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by



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on

"How Africa-India Relations Fit in a Shifting World Order"

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Good afternoon everybody.

Where I come from we greet, and if you do not answer me, I do not continue until I am sure we are all well, so thank you very much. Dr. Raghavan, DG of the Indian Council of World Affairs, Ambassador Rajiv Bhatia, colleagues, ladies and gentleman, may I begin by expressing the great honor I feel for this rare opportunity to share an afternoon with this distinguished audience. I wish to thank everyone for their gesture of gracing this event and I want to begin by saying how pleased I am to be part of the history that the Indian Council of World Affairs represent.

A little earlier on, I was being told about the founder of this great place who is a man that is distinguished Nehru, a man that we look to, a man that inspires, not just diplomacy, but the conduct of politics and public affairs. So I am really delighted to have an opportunity to have a little bit of that spirit. Hopefully it can come back with me as I return back home.

You know we are waking up to shifts and movements that are happening and as Ambassador Bhatia will tell you and those of you that are in the policy world, the changes are happening so quickly that sometimes you do not have time to reflect from an intellectual point of view. So I shall not pretend in anyway that I will be giving you some intellectual ground breaking theories today, rather I shall be sharing with you some of the things that you are grappling with, in terms of the insights on the trajectory of Africa-India ties in a global world that is very fast shifting as was indicated by Ambassador Bhatia. Therefore, what I intend to do is to really provoke us, because I want some discussion and I want some reflections out of here to just test the thinking that we are having from across the other side of the Indian Ocean. So I hope that I can use about four issues, four points to provoke us, and what I want to do then is really to place the context within, which I read the Africa-India and the world today. Secondly, to look at how we can recast this relationship, in what I think is a mould in a very fluid geopolitical world today.

So I want to speak about four things. The first one is the geopolitics - how we see the geopolitics shifting and what is shifting in today's geopolitics. Then I want to speak on the whole question of global governance and what I call the democratic recession. Thirdly, I want to talk about cooperation in the Indian Ocean realm, which I think is a big area that requires some reflection. Finally, I want to talk about the risks and maybe opportunities that are associated with what we are calling the fourth industrial revolution and I hope that I can telescope these within the vision of Africa, as we move, we push towards the continental free trade area.

So what about the shifting geopolitics? As Ambassador Bhatia has alluded, I think we are witnessing very swift unraveling of the post World War II global order. We are having profound shifts in the balance of the geopolitical power. We are having unprecedented leaps in technology, you know this morning as I was talking to the African group of Ambassadors or I do not know the business community earlier on, I was telling them how in Kenya today it is very difficult to evade my grandmother's demands, you know, she calls and says I am at

the shop and you please transfer some money to me now, you know, and she does not expect you to say you do not have it, so she is standing there, and she is able to use the digital platform to reach me and to demand the right, which is her money, whether I have it or not, so that is where we are; that grandmothers can actually interact with the 21st century technology without hesitation. It might look obvious today but it was not so obvious 20 years ago. Now these changes are not fleeting. I do not think they are, I do not think they are ephemeral, and we really do not know how long it will take for the world to settle down. You have what we might have been used to in terms of a stable trajectory. So for Africa and our external environment as with this environment continues to be fluid, as it continues to be vague, as it continues to be uncomfortable, the question is do we remain disinterested. How do we engage with an environment that is so unsettled and I think this is an important question, especially in diplomacy, where we are used to values and norms and practices and traditions in a way that things are in rules and procedures. I think we are finding it very difficult to follow rules and procedures anymore as we knew them. So there is an increasing consensus that the power dynamics of our time has shifted, in fact at the multilateral level, we are saying there is a shift from cooperation, cooperative diplomacy and engagement to strategic rivalry and competition. We are now seeing in fact more claims for new architectures that reject multilateral action, reject multilateral frameworks, and they favor the narrow nationalism, narrow parochialism, narrow individualism, individual nation states. Now we know of course that even in the past, we were always faced with some shifts, but I think what compounds today's context is also a range of other challenges that are becoming more prevalent and real, climate change for example, competition for scarce resources. In some cases, state fragility we still experience this, and all these add layers upon layers that create greater uncertainty. This state of affairs of course has implications for global trade, it has implications for migration. Europe thinks this is the biggest thing, but I think it also has real implications for governance, for demographics, for peace and security and for the general stability of the world, as we know it, and as promised by the post Cold War era.

In fact, I recall attending the Munich conference about a week and a half ago and I was struck by the opening statement of the Chair of the Munich conference, whose statement was titled *Who Will Pick up the Pieces*. This was kind of indicative of where we are, who will pick up the pieces. The pieces are falling apart, but who will pick it up. For me this was quite striking because many times in the discussions on global order, there has always been those that are expected to pick up the pieces, those that are expected to lead in reconstructing the world, okay, but in this case there was almost a dialogue of confusion, you know the place of America everybody was saying so, since America is going this way what do we do, will Europe be able to forestall the effects of America. Will we have a China that behaves in a way to be a responsible leader, does Africa have a space in these discussions of the new world order. So clearly something is happening that is of concern and that tells us we are in a new space. Now, I think the most important thing is that this situation as we evolve through this situation, we are going to come out at the end of it with new formations. The question then becomes what set of orders, what set of formations are going to emerge, and what would be the place of Africa and India, or in this case specifically

of Kenya and India as we emerge from this world of flux. Will we play a greater role in shaping this new world order, are we going to be able to clarify its contours, are we going to be able to push its limits, and if we push this limits, will this be to our advantage or will this marginalize us. I think these are the big questions and this is what is going to define the alignments that emerge from the current world order. So these are the geopolitics, the geostrategic standing we are having, we are shifting, and the question becomes how can we become relevant in those shifts so that we can ship it.

The second contour that I want to speak to is the whole question on global governance and the democratic process. Since the end of the World War II, I think it is true to say that democracy was privileged or became the premier aspiration of the world. It became the system of norms and values that was most desired, so if you are democratic then you are a better society and so forth and so forth. A lot of theorization emerged around democracies being more peaceful, democracies not going to war, democracies being better developed, democracies being more just and so forth. So the whole world somewhat was engineered in a way that democracy was the preferred set of norms, was the preferred set of tradition that countries aspired to, and your level of development in fact was defined by how democratic or not democratic that you were, but it is true that today we could not have this assessment standing. I think it is true to speak about a democratic recession globally. It is true to say that we are seeing a lot of pressure on democratization and the most interesting thing is that the biggest pressure on democratization is coming from the “democratic world.” I think that is the most interesting phenomenon we are facing. Now over the years and from an African perspective, we have been trying to strengthen our democratic credentials. Clearly, if you look at Kenya today, our constitution of 2010 is lauded as one of the most democratic constitutions in the world. You know everybody pats our back, you know, we are congratulated for strengthening our democratic credentials, and we believe that we are in the path, the right path, in terms of the democratic project. This country is hailed as the best democracy, the biggest democracy in the world, but as Africa struggles to entrench its democratic values, as we do in Kenya, as India is trying to entrench its democratic values, I think something is happening and I think those that believe in the democratic project globally have to be very worried, somehow if we believe that these are the best values, I think they need champions today. Can India, which is the world’s largest democracy, be the vanguard for supporting the democratization project across the world and we have seen this to the highest level. The whole assault on the rule based international order during multilateralism, the assault on the WTO that we are actually witnessing; we are on the verge of the collapse of the WTO. We have been struggling with UN reforms today. I think that is indicative of the democratic, the struggle of democracy in an era where we are seeing recession of democracy. So what then, what are we to do. Is democracy still the valued system, if it is the valued system, then it seems to me, we must find champions for the democratic project. Who are those champions, are those champions going to be Africa, are those champions going to have to emerge from the collaboration of Africa and India, which is, as I have indicated, fated as one of the exemplars of democracy. How can we then push back on initiatives that seem to be receding the democratic project.

I think this is important because it goes to the organization of society and the question around relations between nations. It was only the democratic dispensation that provided for the equality of nations and rightful engagement at every forum, large or small, weak or strong, so in the absence of these norms and values, what does the international system of interaction look like, and I think I just want to impose that as we continue. If then we mean that we decide the rule based international order assisting that uphold the right and sovereignty of all states, assisting where the rule of law is important, assisting where every one benefits from such an orderly stable global environment, then how are we going to sustain. How are we going to protect assisting, that is, in my view under a very serious assault from the conventional protectors of democracy. And I think this is important in the light of the numerous challenges that we face, particularly a challenge like climate change, which would require cooperative action in all borders and threats like transnational crime, threats like terrorism, which are happening across the borders and which are very difficult to define and to deal with, within the confines of the system. Issues of cyberspace and cybercrime, issues of technological crimes and things like that. So how are we going to deal with these if we do not divide and protect the rule based order that recognizes collective action that recognizes them?



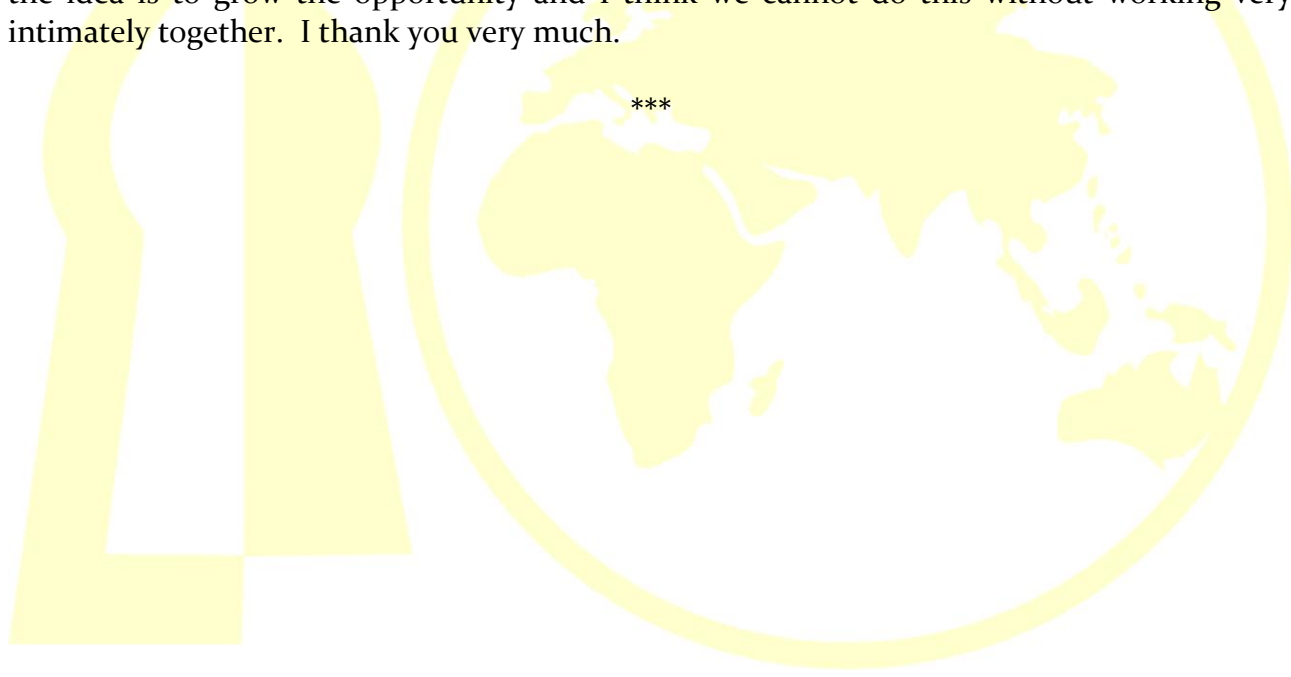
Let me now then turn to the fact which is a quite a specific issue in relation to the cooperation in the Indian Ocean. Now India and Africa, or Kenya, are neighbors except for the Indian Ocean, you now, and maybe we did a number of things. You do know we had boundary with, we are packed with a lot of things, trade, commerce, movement of people and so forth and so on, but one of the things that have happened in the Indian Ocean is

certainly in the last couple of years is that we are witnessing this becoming a new sphere of influence and/or competition. In fact, some of us think that it is becoming to generate a portfolio of risk that is going to be very difficult to manage if we do not pay attention to it and will not like it. We started with a threat of piracy and remember that lead to a situation where the commerce on these trade became so expensive to move because of the currency, because of the threat, because of all sorts of things, transnational crimes, trafficking drugs, human limits, terrorism. But I think the biggest challenge today is what we see, as a growing desire to have influence and to have a footprint in the Indian Ocean. If you look at the Red Sea alone, we are talking about a fleet of not less than 10 different militaries in this very small place, very, very small place where everybody is there; the Americans, the Chinese, Japanese, French, you know everybody is there. And all of them armed to the Operation Atlanta with almost 60 fleets of ships in a very small place. In fact we have not seen that level of militarization to this region even during the Cold War period. We think this stands a huge threat and it just depends on a little mistake to liberate, but it is also being played out by a growing interest of the Middle East into their home and the Red Sea region and this is playing out in a very, very dangerous way. Well, we have people colluding with one side or the other, you know, finding peace on the other side, and demonstrating almost materialistic behavior on the ground in their home a lot. We think again this poses a huge portfolio of risk that can be taken advantage of even by elements such as terrorists and their agents. In Somalia, for example, today we are not only having the Al-Shabab but we are beginning to see the footprint of ISIS, you know, and this is growing even as we see the passage, people being crossing out of Syria. Now this does not define that the men in such a flat does not make it any busier. So we are in a situation that the outside interest in footbridge is growing and huge portfolio of risk that we still do not know how to manage it. We do not know how to manage and reduce this risk, and I think here lays the challenge, because these are laying over an environment that is ecologically very fragile, environmentally very big; cyclic drugs, cyclic funding, cyclic shortages of food, geographically a very volatile region. Henceforth my question has become almost a common feature throughout and within the combination of all these things makes it very clear.

However, the thing that increasing is the growing commercial interest in this region and we have seen a number of studies, 16 studies in this region, and now we are beginning to see the companies really portraying the other type of an image. Now you all know history, how they told us, that when commercial interests combine, it can create multiple challenges including insecurity, competition, and even war. We have seen that in many parts of the eastern part of our continent, and so this vision brings to my mind the question that what is the obligation and role of a country that are neighbors in the Indian costal range. We have not paid attention in the India coastal range and I think the growing interest in this region means that we must pay attention. What type of attention should that be? What type of cooperation that should we engage in, so that we can reduce the risk and probably optimize the opportunities that are found here, whether it is in terms of the good economy, whether it is in terms of exploiting the economy, whether it is in terms of enhancing trade and reducing the risk on the trade lines and things like that.

Finally I want to speak to the questions around before the industrial revolution and I think that is important to other points about the Indian Ocean and interest. The whole Belt and Road initiative cuts through the Red Sea down here, so you are also having growing Chinese interest on this. So what does that mean, what does it project? How you can manage these interests, these opportunities and these risks? Then finally, I want to speak about the threats and risks, hidden opportunities that come with what you are calling, the Fourth Industrial Revolution. It is true we stand on the brink of our technological revolution, that we have fundamentally answered the money in which we believe, the way we work and the way we may be related to one another. The scale, scope and complexity of this transformation, I think, have never been experienced by humanity before. One thing is clear, the way we respond to this about who will involve in the global equality from the private to the public sector. Then you also have single society and in many ways the debate on the Fourth Industrial Revolution is the fact that government is far behind and they are being driven by the private sector, but they are quite far ahead, whether you think the research, the development of the technology and things like that. I think for countries of our scale on the continent, who are traveling with the industrial take-off, the fundamental question is do we have an opportunity to leapfrog to the full industry revolution. What does that mean? Well the type of relationship that we have to afford to enable us to leapfrog from where we are to the Fourth Industrial Revolution. I think this is really important because of the threat of changes that I am going to transform our entire system of production, our management and our governments. I have already spoken about the possibilities that have been brought, for example, by technology that we use today. Now these possibilities are going to be multiplied by the emerging technology breakthrough in artificial intelligence, robotics, in the Internet, in the autonomized vehicles, in the 3D printing media, the nanotechnology you mention it some of which have already begun _____, biotechnology, material science, energy storage, quantum or Q-tip, you name it. Now we all know that artificial intelligence is already with us, from self-driving cars, we have already seen those, though some of us are very frightened when we see them in the picture. You know, we have seen drones that work very close to ourselves, it is in the fight against terrorism and you see what could be a very impressive development. But the question then becomes how we manage these technologies. Just imagine who would have access to these technologies and what they could use them for. Technology, for example, _____ in Kenya is the possibility of a fire or chemical attack, you know, but do we have the framework, a regulatory framework to manage this. Have we developed this ahead of the private sector going ahead of the public sector, I think is something that we need to really think about. What type of engineers and designers and architects that we need to develop, what kind of curriculum will get us ahead or what is taking place very quickly. So I think in the discussion of all this digital revolution, we have to think about the opportunities, we have to think about the management side of it. How do we regulate it in a way that it is not going to become a genie out of the bottles? Sometimes when I sit alone, I think this will be a beautiful spirit and when I see those Star Wars and when children kind of force me to watch them for two minutes, and I am so scared of looking at the whole thing. Because you are left with this sense of complete out of control and you are thinking, if this is possible to be managing then what is the reality if it were to happen in real life. How would you deal with it? Now, I have been here before, I

think India is much ahead in terms of technological advancement and thinking and training. What is the cooperative framework that we need to put in place. In my mind for example the whole discussion around the common African free trade area, because of some factors, structural factors such as the deficit in our infrastructure development, the deficit in our connectivity, I think a lot of their promise of the continental free trade area is going to be on the digital platform. It is this then a place for cooperation between Africa and India, so that we can transform technology in a way that helps us to realize the importance of this scenario. Is this a place to go? How do we manage the pace of the development in the technology in the Fourth Revolution? Are we able to do that or is it going to be financed by the way it develops ahead of us? So I think these four issues in my mind do underscore the imperative for more cooperation, the imperative of more discussion between our scientists, between our knowledge producers, between our technological experts so that we can have a hold of a world that does not spin out of our own control even as it promises its users a lot of promises of transforming our life, of transforming our productive sectors and of managing their working quality as we know it today. So with those few remarks I will stop here. I mean the idea is really to share the geopolitics, the idea is to reduce the compatibility and the idea is to grow the opportunity and I think we cannot do this without working very intimately together. I thank you very much.



Question and Answer Session:

(I): Madam as I invite the audience to frame their questions, and I am sure there will be quite a lot of questions, let me just, to set the ball rolling, ask you one question; and thereafter it will be dear friends (the audience) your turn. My question is on what you said, which is so perceptive and balanced. Could you kindly relate this to the vision 2063 of Africa? I have no doubt that many of those things are being addressed within Africa in various quarters keeping in mind that you leading Africa towards peace, integration, a bigger role in the world, democracy, and inclusive fast economic development. So, can we just have that bridge with 2063 vision? Then the floor would be thrown open.

(P): Thank you, thank you Ambassador. For a long time, the African continent has been grappling with the question of development trajectory and those of you who have been following Africa will recall independence in the early 60s. There was a big question about how you are going to progress; and because of the politics of the time, some of us were leaning westward and the others leaning eastward. So, we were socialist and we were capitalist, and God knows what. Therefore, the economic development trajectory became somewhat bifurcated from an ideological point of view. But, even as it was being bifurcated and we were discussing it on an annual basis within the organisation of African union, the question what would we do as an African continent, kept coming. The general consensus, although not written anywhere, was that let us first focus. And, this was a big bet. The debate was if we focused on economics or on the political ideas. Realising that we could not focus on the two together, we agreed to start with political liberation. That is why the OAU focused, to a very large measure, on the question of liberation. We had the liberation committee, and the discussions were around how we take the liberation of all countries of the African continent forward. This came to the point of pushing against apartheid and the democratisation of South Africa. As this was going on in the late sixties and seventies, the question that began, as we were achieving our independence, was how we pick up the economic side of things. Of course, our economies were not performing very well. You remember the structural adjustment programs, you remember the discussions around most of the decades, and I was telling the private sector earlier today that the difference between the trajectory of Africa and the Asian countries was one: When the World Bank and the IMF came to us...in the seventies, they said, you know, we need a small government, you must be disinvesting the social services, you must cut down government investment in industry and blah, blah, blah, blah. Africa took that advice, and most of the most of Southeast Asian countries did not; and that is where the difference started. By the time we finished the 80s, none of the African economies was functioning in any meaningful way; and so the debate began what do we do to resuscitate and to get back on the path of global prosperity. From that point, discussions around the lender's plan of action, discussions about creating regional organisations as blocks for the economic development of the African continent began; and it is that discussion that has moved to

crystalise the vision 2063. You know, I am kind of cutting a very long story short. So, vision 2063 is a blueprint that Africa has adopted towards a united prosperous continent, you know. And, so the discussions that are related to 63 and out of 63 are looking at harmonization of policies, creating an environment that can allow for the joint growth and prosperity of the African continent. So, we are looking at also to produce, creating and enabling environment for investment. So, peace and security becomes an important, a very very important segment of 2063. A part of getting that environment is creating a governance framework that is attractive, that is predictable, you know, that allows for participation of the citizens in their polity and hence they will all push for democratization. This year alone a total of 18 African countries are going to go through their electoral process, you know; and if you look at the trajectory of elections, last year I think there was 16, something like that. You will see there is more consistent elections, there is more competitive politics. There is more inclusion. There is more development of institutions and frameworks of governance that are very very big. So there is a thrust towards deepening the democratization process. So the environment, the creation of an electoral environment, has become a critical factor of 2063, because legally we have to create an environment that can allow for comfort of other partners to come in and invest in the wealth and prosperity of the African continent. And, so we have a number of things including peer review mechanisms where countries get assessed. There are basic recommendations on how to improve frameworks: judicial framework, administrative framework, legal framework, and so forth. So there is a whole set of enabling environment, situation of enabling environment, where there is a whole set of programs that are supposed to facilitate the investment and growth. For example, the infrastructure programs that are going across the country, across regions you know on the African continent, so we can begin to reduce the infrastructural gap, increase connectivity, you know, so we have Yamoussoukro, which is what is it called, free skies in order to allow for movement, you know, of flights and access for the two countries, people, goods and services across the continent. The idea within the 2063 and within the framework of the CFTA is that we can grow for example of Africa's trade now which is about 17% to about 25% in the next five to seven years, so there are some very ambitious programs, you know, that are supposed to be driven within the framework of 2063. Now what is the link, all the things that I have said here this afternoon have the potential if no funding to derail this vision, you know, if do not for example have a good sense of how governance evolves then it will become very difficult for the frameworks of governance to allow for growth of trade even into African countries. If for example we have the collapse of regional integration if we have a very aggressive, like for example now the American-Africa policy says, I will tell that is America fast ahead now we are coming to Africa and you must give us the contract we want you to give us, now this becomes inappropriate. So you are almost on a collision path when because our framework is an operative framework where you must answer to certain things, are you bringing investment that is going to help us grow jobs, are you going to bring us investment that is going to transfer technology, are you going to bring us the investment that is going to improve on beneficiaries and the value chain.

Now if we have somebody else pushing in a different direction clearly it will have a direct impact on whether we can achieve 2063 or not. So there is a whole set of governments. It is really a blueprint whose objective is to deliver a united, peaceful, prosperous African continent.

Chair (I) : Thank you very much, thank you for your lucidity and courage. Okay, Nivedita, I'll give you the first chance. Just introduce yourself.

(I): Thank you Your Excellency. I am Nivedita Ray, the Director Research at the Council. Thank you your Excellency for such an insightful lecture. My question is on your record about the changing Indian politics and the kind of progression Africa and various countries are entering into, now we find Africa is not only the traditional power that are engaged in Africa, a lot of emerging powers and Asian powers, and it is also creating a competition within Africa rather be within Africa. Is this competition good for Africa? And, coming to a little bit of specific, particularly relating to Kenya, though it is not a part of your lecture which is my inquisitive to know about, in the recent we have heard lot of concerns being raised about China's BRI project in Kenya. How, you know, true are these rumours particularly relating to debt trap that Kenya is going to be entering into, if they fall, Kenya would not be able to pay the loss.

Chair (I): Thank you. Sir, please introduce.

(I): I am Ashok B. Sharma. I am a journalist. My question is you talked about continental free trade area, how many countries in the continent are yet to ratify this; and could you specify the names of the countries; and why they have not yet ratified?

(I): Thank you Sir. Ma'am you have repeated, in reference to the rising crime rate nationally and internationally, and then you have gone on to say that foreign and external interference are taken continentally. I see at the root of all is the natural resources at the future markets of the African continent. In the process, the external forces, forget all about the people of Africa, they are not taken into account at all, what they are looking for is the wealth, present and the future wealth that is going to be generated in the process. Now, you also made a reference to mutual cooperation. Right ma'am, about here I would like to say all the options that we are left with. We should create exemplary mutual cooperation, stands. I mean let us come to the Africa, I mean Kenya and India, if they become an example like South Africa, we have just signed an agreement, actually a few days ago. Likewise, if we have the agreements and exemplary cooperation, that becomes an example for other nations, may be it will answer the African people, because the people are in...

(I): Thank you, I think we will stop here. Madam!

(P): Thank you Ambassador. Let me begin from the question as the Director of Research asked. Two questions, is there competition between the interest in Africa, traditional and new interests, create competition in Africa?

(P): Yes it does, yes it does, but are we aware of this competition? Yes we are, and part of the discussions within the African framework is (how) best we can to try and manage this, and so what has happened is to begin to negotiate partnerships that are not offensive to the core principles of Agenda 2063, so a lot of the preparatory work that happens even before the Africa-India summit for example, is that being done collectively? How is this useful, and why should we make it even more useful, how to shape it, and things like that. We are doing that, and we know the partnership, we are doing it with the FOCAC, we are doing it with TICAD, and with some of them there is a lot of negotiation that go into it. And, we see that this needs to be deepened, so that there is a common understanding of the shared challenges that we face. You know, there will be things that we will disagree on, even at the national level that is not unusual for Africa. But, I think, overall there is a consensus that we must do this collectively because when we act collectively we have a better chance of achieving our objective as elaborated in mission 2063. Now China's SGR support to Kenya and the debt trap, you know, this question has become a question that we hear everywhere we go. You know, it is a question whether we are in Washington DC or whether we are in New Delhi. Now, the most interesting thing, and now I will be very frank with you in this matter. If you look at Kenya's debt portfolio, it is a very crude mix of debt portfolio. We are very careful; believe me, because our macro economic framework is very well managed. I think it is one of the best managed macroeconomic frameworks that we have on the continent; and it has been steady and robust; not for one year, not for two, (but) for decades. Regarding to the point where we can actually absorb political shock without necessarily impacting negatively on the private sector, and we are very proud about that. Now this question on the debt trap, if you want me to tell you what we think it is, there is a combination of several things, and the first one is the fear of the US of China; and we think that there is a deliberate propaganda; and I am not saying propaganda in a frequent way, I am saying it in terms of what the facts are. If you look at the fact in terms of the percentage of our debt, you know, to our national GDP, there is nothing to worry; anybody, we are not worried at all, so we do not have any possibility of a debt trap or failure to service our debt. But, we think that one way in which the American propaganda about Africa being gripped by China is basically (to) throw this debt trap story around. I think it is one of those things. Now, why we are asked why are you doing business with China, China is you know corrupt, you know, you Africans are also corrupt, you know, so you are too bad, they are being reckless, they are throwing money at you, then why you think that I need to stay here. And, I think I will also say it, almost as a criticism to India, that there is no country that knows Kenya, that knows Africa, better than India. In fact, historically, India has a first mover advantage, but India somewhat remains hesitant to take advantage of the first mover advantage. China is meeting Africa at the point of need, at the point of need, and it

is interesting to watch even the contracting, which has changed significantly in terms of its efficiency and efficacy. If a Chinese company gets a contract awarded today, the EXIM of Bank of China releases the money tomorrow; and they do that thing. They do whatever project it is, immediately. So, they do not have to worry about, you know, give us a guarantee, give us consult fees, (and) give us this. So, I think, the structuring of the support for companies is crucial; because, as I have indicated, Africa is facing an infrastructural deficit that we must deal with, if we are going to get the promise of the CFTA and the promise of the prosperity that is offered by our own continent in terms of more natural resources and other resources. But, we cannot sit down and give you letters of comfort, you know, American company or I do not know, French company, and things like that, because we do not have the money in the first place. We do not have the money, but the Chinese government have structured itself in such way that it is going to support its companies to execute; and when we went to Washington DC, President Kenyatta told President Trump, "why do not you give your company support, why do not you give them comfort, because their environment of constructing have shifted internationally and we are going to, have to, play into this game. And, I think that, yeah, it is important that the Indian Exim Bank finds a way to support India's companies in order that they can execute in a timely and efficient manner. If it does not happen that way, we will be losing the game, and I think this is very important. So, there is no debt trap in Kenya. We are unlikely to have a crisis of not servicing our debt anytime soon. We are paying very close attention to that, and would not let it happen. Now the CFTA, the CFTA is probably one of the most ascribed to agreement on the African continent. When we signed on the CFTA last year, in February, 44 countries signed on that day, with the CFTA. Today, 52 countries have signed on the CFTA. In the African situation, we use 15 signatures to enter into force, but because we needed a higher threshold, because it was important in our interpretation that we have a broad based ownership of what you considered a very important agreement, the heads of state decided that we would push this ratification threshold to 22. As of February of this year, we had 19 ratifications, so we are looking for 3 ratifications. Ideally, we are going to get those three before June. So, we are really at the cusp of the CFTA taking off. So, those are the figures, and we are very comfortable in terms of achieving our goal. I agree Africa has been endowed with natural resources, sometimes some people, some analysts, think this is a curse, you know. I am sure you have read a lot of literature on the curse of the African continent, you know, Congo certainly. Sixty years of Congo has not given any peace because of this wealth, and everybody wants their hand in the cookie jar, you know. So it is true, and I think it is not lost on the African continent that there are interests that we wish to continue or to create a relationship that is nothing but extractive, but we are saying no, this is not going to continue being an extractive relationship. It has to be a relationship that needs benefit with the African people themselves. This is the discussion, and this is beginning to frame even the contracting culture that we are having. And, that is why we now find that countries are talking more from a regional perspective, creating regional standards with negotiations. We are having situations where countries are getting

people from other countries to help negotiate together; and I think this is an area that India can be very useful in terms of what you are calling the exemplary mutual cooperation. I think it can go even to the questions about negotiation, how to negotiate a good contract that brings value rather than takes away the resources of the continent. Thank you.

(I): Your Excellency I am the Ambassador of Morocco. This is complimentary of making us sincere.... My question will be very simple. As the economic, science and international cooperation imposed over us, and then in last 2-3 years, instead of political wars we here more of economic wars...Americans... My question is: does this American policy and EU (I won't say economic order, because it speaks to someone, but does not speak to others) represent the reality at the same time, because this is a complete change in the geostrategic and more so in Europe and America. Values are falling apart, and it seems that the people of the South like our continent Africa like Asia are reminding the world of a certain minimum level of _____. Do the American policy and Brexit present a challenge or more an opportunity for the Africans? If the Africans do the same, how for me it is very good and then we always lack _____. The idea is how to change or to reverse the challenges of opportunities. To put in perspective be it...60 per cent. How good is this?

(P): As such I agree...It is active analysis of currents and cross currents, issues criss-crossing in what is the world politics; and in passing we also get a reference to role of the United Nations as to what it should be. My question is: Do you think of late that UN has become weak and ineffectual engine beating in the wild its luminous limbs and wings if you see its history of the last 20 to 30 years in nutshell. I think Africa used to have roaring trade in the world in 1950, 12 or 13 per cent share in the world trade. Today that has been reduced to, I don't know, 3 per cent or 4 per cent. What is the future of free trade in the world, in the not too distant future?

(I): Thank you very much.

(P): Thank you. I have three questions to you. I am Ruchita Beri from the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis. First you talked about Indian Ocean. India's vision of Indian Ocean is one which is cooperative, inclusive, which is as you talked about it is a rule based order which promotes cooperation and security and you know economy. So, what is your take on that? Secondly, you mentioned the agenda 2063, one of the initiatives of that was silencing guns in Africa. How far has it moved? And thirdly, both India and Kenya share this challenge of terrorism including Prime Minister Modi's last visit there was a talk of formalising this into some kind of agreement. How far has it progressed?

(I): Alright, I think we have already got three questions; and you might give two answers. We will have one final round; will take care of both these things.

(P): Thank you very much. Again some very insightful questions; let me attempt them. Is that growing nationalism a challenge or an opportunity, you know, for Africa? I think there are two views. I am not going, but then we say, so I think there are two views. One view is that when because America has become so inward looking, it offers the opportunity of not interfering with other regions. It is not paying too close attention and we have seen number of cases like that. Some of us have gone looking at the DR Congo elections and not being surprised, you know, at the vicinity of American policy making machine given the interest that we know and so forth. So, that is a good thing because it provides the policy space to chart a different project. Now if you take this view, I think the imperative then is to really chart that different trajectory, you know, and to do so quickly. Because, I don't think that position of America, frankly, will be like that for a very long time. This is my projection because it is in a state that it can't be like that for a long time, unless there will be really an implosion of one kind or the other; so, I think, time is of essence. Those who take this view must focus on time. There are those who then say, you know, we have had a stable international order that is somewhat superintended by the western norms and the values, the leadership and so forth and so on. And, in fact, the flags we are seeing now are because these are shifted and there is not an alternative view, and that is why it is okay to have another power to match quickly, so that this can create these superintendents. You know, that is the second view. Now, I think to this one, my sense is, I think we are going to see a flag a little bit more. It is going to take some time. Why? Because the axis upon which, the fulcrum upon which, this world order was based cannot be reconstituted without the changes that we are seeing in other places. For example, I do not think that there is going to be a rescinding of China to the point where it was going to be number two. I don't think it is going to happen. I don't think you can expect that the changes within the Indian subcontinent will recede, and I do not think that the changes that are taking place in the African continent are going to recede. So, I think there is going to be a period of flux, which is why I am saying, we need to reflect those of us that are stepping up to this game, how do you want to shift this in a way that brings out some outcomes that are desirable and aligned to visioning of tomorrow's world, not today's world, because it will be quite tragic if we move from one superpower to another superpower. I think it will be quite tragic, you know. Well, this is my view and sometimes I am accused of being a little bit radical, but I think it will be quite tragic, even if I shoot from one end to the other. I think we have a space to shape the dynamics of the world, whether they are going to be multi-polar whether the corporation is going to take a different type of a shape. I think it is important that we do not get ourselves to a point where we allow for hegemonic tendencies that we cannot control for, you know. And, I think that interests, where it is commercial interests, where it is to upcoming interests of the African continent, cannot be taken for granted. You know, not a very good answer, but I think that will... As the UN becomes weak and ineffectual – as many people in the UN bureaucracy will tell you, the UN will be as strong as the member states. If we have a situation where the members do say I do not care about the rule based this, and I am going

to pay you until you do this for me, clearly that is what is weakening the UN. And, I think part of that is because the norms around which the UN was built are becoming contestant ones, norms around multilateralism, norms around solidarity, norms around common humanity are being contested by some of the people who advance these norms as the primary norms to define the UN, I think that is part of the problem. Now, to my mind, what that has done is that we have a situation where now, in fact, UN has outsourced the difficult challenges of the world to the weaker members. Just look at peacekeeping, so the big boy is going to put boots on the ground, it is therefore the weaker countries, you know they are the ones who can, you know, you bring your boys and girls and we will pay you a \$1000, which is a decent pay, you know, because it has become peacekeeping for cheap, and it is very interesting. Question of climate change: Climate change, that we are the ones that who are suffering the biggest effect of bad behavior of this bigger ones; are the ones left to carry the burden,. So, it has completely inversed the sense of the burden sharing, it has completely inversed the principal of mutual accountability. It has completely inversed the sense of our common humanity and I think this is what is making the UN as a multilateral institution so weak; and that is why in my view the debate of the reform must be robust. It might be completely robust because we cannot have global governance that is so skewed, that is so irrelevant in terms of the reality of the ground that it is actually apportioning responsibilities in such a skewed manner. So, I think, the debate, this reality means we have to engage in a UN reform debate much more robustly, you know, much more vigorously and you must demand for it as a matter of right, as a matter of aligning the reality of the ground with our own institution that we call the United Nations. Now, the future of African trade, which has shrunk over time; the discussions that have brought us to the CFTA, were precisely this discussion. I think it has become more apparent with all 55 of us that we are weaker if we remain individual, and that we are going to get stronger if we can create a united economic block. And, I think the CFTA is going to give us that opportunity to begin to negotiate as an economic block, as a serious economic block really, because we are talking about population of 1.2 billion. We are talking about the range of minerals and resources that are in the African continent, we are talking about the possibilities that it offers. So, I think that CFTA is a platform that is going to respond to the quantum of trade and investment that is required and that Africa can offer to the rest of the world. So, I think, we remain very hopeful, you know. It is going to take some time. Why? Because, the reality of colonialism divided Africa in a very precarious way; so we have Africans that are Lusophone, we have some that are French, some that are British and some that Arab and God knows what else. Now, I think the challenge that we are going to have is how we create the platform that begins to harmonise this. This would take time, but I think that journey has started, and I think it is the rational. Indian-Ocean Rim: we have to strengthen the Indian-Ocean Rim. You know, there is a way in which you think about the frameworks of cooperation, the strong ones. The Indian-Ocean Rim is not the first one to jump the line. So, I think, we have to appreciate the totality of the scope of what that you need to do with Indian Ocean, because it is not just defence. It is the economic activities there, the

commercial activities there, there are security activities there, there is transnational crime. The portfolio of work that requires to happen means we really need to do, in my view, the Indian Ocean Rim more seriously and more purposefully, so that it can become a vehicle that helps us to manage this and the entire Rim that is providing for us multiple opportunities that can actually throw attached risks that can very quickly reverse anything that we may have had so far. Silencing the guns – it is true that we have had the silencing of the guns aspiration for 2020. It is true a lot of work has gone into it, but it is also true that we are still struggling with this. Now the challenge with silencing the guns and aspiration for this is that we deal, and this is deliberate, because it is very difficult to deal with the other side; we are dealing with the receiving side of the guns, you know, there are very few African countries that are about more industries. Actually, other than South Africa, I don't know another one, you know. But, the discussion around the word industry is to go beyond Africa, the entire demand and supply chain, and we have to find out way of pushing obligation on the supply side too. You know, it is one thing to collect and to demobilise guns; it is another, if they are moving in every day, you know, and I think that requires, it has to be a discussion that is beyond the African continent and also deal with the defence, not defence, the Arms industry, because there is a lot of arms that find their way into the African continent. This is generally a challenge in terms of justice to the question of silencing the guns, but that is I want to say it is not allowed that is happening and quite significant progress has been achieved so far. Then terrorism: it is true that there have been discussions; it is also true, I know, that our intelligence arms are in constant contact, you know. It would be useful for this to be formalised, you know, and I think it is one of the areas that we will be discussing, even if it is not tomorrow, just to make sure that this is given traction. The reason for this is because terrorism, first of all, knows no boundaries and in fact they have become so agile in terms of working cross boundaries, so it would not be useful for the states to continue depending on the territorial integrity arguments when it comes to terrorism, I think history and experience has shown us that we can only counter terrorism with more cooperation with more interaction with more interoperability across territories.

Chair (I): Thank you very much. I know that Minister is running out of time, but there is one last round, so I will go to all.

(I): There are some students, yeah.

(I): 1, 2, 3 and that will be the end, so a short question please.

(P): My name is Kanchi, I am from Diplomat Magazine. Excellency, would you like to share some light on big four. I am not talking about Africa's big five. I am talking about 'big four' based on a recently launched initiative by the Government of Kenya and how is your opinion India can collaborate with Kenya in this aspect? Thank you.

(P): Good afternoon, Madam. I am just a political science student from Delhi University. So madam, as you mentioned that China comes to Africa only when in need, so does Kenya support China's One Belt or OBOR initiative. How can India and Kenya deal with the growing Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean together?

(I): It is okay.

(I): Thank you for providing me your insights. My question to you is.

(I): Your name?

(I): My name is ____ I am from Ramjas College, Delhi University. My question to you is, as you mentioned and we are witnessing today, a new world order of unipolarity and US hegemony, so how do you think the world, and so far specifically Africa and India, should overcome this naturally and move towards a multi-polar world? Thank you.

(P): Thank you very much, again some very good questions from the students there. Let me begin with the Big Four, it is the easier one. The Big Four basically is the way we summarise President Kenyatta's vision of his last term; and this Big four, it is called the Big Four Agenda, crystallises, is from dramatic thinking in terms of the areas that you mentioned to pursue in terms of pushing us in our development trajectory. So, what are the Big Four? The Big Four including universal healthcare and universal healthcare right from preventing all the way to diagnostics, all the way to the production of the pharmaceutical lines, I think, so forth and so forth. And, this is driven by the reality that our maternal child health care has been improving since independence and so the question has been what do you do with the rest of the population. Then, one says the young adults and the aged citizens. So, this has been the big issue, and it also includes the one area of insurance, health insurance, so that we can have universal health coverage of every Kenyan _____. So, that is the universal health care, again in a very summarised kind of way. Second one is affordable housing, like many developing countries, Kenya has had lots of movement from rural to urban, you know, migration; and we all know that rural to urban migration creates sometimes unplanned dwellings and substandard ...; and the idea here is to provide a scheme that allows for access to affordable housing particularly to the low income population, because these are the ones likely to end up in the fringes of the urban centres. And, the important thing here is that in fact we found that even from the development access to services, these areas in peri-urban areas are the most lacking and the most vulnerable. So, if you look at gaps even in vaccinations, it is the mother who is from urban Kenya, who is a single mother, who has to take three jobs to survive, that is likely not to submit a child for vaccination, because she simply just does not have the time to take the child to hospital, you know. So, these areas have become pockets of vulnerability and

we think part of the way of answering that is to provide the rest and shelter that begins to have a trigger role, positive effect, on the general economic development and productivity of the population. The third area is food security, because I was talking about the context of fragility in the region. Although as a country, we have progressed to a point where we can manage our food security, the problem is that we are sitting in a region that is ecologically very fragile and sometimes even of conflict; and so while there is sickness, famine and drought, the demand for food and necessity takes away from our stock. So, there is a big discussion about how do we grow productivity, you know, in this environment, so that we can stockpile even for the region, you know. So, we are thinking in terms of what quantum, but also in terms of the quality of the food that we grow and so here the investment portfolio even for Indian companies in terms of technical knowhow, in terms of production, in terms of growing the right crop, the right seed, the right technology that achieves irrigation, anything like that provides opportunity for investment in this regard. Then, the fourth of the Big Four is manufacturing. You know, we have identified a number of sectors like leather, like textile, which are lever agencies so that they can respond to the need to create jobs. We are now again an area where there is opportunity for investment by Indian companies, agro-processing and things like that. So, these are the Big Four in a very short way; and we can provide, if you are interested in, you can talk to one of the colleagues here who can actually provide documents that you might wish to reference. Do we believe, do we support the belt and road initiative? We support any initiative that would help us to close the infrastructural gap in Africa; and so in the discussions we have been having with the Chinese, we are saying that the belt and road initiative requires us to take cognizance of the African Infrastructural Plan of the continent. So, those are the discussions. So, there is 60 billion that President Xi Jinping unveiled in the last FOCAC Summit. The discussions on infrastructure are being pushed towards aligning that development with the African Plan of Action in terms of infrastructural development. Finally, there was the question about Africa together from, what was the last question again?

(I): US.

(P) US and Germany?! I didn't get that.

(I): If India and Africa heading towards cooperating to reach multi-polarity?

(P): Yes, India and Africa cooperation. I think that is the only way, frankly. You know, when I sit down and look at the world today, I think history is offering us an unique opportunity to shift the geopolitics of the war; and the question then become are we ready for that opportunity. Are we ready for that opportunity? Are we just going to sit and do an analysis on what the world wants with America, and how the world wants to be with China? I think we

have to be proactive and just determine and shape the multi-polarity that we think will answer to our own estimations and interests.

(I): Thank you. Thank you very much. So, just you may wish to add a line or two on what happens after the successful holding by Kenya of the Sustainable Blue Economy Conference which is probably one the biggest global events that Kenya hosted very recently.

(P): I think that, it is, you are correct Bhatia. When we started the organisation of the Blue, Sustainable Blue Economy Conference, we did not anticipate the outcome of that conference. And, I think what made it such a success was the fact that you are able to convene across sectors, across ministries, across the societal sectors; and it was interesting to see the discussion that cross over these spaces, whether in the academia or science, you know, what is the debate on the science of blue economy, the debate amongst the private sector, what are the opportunities for investment, the debate of sea facing cities, of mass. We are talking about what do you do in terms of creating sustainable environment in the cities that are sea facing, whether it was ministers of environment, whether it was ministers of water and fisheries, whether it was ministers of infrastructure. I think this was the value of this meeting. For the first time, we have a convergence of delegations from 184 countries in Nairobi drawn from across sectors of governments that are talking together. So it was a meeting, where we did not just have ourselves, you know. Diplomats! Now we are talking of the same things, rule based this, rule based that. So, we are all combative. I think, the conversation was enriched by the fact of diversity and the passion of everybody who went to the conference. Now one of the outcomes, the critical outcomes, I think defense and security, now we are talking about what we do with maritime security to secure the economic potential and commercial viability of seas and waters and rivers and so forth. I think it was this multi-polarity of it that gave it the richness of it. Now, if you look at the outcome documents, and because/ as you are talking, people are actually making deals; co-operations were being signed. You know, from that discussion, we had a lot of discussions around how do we stand our own coast guard. You know, so the benefit of that conference has begun to manifest itself. We have been having a conversation about Seychelles, how we float blue bonds. How do you float blue bonds that help us to conserve the ecology in the sea as part of the environment sustainability? So, I think there is a lot there that people can pull out and actually give traction in terms of cooperation and lots of projects, and lots of ideas and a lot of possibilities, you know; that would create cooperation. Final point about the Sustainable Blue Economy Conference, one of the things that struck me most was the fact of its non-controversial nature. For the first time there are people saying, listen we have a big problem here, and these problem is not going to be solved by each one of us individually. In other words, in that conference people were actually talking strengthening multilateralism. For me, it was the most fascinating way of coming back to how can you strengthen multilateralism. Everyone was viewing it to step into non-controversial issues, and actually work around how do you bring solidarity and cooperation and alliances

on a matter that is impacting all of us in equal measure. So, it was an eye-opening meeting, it has been referenced significantly across the globe and it is forming the foundation for a lot of discussions around oceans and blue economy moving forward. So, we hope we can use it as a foundation as we continue the preparations for the new way of oceans and transitions.

(I): Thank you very much, Minister. I want to assure you that this is one domain in which India is doing some very serious thinking and reflection; and I think at a national level Indian business and industry as well as the Indian government are showing a great deal of interest in various aspects and dimensions of blue economy; and I think this should really be considered as a major subject on the bilateral agenda for India-Kenya cooperation. Dear friends, as you have noted, we have an extraordinary foreign minister with a very strong scholarly background, who also clearly is very used to speaking on television, and that is why she picks up your questions, catches the essence and replies to them in a succinct form. And, that is the reason why she could answer as many questions without hesitation today, covering all parts of the audience and giving complete satisfaction to all the curiosity. I would like to say that the message that came out from you clearly was that the world is changing in various layers at various levels. It could create more problems for us, but also it has a potential to help us to create the opportunities. I think that was the promising and optimistic message you gave. You spoke very frankly about the geopolitical realities where on the one hand you went out flat defend whatever China is doing in Africa and yet in same breath, in utter honesty, you also said that the worst thing that can happen to the world is to move from one unipolarity to another unipolarity; and that I think is the strategic convergence between India and Kenya. I think our both countries want a multi-polar Asia, a multi-polar Africa, and indeed a multi-polar world. This is a world where all of us can grow together. By all means, competition is fine, even rivalry is fine. What is needed to be avoided is the conflict, and I think that is where through the stepped-up cooperation we can achieve a great deal. I must say finally, I was a little concerned about your very frank comments about the EXIM Bank of India. It is one of our primary, very successful institutions. It does reflect, I must say, a certain conservative way to finance. You know, if Chinese can write the cheque tomorrow to Chinese companies, probably we are not in that league. But, this is not to say that EXIM Bank is not extending, in fact it is extending huge amounts of money to Africa, but it does it somewhat conservatively and pragmatically; and I think that the point that comes through very clearly; and I hope the two high commissioners are listening. I think there is a need for Kenyan authorities to sit down and have a frank chat with the EXIM Bank privately; and see whatever the problems there may be, they could not be resolved. I think on behalf of all of us we want to express our very deep appreciation to you. Dear friends, you have noted Africa is changing and it is changing very fast. The problem is with our mindset. I think our mindset must also change to be able to understand and interpret Africa. I think that is centre message that comes out from yet another very successful and stimulating cerebral event that ICWA has led out for you. So, thank you very much Madam, and may I request you to join to applaud.