

# Страны и регионы мира: динамика развития и модели взаимодействия

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## African vector in India's foreign policy strategy in the 21st century (political and economic aspects)

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*Abstract.* The research article is concerned with the mechanisms of cooperation between India and African countries in the latest historical period. The international support that India has provided to many African countries over the decades underscores the political commitment of the Indian leadership to speak on behalf of the nations of the global South. The government of Narendra Modi focuses on the common historical struggle of Indians and Africans against the colonial powers, as on the importance of developing cooperation in the politics, economy, energy, education, culture and humanitarian issues. The parties are interested in developing new approaches to environmental protection, and closely cooperate within the framework of the UN mechanism for sustainable development, actively participating in the formation and discussion of the climate agenda. Three successful Africa-India summits (in 2008, 2011 and 2015) showed a common interest in expanding the nature and areas of interaction. Moreover, India, experiencing an acute need for primary energy resources and minerals, sees in Africa not only a potential supplier of those resources, but also a capacious market for its products. In pursuit of all the interests mentioned, India, on the way of cooperation with African countries, often encounters the unpreparedness of African colleagues for direct dialogue,

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as well as opposition from other major players operating in the region. Among them, the UK and China play a key role. The authors come to the conclusion that at present India has a clear and comprehensive strategy for promoting its interests in Africa and considers the continent as a strategic one. At the same time, a large number of the variables associated with a specific process of interaction and regional development remain in the system of cooperation between India and African countries.

*Keywords:* India, Africa, Africa-India summits, economics and politics, regional confrontation

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## Африканский вектор в индийской внешнеполитической стратегии в XXI в. (политический и экономический аспекты)

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*Аннотация.* Статья посвящена механизмам сотрудничества Индии и стран Африканского континента в новейший исторический период. Международная поддержка, которую Индия оказывает многим странам Африки на протяжении десятилетий, подчеркивает политическое стремление индийского руководства выступать от имени государств глобального Юга. Правительство Нарендры Моды акцентирует внимание на общей исторической борьбе индийцев и африканцев против колониальных держав, а также на важности развития сотрудничества в области политики, экономики, энергетики, образования, культуры и гуманитарных проблем. Стороны заинтересованы в разработке

новых подходов к защите окружающей среды и тесно сотрудничают в рамках механизма ООН по устойчивому развитию, активно участвуя в формировании и обсуждении климатической повестки. Три успешно проведенных саммита Африка–Индия (в 2008, 2011, 2015 гг.) показали общую заинтересованность в расширении характера и направлений сотрудничества. Более того, Индия, испытывающая острую потребность в первичных энергоресурсах и минералах, видит в Африке не только потенциального поставщика этих ресурсов, но и емкий рынок сбыта своей продукции. В достижении всех перечисленных задач Индия на пути сотрудничества с африканскими странами часто сталкивается с неготовностью африканских коллег к прямому диалогу, а также с противодействием других крупных игроков, действующих в регионе. В их числе ключевую роль играют Великобритания и Китай. Авторы приходят к выводу, что в настоящее время Индия имеет четкую и всеобъемлющую стратегию продвижения своих интересов в Африке и рассматривает континент как стратегический. В то же время в системе сотрудничества Индии и африканских стран сохраняется большое количество переменных, связанных с конкретным процессом взаимодействия и регионального развития.

*Ключевые слова:* Индия, Африка, саммиты Африка–Индия, экономика и политика, региональная конфронтация

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## *Introduction*

The article's object is the mechanisms of cooperation between India and the African countries. Although the article focuses on the period from 2008 (the first India-Africa Summit) to the present. The authors pay attention to the background that goes back to the period of independence of African countries in the 1960s.

Nevertheless, 2008 is still a defining stage, as it enables to talk about a comprehensive and coordinated Indian policy towards the African continent, where India has to enter into an economic and political confrontation with its main global antagonist China. At the beginning of the 2000s India was also aimed to establish control over key sources of minerals, including hydrocarbons, in Africa. It was from this moment that African issues turned into one of the stable vectors

of state policy and appeared as a complex sphere of India's activities in the international arena.

Comparing India's positions with those of other leading regional actors, it should be noted its relative weakness associated with the fact that, first of all, India has never been a colonial power. Secondly, with the fact that its "pivot to Africa" occurred relatively late, when the majority of African states had already found foreign priority partners for themselves. The third disadvantage is the investment potential of India, which can hardly be compared to the similar potential of China, that operates in parallel.

Nevertheless, India in many African countries also has a specific priority associated with the existence of historical and modern Indian diasporas there, which often act as a conductor of the economic interests of their homeland. That is why, within the framework of this article, we will pay a great attention to the diaspora aspect.

Another indirect factor contributing to the strengthening of India's position in certain African countries is English, which, under the influence of colonialism, became India's official language and is also widespread in many African countries, that helps to overcome the communication barrier.

In this regard, diaspora and linguistic factors have a great impact on the establishment of the so-called soft ties between the two sides, which find their expression in a fairly broad educational and cultural exchange, making India a country of attraction.

As a result, the relevance of the topic under analysis brings up an association with the processes of a wide geopolitical confrontation on the African continent. So, the opponents in this confrontation are not always the objective geopolitical counterparties of India, for example, China. Rather, the matter concerns the struggle for markets, mining and production facilities, mostly large nationally oriented corporations, and in this process, India has made significant progress in recent years.

### *India-Africa political cooperation*

The African continent has traditionally played an important role in India's foreign policy. The Indian government has supported anti-colonial liberation movements in African countries and worked closely with them through the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, the largest intergovernmental organization of developing countries under the UN. In 1955, African states clearly declared themselves at the Afro-Asian Summit held in Bandung (Indonesia), this meeting contributed to their subsequent participation in the Non-Aligned Movement,

initiated by India's leader Jawaharlal Nehru, President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito and President of Egypt Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1961<sup>1</sup>.

Without the active participation of independent African countries, the developing world represented by the Non-Aligned Movement, would never have become a major player in the modern system of international relations, into which it had already begun to transform in the 1960s and 1970s. The importance of the Non-Aligned Movement lies in providing a powerful balance between East and West, ideologically divided into opposing camps.

In addition, India is expanding the Quartet, which has been renewed since 2017: cooperation with the United States, Japan and Australia. In 2017, India and Japan established the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC)<sup>2</sup> connecting South Asia and the East with the African continent through the Indo-Pacific region to promote joint infrastructure projects in the Indian Ocean bordering countries and Africa to oppose China's Belt and Road Initiative as well as to reduce China's influence in the region.

Official meetings between the leaders of the African countries and India are playing a significant role today in building a new world order. The summits were supposed to be held every three years, alternately in India and Africa. At the first Africa-India summit, held in New Delhi in April 2008, with representatives from 14 African states, projects were agreed on nine key areas of cooperation. In addition, India approved new loans worth \$ 5.4 billion and eased tariff restrictions on the least developed countries in Africa to stimulate trade [Taylor 2012, p. 785]. At the second Africa-India Summit, with the participation of 15 African countries, held in May 2011 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the Indian government provided \$ 5 billion in new loans, including US 700 million to create new institutions and educational projects in Africa<sup>3</sup>. Indian authorities have also awarded 400 new scholarships for African students and 500 additional study places through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program [Taylor 2012, p. 788]. In 2014,

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<sup>1</sup> *Shyam Saran*. India-Africa Cooperation on Global Issues // Ministry of External Affairs. Government of India. 2015. October 23. URL: <https://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?25957/IndiaAfrica+Cooperation+on+Global+Issues> (дата обращения 2 января 2022).

<sup>2</sup> *Кустанов В.О.* Япония и Индия создают альянс с оглядкой на Китай // Независимая газета. 2017. 2 окт. URL: [https://www.ng.ru/courier/2017-10-02/9\\_7085\\_japan.html](https://www.ng.ru/courier/2017-10-02/9_7085_japan.html) (дата обращения 24 января 2022).

<sup>3</sup> Second India-Africa Forum Summit 2011 (IAFS-II). Plan of Action // The Embassy of India in Addis Ababa. 2011. May. URL: <https://eoiaddisababa.gov.in/plan-action/> (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

due to the Ebola outbreak, the third summit between India and African countries was postponed. The third Africa-India Summit was held in New Delhi in October 2015 with representatives from more than 40 African states, which was a political success for the Indian government. Issues of security and the fight against terrorism became an important item on the expanded agenda of the summit. The summit also discussed the provision of loans and projects to provide assistance for the development of the African continent.

Based on the common colonial experiences of India and Africa, the Indian government worked closely with African states through the newly created international institutions. India initially considered itself a representative of these developing countries and promoted closer South-South cooperation. India has been supported by many African states in forums such as the Group of 77 at the UN and in the Non-Aligned Movement. From the outset, India also worked closely with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded in 1963<sup>4</sup>.

Since Prime Minister Narendra Modi took office in 2014, at least one Indian minister has visited every African country<sup>5</sup>. The Prime minister himself made official visits to several African countries, including attending the summit of the BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) in South Africa in the summer of 2018<sup>6</sup>. The Indian government was gradually expanding its political presence in Africa. Thus, at the beginning of 2018, 29 Indian embassies were opened in African countries. To confirm the importance of the African continent for India's foreign policy, the government headed by N. Modi launched 18 new embassies by 2021. The embassies and consular services were aimed not only at expanding economic relations, but also at further strengthening ties with the Indian diaspora in Africa<sup>7</sup>. The importance

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<sup>4</sup> *Shubin V.* United Africa? // RIAC. 2014. July 8. URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/edinaya-afrika/> (дата обращения 26 января 2022).

<sup>5</sup> *Venkatraman J.* Modi or Manmohan. Who had the most number of foreign tours? // The Hindu. 2018. July 22. URL: <https://www.thehindu.com/data/modi-vs-manmohan-who-had-the-most-number-of-foreign-tours/article19199518.ece> (дата обращения 23 января 2022).

<sup>6</sup> *Schweikowski M.* South Africa prepares for BRICS summit // Deutsche Welle. 2018. July 24. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/south-africa-prepares-for-brics-summit/a-44800626> (дата обращения 12 января 2022).

<sup>7</sup> India to open 18 new missions in Africa, including four this fiscal year // The Hindustan Times. 2019. 06 July. URL: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/budget/india-to-open-18-new-missions-in-africa-including-four-this-fiscal-year/story-7wJSlTo6ImVJdlk5vvKrPI.html> (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

of the African continent to India is today confirmed by the “10 Guiding Principles for India-Africa Engagement”, which were announced by N. Modi in July 2018 during his speech before the Ugandan Parliament. The Indian prime minister said: «Africa will be in the first place among our priorities»<sup>8</sup>. This thesis clearly cannot be considered unfounded, which is already indicated by the development of economic cooperation between India and African countries.

### *Economic relations between India and African countries*

From an economic point of view, the African continent was not of particular interest to India for a long time. First, the economic policy of most African states was aimed primarily at the domestic market. Secondly, European politicians had a great influence on the foreign policy of African countries. China only in the early 2000s gradually began to intensify in Africa, invest in its economy, industry and infrastructure. Third, after the collapse of the USSR, Russia-India political, military and economic cooperation stagnated, what was causing the rapprochement of India with the United States and Asia-Pacific region. Fourth, thanks to the liberal economic reforms of the 1990s in India, as well as the rapid population growth and the need for oil and gas supplies, the Indian government began to announce large joint projects with African states. Fifth, it is impossible to discount the impact of projects between China and Africa within the framework of China's Belt and Road Initiative, which is helping to advance China in the region. India, seeking to counteract the growing influence of China in the Indo-Pacific region, that covers the Indian Ocean and East Africa, has become more actively involved in the politics of the African continent: from three Africa-India summits, N. Modi's official visits to South Africa, Kenya to the reform of the UN Security Council at the expense of large African states.

Until 1991, India pursued an economic policy of import substitution. Therefore, economic issues initially played an insignificant role in cooperation with the countries of the African continent. However, a considerable instrument of Indian foreign policy was South-South interaction within the framework of the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program, which was launched in 1964 and

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<sup>8</sup> *Schwikowski M.* India makes a comeback in Africa // Deutsche Welle. 2019. December 6. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/india-makes-a-comeback-in-africa/a-51557458> (дата обращения 12 января 2022).



included many representatives of African states [Галищева 2011, с. 97]. It should be mentioned that «increasing dependence on the global economic environment has forced governments to pursue a policy of reducing transaction costs aimed at building trust from transnational commodity and financial markets» [Чепель 2018, с. 30].

In 2002, the state-owned Export-Import Bank of India (EXIM) announced the Focus Africa program to expand economic relations with individual states in the region. The initial focus was on Ethiopia, Kenya and Mauritius. Subsequently, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Ghana joined this program. Lending to these countries has been expanded to support their imports of goods and services from India. In 2004, India along with eight West African states launched the so-called TEAM-9 (Techno-Economic Approach to the Africa-India Movement) initiative, which was also aimed at expanding economic relations. Through this initiative, India wanted to take part in the development of oil reserves in the Gulf of Guinea (Equatorial Guinea was of particular importance at the time)<sup>9</sup>. During the 2008 first summit, India cut tariffs for African least developed countries. Such initiatives have contributed to a substantial expansion of trade between India and the African continent. Trade between India and Africa increased from US \$ 5.3 billion in 2001 to US \$ 70 billion in 2013. At the World Economic Forum in Delhi in 2014, trade was announced to reach 500 billion USD by 2020. In addition to expanding trade, the Indian government is promoting private investors and seeking to diversify trade<sup>10</sup>. The Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), for example, has organized nine Indian-African meetings for its member companies.

However, in the period from 2015 to 2016, an economic downturn between India and African states broke out. The main reason for this was the rise in oil and raw material prices. India's trade was currently focused on only a few states and a specific range of products. Six African states (Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Egypt, Morocco and Algeria) account for 89% of India's exports. The focus was on energy and raw materials (oil, gas, ore and gold). Oil and gas exports alone accounted for 2/3 of African exports to India. The African continent has become an important energy supplier

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<sup>9</sup> On TEAM-9 Meeting in New Delhi // Ministry of External Affairs. Government of India. 2014. March 01. URL: <https://www.mea.gov.in/outgoing-visit-detail.htm?3446/On+TEAM9+Meeting+in+New+Delhi> (дата обращения 24 января 2022).

<sup>10</sup> *Shruti Gakhar, Subir Gokarn*. India-Africa trade and investment. A back-drop // Brookings. 2015. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/india-africa-trade-and-investments-backdrop/> (дата обращения 24 января 2022).



for India (24%)<sup>11</sup>. The most important sectors for Indian companies in Africa were agriculture, pharmaceuticals, information technology, finance, textiles, energy and the automobile industry. In addition, Indian business was active on the African continent, so all major international Indian companies (ArcelorMittal, Vedanta Resources, Tata Group and Airtel) were represented in Africa [Taylor 2012, p. 780].

India is also actively involved in the development of infrastructure projects in Africa. India first opened a technical college in Nairobi in 1956. Indian companies laid a pipeline from Khartoum to Port Sudan in 2009; Indian business (like Airtel) is attracting African countries with electronic payment systems in rural areas. Specifically, the Tata Group operates a coffee processing plant in Uganda and a vehicle manufacturing plant in Zambia, thereby helping these states diversify their exports. Indian pharmaceutical companies (for example, Ranbaxy) have expanded their production in Africa [Taylor 2012, p. 790].

India, investing in African nations, has provided over US \$ 1 billion to technical assistance and staff training through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program. Through the African Capacity Building Fund (ACBF), of which India is a member, the Indian government has pledged \$ 1 million for projects on sustainable development, poverty reduction and key social programs in Africa. Thus, India, drawing on its IT expertise, has invested US \$ 100 million in the Pan-African Electronic Network to bridge the digital divide in Africa<sup>12</sup>.

### *Discussion. The role of counterparties in India-Africa cooperation*

When the matter concerns the fact that at the beginning of the 21st century, and especially since 2014, India turned to Africa and actively started developing political and economic cooperation, as well as dialogue with national diaspora in African countries, it should not be lost sight of the objective reasons for which it happened.

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<sup>11</sup> Mishra A. The African Continental Free Trade Area and Its Implications for India-Africa Trade // WITA. 2018. URL: <https://www.wita.org/atp-research/the-african-continental-free-trade-area-and-its-implications-for-india-africa-trade/> (дата обращения 25 января 2022).

<sup>12</sup> Pant H.V. Modi's African Outreach Picks Up in Rwanda, Uganda, and South Africa // The Diplomat. 2018. July 24. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/07/modis-african-outreach-picks-up-in-rwanda-uganda-and-south-africa/> (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

We tend to consider the geopolitical strengthening of China and its desire to cover Eurasia and Africa with a system of transit routes, the most famous of which is Belt and Road Initiative<sup>13</sup>. It involves the creation of three trans-Eurasian economic corridors: Northern route (China – Central Asia – Russia – Europe), Central one (China – Central and Western Asia – the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea) and Southern corridor (China – Southeast Asia – South Asia – the Indian Ocean).

China is also working on the creation of a project «The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road»<sup>14</sup>, which involves the provision of a transit route along two paths: through the South China Sea to the South Pacific region and from China and Europe through the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean.

India does not de jure support any of these projects, since each of them, as well as them taken together, are capable of isolating Indian trade and subordinating it to Chinese interests. In this regard, the struggle between China and India for partners in the Indian Ocean basin, including on the African continent, is becoming actual. Note that China has already signed agreements with 37 African countries, including Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Djibouti, Egypt, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Cape Verde, Cameroon, Kenya, Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, Libya, Mauritania, Madagascar, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Seychelles, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Chad, Ethiopia, South Africa, South Sudan<sup>15</sup>. This list does not include just a few states, some of which are closely associated with India, but have a weak political significance, such as Mauritius.

At the same time, China is also strengthening its military infrastructure. An example is the naval base in Djibouti, where 12,000 Chinese

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<sup>13</sup> 习近平在上合组织峰会发表讲话 传承丝路精神共创美好明天 [Towards a community of common destiny and a new future for Asia. Keynote speech by Chinese president Xi Jinping] // China Daily. 2013. September 14. URL: [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqgj/2013xjpcfzy/2013-09/14/content\\_16969745.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqgj/2013xjpcfzy/2013-09/14/content_16969745.htm) (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

<sup>14</sup> 推动共建丝绸之路经济带和21世纪海上丝绸之路的愿景与行动》全 [Vision and actions on jointly building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st century Maritime Silk Road] // China.org.cn. 2015. September 15. URL: [http://www.china.org.cn/chinese/2015-09/15/content\\_36591064.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/chinese/2015-09/15/content_36591064.htm) (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

<sup>15</sup> Overseas Citizenship of India Scheme // Ministry of External Affairs, India. URL: <https://www.mea.gov.in/overseas-citizenship-of-india-scheme.htm> (дата обращения 24 января 2022).

troops are based<sup>16</sup>. By the way, China offers African partner countries large financial investments as well as flexible and comprehensive forms of cooperation, including loans, infrastructure construction, personnel training, etc.

In response to these actions, India is offering Africa its own project called the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGR), that is being implemented jointly with Japan, China's antagonist. AAGR will prioritize development projects in health and pharmaceuticals, agriculture and agro-processing, disaster management and skills development. According to Japan's authorities, Japan is about to support and finance projects, even if they are carried out in Africa by Indian companies that work in cooperation with Japanese companies<sup>17</sup>.

In addition to cooperation with Japan within the framework of AAGR, India since the 1990s is developing its strategy for the India-Pacific region. Its key element is infrastructure development in South, Southeast and East Africa. It is planned to build up joint work with Japan and the United States in India's neighboring countries, including Bangladesh, Myanmar, Thailand, Kenya (joint development of the port of Mombasa), as well as in the Indian northeastern states.

At the end of the 1990s, India has begun active strategic interaction with the states at the extreme poles of this arc: Oman<sup>18</sup> and the Philippines<sup>19</sup>. This was facilitated by the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) established in 1995, the goal of which was to unite the countries of the Indian Ocean basin into a partnership union, with the invitation of individual states of the Southwest Pacific<sup>20</sup> to it in order to

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<sup>16</sup> Chinese navy an indispensable force to maintain world peace // Xinhua. 2019. April 23. URL: [http://www.china.org.cn/china/2019-04/23/content\\_74711071.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/china/2019-04/23/content_74711071.htm) (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

<sup>17</sup> Asia-Africa growth corridor launched // The Times of India. 2017. 25 May. URL: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ahmedabad/asia-africa-growth-corridor-launched/articleshow/58830900.cms> (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

<sup>18</sup> India-Oman Relations // The Government of India. 2017. November. URL: [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/26\\_Oman\\_November\\_2017.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/26_Oman_November_2017.pdf) (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

<sup>19</sup> Cabalza Ch. The Philippines' Strategic Relationship With India // The Diplomat. 2018. January 27, 2018. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/01/the-philippines-strategic-relationship-with-india/> (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

<sup>20</sup> Ayres A. The U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy Needs More Indian Ocean // Council on Foreign Relations. 2019. January 22. URL: <https://www.cfr.org/expert-brief/us-indo-pacific-strategy-needs-more-indian-ocean> (дата обращения 16 января 2022).

limit the political, economic and military influence of countries located outside the region and do not share the common political and economic interests of regional players.

In this context, access to the African continent becomes a logical step to strengthen this regional bloc, which, nevertheless, remains unstable, since it exists in a system of conflicting interests of its member states. Thus, today only India-Japan relations can be regarded stable and effective. All other states in the region are adapting to a wider palette of global challenges and maneuvering between the interests of global powers: China, the United States and Russia, which makes it impossible to speak about regional stability in the Indian Ocean and the strength of Indo-African interaction. So, numerous Indian diaspora in African countries gives Delhi additional confidence in promotion of India's regional policy on the continent.

## *Conclusion*

According to Indian authorities, India's partnership with Africa is a set of development priorities in line with the African Union's long-term plan, NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) and Agenda 2063 [Брагина 2018, с. 183]. The sense of solidarity and mutual trust that was born during the Cold War continues to reinforce the interaction between India and Africa, allowing states to expand and enrich their cooperation at the regional and global levels in a wide range of economic, political and cultural directions.

This interaction and its expansion are facilitated by the mutual interests of the parties. Investments and infrastructure projects are of primary interest for African countries. For India, African resources act as an incentive for cooperation, among which priority is given to hydrocarbons, gold and diamonds. In addition, African countries represent a gigantic market for Indian goods that may well compete with their Chinese counterparts.

In this regard, for India, the confrontation with the Chinese influence, which in Africa has a stronger position and is widespread, is becoming actual. And the way to counteract this influence is, firstly, dialogue with national diasporas, which can become the indicators of Indian interests in individual African countries, and secondly, cooperation with global opponents of China, one of the key ones among which is Japan.

Thus, it can be mentioned that today India has a fairly clear and comprehensive strategy for promoting its interests in Africa that is regarded as a strategic partner. At the same time, a large number

of variables associated with a specific process of cooperation and regional development remain in the system of interaction between India and African countries. In this regard, in order to achieve objective success in Africa, for India, in the coming years, it is necessary to multiply the intensity of diplomatic and economic influence on counterparties, which in the context of global crisis phenomena seems to be a rather difficult and ambitious task.

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