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Cover photo: Africa and the Indian Ocean as seen from Apollo 17
December 7, 1972

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Editor's note

This issue of *African Currents* contains articles written by scholars in Indian Universities working on various aspects of African affairs.

Sanjay Kumar's article titled 'Indo-China Strategic Rivalry in Africa' explains Africa's relations with India and China. It describes India-Africa interactions which are more vibrant, and encompass political, economic, diplomatic, cultural, scientific and security cooperation. Great strides have been made in India's re-engagement with Africa, not only in the economic sector but also at the political and security levels. The author further discusses China's influence and interest in Africa which poses a threat to the Western nations' interest in the continent. A new competition in Africa is being set in motion between China and India on the one hand and, more significantly, between emerging Asian rivals on the other hand. An effective partnership between Delhi and Africa will ultimately depend on how African governments structure their relations with India and how much of this is channelled through the multilateral process of the African Union and NEPAD.

Shalini Venkatesh in her article 'Kudumbashree scaling new heights - A path breaking adventure in India and Africa' explains the role of Kudumbashree, an innovative approach initiated by Government of Kerala in 1998, which is based on the idea of community organizations with the goal as the "prosperity of the family". It intends to empower women and their families, being self-dependent through collective action, co-operation, mobilization of their small savings and starting micro-enterprises. Kudumbashree presents a unique model of participatory development which can be emulated in other countries by interacting through South-South and Triangular Co-operation. The initiatives and programmes by Kudumbashree have been playing a significant role in regaining morale of women by becoming the agents of development and contributing to the improvement of quality of life in Kerala and Uganda and other countries of Asia and Africa.

Mariya Shaikh in her article titled 'The Quest for Peace keeping, Peace building and Justice in Rwanda', discusses peace keeping efforts in Rwanda by the United Nations. This article studies the economic and social scenario after the Genocide in Rwanda. It attempts to understand the concept of peacebuilding and how United Nations peacebuilding and peacekeeping operations work in Africa, in the post-conflict period. The author also discusses the current statistics on United Nations peacekeepers. She focuses on the efficacy of justice and peacebuilding processes after the massacre. The article studies them at three levels; at the personal, government and international level. It describes how the government introduced the community-based justices and *Gacaca* reanimated to deal with thousands of Genocide cases. The article has attempted to review the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and how it has utilized the powers upon it by evoking the International conventions to convict the perpetrators of the Genocide in Rwanda. It also sketches the role of the ICTR and its contribution to Rwandan justice.

Aann Jerry in her article 'India-Africa: Skilling in IT field; C-DAC Institute', describes the role of the C-DAC Institute in skilling people from Africa. She states that the youth population of Africa could be skilled and trained to increase their employability in the job market. India, through its development co-operation and ITEC institutes, is dedicated to upgrading the skill set of the Africans with its IT revolution. Among Aptec, NIIT, C-DAC is focused on the capacity development and skilling of the semi-literate and literate youth of the African continent. She discusses country projects of C-DAC as well as challenges faced by African nations in expanding their ICT training. The article suggests that C-DAC is in the forefront, enabling IT based solutions to various domains from financial markets, healthcare, data- warehousing, digital libraries to natural language processing.

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List of Acronyms

ACIRC - African Capacity for Immediate Responses to Crisis

ACLED - Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project

ACTS - Advanced Computing Training School

ADS - Area Development Society

AIFRGM - Adebha Institute for Food Research and Hospitality Management

AU - African Union

CDS - Community Development Society

CFM - Community Finance Manager

CoEICT - Centre of Excellence for Communications and Information Technology

EPA - Environmental Protection Agency

FOCAC - Forum for China-Africa Cooperation

FTF - Feed the Future programme

ICT - Information Communication Technology

ICTR - International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

ISCEICT - India-Seychelles Centre of Excellence in ICT

ITEC - Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation

JLG - Joint Liability Group

KCC - Kisan Credit Card

KVK - Krishi Vigyan Kendra

LSG - Local Self Government
MEC - Micro Enterprise Consultant
MeitY - Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology
MICT - Ministry of Information and Communication Technology
MIS - Management Information System
MKSP - Mahila Kissan Sasakthikaran Pariyojana
MoRD - Ministry of Rural Department
NHG - Neighbourhood Groups
NM-AIST - Nelson Mandela African Institute of Science & Technology
NUGS - National Union of Ghana Students
ONGC - Oil and Natural Gas Corporation
PACS - Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies
PRI - Panchayat Raj Institution
RME - Rural Micro Enterprises
SLOC - Sea Lines of Communication
SPEM - State Poverty Eradication Mission
SRLM - State Rural Livelihood Mission
SVEP - Start up Village Entrepreneurship Programme
TTP - Triangular Training programme
TVET - Technical and Vocational Education & Training
UNAMIR - United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNCHR - UN Commission on Human Rights
UNDP - United Nations Development Program

UNPK - UN Peacekeeping Operations

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

1. Indo-China Strategic Rivalry in Africa

Sanjay Kumar

Introduction

In the year 1900, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi began his professional career as a lawyer and also debuted as an anti-colonialist nationalist campaigner for equality and justice in Africa. Gandhi once said that 'the commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of Western exploiters' (Mathews 1997). Today, in the twenty-first century, there is a twist in the tale: India-Africa relations have moved beyond those based merely on 'ideas and services' to a more pragmatic relationship that involves India's political, economic and security interests in convergence with and responding to Africa's developmental needs. Today, India provides not only a viable model of economic growth appreciable by the developing world; but it is also a shining example of democratic consolidation and sustainability, which is rare in most post-colonial countries. One hundred and eight years after Mahatma Gandhi, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh spoke at the first India-Africa Forum Summit in April 2008 and elaborated on the theme of the growing and multifaceted India-Africa relations. He noted that this was a 'new chapter in the long history of civilizational contacts, friendship and cooperation between India and Africa', and the goal was to achieve 'economic vibrancy, peace, stability and self-reliance'. He further mentioned that he wished to see the twenty-first century as the 'century of Asia and Africa with the people of the two continents acting together to promote inclusive globalization'.

China has a huge presence in Africa with 900 projects and 800 companies operating in various countries. It has sent 16,000 medical personnel to Africa, offered scholarships to 20,000 African students, and trained a large number of African professionals. Although India became a regional member of the African Development Bank two years before China (in 1982), China now holds more shares in the bank and has greater voting power. In 2007, when the board of the

African Development Bank chose to hold its first board meeting in an Asian city, it decided in favour of Shanghai rather than Mumbai (Ramachandran 2007). It should also be noted, however, that while China focuses on resource-based investment that largely advances its own interests, India engages in capacity-building. Indian firms hire and train local Africans in maintenance and repair work, which are seen as more acceptable than Chinese investments by the local population. Moreover, China has a big advantage because its government is the owner of a majority of the firms, while most of the Indian enterprises operating in Africa are private sector companies - whose capital funds are just a fraction of those of the Chinese state.

Apart from these potential challenges, India faces some problematic issues in Africa. There is a long history of labour unrest between ethnic Indians and indigenous Africans, especially in East African countries like Kenya and Uganda, where Indians settled more than a century ago. New areas of disharmony have also been emerging with India's growing presence. For instance, Indian steel workers were abducted in Nigeria over a pay dispute with union members in October 2007. Moreover, the charges being levelled against China might be directed towards India too, because despite its moral posturing, India also engages with some of the same regimes that have been charged with human rights violations.. While India has energy and food security requirements and places national interest above most other considerations, it has to be careful enough to not mar its long-term partnership of economic cooperation with the African states.

Indian Engagement with Africa

At the outset, it must be made clear that India is not a newcomer to Africa. On the contrary, India and Africa enjoy a long-standing historical relationship. Contacts and trade between the two sides have been noted as extending beyond British colonialism. Following independence, India saw its role in the international system as championing the struggles of anti-colonialism and anti-racism. Like China, India played a critical role in the Bandung Conference of 1955 which led to the emergence of the Non-Aligned Movement and further promoted and strengthened Asian-African solidarity. However, during the cold war, the political solidarity

deepened. Africa was to have a significant role in Prime Minister Nehru's vision of creating a just international order. With India pushing for the independence of African states, India and Africa seemed likely to become strategic allies in the cold war, by assuming the large Indian diaspora as a significant factor. Yet India's role on the African continent remained marginal. India's engagement with Africa was also motivated by the cold war polemics and the border dispute with China in 1962. Confronted with Africa's mixed reaction to the conflict, New Delhi was forced to realize that it did not have the strong ally it had hoped for and therefore actively worked towards countering Chinese penetration in Africa.

In 1963, the heads of India's trade missions from Africa and West Africa convened a meeting to improve cooperation with the continent which led to the emergence of the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC). To this day, ITEC remains an integral component of India's Development Initiative, delivering development assistance to Africa and elsewhere.

While China suffered from its own cold war polemic with Moscow vis-a-vis Africa, India's stance appeared to be more muted, which led to selective engagements with the continent during the 1970s and 1980s. In principle, however, India's international stance was geared towards promoting greater South-South cooperation and a greater voice for itself. But with the end of the cold war, India's foreign policy also had to be revisited and shaped to take into account the new impulses in the global arena.

For much of the cold war India's own regional and domestic pressures made it inward-looking. With economic liberalisation in the 1990s, however, India's policy-makers realised the importance of a foreign policy that resonated with its economic ambitions. Opening up to overseas investment also meant strengthening external relations that could help to realise its political and economic potential.

Like China's, India's post-cold-war foreign policy has been aligned with the principles of non-alignment and South-South cooperation. Reacting against the unilateral character of the post-cold-war international order, India has pushed for a multilateral world order. And, just as in the past, relations with Africa and the South are now

based on shared mutual interests in fighting against the inequities of the global order. This time these are directed against underdevelopment and poverty as a result of an unbalanced global economic system, but are also aimed at the economic and developmental concerns of 'finding export markets, and attracting foreign capital and technological know-how' (Singh 2007).

Using the historical platform as a way to consolidate contemporary relations with Africa, India's current foreign policy relations with the continent are about reinventing and rejuvenating the old relationship. While China can make the claim that it has never enslaved or colonized Africa, India can also premise its relationship with the continent on the same moral high ground. According to official documentation, India's contemporary Africa policy is aligned with a confluence of interests relating to justice in the global order, aimed at increasing the leverage and influence of their respective global positions and promoting a new international order.

J. Peter Pham argues that the unprecedented concern with China's deepening involvement across the continent has enabled India's growing interest in Africa to go unnoticed. According to Pham, India's Africa strategy is based on the 'quest for resources, business opportunities, diplomatic initiatives and strategic partnerships', which is seen in the emerging trade, investments and developmental assistance relations that Delhi is crafting with African countries (Pham 2007) (See Appendix I - India-Africa Trade).

Oil and gas are India's overriding preoccupation in achieving energy security. With only 0.4 per cent of the world's proven oil reserves and no significant oil discoveries since the 1970s, India's oil needs have to be sourced externally. Future projections are that by 2030 India will become the world's third-largest consumer of energy, ahead of Japan and Russia (Madan 2006). Presently, India imports about 75 per cent of the oil it needs, and its dependence is projected to rise to over 90 per cent by 2020. In recent years, the Indian state-owned Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) has managed to secure exploration contracts and other related energy projects in the continent through its international division.

Apart from providing peacekeepers, India has also supplied the peacekeeping missions with helicopters and medical and communication equipment. 'India's participation in [UN

Peacekeeping Operations, UNPKO] in Africa demonstrates its geo-strategic interests in the stability and well-being of the newly independent states of Africa'. Also, owing to China's increasing participation in UN peacekeeping in Africa, motivated by the desire to promote itself as a significant global player, as well as due to China being a 'competitor in trade and energy in Africa', India keeps up its commitment and contribution. India's historical ties with Africa as well as its contributions to UNPKO give it a chance to promote itself as an emerging significant political and economic actor committed to peace and stability in the international arena.

In addition, given India's comparative advantage in the pharmaceutical sector, industry stakeholders and companies are looking towards the continent as an important sphere for collaborative exchanges. Considering the continent's battle with the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other infectious diseases like malaria, linkages with Indian pharmaceutical companies will be critical in finding a vaccine and other medical breakthroughs in combating such illnesses.

Another area of common interest lies in the sphere of conventional security (Beri 1999; Sheth 2008). Ninety per cent of India's trade volume and 70 per cent of its trade value comes by sea. Maritime security is therefore of utmost importance, given India's growing dependence on energy supply from the African continent. India established its first overseas surveillance facility in Madagascar in July 2007. It also reached defence agreements with several countries on the Indian Ocean Rim - Mauritius, Madagascar, Seychelles, Kenya, Mozambique and Tanzania - and stepped up joint military exercises with states in the region. It also held a joint naval exercise off Cape Town with South Africa and Brazil under an IBSA initiative in May 2008. Moreover, it held joint patrols off the coast of Mozambique during the AU summit of 2003 and the World Economic Forum of 2004. India is uniquely placed geostrategically and is a regional military power with outreach potential. The Indian army has trained officers from many African countries under the ITEC programme. It has also sent training teams to various countries, including Botswana, Zambia and Lesotho. As part of its defence cooperation efforts, it has supplied a small quantity of conventional arms for African patrol crafts to countries such as Mauritius and Guinea Bissau and light helicopters to Namibia. It also imports some

weaponry from South Africa. Cooperation in maritime and other security initiatives with willing African countries is expected to grow.

Chinese Influence in Africa

Throughout the cold war period, China tried to distinguish its aid and political cooperation with Africa and the rest of the developing world from that practiced by the Soviet Union and the dominant Western countries. Accordingly, the aim of Chinese development cooperation was to provide diplomatic and technical support to oppressed people in the South who were struggling against common ills, such as imperialism, and for the common goals of overcoming poverty and underdevelopment (G. T. Yu 1988). The language of solidarity and mutual respect was strongly underscored in official communiqués and documents.

The second aim of China's foreign policy towards Africa in the early 1960s was very much motivated by its need to secure international recognition as the sole legitimate government with respect to Taiwan, which Beijing regarded as an inseparable province of China (Hughes 2006). Thus, from 1964 onwards, China vigorously attempted to lure African countries away from Taiwan, using aid and political support, in order to secure African support at the United Nations, and so as to counter Soviet and American expansionism in Africa. But as China embraced the ideology of globalisation and economic reform from the 1980s onwards, its foreign policy became increasingly guided by economic rather than ideological factors. However, the rhetoric of solidarity, non-interference and win-win partnership still prevails.

In the 1990s, African countries accelerated the process of multiparty democracy and the liberalisation of the economy under the watchful eyes of the IMF and the World Bank. The role of the state in the management of the economy was downgraded, while market forces enjoyed greater freedom in the revitalisation of African economies. With the growing trend towards liberalisation and privatisation, the Chinese government realised that it would no longer be able to insist on traditional cooperation between governments. China, thus, recognised the need to direct the development aid towards strengthening the private sector in Africa along with the

participation of Chinese enterprises in African markets (Xu Jianping 1996).

With the growth of its national strength, China has been willing to take on more external development commitments by extending various kinds of assistance to African countries - which includes debt relief, preferential trade agreements, market access for African products into China and many more. Since the first Forum of China-Africa Cooperation, held in 2000, the list of preferential economic programmes has been expanded in subsequent forums. Thus, over the past fifty years, China's development cooperation with Africa has gradually shifted from a preoccupation with the promotion of self-reliance, liberation and South-South solidarity to economic concerns, with the increasing integration of its economy into the capitalist world economy. In this new conjuncture, cultural diplomacy has become an important component of economic development in the context of globalisation.

In the early 2000s, Chinese troops' contributions in sub-Saharan Africa numbered in the low hundreds. As of February 2020, China has more than 2,000 soldiers and staff deployed to UN peacekeeping missions in the Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Mali, South Sudan, and Sudan. This has made China the largest troop contributor and the second largest financier of UN peacekeeping operations among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. It has also stepped up its support to the AU's peace and security architecture. At the 2015 Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), China pledged \$100 million of free military assistance to support the establishment of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for Immediate Responses to Crisis (ACIRC). China's state-owned enterprises and private sector also have played a significant role in its growing military footprint in the region. In 2019, China accounted for approximately one-fifth of arms exports (19 per cent) to sub-Saharan Africa, second only to Russia.

Beijing routinely couches its security engagement as part of its protection of its overseas interests and provision of global goods in sub-Saharan Africa. China's security activities are intrinsically connected to other goals, including fueling its economic growth, expanding its logistic footprint, and sharpening its political influence in multilateral forums.

China's responsibility to protect its citizens abroad is a key driver of its increased security engagement. With as many as one million Chinese migrants or temporary workers living in Africa, Beijing is under pressure to respond when its nationals are threatened by armed conflict, xenophobic riots, criminality, terrorism, and acts of piracy. According to the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), there have been more than 150 violent incidents involving Chinese citizens in sub-Saharan Africa in the past decade. Since 2004, China has conducted 16 non-combatant evacuations, including in CAR, Chad, Libya, and Yemen.

China's objective to present itself as a 'responsible' world power is another driver of its security activities in Africa. It uses counter-piracy and peacekeeping missions to cast itself as a responsible power. During the increased pirate attacks off the coast of Somalia in the late 2000s, China responded to a series of UN Security Council resolutions that requested foreign governments fight piracy in the region, and also deployed naval ships to deter, prevent, and repress acts of piracy off the Horn of Africa. This Chinese effort remains separate from the multinational combined joint task force, which works with the European Union's Operation Atalanta's counter-piracy mission. China has touted its deployment as contributing to the safe navigation of the seas and protection of maritime commerce, noting a decade later that its navy "rescued or aided more than 60 Chinese and foreign ships." It has a similar objective in its peacekeeping missions too. According to one scholar, Beijing regards its peacekeeping deployment in Mali as a means to boost its image, diplomatic outreach, and soft power in Africa. China has stressed that its contributions are "helping the countries in question to effectively assume their responsibilities for the protection of their own nationals." This also advances the country's economic objectives. While Chinese peacekeepers are deployed in five countries, it is notable that some of its major peacekeeping contributions have happened where China has significant economic interests. China has one thousand Chinese peacekeepers in South Sudan, where the state-run China National Petroleum Corporation operates extensive energy projects. Its counter-piracy mission off the Horn of Africa and recent exercises in the Gulf of Guinea serve a dual purpose, addressing insecurity while enabling China to secure maritime shipments along major sea lines of communication (SLOCs) linking Africa to Chinese ports.

In addition, Chinese security engagements in sub-Saharan Africa improve the PLA's overall operational readiness and military access. Its peacekeeping deployments provide an opportunity to build up field experience abroad. According to the European Parliamentary Research Service, China dispatched troops to Mali in part to test their mettle in a hostile environment, as well as try out new military weapons and equipment. China's military base in Djibouti and its investment in civilian ports—at least 46 in sub-Saharan Africa, according to CSIS research—extends the reach of its navy and strengthens its power projection capability. In December 2018, the Department of Defense noted that China has used its requests for military access, logistics, or basing agreements—typically in countries where it has economic investments—to adapt to evolving requirements to operate in far-flung maritime environments and sustain military power at greater distances. Moreover, its exercises showcase China's close partnership with African allies and U.S. adversaries, such as Russia. In November 2019, China conducted a trilateral exercise with Russia and South Africa to demonstrate its ability to project power, only the second time a PLAN fleet crossed the equator into the Indian Ocean.

Finally, Chinese military activities, including professionalisation courses and peacekeeping missions, increase Beijing's political influence with African counterparts and at the UN and other multilateral forums. China uses its training programs to cultivate current and future African security leaders. In 2018, China invited military representatives from 50 African countries and the African Union to discuss defence and security cooperation at the newly inaugurated China-Africa Defense and Security Forum. According to one study, a senior African officer, who attended both U.S. and Chinese professional military education programs, recalled that the Chinese curriculum promoted a narrative of U.S. neo-imperialism in Africa. These investments have paid off for the Chinese government. Former Congolese President Joseph Kabila, for example, received training from the PLA National Defense University before ascending to power in 2001. China also uses its contributions to peacekeeping and burgeoning relationships with African governments to argue for more senior positions at UN bodies and galvanise support for Chinese political positions. Through this, China was able to secure an appointment for one of its diplomats as the UN envoy for the Great Lakes over the objections of the United States. Beijing has

argued that it should take over the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), a position which has traditionally been reserved for French nationals. In 2019, China trumpeted African support for its handling of the protests in Hong Kong and to reject international criticism for its detention of ethnic and religious minorities in Xinjiang.

Comparing India and China

China and India are both situated in the Northern Hemisphere, but paradoxically are also competing ferociously to become leaders of the “Global South”, be it during the trade negotiations at Doha or, more recently, at the climate change summit in Copenhagen. But as a traditional “bridging” or “positive power”, India has a distinct advantage: in stark contrast to the radical ideological and interventionist Chinese moves during the 1950s and 1960s, Delhi played a much more constructive diplomatic role in supporting the African independence movements in the United Nations.

A potential advantage resides in the cultural proximity between Africa and India. The large Indian diaspora plays a vital factor in this regard which was estimated to be close to one hundred thousand Indian citizens residing in Africa in 2001, with more than half in Eastern and Southern Africa. Apart from this comparatively recent community, there are more than one million people of Indian origin who have settled in Africa for many generations (close to one million in South Africa; 25,000 in Madagascar; 15,000 in Zimbabwe; and 8,000 in Nigeria).

Unlike the more recent and radically segregated Chinese “labour diaspora” that has often led to frictions and protests in Africa, these communities of Indian origin are fully integrated and often interested in offering their business expertise as consultants to Indian investment projects. Their local contacts also often present Delhi with privileged channels to access key political figures and represent Indian interests in moments of crisis. In Liberia, for example, the local Honorary Indian Consul, a local businessman of Indian origin, stayed on in Monrovia throughout the various civil wars when most other diplomatic missions had to close down.

At the same time, beyond geographic proximity, India also offers a much more familiar and open society, where racism against Africans in India is not uncommon, but well below the levels experienced in China. For the increasing number of African investors and students who seek opportunities abroad, English-speaking India therefore offers a much more attractive destination. An increasing number of African businessmen permanently reside in Delhi and Mumbai, and more than 10,000 African students enrol annually in Indian universities, many of them sponsored by the Indian government.

China is deftly using its military engagement to advance its strategic objectives in sub-Saharan Africa and in the wider world. Its military activities are part of—not separate from its broader goals in the region. Beijing’s framing of its security assistance to African partners as mutually beneficial and in protection of its overseas interests obscures China’s long-term goals for economic ascendancy, an expansive global logistics network, and influence in multilateral bodies.

China is both a historical security partner and a new power in sub-Saharan Africa. Beijing, for instance, was the primary source of aid for the Tanzanian military in the 1960s. This included small arms, trucks, anti-aircraft guns, medium tanks, patrol boats, and landing crafts. China has ramped up its participation in multilateral peacekeeping operations, strengthened its bilateral security partnerships, and tapped its private sector companies to secure security contracts. It has shifted from a minor to major player in UN and African Union (AU) peace operations in the past two decades. Its involvement has expanded both quantitatively and qualitatively, with greater numbers of personnel committed and a steady increase in presence in new countries.

Unlike the West, and China to a lesser extent, which tend to shy away from the fact ‘that their development co-operation might be a geo-strategic bargaining tool, the Indian Government explicitly emphasises that the goal of its development work is to further Indian interests abroad and to promote its own economic situation’ (Jobelius 2007). The 2008 India-Africa Summit provides the platform for institutionalising the engagement while the Conclave meetings formalise the economic diplomacy of this footprint.

While some may argue that this signifies India riding China's tail in Africa, Delhi would like to break out of Beijing's shadow by highlighting that it seeks to manage its engagement with Africa differently. This was illustrated at the 2008 India-Africa Summit where India's development-centric approach won praise from the African participants, with African delegates emphasising that India should be a stakeholder and not a shareholder in the continent's development.

Emboldened by its democratic tradition, India's behaviour on the continent is less confrontational than China's. This, indeed, enables India to take the moral high ground when it comes to advocating good governance and pushing the democratic agenda in Africa, and bodes well for Delhi in its relations with the West. Moreover, with India being increasingly seen as a strategic partner in Asia by the USA, this could lead to positive outcomes for it in its African relations, particularly African support for its candidature for a permanent seat on the reformed UN Security Council.

Considering the IOR as its backyard, New Delhi has become increasingly aware of China's penetration of this region through its engagements with Mauritius, where it intends to set up its trade Special Economic Zone to gain access to COMESA, as well as competing with China in the Seychelles. As such, 'Chinese and Pakistani efforts in the African Indian Ocean Rim are closely monitored by India and concerns about Chinese expansionism have resulted in India looking to deepen its defense and commercial engagement with Seychelles, Madagascar, Mauritius and Mozambique' (Vines & Orutimeka 2008).

India faces several internal and external limiting factors in its quest for bilateral and multilateral cooperation with African countries. From the domestic point of view, while Africa is now a focus of India's foreign policy, it is not the primary focus; and given India's growing economic and security cooperation with the US, the EU, and its Asian neighbours it cannot be expected to be one. The bulk of India's investments come from the West, and most of India's exports are directed to the North. Other regions are also becoming economically important, depending on complementarities in trade and commerce and the level of sophistication in the production of industrial and manufacturing goods. Trade with African countries is improving rapidly but there is still a long way to go. So far as political

relations are concerned, Western developed countries, particularly the USA, are still at the centre of India's foreign policy priorities, while still maintaining good relations with almost all developing countries. India's national interests link it to developed countries as well. As an emerging middle power on par with the likes of China, India is now invited on a regular basis as an observer to the Group of 8 (G8) countries' meetings.

Conclusion

While much of current scholarship has been preoccupied with China's deepening presence in Africa and the threat this poses to Western interests in the continent, the debates have failed to recognize that India is also becoming an important partner to African countries. For the moment India is seen as a junior or negligible player in Africa, but Delhi's role in the Great Game should not be treated lightly just because of its muted presence and the fact that it shares the same democratic traditions as Western powers. Like most emerging Great Powers, India is on the hunt to satisfy its resource needs, which are vital to its industrialization and modernization. Attempts to contain the 'China Challenge' overlook the fact that a new competition in Africa is being set in motion between China and India, and more significantly, between emerging Asian rivals as other Asian countries enter the fray. India is going to be a harder partner to contain, considering that Delhi represents what the West would like China to be.

Therefore, an effective partnership between Delhi and Africa will ultimately depend on how African governments structure their relations with India and how much of this is channelled through the multilateral process of the African Union and NEPAD. This means candid and robust discussions on what Africa's developmental needs are, how industrial relations should be conducted, greater implementation of investment codes of conduct and a regulatory environment, more skills-oriented programmes to improve the technical expertise of the local labour force, more transparency for Africa's public about the deals that are being negotiated, and fewer debt-risky loans. If Africa fails to recognize that the current mantra of the world today is 'the business of business is business', then it will definitely reinforce its image of being a beggar.

There has been a major shift in India's engagement with African countries from the mid 20th century to the early 21st century. India now provides a vibrant market for African exports, resources for investment, finance for development and technologies for enhancing productivity. These are the things that normally help to engineer change in specific economies. Perhaps India, too, is becoming an engine of change and growth for African countries as they are being drawn, slowly but surely, into the mainstream of international exchanges on terms that are much more favourable than in earlier times. More efforts are required for the India-Africa partnership to be of greater significance and consequence in international relations. Respective strengths should be leveraged for mutual benefit and more preferential trade agreements with an eye to future free trade agreements should be worked out. Trade needs to increase beyond US\$ 100 billion in the next ten years to register a major shift away from the North-South direction and towards the South-South path. This will create greater leverage and a bargaining chip for developing countries in fora like the WTO, and a more equitable trading order could finally emerge.

Great strides have been made in India's re-engagement with Africa, not only in the economic sector but also at the political and security levels. The country has come a long way from Mahatma Gandhi's vision of a commerce of ideas with Africa. India-Africa interactions today are more vibrant, encompassing political, economic, diplomatic, cultural, scientific and security cooperation resulting in great hopes of new horizons and greater friendships as both the nations and Indians and Africans, come together to create new partnerships.

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2. Kudumbashree scaling new heights - A path breaking adventure in India and Africa

Shalini Venkatesh

"In order to awaken the people it is the women who have to awaken. Once she is on the move, the family moves, the village moves, the nation also moves."

-Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru

(The Department of State Bulletin - by The United States Department 1965 : 922)

Introduction

Women empowerment is the apex to secure sustainable economic growth and development for the construction of a new India. Women have proved to be the potent force of change despite the fact that they constitute only 25 percent of India's labour force. Their contribution in the success of poverty alleviation elevates them to the center stage in the development process. It is estimated that the Indian economy could grow by an additional 60 percent by 2025, adding upto US\$ 2.9 trillion, if women are empowered and given equal opportunities (McKinsey Report India 2015). Therefore, this process has to be continuous for a well-defined role as farmers to entrepreneurs reflecting their status in the society.

India is an agrarian economy according to OXFAM 2018. Almost 80 percent of the women are employed as farmers - comprising 32 percent agricultural labourers and 48 percent self-employed farmers and entrepreneurs, thus adding value to the ecosystem (OXFAM INDIA 2018; Mehta 2018). Drawing strength from the Constitutional commitments, the Government of India (GoI) has been undertaking targeted interventions and strong policies to

mainstream women farmers to make them self-dependent and improve their living levels.

Kudumbashree, which means "prosperity of the family", is one such innovative approach initiated by the Government of Kerala in 1998, which is based on the idea of community organizations. The goal is to empower women and their families to be self-dependent through collective action, co-operation, and mobilization of their small savings and starting micro-enterprises (Saravanselvi 2016). It covers communities both in rural and urban areas alike. It has been a successful confluence of the state and public support bringing balance for achieving the goal of sustainable development.

Kudumbashree presents a unique model of participatory development which can be emulated in other countries by interactions through South-South and Triangular Co-operation.

The objective of this chapter aims to gain familiarity of -

- The initiatives undertaken by the Kerala Government in supporting landless and land-poor women to lease land and recognize them as farmers rather than farm helpers.
- It briefly reviews the range of options for women through promotion of group/ collective farm investment, which has led to dynamic opportunities for women from farm to market.
- It establishes the potential of public private partnerships for scaling up entrepreneurship activities and income generation in the agricultural sector.

Empowerment of women necessitates "investment with power" which denotes - participating in different spheres of life, harnessing their innate strength, imparting and sharing knowledge, experience and thereby raising their quality of life (Saravanselvi, & Pushpa 2016). While Kerala has long been the highest ranked Indian state in terms of human development, efforts to integrate the diversity of women's experience required exposure beginning from rural areas (Kundu 2015).

The Strategic Move

Meaningful representation of women in local and national government agencies can enhance their voice, which positively influences social norms, budget allocation and investments (World Bank 2014). Following the 73rd and 74th amendment, progressive rights and elective posts for women led to the provision of 33 percent reservation in Panchayats -by the Local Self Government (LSG).

Under this mission it followed the principle of decentralized development harnessing the participation of community networks, coupled with Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) for social development. With a “bottom up approach”, it increased the efficiency and equity of the mission through a unique three tier structure of local governance. Subsequently, as the main objective the state government was to implement poverty alleviation interventions through KDMS network, it was formally registered as the “State Poverty Eradication Mission” (SPEM) in 1998 (John 2015). The functioning of KDMS as the community voice of the LSGs provided special emphasis on –

- Empowerment of poorest and weakest women,
- Marginalized groups like Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) women, and
- Agrarian Agrarian sector (Kerala Planning Board, 1999).

At the social level, bringing them together collectively helps them stand up for their own rights, leads to empowerment and influences policies (Babu 2019; UNDP). Thus, it began organizing poor women into Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs a synonym for self-help groups-SHG), as the foundation structure and primary blocks of the community based organization (CBO).

Structure of Kudumbashree

The Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) – or the ‘KDMS Ayalkootam’, which refers to the formation of women collectives) form the grassroots of KDMS. Women from poor families are identified into NHGs representing 15-40 families providing a social platform for interaction. The weekly interactions help in formulating qualitative micro plans of each neighborhood and develop action (health, income generation activities, infrastructural backwardness, and team building). It is then forwarded to the middle tier i.e., Area Development Society (ADS) who form the federation of 8-10 NHGs (Sajesh & Ramasundaram 2014).

The Area Development Society (ADS) – or the ‘KDMS Ward Samithy’ comes under the ward level of the local government Panchayat/ Municipality Corporation. It provides guidance, identifies group ventures, provides training and facilitates getting banking linkage on the strength of NHGs. The plans are then forwarded to the Community Development Society (CDS) which is the apex body.

The Community Development Society (CDS) – or the ‘KDMS Panchayat Samithy’ is registered as the federation of ADS created under the leadership of the Local Self Government (Panchayat Raj System). They monitor the thrift and credit activities of NHGs at panchayat or municipal level, disburses loan to each NHG under bank linkage scheme, and identifies uncultivated land and facilitates lease land farming (Babu 2019; John 2009).

As per the report of 2018, its success created a network of 2.77 lakh NHGs affiliated to 19,854 ADS and 1073 CDS with a total membership of 43,06,976 women (KDMS Mission). Through effective convergence of human and physical resources, revamping of agriculture was introduced. In 2000, the KDMS model won a gold medal for the “Best Innovation” under the auspices of Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management (CAPAM) (Gol 2012; Siwal 2009). In 2002, UNDP and Gol recognized KDMS as one of the 20 best practices in India in governance (Varma 2014). This success is an achievement in the recent past, but two decades ago, this was hardly the case.

Kerala as a 'consumer state'

Kerala was tagged as a consumer state because it imports agri-produce from neighbouring states. Apart from high population density and food deficit, few other reasons prompted an urgent need to sustain business and capacity to bring agriculture back and increase food security. Outmigration of men and youth changed the roles and responsibilities leading to a domino effect of cost surge. Shifting crop patterns towards cash crops decreased the opportunities of local employment in agricultural field activities. Even though Kerala followed a matrilineal system of inheritance, in reality the norms of male supremacy were wielded and women's contribution was sidelined in the process (GoK 2016; Sivaraman 2017).

Kerala lost more than 5 lakh hectares of farmland and approximately 6 ½ tons of harvest from 1980 to 2007, which caused a negative balance in production and consumption gap requirements. It widened the gap from 2.44 million tons in 2011-12 to 2.57 million tons in 2013-14. Kerala required long term planning to reduce food deficit to feed its growing population, projected to touch 3.69 crores by 2036 (Anand & Maskara 2014; Gupta 2019). To bring back the social dignity attached to farming practices and an urgent need to sustain business and capacity for its growth, it became congenial to organize women farmers in the sector (GoK 2016).

Haritashree - Revamping Agriculture

KDMS decided to intervene by bringing in all the four factors of production (land, labour, capital and enterprise), to ensure food security and improve the livelihoods of women. KDMS mission encouraged women farmers for 'Collective (group) farming through Joint Liability Groups' (JLGs) and entitled it as 'Haritashree' in 2004. For the women with marginal landholdings and landless agricultural workers, it opened up new livelihood options towards accessing cultivable agricultural land.

Land Factor - Collective Farming through Joint Liability Groups

Women's legal status and property rights for land is the basic step towards gender equality in the rural areas. The Kerala Land Utilization Order of 1967, followed by Kerala Conservation of Paddy land and Wetland Act 2008, imposed legal restrictions on large scale conversion of agricultural land and prohibited paddy fields being left fallow. However, with the development of Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs), full responsibility of utilizing the land for collective farming was permitted, which made leasing of lands operational (Thomas & Indira Devi 2015). Paddy lands were given a thrust under this programme while MNREGA support was utilized for land preparation.

Through the 'zero fallow land', the promotional activities and unutilized land were identified for lease farming. Negotiation and lease signing (either by fixed rents or crop share) with the Joint Liability Groups were carried out in the presence of the Panchayat president (Thomas & Indira Devi 2015). They are registered in CDS with a Unique Identification Number (UID) along with a Management Information System (MIS) for the purpose of tracking the performance of JLGs (Vijayan 2018). Micro-irrigation canals were constructed around the fields which considerably reduced the cost of cultivation (George & Benno 2018).

The panchayats integrated with MNREGA for land preparation activities for those who cannot pool in their resources, which made women join in large numbers. By the end of 2020, there were over 71,572 JLGs operating across 14 districts of the state with around 2.47 lakhs families depending on cultivation of paddy, fruits, and vegetables for livelihood through this scheme (KDMS Newsletter 2021).

Capital factor -Microfinanceoptions

Agricultural credit complying with low interest rates for reduced cost of production through Microfinance emerged as an alternative

credit delivery mechanism for those without formal access to banking sector (Sinha 2004).

- **Thrift and Credit Operations - Serving the Unbanked**

By setting up Thrift and Credit Societies, KDMS promoted thrift mobilization as its core activity. Proving its viability as an informal bank of the poor based on the motto - "Savings first, Credit later", it has been channelizing rural savings at NHG level (Siwal 2009). In weekly meetings NHG members deposit a small amount of thrift ranging from rupees five to fifty with the appointed Community Finance Manager (CFM). A register is maintained for such collections and then remitted to the bank through a bank linkage programme. Annual audits are conducted by KDMS Accounts & Audit Service Society (KAAS). The total thrift collected by NHGs in the state is Rs.4008 crore and the internal loans generated are to the tune of Rs.16,252.42 crore, without collateral (Jiji 2019; KDMS.org). Individual women farmers and JLGs have increased their opportunity to implement new agricultural methods, purchase land and plant materials with this.

In order to promote the linkage programme, KDMS introduced an interest subsidy scheme over the accumulated base of NHGs capital. Under this scheme, they are also eligible for Kisan Credit Card (KCC) and entitled to an interest of 5 percent subsidy on agricultural loan at 7 percent interest rate compared to 20 percent charged by money lenders. Prompt repayment is incentivized with interest reduction to 2 percent and interest free if paid within the stipulated time and also micro insurance. The Thrift and Credit Operations channelized rural savings and enabled women to have a higher level of awareness of the hidden opportunities created in the process of development (Anupama 2015).

- **Credit Linkage for JLGs and Incentives**

Primary Agricultural Credit Society opened tie-ups with local branches of public sector banks for bigger credit systems over the microcredit it was offering (Sajesh & Ramsundaram 2013). The Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies (PACS) provide interest free loans through KDMS on selected crops (crop loan) (KDMS Annual Administration Report 2019). For the bank, joint liability lending reduces asset risk, as repayment is collectively done by other members. Therefore, international organizations like the World Bank channel most of their financial support for micro-credit to group lending programs (Mitra, S and Kundu, 2009: 15). Production incentives got disbursed to those who undertake new cultivation where the yields exceeded the threshold level fixed by the government on own or leased farms either individually or as a group (KDMS 2012). In the year 2018, incentives were streamlined to 16000 groups for the purpose of taking up sustaining agriculture activity. A subsidy amount of Rs.13.50 crore was earmarked for disbursement towards agricultural incentive to the JLGs in the same year (KDMS Annual Plan 2018-19).

The participatory process has helped in maintaining transparency and helped to secure women's rights over uncultivated lands. In addition, cultivating in a group which is outside the family has given women the identity as a farmer and transition from being farm labourers to being farm managers which has restored their dignity and identity (Agarwal 2010).

Women are on the front line for conserving natural resources and environmental sustainability. Inspiring future younger generations, the promotion of agriculture based well-being POLIVU (shine) was undertaken in 2016, covering good lifestyle, good health, clean water, waste management and clean surroundings as its goal. The NHGs along with their family were motivated to cultivate 3 cents of land by growing 5 types of vegetable and nurturing 3 types of fruit trees. More than 1.80 lakh NHGs cultivated 7200 acres of land and formed a road to self-sufficiency (KDMS.org).

- It resulted in creation of "Bhakshya Suraksha Bhavanam" (food security home), training 7 lakh families homestead cultivation and organic vegetable production. It ensured optimum productivity in addition to customizing and synchronizing the

production with the peak demand season and festivals (KDMS Newsletter 2017).

- KDMS helped bringing visibility, relevance, and knowledge in farm capacity building to the women farmers and was awarded for “Outstanding Performance in Farm Livelihoods” by the Ministry of Rural Department (MoRD) for notable efforts in retrieving the natural ecosystem and conserving soil and water bodies (KDMS newsletter 2018).

KDMS activities have empowered farming women to be self-reliant through group cohesiveness and credit mechanisms. It has not only helped in building good relations but provided the confidence in moving towards higher fields as entrepreneurs. Increase in the number of people engaged in agricultural activities raised the entrepreneurial ventures and service sectors.

Enterprise factor - Micro Enterprise (Samagra Model)

While it ensured value addition in pooling rural resources of BPL women, it took into consideration the conversion of social needs into business opportunities. Women became resource competitive by adding value to technology support, input supply and marketing and taking advantage of new or growing markets. The Rural Micro Enterprises (RME) programme, ‘Samagra’ is one such project model of Public-Panchayat-Private Partnership by KDMS for comprehensive development in agricultural, industrial or traditional jobs. It addresses the supply chain holistically, by syncing productivity with marketing opportunities. It established the rice branding collective groups among the paddy producing JLGs based on the geography of location, production potential, ensuring better price realization (Singh 2010 & KDMS.org).

One such example in Palakkad district, 18 JLGs procured 122 metric tons of paddy and processed it under the brand name of ‘Annam Rice’. Marketed through fairs across the state. it attempted to bring all agricultural produce under one banner taking rice cultivating enterprises to a successful venture. They have become the

“Annapurna’s of Kerala” for their continuous efforts to produce food for the state of Kerala.

The tie up with Amazon India opened up opportunities for women entrepreneurs to showcase to a wider market. With its pioneering programme - ‘Amazon Saheli’, they can sell their products online at zero initial cost. Under the capacity building initiative the Saheli team will be training the women in providing them onboard assistance, imaging and cataloguing product listing in addition to subsidized referral fee and free account management (Roshni 2019).

Other innovative strategies for strengthening economic and other livelihood development:

- **Santhwanam** - health programmes, volunteered with ‘Bare Foot Doctors’ in the areas of public health and poverty related diseases.
- **Kerashree** - ethnic delicacies and market branded coconut oil.
- **Madhuram** - branded honey.
- **Nendram and Nivedyam** - branded bananas.
- **Ksheerasagaram** - branded milk.
- **Cafe Kudumbashree** - brand restaurant sector. With the PPP factor, linkage between Cafe KDMS and Adebha Institute for Food Research and Hospitality Management (AIFRHM) was established to try out new recipes and best practices in the industry.

They followed different strategies by balancing exclusive goals towards value creation and appropriation (Binoo, Prema & Rajendran 2014).

First, KDMS has enabled women to think differently and start venturing and diverting their dormant entrepreneurial spirit for sustainable income and employable opportunities for all women.

Second, with micro enterprise women have revealed rural women's entrepreneurial talent and potential to meet local needs, and inculcated self-confidence proving that they are psychologically empowered. Third, micro enterprise has created close economic integration of rural areas with urban areas, expanding opportunities for a more vibrant local economy. All the above reasons are aimed at value creation and value appropriation which is beyond profit (Binoo, Prema & Rajendran 2014).

Labour Factor - The Green Army - Revival of Paddy and Other Farms

Workforce can turn into human resources only when members and workers are skilled. The JLGs were converged with Mahila Kisan Sashaktikaran Pariyojana (MKSP), a subcomponent of the National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM) under the value chain framework to bring more efficiency in the agricultural sector. The women master farmers are provided intensive training on best agricultural practices for technical and technological knowhow by Krishi Vigyan Kendra (KVK) and other allied institutions and Agricultural Universities (Anand & Maskara 2014). Every master farmer is in charge of 20 JLGs along with 4 JLG Evaluation Agent (JEVA) per block as community resource persons. In 2018, nearly 4000 master farmers and 574 JEVA members contributed their support in monitoring the activities and providing timely assistance to the members. These concepts were widely adopted by women farmers (Mahila Kisans) and the community in 706 villages in 120 blocks of 13 districts of Kerala.

"Green Army" or a "labour bank" born out of this provides an agricultural service package from managing green tracts of land to preparing the seedlings, transplanting, weeding and harvesting along with the usage of machinery (Kulkarni 2019). By the beginning of 2018, 60,000 JLGs were cultivating about 1 lakh acres of land which included lease land farming, fallow land farming, terrace farming and cultivation in own land (KDMS Annual Plan 2018).

Kudumbashree activities in India

Having proven its success in its home state, many states across India have sought support from KDMS with the same secular and gender sensitive spirit. KS-NRO has been working with its partner, State Rural Livelihood Mission (SRLMs) extending its support to 19 states and one union territory (KDMS NRO 2016-2018). Its activities include -

- Panchayat Apprenticeship Programme (PAP)

Panchayat Raj Institutions - Community Based Organizations (PRI-CBO) convergence project - These projects resulted in building a symbiotic relationship for the development of their villages as well as women's institutions with local governments to enhance governance.

- Orientation programme for block project managers -

Micro Enterprise Consultant (MEC) project and Start up Village Entrepreneurship Programme (SVEP) - setting up micro enterprise development approach through community based support system. (KDMS-NRO Report 2018).

The Horizontal Spread

The innovative component of social solidarity economy through the KDMS model, has led to horizontal spread solutions to overcome the social illness and critical development challenges beyond borders. Interaction through South-South / Triangular Cooperation, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which heads the international training programmes through Feed the Future programme (FTF), has been partnering with India to familiarize technological advancement and innovative solutions. Collaborating with the Ministry for External Affairs (MEA), GOI and the lead institution i.e. the National Institute of Agricultural Extension Management (MANAGE), Hyderabad, the initiatives have championed innovative methods of agripreneurship and

entrepreneurship training and mentorship in Asian and African countries. It got launched on 25th July, 2016 with an aim to conduct training to 1400 agricultural professionals from 17 partner countries of Africa and Asia before 2020. These programmes have benefited the vulnerable populations, through food security and women empowerment programmes.

MANAGE seeks the nomination from partner countries with 50 percent reserved for female professionals. Expenditures pertaining to tuition, training material, travel, lodging and boarding is taken care of by MANAGE. Participants from African countries are trained in selected institutions through Triangular Training programme (TTP). Based on the demand analysis, the needs of the target countries are directed towards human and institutional capacity gaps in agriculture and allied sectors to achieve food security (MANAGE/USAID/KDMS 2018).

The Ugandan Kudumbashree

KDMS, one among them, stands apart as it ensures to familiarize the nuances of the target countries' capacity gaps. Under the FTF, TTP, KDMS focused on agripreneurship development among farm women by creating an ecosystem approach for supporting entrepreneurship. This prompted Uganda to invite KDMS members for conducting a similar programme for enhancing the spread of the 'training learnings' (MANAGE/USAID/KDMS 2017).

In Uganda, agriculture being the core sector of the economy, it manages half of national land area under agriculture, employing 72 percent of the labour force (77 percent are women and 63 percent are youth) (National Planning Authority 2015). Ugandan women make crucial contributions towards agriculture generating one-quarter of GDP earnings, but lack resources and support for production and sustenance. Overall USD 67 million is lost (including USD 58 million on agriculture) due to lower access to productive resources and services (UN Women & World Bank 2016). The impacts of climate change and significant gender gaps in agriculture compounded the challenges for Uganda to pursue the

Sustainable Development Goals and its development to “middle income” status (FAO 2017).

In the line towards the aspiration of Uganda’s Vision 2040, the government aims to strengthen competitiveness for sustainable wealth creation, employment, achieve gender equality and empower women and girls towards inclusive growth (National Planning Authority 2015). The Ugandan government collaborated with the Government of India and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as the latter funded the programme. Under the International Training Programme on ‘Entrepreneurship Development among Rural Women’, the training was provided to rural women and agricultural professionals so that they could magnify the development in their areas. It introduced local women in community organization through agricultural based micro enterprise by providing a 10 day training session for 56 participants from various fields and disciplines in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. The third training programme, ‘Entrepreneurship Development among Rural Women for Extension Practitioners of African and Asian Countries’ focused on providing in-depth knowledge on KDMS model of economic empowerment livelihood strategies (MANAGE/USAID/KDMS 2018).

The participatory approach of KDMS has been motivating participants through learning, group interaction, field visits and live interaction with real time entrepreneurs preparing them for the actual role. Their roles are developed as field experts who collaborate with the government extension staff and find solutions relevant to local challenges. KDMS has been monitoring the pre and post training process through “back at work plan” for ensuring the transformation of learning into action at the participant’s work place in their countries. They have taken to delivering the responsibility smoothly without seeking additional funds, manpower and other facilities.

With the confidence imparted through training, total of 56 participants have made it successful in their region by establishing pilot villages, scaling up agriculture and enterprises. They have trained and mobilized local women by forming NHG groups, imparting skill training and thrift credit groups (Shirur, Dharmaraj, Jyothi & Sharath 2020).

Successful projects in Uganda

Tony Louiezombae who is a Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist received training in Kerala, he implemented the KDMS model by setting up a team of 23 members (21 are women) for a successful wine making unit. It promoted small entrepreneurs in producing and marketing of 'Roselle wines' and 'Malakwang' in Namagoma in Wakiso district of Central Uganda. Ugandan women eventually started earning an amount of Rs.3000 per month and winning the battle of poverty under Kudumbashree's all-round development programme. He was able to mobilize and guide farm women to be independent and empowered them through collective action (KDMS Newsletter 2017; MANAGE/USAID 2018).

In another success, Ms.Yagala Julian, a co-ordinator for women in the Development Office of Kachwamba village in Kabarole started 12 NHG groups with 10 members, developed food processing based units and data management groups in Kabarole. Their main product "Mandazi", has the highest demand in the market. The activities have mobilized young girls and women's skills to supplement on household income, pay school fees, through food processing based units and kitchen gardening. Many such successful stories have set the ground for radical change improving other development outcomes like health and nutrition (Shirur, Dharmaraj, Jyothi & Sharath 2020). (See Appendix II).

Other countries benefited by the programme

Participants from Malawi, Kenya, Ghana and Tanzania have also shared their successful stories in implementing the Kerala KDMS model in their countries.

Malawi focused on farm mechanization approach leading to holistic development for smallholders covering shortage of crop labour during field operations. Farm mechanization led to an increase in improved inputs, irrigation equipment and power supply.

In Kenya, a saving and credit cooperative “IMASHREE” prioritized three value chains for cow milk, kales and broilers operating at various levels, to meet the market demand for cow milk and kales delivered through hygienic kiosks.

Countries like Ethiopia and South Africa have shown interest in partnering with KDMS under the Knowledge Partnership Programme. Unfortunately, Ethiopia’s civil issues have hindered the programme implementation, whereas, South Africa is awaiting clearance from the Kerala State Government (KDMS Newsletter 2017 & Meethal 2015).

Why Africa needs such learnings

Women empowerment is a salient measure of development possibilities and social change in Africa. African countries, like India, are predominantly rural with women’s contribution equaling with men (FAO & AU 2018). Therefore, to achieve the goal of food security and poverty reduction agricultural production is the basic requirement. What Africa could learn from Kudumbashree is their process in collectively bringing women empowerment programmes by raising their awareness and self-worth so that projects survive even in the long term.

- The integrated decentralized holistic structures have played an important part in Kudumbashree’s success. Its strategy of participatory planning (state/urban/rural governments) led to a careful involvement of men in women’s projects creating a supportive attitude towards changes in the productive work of women.
- Equipping women with the required skills requires training for a transformative approach will reinforce women’s voice, leadership and visibility. A modular approach of holding classes in the evening, labour-saving devices to cut down on domestic chores, comfortable time and location made them participate in good numbers.

- Kudumbashree set short term improvements to ensure that women understood the value of training which helped the projects to survive in the long term. These thoughts enhance the sustainability and effectiveness of training.
- African women must be provided with the opportunity to select a combination of training programmes enabling them to accumulate a portfolio of skills to gain in the future. Kudumbashree improved the relevance of agricultural and entrepreneurial training through extension agents. Women-to-women (W2W) extension results in better communication of extension messages, sensitivity and infrastructure.
- Integrating agricultural training with enterprise training can help women smallholders to manage market their farm production more effectively and diversify their income by engaging in non-farm enterprise. This can change their attitudes and develop a more business-like approach towards their activities whether as a farmer or an entrepreneur. It can protect themselves against erratic agricultural conditions (Collett & Gale 2009).

It is important for SSA countries to acknowledge the fundamental contribution of women to national food security and poverty reduction as highlighted in the Declaration of “African Year of Human Rights” 2016 (FAO & AU 2018). It is oriented towards export production and local food production leading to empowerment for sustenance.

The Other Side of the Coin

Kudumbashree, despite such important accomplishments, remains vulnerable. In micro-enterprises, women work in very competitive, low profit sectors and can be easily forced out of the market by exogenous shocks. While in agriculture, women have reduced their insecurity to some degree through collective action and democratic organization, they are operating in a sector with relatively low profit margins. Kudumbashree can potentially further develop these types

of initiatives by working with external partners, expanding their circle of solidarity outward to work with other groups and networks that share their values. Developing bonds of solidarity takes time and has significant costs (Mukherjee-Reed & Reed 2013).

Conclusion

The article has focused on the KDMS movement standing tall and proud before the world with its effective comprehensive programme to alleviate absolute poverty and capacity building activities to empower women of the disadvantaged group. It has created a well-intended, self-motivation for the participants resulting in the sustainability and growth of the program. These initiatives and programmes have been playing a significant role in regaining morale of women by becoming the agents of development and contributing to the improvement of quality of life in Kerala and Uganda and other countries of Asia and Africa. The efforts have enriched the governance and policy making spaces with what would otherwise be inaudible or invisible perspectives. It has courageously surpassed all odds by making use of sustainable and democratic values built on an infallible and well-rounded development model.

The success of KDMS has created an aspirational society, where the younger generation of women are expecting more opportunities and choices in shaping their world of life and work.

Like the family fortune is passed down through generations, KDMS has been passing this treasure trove of intellectual property to many generations to come and a gift to the world. As former UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon in his message on International Women's Day said, "When we unleash the power of women, we secure the future of all" (United Nations 2015). A great responsible enterprise like KDMS has shown the best way to be responsible to society and the world.

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3. The Quest for Peace keeping, Peace building and Justice in Rwanda

Mariya Shaikh

Introduction

The Rwandan Genocide was the result of an international failure to intervene on humanitarian grounds. It remains subject to query as, why the United Nations Charter and International Law was not applied to save the lawlessness and killings in this East African state. This article studies the economic and social scenario after the Genocide in Rwanda. The first segment of this article seeks to explain the concept of peace building and how United Nations peacebuilding and peacekeeping operations work in post-conflict Africa. It also discusses the current statistics on United Nations peacekeepers. The second segment focuses on the efficacy of justice and peace building processes after the massacre. It studies them at three levels; at the personal, government, and international levels. It also examines how the government resurrected Gacaca and established community-based justice to deal with thousands of Genocide cases. The purpose of this article was to evaluate the operations of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and how it used the powers bestowed upon it by using international conventions to condemn the perpetrators of the Rwandan Genocide. It also sketches the role of the ICTR and its contribution to Rwandan justice. Why was the ICTR founded, and what was its contentious relationship with Rwanda?

The Concept of Peace building

In 1992, the former UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali introduced the concept of peace building to the United Nations. The Secretary-

General had placed his idea for peace building in three reports (A/64/866-S/2010/386), (A/63/881-S/2009/304) and (A/67/499-S/2012/746) on post-conflict peace building. According to the 2009 report, there are five key areas for international aid to peace building. They are;

1. Assistance in essential safety and security;
2. Political processes;
3. Provision of basic services;
4. Restoration of core government functions; and
5. Economic revitalization;

Various efforts have been made over the years to expand on the definition of peace building. (United Nations General Assembly Security Council 2010, United Nations General Assembly Security Council 2012).

United Nations Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

The United Nations organizes peace operations and peace building missions in Africa to help and deal with the post-conflict settings. Table 1 below describes the flow of United Nations involvement after the conflict. The UN creates the conditions required for sustainable peace in the affected area. Sustainable peace necessitates a multifaceted approach that encompasses economic, social, political, and security assistance to countries. According to the *Brahimi Report*, "peacekeepers seek to maintain a secure local environment, while peace builders work to make that environment self-sustaining." Peace building is critical for avoiding setbacks and failed governments (Government of Canada 2015).

Table 1: Stages of UN involvement in post-conflict countries



Source: Hopkins 2014

What exactly is peace building? The peace-building process consists of the stages outlined below. These are as follows:

- Establish long-term,
- Sustainable peace and stability,
- Lay the groundwork for economic recovery and progress.
- Build institutions, infrastructures, and capacities,
- And address conflict legacies and root causes.

Peacekeeping operations are the several visible aspects of the UN's conflict resolution efforts. In mid-2015 the Security Council was overseeing sixteen operations and nearly 105,000 uniformed personnel. Local governments played an important role in peacekeeping and conflict resolution. According to the Security Council resolutions (2005), there were over 37,000 UN peacekeepers in Africa out of 54,000 worldwide. According to the United Nations (2015) 87,311 peacekeepers are in Africa. The statistics show that within the decade the number of peacekeepers has doubled. These statistics demonstrate that conflicts in Africa are

on-going and indicate the failure of the United Nations peace process initiatives.

The United Nations regularly employs the term "peace building" in the context of post-conflict peace building efforts. Post-conflict peace building is not a simple phenomenon. After the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda, it was not easy to maintain peace and stability by the international community. After the Genocide, the peace building process in Rwanda was slow but gathered momentum after 2000 (Rotberg& Weiss 1996; Sweetman 2009, pp. 84-89).

Economic Genocide in Rwanda after 1994

Prior to the Genocide, Rwanda was a poor country. According to the World Bank's progress report (1999), the country's GDP shrank by 50% in 1994, 37% in 1995, 13% in 1996, and 11% in 1997; or that it was continually dropping. The World Bank Report of (2002) shows that more than 70 percent of Rwandans lived below the poverty line.

During the Genocide, the infrastructure of the country was in shatters. There were no government services such as water and electricity. The support system for agriculture was destroyed and in 1995 more than \$65 million was required for food aid. The entire health and education system collapsed. Approximately 80 percent of health professionals were killed during the gruesome Genocide. Churches and schools had been turned into "stinking stores of human bodies" (Millwood 1997). In that situation, General Paul Kagame, who had led the RPF during the civil war, assumed positions of Vice-President and Defence Minister. After the complete breakdown of the socio, economic and political setup of the country, Rwanda took steps towards peace building (see Appendix III).

Justice and Peace building in Post-Genocide Rwanda

Rwanda's first step toward peace building was the abolition of the ethnic identity card system. The RPF worked to bring sustainable stability to Rwanda after the Genocide. The first health minister Joseph Karemera explained that while forming the first government they were aware of their unpopularity. Hutus thought we were going to kill them, so let's do the reverse to win their confidence'. It was a political masterstroke to induct Hutus into the new cabinet. Paul Kagame said, 'bring them in and teach them to be good' (Rwandan Stories 2011a). How has the peace building process been in post-Genocide Rwanda? There are three types of peace process levels.

I. Personal level peace:

- It was the first time that women took up jobs in the Rwandan patriarchal society.
- Rwandans attempted to recognize that the exaggerated ethnic differences of the past were not factual, and
- People were arranged at the festival gathering so that communities could resolve the problem.

II. Government level peace:

- The Gacaca court was established to provide justice in an impartial setting to foster trust.
- The right to equality is enshrined in the constitution,
- Laws were enacted to combat discrimination

III. Peace at the International level:

- The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) was a mission organized by the UN.

- The Security Council set up the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in 1994, and
- Collaborations on development were built with the United Nations, the Globe Bank, and the rest of the world.

The traditional system of Justice after the Mass Killings

It was estimated that there were 92,000 prisoners by the end of 1996 (Reyntjens & Vandeginste 2005). An international conference was organized in Kigali, from 31 October to 4 November 1995. The conference discussed the different options for dealing with the Genocide trials (Schabas 2005). Organic Law No 08/969 of August 1996 introduced several provisions that were under the recommendations of the 1995 Kigali Conference. At the end of 1996, the domestic justice system started the first trial. From December 1996 to June 1999, 1,802 first instance judgments were delivered. At the time, the number of convicts was estimated to be over 122,000. It was estimated that completing all of the cases would take more than two centuries if justice was provided in the manner of Rwanda's domestic justice system (Vandeginste 1999).

The seriousness was pointed out by UN Special Representative Mr. M. Moussalli when they went for the survey on issues related to human rights in Rwanda. The report showed that prisons were overcrowded, and the prisoners suffered from diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. Convicts were imprisoned, with inadequate sanitary facilities leading to a typhus epidemic (United Nations 1999). It became clear that a one-sided criminal justice approach was not sufficient to deal with the situation. Facing an overburdened justice system and overpopulated prisons, Rwanda turned to *Gacaca* almost a decade after the 1994 Genocide.

Rise of Upgraded Gacaca

Gacaca was the central justice system before colonialism. To solve the post Genocide problems traditional courts were modernized and altered to deal with the numerous Genocide cases (Reyntjens 1993). In 1998, the government of Rwanda started looking at the opportunity of re-commencing Rwanda's traditional community justice system called *Gacaca* (Clark 2010; Rwandan Stories 2011b). *Gacaca* took inspiration from the African indigenous methods to resolve clashes through a form of grass-root justice. The word *Gacaca* refers to a bed of soft grass on which a community and leaders known for their integrity and wisdom gathered to resolve post-conflict issues. After the Genocide people of Rwanda demanded justice, between 1994 and 1999 only 400 people were tried and this shows that they could not succeed to resolve the cases (Bornkamm 2012).

In regulating *Gacaca*, the Rwandan government had initiated one of the most ambitious transitional justice projects that the world has ever seen before. The success of *Gacaca* was predicated on the active and voluntary involvement of Rwanda's entire adult population. It was assumed that public engagement would not only encourage the revelation of the truth but would also diminish the mistrust and suspicion that characterized interpersonal relationships in the aftermath of the Genocide.

The Design and Practice of the Gacaca Court System

Some unique characteristics of *Gacaca* are as follows. In the old *Gacaca* system, judges were community elders whereas new judges called *Inyangamugayo* were selected for their reliability and their non-participation in the Genocide (Rettig 2008). Professional judges and lawyers were expelled from every administrator position in the trial. In 2001, more than 250,000 lay judges were designated by their communities in 11,000 jurisdictions.

In new *Gacaca*, the majority of the judges were Hutu. In June 2002, *Gacaca* was launched as 'Justice without Lawyers' (Clark 2012). The aims and structure of the *Gacaca* court were to:

- Reveal the fact about the Genocide;
- Speed up trials;
- Eradicate impunity;
- Encourage unity and reconciliation among Rwandans; and
- Pull-on the capacity of Rwandans to solve their problem(Republic of Rwanda 2012).

The weekly *Gacaca* sessions consisted of a General Assembly that included local people (the majority were Hutus), elected judges, and the accused. According to article 51 of Organic Law No 16/200410, the genocides were divided into three categories.

Category I:

- Planner, organizers/ supervisors of Genocide, crimes against humanity;
- Authority who committed acts or encouraged others and those who murdered with wickedness; and
- Those who tortured, raped, or committed dehumanizing acts on a dead body;

Category II:

- The grassroots killers, those who killed or had the aim to kill but did not succeed;
- Those who committed or aided to commit offenses without having the intention to kill;

Category III:

- Those who committed offenses against property.

The structure of the courts was designed to reflect the Rwandan administrative system. Each court corresponded to an administrative division. According to Article 1 Organic Law, No16/2004, the government set up pilot phases in 12 sectors. There were three different levels of *Gacaca* courts table 2 shows, cell level *Gacaca* courts, sector-level *Gacaca* courts, and *Gacaca* courts of appeal. Cell level *Gacaca* had the power to deal with offenders classified in the third category and with those who appealed the sentence it had imposed (Article 41). Category two offenders had to appear before sector level *Gacaca* and the domestic court will try those who fall in the first category. The *Gacaca* court of appeal can also be found at the sector level (Byamukama & Huntly 2007, pp. 239-240; *Gacaca Community Justice* 2015).

Table 2: *Gacaca* carried out at three levels of jurisdiction

| Three Levels of Jurisdiction | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Gacaca</i> Court Cell | <i>Gacaca</i> Court of the Sector | <i>Gacaca</i> Court of the Appeals |
| 9013 cell courts | 1545 sector courts` | 1545 appeal court |

Source: *Gacaca Community Justice* 2015

Has the *Gacaca* delivered justice? The *Gacaca* court played an instrumental role in finding out the truth. They allowed communities to meet, face to face, and talked about the events of 1994. The courts had the authority to impose prison sentences of up to 30 years. In this way, *Gacaca* steps forward to peace and reconciliation.

Table 3 below describes the summary of the three categories and types of cases heard by courts.

Table 3: Summary of the cases

| Category | Appeals | Acquitted | Found Guilty | Confessions |
|------------------------|---------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| First Category | 19,177 | 2,489 | 16,688 | 6,731 |
| Second Category | 134,394 | 40,787 | 93,607 | 26,019 |
| Third Category | 25,170 | 2,563 | 22,607 | 562 |

Source: *Gacaca Community Justice* 2015

Cost of the Gacaca System

It is essential to look at the cost of the Gacaca trials. The trials were being carried out on the grass. The economic advantages of the Gacaca courts were immense as compared with the other courts. In comparison with Rwandan criminal courts, which were westernized; Gacaca had the potential to save the government enormous overhead costs. The Gacaca judges were paid low wages and some were not paid at all (Kaliisa 2001). The court trials eliminated the use of lawyers or other official paid representatives (Hirondelle News Agency 2007).

There was no trained person in the legal process to make arguments on behalf of the accused. However, it is essential to note that this system was designed with other purposes in mind. If each accused

person had formal counsel, over one million attorneys would be needed (Hirondelle News Agency 2009). There was the time factor as well. If justice was served after the first years of Genocide, it would have taken almost a century to finish the trials. Thus the *Gacaca* justice system saved the government overhead costs. The *Gacaca* processed approximately two million cases at an estimated total cost of US\$46 to US\$65 million (Republic of Rwanda 2012).

Human Rights Watch had closely observed the work of the *Gacaca* court since its creation in 2002. Most of the cases were completed after its formal opening in 2005. In 2009, 1.1 million cases were disposed of by the court. If we compare this number to the civil justice system which handled only 10,026 cases between 1997 and 2004, this shows that *Gacaca* had succeeded much better in the dispensation of justice (Westberg2011). The most important part of the court was seeking truth and reconciliation. Along with the *Gacaca*, the UN also introduced their justice system, namely the ICTR in Rwanda for participation in peace building.

International criminal tribunal for Rwanda: the UN paper umbrella in Rwanda?

The international community failed to stop the slaughter of millions of Tutsis and moderate Hutus in Rwanda in 1994. To cover up its failure, the United Nations established, for the first time in history, an international tribunal - the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The new body was to deliver verdicts against persons responsible for committing Genocide. The Tribunal was also the first court to recognize rape as a means of committing Genocide. Under the United Nations Security Council (1994), Res 955 Chapter VII established the ICTR for Rwanda. The Conventions that have been evoked include the violation of Article 2 and Article 3 of the declaration on the Protection of all persons from being subjected to torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment of 1975.

Article 2

Any act of torture or cruel behaviour, inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment is an affront to human dignity that must be condemned as a denial of the United Nations Charter's meaning and a violation of the universal declaration of human rights and ultimate freedoms.

Article 3

No state may permit or tolerate torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, Exceptional circumstances such as a state of war or a threat of war. Internal political instability for any other public emergency may not be invoked as a justification of torture or other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment. And Article 4 Each state shall, by the provisions of this declaration take functional measures to prevent torture and other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment from being practiced within its jurisdiction (S/RES/955 (1994), page 2).

These Conventions were evoked, by the tribunal to convict Jean-Paul Akayesu, former mayor of the town of Kaba in Rwanda to nine counts of Genocide. He was convicted on the grounds of murder, torture, and Genocide in Rwanda. Having contravened the above articles, the perpetrators of rape against women in the Genocide have been convicted and serve their sentences as decided by the ICTR. A case in point is the evidence of rape prosecution against the former Director of the Gisovu Tea Factory Musema, who ordered the killings of the Tutsi women.

The Rwandan case is historically significant because it was the first time that an International Criminal Tribunal under the auspices of the United Nations recognized rape as an act of Genocide and convicted the perpetrators of Genocide for the crime. In the aftermath of the Genocide, there has been an attempt to punish the perpetrators of the Genocide and redress those who were afflicted. The international outcry to punish the culprits resulted in the setting

up of an inquiry. Subsequently, the ICTR was established. A similar tribunal had been set up in Tokyo, Yugoslavia, and Sierra Leone.

Why was the ICTR established?

It was founded for two reasons;

1. Investigations in post-Genocide Rwanda and to provide justice by the UN after it failed to contain the massacre; and
2. It was the creation of ad hoc international criminal courts.

The United Nations set up the ICTR on 8th November 1994. The Tribunal is located in Arusha, Tanzania, and has officers in Kigali, Rwanda. Its Appeal Chamber is situated in The Hague, Netherlands (UN ICTR 2015). According to the preamble, paragraphs of Security Council Resolution 955 of 1994, the ICTR hopes to deter the culture of impunity by confronting it with accountability and thus defusing the cyclical waves of mass carnages that outbreak Rwanda. Under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council contributed to the justice of Rwanda and in the maintenance of international peace and security (United Nations Human Rights 2015).

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), and the UN Security Council (UNSC) led parallel inquiries into the human rights situation in Rwanda. From 11 to 12th May 1994, the High Commissioner for Human Rights personally undertook a mission to Rwanda. The High Commissioner characterized the situation in Rwanda as a “human rights tragedy” (High Commissioner for Human Rights 1994). The UNCHR requested its Chairman to appoint a special rapporteur to investigate first-hand the human rights situation in Rwanda on 25th May 1994. The special rapporteur visited Rwanda from 9th to 20th June 1994 and collected information, testimony, and documents from various sources (UN Doc. E/CN.4/1995/7 1995). Through the various efforts towards Rwanda and high-profile visits for

investigation did the United Nations justify its role in post- Genocide justice by the ICTR?

Tendentious formation of International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

Relations between Rwanda and the UN ICTR faced many challenges on their way to social justice. Though the ICTR was established upon Rwanda's request, the country itself voted against Resolution No. 955. There were many objections that the Rwandan government praised and criticized the Tribunals' work from the outset (Intelmann 2014).

First objection

There were many contentious issues between the Rwandan government and Resolution 955. The Rwandan penalty code offers the death penalty. The resolution was limited to the punishment in the form of imprisonment. This was a major issue, Rwandans thought that the ICTR sought to have given a verdict of the death penalty to the guilty.

Second objection

The government of Rwanda objected that the jurisdiction should have covered the crimes committed from 1990 onwards. Whereas resolution 955, jurisdictions restricted themselves to cases from July to December 1994.

Third objection

The government of Rwanda wanted to limit the scope of crimes only to the act of Genocide. Though Resolution 955, places Genocide cases first in the list of crimes and other cases later.

Fourth objection

The government of Rwanda objected to the location of ICTR in Arusha. Arguing that the 'deterrent effect of the trial and punishment will be lost if the trials were to be held hundreds of miles away from the scene of the crime'. These were the issues that why the Rwandan government voted against Resolution 955 (Resolution 955 Article 8 Section 2, 1994; Resolution 977, 1995; Magnarella 2000; Barria & Roper 2005).

On the matter of accountability for International Criminal Courts (ICC), thirty-three African states had joined the Rome Statute. However, Rwanda had not acceded to it and like some other non-states parties. This shows Rwanda's open conflict with ICC. The success of these tribunals as well as their failures ultimately became the basis for the debate over the need for a permanent international criminal institution which resulted in the establishment of the ICC in The Hague. Resolution 955 establishes reasons for the creation of the ICCs, which is based on the following queries;

1. Will, it contributes to the 'maintenance of peace' ,
2. Will it ensure 'that such violations are halted and effectively redressed', and
3. Will it lead to a 'process of national reconciliation;

The basic goals of the tribunal were to sustain peace and provide justice to the victims. The ICTR has not entirely fulfilled its mandate. However, it does not have the mandate to involve the victim of the Genocide in any capacity other than as a witness. There is only one reference to national reconciliation in the tribunal statute. The process of truth-telling and truth-hearing is missing in the mandate.

What was the contribution of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in the quest for post Genocide justice?

The ICTR was not of much help in reducing the number of detainees. The ICTR has completed 75 cases since 1997. From 1994 to 1999 after spending over 200 million dollars; only seven trials had been completed. By late 2000, it had indicted 53 individuals and heard only nine cases (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda 2015). In agreement with its completion strategies, according to United Nations Resolutions 1503 and 1534, the Tribunal had concluded all its investigations by the end of 2004. As of May 2004, the ICTR had handed down 21 judgments, 18 convictions, and 3 acquittals. However, it had not succeeded in finalizing all of its work within the given time limit (The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda 2015).

ICTR was unwilling to handle politically sensitive cases. In 2008, the ICTR prosecutor Hassan Jallow transferred the case of four RPF officers accused of killing 15 civilians in 1994 to the Rwandan national court system, for prosecution inside the country. Human Rights Watch monitored the trial and concluded that it was a political whitewash (Jallow 2009; Roth 2009). The tribunal has delivered some unique verdicts:

- In the first judgment on Genocide, a former mayor, Jean-Paul Akayesu was sentenced to nine charges and crimes against humanity. The judgment was also the first to charge rape and sexual assault founded acts of Genocide.
- The conviction of the prime minister during the Genocide, Jean Kambanda[1] to life in prison was the first time ahead of government was sentenced for the crime of Genocide.

The 2003 media case was the first judgment after World War II to examine the role of the media in the context of international criminal justice (ICTR 2015). According to the United Nations International

Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (2015), table 4 describes the summary of cases handled by ICTR. The tribunal had indicted 93 individuals it considered responsible for violating humanitarian laws and actively participating in the Rwandan Genocide. Of the 93 accused, some are high-ranking military and government officials, politicians, businessmen, religious personalities, militia, and media leaders.

The former prime minister of Rwanda, (for three months between 9th April and 19th July 1994) Mr. Kambanda, was the first person in history to be sentenced for the crime of genocide (Rentjens 1993).¹

Table 4: Summary of ICTR cases

| Numbers | Types of Cases |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 61 | Sentenced |
| 14 | Acquitted |
| 10 | Referred to national jurisdiction for trial |
| 3 | Deceased prior to or during trial |
| 3 | Fugitives referred to the MICT |
| 2 | Indictments withdrawn before trial |
| 93 | Total number of individuals indicted by the ICTR |

Source: United Nations Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda 2015

The ICTR's most egregious weakness has been its refusal to prosecute crimes committed by the RPF in 1994, many of which

¹ Former three months prime minister of Rwanda between 9th April to 19th July, 1994 when genocide began Mr. Kambanda was the first person in the history to be sentenced for the crime of genocide (Rentjens 1993).

were classified as war crimes and crimes against humanity. The ICTR's most egregious weakness has been its refusal to prosecute crimes committed by the RPF in 1994, many of these were designated as war crimes or crimes against humanity. Not a single RPF case had been brought before the ICTR for prosecution, thus creating a sentiment among some Rwandans and international legal observers that it provided justice only to victors. In the custody of ICTR, Pastor Uwinkindi benefited from the Tribunal legal aid program. Under the legal aid, the cost of his defence was paid by the government. After some time ICTR Referral Chamber ordered his case shifted to Rwanda for trial. Two ICTR staff were also appointed to monitor his case (Muramira, 2013; Musoni 2014). The ICTR has come in for criticism not only for its poor performance record but also for other reasons. These are as follows;

- Persons suspected of involvement in the Genocide had been employed as ICTR staff.
- Testimony of witnesses has been made public, and witnesses, therefore, feared for their safety.
- Witnesses have been treated like accused persons and subjected to extremely painful confrontations, while the accused persons have been treated with respect and infinite patience.

Since 2011, the ICTR has transferred several cases related to the Genocide to the Rwandan courts. The ICTR is currently winding down its operations except for the Ngirabatware case in which the appeal is due to conclude in 2015 (ICTR 2015).

The ICTR's budget for 2010-2011 was \$257m (£165m) and it had 750 posts. It had completed almost 50 trials since it was established in 1994 (Silverman 2012). On 7 July 2015, President Joensen's in his address to the ICTR meeting that the appeals chamber had completed its work. Only the case of Nyiramasuhuko and six culprits' was pending. The Butare case had an oral hearing in April 2015, and the final step, judgment drafting was underway. After the judgment

of the Butare case, the ICTR formally closed by the end of 2015 (ICTR 2015). Two ICTR staff was also appointed to monitor his case (Muramira, 2013; Musoni 2014). The ICTR has come in for criticism not only for its poor performance record but also for other reasons. These are as follows;

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The Cost of UN Justice

The ICTR has its headquarters in the small town of Arusha, Tanzania. A thousand personnel were allocated among the tribunal's three branches. They come from 85 different countries and spend the majority of their time at the jurisdiction's headquarters in Arusha. During a press conference held in Kigali in 2006, Rwandan President Paul Kagame criticized the court for incurring costs up to \$ 1.5 billion and for delivering "less than 40 verdicts in almost 11 years". The Rwandan State Secretary had previously announced that the ICTR had disposed of a \$ 1.6 billion budget since it began. In that budget, ICTR had detained 72 persons, 27 had been condemned, and 16 of them sentenced to life imprisonment (Hirondelle News Agency 2006a; Hirondelle News Agency 2006b).

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Conclusion

Rwanda has emerged from one of the most destructive conflicts in modern history. Continuous violence in-country leads the country into poverty and destruction. After the Genocide, the Kagame government legally banned any explicit references to ethnicity. In fact, of the 22 ministers, 16 were Hutu among those five were from the original "RPF Tutsi". The RPF government played a significant role in providing justice, peacebuilding, and women empowerment.

The quest for justice gave way to the rebirth of Gacaca, driven by the community itself. Gacaca's uniqueness in the world, in terms of its scale, is like no other country has tried to do justice at this magnitude. People sentenced for crimes against property were ordered to pay the victim or their family compensation for the damage. This often involved work for victims and communities, such as building houses and schools. The death penalty was abolished in 1998, after which the average prison sentence was set for 19 years. During their 19-year sentence, they spent half of it doing community service, such as building roads, schools, homes, and planting gardens. Sentences for Genocide may appear minor, but they have served to create society.

The ICTR and Gacaca represent two different approaches to peace and justice. The world's largest peacekeeping force had been unable to end the conflict. To address this void, the United Nations established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR),

the first international tribunal established for justice to try those guilty of human rights atrocities in Rwanda. The ICTR had limitations. It earned the image of a very slow and money-wasting institution. In contrast to the conventional legal system, the Gacaca, the ICTR has been overly costly and has handled a restricted number of cases.

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4. India-Africa: Skilling in IT field; C-DAC Institute

Aann Jerry

Introduction

Africa has a rich resource of growing youth population as well as the existing adult population. To maximize and reap its demographic dividend, the continent ought to create high-productivity jobs at an average of about 18 million jobs per year until 2035 (United Nations 2013; Foresight Africa 2019:p.44). As per the International Monetary Fund (IMF) calculations, Sub-Saharan Africa's (SSA) income per capita could be an additional 25 percent higher in 2050, solely as a result of the demographic transition. So it requires policies which can help this transition from the informal sector, which currently accounts for about 90 percent of the 400 million jobs in low-income Sub-Saharan African countries, to non-agricultural formal sector employment. It is found that most women in Sub-Saharan Africa have no choice but to work in the informal sectors including self-employment. Also, the Sub-Saharan Africa region has a significant number of youths (ages 15-24) who have never attended school, especially in many francophone, low-income, and fragile or conflict affected countries. Among those who do continue with secondary education, dropout rates are especially high among 15-18 years, who leave school but remain jobless.

Youth dividend and ICT training in Africa

The 'youth dividend' that Africa experiences needs education & skill upgradation that will assist in fostering development across the continent. The African education system is in need of improvement as governments must focus on the quality of education by investing in infrastructure development. Here, enhanced education outcomes are particularly important to improve the employability and increase

productivity. This includes remediation through alternative education programs, which allows multiple entry and exit points and also has close associations with formal education. Statistics of education in Africa, shows rise in enrollment rate (primary & secondary) wherein quality of education could be improved through tertiary education level, where right skill set could boost the school to work transition, critical for a country's productivity and growth. Companies operating in Africa point out insufficiently skilled labor as a hindrance to growth. So, by improving the knowledge, skills of workers through technical and vocational education and training, local economies can build a skilled workforce. This could increase the volume of trade and business and thus contribute towards economic growth. So, the two sections of the population, the youth and adults, need to be trained with life skill techniques for sustainable livelihoods here. The institute C-DAC , under the ITEC banner has been dedicated and successfully engaged for the very cause through ICT training modules. Through e-learning platforms distance education and virtual institutions are promoted for higher education. ICT promotes the development of content to address the educational needs of primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions. So, the ICT learning module is adopted in the secondary schools and vocational institutes across the countries in Africa. ICT plays a significant role in achieving socio-economic goals in education, healthcare, employment and social development in the countries of Africa.

India's development co-operation with Africa, which is sustainable in nature, is seeded by the South-South Cooperation. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), South-South Cooperation is a means for promoting effective development by learning and sharing best practices and technology among developing countries. It is the concrete reflection of a very important idea that developing countries can provide support and assistance to each other in the journey towards development.

Indian approach of the South-South Cooperation could be witnessed through the expanding trade, training and technology transfer progressing between India and Africa.

This approach could be summarized as,

- i) an equal partnership with a fellow developing country,
- ii) the determination of priorities by the recipient/development partner,
- iii) the selection of projects and the methods of implementation through consultation and mutual consensus ,
- iv) to address shared strategic challenges and
- v) strengthen and consolidate bilateral relations with beneficiary countries. India's different approach, is in regarding itself as a peer in mutually beneficial relationships with its partner countries. For India, South-South Cooperation is seen as a means to promote partnerships. It is based on the belief that we exist in an interconnected world where the global community shares a common destiny. India believes that, development co-operation should be of mutual benefit and not interfere with the internal affairs of the partner countries so does not attach any policy conditions to its co-operation. Due to the alarming unemployment rates, many graduates with a secondary and tertiary education are now becoming self-employed and launching small and medium-sized enterprises instead of opting for wage employment. So, the public and private sector together, must enhance workforce development and training programs that recognize that most youth would be self employed or work for smaller enterprises.

Many private Indian Information Technology institutes like NIIT, APTEC, C-DAC with the ITEC modules, have been associated with the training and skilling of African nationals for their employment and relocation. C-DAC institute especially with its capacity building and training programmes have increased the job employability of the youth in Africa. So, the booming young population could be trained accordingly and absorbed in the formal job market.

The objective of the study is to direct :

- educate and skill the growing youth population in Africa, through various Indian initiatives of the ITEC programmes and private initiatives,
- give Information Communication Technology (ICT) education priority and reach out to the youth of various African countries through tele- education sessions,
- provide the people with a steady source of income through skilling, help to reduce the gap between the skill set available versus market demand and thus leading the economic trajectory of the continent.

Private Institutes, APTEC and NIIT:

Private IT coaching institutes like NIIT and APTEC, have been working with the government of India through its ITEC/SCAAP training programmes and have succeeded in penetrating through the African continent. India from discovering zero to taking mammoth leaps in Information Technology has always been ahead in education, thus ensuring its spectacular progress in technology. The MEA- GOI has entrusted APTEC and NIIT to provide quality IT, Multimedia, language training to participants across the globe. Under ITEC and its corollary SCAAP, 161 countries are invited to share in the Indian developmental experience in various fields. The technical and economic assistance programme of MEA has generated immense goodwill and substantive co-operation among the developing countries, especially the African countries. For the IT courses prior knowledge of basic English is mandatory. The courses offered by APTEC range from basic IT skill course to more proficient Graphic Designing and Web Designing courses ranging from 10 weeks to 14 weeks conducted at least thrice a year (Ministry of External Affairs 2019).

NIIT training institute has managed to secure a special mention among the Top 20 Training Outsourcing Companies for the past seven consecutive years. NIIT has been conferred upon the 'Top Training Company' award successively for the past 20 years, by leading Indian ICT journal Dataquest. NIIT YuvaJyoti Ltd was recognized as the Best Vocational Education and Skill Development initiative at the World Education Summit 2014 (Patwardhan 2016).

ITEC courses in NIIT range from MS Office to Advanced Networking skills also Linguistics and Web Development certified courses offered thrice a year. The institute is actively involved in providing traditional Technical and Vocational Education & Training (TVET) courses to the youth in Nigeria. NIIT (Nigeria) established in 1981 offers multidisciplinary learning and skill development courses. They have been successful in enrolling 16000 students across 21 centres.

Case Study: Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC)

C-DAC is the leading R&D organization of the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology (MeitY) dedicated to carrying out R&D in the fields of IT, electronics and related areas. C-DAC has been involved with the making of a series of Supercomputers, beginning PARAM with 1 GF in 1988. C-DAC has been at the forefront of the Information Technology (IT) revolution, carrying its tag of an organization dedicated to high-end Research and Development. The institute is constantly building capacities in emerging technologies, innovating and supporting its expertise, caliber, skill sets to develop and make accessible IT products and solutions for different sectors of the economy. This work is carried out and executed as per the directive of its parent, the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, Government of India along with the stakeholders including funding agencies, collaborators, users and the market-place become an integral part of their work system. The institution has emerged into various capacity building programmes for its national and international clientele.

C-DAC Institute



https://www.cdac.in/index.aspx?id=edu_ctp_skill

C-DAC under the MEA, ITEC programme has taken up the responsibility of training the least developed countries in IT technology. Through the SCAAP programme it has mushroomed in more than 16 African countries. The prerequisite here is the knowledge of English and basic education level for programming skills.

Table1.1: Category of Programmes in C-DAC

| Category | Listing |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Networking and System Administration | <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Network & Routing Administration▪ Windows Server Administration▪ Systems Administration using Windows Server 2003▪ Specialized Programme on Internetworking Design and LAN WAN Administration Networking & SQL |
| Programming | <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Web Application Development▪ Programming with Visual Basic 6.0▪ Programme on e-Governance & Web Application Development |
| Information Security | <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Programme on Reducing Cyber Crime through Knowledge Exchange & Capacity Building |
| Geographic Information System & Remote Sensing | <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ AutoCAD▪ Geo -informatics▪ Programme using GIS & Remote Sensing |
| Others | <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Basic EDP▪ Programme on Design , Development & Implementation of e-Courses |

Author Compilation

C-DAC under ITEC programme trains both the semi-literate and literate population of the African continent in Information Technology. Depending on the level of education, people are qualified to be basic computer operators to high end programmers and developers. Apart from the courses for the common public, C-DAC also offers special training to the elite dignitaries selected from various African countries.

Civilian Training module of C-DAC:

Each year the Ministry of External Affairs empanels institutions, and training courses are identified and offered. Thereafter, through Indian missions abroad the information about the courses are disseminated to the Foreign Offices and other concerned departments of ITEC partner countries. Applications of the nominees of these countries, duly recommended by the Heads of Missions are then sent both to the MEA and the institutions concerned. After scrutinizing the eligibility of such candidates, approvals for joining the courses are sanctioned. The Government of India bears the entire expenditure for ITEC/SCAAP trainings in India, which includes airfare, tuition fees, living allowances, medical expenses and book grants.

C-DAC Mohali has been conducting the ITEC / SCAAP Courses since 1999 in various areas. CDAC, Mohali has trained around 2000 ITEC / SCAAP participants. It is observed that these courses range from multiple fields from networking, animation & special effects, operation in health care equipment & maintenance. For International Training under ITEC/SCAAP scheme of MEA, C-DAC Noida and C-DAC Pune conducts regular IT training programmes for the African countries. 80 candidates from various African countries participated in training programmes in the IT sector in CDAC Noida and C-DAC Pune. Eight training sessions were respectively completed here.

A brief description of the courses is mentioned below:

Table 1.2: C-DAC training courses in India

| Details of Course | Duration |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| E -governance application | 12 weeks |
| Post Graduate Diploma in Advance Computing (DAC) | 6 months |
| Design, development & implementation of e-learning course | 8 weeks |
| Post Graduate Diploma in wireless and mobile Computing (WiMC) | 6 months |
| Diploma in Business Computing | 4 months |
| Diploma in web Development and Programming | 4 months |

Source: Ministry of External Affairs (E&SA Division), India Africa Cooperation on Science, Technology and Innovation.

These short term sessions are extremely useful for the civilians to upgrade their knowledge and progress in their respective technological fields.

C-DAC Country projects and findings in Africa

a) Ghana

- India has set up an Indo-Ghana Kofi Annan Centre of Excellence to cater to human resource development in the IT sector. The centre initiated by C-DAC encompasses all digital facilities like data communication & networking lab, hi-tech computer labs with server, distance learning lab with video conferencing and satellite connectivity (C-DAC 2015).

b) Lesotho

- The Government of India has set up, India-Lesotho Centre of Excellence in ICT at Maseru, Lesotho in March 2011. The Centre is dedicated for the capacity enhancement in the area of Information Technology.

c) Mauritius

- To promote cooperation in the area of Information Technology, an MoU between NICSI, India and Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (MICT) of Mauritius has been finalized in the year March 2010. Following this, an India-Mauritius Joint Task Force was set up under the Co-Chairmanship of MeitY to implement the e-governance projects by NICSI in Mauritius.
- Hon'ble Minister of Health and Quality of Life, Government of Mauritius, H.E. Mr. Lormus Bundhoo with his team have paid a visit to PGI Chandigarh along with other hospitals in the year September 2014. The delegation fruitfully discussed strengthening bilateral cooperation in ICT, especially in the e-Health sector between these two countries.

d) Seychelles

- The Government of India has set up the India-Seychelles Centre of Excellence in ICT (ISCEICT) at Mahe, Victoria in the year April 2011 which supports capacity development in the area of Information Technology.

e) South Africa

- At the South Africa - India meeting on Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), held on 18 May 2015 in Pretoria, South Africa the MeitY's representatives agreed for joint research and development support programmes and committed to the establishment of a committee dedicated to support new ICT research areas.
- The Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India and Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services, Republic of South Africa had signed an MoU in the year 2016 in South Africa, for bolstering bilateral relations in the field of Information and Communication Technologies. To encourage active cooperation, exchange of knowledge, best practices between private entities, institutions involved in promoting capacity building, public and private organisations of the two countries in the field of ICT were focused upon.

f) Tanzania

- Through the implementation of C-DAC, the Indian Government has set up a Centre of Excellence for Communications and Information Technology (CoEICT) at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in the year 2011.
- The Centre is catering to the capacity development in IT sector and has PARAM upgradable Supercomputer, Data Centre and State-of-the-art training facility. An MoU on capacity building, e-Governance and m-Governance was signed between MeitY and e-Gov. Agency, Tanzania on 28.08.2014 in New Delhi.
- CDAC Signed agreement for setting up of ICT Resource Centre in Nelson Mandela African Institute of Science & Technology (NM-AIST) at Arusha, Tanzania

and initiated training (C-DAC Annual Report 2016). This centre is currently fully operational, at present employing new trainers for the courses.

Table 1.3: Review and Analysis of the C-DAC country projects in Africa

| Country | Projects | Findings |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ghana | Indo-Ghana Kofi Annan Centre of Excellence for Communications and Information Technology at Accra, operational in 2003 & upgraded in 2013-14 under the assistance of Government of India | i) Physical infrastructure provided by Ghanaian government & technical infrastructure by the Indian side. ii) 1500 students trained (Ministry of Electronics & Information Technology 2016) iii) 3 students of PG- Diploma enrolled in 2015 completed the course(C-DAC Annual Report 2015: p.37). |
| Lesotho | India-Lesotho Centre of Excellence in ICT set up in 2011 | 500 students trained in various IT courses by C-DAC |
| Mauritius | MoU signed in 2010 to implement the e-governance projects by NICS I in Mauritius | The e-Prison Project of Mauritius Prison Service (software development, customization & training support) by NICS I team |
| Seychelles | India-Seychelles Centre of Excellence in ICT (ISCEICT) set up by Government of India in 2011 | i) Helps to upgrade skills & develop human resource in the field of ICT ii) 400 students have been trained, same number are undergoing short term/long term courses in IT |

| | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| South Africa | MoU signed between the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, India & Department of Telecommunications and Postal Services, Republic of South Africa in 2016. MoU in ICT fields focused on skills development and expertise exchange by joint projects between the two countries. | i) To exchange knowledge between private entities, institutions involved in enhancing capacity building, governments and other public and private organisations of the two countries in the field of ICT ii) Co-operation in e-Governance, e-commerce, electronics hardware manufacturing, information security by a Joint Working Group ICT from the Indian side. |
| Tanzania | i) Government of India has set up a Centre of Excellence for Communications and Information Technology (CoEICT) at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 2011. ii) An MoU on Capacity Building, e-Governance and m-Governance was signed between MeitY and e-Gov. Agency, Tanzania on 28.08.2014 | i) Centre is connected to 10 Community Information Centres(CIC) to offer citizen centric services telemedicine, e-learning etc. ii) The technical infrastructure at the centre course curricula and training is done by Indian faculty iii)C-DAC initiated training at Nelson Mandela African Institute of Science &Technology. |
| Egypt | Signed India-Egypt Centre of Excellence project in March 2016 with C-DAC & Al Azhar | i)C-DAC experts deputed for course delivery &coordination ii) Workshops active on e-Learning, Ubiquitous & |

| | | |
|--|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | university Cairo as implementing agencies funded by MEA | Cloud computing, Biomedical |
|--|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|

Source: C-DAC Annual Report ;Adapted by the author

Knowledge partnership: India-Africa: Kofi Annan centre of Ghana

Knowledge partnership is a robust pillar of the multi-faceted India-Africa partnership. If Africa’s resources can be married with India’s expertise, anything is possible, this belief of Ghana’s former president John Agyekum Kufour, in the power of knowledge industries to spur an African renaissance is epitomised in an iconic project of bilateral cooperation: *the Ghana-India Kofi Annan Centre for Excellence in ICT*. India, recognized as an IT power, in the last two decades, has taken major leaps in the field of Information Technology during this period. The Indian experience of using Information Technology as a catalyst of economic development is evident through the projects and courses available at the IT centre. This use for the welfare of the masses has facilitated all round socio-economic development of the nation. The centre was inaugurated by His Excellency John Kufuor, President of Republic of Ghana and His Excellency Atal Bihari Vajpayee, then Hon. Prime Minister of the Republic of India in the year 2003. The presidential visit revived the cordial relations between the two countries that date back to the first visit by Ghana’s much-revered leader Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to India 1958. The Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC) was the nodal agency from India for setting up the AITI-KACE and continues to provide technical assistance to the centre in course designing and training of faculty.

The centre asserts that “India’s approach to partnership is truly an excellent way of increasing ties between countries and strengthening South-South friendship”. C-DAC has adopted a collaborative approach in engaging with the centre. Along with its

expertise, India has also provided hardware and scholarships to the centre and its beneficiaries. The Indian government had assisted with a cheque of \$1 million to the institute for research and innovation in the country (*Ghana Business News* 2018).

Mission of the Kofi Annan centre:

As a part of the bilateral initiative, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India identified Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC), Advanced Computing Training School (ACTS), Pune as an implementing agency for the following:

1. Establishment of India - Ghana Kofi Annan Centre for Excellence in ICT (KACE) at Accra, Ghana.
2. Establish five Community Information Centres (CICs) at various locations identified by the Government of Ghana and provide satellite connectivity amongst the CICs and KACE at Accra.
3. Data communication facility using VSAT technology
4. A server and five client systems along with the networking system for LAN/WAN connectivity
5. Software tools and systems required to provide network services at CICs
6. Sharing of Indian experiences and software in the field of E-Governance.
7. Exchange of experts and training of Ghana professionals in India and Ghana for managing the technical infrastructure installed under the project and training of trainers at KACE. To realize the mission of making ICT education easily accessible and enrolment affordable, in many courses the rate is subsidized.

Facilities available:

The Ministry of Communications and Technology, Government of Ghana enabled Wi-Fi centre is functional here. The centre has the state-of-the-art Data Communication and Networking Lab, Hi-tech computer labs, Distance learning labs with Video Conferencing facility, resources to provide satellite connectivity between the CICs and the centre. Specialized training programmes in IT collaboration with Indian IT industry and academic institutions like Advanced Computing Training School (ACTS) of C-DAC is facilitated through video conferencing sessions.

ICT Hub:

The centre serves as a world-class advanced ICT hub in Ghana and the ECOWAS sub-region, wherein ICT is the catalyst tool to enhance social and economic development. The centre offers specialised training in innovative ICT for development projects, software development and ICT consulting services and research and development. It provides outstanding ICT training to graduates of tertiary institutions, working professionals seeking to improve their knowledge in ICT, private enterprises, NGOs, CSOs, educational institutions, academicians and private individuals. India's continuous efforts to build stronger bonds with Ghana through the centre led to its recent two-year extended assistance to the establishment. The centre also believes in building strong networks and developing mutually beneficial partnerships with other institutes within Africa and other countries.

PARAM the Supercomputer:

Since its inception, C-DAC has developed and supplied a range of high performance parallel computers, known as the PARAM series of supercomputers. Currently, the Ghana centre includes a supercomputing cluster, designed and built by its Indian partner C-DAC. The Indian government donated this high performance e-computing cluster to the centre. The computing cluster was recently upgraded to the PARAM Nkontabo. The PARAM Nkontabo was the first super computer of its sort in West Africa and has proved to be very useful to scientists in ECOWAS by aiding them to perform high level processing of equations and logarithms. Research institutes from other countries, Abdus Salam Centre for Theoretical Physics in Italy, partners with the centre to use the PARAM Nkontabo in conducting research.

Beneficiaries:

Individuals who attend AITIKACE are mostly referred to as “well-marketable” students, due to the quality education they receive from the centre. They are trained and skilled for the job requirements of the market. From the year 2003, over 10,000 students, from both Ghana and the ECOWAS sub region, have benefited from the core courses being offered by the centre. Some of these students were successful in developing software applications that are being used currently in Ghana and beyond. Since its establishment, the centre has made it possible for Ghanaians to obtain a first class ICT education without having to travel abroad. The course structure provides opportunities to students for practical experience and also interact with professionals in their disciplinary field. Centre provides students with an all-round education, giving them an upper hand in the ICT field compared to their peers in other similar institutions in the ICT field. AITI-KACE is seen as the hub of cutting edge technology and innovation in the field of ICT, which has made it possible for Ghanaians to obtain a first class ICT education without having to travel abroad. The course content is updated regularly in order to meet the requirements and demands of the changing ICT industry. The students are also

prepared for the practical world, with rigorous hands-on experience. The institute involves capacity building programmes for the youth, to provide industry oriented courses to the young and increase their employability. Equal importance is given to women empowerment, where both professional and non professional ladies are marketed for their skills and business through websites.

Capacity building programmes and local partnerships:

The institute is involved in the capacity building initiative, by including the local partnerships for the training and projects. The centre partners with some governmental agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in Ghana uses the PARAM Nkontabo clusters to conduct research. In order to build local capacities, the centre provides training and consulting services to both government and corporate institutes. The Centre has been able to introduce Industrial computing, High Performance Computing and 3D Printing into the ICT arena in Ghana and the ECOWAS region. The stimulating effect of using ICT as a tool for the economic and social development in Ghana and beyond is visible here. C-DAC's expertise also extends to other advanced areas of Information Technology, enabling IT based solutions in areas like Financial and Capital market simulation and modeling, Network and Internet Software, Healthcare, Real Time Systems, e Governance, Data Warehousing, Digital library, Artificial Intelligence and Natural language processing.

The centre is able to educate youth for careers in the ICT field , by creating a forum for clients, students and the general public to appraise ICT innovations in Ghana.

Achievements of the C-DAC: AITI-KACE

- **Job Creation:** Graduates from the centre successfully gain employment in various sectors of the industry, including

start-ups, Internet Service Providers, government institutions and transnational organizations.

- **Development of Consumer Server Applications:** Through the bi-monthly forums, participants have been encouraged to share ideas on how to better improve living standards of the average Ghanaian. Consumers are benefited from the centre in the area of mobile application development. Many of the applications conceived at the forum being, the pocket Chef app, Snoocode, Nandimobile, Motech, Clakimpressions, Votomobile, Ahwenepa.com, Subaapp, Agripro, Kusima and Yougora.
- **Corporate Social Responsibility:** The centre is involved in rural and urban development through its CSR strategy initiatives. As part of its 10th anniversary celebrations, AITI-KACE partnered with the MTN Ghana Foundation and the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) to organise two-day ICT training for women in tertiary institutions across the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions of Ghana. Centres project with school is the successful implementation of the i2CAP (I Too Can Programme) project, to develop the programming skills of senior secondary school students. In 2007, by using an automated 'Listen Reading Tutor' for children, rolled out a project called project Kane.
- **Youth Capacity Development:** AITI-KACE organizes a training program focusing on mobile application development. The aim is to introduce a training program focusing on mobile application development. This program sponsored by UNESCO aims to introduce the youth to relevant ICT tools and technologies in an effort to bridge the IT digital divide. Another goal is to choose youth leaders, who could take up the role of change agents, by solving the problems and challenges of their own community thus contributing to national development.
- **Women Empowerment:** Women empowerment and gender balance are the animating mantra of the centre.

Centre provides opportunities for both professional and nonprofessional women to get assistance from qualified personnel to help them create websites that will help market their professional skills and businesses. This has resulted in a rising number of females handling complex technical issues and delivering ICT training in Ghana. Currently, close to 1,000 girls have been trained in ICT courses by the centre through these programmes. Along with the advantages and perks of ICT training, there stands few visible challenges associated with them.

Challenges faced by African countries in expanding ICT training.

These could be attributed to factors like:

- i) Lack of adequate uninterrupted power supply for the devices. Often educational institutions have to resort to diesel powered generators which are expensive and environmentally unfriendly.
- ii) With the surging youth population and growing middle class, the telecommunication sector, a crucial pillar for economic growth, needs to be well supported and fortified. Also, there are not enough telecom providers to cater to the needs of the vast youth population. While the existing telecom providers, need to adhere to new policies set by the government of different African countries.

Conclusion:

The role of the education sector lies in providing the basic skills for assessment, evaluation, benchmarking and also providing critical learning by sharing information and ideas. Educational attainment shapes employment opportunities for workers in all sectors, by helping to acquire new skills. India's move from being a North-South recipient to being a South-South Cooperation (SSC) nation is seen as the result of increasing globalization and internationalization of education worldwide. India with the idea of knowledge transfer for mutual advantage, works within the framework of SSC. India has been evolving its partnership for inclusive development with Africa, through innovating the SSC. India, which has been a sought after education destination for African students, has maintained cordial relations through its development partnership programmes and ITEC institutes.

The case of AITI-KACE has been one of the most successful Indo-African techno-economic corporations in the ECOWAS sub-region. Director General of the centre Dorothy Gordon says, "India has effectively achieved its goal to develop and sustain stronger South-South relationship through the establishment of the AITI-KACE". Truly, capacity building is seen as the sole motive here. Lecturers are recruited locally and provided with training support from education facilities and ICT vendors around the globe. The Government of Ghana has incorporated some of the Centre's modules into the basic education curriculum. The Centre also plans to increase its ICT consultancy services for both public and private institutions in the nation. Technical expertise and capacity building, will therefore remain central to India's relationship with the African continent. The institute functions to be a major facility for development of human resources in IT, not only in Ghana but also in the west Africa region (Arora & Chand 2015).

C-DAC remains instrumental in supporting job creation, women empowerment along with developing youth capacity programmes for the literate population of Africa. The institute is actively involved in training the youth of Africa, these computer and tech savvy individuals could be placed in job positions according to their skill set and market demand. This institute is in the forefront, enabling IT

based solutions to various domains from financial markets, healthcare, data- warehousing, digital libraries to natural language processing. Thus, C-DAC contributes to the overall grooming and socio-economic development of the continent.

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Appendices

Appendix I

The Bilateral Trade Figures for the last two years (i.e. 2018-19 & 2019-20) in respect of countries of Sub Saharan Africa region are as follows:

| Country | Export | | | Import | | | Total Trade | | |
|--------------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|
| | 2018-19 | 2019-20 | % Growth | 2018-19 | 2019-20 | % Growth | 2018-19 | 2019-20 | % Growth |
| Botswana | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.24 | 0.97 | 0.74 | -23.65 | 1.15 | 0.92 | -19.96 |
| Lesotho | 0.03 | 0.04 | 33.88 | 0 | 0 | 1940.91 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 34.04 |
| Namibia | 0.08 | 0.07 | -19.66 | 0.05 | 0.03 | -46.7 | 0.14 | 0.09 | -30.31 |
| South Africa | 4.07 | 4.11 | 1.01 | 6.52 | 6.97 | 6.94 | 10.58 | 11.08 | 4.66 |
| Swaziland | 0.02 | 0.02 | -3.28 | 0.01 | 0.01 | -26.77 | 0.03 | 0.03 | -11.08 |
| Angola | 0.28 | 0.29 | 0.97 | 4.03 | 3.65 | -9.4 | 4.31 | 3.93 | -8.72 |
| Mozambique | 1.07 | 2.17 | 102.58 | 1.1 | 0.84 | -23.91 | 2.17 | 3.01 | 38.63 |
| Zambia | 0.32 | 0.25 | -22.38 | 0.51 | 0.84 | 65.19 | 0.83 | 1.09 | 31.51 |
| Zimbabwe | 0.18 | 0.16 | -11.33 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 45.57 | 0.19 | 0.17 | -8.99 |
| Benin | 0.43 | 0.33 | -23.49 | 0.38 | 0.36 | -4.49 | 0.8 | 0.69 | -14.6 |
| Burkina Faso | 0.18 | 0.15 | -15.16 | 0.88 | 0.54 | -38.42 | 1.06 | 0.7 | -34.45 |
| Cameroon | 0.18 | 0.23 | 28.16 | 0.34 | 0.68 | 97.07 | 0.52 | 0.9 | 73.51 |
| Cape Verde | 0 | 0 | 35.63 | 0 | 0 | -29.9 | 0 | 0 | -6.22 |
| Congo P Rep | 0.13 | 0.11 | -15.03 | 0.41 | 0.59 | 44.83 | 0.54 | 0.7 | 30.06 |
| Equat Guinea | 0.01 | 0.01 | -8.16 | 0.63 | 0.97 | 53.42 | 0.65 | 0.98 | 52.29 |


| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
| Gabon | 0.06 | 0.05 | -17.44 | 0.46 | 0.14 | -69.65 | 0.51 | 0.18 | -64.02 |
| Gambia | 0.16 | 0.13 | -15.5 | 0.05 | 0.04 | -9.1 | 0.2 | 0.17 | -14.07 |
| Ghana | 0.72 | 0.62 | -13.93 | 3.76 | 1.77 | -52.87 | 4.48 | 2.39 | -46.64 |
| Guinea | 0.4 | 0.35 | -12.36 | 0.41 | 0.42 | 0.49 | 0.82 | 0.77 | -5.86 |
| Guinea Bissau | 0.01 | 0.01 | -16.45 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.61 | 0.13 | 0.13 | -0.76 |
| Cote D' Ivoire | 0.45 | 0.41 | -7.62 | 0.6 | 0.45 | -24.57 | 1.05 | 0.87 | -17.34 |
| Liberia | 0.18 | 0.22 | 22.77 | 0.14 | 0.01 | -94.51 | 0.32 | 0.23 | -28.98 |
| Mali | 0.13 | 0.15 | 11.82 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 107.92 | 0.15 | 0.18 | 23.64 |
| Mauritania | 0.12 | 0.08 | -27.48 | 0.02 | 0.01 | -32.96 | 0.13 | 0.09 | -28.14 |
| Niger | 0.09 | 0.07 | -22.4 | 0 | 0 | 38.46 | 0.1 | 0.07 | -21.97 |
| Nigeria | 3.01 | 3.61 | 20.12 | 10.88 | 10.21 | -6.17 | 13.89 | 13.82 | -0.48 |
| Sao Tome | 0 | 0 | 27.12 | 0 | | | 0 | 0 | 26.05 |
| Senegal | 0.64 | 0.48 | -25.36 | 0.66 | 0.47 | -28.76 | 1.3 | 0.95 | -27.09 |
| Sierra Leone | 0.11 | 0.12 | 2.76 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 108.78 | 0.12 | 0.14 | 12.79 |
| Togo | 0.69 | 1.04 | 49.92 | 0.3 | 0.38 | 26.19 | 1 | 1.42 | 42.7 |
| Burundi | 0.05 | 0.06 | 20.93 | 0 | 0 | -15.82 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 17.75 |
| C Afri Rep | 0.03 | 0.06 | 107.57 | 0 | 0 | -72.28 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 94.97 |
| Chad | 0.04 | 0.06 | 56.67 | 0.48 | 0.27 | -43.14 | 0.51 | 0.33 | -35.86 |
| Malawi | 0.2 | 0.19 | -8.17 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 39.3 | 0.22 | 0.22 | -3.34 |
| Rwanda | 0.14 | 0.12 | -14.39 | 0.01 | 0 | -38.62 | 0.15 | 0.13 | -15.46 |
| Uganda | 0.58 | 0.62 | 7.14 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 50 | 0.6 | 0.66 | 8.78 |
| Congo D. Rep. | 0.3 | 0.35 | 16.45 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 69.02 | 0.32 | 0.38 | 19.55 |
| Comoros | 0.02 | 0.02 | -2.13 | 0.03 | 0.02 | -42.42 | 0.05 | 0.04 | -28.04 |
| Djibouti | 0.79 | 0.32 | -60.03 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 23.51 | 0.81 | 0.34 | -58.39 |
| Ethiopia | 0.77 | 0.8 | 4.21 | 0.06 | 0.1 | 79.15 | 0.82 | 0.9 | 9.23 |
| Kenya | 2.07 | 2.11 | 1.77 | 0.14 | 0.09 | -34.64 | 2.21 | 2.2 | -0.49 |
| Madagascar | 0.2 | 0.3 | 53.57 | 0.3 | 0.13 | -57.53 | 0.49 | 0.43 | -13.26 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------|-------------|--------------|--------|--------------|-------------|--------|
| Mauritius | 1.16 | 0.66 | -42.96 | 0.08 | 0.03 | -61.33 | 1.24 | 0.69 | -44.12 |
| Seychelles | 0.08 | 0.07 | -21.13 | 0.01 | 0 | -10.63 | 0.09 | 0.07 | -20.51 |
| Somalia | 0.54 | 0.58 | 8.39 | 0.02 | 0.02 | -17.89 | 0.56 | 0.6 | 7.52 |
| Tanzania | 1.7 | 1.74 | 2.11 | 0.9 | 1.02 | 13.28 | 2.61 | 2.76 | 5.98 |
| Total SSA region | 22.65 | 23.55 | | 35.4 | 32.15 | | 58.05 | 55.7 | |

Source: Ministry of Commerce


Appendix II

I. Impact of Kudumbashree in Africa

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Name & designation | Mr. Dominic Joram Agriculture tutor |  |
| Place | Mbarara | |
| Country | UGANDA | |
| Training attended | Kudumbashree training at Kampala, Uganda (November 2017) | |
| Impact | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Started 15 NHG groups in Uganda• Customised the model for school groups• Started activity groups in farming• Thrift credit group started | |



II. Impact of Kudumbashree in Africa

| | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Name & designation | Ms. Yagala Julian Coordinator: Women In Development Office |  |
| Place | Kacwamba village, Fort portal, Kabarole Kagumavillage, Buheesi, Kabarole | |
| Country | UGANDA | |
| Training attended | Kudumbashree training at Kampala, Uganda (November 2017) | |
| Impact | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Started 12 NHG groups in Uganda • Developed Food processing based units • Data management in the Groups • Thrift credit group started | |



Source: Kudumbashree

Appendix III

GENOCIDE – 6 APRIL 1994

On 6 April 1994, the deaths of the Presidents of Burundi and Rwanda in a plane crash caused by a rocket attack, ignited several weeks of intense and systematic massacres. The killings - more than one million people are estimated to have perished - shocked the international community and were clearly acts of genocide. An estimated 150,000 to 250,000 women were also raped. Members of the presidential guard started killing Tutsi civilians in a section of Kigali near the airport. Less than half an hour after the plane crash, roadblocks manned by Hutu militiamen often assisted by gendarmerie (paramilitary police) or military personnel were set up to identify Tutsis.

7 April

On 7 April, Radio Television Libres Des Mille Collines (RTLM) aired a broadcast attributing the plane crash to the RPF and a contingent of UN soldiers, as well as incitements to eliminate the "Tutsi cockroach". Later that day the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian peacekeepers assigned to protect her were brutally murdered by Rwandan government soldiers in an attack on her home. Other moderate Hutu leaders were similarly assassinated. After the massacre of its troops, Belgium withdrew the rest of its force.

21 April

On 21 April, after other countries asked to withdraw troops, the UNAMIR force was reduced from an initial 2,165 to 270.

If the absence of a resolute commitment to reconciliation by some of the Rwandan parties was one problem, the tragedy was compounded by the faltering response of the international community. The capacity of the United Nations to reduce human suffering in Rwanda was severely constrained by the unwillingness of Member States to respond to the changed circumstances in Rwanda by strengthening UNAMIR's mandate and contributing additional troops.

22 June

On June 22, the Security Council authorized French-led forces to mount a humanitarian mission. The mission, called Operation Turquoise, saved hundreds of civilians in South West Rwanda, but is also said to have allowed soldiers, officials and militiamen involved in the genocide to flee Rwanda through the areas under their control. In other areas, killings continued until 4 July 1994 when the RPF took military control of the entire territory of Rwanda.

Aftermath of the Genocide - 1996 War Between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo

Government officials, soldiers and militia who had participated in the genocide fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), then known as Zaire, taking with them 1.4 million civilians, most of them Hutu who had been told that the RPF would kill them. Thousands died of water-borne diseases. The camps were also used by former Rwandan government soldiers to re-arm and stage invasions into Rwanda.

The attacks were one of the factors leading to the war between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo that took place in 1996. Former Rwandan forces continue to operate in the DRC

alongside Congolese militia and other armed groups. They continue to target civilian populations and cause deaths, injury and harm.

Genocide Trials

The Rwandan government began the long-awaited genocide trials at the end of 1996. The delay was due to the fact that the country had lost most of its judicial personnel, not to mention the destruction to courts, jails and other infrastructure.

By 2000, there were over 100,000 genocide suspects awaiting trial.

2001 Participatory Justice System – known as Gacaca

In 2001, the government began implementing a participatory justice system, known as Gacaca, (pronounced GA-CHA-CHA) in order to address the enormous backlog of cases. Communities elected judges to hear the trials of genocide suspects accused of all crimes except planning of genocide or rape. The defendants in Gacaca courts have been released provisionally awaiting trial. The releases have caused a lot of unhappiness among survivors who see it as a form of amnesty. Rwanda continues to use the national court system to try those involved in planning genocide or rape under normal penal law. These courts do not offer provisional release for genocide defendants.

The Gacaca courts give lower sentences if the person is repentant and seeks reconciliation with the community. These courts are intended to help the community participate in the process of justice and reconciliation for the country.

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

At the international level, the Security Council on 8 November 1994 set up the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to "prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and neighbouring States, between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994." The Tribunal was located in Arusha, Tanzania, and had offices in Kigali, Rwanda. Its Appeals Chamber was located in The Hague, Netherlands. The Tribunal indicted 93 individuals whom it considered responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda in 1994. Those indicted included high-ranking military and government officials, politicians, businessmen, as well as religious, militia, and media leaders. The court convicted the Prime Minister during the genocide Jean Kambanda, to life in prison. The ICTR ended its term on 31 December 2015.



Centre for African Studies, University of Mumbai

India pioneered the establishment of Area Studies Programmes (ASP) in the developing world since the mid-1950s, under the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to understand and manage India's external relations. The first Centre for African Studies in India was established at Delhi University (1955) and at Mumbai University in 1971. The Centre is a teaching cum research department and generates knowledge on various facets of Africa, its; history, culture, politics, geography, economic development, South-South Development Cooperation and Africa in global affairs. The current focus of the Centre has been on India- Africa contemporary and historical connections across the Indian Ocean world through trade, inter- alia, in the textiles, agriculture, engineering goods, energy and pharmaceutical sectors. It works closely with the private and government sector - the ministry of external affairs, the Exim Bank of India, NGO's and think tanks.

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