films are shown in the theatres but usually it is the DVDs that people go for," said Morakalad. — *Ruchika Kher*

India, Seychelles sign 2 economic pacts



Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh with Seychelles President James Alix Michel in New Delhi on June 2, 2010.

India and the Seychelles have signed two economic agreements as the visiting president of the Indian Ocean nation James Michel invited Indian firms to invest in diverse sectors ranging from fishing and oil exploration to hospitality. On June 2, the Seychelles president held formal talks with the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, after which they signed two deals.

"We have signed the Non Double Taxation Agreements with several countries. We have also today signed a Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement with India," Michel said at an interaction with captains of Indian industry in New Delhi.

Delineating the areas of possible economic cooperation, Michel listed industrial fishing, renewable energy, eco-tourism projects in outer islands, retail sector and Information Technology.

"Seychelles' geographical position in the middle of the Indian Ocean, on the sea routes from Asia to Africa and

the Middle East, give us a very strong commercial and business advantage over our neighbours," said Michel.

He pointed out that his small Indian Ocean nation was also member of several regional groups and would therefore provide investors "access to vast regional and African markets, like Egypt, South Africa and Kenya".

But he urged that more linkages be established between Seychelles' capital Victoria and Indian cities.

"Flights between these Indian cities and Mahé (Seychelles' main island) can be established. The business communities of both countries can exchange visits on a more frequent basis and for mutual benefits," said Michel.

The Seychelles president said that negotiations will take place for a Bilateral Air Services Agreement later, which will "surely open the window to the increase in exchanges between our two countries for business, greater people to people contacts and tourism". ■

'We are India's ideal partner in the Indian Ocean'

Seychelles is India's ideal partner in efforts to establish peace and stability in the Indian Ocean, which is currently plagued by piracy, president of the archipelago nation James Michel has said.

"I think Seychelles and India have an important role to play in establishing peace, stability in the region," Michel said before leaving New Delhi on June 4.

He stressed that Seychelles was "strategically located in the Indian Ocean to be an ideal partner for India". A teacher before he joined politics, Michel described how Seychelles was bearing the brunt of the effects of piracy, with its exclusive economic zone bordering the waters of Somalia. The tiny nation's two major industries, tourism and fishing, have shown a sharp decline ever since pirate attacks became frequent in the region in the last two years.

"We are at the forefront... But there is only so much we can do as a small country with limited resources," he said. India, Michel said, has been responsive to his country's request for aid. "We appreciate the help that is being given by India in terms of equipment being gifted to us," he said.

Michel said that a fast attack craft Topaz gifted by India had recently been instrumental in capturing nine pirates, rescuing eight Seychellois fishermen and 21 Iranian sailors.

India boosts ties with Mauritius, Mozambique



External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna being received by Mauritius Prime Minister Dr. Navinchandra Ramgoolam at the Clarisse House in Mauritius on July 3, 2010.

To broaden India's diplomatic engagements in Africa and in the southern Indian Ocean region, India's External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna visited Mauritius and Mozambique in early July.

In Mauritius, home to a large Indian diaspora and a top channel of capital flows into India, Krishna focused on expanding India's strategic dialogue with the Indian Ocean country that has also attracted much attention from China in recent years.

He also held talks with his Mauritian counterpart Arvin Boolell on a wide range of issues, ranging from intensification of economic ties to culture and defence.

From Mauritius, Krishna headed for Mozambique, the first bilateral visit by an Indian foreign minister to Mozambique in decades. The last two visits by Indian foreign ministers to Maputo in 1979 and 1999 were in the context of multilateral conferences.

During his talks with the leaders of Mozambique, Krishna focused on expanding economic and strategic ties with one of the better performing economies in the region.

India's Coal India Limited has recently acquired two coal blocks in Mozambique. India is one of top five trading partners of Mozambique. Security cooperation between the two sides have been growing since the two countries signed a bilateral security cooperation agreement in 2005 aimed at bolstering Maputo's defence capabilities.

The Indian Navy had been invited by the Mozambique government to provide sea front security when it hosted major international summits in Maputo during 2003 and 2004. On his way back to India, Krishna made a brief stopover in Seychelles, a picturesque island country that Beijing is wooing with much fervour. In June, India and Seychelles had signed two economic agreements during the visit of President James Michel to New Delhi and discussed ways to jointly combat piracy.

Defence has been an area of close cooperation, with most of the senior officers of the Seychelles People's Defence Forces and Seychelles Coast Guard trained by India. There are also several Indian defence officials from the army and navy stationed as advisers in the Seychelles. ■

BUSINESS

Bharti world's fifth-largest telecom firm after Africa deal



India's top telecom player Bharti Airtel has successfully concluded a \$10.7-billion deal to acquire the African assets of Kuwait's Zain, making it the world's fifth largest mobile phone services company.

This is also the largest overseas acquisition of assets in Africa by an Indian company, even though it does not cover the Kuwaiti company's operations in Sudan and Morocco, the company said in a statement.

"Bharti is now among the five largest mobile operators in the world. This will further strengthen the historic Indo-Africa economic and social ties and provide a big boost to South-South cooperation," said group chairman Sunil Mittal on June 8.

He also said that the deal would create many more



opportunities for Indian companies. "Telecom infrastructure firms will flock to Africa along with us," said the 52-year-old, first-generation entrepreneur, who runs the group with brothers Rakesh and Rajan. The total customer base of Bharti now stands at over 180 million in 18 countries. Prior to the deal, Bharti had operations in India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

This was Bharti's third attempt to enter the largely untapped African market after the failure of merger pacts with South African telecom major MTN on two occasions. Africa accounts for a little

over 60 percent of Zain's 71.8 million customers. The African countries in which assets have been acquired are Burkina Faso, Chad, Congo Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

According to the Bharti statement, the acquired company is the market leader in 10 of the 15 African countries it operated in and second in four others. Chief executive Manoj

Kohli will head these operations, based out of Nairobi. Zain was paid \$9 billion in cash for the deal, apart from transferring a debt of \$1.7 billion. Of this, Bharti raised over \$8.3 billion in debt to finance the acquisition, sources familiar with the development said. ■

Gemini Comm buys out African telecom firm

Network integration and telecom services provider Gemini Communication has acquired Africa's Rosy Blue Wireless (RBW), a telecom and internet services provider, which operates in Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. It is a majority shareholder, with 60

percent stakes each in three joint ventures in these countries.

The JVs of RBW have been allotted wimax spectrum licence in the three countries.

Gemini is targeting the entire network rollout for the African firm using the products of its subsidiary.

"This acquisition is an exciting step in our growth strategy and offers tremendous growth potential... With this acquisition, Gemini will be expanding its lines of businesses into newer verticals as well," Gemini managing director Sree Krishna B said in a statement.

Emami plans big foray into Africa in cash crops, power

Indian personal care and ayurvedic medicines major, the \$165-million Emami group, is making a big foray into Africa not just in their traditional lines of businesses but also in contract farming and power generation. "In Ethiopia, Emami Biotech has been allotted 100,000 acres of land by the Investment Commission. We will cultivate edible and non-edible oil seeds and cereals like gram, maize, sunflower, soya and jatropa," says the company's director Aditya V. Agarwal.

"The cost in the first phase is ₹400 crore (\$85 million)," says Agarwal. "Labour is only a small cost. The benefit is in the availability of land. We are most interested in this aspect. We have successfully availed land without any hassles."

According to him, one of the reasons why the group's focus was on Africa was that the large continent accounted for a sizeable share of their exports, which form 15 percent of their sales turnover, reaching out to 60 countries.

"It is more than just about money. Ours is also a poor country and we are improving so we can relate to the



Aditya V. Agarwal, Director, Emami Group

degree of progress there too. It would definitely pay in the long term."

"Another reason particularly so far, the Ethiopian government has been very cooperative and this is one of the

major reasons — 'why Ethiopia'. They are very approachable and willing to help which works well for us," he says.

Agarwal said plans were also on for ₹1,500-crore (\$335 million) additional investment in Ethiopia for a 300-mw power plant. "Feasibility and viability studies are currently underway," he said. Nigeria and South Africa are also on the group's radar.

He hopes that just as his Emami group will benefit from the projects planned in Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular, these countries, too, would derive opportunities from his group's investments there.

"One of our major projects being cultivation, it creates a lot of employment, leading to growth, inflow of foreign money, development of natural resources like land and water, training and education of residents and therefore awareness and progress."

Headquartered in Kolkata, the 30-year-old Emami group has such brands in its stable as Boroplus, Hairlife, Sardi Ja and Sona Chandi Chyawanprash. In recent months, it has acquired the ayurvedic medicines major Zandu and diversified into realty business. ■

India to help Burkina Faso set up its first call centre

Burkina Faso, the small landlocked country in west Africa, will soon get its first call centre — with some help from India.

"I am here to speak to officials about opening a call centre," said Burkina Faso Minister for Post and Communications and IT Noel Kabore, who was on a visit to India. He arrived in Delhi for a short trip in May, and was in Hyderabad to attend

the International Telecommunications Conference.

Sitting beside a man-sized Burkinabe flag, the minister spoke about the need for engaging with India in the information technology field.

"This call centre will have 400 positions. India's Export-Import (Exim) Bank has given a loan of \$5 million for starting this project," said Kabore. He met with officials of Exim

Bank, as well as his Indian counterpart, Minister for Communications and IT A. Raja. Incidentally, Burkina Faso is also part of India's flagship project — Pan African e-network project.

This was not the first line of credit to the west African nation. India has already extended lines of credit of over \$50 million for rural electrification and construction of the national post office in Burkina Faso.

India for greater cultural connect with Africa

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations hosted a mega three-day Africa Festival in New Delhi on May 18-20 featuring five top performing arts troupes from South Africa, Rwanda, Malawi, Tunisia and Nigeria. Musicians and raucous dancers from the heart of Africa clad in their traditional attires stirred up images of African turf wars, chivalry, wilderness and wedding revelry on stage at the inauguration of the Africa Festival.

The five countries represent the four corners of south, east, west and central Africa with their distinctive cultures, dance, music, lifestyles and cross-cultural assimilation.

India is promoting greater cultural interaction with Africa to "renew connections" and underscore the growing importance of Africa on the country's foreign policy radar, said then Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) director general Virendra Gupta.

"Africa is a priority area for us. The cultural programming in Africa has expanded considerably. India is sending more culture troupes to Africa than in the past and endeavours to get more African performing arts exposed to India have intensified," said Gupta.

The last showcase of African culture in India occurred at the India-Africa Forum in early 2008. "India has witnessed very few African cultural programmes compared to expositions from other countries because of financial constraints.

Many African nations cut cost following the global financial meltdown and cultural promotion was the immediate casualty. We were unable to get African troupes to India," Gupta said.

"This festival is an opportunity to renew connections in the cultural space to underscore the importance we attach to promoting cultural exchanges with Africa," he said.

Gupta said: "Africa is very often reduced to a rhetoric but we at ICCR want to go beyond that and create tangible opportunities for a two-way exchange." As part of its expansion plan, ICCR has also increased the number of scholarships for African students.

"Currently, 500 African students are studying in various

universities across the country under exchange programmes," he said.

The nodal culture body has also initiated "several new schemes designed to set up linkages with foreign universities that include Africa."

"One of them is the New Academic Visitors' Programme for study visits by Indian scholars, fellows and junior fellowships for overseas research. Indian scholars can avail of this scheme to study Africa and its culture," Gupta said.

The ICCR is also planning to set up chairs in Indian studies in universities in South Africa and Nigeria. "We are talking to some universities. The chairs will facilitate studies in Indian development economics, history, political science, current and post-Independence developments," he said. The ICCR is also expanding its footprints in Africa.

"We are setting up ICCR cells in Tanzania and Nigeria in 2010. The body is also in the process of activating two of its existing centres in Johannesburg and Durban and making them fully operational. At the moment, the facilities at the two centres in South Africa are limited," Gupta said.

"I would like to see the private sector join hands with the government to support these exchanges," he said. "At the government level, you can only scratch the surface. But the corporate organisations can take up the cultural and educational exchange programmes as their CSR (corporate social responsibility) initiatives to move opinions at the grassroots," he said.

On the sidelines of the India-Africa Forum summit in New Delhi in April 2008, the ICCR had organised a two-day cultural event, "Tribute to Africa" with performers from 12 countries. "Festival Africa is a continuation of the cultural dialogue that began in 2008. Dance and music have a universal appeal. At ICCR, our mandate is to develop cultural relations around Africa and we need much more interaction with the 53 countries in Africa. In this world where lives are full of tension and polarities, we need to counteract the tension with culture," ICCR president Dr. Karan Singh said. ■



ICCR president Dr. Karan Singh

Dance and music have a universal appeal. At ICCR, our mandate is to help develop cultural relations around Africa and we need much more interaction with the 53 countries in Africa

INDIA-AFRICA CONNECT

India, US can join hands for Africa's development: Envoy

India and the US can work together to help Africa move forward on the development path with India providing the relevant expertise, India's envoy to the US said here.

"As we look towards what India and the US can do together... perhaps what could be considered is if the US wanted to use Indian experts for some of their programmes or have training within India," Meera Shankar said at an event in Washington on June 16.

She was responding to suggestions from diplomats and corporate leaders at a discussion on "Partnering with Africa: US and India's Perspectives" organised by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry (FICCI).

India's experiences as a developing country can help Africa on its own path of development, Shankar said noting that many policy solutions developed by



Meera Shankar

India's experiences as a developing country can help Africa in its development, Meera Shankar said, noting that many policy solutions developed by India can have relevance for the continent

India can have relevance for the continent of one billion people with immense economic potential.

"That's the kind of thing, in which we can make a beginning in working together," she said.

"Many of the solutions that we have developed or the policies that we have applied in India have relevance for Africa."

Noting that India has "historical ties" with Africa, Shankar said India brings to the table its own experience as a developing country that has sought to pursue the path of development in a democratic framework and within a highly pluralistic society and polity.

Opening the discussion, FICCI president Rajan Bharti Mittal said India and the United States both have a role to play in the development of Africa and it would not be fair if the successful business model developed by India is not put to use in Africa. ■

Ethiopia wants Indian hospitals to open branches

Impressed with some of India's private hospitals and the quality of healthcare they provide, Ethiopia wants them to open branches in that country so that they become a medical hub for entire Africa.

An Ethiopian delegation was in India from June 17 with the twin aim of learning from India's health sector and small and medium enterprises. "We felt that it will mutually benefit Ethiopians and the Indian private sector if they come to Ethiopia, especially Addis Ababa, and open branches, so that they attract not only Ethiopians but also other Africans," Redwan Hussien, head of the delegation, told IANS.

The delegation, which included the health minister of the Addis Ababa city administration, met representatives of private hospital chains like Fortis Healthcare and Moolchand Healthcare. "In the last seven-eight years, we have been growing at double digits and the middle class has been booming, so people can afford to go out of the coun-

try for medical treatment," said Hussien, a senior official in the city administration. Addis Ababa, a city of 3.3 million, is also home to a substantial number of foreigners. It is the headquarters of the African Union and other international institutions. "Since Ethiopian Airlines is a major African airways, Addis Ababa is also a major transit point for Africans from other countries," said Hussien.

But there is no equivalent level of specialized medical treatment available inside the country. "Most people travel to South Africa, or Bangkok or come all the way to India," he said. After discussions with private health providers, Hussien said that "Fortis Bangalore were interested in going to Addis Ababa." A memorandum of understanding may be signed soon. Hussien said space will be given in an existing Ethiopian hospital to set up a specialized treatment unit. Also, Indian doctors will be teaching their Ethiopian counterparts as part of the transfer of technology. ■

NEWS BRIEFS

Ghana army chief visits India to boost defence ties

Ghanaian Army Chief, Major General Joseph Narh Adinkrah, was on a four-day visit to India from June 28 aimed at strengthening defence cooperation between the two countries. Adinkrah met officials from the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and senior military officials, besides visiting United Service Institution (USI) and the Centre for United Nations Peacekeeping (CUNPK) in the capital.

"During his interaction with senior MoD and military officials, Adinkrah discussed issues to enhance military cooperation. The visit will further enhance our defence cooperation and cement the time-tested ties between India and Ghana, which are based on continuity, trust and mutual understanding," a statement from the defence ministry said. India has historical military relations with the west African nation.

"The defence cooperation with Ghana has existed since 1957 and the Indian armed forces have played an important role in laying the foundation of all the three services of the Ghana armed forces," the statement said.

UNSC bid: India suggests compromise on veto powers

Giving a push to reforms of the UN Security Council, India has suggested a compromise solution to the contentious issue of veto powers of the new permanent members of the council.

India has suggested that the new permanent members will withhold their veto powers till the issue of their veto powers is resolved. India's compromise formula comes amid reports of Pakistan, which is opposed to India's entry into this exclusive club, stepping up lobbying to block the expansion of the Security Council.

"The new permanent members shall not exercise the right of veto until the question of the extension of the right of veto to new permanent members has been decided upon in the framework of the review mandated 15 years after the entry into force of the Council reform," said Hardeep Singh Puri, India's permanent representative to the UN on July 9. As the process of reform of the council gathers momentum, Puri stressed that this compromise would "ensure that the veto does not veto Council reform."

Puri expressed confidence that negotiations will lead to tangible action in 2010 and could probably yield results in 2011. India, Japan, Germany, South Africa and Brazil are seeking permanent seats in the UN Security Council.

Ethiopia seeks Indian help in agriculture, health

A group of Ethiopian ministers and officials were in India to study the Indian experience in healthcare, agriculture, and small and medium enterprises. Over one week from June 17, Minister for Capacity Building Tefera Walwa and Addis Ababa Minister for Health Fontu Tsegaye travelled around India to look at the best practices of the Indian system.

With only 43 percent of its total area under cultivation, Ethiopia is looking at India for help in increasing its farm production, officials at the Ethiopian embassy said. Walwa has even travelled to Punjab to invite the farming community to tap agricultural resources in his country.

India-Ethiopian cooperation has gone up in recent years, with the Pan-African e-network opening up avenues of e-learning and e-medicine with premier institutions in India.

India's export-import bank has opened its third office in Addis Ababa. The Ethiopian capital city's health minister met with her counterparts in New Delhi to learn about national health programmes dealing with HIV/AIDS and eye diseases.

UN to observe Nelson Mandela Day July 18

The United Nations will mark the first "Nelson Mandela Day" on July 18 in honour of the Nobel laureate regarded as the father of the new South Africa, a UN spokesman said in New York on July 15.

"This week, the UN will commemorate the first Nelson Mandela International Day, designated as the 18th of July," Farhan Haq, the UN associate spokesman, was quoted as saying by Xinhua.

A resolution adopted in November 2009 by the 192-member world body called for commemorations every year starting July 18, 2010 — Mandela's birthday — to recognise the Nobel Peace Prize winner's contribution to resolving conflicts and promoting race relations and human rights.

By adopting the resolution, the international community was expressing its appreciation for "a great man" who suffered for the sake of people everywhere, General Assembly President Ali Treki said in a statement. Mandela, 92, led the fight against apartheid in South Africa as head of the African National Congress' armed wing. He was convicted of sabotage and other crimes and sentenced to 27 years in prison. He was freed in 1990. Mandela became the country's first president to win in a fully democratic election and led South Africa from 1994-1999.

India-Africa Relations: PERSPECTIVE 2010

As Africa attracts increasing global attention, several factors are bringing India and African countries closer, says **Rajiv Bhatia**



South Africa's President Jacob Zuma meeting his Indian counterpart Pratibha Patil at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on June 4 2010.

Africa is a continent with 54 countries; India is a sub-continent. Together, they represent nearly one-third of the world's population. Relations between them are, therefore, important not only to them but to the world at large. These relations have begun to attract wider attention, especially in recent years, as fresh energy and momentum have been imparted to them. The engagement between India and Africa has now been progressing at three levels — Pan-African, regional and bilateral.

The importance of Africa for India and the importance of India for Africa stem from a long list of factors comprising history, geographical proximity, strategic considerations,

economic complementarities, shared cultural heritage and, above all, a deep affinity and empathy at the people's level. At a time when Africa has become a region of increased global attention, these factors appear to be bringing African countries and India even closer.

Cooperation with Africa has undoubtedly become a noteworthy feature of India's external relations. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh termed Africa "an emerging priority area" for India's foreign policy. India's profile in Africa has been steadily rising in view of its role as a global player, a fast growing economy, an IT powerhouse, a successful democracy and a friendly, benign power. A critical look at these trends should be useful in comprehending the changing nature and contours of the relationship and in determining where it may be headed.

Recent developments

A quick review of high level exchanges between India and Africa during the period January-June 2010 would indicate that mutual attraction and interaction have increased considerably. This period witnessed the visit to India of a large number of African ministers and other political dignitaries who came to attend the 7th CII-Exim Bank Conclave held in March. Given its history and background, it was an event of major significance.

During March, a high-ranking delegation representing the African Union visited India to hold a comprehensive dialogue with Indian authorities and to jointly launch the Plan of Action relating to the implementation of decisions taken at the first historic India-Africa Forum Summit.

Earlier, Hamid Ansari, Vice-President of India, undertook an official visit to Zambia, Malawi and Botswana from January 5-11. This was the highest level visit to these countries in recent years. In June, India received three visitors at the highest level from Africa — James Alix Michel, president of Seychelles (June 1-3), Jacob Zuma, president of South Africa (June 2-4) and Lt. Gen. Mompoti S. Merafhe, Vice-President of Botswana (June 15-19). In July, External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna visited Mozambique and Mauritius with a stopover in Seychelles.

Some of the above-mentioned developments need further elaboration as an indicator of the directions in which India's diplomacy has been evolving now.

Vice-President Hamid Ansari's African safari brought out clearly India's determination to give a contemporary character to its relations with Africa. Wherever he went, there were constant references in his discussions to India's historic role in supporting the decolonisation process in Southern Africa, but Ansari stressed that India now wished to look ahead and strove to "re-invigorate and re-energise" the India-Africa relationship. His discussions helped to augment convergence on political issues. A special focus was, however, placed on strengthening development cooperation, as well as trade and economic relations between the two sides. Prior to the visit, India had extended Lines of Credit (LOC) amounting to \$30 million for Malawi, \$20 million for Botswana and \$10 million for Zambia.

While in Malawi, the two sides reviewed previous discussions and identified new opportunities. It may be recalled that a group of ministers had visited India with the aim of developing linkages in relevant areas of economic and development cooperation. Ansari announced a new LoC of \$50 million to support the country's development goals. In addition, he announced a grant of \$4 million to support projects in education, health and agriculture sectors, as well as a grant

of \$1 million as emergency relief for rehabilitation, following a series of earthquakes in Malawi.

During the visit to Botswana, an agreement for a new LoC of \$50 million was signed for a hydro-power project. Ansari heard the government of Botswana expressing its "great gratitude" for India's assistance, especially in training its defence forces. India and Botswana signed two new agreements for cooperation in the fields of agriculture and education.

During his trip to Lusaka, Ansari was received by both the president and the vice-president, as well as by Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, the former president and the hero of freedom struggle. A new LoC of \$75 million was extended to Zambia to cover fields such as health, infrastructure and education, in addition to a grant of \$5 million for social sectors. As Vivek Katju, Secretary (West) in the Ministry of External Affairs, put it aptly, the Vice-President's visits served to reaffirm India's traditional ties of friendship and cooperation and to demonstrate "our continuing commitment to nurture what is a very precious relationship that goes beyond the political context, beyond commercial and economic relations, a relationship which is emotional."

Among the top dignitaries received in Delhi in June, the visits by the president of Seychelles and the vice-president of Botswana may be discussed here briefly. The governments of Seychelles and India expressed "happiness at the special relationship and friendship" between the two countries.

India's profile in Africa has been rising in view of its role as a global player, a fast growing economy, an IT powerhouse, a successful democracy, and a friendly, benign power

Bilateral discussions in Delhi covered a wide range of issues of cooperation, as well as "future areas of partnership", including economic cooperation, capacity-building, defence and security cooperation, enhancing trade and investment, and cooperation in the fight against piracy. India extended an LoC of \$10 million to Seychelles.

The key element of cooperation with Seychelles is India's support for infrastructure development and augmenting its security capabilities. As regards the visit of Lt. Gen. Mompoti S. Merafhe, Vice-President of Botswana, it is worth

mentioning that two new agreements relating to cooperation in small industry and science and technology were signed. He called for increased economic ties, while recognising that trade was "still firmly minimal" and assuring that his government would facilitate investment by Indian companies in Botswana.

The state visit by South African president Dr. Jacob Zuma was notably significant, given the importance of South Africa as the largest economy on the continent, the strong "strategic partnership" that binds the two countries, and the fact that India was consciously chosen as the first destination in Asia for 'a stand-alone visit' by the South Africans at a time when they were fully preoccupied with



Vice-President of Botswana Lt. Gen. Mompoti Sebogodi Merafhe with his Indian counterpart Hamid Ansari, in New Delhi on June 17, 2010.

preparations for World Cup 2010, just a few days away then. Dialogue at the summit level in Delhi helped to impart “a forward-looking character” to the relations. Zuma’s detailed interactions with representatives of India Inc, both in Mumbai and Delhi, contributed to strengthening the economic dimension of the relationship. Further, convergence on political issues of bilateral, regional and multilateral nature was augmented.

It is noteworthy that the two sides agreed about the importance of strengthening people-to-people links through culture, education and human development-related cooperation. Bilateral mechanisms such as the Joint Commission and the CEOs’ Forum were activated, and they were also tasked with coming up with fresh proposals for future cooperation. Zuma’s constant references to the role and contribution by “South Africans of Indian descent” to the diversity, development and unique character of South Africa were widely appreciated. The joint declaration, issued at the conclusion of the visit, showed how the relationship had moved forward positively. However, it was also evident that the degree of actual suc-

cess of the visit would depend on the extent of implementation of various agreements signed and understandings reached in Delhi.

Zuma’s visit showed that our leaders and senior diplomats had done well by nurturing good relations with Zuma and his advisers long before he became the President of South Africa

The visit also demonstrated that our leaders and senior diplomats had done well by nurturing good relations with Zuma and his advisers long before he became the president of South Africa. His earlier visits to India (in 2007 and 2008), first as the vice-president of the African National Congress (ANC) and later as its president, contributed, in no small measure, to the success of his state visit in June 2010.

A macro view of Africa

Turning from the above review of the latest developments to a critical look at development challenges faced by Africa today, one needs to examine the basic question: where is Africa headed and

what would be India’s engagement with it in the years ahead?

Africa has about 15 percent of the world’s population, about 20 percent of land area and contributes less than 4 percent to world GDP. This set of facts alone reveals the magnitude of the continent’s under development. Africa has

been lagging behind other regions of the world in securing the Millennium Development Goals. Debate continues among Afro-pessimists and Afro-optimists about the political and socio-economic situation in the continent at present and in the foreseeable future. The former camp recalls how the hopes generated by the advent of freedom in the sub-Saharan Africa, with Ghana becoming the first nation to be independent in 1957, were dashed by the hard realities of conflict, ethnic strife, poor governance and the failure to address pressing issues like poverty, disease, illiteracy, low rate of growth, crime and corruption.

Despite the progress made in a few countries, Africa faces serious problems. According to the World Bank, 50 percent of the sub-Saharan population lived below the poverty line i.e. \$1.25 a day in 2005. In the same year, 80.5 percent of the sub-Saharan population lived on less than \$2.50 a day. To the old challenges have now been added the new ones of the 21st century. They are: climate change, long-term financing of HIV/AIDS treatment, energy security, human resource development, stepping up of the application of science and technology, improving governance and implementing a strategy for faster socio-economic development.

These problems are compounded by festering issues that continue to dominate headlines such as Darfur, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Somalia and DRC. When Kenya, a successful and stable democracy, faced an existential crisis due to the violent ethnic strife in December 2007, and South Africa witnessed clashes caused by economic and xenophobic tensions in May 2008, African hopes seemed to touch a low point. The international economic crisis had an adverse impact on African economies, too, including on the relatively stronger economies such as Egypt, South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria. Barack Obama, the first black president of the United States, excited the African imagination no end, and observed in his speech before the Parliament of Ghana in July 2009: “Africa’s future is up to Africans.” He identified four areas as “critical to the future of Africa,” namely democracy, development that provides opportunity to all, health and peaceful resolution of conflicts.

On the other hand, Afro-optimists have argued that, given the rich heritage and innate genius of the African people, their cultural, human and natural resources, and their firm desire to undertake speedy socio-economic development, Africa’s turn too shall come. Trends in the last decade and a half have tended to support this assessment as Africa’s growth rates have shown consistent improvement, democracy has expanded, and the areas torn by armed conflict have been reduced in size.

Africa’s problems have been receiving heightened atten-

tion from the international community which seems to have become more receptive to the notion that Africa’s marginalisation should be ended and that its representation in the institutions of global governance should be expanded. The unprecedented competition seen lately to win friends in Africa, a competition that involves not only the old colonial powers of Europe and US, but new powers such as China and India as well as several others like Russia, Asean, Iran, Turkey and Brazil, demonstrates the growing importance of Africa in the eyes of the world.

Moreover, the successful holding of World Cup 2010 has been widely hailed as a positive development for Africa, especially because South Africa consistently projected it as “Africa’s World Cup.” It was undoubtedly historic in nature, as the world’s biggest sporting event was held on the African continent for the first time. As commentator after commentator pointed out, the tournament helped to unite not only South Africans, but Africans as a whole, showcasing them, their countries and their continent in a positive manner.

Against this backdrop, one finds India standing firmly in the camp of Afro-optimists. India’s Africa policy is deeply anchored in the conviction that the development of African countries is a priority, that it is completely feasible, and

that India’s own development model may have some relevance to Africa. At the same time, this policy emphasises that the goals and priorities as well as means and modalities of securing development will have to be determined by Africans themselves. India has a strong belief in equality and mutual respect among its partners in Africa and in an inclusive development that touches all sections of the society, especially the weakest and the most vulnerable of its sections. It is an approach that seems to have tremendous appeal and attraction for African countries.

Historical backdrop

India’s relations with Africa go back to many centuries. In fact, they were flourishing well before colonialism reached the shores of Africa and Asia. “We are united by common ideas, ideals and icons,” then External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee had said, referring to India-Africa ties. ‘Unity in diversity’ and shared experiences in braving adversity bind us together. “We are natural partners in search of a better life for over two billion people — one-third of the world’s humanity — and in ensuring their rightful place in the emerging international order,” said Dr. Karan Singh, President of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations.

The evolution of India’s approach towards Africa is a fascinating subject, requiring deep study. Mahatma Gandhi

Evolution of India’s approach towards Africa is a fascinating subject, requiring deep study. Mahatma Gandhi was the only front-ranking Indian leader of our freedom movement who had direct political experience in Africa

was the only front-ranking Indian leader of our freedom movement who had direct political experience in Africa. During his sojourn in South Africa (1893–1915), he felt strong empathy for Africans. Not only did he craft the new weapons of satyagraha, he also experimented with their application in order to seek redressal of grievances of the Indian community. Later, he brought his undisputed expertise to India and deployed it for the attainment of our independence so effectively. When faced with the criticism that he had done little to help the black community, he conceded candidly that he did not have enough experience and strength at the time and, besides, he believed that blacks would produce their own leaders. Eventually, it was Nelson Mandela who, influenced by the Gandhian approach, led the struggle against apartheid and injustice in South Africa.

Jawaharlal Nehru took strong interest in Africa long before becoming India's first prime minister. He maintained contacts and links with many leaders of the African liberation struggle. His actions before and after 1947 and the policy line adopted by independent India, revealed a number of his core beliefs. First, Nehru had respect for Africa's culture and ideas. As he once observed: "We have to realise, first of all, that there is a definite African point of view, and African background of thought and social organisation, and African culture deep rooted in this background." Second, he was convinced that the advent of freedom would help Africa play a big role in world affairs. Nehru believed that India's freedom would be incomplete without the freedom of other Asian and African peoples. From this sprang his faith in Afro-Asian unity. Third, he saw Africa as 'our neighbour' and envisaged close relations with the continent. More than any other leader, Nehru understood and stressed the importance of studying and knowing Africa. "The sooner we try to understand the real Africa, the better it would be for us all and for Africa," he said in 1955.

From the 1950s to 1980s, India's Africa policy strove to contribute to decolonisation and elimination of apartheid. Then prime minister Indira Gandhi enjoyed close friendship with a number of African leaders who appreciated India's consistently pro-Africa approach during her time. Former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, too, played a proactive role in this context, especially through the AFRICA Fund, piloted by India under his leadership. Assisting in Africa's economic development was another key objective. India, however, had limited resources at its disposal. In helping African students access educational facilities in India, the Indian Council of Cultural Relations played a pioneering role. Training and technical assistance, particu-

larly through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme, proved to be a useful policy instrument. Cultural exchanges were promoted. Political dialogue was consolidated and diversified, both bilaterally and through the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and United Nations platforms. But weaknesses of this policy were apparent, mainly due to the constraints imposed by the Cold War and because India was yet to develop sufficient economic strength. Africa was still largely under Western influence.

In the last two decades or so, the situation seems to have changed dramatically. During this period, China's economic success emerged as a powerful reality. China's successful endeavours to take control of natural resources — oil, coal, minerals — in many African countries, her generous aid for their infrastructural development, huge growth in trade and investment and numerous politico-diplomatic initiatives, made us talk about 'the China factor' more and more.

But the more significant element behind the change was the pro-active role played by India Inc in moving into Africa. Many of its leading players ranging from public sector banks, Tatas, Mahindras, Kirloskars, Ranbaxy, RITES, IRCON and NSIC to TCS, OVL and Bharti crafted long-term linkages. They broadly adopted an approach different from that of Chinese companies. In most cases, Indian companies appeared willing to put in considerable investments, create employment, ensure value addition locally and contribute to local industry and agriculture.

A series of CII-Exim Bank Conclaves in recent years played a very useful role in sustaining dialogue and building cooperative links within the Public Private Partnership (PPP) framework. At the latest Conclave, held in Delhi in March 2010, nearly 1,000 delegates were present, with half of them being Africans. There was a special focus on strengthening cooperation for food security, energy security, green agenda and poverty alleviation. It was noted that Indian companies were engaged in executing projects worth \$900 million in African countries. "Africa's time has come", asserted the Vice-President of Ghana. The Indian minister of commerce and industry called for "a vibrant India and a resurgent Africa" to strive to secure reforms of international institutions in order to make them truly representative. The third factor was the adoption by the government of India of a number of imaginative initiatives. Three deserve to be mentioned here:

- 'Focus: Africa Programme' under Exim policy for 2002-07 which initiated a structured trade and investment promotion approach.
- 'Techno-Economic Approach for Africa and India

Jawaharlal Nehru took a keen interest in Africa long before becoming India's first Prime Minister. He maintained contacts with many leaders of the African liberation struggle. Nehru's actions before and after 1947 revealed his core beliefs



Minister for Commerce and Industry Anand Sharma with chief Babtunde Fashola, Governor, Lagos State, representing the Vice-President of Nigeria, and Achike Udenwa, Commerce and Industry Minister of Nigeria, at the India-West Africa Business Seminar, in Nigeria on January 15.

Movement' or TEAM-9 concept, launched in 2004, which promoted economic cooperation with eight carefully selected partner countries i.e. Burkina Faso, Chad, Ivory Coast, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Senegal. (They, together with India, formed TEAM-9.)

- Pan-African e-Network project launched in July 2007, with the aim to use India's IT expertise to bring benefits of health care and higher education to all willing countries of Africa.

Powered by these initiatives, India-Africa trade jumped from \$967 million in 1991 to about \$ 35 billion in 2008, an increase by over 30 times. Trade is now projected to reach \$70 billion in the next five years. Similarly investment by Indian companies in Africa is estimated to touch \$29 billion soon, according to CII.

There are, of course, several other important dimensions of the India-Africa relationship. India's role in peacekeeping in the continent and her generous assistance towards capacity-building in the defence sector have been widely appreciated. The wider question of security, especially maritime security, in and around the Indian Ocean, is of considerable significance in the large region that links Africa with India. It has important ramifications for the sustainability of economic development of the eastern and southern seaboard of Africa. Another issue relates to the presence

and role of the Indian Diaspora in assisting the political and economic development of many of their host countries, such as Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Mauritius and South Africa. Indian communities' position in these countries needs to be studied not only through desk study, but also field visits and personal interaction by our scholars. PIOs' contribution, aspirations and angst should be understood better in order to ensure their engagement with expanding India's relations with the host countries.

India-Africa Forum Summit

Held in April 2008 in New Delhi, the first India-Africa Forum Summit was rightly hailed as a milestone. The basic purpose of the summit was to re-define and re-invigorate the decades-old partnership and historical and civilisation links. In his opening address, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh called Africa as "our Mother Continent" and added: "The dynamics of geology may have led our lands to drift apart, but history, culture and processes of post-colonial development have brought us together once again." He articulated his conviction that in the 21st century, peoples of Africa and India would come "even closer, through mutually beneficial relationship based on equality and fraternity."

Two major documents emerged from this summit. The first was the Delhi Declaration which redefined the basic

principles and values governing the relationship. It also identified the key issues on which common positions existed such as reform of UN institutions, climate change, WTO negotiations, terrorism, specific problems faced by Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and measures to deepen South-South cooperation further. The Declaration committed the two sides to develop a Plan of Action within a year, and to hold the next summit in Africa in 2011.

The second document was the 'Africa-India Framework for Cooperation'. It contained a detailed list of areas and sub-areas where efforts to strengthen cooperation would be focused. The comprehensive list included economic cooperation ranging from agriculture, trade and SME to political cooperation, science and technology, ICT, HRD, poverty eradication, infrastructure, energy as well as culture and tourism. It is through the joint action plan that specific proposals for cooperation would be followed up.

Prime Minister Singh announced a number of important decisions at the summit in order to strengthen the relationship. A new Duty Free Tariff Preferential Scheme for 50 LDCs was announced, 34 of whom are in Africa. This would cover 94 percent of India's tariff lines and provide preferential market access on tariff lines for 92.5 percent of global exports of all LDCs. The amount available for Lines of Credit was doubled to \$5.4 for the next 5-year period. Priority areas for their utilisation would be: infrastructure, IT, Telecom, power generation, SMEs, agriculture and food security.

Another decision was to provide a sum of \$500 million for undertaking new HRD-related projects in Africa by way of setting up institutions in select African countries. Besides, it was decided to double long-term scholarships for African students. It was also decided that the number of slots under the ITEC programme would be increased from 1,100 to 1,600 every year. The prime minister lent special support to the proposed setting up of an India-Africa Volunteer Corps devoted to development work, and tasked to undertake projects relating to public health, informal education and women's empowerment.

Conclusion

The real significance of the India-Africa Forum Summit was that whereas India decided to increase and expand its assistance, Africa recognised the relevance of the Indian development model. A partnership of mutually beneficial nature got strengthened in the process, with Africa showing understanding and sensitivity to India's political concerns and India underlining its determination to renew and deepen its age-old links with the second largest continent of the world. That this multi-dimensional relationship

needs to be managed at all three levels — bilateral, regional and continental — was an important lesson from the summit. So was Prime Minister Singh's articulation of India's wish "to see the 21st century as the Century of Asia and Africa with the people of the two continents working together to promote inclusive globalisation." Friends of Africa who hope to see the continent 'claim' the 21st century must have been pleased by this show of sincerity and sensitivity by India.

It should be recalled that the Forum was also the occasion to bring together business leaders, artists, editors, journalists, academics and others in order to hold brain-storming sessions on how to deepen mutual understanding, dialogue and cooperation between India and Africa.

In the wake of the success of the first summit, it was the observers' impression that follow-up to the Delhi discussions would be of critical importance in determining how quickly the two sides would be able to derive optimal benefits from the summit. It was, therefore, disappointing to note that follow-up action was somewhat delayed, with the result that the Plan of Action of the Framework of Cooperation of the India-Africa Summit Forum could not be finalised within one year i.e. by April 2009.

Eventually, a high-ranking African Union delegation visited India in March 2010 and during this visit the plan was launched. *Inter alia*, it envisages the setting up of five major India-Africa institutions relating to foreign trade, diamonds, educational training and administration, IT, and stock exchange, as well as ten vocational training centers and five human settlement institutions to support low-cost housing technologies.

It is to be hoped that both sides would make up for lost time and start preparing in right earnest for the second summit which is scheduled to take place somewhere in Africa during 2011. What is certain is that mutual interests, fundamental complementarities, and parameters of the policy have combined to drive both sides to develop a truly ambitious and far-reaching partnership. They must seize the moment and work in the desired direction on a sustained basis. Looking to the future, one can offer a few considered suggestions for wider consideration and debate:

- Misgivings seem to persist on the African side about intentions and operational methods of at least some members of India Inc. Is the Indian companies' approach really different from that of Chinese companies? Is it 'extractive' or is it truly partnership-oriented? A leading Nigerian academic and two senior African diplomats stationed in Delhi raised some of these issues frankly at two recent seminars held in the capital. Perhaps Indian

The real significance of the India-Africa Forum Summit was that whereas India decided to increase and expand its assistance, Africa recognised the relevance of the Indian development model

authorities and corporate leaders need to come up with a convincing response not only in words but in actions too.

- Political declarations and proposed action plans have their value, but the real criterion to judge their impact lies in implementation. Unfortunately, India is often seen as delaying or lagging behind in delivery on its promises on time. Clearly, an effective strategy is needed to address this critical issue.
- While Prime Minister Dr. Singh declared that Africa is "an important emerging priority area of our foreign policy", this needs to be backed by empowering the managers of our Africa relationship. The two divisions dealing with the sub-Saharan Africa in the Ministry of External Affairs and some of our key diplomatic missions in the region would perform better if more human and financial resources could be provided to them.
- Our political leaders, both at the VVIP level and key ministers such as external affairs, defence, finance, commerce and industry, agriculture, health, education, science and technology, need to find more time for Africa — not only for visiting target countries, but also for supporting and supervising the implementation of decisions

taken and agreements signed.

- Of the five pillars of India's external engagement, two i.e. government and India Inc, have done reasonably well in deepening the relationship. But the other three pillars i.e. civil society, media and all those who are or wish to be involved in people-to-people relations, should be motivated to contribute much more. Perhaps, they should begin by changing their mindsets in order to appreciate the huge potential of Africa and the role India could play in its progress and prosperity.

The universities could certainly contribute much more to developing expertise and research on African issues. Education experts have opined that India needs to do more for strengthening and deepening educational links with African countries. One of them has been championing the proposal to establish an Afro-Asian University which may admit 50 percent students from India and 50 percent from the Afro-Asian region. This proposal merits serious consideration. The very first step, however, is to expand our knowledge base about the emerging transformation in Africa for the benefit of the young generation. This is essential for crafting and sustaining a multi-dimensional, mutually beneficial and lasting partnership with Africa. ■

Time to revisit Indian Ocean RIM

India needs to step up its efforts to improve ties with Lesotho as China makes inroads in this landlocked country, says **Mohammed Khalid**



A bird's eye view of Maseru, the Lesotho capital.

Theorists usually address the foreign policies of great powers and largely ignore the smaller states. These small states, many of which are less developed, are accorded considerably less attention as they do not or cannot play a major role in the international politics. Looking at India's foreign policy towards such states, however, provides an opportunity to understand how big powers behave with small nations and the factors that determine the behaviour of bigger nations towards them.

Having a strategic and dominant presence in the Indian Ocean, India's relations with the Ocean Rim countries go

back to more than a thousand years. All these years, India has been in touch with the countries of South and East Africa in many ways. In recent years, this relationship has strengthened considerably. This shift comes as the region has immense significance for India's expanding financial sector. India has extended its cooperation with the African countries to consolidate friendship, to intensify bilateral, economic and commercial links for mutual benefit, to share developmental experiences as part of India's commitment to South-South cooperation and to strengthen institutional linkages with these countries.

Growing importance of the African Indian Ocean, littoral and hinterland to India is substantiated by its increasing bilat-

eral relations with almost every country in that region. But the path for India is not easy as there is severe competition from China as well.

Let's understand India's continued build up of close and friendly relations with Lesotho and the challenge of China as a competitor in this tiny and land-locked kingdom.

Formerly called Basutoland, the Kingdom of Lesotho became independent on October 4, 1966, after remaining a British protectorate since 1868.¹ It is a small, land-locked monarchy and world's only sovereign state completely surrounded by South Africa. Mainly mountainous, the country has a total area of 30,355 sq km.² It has a temperate climate, with seasonal and daily extremes of heat and cold.

Lying over 1,000 metres above the sea level, major part of Lesotho is a permanent pasture (land with vegetation cover). Owing to overgrazing, soil erosion has become a serious problem here. Much of the soil lacks fertility and population growth has added pressure on the agricultural land. There are no forests in Lesotho that make it hard to meet the growing demand for fuel wood. Arable land is concentrated in the western part of the country that is subjected to over-cultivation and soil exhaustion due to population pressure.

According to 2006 estimates, the population of Lesotho was 2,022,331, giving it an average density of about 67 people per sq km. According to 2009 estimates, average life expectancy was 40 years (male: 41.18 years and female: 39.54 years), that is abysmally low placing the country at 222nd position in the world. Almost all the inhabitants (99.7 percent) of Lesotho are Sotho, and about 75-82 percent live in rural areas.³ The small number of resident Europeans and Asians (0.3 percent) are mainly government officials, businessmen, aid workers and missionaries.

About 93 percent of the people of Lesotho are Christians. Water is Lesotho's important natural resource; currently, less than half of the population has access to safe water. Its mountains are a major source of water for all the rivers of South Africa. The country initiated a multi-billion-dollar Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) in 1986, designed to collect, store and transfer water from mountain sources to South Africa's greater Pretoria-Johannesburg capital region.⁴ It is a series of enormous dams and tunnels that has made Lesotho self-sufficient in electricity production. The country generates approximately \$24 million annually from the sale of water (and limited amount of electricity) to South Africa.⁵ Other sources of revenue include livestock and diamond deposits that are mined in the north-eastern part of Lesotho.

One of the least developed countries, its Gross National Product (GNP) was \$1,319 million in 2004 and had \$730 per capita income, according to World Bank estimates. About 66 percent of the non-migrant labour force depends on agriculture, which contributed about 18 percent to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and accounted for almost 5.5 percent of export earnings in 1995. Maize, sorghum, wheat, fruits and vegetables are the main crops. Manufacturing added about 19 percent of GDP in 2004 — more than 80 percent of export



Lesotho's Prime Minister Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili.

earnings since 1994. Tourism, particularly from South Africa, expanded rapidly in the 1980s and has grown further since the end of Apartheid in 1990.

The repatriated earnings of workers in South Africa largely finance a huge trade deficit, enabling Lesotho to operate a small surplus on the overall balance of payments. These earnings also make up a large part of the income of about 60 percent of households in the country. Despite poor economic conditions, the country has been able to achieve a literacy rate of 84.8 percent (male: 74.5 percent and female: 94.5 percent), according to 2003 estimates.⁶

According to the 2008 and 2009 estimates, exports from Lesotho were \$956 million and \$872 million, respectively. These comprised clothing, footwear, vehicles, wool and mohair, food and livestock. About 58.9 percent of its external trade was with the United States, 37 percent with Belgium, and 1.2 percent with Madagascar in 2008.

Lesotho's imports were worth \$1.827 billion according to 2009 estimates, comprising food, building materials, vehicles, machinery, medicines and petroleum products. About 35.5 percent imports came from China, 22.1 percent from Hong Kong, 19.1 percent from South Korea, 5.9 percent from Germany, and 4.6 percent from Pakistan in 2008.⁷

The country is fully dependent on South Africa for trade links with the rest of the world and subsistence of a good portion of its population. Land shortage and lack of jobs in the formal sectors have traditionally forced the male Sotho population to turn to South Africa for employment. In the early 1990s, about 38 percent of its manpower was working as agricultural labourers or as domestic servants in South Africa. One consequence of this employment pattern is that women head many households in Lesotho and run many of the agricultural farms. Taking advantage of a U.S. law called the 'African Growth and Opportunity Act' (AGOA), Lesotho has been able to develop its diamond industry, enabling it to become one of the largest exporters of diamonds from sub-Saharan Africa.⁸ In 2006, exports were roughly at \$387 million,



Members of the Basotho Enterprises Development Corporation (BEDCO) at a workshop. India and Lesotho signed an MoU on January 22, 2004, under which the National Small Industrial sector of India committed to work with the SMEs under BEDCO.

as compared to \$391 million in 2005 and \$456 million in 2004. Its exports totalled \$443 million in 2007 and employed about 47,000 workers. Lesotho's 19 garment factories are primarily owned by East Asian manufacturing conglomerates.⁹

Lesotho has a liberal investment incentive regime and allows unrestricted repatriation of profits, easy loans and unimpeded access to foreign exchange, and treats foreign investors favourably. Investment is encouraged largely (about 90 percent) in export-oriented manufacturing. This Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has created an apparel sector, which has grown substantially in recent years.¹⁰

After 2004, FDI in the mining sector revived with the reopening of Lets'eng Diamonds, set up in partnership with South Africa to operate diamond mines. Other diamond mines also operate in collaboration with European companies. To attract FDI in the mining sector, Lesotho offers a number of concessions to foreign investors and, in return, it is granted an eight percent royalty on gross diamond sales, a 12.5 percent equity interest in joint ventures with foreign companies, and a 12.5 percent share of dividends.¹¹

Franchising is used to a limited extent in Lesotho, operating in the sectors of fast food, clothing, office cleaning, motor vehicle sales and repair, insurance, and fuel. Foreign investment in telecommunications sector has brought in an international consortium composed of ESKOM Zimbabwe's Econet Wireless International and Mauritius Telecom, which owns 70 percent of Telecom Lesotho.

Communications services have been extensively modernised and expanded in recent years, although significant

portions of mountainous, rural Lesotho remain without such services. This has provided Lesotho a relatively high penetration of telephone connectivity.

Lesotho faces a serious health problem with about 23 percent of its population (about 270,000 people) infected with HIV/AIDS in 2007, which is third highest in the world.

Prevalence of AIDS has seriously ravaged the country's human resources, leading to decline in population, standard of living and economic potential. The government of Lesotho and international community has engaged in an aggressive campaign to mitigate the effects of one of the highest HIV prevalence rate and to reverse an alarming increase in new infections.¹² India has provided help in the efforts. World Health Organisation (WHO) has made special plans to tackle the HIV spread. Taking stock of the situation, Lesotho has prepared 'Vision 2020' document, setting its priorities in coming years. It has chalked out a strategy to create a stable democracy, a united nation, good relations with neighbouring countries, a healthy and well-developed human resource base, a strong economy, well-managed environment and development of technology.¹³

India-Lesotho Relations

India's relations with Lesotho dates back to around 1870, when a small band of Indian traders, trekked from Durban (South Africa) to Basutoland and arrived in a small village now known as Butha-Buthe. Local residents welcomed them, providing accommodation and allowing them to barter their goods in return for sheep. This was the beginning of a long association



King Letsie III inspecting a Guard of Honour presented by the Light Infantry Battalion of the Lesotho Defence Forces.

of the people of these two cultures. Since then, India has carried trade and commerce with the country. At present, there are about 1,500 Indian expatriates in Lesotho who come from different parts of India and are working as teachers, accountants or are engaged in other professions.

Indian community has a reasonably high economic profile in the country. To consolidate the Indian community, an Indian association was set up in 1988, which has become closely knit over the years. It organises India Day function in collaboration with the Indian High Commission, which functions from neighbouring Pretoria.¹⁴

Since 2000, Indian music groups have been visiting Lesotho to play classical Indian music for Basotho.

Relations between the two countries, however, began to intensify in the recent times. Soon after the May 1998 elections, the Lesotho government approached India and requested for a training team, to render a formal training to the Lesotho Defence Forces.¹⁵ Commander of Lesotho Defence Forces visited India for this purpose in December 1999 and subsequently, an Indian Security Advisor was positioned in Lesotho in September 2000.

After the signing of an inter-governmental cooperation agreement on Military Training Cooperation in May 2001, a 15-

At present, there are about 1,500 Indian expatriates in Lesotho who come from different parts of India and are working as teachers, accountants and are engaged in other professions. The Indian community has a reasonably high economic profile in the country

member Indian Army Training Team (IATT) was sent to Lesotho in June 2001. The team, since then, has been training the Lesotho Defence Forces. It provides advice on various security-related issues and has played a significant role in promoting close bilateral ties.

Defence ties strengthened further as senior army officers from India visited Lesotho, including a team from the National Defence College in May 2003, followed by the visit of Commander of Lesotho Defence Forces to India in June 2003.

To review the performance of the Indian Army Training Team, Vice-

Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. J.B.S. Yadava, visited Lesotho in February 2004. A similar visit was made by Major General R.P.S. Malhan in September 2006.

In March 2004, both the countries signed an agreement to set up a joint commission. In November 2007, Lt. General Motanyane, Commander of Lesotho's Defence Forces, visited India to enhance defence cooperation training courses, sports and adventure activities.¹⁶

In August 2003, Prime Minister of Lesotho visited India. It was the first ever exchange of visits at the political level. During the visit, cooperation in employment generation, agricultural development, education, tourism and upgrading of infrastructure were discussed.

The visiting Prime Minister expressed that Lesotho needed some long-term scholarships to upgrade their professional skill-base and training in medicine, engineering, and dentistry. India agreed to share its experience in human resource development as well as technology in industry.¹⁷

Both agreed to promote bilateral trade and commercial relations. India agreed to extend assistance, through training as well as supply of equipments in order to establish manufacturing units in the small-scale industries sector. Following the visit, Lesotho opened a Resident Mission in New Delhi.

India and Lesotho signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on January 22, 2004, for cooperation in the field of small-scale industries.¹⁸

Under this agreement, the National Small Industrial Sector of India committed to work with Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) under the Basotho Enterprises Development Corporation (BEDCO), and to assist in creating a suitable institutional base for the development in Lesotho. India also offered a credit line of \$5 million for the purpose.

This was implemented through transfer of technology including training in the manufacturing of products such as toilet paper, exercises, paper recycling, a corrugated boxes plant as well as cotton plants.¹⁹ An MoU between the two countries was signed on agriculture in September 2004.

Subsequently, an Indian expert was deputed to advise the director of the Lesotho College of Agriculture and render assistance for drawing up an irrigation master plan. The Indian Ministry of Textiles sent a team of experts to assess Lesotho's training requirement in the textile sector. Under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) and Special Commonwealth African Assistance Programme (SCAAP)

scholarships, since 1999, India has trained over 130 Lesotho nationals in India in diverse fields.

The Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR) has allocated five scholarships for students from Lesotho under the General Cultural Scholarship Scheme (GCSS). India, along with the ICCR, has also supplied records of the Indian Supreme Court for reference purposes.

The Indian government also offered to donate \$50,000 worth of anti-retroviral HIV/AIDS medicine, and 5,000 tonnes each of wheat flour and rice to Lesotho.



Lesotho Prime Minister Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili paying tribute at the Rajghat, the samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi, in New Delhi on August 6, 2003.

Lesotho has benefited immensely from India in human resource development, health, finance, and in the consolidation of democracy, peace and stability. India has signed a pact with Lesotho, linking it with an e-network as part of the pan-African project

Under a tripartite agreement signed between India and Lesotho, four Indian agricultural experts/technicians have been deputed under FAO's special programme for food security in Low-Income Food Deficit countries.²⁰

Indian exports to Lesotho are rising but the value is negligible. Major items are cotton yarns, fabrics, drugs and pharmaceuticals and rubber products. Exports to Lesotho however amounted to \$5.57 million in 2003-04, \$13.41 million in 2004-05 and \$12.77 million in 2005-06.²¹

Lesotho has benefited immensely from India in human resource development, health, finance, and in sharing experiences in the consolidation of democracy, peace and stability.²²

India has signed a pact with Lesotho for linking it with e-network as part of the pan-African Project. This project helps provide e-services on tele-education and tele-medicine, and net connectivity for video conferencing. This facility was given to help Lesotho get quality on-line education from Indian universities and get online medical consultation from Indian medical specialists.²³ Lesotho had

also invited Indian investment and Indian companies to invest there.

China dimension

People's Republic China, like India, has a long history of relationship with the African countries. Its Africa policy in recent years has been driven by long-term strategic interests and rise of China's international status. China considers Africa the most important testing ground for the promotion of Chinese power and thinks that Africa's polit-

ical and moral support will help China to become a great power.²⁴

China has initiated various programmes of cooperation with the African countries under the Sino-African Cooperation Forum.

Under this policy, China has been making all efforts to develop bilateral relations with the countries of the African continent — Lesotho being one of them. China established diplomatic relations with Lesotho in April 1983. The relations severed in April 1990 when Lesotho established ties with Taiwan. However, the relations revived in 1994 with re-establishment of diplomatic ties.

Since then, China has entered into about 14 economic and technical cooperation agreements with Lesotho and has undertaken a series of development projects.²⁵ These include the building of the National Convention Centre in 1999,

which is now the main venue for many international and regional conferences; construction of the Botha Bothe Industrial Park which has become an important business centre for small and medium industries to market their products; construction of National Library & Archives Building; construction of Radio and Television Network Expansion Project; construction of New Parliament Building to house both the Senate and construction of the National Assembly of Lesotho.²⁶

Apart from these projects, China has also provided various grants and donations to different programmes in Lesotho. For instance, it helped fight the drought that hit Lesotho in 2002-04 and provided 2,000 tonnes of yellow maize to Lesotho each year as emergency aid.

In 2005, China provided a grant of \$1 million for procurement of food. China also donated office equipment, mainly computers and accessories to the National Assembly and a number of ministries in Lesotho, and extended interest-free loans.²⁷

These loans were mostly for agricultural cooperation projects such as establishment of vegetable farms and farming-related personnel training, procurement of tractors and other farming equipment, application of methane technology in rural areas, etc. Similarly, since 1997, China dispatched five medical teams of 65 doctors to work at the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital.

The Chinese Medical Teams have been working in Lesotho under the Medical Cooperation Agreement between the two governments and have donated medical equipment and medicines to Lesotho's Ministry of Health and Social Welfare for the past few years.

China has sponsored a number of senior public servants, middle and lower ranking officials and professionals to

participate in various seminars/workshops and multilateral technical training courses, held in China.²⁸

Conclusion

For decades, India has enjoyed strong relations with Africa, stemming from a shared colonial past, and India's support for independence movement on the continent. But in recent years, Chinese economic diplomacy and aid has severely challenged India-African ties. China is continuously trying to dwarf India's economic interests in Africa. Chinese companies have outdone Indian firms in Angola and Nigeria. India's trade with Africa stands at around \$39 billion a year compared to China's \$100 billion.

China is making rapid moves towards Africa and India is slow and lagging behind. Both India and China have extended line of credits to build infrastructure in many African

Both India and China have extended lines of credits to build infrastructure in many African countries as they seek access to oil and gas blocks to fuel their growing economies. India's trade with Africa stands at around \$39 billion a year compared to China's \$100 billion

countries as they seek access to oil and gas blocks to fuel their growing economies. In this competition, India has extended help to build Ghana's Parliament and China is constructing Parliaments in Malawi and Lesotho. All the way across South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, China is building bridges with the African countries.

This makes all the more prudent for India to develop bilateral relations with all the countries of Indian Ocean Rim. China is making every effort to establish its foothold in Lesotho to capture its market. In this regard, Lesotho

becomes quite important for India. Moreover, China does not have any historical ties with Lesotho while India has its relations going back to more than a century.

Continued Chinese diplomatic buildup in different parts of the Indian Ocean Rim and hinterland is a direct challenge to India's increasing grasp over the Indian Ocean States. China understands the implications of emerging new Indo-US equation in the region and is challenging India on its soil such as Chinese blocking of an Asian Development Bank (ADB) loan for Arunachal Pradesh on the basis of it being 'disputed territory'.

China has been littering its pearls all over the Indian Ocean and creating a string to discourage India's efforts to expand its influence in the Ocean realm. This, in fact, is the New Cold War between the two major Asian powers who are trying to win the regional support in their bid to be great powers. Growing Chinese presence in the nook and corners of the Indian Ocean is going to have far reaching consequences for India's efforts to emerge as a global economic player and a formidable power in the Indian Ocean. By seeking economic cooperation with these countries along the rim land of the Indian Ocean, India can strengthen its strategic position vis-à-vis China. ■

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The 2010 World Cup: What it MEANT for South Africa?

The World Cup has shown that the South African government can deliver on its promises. It's now time to deliver on its poll pledges, says **Sanusha Naidu**

Now that the World Cup fever has subsided, South Africa has returned to some degree of normalcy. For five weeks, the soccer extravaganza captivated the imaginations of both South Africans and the world. The fact that sport's biggest event was hosted on

African soil saw an array of conflicting views about whether Africa would be able to host a successful event or not. The South African government faced the torment of detractors who complained that this was just an attempt to manipulate the games for aggrandising personal wealth and deflecting attention from the social realities and malaise that plague the country.

The 2010 World Cup unveiled some startling insights into the capacity of the South African government in becoming more accountable to its citizens and responsive to the socio-economic needs of the underprivileged classes. Debates are still on about whether South Africa was the right choice to host the World Cup — spending almost \$6 billion in building new roads, stadiums and other associated projects, while the scourge of poverty and human suffering remained ubiquitous.

The real issue is what did the World Cup mean to ordinary South Africans?

In the Run-Up

When South Africa won the bid to host the World Cup, there was a surge of excitement, but there was widespread scepticism about whether the event would be successful or not. For some the construction work disrupted and caused congestion in their daily routines. For others it was the fear that a more sophisticated public transport system would cut

off the lifeline of the local taxi industry. But for most the fact that they had short-term jobs through the enhanced public works infrastructure programme mattered more than the euphoria of the World Cup.

For the cynics, there was always a moral dilemma of spending more than what was agreed upon in the original bid, which would not produce any long-term benefits except for increased burdens on the state coffers. Of course, their gripe

was legitimate since they argued that taxpayers' money could have been used much more prudently towards supporting the remnants of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was the government's economic and social redistribution policy aimed at creating a better life for all.

Whichever camp you choose to be in, one thing was certain that the 2010 World Cup was here to stay. Not even the media reports that Australia was on stand-by to host the tournament as a backup plan could deter FIFA president Sepp Blatter and his band of boys to renege on their promise of an

African World Cup.

Building Momentum

Despite the initial lethargy towards the World Cup, it was hard to contain the euphoria once the momentum started to build. The excitement of having football legends like Pele and Maradona and current day heroes like Kaka, Ronaldo, Rooney, Beckham, Drogba, Tevez, Messi and Torres to name a few, right on our doorstep overrode all other concerns for that moment.

For the time being, it didn't matter that South Africa was experiencing unemployment or that the backlogs in social services meant more delays in delivery.

While there were those who complained about the high-handedness of FIFA and its control over every aspect of the



tournament (from broadcasting rights and marketing of merchandise to the appointment of official food vendors and sales of tickets), it did not dampen the spirit of the South African people. Almost everywhere one went there seemed to be a unanimous echo: It's a once in a lifetime occasion, let's be part of the History.

Even the cynics and vehement activists who denounced the World Cup and chose to use it as a platform to protest against the state's excessiveness, probably could not resist the lure of the soccer madness.

Where to from here?

With hindsight, the World Cup definitely raised the national flag and coalesced a nation that is still haunted by the historical legacies of racial identities and class inequities. But it is hard to ignore that the World Cup did create a sense of confidence in their 14 year-old democracy.

And even if that was only for five weeks, it was heartening to see how the 'Rainbow Nation' displayed the spirit of a country that resembled the mood, hope and destiny during the period of transition.

But we should not let this glimpse of a future be overshadowed by the current challenges we face as a nation and of a country we desire to create.

The World Cup demonstrated to South Africans that our ruling elite have the capacity to deliver on their promises. This was proved to FIFA and the world, which included the following commitments:

- Our streets were made safe against crime with the visibility and vigour of our security forces.
- Stadia and infrastructure were delivered on time.
- An overall efficiency that demonstrated a capable state.

What made all this possible?

The South African government was held accountable to an international body, which settled for nothing below par. If South Africa was to silence the critics, it had to show the resolve and determination that it was not going to be labelled as another weak inefficient African state stricken with structural deficiencies and lack of commitment.

In fact, South Africa had to prove that Africa was not 'The Hopeless Continent' as the *Economist* magazine had indicated in one of its cover stories in 2000.

And by all accounts, South Africa rose to the occasion, by hosting a successful tournament, which embodied a resurgent continent.

But in doing so, the World Cup has unleashed a sluice gate that will be hard to close. This is because the South African government has irrevocably shown that when pushed, it can deliver a better life for all. The feverish question is what makes the ruling elite feel more responsive to FIFA, which places a range of conditionalities on it (not least the fact that the host country must provide the organisation with a profit of approximately \$25 billion to sustain its functioning in the interim period until the next

tournament), than to an electorate who actually votes it into power?

Perhaps the answer lies in the reality that it is more prestigious to host a world cup, since it opens the country to greater Foreign Direct Investment through tourism. Yet, it also signals the desire to host other international sporting events that can make the country aware of the fact that such international sporting events are a gateway to become more globally accepted.

It is these considerations that make us wonder how the South African government can get it right when it comes to FIFA, while at the same time pleading to the electorate to be patient as service delivery takes time, given the apartheid experience and the inherent inequities that undermine the system.

Should we as the South African public accept that we need to be patient? Or should we challenge the notion that our government had to pay the FIFA body to host the World Cup? Moreover, why can't the same resolve be shown to the people in expediting their service delivery demands the way it was done to impress FIFA?

Conclusion

The 2010 World Cup would be remembered not only as the first ever-African World Cup but perhaps more as the Vuvuzela World Cup.

As much as we have shown the world that African can do it, and blew our vuvuzelas to the beat of the drums, we have also been privy to the capability of our state to be efficient.

Insofar as the government will trumpet its successes and congratulate the South African people for their contributions, the government cannot go back to its business as usual attitude when it comes to maintaining its promises to the electorate.

With the 2011 local government election looming, and a major public sector strike that demands better wages and basic conditions of employment that resonates with a happy workforce, the South African authorities can no longer err on the part of our historical legacy and the apartheid grem-lins. The infractions of the past can no longer appease the majority who have seen how a determined government can succeed in its endeavours.

Now as we sober up to the realities of hosting a global sporting event, undoubtedly the vuvuzelas are going to be blowing for better houses, clean water, medical care, and access to quality education and power generation.

It would be hard to tell the people to be patient again because the World Cup has certainly raised the bar for all government officials and the presidency to deliver on their 2009 election promises.

Therefore, while we can be proud of the job that was done at the World Cup and the fact that we have introduced the world to the sound of the vuvuzela, its sound will continue to remind the South African people that our government must be held accountable. ■

A new NEO-SCRAMBLE in Horn of Africa

The meddling of western powers has sharpened the faultlines in north-east Africa. The region should take charge of its destiny by embracing federalism, says **Dr. Suresh Kumar**



South African President Dr. Jacob Zuma and Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at a press meet in New Delhi on June 4, 2010.

As part of the Horn of Africa (HOA), the north-eastern African states of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan enjoy a significant geo-strategic position in Africa and the world as these states command one side of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, starting from Port Said in the north, right down to the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, which connects the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean.

Today, whoever dominates the strategic gateway to the Red Sea also controls the entrance to the Gulf of Suez, Sharm-el-Sheikh, and Gulf of Eilat. This vital area is vulnerable to blockades and piracy

The Bab-el-Mandeb strait links the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden and is the point where the Arabian Peninsula comes closest to the African coastline with just 22 miles separating the two. With Perim Island situated within the narrow strait, the width of the actual navigable channel is only 16.5 miles. Today, whoever dominates this strategic gateway to the Red Sea also controls the entrance to the Gulf of Suez, Sharm-el-Sheikh, and Gulf of Eilat. This vital area is vulnerable to blockades and piracy and poses a real threat to Red Sea traffic that

comprises a significant share of global trade. Moreover, the area provides a vital strategic link between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal.

Recognising this strategic importance, several colonial powers have tried to establish their hegemony in the region in the last few decades of the 19th century. While Djibouti became a French colony, the Italians took control of Eritrea and parts of the southern Somali coast and the British established themselves in Sudan and the coastal areas of Northern Somalia. After the Second World War, although these countries gained independence, the entire region remained strife-torn and politically unstable, a situation that continues even today. These internal conflicts have given global powers an opportunity to perpetuate their hold on these countries.

“Like most countries of the Sudanic belt, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean across the continent to the Red Sea, the whole area between Ogaden to Eritrea is divided along religious lines with the Islamic low-lander pastoral population being in historical conflict with the Christian high-lander agriculturists. These eruptions of micro nationalism in the Horn have spurred the outside interest of big powers and has provided them a chance to perpetuate their own hold on these countries and the strategic Horn coastline.” (Raman. 1978).

Following the energy crisis in the seventies, the strategic importance of this area has increased because of the region’s proximity to West Asia and the oil fields of Iraq and Iran. Since 2006, the emergence of rampant piracy in the Indian Ocean trade routes has further highlighted the crucial importance of keeping open the trade routes that pass through this region. “The US has a vital interest in keeping open the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, the port of Djibouti and the Red Sea for the free flow of international shipping, especially of the US, Europe and Israel. For these reasons, the Red Sea is today a focus of strategic rivalry” (O. Chaland. 1978:116)

Today, Djibouti is a great strategic port providing the US armed forces an air base between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The conflict in the Horn is not ideological, but above all strategic and military. The core issue is control of the Red Sea and command of the Horn of Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and Africa as a whole.

Today, different organisations and countries such as the United Nations, the US, the European Union, the African Union, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have different perspectives on the US involvement in this most vulnerable area through collaborations with one or more of the five HOA states mentioned above.

All these states, however, are facing interference from

their neighbouring border-states because of different issues such as terrorism, peace and security, illegal occupation of land and neo-colonial scramble, democratic functioning and development, human rights and the rule of law.

Besides that, for long, large parts of the region have been continually suffering from drought. This has created havoc for the common man, but the issue has so far not been taken up seriously as it remains drowned under the larger issue of internal chaos and confusion within the Horn.

After the establishment of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), the US has been in consultation with African leaders to determine an appropriate location for the command’s office in Africa. “It is generally assumed that AFRICOM was designed and established without consultation with African partners, hence the inevitable unified opposition and hostility across the continent. But this latest US approach to establish a unified geographic combatant command for Africa and then even try to secure consultation with African partners is not different from other traditional US military and security projects developed and prescribed for the continent” (David. 2010: 3).

The sole super power is naturally in search of convenient littoral states like Somalia and Djibouti and convenient land bases like Ethiopia and Djibouti to supply arms and ammunition to different states in the HOA and West Asia in a bid to lure them to further its strategic designs.

Eritrea and Somalia, like Sudan, are being accused of training terrorists, providing them shelter or weapons or working with the most dangerous terrorist group, the Al Qaeda of Osama bin Laden. Ethiopia and the US are the most vocal players on this issue, but so far they have not come out with any evidence before the international media.

Interestingly, the Security Council Resolution 1907, dated December 23, 2009, has slapped sanctions on Eritrea that require some explanation, an issue that will be discussed later. “Terrorists follow Americans wherever they go. Having the AFRICOM here would help us, but it could bring terrorists” (David. 2010: 5)

The issue of Peace and Security in Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Ogaden region of Somalia has come under international jurisdiction. The United Nations Mission for Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), however, failed to demarcate the land of Badme town as per the decision of the International Court of Justice to which Eritrea, Ethiopia, USA and the European Union are signatories.

The issues of democratic functioning and development are inter-related and Eritrea, Ethiopia and Sudan are blaming each other. Eritrea is lagging behind in conducting its national elections. The recent peaceful conduct of national elections in Ethiopia in May 2010, and in Sudan in June

Eritrea and Somalia, like Sudan, are being accused of training terrorists, providing them shelter or weapons or working with the most dangerous terrorist group, the Al Qaeda of Osama bin Laden

2010, may help create an environment for these nations to discuss unresolved issues and work for the peaceful settlement of all disputes.

The issue of geo-strategic importance, however, has never overshadowed the need for economic development and involvement of international business in the Indian Ocean, Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. The regional Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) covers all these states and is working to promote regional integration through trade development. It is also trying to develop the states' natural and human resources for the mutual benefit of the people of these states. This article attempts an appraisal of the situation in this area based on personal experience, an assessment of the conflict situation and suggests a viable solution.

Terrorism, peace and security

The word 'terrorism' means the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear for bringing about political change. Today, the domestic as well as foreign policies of the US have failed to maintain minimum political coordination in the Horn of Africa, particularly with Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya and Djibouti. Commenting on the US slogan 'War against Terrorism', Noam Chomsky has observed: "To call it a war against terrorism, however, is simply mere propaganda, unless the war really does target terrorism" (Noam Chomsky: 16).

The Islamic Court Union (ICU) government made efforts to unite the different factions of Somalia such as Somali land, Punt land, Juba land and Nazer land. Moreover, Somalia air and seaports were reopened under the ICU government. But the US supports the Transitional Government working from Baidoa. The US and Ethiopia only recognise this government and provide arms and finance to it. Ethiopia supported the Baidoa government and declared the ICU a "Taliban government" in Somalia to get money and muscle power from the US. "As a result, the British government cut direct aid in protest against a clamp-down (on the issue of Ethiopian interference in Somalia in 2006), but the reaction of the international community, taking its lead from Washington, has been low-key" (*The Guardian* 2006).

The US, learning from its past experience in 1995, did not want to intervene directly in Somalia and instead supported the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) of Ethiopia. A US correspondent, Charlene Haunter Gault, noted that with the Islamists trying to impose Islamic rule in the country against the elected government, "the possibility of a war that will engulf the entire Horn of Africa, including Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, looms large" (National. 2006).

This was a clear and direct threat by the US to Kenya,

Somalia and Eritrea. When the BBC reported on September 25, 2006 that "Somalia's interim Prime Minister (Ali Mohamed Ghedi) has asked for international help against the Al-Qaeda and terrorist expansion in the country", the US responded by saying that "there is no significant difference in religiosity between moderate and radical Muslims" (*Foreign Policy* issue 2006). In the name of Islam, the US, through the TPLF, has tried to prevent the continued expansion of the ICU in Somalia since 2007, but has failed till now.

The US and the TPLF failed to capture Somalia beyond Mogadishu and the rebel forces retreated safely under the cover of the US Marine Commandos in 2008. One needs to know the reality behind this attack. The ICU was on the way to establish peace and stability through persuasion of other groups in the country. The ICU opened air and sea routes to enable more people-to-people contact, revive the economic set-up and enhance friendly ties with neighbourhood countries. The changing domestic and international environment in Somalia has come as a big shock to neo-colonial adventurism. Peace and stability in the region pose a direct threat to the interests of US companies dealing in oil and weapons, as the ICU puts a check on offshore oil exploration free-of-cost and arms smuggling. Recently, US oil multinationals signed a 30-year treaty called 'Oil Agreement 2007' with a government of their own choice in Iraq and similar efforts are on in Somalia. The fact that oil is a major resource of Somalia has only helped to destabilize the country and the region, leading to piracy and armed conflict.

Moderate Islamist leader Sheikh Sharif Ahmed was sworn in as president in January 2009 under an UN-brokered plan to forge a national unity government in Somalia (*Khaleej*, February 2009). Similarly, Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke took oath as prime minister of Somalia (*The Gulf*, 2009). However, it did not weaken the ICU and Al-Shabaab domination around Mogadishu and in Somalia.

"There are grounds to believe that what pundits call sticky issues are not issues that could derail the peace process if all parties are sincere in their proclamations of seeking lasting peace. After all, should the faith of a nation be held hostage over principles? Duplicity must not be allowed to plunge the peace process in the same bloodbath that has continued for a long time in the country. Rather than posturing, parties must do whatever it takes to persuade all parties to bring about an end to the conflict" (*The Sub-*

Saharan. 2009).

President Ahmed recently did not use the word terrorism; he implied that it was one of his country's biggest challenges. It should, however, be noted that his government has little control. Al-Shabaab has taken over most of Somalia (*Khaleej*, October 2009).

There are grounds to believe that what pundits call sticky issues are not issues that could derail the peace process if all parties are sincere in seeking lasting peace

At present, Somalia is full of weapons because of arms dealers and buyers, pirates seizing ships all round the coast and especially in Somali territorial waters, left over from Ethiopian soldiers during retreat, and the US providing weapons worth millions of dollars to the TFG government (but captured by Al-Shabaab).

But then, why should the big powers allow Al-Shabaab and other groups to capture their weapons? The answer lies in the uncontrolled exploration of oil along the Somali coast because these weapons are enough to ensure continuation of the civil strife in Somalia. These developments will not lead to any concrete solution in this region. The ultimate solution to the Somalia issue needs a federal approach.

Geopolitics, federalism and Somalia

There are reasons to propose the idea of 'geopolitics federalism' in Somalia. The first is the absolute need to seek peaceful reconciliation among the warring groups and find indigenous solutions to indigenous problems.

The time has come to conduct peaceful negotiations among representatives of the different regions to work out federal mechanisms that would ensure that the needs of the people of the different regions are met adequately and the country's natural resources are utilised equitably for the benefit of all Somalian people. The peace process will give a fitting reply to the crisis traders and crisis makers.

Second, external intervention will only exacerbate the situation, prolong the conflicts and inflict more misery and suffering on the people. The Horn of Africa is passing through the danger of neo-colonial expansion. The Somali people cannot be oblivious to the subtle manipulations underway to impart a different connotation to the concept of *international community* by reducing Somali unity and representing its interests as part of the 'scramble agenda' to the exclusion of all others.

Third, the participation of the representatives of various Somali groups in the consensus government would ensure smooth functioning at the national, regional or local levels. Such a government would also ensure fair and equitable allocation and distribution of financial resources to the various provinces and work for Somali unity. The neighbouring countries or regional organisations may play the role of a facilitator in achieving peaceful reconciliation, building a process of reconstitution and consensus government.

Fourth, the 'geopolitics federalism' of Somalia would enable sharing of financial resources based on local area needs, which in turn would guarantee equitable economic, political, social and cultural development. This proposal for

peaceful reconciliation would delineate the fundamental objectives of development in Somalia which are:

- Rehabilitation of war-affected areas;
- Rehabilitation of social services, including food distribution, health facilities, and potable water;
- Rehabilitation and development of infrastructure;
- Ensuring the return and rehabilitation of refugees;
- Protecting the fragile environment;

Fifth and last, the uniqueness of the peace talks between the various factions of Somalia, would send out a clear message that the problems of Somalia can be solved by the Somalis themselves.² This message would be directed toward the brutal neo-colonial forces which consider themselves as omnipotent and having the right to paralyse north-east Africa and implement their own political and economic ventures.

Land and the neo-scramble

The imperial policy of 'Divide and Rule' which had started with the 'Scramble for Africa' beginning 1885, overlooked the sentiments of thousands of tribal sects and ultimately led to Africans losing control of their own affairs. While the colonial land grab of Africa started as early as the 1830s with France occupying Algeria, on the eve of the African neo-colonial scramble, in 1875, only 10 percent of Africa was under colonial rule. But it was only after Leopold II of Belgium brought under his personal possession large regions of the Congo to set up the Congo Free State in 1885 that the scramble for Africa really heated up among the colonial powers and by 1914, Ethiopia remained the only independent country in Africa that had not been brought under colonial rule.

Today, these same neo-colonial forces are talking about people's sentiment, thus exposing their devious agenda. The US has adopted a similar approach in Somalia and Sudan. The US is trying hard to control Somalia through TPLF and Sudan — through South Sudan earlier and now in the name of Darfur. This is how the neo-scramble has panned out in the Horn of Africa.

The issue of scramble in Eritrea

It is time to recall the historical judgment of the Ethiopia Eritrea Boundary Commission (EEBC) in April 2002 under Section 7 of the UN charter. Eritrea respects this decision and is still waiting for the implementation of the EEBC decision. The other side, which propagates such ideas *that communities will be divided, dialogue is essential and demarcation will not bring lasting peace*, has delayed the implementation of the border demarcation. Eritrea, which believes in practising economic self-reliance, is on the hit list of the neo-colo-

The time has come to conduct peaceful negotiations among representatives of the different regions to work out federal mechanisms that would ensure that the needs of the people of the different regions are met adequately

nial powers who are making every effort to influence Eritrean society either through promoting internal strife by stoking communal, religious, linguistic and ethnic issues or by employing external politics to disturb their borders through cross-border infiltration and other mischievous activities.

Going back to history, it is widely known that the Kagnew army and radio station of the US was located in Asmara, Eritrea, during the Haile Selassie period but was closed down in 1977 following heavy fighting between Ethiopian and Eritrean forces. Today, because of the West Asia situation (the Iraq crisis and the current Iran nuclear issue) and overall global geopolitical interests, the US has been forced to consolidate its military presence in the area and seek another Red Sea base apart from its permanent base in Djibouti. The intention here is crystal clear: to use a strategically important Red Sea port for deceitful purposes under the direction of AFRICOM. But if the EEBC is implemented, the region can work for political stability and economic collaboration within the framework of ECOWAS.

Abraham Lincoln's popular saying "Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people and for the people" is always remembered and respected. But this is not implemented in the right way in any of these countries.

Eritrea, Ethiopia and democracy

Eritrea's political stand right from the beginning has been to maintain unity in diversity. President Isaias has observed, "Under any circumstance, we do not have any intention or agenda to divide and destroy the Ethiopian people and that we are proud of our entire political life... There couldn't be any reason that there wouldn't be peace in Ethiopia while all neighbouring countries Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, Uganda and Sudan live peacefully" (*Eritrea Profile*. June 20, 2007).

Eritrea has adopted a one-party system with the People's Freedom for Democratic Justice (PFDJ) being the only political party. The country is facing drought conditions, unemployment and poverty and there is international/regional pressure to adopt a multiparty system.

The country attracts little foreign direct investment (FDI) because of its closed economy. The government's policy of self-reliance in socio-economic development is not working successfully due to the global recession and drought in 2009. The issue of poverty is really serious and many educated youth are leaving the country and entering Sudan illegally. Everything is very costly and inflation is beyond control. According to the government-controlled media, the ultimate solution to all problems is demarcation of the border to implement the EEBC judgement. Hence,

once the EEBC decision is implemented, the Eritrean government and the PFDJ will no more be able to shirk their responsibility of seeking the people's verdict through national elections again to move toward sustainable development.

Ethiopia conducted national elections and the final results, declared on June 21, 2010, gave a thumping victory to the ruling party, the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). "The EPRDF secured 477 of the 547 federal parliamentary seats; its partner parties won 8 seats in Afar state, 2 seats in Benishangul Gumuz and 3 seats in Somalia state" (*Newsletter*. June 2010).

Ethiopia and the Exim Bank of India signed an agreement in Addis Ababa to enable the Indian bank to set up a representative office in Ethiopia

Ethiopia and the Exim Bank of India signed an agreement in Addis Ababa to enable the Indian bank to set up a representative office in Ethiopia. This office will look after the bank's interests in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan and other countries. Around 75 Indian companies have received investment licences worth \$2 billion for investment in agriculture and horticulture.

Overall, implementation of the demarcation in the prevailing peaceful environment in Eritrea and Ethiopia is likely to bring down interest rates, lower risk profiles, shorten payback periods and provide a more stable atmosphere for future investments.

Sudan and democracy

The results of the national elections in June 2010 in Sudan have strengthened the hands of the government of President Omar al Bashir with regard to implementation of the Peace Accord 2005 (between North and South Sudan). North-South relations have been a subject of intense, sometimes emotional, debate in Sudan for decades, and this is likely to continue even as the country is on the threshold of implementing a peace agreement that acknowledges the right of Southern Sudan to self-determination (Lam Akol. 2010: 179).

Today, the major challenge is to implement people-centric policies and not to tolerate vindictive policies. "The Nuer tribesmen attacked Dinka cattle herders in Tonj, one of the most remote parts of oil-producing south Sudan and seized about 5,000 animals. They killed 139 people and wounded 54. A surge of tribal violence in 2009 killed about 2,500 people and forced 350,000 to flee their homes in south as per Oxfam's report" (*The Statesman*. June 8, 2010). Similarly, the Peace Accord 2006 (between east Sudan and the National government) was a direct approach to establish peace in the region as part of the internal political development process.³ This agreement focuses on the development programme through different projects in the region indicating the prevailing peace and security there.

The issue of Darfur that began as a localised civil war



Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with his Ethiopian counterpart Meles Zenawi in New Delhi on April 9, 2008.

(1987-89) and turned into a rebellion in the beginning of 2003 is a complex crisis of western Sudan. "Nearly 600 people died in rebel and tribal fighting in May 2010, the bloodiest month that the territory has seen in more than two years" (*The Statesman*. June 8, 2010: 13).

Mahmood Mamdani has noted three consequences of the violence in Darfur. First, it has postponed any discussion of context while imposing the view of one party in the 1987-89 civil war in the name of stopping the genocide. Second, it has conferred immunity on these same partisans by casting them as those resisting the genocide. Finally, the description of the violence as genocide — racial killing — has served to further racialise the conflict and give legitimacy to those who seek to punish rather than to reconcile (Mahmood.2009: 7).

Even the Abuja Peace process ended in failure in May 2006, and the common people had to suffer as a result. On May 29, 2006, feeling disregarded by the Americans and disrespected by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), "Abdel Wahid gave a vote of no-confidence in the peace brokers — the representatives of the AU, EU and Norway — who were trying to facilitate his travel to south Sudan. He said, 'Remember these words. All of you. The international community will create big chaos in Darfur, endless fighting, endless suffering, endless chaos.' When next he was seen, it was in Asmara, in the company of Khalil Ibrahim" (Julie. 2008: 229). Overall, the Darfur conflict

mainly involves the Sudanese military and Janjaweed of Arab Baggara tribes of the northern Rizeigat (camel-herding nomads) on the one hand and rebel groups of the Sudan Liberation Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement from the land-tilling Fur, Zaghawa, and Massaleit ethnic groups, on the other.

"The UN estimates that the conflict has left as many as 450,000 dead from violence and disease and as many as 2.5 million are thought to have been displaced as of October 2006. Sudan's government claims that over 9,000 people have been killed" (William. 2008: vii). Moreover, US politicians remained unmoved and even Powell or Condoleezza Rice underestimated the genocidal violence in Darfur.

"The Atrocities Documentation Survey of more than a thousand genocide victims, carried out at a cost of nearly a million US taxpayer dollars, was condensed into an eight-page report that received little attention in the State Department" (John. 2009: 220). Moreover, the US was deeply disappointed by the UN Security Council's failure to reach unanimous agreement on a statement condemning the escalating civilian losses in Sudan's Darfur region (Gulf. 2009:14).

Now is the time to find solutions that allow for the co-existence of a culturally and economically diversified population within various regions of the country, including the building of new relationships within and between groups, new understandings of ethnic and religious identities, new

relationships between local communities and national and international forces, and to meet popular expectations of the new and alternative nature of the Sudanese state, thus producing not only a new system of governance, but also a basis for a new Sudanese national identity (N. Shanmugaratnam. 2008: 27).

Djibouti and democracy

Djibouti, one of the smallest countries in the HOA, is over-influenced by international players. One issue is that of Mount Musa Ali, on the borders of the peaceful states of Eritrea and Djibouti. Eritrea was accused of occupying Djibouti territory and this was used as an excuse for the Ethiopian Army to establish itself on Mount Musa Ali, a region that is at the border of three countries — Djibouti, Eritrea and Ethiopia. The reality is that the whole move has been aimed at creating a division among the three states. Eritrea is exerting maximum efforts to work out a peaceful resolution of the situation as it had done in the case of the Somalia issue, the Ethiopia crisis and Djibouti.

Moreover, with regard to the Eritrean-Djiboutian issue, President Isaias has pointed out that it is a fabricated ploy designed to undermine peace in the region through concocting a non-existing conflict. He noted that “although the issue could have been resolved on the basis of mutual understanding and even arbitration, the authors as usual sought to exaggerate matters so as to blackmail Eritrea.”

The president explained in detail the numerous acts of conspiracy contrived over the past 11 to 12 years with a view to impeding economic development and investment programmes, efforts at achieving food security, and putting in place infrastructure facilities and foreign investment. Moreover, he outlined various ploys that ranged from deploying mercenary agents to blocking the flow of foreign currency into the country in a bid to undermine national security and isolating the country through forming alliances with a number of countries, among others (Interview: January 2, 2010).

President Isaias said: “We are well aware of the whole affair and the acts of complication resorted to; and we don’t blame the Djiboutian brothers for the ensuing developments” (Al Jazeera. 2010).

Somalia and democracy

An intense civil war has raged in the country between a weak US-backed government and radical Islamist groups that are trying to overthrow it. According to Somali human rights groups and UN officials, “the Somali government which relies on resistance from the West to survive, is fielding hundreds of children or more on the front lines, some

as young as nine” (International. June 15, 2010: 8). Similarly, the current anti-piracy strategy spends billions as “a vessel patrolling off Somalia costs \$100,000 a day. Considering that there are more than 40 vessels out on patrol, the aggregate annual operational cost is about \$1.5 billion. Despite that, the impact of piracy on East Africa is devastating: it endangers lives, curbs trade, kills tourism, steals food aid, enriches criminals, funds insurgents and perverts the regional economy” (International. June 9, 2010: 8). Somalia needs a politically accountable government and massive socio-economic programmes to reconstruct the country.

Human rights and the rule of Law

All these countries are not respecting human rights adequately. Djibouti needs continuous economic support from the US to keep its human rights record clean.

The strife between different ethnic groups in Ethiopia raises questions about the country’s human rights record. Similarly, hundreds of youth and officials are in jail in Eritrea and nobody knows their future, indicating that its human rights record is hardly clean. Sudan’s does not need any explanation after the Darfur crisis and tribal violence in South Sudan. It is meaningless to talk about human rights in Somalia, as the country does not have any elected government today. The issue is that of rule of law and all the states adjust to it as per their convenience. All the countries are suffering either from Ethiopian TPLF militancy and US domination on one pretext or the other mentioned above.

Conclusion

The ongoing war in Somalia has led to a revision of the old mutual strategic position of military and political power in this region. The so-called ‘war on terrorism’ in Somalia, supported by the US air base of Djibouti and AU peace missions, marked a major turning point for the big powers involved in the neo-scramble. This is the real triumph of US policies because they are getting oil and natural resources free of cost.

“Washington has increasingly come to realise that only Ethiopia would guarantee the US control of what was becoming a strategically important signal facility in Asmara (Kagnew Station) and a convenient supply and oil depot in Massawa” (Spencer: 238).

Today, the AFRICOM’s interest and its interference in the name of terrorism in the Horn have agitated the majority of the people in the region. There may be a good chance for normalcy to return if various Horn states adopt new self-reliant approaches to the solution of socio-economic problems. The boundary conflicts are likely to recede into the background if a new Horn cooperation is forged on the

The role of India in the development of human resources and capacity building in this region will usher in a new socio-economic development strategy based on self-reliant development

fundamental ideals of genuine socio-economic development designed to improve the subsistence agriculture/nomadic sector, which has remained hitherto completely neglected.

“This self-reliant developmental approach by the Horn states will surely mark a turning point in the history of modern Africa, setting an illustrious example for hunger-torn underdeveloped Africa” (Raman: 381).

India’s stature as a secular and neutral power inspires great confidence in the Horn. The role of India in the development of human resources and capacity building in this region will usher a new socio-economic development strategy based on self-reliant development.

The states in the Horn area, being the real link between different parts of the world, should try to resolve their problems by adopting a geo-political federal approach. ■

Endnotes

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2. Delegate, *Congress for the Liberation and the Reconstitution of Somalia* from 6-14th September 2007, Asmara, Eritrea as Political Analyst.
3. The author attended the East Sudan Agreement

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Lusophone Africa: India's new NICHE diplomacy?

India should activate its diplomatic and economic engagement with five Portuguese-speaking African countries, says **Constantino Xavier**

With India's gradual rediscovery of Africa, it is also developing new approaches to target specific sectors or regions on the continent. It is fashionable to speak about a coherent "Indian Africa policy", but in practice New Delhi has been keen in adjusting its engagement efforts to the diverse geographic, economic and social realities in each of the 53 countries, from the Arabic-speaking Morocco to Cape Verde.

For example, launched in 2002, the Focus Africa programme initially covered South Africa, Nigeria, Mauritius, Tanzania, Kenya, Ghana and Ethiopia in sub-Saharan Africa that together accounted for almost 70 percent of India's trade in the region. On the other hand, the Techno-Economic Approach for Africa India Movement (TEAM-9 initiative), launched in 2004, seeks to correct India's traditional neglect in engaging the mostly Francophone economies of Western Africa. New Delhi is also leveraging the Commonwealth and the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) forums to engage with specific African countries that had fallen off its strategic radar.

The five Portuguese-speaking (or Lusophone) countries of Africa present one more potential dimension in which India could maximise its interests by diversifying its policy. Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe were all under Portuguese colonial rule until 1974 and are members of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), equivalent to the Commonwealth or Francophonie organisations. Except Guinea Bissau that has been affected by chronic political instability, all others are expected to experience high growth rates¹.

In contrast to Anglophone and even Francophone countries in Africa, Lusophone Africa has attracted less interest in India. Three factors seem to have influenced this situation.

First, following India's military action in Goa in 1961, diplomatic ties with Portugal were cut until 1974, denying India the possibility to pursue any meaningful relations with the Portuguese colonies in Africa until they proclaimed independence in 1975. Second, even after their independence, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau plunged into violent conflicts

that did not allow for any economic engagement. Civil war ravaged Angola until 2002, and Mozambique until 1992, and while India did develop diplomatic relations, there was hardly any movement on the economic front.

Third, from the Indian side, the language barrier persists as a major constraining factor, as there are very few diplomats and not one single Indian African scholar who has mastered the Portuguese language². An analysis of the titles of current and awarded Ph.D dissertations and M.Phil theses at Delhi University's Department of African Studies reflects this neglect, with only 18 out of 468 specifically relating to any of the Lusophone countries³. A brief overview of India's bilateral relations with the five Lusophone countries reflects how, after decades of stagnancy, recent investments have led to radical change, mainly in the economic dimension.

Mozambique

While India fostered close relationships with the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) even during colonial times, and was actually one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with Maputo after 1975, ties intensified following the opening of Mozambique High Commission in New Delhi in 2002.

External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna's recent proposal to establish a "strategic partnership" and his reference to the coastal country as one of India's "gateways" to Africa⁴ reflects the privileged position Mozambique now enjoys in New Delhi's eyes⁵. On the economic front, India is among the eight major trading partners of Mozambique and, with a total of \$64 million, the fourth-largest source of foreign investment⁶. Mozambique's potential is reflected in the Confederation of Indian Industry's selection of Maputo to host one of the 2007 regional India-Africa project partnership conclaves. From the Mozambican perspective, India is now addressed as a "source of inspiration"⁷. In 2008, Coal India Limited (CIL) was awarded rights to explore two blocks in the province of Tete⁸. In October 2009, Tata Steel announced, in cooperation with Riversdale, an investment of \$270 million to develop a coalmine in Benga that is expected to produce about 1.7 million metric tonnes of coking coal used in steelmaking, and 300,000 tonnes of thermal coal for export⁹. BPRL Ventures Mozambique, an overseas subsidiary of Bharat

Table: India's surging trade with Lusophone Africa

	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010
Angola	154.91	446.60	1,286.21	1,756.70	4,877.85
Mozambique	178.15	220.91	490.18	459.38	427.14
Guinea Bissau	96.86	50.03	68.32	136.80	187.39
Sao Tome and Principe	0.43	0.88	1.47	1.05	1.27
Cape Verde	0.15	0.41	0.43	0.72	0.81
TOTAL	430.5	718.83	1,846.61	2,354.65	5,494.46
Percentage of India's total trade	0.17	0.23	0.45	0.48	1.17

Source: Department of Commerce, Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Data available at <http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/default.asp>

PetroResources, and Videocon each hold an 11.75 percent stake in the Windjammer gas block in the Rovuma basin¹⁰. Such focus on natural resources has led to a larger interest in Mozambique as an attractive investment destination. To facilitate this, the government of India has, since 2004, provided five lines of credit totalling \$140 million. Mozambique has expressed interest in drawing on India's experience in the small scale industries sector and agro-food processing¹¹. There are about 1,000 Indian nationals (NRIs) and 20,000 people of Indian origin (PIO) in Mozambique¹². The realisation of this community's importance led to the visits of Minister of Overseas Indian Affairs, Vayalar Ravi, in 2007, and of Eduardo Faleiro, Commissioner for NRIs, Goa Government, in 2008.

India also plays an important role in cooperation and development aid. In 2008, training slots under the ITEC programme increased from 20 to 30, in addition to the 15 scholarships provided by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. There are also plans to provide \$15 million for environmental management programmes in collaboration with Delhi's The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI)¹³.

Mozambique also plays a central role in India's expanding security interests in Africa. Naval cooperation includes training and joint patrols, as well as deployment of Indian ships to ensure the offshore security of international events held in Maputo, as during the African Union summit in 2003¹⁴.

Angola

Less developed and diversified, India's relation with Angola is anchored in historical relations with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which after the end of the civil war in 2002, continues to maintain a firm political grip.

Bilateral relations now seem to have recovered from the 2006 debacle, in which ONGC lost out to its Chinese rival SINOPEC on a major oil exploration bid¹⁵. Angola's enormous reserves are now back on the bilateral agenda, resulting

in an ONGC-Sonangol joint bidding agreement, to Gas Authority of India's expression of interest in taking equity in a planned liquefied natural gas plant, and to the development of Indian Oil Corporation's plans to build a refinery in Southern Angola¹⁶. The Indian ambassador's recent visit to the Cabinda enclave, having most of the country's oil reserves, reflects India's interest in guaranteeing its future share of the Angolan black gold¹⁷.

India currently imports 5 percent of its crude oil needs from Angola, though this is not reflected in India's official statistics¹⁸. Total bilateral trade, which was a mere \$10 million by the end of the 1990s, has now settled close to the \$5 billion mark in 2009-10, partially helped by India's import of Angolan raw diamonds, before being re-exported. Angola is the world's fifth-largest producer of diamonds by value and ENDIAMA, its public diamond mining company, announced in 2008, its plans to open an office in Mumbai¹⁹.

As in Mozambique, India's Exim Bank and the State Bank of India have launched ten lines of credit, totalling \$120 million, for the rehabilitation project of the Mocamedes Railway in the South, as well as support acquisition of Indian transport, agricultural and industrial equipments²⁰. While Larsen & Toubro has expressed interest in the Angolan infrastructure sector²¹, Angolan companies have approached Indian investors. Procafé, Angola's premier coffee company, has taken a loan of \$1.25 million from an Indian retail bank²².

However, unlike Mozambique, India's engagement with Angola remains largely focused on natural resources and infrastructure development.

Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe

India has no formal diplomatic representation in Guinea Bissau on the Western African mainland, nor in Cape Verde, the archipelago facing it. Here, again, India played an important role in extending diplomatic support in their freedom

struggle against Portuguese rule, led by revolutionary Amílcar Cabral and his African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

Economic relations and total trade (approximately \$200 million in 2009-10) with Guinea Bissau are based on the export of almost the entire local cashew crop to India for processing. The country has also been awarded ten annual slots under ITEC. Accordingly, five Guinean women are undergoing training at Rajasthan's Barefoot College to install and maintain solar energy facilities. India has also contributed towards projects for renewable energy and agricultural capacity building in Guinea Bissau to the tune of \$830,000²³.

India's relation with Cape Verde is less developed among all the five Lusophone African countries, reflecting the country's peripheral location and lack of economic weight. The visit of Cape Verde's Foreign Minister to India in November 2009, signalled some change, with the country joining the Pan-African E-network, but trade relations remain almost insignificant at less than \$1 million in 2009-10. India has been expanding its role in terms of development aid and technical cooperation. This includes five slots under ITEC and a line of credit to the tune of \$5 million for a technology park project. This reflects Cape Verde's ambition to see India emerge as a "strategic partner" in its efforts to modernise its IT sector. Both Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde are entitled to access India's \$250 million line of credit to ECOWAS Bank, set up in 2006, for investments in energy, telecommunications and transportation infrastructure²⁴.

India's relation with Sao Tome and Principe is routed through its embassy in Luanda and has witnessed a dramatic upturn after the discovery of vast oil reserves off the archipelago. The Nigeria-Sao Tome joint development zone is being developed in a 60-40 split with Nigeria and includes two blocs in which ONGC Videsh and Aban Offshore have a stake in exploration²⁵. More recently, ONGC has expressed its interest in exploring seven more blocks located within Sao Tome's exclusive economic zone²⁶. Total trade has grown threefold over the past five years. These new developments led Sao Tome's Minister of Foreign Affairs to visit New Delhi in November 2009 — the first-ever high-level visit between the two countries, resulting in an MoU on business relations and a protocol on foreign office consultations. A \$1 million grant, and a \$5 million line of credit for capacity building, agriculture and infrastructure are under discussion²⁷.

Potential initiatives towards a new niche diplomacy

India's diplomatic relations with Lusophone Africa has witnessed an unprecedented intensity over the last five years. Between 2007 and 2009, India and Mozambique have witnessed 29 bilateral visits, and agreements²⁸. There has been diversification in terms of the actors engaged, beyond the past centrality of the ministries of External Affairs and Commerce — frequent official guests from India now also include delegations from the Defence, Agriculture, Overseas Indian Affairs and other ministries. The best indicator is perhaps the over

twelve-fold increase in India's trade volume with Lusophone Africa, from \$400 million in 2005-06 to almost \$5.5 billion in 2009-10 (See table).

However, a relatively late re-engagement compared to other African countries, the language barrier, lack of specific country expertise, and difficulty in identifying the specific potential of each country to Indian interests, all remain as persisting obstacles. Three concrete initiatives could reverse this trend and facilitate New Delhi's re-engagement with Lusophone Africa.

First, there is no reason why India should not be entitled to seek an associate observer status within the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), given its strong historical links with Portugal and its Portuguese-speaking communities of Goa, Daman and Diu. This would allow India to benefit from a privileged relation with eight countries that are all crucial to its interests, from resource-rich Angola, Mozambique and Timor-Leste, to Portugal as a gateway to Europe and Africa, or Brazil as a partner in Latin America.

Second, India could also follow the example of Macao Forum, instituted by China to foster economic relations with the eight Portuguese-speaking countries (Brazil, Portugal and Timor-Leste, besides the five African ones). Started in 2008, this forum is one of the reasons behind China's monumental success in engaging with the Lusophone countries over recent years²⁹. In India, the idea was taken up by its former Minister of State for External Affairs, Eduardo Faleiro, who in 2009 called for a "biannual dialogue" to be held between India and the CPLP countries, possibly in Goa itself³⁰. Independently of such a "Forum Goa", India should also consider setting up formal diplomatic representations in Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe, as these three are among only eleven African countries that are not host to an Indian embassy, high commission or honorary consulate³¹.

Third, India could explore Goa as a platform to educate Portuguese-speaking African students and officials under various ICCR and ITEC programmes. The language factor or cultural barriers are the most frequent reasons invoked by the Africans to explain vacant slots or negative experiences while in India. An Angolan or Guinean would, however, be certainly far more open to the idea of studying or training in Goa, either in Portuguese or in English, in a much more familiar context. Recognising this potential, former Mozambican minister of Indian origin, Oscar Monteiro, recently called for Goa to play a "driving role" in such efforts to bring India closer to his country³². If India can offer training in French, there is no reason why it should not be able to add Portuguese to its list and thus increase the effectiveness of its technical and educational cooperation programmes³³.

Conclusion

Portuguese colonialism in India and the 1961 episode have left its scars, but half a century later there are encouraging indicators that signal a change in attitude. Given India's increasing need to explore potential niche diplomacies to lever-

age its embryonic global influence, it is thus not surprising that there now is an overall interest in exploring Goa, and its Lusophone heritage, as an added value for its engagement with Portuguese-speaking countries, particularly in Africa. For example, in an unprecedented move with important diplomatic implications, the Indian Olympic Association agreed in 2006 to become a member of the Association of the

Portuguese-Speaking Olympic Associations. It has since then agreed twice to participate in the Lusophone Games with a delegation from the Goa Olympic Association, and also backed Goa's successful bid to host the third edition in 2013³⁴. It is through "people to people" contacts, private business enterprise, and the reactivation of old links that India's potential ties with lusophone African countries may best be explored. ■

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CHILD labour in Africa: Causes and consequences

Africa will lose its demographic dividend if children are forced to trade education for work, says **Rashmi Kapoor**



Child labour is not a new phenomenon, but it has become most prominent in recent years because of the enormity of its scale and magnitude. There has been a substantial rise in the number of children working even in the formal sectors.

Millions of children are often found working for long hours under unsuitable and unsafe conditions, which are detrimental to their physical growth and development. In recent years, it has become a serious global issue with multi-dimensional ramifications. Child labour is firmly rooted in social, economic, cultural and ethical social systems. It is not that child labour is a new phenomenon, and is as old as mankind. However, it has become more prominent in recent years because of the enormity of its scale and

magnitude. There has been a substantial rise in the number of children working in formal sectors, in addition to the huge number of children already engaged in informal and domestic activities. Moreover, the scale of child abuse has increased to such an extent that the most immune have also taken it into cognisance.

It is estimated that every seventh child in the world works as a child labourer, particularly in the developing countries. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) report (2002:16) says that in 2000 about 211 million children aged 5 to 14 were engaged in economic activity globally. Of these, only 25 million were deemed as acceptable by the standards set by various ILO conventions and recommen-

dations. Approximately 166 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 in 2004 were classified as child labourers by ILO report (2006). According to Dinopoulos & Zhao (2007: 553), this is about 14 percent of all children in this age group. About 75 million child labourers were employed in hazardous work. Three-quarters of these children were exploited in what the ILO calls the worst forms of child labour. Awareness of adverse consequences of child labour and the measures adopted by most of the countries to eliminate the worst forms of child labour has had a positive impact on reducing the incidence of child labour. The ILO report found that during 2000-2004, there was a decline of about 11 percent of child labourers. There was also a decline of around 33 percent in the number of children engaged in hazardous work. (ibid.: 554)

Article 2 of the ILO, Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No.182) states that "the term 'child' shall apply to all persons under the age of 18." Child labour means any kind of work, which by its nature and/or the way it is carried out, harms children's well being and hinders their education, development and future. The ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No.138), defines minimum age for admission to employment or work, implying "economic activity". It stipulates that ratifying states fix a minimum age for admission to employment or work. Under this Convention, the minimum age for employment or work should not be less than 15 years, but developing countries may fix it at 14 years. A number of countries have fixed it at 16. The worst forms of child labour that are required to be eliminated on priority basis as defined by Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182 include: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

It must be emphasised that not all work done by children should be considered to be bad and classified as child labour and to be qualified as work for elimination under the ILO Minimum Age Convention No. 138 or the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182. These activities could be normal and integral part of growing up in some cultures. It is not uncommon to see children working in the household doing all kinds of chores from cleaning, washing to helping parents in their work according to their age and capacity. It is socially and culturally acceptable and regarded positive. It is believed that these activities not only instill self-confidence, but also boost self-esteem. These chores do

not affect children's health adversely, but rather they contribute towards the physical well-being and mental development of children. Besides, they provide practical and social skills and apprenticeship and training for them to be socially and economically productive adults in society. Neither do such work hinder with their schooling. But it becomes difficult to draw an exact line between acceptable work for children and work that is child labour.

Earlier, people did not acknowledge the existence of detrimental forms of child labour. Either they did not consider it to be a problem or were just indifferent to it. The fact that the children are future of the country and will have to shoulder the responsibility of managing their affairs was a distant reality. The indifference, ignorance and apathetic attitude has given way to acknowledgment of the existence of this menace. Also, the mindset and the will of the society has changed due to the understanding that sustainable development of the country depends entirely on its educated and efficient human resource. It is not only an economic and development issue for countries and families, but it is also an ethical and social one. A large proportion of child workers, in fact, perform activities considered to be inappropriate for their age or their level of maturity, or are detrimental to their education or development. Children working today are absent from school, which, otherwise, could have helped them to acquire knowledge and skill that they need to gain for future. An educated workforce is a key ingredient for the development of their societies (ILOSEED and IPEC: 2004).

Most scholars studying child labour refer primarily to the western concept of working children and child labour. They mainly refer to child labour in the formal sectors of the economy. In these sectors, children enter into the market situation as employees and compete with adults in the labour market for work and wage. These formal sectors are regulated, have trade unions and require some level of skill. These factors at the same time may limit the entry of children into the labour market. But in developing countries, most children are found to be working in informal sectors, quite often along with their parents. So a large number of working children, according to the international definition, may not be classified in the category of child labourers.

Despite child labour being one of the important basis of economic activity of many countries, the empirical studies on child labour are sparse. Children working in the formal sectors can still be accounted for and regulated. But data of working children in informal and unorganised sectors cannot be accurately quantified because of the hidden nature of their work. Most existing studies often exclude children working in domestic sectors, family farms and other unorganised and informal sectors of economy which are under-regulated due to invisibility of their work. The recent International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) Report on child labour by sectors (agriculture) conducted rapid assessments in Asia, Africa and Latin

America confirm the enormous magnitude and severity of child labour in the informal sector of the economy. ILO (2004) reports that due to the alarming number of children in the informal sector and their depressing situation, international organisations and others concerned with child labour have now turned their attention to this sector of the economy. Informal sectors include agriculture, domestic service, a host of informal manufacturing activities, mining, street vending, and a large number of other occupations. Since a larger proportion of the population of developing countries is found in rural areas, far more children work in rural than in urban areas. The activities most working children perform are in fields and on farms.

Dorman (2008) commenting on the detrimental effects of child labour on themselves or on society at large says, that child labour, however defined, is not a homogeneous activity with identical expected health effects. Stella (2003) concludes that the existence of working children is a complex reality, inextricably linked with poverty and ignorance. Child labour, in fact, not only reduces school attendance and human capital accumulation, but also increases ill-health, children's mortality and causes inequalities in society. Dorman (2008) believes that children are drawn to work that is intermittent, requires minimal skill or training and poses few barriers of entry or exit. He further says that this fits their social situation, but it may lead to significant mismatch from a health and risk exposure perspective.

Arat (2002) reports that some disapprove of child labour for other humanitarian reasons such as: (a) allowing children to work means stealing their childhood from them; (b) child labourers are subject to economic exploitation because they are seldom paid or paid very little; (c) children often work under the worst conditions, which may cause physical deformations and long-term health problems; (d) children's work often perpetuate poverty because of lack of required skills, (e) education or physical and mental fitness and (f) children often replace adult labour as they are cheap and docile. These harmful effects of child labour have motivated individuals, civil society and organisations to root it out. The causes that determine child labour need to be addressed for it to be eliminated.

Determinants of Child Labour

Stella (2003) has said that child labour is a symptom, not a disease. At the macro-level, it is suggestive of failure of the state to protect its children, or indicates the underdeveloped state of their economies, including incipient markets, sluggish growth, lack in investment in human capital formation, low technological levels or labour intensive economies. It also shows the lackadaisical attitude of the governments to implement ILO recommendations pertaining to child labour. Child labour demonstrates the malfunctioning at the micro-levels as well. Dysfunctional families, incessant poverty, lack of educational facilities or indifference to education, migration, natural disasters, wars, famines and tra-

ditional factors contribute largely to persistence of child labour. Many factors work in combination to promote and perpetuate child labour. Subbaraman & Witzke (2007) say out of these social, economic, cultural and political factors, however, two factors, namely poverty and an inappropriate education policy, are predominantly important. Dorman (2008) and many other scholars insist that child labour is not an exogenous factor, but one that is co-determined with education through the interaction of a wide range of social and economic variables.

There are many family-related factors that influence the decision for a child to work and absent himself from school. The ILO has grouped these factors and causes of child labour according to whether they are "internal" to the family or have to do with the interaction between the family and society at large.

"INTERNAL" FACTORS

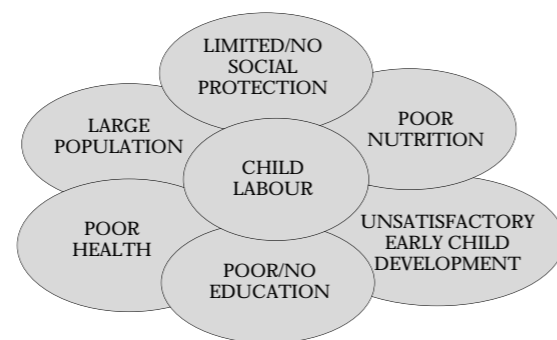
- Difficult family situations:
 - Single-parent families
 - Family illness or incapacity to work
 - Dysfunctional families
 - Unsupportive or unprotective families
 - Poor family values
- Low level of education (of the child or the parents)
- Low parental skill level
- Cultural practices
- Lack of accessibility of rural-urban education

"EXTERNAL" FACTORS

- Belonging to a minority population (racial or ethnic) and suffering, social exclusion.
- Strong peer group and external influences, with material values
- Socio-economic dislocation (economic crisis, political and social transition)
- The effects of HIV/AIDS

Source: ILO. 2004. Child Labour: A Text Book for University Students. Geneva:ILO.

Figure 1: Interrelated factors promoting child labour



Source: Adapted from Andvig, Canagarajah, Kielland. 2001. P.26.

Most of the above factors are inextricably linked. These highlight supply side of child labour as these factors are most closely related to the obvious reason of child labour, that is, poverty. Demand side factors play an equally significant role in recruiting young children for certain kinds of work. There are a number of reasons why employers hire child labour. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and ILO-AIDS (2004), two common explanations are the "irreplaceable" skills afforded by child workers (the "nimble fingers" argument) and the lower cost of child labour. The "nimble fingers" argument that only children with small fingers have the ability (or have an advantage) to do delicate tasks like picking flowers and tea leaves or tying knots in fine carpets has been largely discredited. In all of these industries, adults worked side by side with child workers, performing almost the same tasks. That child workers are paid less than their adult counterparts for the same work is generally true.

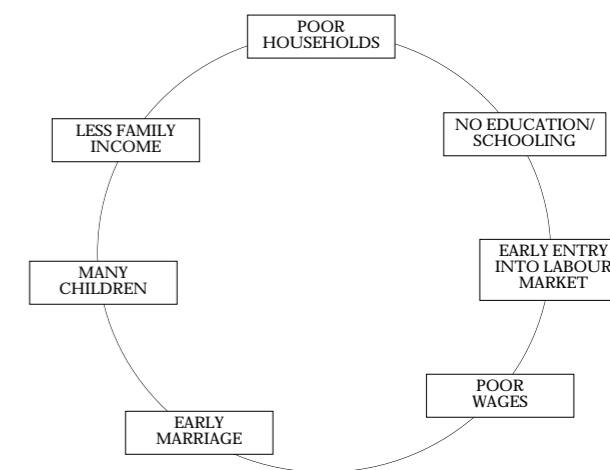
Child Labour: A facet of Poverty

IPEC (1997) reports that in 2001, two-thirds of the poor were found in Asia (44 percent in South Asia and 24 percent in East Asia); 24 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa and 6.5 percent in Latin America and Caribbean. The ILO Report (2004) found that the incidence of poverty is highest in countries that depend on primary commodity exports indicating labour intensive economies. Child labourers generally come from impoverished families. It is also apparent that many of the causes of child labour are closely related to family poverty. Poverty forces children to start work early by helping their families, before they go out to work for others. The poor parents have to face a difficult decision to send their children to work when the total family income falls below a subsistence level. The family's need of child's economic contribution may conflict with their desire to invest in the child's future education. In such a situation, children can make a productive economic contribution to their family. Thus, parents and children often need to make the sad choice to have the child work because the loss of his or her contribution to the household would worsen the family's poverty.

Poverty has many dimensions of which malnutrition is the crucial aspect. ILO/IPEC (2006) insists that malnutrition reduces the capacity for work, lowers resistance to disease, and adversely affects the child's physical and mental development, schooling and educational achievements. Subbaraman & Witzke (2007) believe that the child labourer who survives the harsh conditions becomes an unskilled, debilitated adult who is not employed, even in the industry that earlier exploited him or her. The other dimensions of poverty are low earnings because of poor or unmarketable skills, lack of assets or access to training and education, poor health, absence of shelter and food insecurity. For example, recent empirical findings by the World Bank from Brazil demonstrate that early entry into the

labour force reduces lifetime earnings by some 13 to 20 percent, increasing significantly the probability of being poor later in life. Their early entry into the labour market depresses adult wages and keeps adults unemployed (Visaria: 1998). Thus, child labour itself perpetuates poverty and it becomes an inescapable vicious circle.

Figure 2: Cycle of Poverty and Child Labour



Source: Adapted from Subbaraman & Witzke. 2007.

Figure 2 presents the cycle of poverty and ensuing child labour. Subbaraman & Witzzke (2007) say that as long as the cycle of poverty and child labour is not interfered with by policy measures, the cycle will perpetuate and the children of ex-child labourers end up as child labourers as well (figure 2). There is a strong positive correlation between parents being ex-child labourers and their children being employed (Emerson & Souza: 2003 as quoted in Subbaraman & Witzzke 2007: 104). However, when the parents' education level increases, the probability of the children being employed decreases. For many, poverty in itself is not a sufficient explanation of child labour, and it certainly fails to explain some of the unconditional worst forms of child labour.

The socio-economic profile of the countries with high levels of child labour reflects a lag in such socio-economic development indicators like GNI, life expectancy at birth, infant mortality rate, and adult illiteracy rate. The socio-economic indicators of the different regions of the world show that Sub-Saharan Africa is lagging behind most world regions. The data indicates that in Sub-Saharan Africa, life expectancy at birth is the lowest with only 47 years on average, under five mortality per 1000 live births is highest and GNI is only 1,560 (Table 1). Most of the countries of Africa, 35 out of 41 are classified as low income countries. This data also indicates the stagnant growth and sluggish development in most African regions.

Table 1: Social and Economic Indicators of Different Regions of the World

REGION	GNI (ppp)	Life Expectancy at Birth in Years	Under-Five Mortality per 1000 Live Births	Adult Illiteracy 15+ Years (%)	Low-Income Classification
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,560	47	159	39	35 of 41
South Asia	2,260	63	99	46	6 of 8
East Asia & Pacific	4,120	69	44	15	8 of 3
Middle East & North Africa	5,170	68	54	36	1 of 16
Europe & Central Asia	6,620	69	26	3	8 of 28
Latin America & Caribbean	7,030	70	38	12	2 of 23

Source: Bass, L.E. 2004. P.5.

Another reason which Admassie (2002) believes strictly links child labour and poverty, is that parents may want children to work as part of a survival strategy to minimise the risk of the interruption of the income stream due to failed harvests or loss of employment. This interruption is naturally severe for poor households, as this can threaten the lives of their members, since there are very few borrowing options for a poor family. It follows that for poor households, child labour seems a rational behaviour since it increases their income sources. Brown (2002) found that besides the survival strategy, children are often used as a savings vehicle. Parents are optimally investing in the number and quality of children to maximise the market value of the family as a whole. In countries that do not have well developed financial markets, land holdings may offer the most attractive rate of return. If the return to education is low and the return to land is high, then family wealth is maximised by having a large number of child-farmers (ibid.). Portner (2001) and others say that parents are also motivated to have children as a form of insurance in economic environments in which insurance cannot be purchased at an actuarially fair price. Or parents may at times use children as insurance instruments when land tenure rights are uncertain. Even Jacoby and Skoufias (1997) found that parents make significant use of child labour to self insure.

Cigno, et.al. (1997) in a UNICEF report conclude that the parental decision to make a school-age child work depends on the costs and benefits of education. Due to capital market imperfections, parental investments in their children's education are limited by liquidity constraints. Wage rate changes affect both the costs and the benefits of education. There seems to be a trade-off between education and child labour. On the other hand, child labour is a dis-investment in human capital formation and has a detrimental effect on the private and social returns from investment in

education and health. In other words, the issue of child labour is relevant not only because young children are made to undertake work obligations that may be beyond their physical capability, but also because of its long-term effect on human capital formation and on the child's future welfare (Ravallion and Wodon, 1999). Similarly, Dorman (2008) found that child labour is increasingly being viewed as a human capital problem, measurable by its impact on education and health. Children are engaged in work that is damaging to their mental, physical, and emotional development. Baland and Robison (2000), as quoted by Brown (2002), make a direct connection of human capital formation to child labour when evaluating the efficiency characteristics of household decisions. They note that when parents are altruistic toward their children, have the ability to leave a bequest to their children, and have free access to capital markets, then investment in their children's education will be efficient. Becker (1993) and Baland and Robinson (2000) insist that non-altruistic parents fail to invest in an efficient level of human capital in their children because the child cannot pre-commit to repay the loan made by the parent to the child while in school.

Brown finds that there may be several types of market failure that will alter the optimising decisions combining children and other household assets. He quotes Skoufias (1995), who emphasises the importance of the difficulties that families may have in employing labour or in leasing land. Labour market failure can also contribute to child labour when it is accompanied by adult unemployment, as analysed by Basu (2000). Basu considers the impact of an adult minimum wage. In case of the adult unemployment, parents may bridge the gap in earnings by putting their children to work. Ranjan (2001) as quoted by Brown (2002) discusses the complex relation between child labour and income inequality. He concludes that in an economy where

child labour is inefficient — that is, the return to education outweighs the forgone earnings of a child, but poor households with an uneducated head do not have access to credit markets — then greater income inequality is associated with more child labour.

Brown (2002) accepts Levison's (2001) argument that parents may be diversifying their investments in children. Placing all children in school may expose the family to excess risk from income shocks. As a consequence, some children in the family may be assigned the task of acquiring skills that have immediate market value, such as that which can be acquired with on-the-job training. Guarcello et.al. (2008) found that quite often households in developing countries adjust the school attendance and labour force participation of their children to absorb the impact of negative shocks. They quote Jacoby & Skoufias (1997) who found that in India, parents facing an unexpected decline in crop income withdraw their children from school. Beegle et al. (2006) found that a crop shock leads to a significant increase in child labour and to a decrease in school enrollment. Such effects, moreover, are negatively related to the level of assets held by the household. Macroeconomic shocks and political instability also appear to play a role in determining children's labour supply and school attendance. Even where children are studying, school holidays are often arranged during the sowing and harvesting seasons. This arrangement is supported by ILO Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, No. 10 (1921).

Scholars have presented different viewpoints on the causes of child labour. Many have discussed the issue of child labour with respect to survival strategy or self insurance or labour market failure. Some express the concern over the harmful effects of child labour on the human capital formation or on the physical or mental health. Even the macro-economic shocks increasing child labour have been deliberated on. But the consensus of the majority is that child labour is a function of poverty and perpetuates poverty. Poverty leads to early entry of the children in the labour force and hence their exploitation.

Child Labour in Agriculture

According to ILO/IPEC Report (2006: 68) the strategic importance of agriculture in the overall economic development of many countries stems from a combination of factors: agriculture is a source of food, export revenue (for many countries, the only source) and capital formation; it has many linkages with other sectors; and, most importantly, it is a significant source of employment, particularly in developing countries, for millions of men, women and children. The agricultural sector is key to rural development. Agricultural production for export, protectionism in developing countries and falling world commodity prices, put pressure on employers to lower costs by hiring children who will work for less pay (ibid.: 68). The policies of global agri-food industry and consumer pressure can also influ-

ence demand for child labour in important ways. Agriculture is the economic sector where most child labour is found. Bound-up with culture and tradition, it makes it difficult to acknowledge that children can be exploited in such a setting. Children working on family farms can be interpreted as family solidarity (ibid.: 86). According to Marco (2003:1), the broad evidence suggests that children are steered into this work by family circumstance. In rural areas especially, household income is insufficient to meet the needs of families. Children work as cheap labour because their parents are poor and do not earn enough to support the family or to send their children to school. The ILO/IPEC Report (2006) records that the prevalence of child labour in agriculture undermines decent work, sustainable agriculture, rural development and food security, as it perpetuates a cycle where household income for both farmers and waged workers is insufficient to meet their economic needs.

The IPEC Report on child labour by sectors (agriculture) found that most children work in agricultural sector. Agriculture accounts for about 70 percent of all child labour worldwide — over 132 million girls and boys aged 5-14 years old. Children around the world become farm labourers at an early age. Most statistical surveys only cover child workers aged 10 and above. However, many children begin work at an even earlier age. IPEC Report on child labour: targeting the intolerable (1996) records that in some countries, children under 10 are estimated to account for 20 percent of child labour in rural areas. The number of child labourers working in agriculture is nearly ten times that of children involved in factory work, such as garment manufacturing, carpet-weaving or soccer-ball stitching. IPEC Report on child labour by sectors (agriculture) found that the children's work in agriculture is often invisible and unacknowledged because they assist their parents or relatives on the family farms. ILO/IPEC (2006) reports that the family farm combines family relationships and child rearing with the production of food and other raw materials. They are often classed as "helpers", though they do similar and equally strenuous work as adults. The report insists that children working in agriculture have received relatively little attention compared to some of the other types of child labour, particularly the manufacturing of goods for export or commercial sexual exploitation.

IPEC Report on child labour by sectors observes that agriculture, however, is one of the most dangerous sectors in which children work at any age. Whether child labourers work on their parents' farms, are hired to work on the farms or plantations of others, or accompany their migrant farm-worker parents, the hazards and levels of risk they face can be worse than those for adult workers. Child labourers are at risk from a wide variety of machinery, biological, physical, chemical, dust, ergonomic, welfare/hygiene and psychosocial hazards, as well as long hours of work and poor living conditions. Unlike adults, children's bodies and

minds are in a growing and developing stage, therefore, exposure to workplace hazards can be more devastating and long lasting for them, resulting in lifelong disabilities.

The same report further says that agriculture is also a sector where many children are effectively denied education which blights their future chances of escaping from the cycle of poverty by finding better jobs or becoming self-employed. The rural sector is often characterised not only by lack of schools, but also by the existence of schools of variable quality, problems of retaining teachers in remote rural areas, lack of accessible education for children, poor/variable rates of rural school attendance, and lower standards of educational performance and achievement. Children may also have to walk long distances to and from school. Even where children are in education, school holidays are often built around the sowing and harvesting seasons. All these factors create a climate that discourages already less motivated children to opt for education.

The ILO/IPEC Report (2006) states that all the above factors give agriculture a special status and make agricultural child labour a particularly difficult one to tackle. But it is precisely because of these factors — large numbers, girl child workers, hazardous nature of the work, lack of regulation, invisibility, denial of education and the effects of poverty — that agriculture should be a priority sector for the elimination of child labour. Agriculture is historically and traditionally an under-regulated sector in many countries. This means that child labour laws — if they exist — are often less stringent in agricultural industries than in other industries (ibid.: 68).

The IPEC report on child labour by sectors concludes that for agricultural and rural development to be sustainable, it cannot continue to be based on the exploitation of children in child labour. In order to scale up work on eliminating child labour in agriculture, the ILO has launched a new global landmark International Agricultural Partnership with key international agricultural organisations including farmers' organisations (employers) and agricultural trade unions (workers). IPEC is also mainstreaming agricultural child labour into current ILO work on youth employment, and rural employment and development.

Child Labour in Africa

While child labour is found in all regions of the world, it is overwhelmingly a developing country phenomenon (ILO 1998). In percentage terms, Africa already has the highest incidence of child labour, with approximately 41 percent of all children between the ages of 5 and 14 involved in economic activity (versus 21 percent in Asia and 17 percent in Latin America). More than 32 percent of the working children worldwide are Africans. Bhalotra (2003) found that contrary to the popular image of child labour in factories managed by Dickensian employers, the overwhelming majority of working children in Africa are employed on household-run farms and enterprises. Millions of children

are victims of the worst forms of child labour in the region. Of particular concern are child trafficking, the use of children in armed conflict, small-scale mining, hazardous work in agriculture, commercial sexual exploitation and domestic labour. Children trapped in bondage and slavery are also reported in some areas (ILO/IPEC: Report on regions and countries: Africa).

The ILO estimates published in the 2006 ILO Global Report found that not only does Africa has the highest incidence of child work among the major regions of the world, but is the only region where the number of child workers has actually increased. Admassie (2002) says that given the increasing trend in the level of poverty and population growth, it is projected that the potential number of child workers in Sub-Saharan Africa will increase significantly over the next two decades. Child labour in Sub-Saharan Africa may be particularly exploitative and critical due to the unique socio-economic, cultural and developmental circumstances in Africa and due to the frequent natural disasters, armed conflicts, and famine and hunger (OAU, 1990; ILO, 1998). Admassie concludes that a host of factors such as the existence of a cheap and easily disposable workforce, the predominance of labour intensive production systems, as well as the social and cultural attitudes prevailing in the society of looking at child labour as a normal phenomenon even if it is detrimental to the normal development of the child, contribute to the rise in child labour in Africa.

A comment in the ILO Report (1998) is an eye opener. It observes that an "invisible" army exists in Africa today, larger than any other force, and more pervasive. Instead of guns, it is armed with agricultural tools, shoe-shine brushes, mops, brooms and hoes. This force is the army of child labourers, and it is growing. According to the ILO report, its number is expected to soar over the coming decades if current economic conditions persist. Its estimates suggest that in Benin, 27 percent of children work, in Burkina Faso 51 percent and in Burundi 49 percent. In Kenya, Ethiopia, Niger and Uganda, the estimated rates are between 40 and 46 percent. In Mali 54 percent of children are estimated to be working. In Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Zimbabwe the figures are between 20 and 30 percent. Besides economic decline, war, famine and HIV/AIDS have combined to prevent decline in Africa.

Besides pecuniary factors, non-economic factors may provide another perspective of understanding work of children in Africa. It may not necessarily be considered detrimental or exploitative or against the children's welfare. Bass (2004) quotes Ali Mazrui who proposed the triple heritage concept of indigenous/African, Islamic, and colonial influences to frame contemporary African societies in his television series 'The Africans.' These non-economic factors reshape cultural values, the meaning of education, and what a society teaches its young. This concept of triple heritage as discussed by Bass (2004) will be dealt in detail to provide a greater insight into the understanding of the prevalence of

child labour in Africa. Bass feels that most conceptualisations adopt a Western ideal of childhood, which, unfortunately, is historically and culturally specific. Much like economic globalisation, there has also been a globalisation of Western concepts of childhood. In the post-colonial era, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, charitable agencies, and international nongovernmental organisations in the Third World continue to push for a particular vision of "correct childhood." Adopting this particular vision obfuscates the complex, socially constructed character of the child upon which it rests. In the indigenous African context, child labour is vocational education in the rural setting. There is a long history of children's agricultural and domestic work in many parts of Africa, especially when children work alongside their parents. Bass observes that this pattern is not unique to Africa, for it characterised the colonial American family and European families prior to the nineteenth century. Generally, children's training and education are by-products of their work, especially in rural areas. Teaching children their future work roles during play and as a part of primary socialisation by parents has also served to "reproduce" African societies over time.

Bass (2004) notes that in the Islamic context, child labour is viewed sometimes as a service, often education, and sometimes exploitation. It presents children's begging as a service in exchange for quranic education. Referred to as 'talibes' in Senegal or 'almudos' in Gambia, these child workers are male and range from 7 to 13 years old. Their parents place them for some years with a marabout, or quranic teacher, in order to learn the teachings of Allah. The children divide their time between begging and studying the Quran. Usually, they give their proceeds from begging to the teacher. By begging, talibes fill the need of an important feature of Muslim religious practice of engaging in *zakat*, or almsgiving, one of the five pillars of Islam. Talibes are vulnerable to exploitation for obvious reasons. They are children, separated from their immediate and extended families, who spend considerable time on the street begging for food and money. Talibes are generally no longer a part of the household strategy of their parents. Talibe labour should be included among the most exploitative forms of child labour, because a substantial number of these children are offered very little education and are exploited for their money making potential by marabouts.

She adds that children's work is a significant part of household economic strategy among the Hausa in Northern Nigeria. In Hausaland, married Muslim women utilise their children as intermediaries so that they may engage in market trade and meet household economic needs. In this way, these women sidestep Islamic cultural norms of seclusion that limit their activities to the home. Hausa children help maintain the system of *purdah*. Children are integrated into market trading early in life and they set up their own businesses in which they keep the profits. In this way, children's work can be viewed as complementary for maintaining pur-

dah and the roles of adults in socio-economic and family relations. According to Bass, both talibe and Hausa children who work for their mothers do so as a result of Islamic religious practices in western Africa. The local definition of childhood takes distinct forms through Islam and includes child labour as a major component.

Bass notes that introduction of cash crops by the colonials had also encouraged child labour in Africa. The European colonial powers in Sub-Saharan Africa expanded indigenous agriculture to include cash crops geared to the wants of European consumers and industries. The production of these cash crops for export depended upon plantation and sharecropper systems. Children were made to work along with their parents. Because children's work was generally considered to be that of the household head, it was invisible to labour statistics during the colonial era. Commercial farmers hired entire families to work on plantations, and children were expected to perform the same amount of labour for the employer as they would go for their parents. Children's work preserves pre-capitalist, kin-ordered modes of production. These factors served to increase production for the capitalist farmer, while devaluing the labour of children and leaving their work largely invisible to written records. This practice of clumping the work of children under a parental figure continues today in Zimbabwe in commercial farming (ibid.).

Bass (2004) concludes that defining childhood in the African context allows us to understand contemporary child labour, because elements of prior eras still shape what it means to be a child in Africa today. In each of these eras, there was "acceptable" training, which generally meant labour, for children. The triple heritage as described by Mazrui explains some of the causes of child labour and the various forms it can take; however, these cultural factors are limited in explaining all of child labour, especially those forms that have emerged since independence. Increasingly, child labour is a function of poverty and inequality. Economic pressures and persistent poverty are causing a resurgence of child slaves in many countries of West Africa. Informal bondage agreements under which impoverished parents surrender their children to outsiders simply to work in exchange for their upbringing, are common in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Trends in the Incidence of Child Labour in Sub-Saharan Africa

The ILO projections show generally a declining trend in the participation rates of children in economic activities, except for Africa. Although Asia has the highest number of child labourers in absolute terms, Africa has the highest child labour participation rate. The percentage of working children is 28.8 percent for Sub-Saharan Africa, whereas for Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and Caribbean it is 19.1 percent and 16.1 percent respectively (Table 2).

Table 2: Number of working children region wise

Region	Number of children (in millions)	Number of working children (in millions)	Percentage of working children
Sub-Saharan Africa	166.9	48	28.8
Asia & Pacific	665.1	127.3	19.1
Latin America & Caribbean	108.1	17.4	16.1
Middle East & North Africa	87.9	13.4	15.2

Source: Bass, L.E. 2004. P.5.

There is significant variation in the participation rate of children in economic activities among Sub-Saharan African countries as well. For instance, the percentage of child labour for the period 1999-2008 for the age group of 5-14 years was estimated to be more than 40 percent in countries like Burkina Faso (47 percent), Central African Republic (47 percent), Ethiopia (53 percent), Chad (53 percent), Niger (43 percent) and Somalia (49 percent), while it was less than 3 percent in Mauritius and South Africa (Statistics: childinfo.org). In general, Eastern Africa ranks top in the rate of children's participation in the labour force where nearly 33.79 percent of the children between the age of 10 and 14 years are estimated to be economically active. About one-quarter of the children in the same age category in Central and Western Africa are believed to be economically active as shown in Table 3. Northern Africa

has low participation rate of 6.13 percent only, whereas Southern Africa has the lowest child labour participation rate of only 1.73 percent.

Table 3: Regional Distribution of economically active children in Africa (percent)

Region	1990	1995	2000	2010
Eastern Africa	40.11	38.43	36.86	33.79
Middle Africa	30.37	29.04	27.71	25.28
Southern Africa	2.87	2.62	2.36	1.73
Western Africa	30.65	28.36	26.12	21.88
Northern Africa	13.02	10.89	8.49	6.13

Source: ILO. 1997. Economically Active Population

Admassie (2002) believes that the problem of child labour will continue to grow in Africa in the foreseeable future at least in absolute terms. It is expected that the number of working children in Africa will grow by about 340,000 to 400,000 per year over the next 15 years. Moreover, at least some 400,000 children will remain out of school in Sub-Saharan Africa and will, in all likelihood, join the pool of child labourers over the years to come. To this number must be added the increasing number of children who try to combine work and school, bringing a total of at least one million new child workers onto the labour market over the next 10-15 years.

Table 4: Global Trends in Children's Economic activity by region, 2004 and 2008 (5-14 years)

Year	Child population ('000)		Children in employment ('000)		Activity rate (percent)		Percentage point difference of activity rate
	2004	2008	2004	2008	2004	2008	
World	1,206,500	1,216,854	196,047	176,452	16.2	14.5	-1.7
Asia and the Pacific	650,000	651,815	122,300	96,397	18.8	14.8	-4.0
Latin America and the Caribbean	111,000	110,566	11,047	10,002	10.0	9.0	-1.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	186,800	205,319	49,300	58,212	26.4	28.4	2.0

Source: Diallo, Y. et al. 2010. Global Child Development: Measuring Trends from 2004-2008. P.5

The Asia and the Pacific region saw a remarkable decline in children involved in economic activities. The absolute number of children in employment declined by 26 million to a total of 96.4 million (Table 4). In relative terms, the number of children in employment shrunk by 4 percent points. Latin America and the Caribbean, already with the smallest population of children in employment, continued its decline, albeit at a slower rate. The number of children in economic activity dropped by 1 million in the four years following 2004, corresponding to a decline of 1 percent point. However, the number of children in employment was increasing in Sub-Saharan Africa in relative as well as absolute terms in the age group of 5-14 years old. The number of children in employment increased sharply from 49.3 million in 2004 to 58.2 million in 2008. There were close to 9 million more children in employment in the region and the incidence rate rose by 2 percent points.

For the first time, the new global estimates provide an inter-regional comparison of children in hazardous work. In 2008, the estimated number of children in hazardous work ranged from 48.2 million in Asia and the Pacific to 9.4 million in Latin America and the Caribbean (Table 5). In relative terms, Sub-Saharan Africa presents the most alarming picture. About 15.1 percent of all children were in some form of hazardous work in the Sub-Saharan African region (38.7 million), while only 5.6 and 6.7 percent were exposed to hazardous work in Asia/Pacific and Latin America/Caribbean, respectively. Considering the absolute numbers, Asia and the Pacific regions have the high incidence of child labour at 48,164 million and in Sub-Saharan Africa it is 38,736 million who are involved in hazardous work. But the participation rate for Sub-Saharan Africa is 15.1 percent and for Asia/Pacific regions, it is only 5.6 percent. Such large numbers of children in hazardous work is self-explanatory and expression of unsuccessful implementation of IPEC programmes in most developing countries.

Table 5: Regional estimates of children in hazardous work in 2008 (5-17 age group)

Region	Total children ('000)	Hazardous work ('000)	Incidence rate (percent)
World	1,586,288	115,314	7.3
Asia and the Pacific	853,895	48,164	5.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	141,043	9,436	6.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	257,108	38,736	15.1
Other regions	334,242	18,978	5.7

Source: Diallo, Y. et al. 2010. Global Child Development: Measuring Trends from 2004-2008. P.12.

These trends show that Africa has the highest child labour participation rate, though the number of children working in absolute terms is highest in Asia and the Pacific. All the major regions of the world have shown a decline in economic activity by children except for Sub-Saharan Africa where activity rate increased by 2 percent. Even the incidence of children in hazardous work in Africa is the highest with 15.1 percent.

Factors influencing child labour in agriculture in Africa

The ILO/IPEC Report (2006) noted that among the important factors that push children into the workforce are family poverty, lack of accessible, quality education (including skills training and apprenticeships), lack of employment opportunities and decent work for adults, and cultural traditions. In some countries, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has added to the supply of child labourers by decimating adult populations and leaving millions of orphans to fend for themselves. Research on the causes of child labour tends to concentrate on supply-side factors both because of a commonly shared view that poverty is the driving force and because of a justifiable preoccupation with the plight of these children. But the demand for child workers also plays a critical role in determining the involvement of child labourers in hazardous work (ibid.).

Andvig, et al. (2001) insists that in Africa, poverty is not confined to subsistence farming, but is a feature of commercial agriculture as well. High incidences of poverty are common among waged agricultural workers on plantations. He quotes Grootaert (1998) who found a clear positive correlation for Côte d'Ivoire between the degree of poverty and both participation rates and hours worked by children in the 7-14 age group in 1988. In the rural areas, 79.6 percent of the children of the rural extreme poor worked, on average, 1,742 hours per year, while 19.4 percent of the non-poor worked, on average, 1,558 hours annually. Constituting 26.3 percent of the total labour supply of the poor households and only 8 percent for the non-poor, child labour appears to be much more important for the survival of poor households, even when we consider the household's own use of the children's labour power. Andvig quotes Canagarajah and Coulombe (1997) who arrived at a weaker association between poverty levels and child labour participation rates in Ghana. According to them, the participation rate for the poorest group was 28.6 percent, the highest expenditure group had a participation rate of 24.8 percent. The poorest farming areas had lower child labour participation rates than the richest. The most striking aspect of poverty was the large share of the poorest children who did nothing. They neither went to school nor worked. While 24.9 percent of the poorest children did nothing, only 10.6 percent of the richest children were idle. Andvig (2001) concludes that despite the fact that poor households spend more time carrying water and firewood, the most likely

explanation was that in poor farming households there are few assets to work with, and the marginal productivity for children is exceedingly low. Doing nothing may be a rational way of saving calories.

The ILO/IPEC Report (2006) reports that plantations and farms in many countries in Africa hire children directly as contract workers, often sending trucks to collect child workers in peak agricultural season. Children comprised 58 percent of the coffee plantation workforce in Kenya during peak season, working with mothers on a piece-rate basis for low earnings. In South Africa, there were reports of Mozambican refugee children recruited by local farmers, put to work and then reported to the police for deportation as illegal aliens when payment for their labour became due (*ibid.*). In Egypt, children are regularly employed picking jasmine. Children are recruited from villages between July and October to gather flowers in the middle of the night when the essence is purest. Child labourers worked for nine-hour shifts without breaks under the threat of physical abuse. In Tanzania, child workers (aged 12-14) on sisal plantations worked under hazardous conditions up to 11 hours per day, 6 days per week, with no regular or specified rest periods. Their earnings were approximately half of those of adults (*ibid.*). Summary findings from the child labour surveys in the cocoa sector of West Africa; Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria (2002) records that West Africa accounts for approximately 70 percent of the world's cocoa production; with an estimated 43 percent produced by Côte d'Ivoire, 15 percent produced by Ghana, 7 percent produced by Nigeria, and 4 percent by Cameroon. In West Africa, cocoa production is labour intensive, with little use of mechanised tools. Most of the production is in the hands of small-scale farmers with little resources that often use their entire family unit to contribute to cocoa farming. In the above four West African countries, numerous children were engaged in hazardous activities in cocoa farming. For instance, an estimated 284,000 children were clearing fields in cocoa farms using machetes, and 153,000 children were involved in the application of pesticides. There is an estimated 2,500 working children who were recruited through intermediaries for cocoa farming in Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria. In these countries this sector has stagnant technology, low yields and an increasing demand for unskilled workers trapped in a circle of poverty. Salaried children were most clearly trapped in a vicious circle. The majority of these children had never been to school and were earning subsistence wages, driven into this labour by economic circumstances. The survey reports that most of these children were from the drier savannah areas of Africa, where family livelihoods are inherently uncertain and households are forced into survival strategies, including sending children to cocoa plantations in other countries to work.

Major findings of the above report were that in West

Africa, children in rural areas have traditionally worked in agriculture as part of the family unit. The child labour surveys conducted in the four West African countries studied found that the overall family labour is the most used labour type. In Cote d'Ivoire, 87 percent of the permanent labour used in cocoa farming came from the family. In cocoa farming, children are engaged in a number of tasks/activities such as clearing fields, weeding, maintaining cocoa trees, applying pesticides, fermenting, transporting, drying and other tasks. The majority of working children (64 percent) in cocoa farming are below the age of 14. Working children are less likely to be enrolled or attending school. The kind of work that is of greatest concern is that which denies children's access to education or that diminishes the benefits that a child could derive from schooling. In Cote d'Ivoire, approximately one-third of school-age children (aged 6 to 17) living in cocoa producing households have never attended school. Children working in Cote d'Ivoire involved in all cocoa farming tasks were less likely to be enrolled in school (34 percent school enrollment rate) compared to those children who did not work (64 percent). Children of immigrant cocoa farmers are also less likely to be enrolled in school compared to children of local cocoa farmers — 33 percent compared to 71 percent, respectively.

Children's work in Africa is often of intermittent nature, piece-work, strenuous, seasonal, and expose them to great hazardous activities. As reported in ILO/IPEC (2006), an IPEC rapid assessment study of child labour in coffee growing in Tanzania showed that child workers are regularly recruited in coffee growing areas during the picking season. The majority were aged 10-13, and girls constituted the majority (60 percent). The main tasks performed by the children were picking coffee berries, pruning, weeding and pesticide spraying, without any protective clothing or equipment. Some children sprayed pesticides for three hours per day on average. The children were exposed to tough and strenuous activities irrespective of their age. Other hazards included snake and insect bites, and attacks by wild animals. Children worked on average between 8 and 10 hours per day, depending on the season. In another example, a 2005 IPEC study in Nigeria surveyed child labour in cocoa production in the communities of Agunla Petesi, AladeIdanre, Awo Keyola, Igbatoro, Lasia, Lebira, Oda, Orisumbare, Ulohen, and Wasimi. The report found that about 20 percent of the male child workers interviewed in these communities helped in transporting pesticide sprayers, 18 percent in mixing pesticides and 3 percent in spraying.

Children employed in plantations are often exposed to long working hours and work under inhumane conditions that have adverse effect on their health. ILO/IPEC (2006) reports on IPEC baseline survey in three tea growing districts — Korogwe, Lushoto, Muheza — in Tanzania concluded that hazardous child labour existed both on small and

large-scale tea growing farms (plantations). The majority of the 1,000 children studied were 11-14 years old, with girls in the majority. The children interviewed were engaged in plucking and carrying the tea leaves. They worked on average eight hours per day, usually without a lunch break as they continued plucking to earn more money. Forty-four percent of the children interviewed experienced health problems. The same report found that tea estates in Zimbabwe employed a large number of children, often 10 to 12 years old, on part-time and piece-rate bases. They began work at 05:30, walked five to eight kilometres to the tea fields, and plucked tea leaves until school began at 13:00. If they failed to pluck the minimum daily load, they were forced to work on Saturdays as punishment.

Efforts in combating child labour in Africa

Admassie (2002) insists that given the complexity of root causes of child labour and its impact, any effort to adequately and efficiently address child labour must, therefore, be multi-disciplinary, multi-faceted and of integrated nature, and linked to the broader context of poverty reduction, elimination and prevention of the worst forms of child labour and promotion and enforcement of fundamental labour and human rights. Any strategy to combat the problem of child labour should be combined with some anti-poverty measures.

Poverty alleviation should occupy an important place in the policy package. Interventions in the form of promoting income-generating schemes or in the form of direct cash transfer for poor families and child workers could be important mechanisms to curb the problem of child labour in Africa. He insists that education is probably the most important and powerful tool to combat the problem of child labour. Affordable and accessible primary education of good quality should be the centrepiece of any strategy to eliminate child labour. Making it easier for children to attend work and school is also a desirable option and seems particularly relevant in rural areas if schooling can be scheduled not to conflict with the peak agricultural season.

Also, Admassie recommends that the introduction and adoption of appropriate modern labour-saving technologies could also have important implications on child labour. Apart from raising agricultural productivity, the adoption of modern labour-saving technologies could release children from repetitive work obligations in agriculture and increase their likelihood of school attendance.

Programmes and policies that promote the adoption of land and labour-saving technologies obviously deserve a place in the list of policy instruments to reduce child labour in sub-Saharan Africa.

The ILO Report (2004) on African Employment Trends notes that efforts in combating child labour in Africa have been expanding in recent years, particularly following the adoption of ILO Convention 182 in 1999, and under the

aegis of IPEC. Ratification of this Convention and of Convention 138 has been very rapid since the former's adoption. Forty-nine out of the 53 countries in Africa have ratified Convention 182, while 46 have ratified Convention 138. Only three countries, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone and Somalia have yet to ratify any of these two core Conventions.

As a follow-up to ratification, several countries in the region have formulated national action plans to address the issue, often as a part of broader poverty reduction strategies. Many others are implementing actions on a more limited scale, but most are working towards larger-scale national programmes. Most direct interventions against child labour are implemented in collaboration with IPEC. At a broader level, several countries have been pursuing universal basic education programmes, mostly in the framework of the Education for All Fast Track Initiative. Countries such as Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi and, more recently, Burundi and Ghana, have seen substantial increases in school enrolment after abolishing school fees and charges.

Conclusion

Children are the future of any nation. For nations to progress and develop, it is imperative for them to have an educated and skilled labour force. If the incidence of child labour is as high as seen in Africa, it becomes alarming as its large proportion of children will not have an opportunity to attend school or train themselves. Africa cannot afford to miss the advantage of its demographic dividend in these times of globalisation. If African children are forced to trade-off education for work, then Africa loses a chance to integrate itself with the larger global economy.

Incessant child labour in such economies will result in diminished human capital formation and children will grow into adults with poor physical and mental health and sapped energy. It will require co-ordinated efforts on the part of all concerned, viz, family, society, government, NGOs, national and international organisations, to alleviate this problem. An effective policy framework and strategy would address the issue of child labour in a wider perspective.

Governments should develop a strategy to eliminate the worst forms of labour, mitigate already existing numbers and prevent further entry of children into the labour force. Thus, governments' approach should be multi-pronged. First, it must address the issues related to the causes, explicit or implicit, that compel children to work. For that it should build a socio-economic environment that ensures a normal, secure and healthy childhood.

Minimum age requirement as per ILO recommendations for entry to work should be effectively implemented. Every child's right to education must be strictly enforced. In addition, Africa's traditional and cultural values that consider children's work as normal and training for adulthood, needs to be carefully examined and reconsidered. ■

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World's first GREEN legislative building

The structure is built for the 21st and 22nd centuries. The building's design is truly modern and not pseudo-modern. It has not compromised on tradition either

It's low on usage of water, power and actually reduces air-conditioning needs by seven percent. The world's first green legislative building in the southern metropolis of Chennai, the capital of Tamil Nadu state, has not compromised on tradition either, incorporating a dome in its revolutionary design.

The new state assembly, costing almost \$95 million, inaugurated early March by Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, is the first legislative building to get the Gold rating by the Indian Green Building Council (IGBC) under the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) Green Building Rating System developed by the US Green Building Rating Council. The rating is for the energy saving measures in design and construction of the six-storied structure in Chennai. Designed by the German architectural firm GMP, which won a global competition, it is an elliptical structure with four internal circles and six external semi circles with a covered driveway skirting it.

It was a race against time for all those involved in the project, with Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi announcing in January that the budget for fiscal 2010-11 would be presented in the new complex. "The structure is built for the 21st and 22nd centuries. The design should be truly modern and not pseudo modern," said Ravinder Joshi, chairperson of Pune-based Archivista Engineering Pvt Ltd, GMP's Indian associate.

Discussing the majestic 100 ft dome, Joshi said: "Domes are an inseparable part of legislative buildings — whether in India or outside. So the dome has been incorporated in the Tamil Nadu Assembly building as well." The design also incorporates local features like courtyards and carvings on the columns. "The building's shape and exterior cladding has been designed as a smooth arc which gleams obliquely



The world's first green legislative building in Chennai, capital of southern Tamil Nadu state.

against the linearity of the neighbourhood as against a standard block construction, and helps reduce the direct heat radiation on the building thereby reducing energy consumption," said Deepa Sathiaran, executive director of green building consultant En3.

Interestingly, the building also adheres to Vaastu, the traditional Indian building design science. Special care was taken not to disturb the existing structures and trees on the vast Omathoorar Estate where the building has come up. "Several trees were saved by transplanting them. The entire site has been well planned with lots of open and landscaped spaces to promote bio-diversity," said Sathiaran.

It has been designed to "harvest" natural light and to reduce heat to save on power. Installed sensors will detect the presence or absence of humans and will automatically switch the lights and the air-conditioning system on and off, thereby saving power. To reduce water consumption, the water is recycled through a 250,000 litres a day sewage treatment plant.

— Venkatachari Jagannathan

India's UNIQUE TRAIN takes science to masses

Looking like a long science lab with special interiors, the train is fitted with screens to display scientific developments

It is a train with no specific destination but a mission. Its goal: to take science to India's masses, particularly the youth. The Science Express has been crisscrossing the length and breadth of the country for more than 600 days, attempting to nurture curiosity for science in the young and rekindle interest in the old. Unravelling the secrets of how the universe began and getting into the minutiae of cell biology and cold atoms, the exhibition has reached out to five million people, mostly students.

Simplifying complicated concepts of cutting-edge research in science through audiovisual exhibits and interactive tools, the exhibition has been receiving overwhelming response. "I like the Science Express very much and especially the climate change section. I

came to know about several scientific facts related to global warming and how each one of us can work to save mother Earth. I think it is a great initiative by the government and it goes on," said Rashi Yadav, a Class 10 student of the Kendriya Vidyalaya in the Indian capital New Delhi.

A joint venture of India and Germany, the 16-coach air-conditioned train features contributions of the two countries in mathematics, physics, astrophysics, biology, chemistry and space sciences. Since being flagged off from New Delhi on October 30, 2007, by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, it has been showcased in 150 cities across India in three phases. The third phase ended on April 27.

Looking like a long science laboratory with its special interiors, the train is fitted with flat screens to display various scientific developments, prototypes of space missions of India and Germany, mathematical inventions. There are extensive pictures and explanatory write-ups about outer space, the sun, black holes and many such matters.

"Aryabhata (India's first known mathematician) worked out the value of Pi 1,500 years back as 3.141 and India invented zero — the foundation of mathematics and



Union human resource development minister Kapil Sibal being briefed by students inside the Science Express. Many of the exhibits in the 12 coaches have been developed by the Max Planck Society of Germany that has been a training ground for many Nobel laureates.

computer language," states an electronic plaque in one of the coaches. Many of the exhibits in the 12 coaches have been developed by the Max Planck Society of Germany, which has produced many Nobel laureates, while some exhibits are indigenous. The exhibits explain our universe — how it all began, glimpses of space, black holes, galaxies, on the way to the Big Bang, our home in the cosmos and Spaceship Earth. Plus there are exhibits on simpler cold atoms, ultra short light, biotechnology, building blocks of life from 'gene to organism', the world of senses, architecture of the mind, renewable energy, technologies and energy sources for future, nanocosmos, bio-engineering, genetics, computer applications in medicine and global challenges.

There is a dedicated coach on 'climate change — cause, effect and mitigation'. The Department of Science and Technology has entrusted the Vikram A. Sarabhai Community Science Centre in Ahmedabad town with the task of coordinating and managing the train across India.

A team of 50 people, including science communicators, aboard the train interpret the exhibits, solve queries of visitors and facilitate the visitors.

— Richa Sharma

Tapping the sun: The next FRONTIER for Solar India

The big goal of the mission is to generate 20,000 MW from the sun by 2022, a 100-fold increase over the next 12 years. This makes it the world's biggest solar energy project

Abdul Sarkar was worried after he retired as headmaster of a village school in India's eastern West Bengal state. How would he read? His home had no electricity. So this resident of Mousuni village on the edge of the famed mangrove forests of Sundarbans bought a solar panel for about \$220 that would light two bulbs for five hours every evening.

India's ambitious solar energy mission plans to ensure millions of people have the same option as Sarkar did.

The big goal of the mission, launched at the beginning of 2010 by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh under the brand name Solar India, is to generate 20,000 MW from the sun by 2022, a 100-fold increase over the next 12 years. This makes it the world's biggest solar energy project.

Though the mission plans to help develop only 2,000 MW through solar power by 2022 outside the main electricity grid, this will be transformational in places like Mousuni village, where due to prohibitive costs the grid may not be extended in the foreseeable future.

Through these 2,000 MW, the mission plans to bring solar lighting to 20 million rural homes across India. Solar energy can transform India in so many ways. As the prime minister said at the launch, it could be the country's next scientific and technological frontier after the atomic energy, space and information technology revolutions.

The mission's success "has the potential of transforming India's energy prospects, and contributing to national as well as global efforts to combat climate change", he pointed out. The target of building 20,000 MW of solar generating capacity by 2022 was "no doubt ambitious", Dr. Singh admitted, "but I do sincerely believe that the target is doable and that we should work single-mindedly to achieve it as a priority national endeavour". With its abundant sunshine for most of the year, India is in a particularly advantageous position to develop solar power. The country gets about 5,000



India's Minister of New and Renewable Energy Farooq Abdullah taking a look at a sun simulator at the Solar Energy Centre in Gurgaon, adjoining New Delhi, the Indian capital.

trillion kWh per year over its land area with most parts receiving 4-7 kWh per sq m per day.

The big problem with rapid rollout of solar power is its high cost compared to other sources of power such as coal. Current industry estimates say it will cost ₹17.50 to produce a unit of solar power, well over double the cost of production through coal.

The Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE), the nodal ministry for Solar India, says the objective of the mission "is to create conditions, through rapid scale-up of capacity and technological innovation, to drive down costs towards grid parity".

With energy shortages biting harder, India is increasing the use of diesel-based electricity, which is both expensive — costs as high as ₹15 per unit — and polluting, making the solar energy option both urgent and feasible.

The mission will adopt a three-phase approach, spanning the remaining period of the 11th Plan and the first year of the 12th Plan (up to 2012-13) as Phase 1; the remaining four years of the 12th Plan (2013-17) as Phase 2 and the 13th Plan (2017-22) as Phase 3.

— Joydeep Gupta

An academy to train world champion ARCHERS

Talent is being carefully honed at the sprawling Tata Archery Academy in the steel city of Jamshedpur, to garner international recognition for India



Tribal cadets of the Tata Archery Academy practise their shots in the outskirts of the steel city of Jamshedpur.

In 1875, diminutive tribal hero Birsa Munda and his army of ethnic revolutionaries from the Jungle Mahal, as the eastern Indian state of Jharkhand was then known, used the humble wooden bow and arrow to fend off the mighty cannons of British imperialists. Since then, the bow and arrow have evolved into the cultural and martial mascot of the tribals inhabiting the Chhotanagpur plateau that comprises most of tiny Jharkhand state.

The people of the area, who have a natural flair for hitting the bull's eye, still carry their bows and arrows as weapons of self-defence. Naturally, talent abounds, said Captain Amitabh, head of the sprawling Tata Archery Academy in the town of Jamshedpur run by Tata Steel, part of the mammoth industrial group.

And this talent is being carefully honed at the academy to garner international recognition for India. The academy has been throwing up national and international champions since 2004, and has won 753 national and 169 internation-

al medals. They are not all tribals, of course. The academy's merit list boasts of names like Dola Banerjee, the 2007 world champion, Rahul Banerjee, the 2008 world champion and Jayanta Talukdar, the 2006 world champion.

Then there are those waiting to join the list. Meet ace archer Deepika Kumari, the dusky girl with a fetching dimple from Ratu village near the state capital Ranchi. She is barely 16 — and a world champion already. Deepika won the gold medal in the cadet (junior) category at the Ogden World Cup held in the US in 2009.

Deepika, who trains for more than nine hours a day at the academy, is preparing for the upcoming Commonwealth Games in New Delhi this October, and the Asian Games. The academy is training a team of four men and four women archers for selection to the Commonwealth and Asian Games contingents.

The Tata Archery Academy, an integral part of Tata Steel's sports department, was set up in 1996 to train and promote local archers from the villages of Jharkhand, Orissa and Chhattisgarh states where the company has its mines and industries. It is one of the company's primary Corporate Social Responsibility components.

The academy later spread its wings countrywide to hand-pick talent for its four-year residential course. "However, it took us a decade to hone our archers to win laurels at the international level," coach Purnima Mahto told *IANS*.

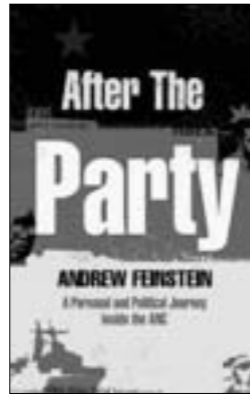
Located on a landscaped stretch at the mammoth GRD Tata Sports Complex in Jasmhedpur, the academy comprises a huge training range that offers "targets" of 30 metres to 90 metres distance — the Federation of International Archers' (FITA) distance stipulation. "Archers have to prove their aim in four distance categories — 30 metres, 50 metres, 60 metres and 70 metres and 90 metres. While for girls the distance cap is 70 metres, for boys its 90 metres," explained coach Dharmendra Tiwari.

Tata Steel cannot always offer them jobs. "After training, they often leave for greener pastures. They are not bound to stick to us. We give the archers to the nation after grooming them. But if a cadet fares very well, we often ask them to stay on in the academy even after four years for advance training," Prabhat Sharma, head of corporate affairs and corporate communication, said. — Madhusree Chatterjee

A selection of new books on Africa and by African writers
from www.africabookcentre.com

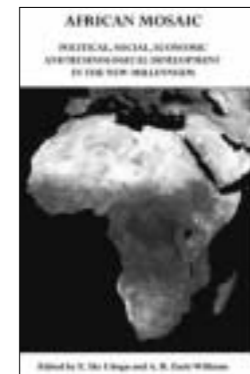
■ People and Politics

AFTER THE PARTY: A Personal and Political Journey Inside the ANC
By Feinstein, Andrew; 308pp; U.K.; Verso; Paperback; £8.99



ANDREW FEINSTEIN became an active member of the ANC in the 1980s, and campaigned energetically for the party in the first democratic elections. He was elected to parliament and rose swiftly through the ranks, earning the label 'Mr Clean' for his unstinting work against graft and corruption. His feelings of euphoria at being part of the new South Africa slowly soured. Initially disappointed by the constant jockeying for power and the denialist AIDS policy of President Thabo Mbeki, Feinstein's disillusionment grew as he sought unsuccessfully to investigate the corruption surrounding the Arms Deal. Isolated from his former comrades, Feinstein was forced to choose between his principles and the party he had so admired. This is his story.

AFRICAN MOSAIC: Political, Social, Economic and Technological Development in the New Millennium
By Udogu, E. Ike & Zack-Williams, Tunde (Eds.); 200pp; U.K.; Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Paperback; £43.99



A COLLECTION of essays by both Africans and non-Africans dealing with some of the most pressing issues facing Africa in the new millennium, including: development and the democratisation process; human rights and ethnicity; corruption; education policy; gender and migration.

AN INTRODUCTION TO AFRICAN POLITICS
By Thomson, Alex (Ed.); 312pp; UK; Routledge; Paperback; £22.99

A TEXTBOOK introducing key themes in the study of African politics. Individual chapters explore issues such as colonialism, ethnicity, nationalism, social class, ideology, legitimacy, sovereignty, and democracy. Each chapter concludes with a glossary of key terms, questions and a guide for further reading.



■ Development Discourse



DO BICYCLES EQUAL DEVELOPMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE?
By Hanlon, Joseph & Smart, Teresa; 256pp; UK; James Curry Publishers; Paperback; £17.99

IS MOZAMBIQUE an African success story? It has 7 percent a year growth rate and substantial foreign investment. Fifteen years after the war of destabilisation, the peace has held. Mozambique is the donors' model pupil, carefully following their prescriptions and receiving more than a billion dollars a year in aid. The number of bicycles has doubled and this is often cited as the symbol of development. This book

challenges some key assumptions of both the donors and the government and asks questions such as whether there has been too much stress on the Millennium Development Goals, and too little support for economic development; if it makes sense to target the poorest of the poor, or would it be better to target those who create the jobs which will employ the poor; whether there has been too much emphasis on foreign investment and too little on developing domestic capital; and if the private sector really will end poverty, or must there be a stronger role for the state in the economy?

AFRICA'S INFRASTRUCTURE: a time for transformation
By Africa Development Forum; 384pp; USA; World Bank Publications; Paperback; £33.99



AFRICA'S INFRASTRUCTURE sectors lag well behind those of the rest of the world, and the gap is widening. Some of the main policy-relevant findings highlighted in the book include the following: infrastructure in the region is exceptionally expensive, with tariffs being many times higher than those found elsewhere. Inadequate and expensive infrastructure is retarding growth by 2 percentage points each year. Solving the problem will cost over US\$90 billion per year, which is more than twice what is being spent in Africa today. However, money alone is not the answer. Prudent policies, wise management, and sound maintenance can improve efficiency. There is the potential to recover an additional US\$17 billion a year from within the existing infrastructure resource envelope simply by improving efficiency. Finally, the power sector and fragile states represent particular challenges. Even if efficiency in every infrastructure sector could be captured, a substantial funding gap of \$31 billion a year would remain.

A HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE: 1890-2000 & POSTSCRIPT: Zimbabwe, 2001-2008
By Zvogbo, Chengetai J.M.; 380pp; UK; Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Paperback; £51.99

THIS STUDY combines in one volume the history of Zimbabwe from the advent of British settlers in 1890 to 2000, including women's rights and human rights in Zimbabwe. It is a political, social and economic history. The Postscript examines the major developments in Zimbabwe from 2001 to 2008.

IGBO CULTURE AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS, 1857-1957: Conversion in Theory and Practice



By Okwu, Augustine S.O.; 348pp; USA; University Press of America; Paperback; £24.95

THE BOOK explores the strategies and methods of the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries in Igboland and Igbo response during the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Using oral traditions, primary sources, and the author's life experience as a Christian convert and missionary, the text examines the missions' programmes, missteps, and impact.

THE RACE TO TRANSFORM: Sport in Post-apartheid South Africa
By Desai, Ashwin; 264pp; South Africa; Human Sciences Research Council; Paperback; £21.99



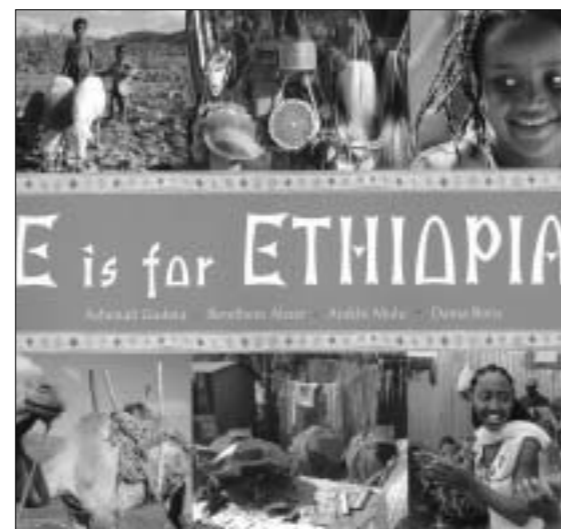
TAKES STOCK of sport in South Africa, and provides a pioneering exploration of how sport reflects matters such as enduring inequality, racial transformation and the making (or otherwise) of a common South African destiny. To date, much sports writing has been celebratory, paying attention to 'big' moments like the winning of the Rugby World Cups, and hosting the Soccer World Cup in 2010.

With the lens focused on national teams, there has been less emphasis on how South Africa's transition has impacted on township sport. This book provides a view on the relationship between elite and grassroots sport in the context of growing economic disparities and the emergence of an influential black middle and super-rich class.

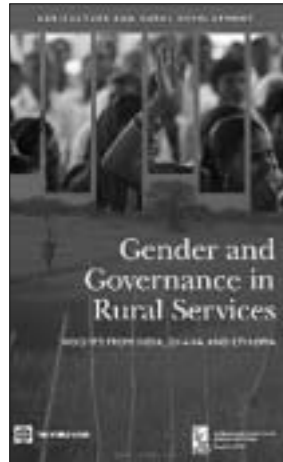
■ Pictography

E IS FOR ETHIOPIA
By Gudeta, Ashenafi et al; 32pp; UK; Frances Lincoln; Hardback; £11.99

FROM COFFEE, to Nets, from Running to Xmas, this photographic alphabet celebrates everything Ethiopians love best about their country. Set in north-east Africa, Ethiopia has a long, rich history going back many thousands of years. It is inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups, with Christianity and Islam the main religions. Here are glimpses into Ethiopian houses, food, religion, clothes, hairstyles, animals, music — making the perfect introduction to a country still unfamiliar to many people. The text and photographs are by a group of young photographers in Ethiopia whose work is supported by the UK aid agency CAFOD, the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development.



Gender Woes

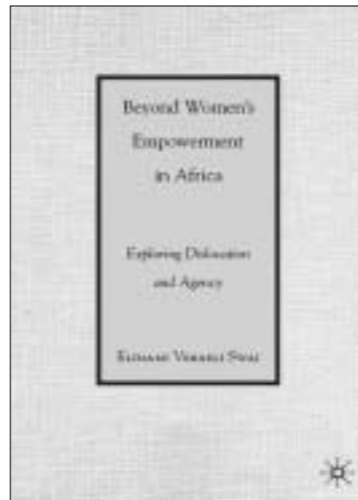


GENDER AND GOVERNANCE IN RURAL SERVICES: Insights from India, Ghana, and Ethiopia
By The World Bank & International Food Policy Research Institute; 332pp; USA; World Bank Publications; Paperback; £28.99

PROVIDES POLICY-RELEVANT knowledge on strategies to improve service delivery in rural areas especially to rural women. The study covers key economic services, such as agricultural advisory services and related social services, including rural water supply. The study presents analytical work from four countries: Ethiopia, Ghana, India and Sri Lanka, and provides a synthesis of 'best fit' practices in the different country contexts.

BEYOND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN AFRICA: Exploring Dislocation and Agency
By Swai, Elinami Veraeli; 256pp; UK; Palgrave; Hardback; £50

ATTEMPTS TO break new ground in understanding how modern society has shaped women's knowledge system in Africa and deconstructs long-held myths about the position of ordinary women in the construction of knowledge. Using case studies, it historicises the experiences of ordinary women in Tanzania and looks at how empowerment is used to, paradoxically, eviscerate women's knowledge systems.



PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICAN PENTECOSTAL CHARISMATIC CHURCHES
By Frahm-Arp, Maria; 298pp; Netherlands; Brill; Hardback; £95

AN INSIGHT into the changing shape of contemporary religion examining the new role that Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity plays in the lives of young, professional, black women who are enjoying career success and becoming part of South Africa's new middle class.

Amongst these women an interesting relationship has emerged between work and religion as they feel that the social networks and self confidence they gain from their religious communities are as important as their spiritual experiences. But not all the women who join these churches remain, and this book explores why some women leave the churches in which they had previously felt they gained so much.

Sense and Spirituality



SPIRIT, STRUCTURE AND FLESH: Gendered Experiences in African Instituted Churches Among the Yoruba of Nigeria
By Byfield, Judith A., Denzer, LaRay & Morrison, Anthea (Eds.); 344pp; USA; Indiana University Press; Paperback; £16.99

EXPLORES THE ways ritual, symbol, and circumscribe, constrain, and empower women in African Instituted Churches (AICs), new denominations founded by Africans sceptical of dogmas offered by mainstream churches with roots in European empires. Crumbley investigates the beliefs and practices associated with institutionalised female roles in three of the most important AICs. These practices include the prohibition against the ordination of women, the expectation that women avoid holy objects and sites during menstruation, and the congregational seating arrangements that construct asymmetrical relations of power. While gender distinctions seem to signal an absence of female autonomy and power, Crumbley argues that women count in the day-to-day life of these churches, whether ordained or not, and that these women exercise agency.

WOMEN'S SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA: Tempered Radicals and Critical Servant Leaders

By Ngunjiri, Faith Wambura; 241pp; USA; State University of New York; Hardback; £43



PORTRAITS OF sixteen African women in leadership positions in grassroots, national, Pan African and global organisations, and explores how they choose to rock the boat without falling out by transforming their communities and organisations from within.

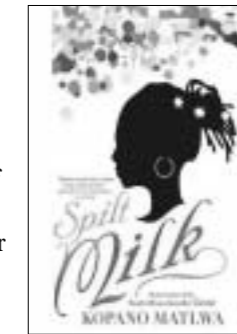
Fiction

BITTER LEAF
By Okereke, Chioma; 320pp, UK; Virago; Paperback; £11.99



NOVEL SET in Mannobe, a world that is African in nature but never geographically placed, and tells the story of Babylon, a local, gifted musician who falls in love with Jericho, a beautiful girl with ambitions and aspirations beyond life in the village — a place illuminated by its eccentric but loyal inhabitants.

SPLIT MILK
By Matlwa, Kopano; 200pp; South Africa; Jacana Media; Paperback; £9.95



FROM THE, author of bestselling novel, Coconut, comes a story of two passionate people who share a shameful past and a tenuous present. Headmistress of the elite Sekolo sa Dithlora school for talented black children, Mohumagadi and disgraced preacher, Father Bill are brought together again decades after a childhood love affair that expelled them from their communities. Much to the dismay of her students, Mohumagadi takes Father Bill in as a teacher, resulting in a battle of wills and wits for the hearts and minds of the students living in the shadow of revolution and change.

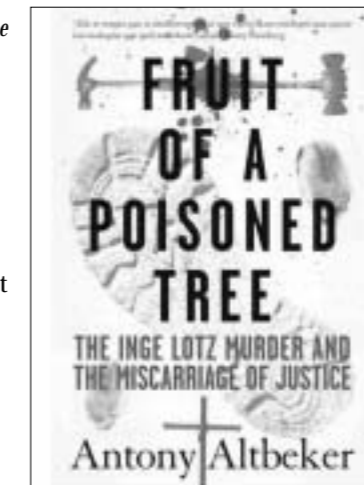
THE THIN LINE
By Salafranca, Arja; 222pp; South Africa; Modjaji Books; Paperback; £18.95



STORIES SET on the thin line between life and art: Corinna trapped in her huge teenage body, Cleo in love with a married man after all these years, and poor skinny Mark, as he sees his love teeter away from him.

Judiciary

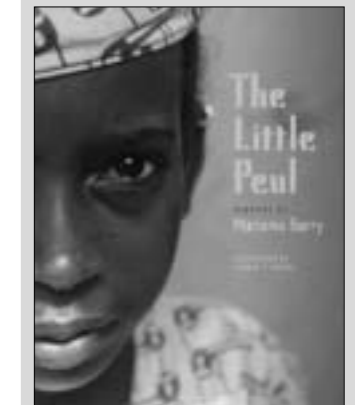
FRUIT OF A POISONED TREE: A True Story of Murder and the Miscarriage of Justice
By Altbeker, Anthony; 320pp; South Africa; Jonathan Ball; Paperback; £17.95



THE BOOK unwraps one of the most sensational and controversial murder trials in the South African legal history, that of Inge Lotz. This is the eye-witness account of the epic courtroom battle, with all the evidence and testimonies. It depicts a society which has a judiciary system that is stretched to breaking point.

Biography

THE LITTLE PEUL: A Novel
By Barry, Mariama; 208pp; USA; University of Virginia Press; Paperback; £20.99



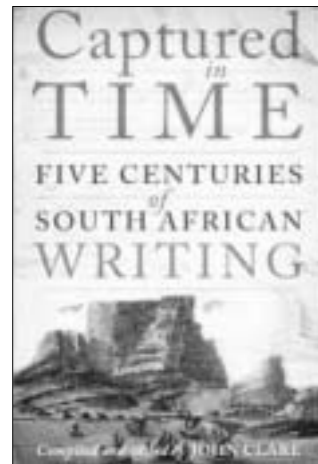
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOVEL. The book opens with a description of the violence and trauma of a young girl's excision at age six. This is but the first of many trials. After a younger brother is almost killed by a truck, the family moves to La Medina, a Dakar neighbourhood where rats gnaw on children's toes at night and where children must struggle with adults in order to fetch water or use the communal toilet.

Attending school is the one high point in the girl's life, but even there she must stand up to older bullies. Her family life is completely upset when her mother walks out, leaving her to clean, cook, and care for her younger brothers. Then when her father finds it impossible to cope with the children and with his failing business, he withdraws the little Peul from school and relocates the family once again, this time to his mother's village in the mountains of northern Guinea.

Indignant that children have no rights and are lied to and deserted by their own parents, the young protagonist rebels against the idea that women should accept suffering and subjugation to men. She is determined to direct her own life and assert her right to do so.

(Translated by Carrol F. Coates)

■ Scripts and Letters



CAPTURED IN TIME: Five Centuries of South African Writing
 By Clare, John (Ed.); 600pp; South Africa; Jonathan Ball; Paperback; £24.95

A COLLECTION of extracts from the most illuminating, entertaining and significant works written about the country and its diverse people over almost five centuries. The writers are settlers, explorers, administrators, missionaries, hunters, travellers, novelists, playwrights, poets and politicians. They include Jan van Riebeck, the first Dutch governor of the Cape, whose journal is the most detailed account in history of a colony's founding; Mazisi Kunene, the poet who chronicled the rise of Shaka, the Zulu empire builder, in epic verse; W C Scully, who took part in the diamond rush at Kimberley that set South Africa on the path to unimaginable wealth; Jan Smuts, the Boer War general who, with Cecil Rhodes, the arch imperialist, was one of the architects of apartheid; Nelson Mandela, apartheid's most famous victim, who became its nemesis and conqueror; and Nobel literature laureates Nadine Gordimer and John Coetzee.

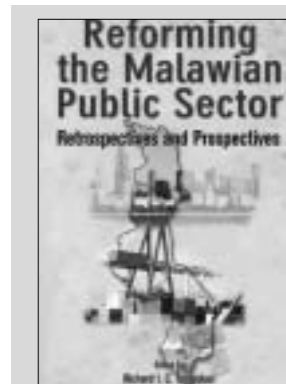
BUSHMAN LETTERS: Interpreting the /Xam Narratives of the Bleek and Lloyd Collection

By Wessels, Michael (Ed.); 256pp; South Africa; Witwatersrand University Press; Paperback; £24.99



THE BLEEK and Lloyd Collection consists of the notebooks in which William Bleek and Lucy Lloyd transcribed and translated the narratives, cultural information and personal histories told to them in the 1870's by a number of /Xam informants. It represents a rare record of an indigenous language and culture that no longer exists. The /Xam materials have exerted a fascination for anthropologists and poets alike. This book examines not only the /Xam archive but also, the critical tradition that has grown up around the archive as well as the hermeneutic principles that inform that tradition. It critiques these principles and offers not so much alternative readings as alternative modes of reading.

■ Development



REFORMING THE MALAWIAN PUBLIC SECTOR: Retrospectives and Prospectives
 By Tambulasi, Richard; 118pp; Senegal; Codesria; Paperback; £18.95

ARGUES THAT the new public management model that Malawi, like most African countries, adopted under the influence of donor organisations has not led to the intended development. The book examines decentralisation, performance contracting, and public-private partnerships as key aspects of the reforms, and comes to the conclusion that it can be argued that the failures have been due to poor implementation, which could be attributed to the fact that the process was led by donors who lacked necessary institutional infrastructure.

THE MISSION: A Life for Freedom in South Africa

By Goldberg, Denis; 424pp; South Africa; STE Publishers; Paperback; £18

DENIS GOLDBERG, one of the Rivonia trialists along with Nelson Mandela, served 22 years in an apartheid prison. Following his release he worked for the African National Congress in exile and with the ending of apartheid he founded the charity Community HEART (Health, Education and Reconstruction Training) to assist in the building of a new South Africa.



He returned to South Africa as Adviser to the Minister of Water Affairs.

In 2009 Denis was awarded the Order of Luthuli in Silver (OLS) by the President of South Africa recognising his contribution to the struggle for freedom in South Africa. Also includes a free DVD with footage of Denis's life and work.

Bestsellers in India

"Fault Lines" by Raghuram Rajan tops the non-fiction section of the bestseller list while Sarita Mandanna's "Tiger Hills" dominates the fiction category.

TOP 10: NON-FICTION

1. **Fault Lines**

Author: Raghuram Rajan
 Publisher: Harper Collins
 Price: ₹499



2. **Celebrating Delhi**

Author: Mala Dayal
 Publisher: Penguin Viking
 Price: ₹350

3. **Before Memory Fades**

Author: Fali S. Nariman
 Publisher: Hay House
 Price: ₹599

4. **Keeping the Faith: Memoirs of a Parliamentarian**

Author: Somnath Chatterjee
 Publisher: Harper Collins
 Price: ₹499

5. **Tata: The Evolution of a Corporate Brand**

Author: Morgen Witzel
 Publisher: Penguin Portfolio
 Price: ₹599

6. **The Honest Always Stand Alone**

Author: C.G. Somiah
 Publisher: Niyogi Books
 Price: ₹395

7. **Birds and Butterflies of Delhi**

Author: Mehran Zaidi
 Publisher: Tara Press
 Price: ₹350



8. **Besieged: Voices from Delhi 1857**

Author: Mahmood Farooqui
 Publisher: Penguin Viking
 Price: ₹699

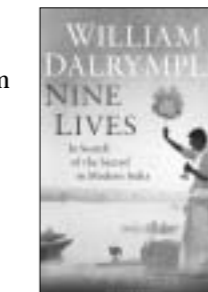


9. **Hitch-22: A Memoir**

Author: Christopher Hitchens
 Publisher: Atlantic Books
 Price: ₹599

10. **Nine Lives**

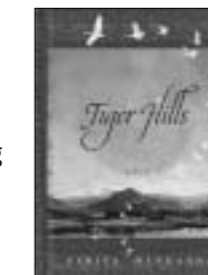
Author: William Dalrymple
 Publisher: Bloomsbury
 Price: ₹499



TOP 10: FICTION

1. **Tiger Hills**

Author: Sarita Mandanna
 Publisher: Penguin Viking
 Price: ₹599



2. **The Immortals of Meluha**

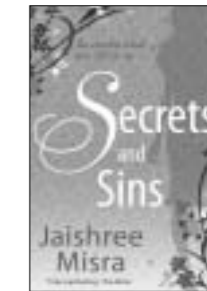
Author: Amish Tripathi
 Publisher: Tara Press
 Price: ₹295

3. **The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo: Millennium I**

Author: Steig Larsson
 Publisher: Quercus
 Price: ₹350

4. **Secrets and Sins**

Author: Jaishree Misra
 Publisher: Harper Collins
 Price: ₹299



5. **Saraswati Park**

Author: Anjali Joseph
 Publisher: Harper Collins
 Price: ₹399

6. **The Lost Symbol**

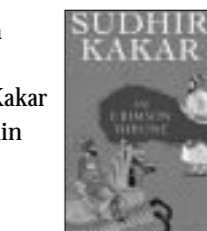
Author: Dan Brown
 Publisher: Corgi Books
 Price: ₹299

7. **After Taste**

Author: Namita Devidayal
 Publisher: Random House
 Price: ₹399

8. **The Crimson Throne**

Author: Sudhir Kakar
 Publisher: Penguin Viking
 Price: ₹450



9. **One Amazing Thing**

Author: Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni
 Publisher: Penguin
 Price: ₹450

10. **Artemis Fowl and the Atlantis Complex**

Author: Eoin Colfer
 Publisher: Puffin
 Price: ₹399



(Source: Bahri Sons, New Delhi, www.booksatbahri.com. All the books listed above are available online).



THE TEMPLE TOWN

A pious yet sleepy place, Gokarna promises colourful memories, replete with reverberating mornings, enchanting dusks, and moonlit skies

An ancient temple town, Gokarna is situated in the Uttar Kannada district of Karnataka. A breezy little place, Gokarna is a perfect holiday destination for families yearning for tranquility with a zing! Yes, it is the unusual syndicate of temples and beaches that makes Gokarna one of the most peculiar places to visit. Away from the humdrum of busy city lives, the temple town lures us with its shrines and seashores.

A centre for Sanskrit studies, Gokarna literally means 'cow's ear'. It is believed that Lord Shiva emerged from the

ear of a cow and blessed the town. Gokarna lies between Gangavali and Agnashini rivers and is situated along the Karwar coast by the Arabian Sea. Replete with palm and coconut trees, Gokarna was under Portuguese rule in the 17th century.

Temples are the main attraction of the town, with the beaches adding to the beauty. Due to its serene atmosphere, it has become popular as a pilgrimage spot and is one of the seven Muktisthalas of Karnataka. The maze of narrow lanes and alleys brim over with priests chanting slokas and going about performing their religious duties. But the white sand beaches and the picturesque landscape also make Gokarna one of the most popular spots for beach tourism.

Religious Attractions

Mahabaleshwara Temple: Mahabaleshwara temple is a popular Lord Shiva temple, which houses the extremely pious Atmalinga enshrined in an enclosed square called Saligrama Peetha. It is opened for public viewing only once in forty years. Only the tip of the linga can be seen through an opening in the Peetha. The temple comes to its full glory during the Hindu festival, Shivaratri, when millions of devotees throng to seek blessings.

Murudeshwara Temple: The temple boasts of the world's tallest Lord Shiva statue in sitting posture, and is a huge attraction among pilgrims. Sparkling and shining, the statue is 123 feet high and is covered in gold and silver paint. The temple is situated at Kanduka hill, which is surrounded by the Arabian Sea. The roaring sea waves are in absolute contrast with the calm and serene atmosphere of the temple. A 20-storeyed Gopura — a monumental 249 feet tall tower that marks the entrance of the temple — is a prominent feature of the temple architecture.

Beaches Galore

The drive up the winding path that leads to Gokarna is scenic, with the rocky mountains and Western Ghats on one side and the Arabian Sea on the other. The beaches here have their own stories to tell.

Om Beach: The Om beach enjoys the maximum number of visitors. Situated in the south of Gokarna city, the structure of the beach resembles the auspicious 'Om' symbol. This makes it popular both among pilgrims as well as other tourists. It is about 30 minutes away from the main city of Gokarna, with auto rickshaws being the most convenient means of transport.

Once on the beach, the gentle breeze and the sound of the rustling coconut trees will definitely leave you in a tranquil state of mind.

Half Moon Beach: As the name suggests, the structure of the Half Moon Beach resembles the crescent moon. Separated by a cliff from Om beach, this beach enchants the senses with its mystical surroundings. Most preferred by newly wed couples, the Half Moon beach is also known as 'Honeymoon' beach among the locals. One can rent shacks and huts at a very basic price for a stay. Once the sun sets, bonfires are lit all around, giving the beach a mesmerising look. It is almost bereft of civilisation, with only the tourists visiting it. The atmosphere is spellbinding at night with people strumming guitars at the backdrop of dimly lit huts and roaring sea waves.

Paradise Beach: At the end of the Half Moon beach, a small trail leads to the Paradise beach. One will have to wade through the rocks to reach the beach since no vehicles can



Above: Om Beach, with its prominent 'om' shaped sea shore;
Below: A small temple at Gokarna Beach

HOW TO GET THERE

By Air: Panaji Airport is the nearest to Gokarna (approximately 150 km)

By Rail: Gokarna Station lies in the heart of the city and is a part of Konkan Railways

By Road: The temple town is well connected to major cities by road. If you drive down the road, it is a treat for your eyes with the scenic beauty of the surroundings

commute to the place. The narrow path that leads to the beach is full of rocks and wild plantation, making for an adventurous trip. One can also hire a boat from Om beach, which takes around 30-45 minutes. There are some wonderful cafes and restaurants with sumptuous sea food to gorge on. The beach also has some local residents who will more than welcome you to their humble residence. One can team up with them to go fishing, as they will teach you the local method of catching fishes, crabs, prawns and even turtles!

— **Kamini Kumari**



Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with South Africa's President Jacob Zuma at a press meet in New Delhi on June 4, 2010.

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh's statement to the media during the visit of South African President Jacob Zuma

4/06/2010

It gives me great pleasure to welcome His Excellency President Jacob Zuma on his first State Visit to India. We are honoured by the fact that President Zuma has chosen India as his first destination in Asia.

The links between India and South Africa are rooted in history. We can never forget that South Africa was the land of the awakening for the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, for which we owe a deep debt of gratitude to its people.

President Zuma has led South Africa with great distinction in the last one year. South Africa plays an influential role in world affairs. Our strategic partnership with South Africa is based on our mutuality of interests, common aspirations and close mutual understanding.

Today, President Zuma and I have decided to impart a forward-looking character to these ties, and to further broaden our cooperation.

We have agreed to focus on the expansion of our economic, trade and investment relationship. Our economies have come of age. A growing number of companies are investing in each other's countries, and South Africa has

become one of the most significant economic partners for India in Africa.

We have also decided to provide fresh impetus to our cooperation in the areas of science and technology, agriculture, human resource development, people to people exchanges, and security.

India remains willing to work with South Africa in addressing the shared challenges of capacity-building, skill development, job creation, and combating diseases, which are essential for achieving inclusive growth. We have tasked the next meeting of the Joint Commission to develop concrete plans for implementation of the decisions we have taken today.

India and South Africa work closely in several international forums such as the United Nations, Non-aligned Movement, Commonwealth, WTO, G-20 and the IBSA and BASIC groupings. We have agreed to intensify our coordination in these bodies.

We will step up our efforts for the reform of global institutions of governance, including the United Nations Security Council. We have agreed to support each other's candidatures for the non-permanent seat for the 2011-12 term.

President Zuma's visit marks a new milestone in India's relations with South Africa. I thank him for his friendship to India. ■

External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna's address at the 'Africa Day' Lecture on "India-Africa Relations"

26/05/2010

I extend my heartiest congratulations on the occasion of the Africa Day, which was commemorated yesterday. The founding of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 marked a resurgence of African identity, to which India's commitment has been steadfast.

I would also like to acknowledge the positive role played by the Indian Council of World Affairs, which has worked closely with the Ministry of External Affairs, to reintroduce the Africa Day lecture. This is another manifestation of our unwavering commitment to our African brothers and sisters.

Today, I wish to share some thoughts on India's relationship with Africa. Since our independence, Africa has always occupied a very special place in the minds of Indian leadership. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said in 1955 "it is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability because we are sister continents". He went on to say in 1961 that "I think the whole world owes it to the African people not to hinder them, but to help them in freedom in every way". Our common struggle against colonialism provides the historical underpinning of our special relationship. Africa has always been, and rightly so, a cornerstone of our foreign policy.

Today our relations have transformed into a long-term partnership. With India's sustained economic growth over the last two decades, and political consolidation across Africa, our cooperation has flourished and now encompasses all priority sectors integral to the developmental goals of Africa in the 21st century. We have to jointly face the challenges of a rapidly changing globalised world. India's relationship with Africa was given a new structure during the first India-Africa Forum Summit held in New Delhi in April 2008. At this summit, leaders of India and Africa designed a programme of cooperation for a structured interaction in a variety of areas, which include human resources, capacity building, education, science and technology, agricultural productivity and food security, industrial growth, including the small and medium enterprises sector, health and communications, and information technology.

These programmes were extensively deliberated with our African partners through the African Union and I am happy that we have concluded the action plan of cooperation in March this year. We have decided to establish 19 India-Africa institutions, including (i) India Africa Institute of Foreign Trade; (ii) India Africa Diamond Institute; (iii) India Africa Institute of Educational Planning and Administration; and (iv) India Africa Institute of Information Technology.

The government of India's pan African e-Network Project is another good example of India-Africa partnership. I am very happy to learn that 47 countries have already joined this project to provide quality tele-education and tele-medicine.

Our bilateral trade with Africa is on the rise, having grown



External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna

from US\$3 billion in 2000-01 to US\$39.3 billion in 2008-09. I feel that there is considerable potential for further growth and expansion. Through the Government's 'Focus Africa programme', we are actively encouraging the private sector to seriously look at the African market. We are also encouraging enhanced business-to-business interactions between the Chambers of Commerce and trade bodies on either side. On our part, we have offered a Duty Free Tariff Preference (DFTP) Scheme for Least Developed Countries (LDC), 34 of which are in Africa, to enable them to gain preferential access to the Indian market.

Our official developmental assistance in the form of concessional Lines of Credit (LOCs) and Grants-in-Aid continue to be important instruments for supporting infrastructure and development projects as prioritised by the African nations themselves. Over the next five years, an amount of \$5.4 billion, i.e., \$1.1 billion per year, has been earmarked for Africa in the form of credits and another \$ 500 million as grants.

In a rapidly changing world, an important dimension of the India-Africa partnership is our meeting of minds on pressing global issues. These issues include the reform of the United Nations, combating international terrorism, climate change, WTO, reform of international financial institutions, combating diseases, eradication of hunger and poverty and promotion of inclusive democratic societies and polities.

The current global architecture is many decades old and is no longer capable of adequately meeting the increasing challenges before us. The United Nations, in particular, needs to be reformed and strengthened. The absence of Africa and countries like India from the permanent membership of the UN Security Council makes the body unrepresentative and undemocratic. India strongly supports Africa's demand to get its due role as permanent members of the Security Council.

Both India and the African Union have advocated expansion of the Security Council in both its permanent and non-

permanent categories. We both emphasise that the new permanent members of the Security Council should have the same rights and responsibilities as the existing permanent members, though the G-4 proposal envisages this to be a step-by-step process.

Given that text-based inter-governmental negotiations on UN reform will start in the UN General Assembly on June 1, 2010, we now need to work together to ensure stronger presence of the developing world in the UN Security Council.

Today, all of us are living under the shadow of the threats posed by the scourge of international terrorism. No part of the world can claim to be immune from its tentacles.

Continuing terrorist attacks in various parts of the world are a reminder that the international community needs greater cooperation and stronger collective action to defeat terrorism. India had proposed a draft for the comprehensive convention on international terrorism in 1996, whose adoption will demonstrate the strong will of the international community to act unitedly against terrorists.

Most of the differences over the draft have since been reconciled. The remaining issues can be resolved if the international community shows sufficient political will. We particularly look forward to working with Africa for early adoption of the convention. We also need to evolve a coordinated response for tackling the menace of piracy in the Indian Ocean in order to safeguard our sea routes and ensure uninterrupted movement of goods and people.

The WTO has the responsibility to ensure that developing countries, especially the least developed countries, secure a proper share in the growth of international trade, commensurate with the needs of their economic development. That is why the development dimension of the Doha Round is especially important and the reason why market access gains cannot be the sole touchstone of the Round.

Early, balanced and successful conclusion of the Doha Round, with development at the core of its heart, will benefit developing countries which is particularly important in the wake of the global economic and financial crisis of unprecedented reach and its concomitant adverse effects on the availability of trade finance.

The recent global economic meltdown points towards the urgent need for bringing about reforms in the international financial institutions, in which the interests of the developing countries should be fully safeguarded. The resilience of the economies of Asia and Africa, even in these turbulent times, could offer some lessons to global financial planners.

Let me conclude by saying that I am deeply convinced that together with the rise of Asia, it is the emergence of Africa that will bring about the most far-reaching changes in the exist-

ing world order. Back in 1963, Pandit Nehru had said that the emergence of Africa is "a major event in history and, what is more, it is going to play an ever-growing part in the coming years. We in India have naturally welcomed it." I only need to add here, on Africa Day today, that I find Africa's revival and growth an extremely gratifying and happy development that augurs well for India and the world. We in India are proud to be partners in Africa's growth.

It is a privilege to cooperate and work with Africa's developmental projects, and I would like to particularly thank my African friends present here for giving us the opportunity to do so. We remain firmly committed to working closely with Africa in order to help fulfil Africa's developmental targets, and the aspirations of its people. We also look forward to working together on major global issues. As we rejoice in Africa's growth and development, let us pledge to make the coming decade the 'Decade of India-Africa Partnership'. ■

Statement by Minister of State for the Ministry of External Affairs Preeti Kaur at the high level segment of the 2010 session of the Economic and Social Council of United Nations

2/07/2010

I express my deep appreciation for your leadership and the work of your team in navigating the ECOSOC process this year towards a meaningful destination.

Concerted action on the part of the world's largest economies in the G-20 was able to avert a major economic meltdown following the financial crisis of 2008. But the shoots of recovery that we are seeing can easily be upset by shocks and fluctuations as the Euro-zone crisis has shown. In such circumstances, it is important that we ensure that global economic recovery is durable, balanced and sustainable.

This is also critical for achieving the MDGs for which we have just five years more. Firm and time bound commitments, including on the provision of resources, transfer of technology and capacity building, are the need of the hour on MDGs. India has a strong interest in the world economy doing well as this is key enabler for us to pursue growth and bring the fruits of development to all sections of our society.

We also need to focus on medium and long-term issues of global governance. The reforms at the Bretton Woods Institutions need to be urgently completed. And, at the UN, the Security Council must reflect contemporary realities and expand in both permanent and non-permanent categories.

The Annual Ministerial review this year focuses on gender equality and women empowerment. This is timely, as

The new permanent members of the Security Council should have the same rights and responsibilities as the existing permanent members, though the G-4 proposal envisages this to be a step-by-step process



Minister of State for External Affairs Preeti Kaur presented India's perspective on 'New global governance for the 21st Century' at the Bled Strategic Forum meeting in Slovenia, on August 30, 2009.

our MDG aspirations will remain unfulfilled if significant progress is not made on empowerment and equality of women, and on their health and education. India's National Policy for the Empowerment of Women seeks enhanced economic and political empowerment and providing equal access to health care, education and employment for women.

Nearly half of the 46 million rural household beneficiaries of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme — one of the world's largest cash for work programmes — are women. Similarly, there are over 2 million women's self-help groups under the Swarnajayanti Gram Rozgar Yojna, a huge rural employment programme.

In education, we have recently launched Saakshar Bharat, a national programme for female literacy, to impart basic education to around 60 million women.

Moreover, our newly enacted Right to Education Act guarantees free and compulsory education to all children between the age group of 6 to 14 years. Girls will be its obvious focus. Our figures on maternal and infant mortality continue to be unacceptably high. Our efforts to tackle these issues through various schemes including the Janani Suraksha Yojna, a cash assistance programme, are beginning to yield results.

We are particularly concerned at the low child sex ratio in our country, the disparity between female and male literacy rates, the exceptionally high maternal mortality rates, the far lower women's work participation rate as compared to men and issues of violence against women. There is perceptible improvement in the social-economic status of women in India today as a result of our sustained efforts. We

are, however, mindful of the enormous challenges we have still to overcome. We are justifiably proud that today in India, women are participating in greater numbers in the political process and in our decision-making structures. Visibly, they occupy some of the highest political positions in the country including our President, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the House of Representatives in our Parliament and the Leader of the ruling coalition.

However, less visible but equally important, we have more than a million elected women representatives in local government. This is a fruit of our policy to institutionalise women's participation at local government level by reserving one third of seats in the village panchayats more than 17 years ago. And, recently we have tabled a bill to raise these seats to 50 percent. Legislative action is also on the anvil to institutionalise women's participation in Parliament and State legislatures. The last ten years have seen a continuous chorus of calls for reforms at the United Nations.

I am very happy that one of the most important such efforts, the setting up of an entity to provide leadership, and to mainstream women's issues in a coherent and focused manner at the UN, has finally borne fruit.

This is a transformational moment for the UN and I am glad that the Indian delegation played an active role in resolving key contentious issues and ensuring forward movement.

As I noted earlier in my address, achievement of MDGs hinges crucially on women being specially targeted so that they become equal beneficiaries of the gains of development. It is imperative that UN WOMEN operationalises itself on an urgent basis and receives our full backing. There is far too much work to do. ■

■ Contributors

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Note to Contributors

Africa Quarterly, published since 1961, is devoted to the study and objective analyses of African affairs and issues related to India-Africa relations. Contributions are invited from outstanding writers, experts and specialists in India, Africa and other countries on various political, economic, social-cultural, literary, philosophical and other themes pertaining to African affairs and India-Africa relations. Preference will be given to those articles which deal succinctly with issues that are both important and clearly defined. Articles which are purely narrative and descriptive and lacking in analytical content are not likely to be accepted. Contributions should be in a clear, concise, readable style and written in English.

Articles submitted to *Africa Quarterly* should be original contributions and should not be under consideration by any other publication at the same time. The Editor is responsible for the selection and acceptance of articles, but responsibility for errors of facts and opinions expressed in them rests with authors. Manuscripts submitted should be accompanied with a statement that the same has not been submitted/accepted for publication elsewhere. Copyright of articles published in the *Africa Quarterly* will be retained by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR).

Manuscripts submitted to *Africa Quarterly* should be typed double space on one side of the paper and two copies should be sent. A diskette (3 1/2") MS-Dos compatible, and e-mail as an attachment should be sent along with the two hard copies. Authors should clearly indicate their full name, address, e-mail, academic status and current institutional affiliation. A brief biographical note (one paragraph) about the writer may also be sent.

The length of the article should not normally exceed 7,000 to 8,000 words, or 20 to 25 (A-4 size) typed pages in manuscript. Titles should be kept as brief as possible.

Footnote numbering should be clearly marked and consecutively numbered in the text and notes placed at the end of the article and not at the bottom of the relevant page. Tables (including graphs, maps, figures) must be submitted in a form suitable for reproduction on a separate sheet of paper and not within the text. Each table should have a clear descriptive title and mention where it is to be placed in the article. Place all footnotes in a table at the end of the article. Reference numbers within the text should be placed after the punctuation mark.

Footnote style: In the case of books, the author, title of the book, place of publication, publisher, date of publication and page numbers should be given in that order, e.g. Basil Davidson, 'The Blackman's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation State', London, James Curry, 1992, pp. 15-22.

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In addition to major articles and research papers, *Africa Quarterly* also publishes short articles in the section titled News & Events. They may not exceed 2,000 words in length. Contributions of short stories and poems are also welcome.

Contributors to *Africa Quarterly* are entitled to two copies of the issue in which their article appears in addition to a modest honorarium. Contributors of major articles accepted for publication will receive up to a maximum of ₹4,000.

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