

NAMIBIA-INDIA RELATIONS, 1990 – 2007

**Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in
partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the Dissertation entitle “**NAMIBIA-INDIA RELATIONS, 1990-2007**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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Dedicated to
My parents
And
Bashu Aur Kashishi

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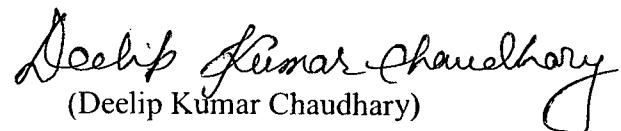
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(Deelip Kumar Chaudhary)

PREFACE

Namibia is a very fledgling democracy which became independent from the clutches of South Africa in the year 1990. Prior to that, it was under the German subjugation and hence it had been perennially exploited by the colonisers in all aspects including political, economic and military.

India's independence in the year 1947 was a watershed event in the world history for the simple fact that post-independent India was a staunch supporter of anti-colonial feelings and movements and this also included the unwavering support from India towards the cause of Namibian independence. The ideals of Indian freedom-fighters including Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and others were also instrumental in shaping the pro-independence feelings in Namibia. The support from India was not just in the shape of ideas but rather perceptible economic, political and military support towards Namibian independence. This support from India was on the basis of the proclaimed ideals of Indian foreign policy of South-South Co-operation and Third World co-operation. India's support was both direct as well as on international fora like United Nations.

Finally when Namibia saw the dawn of independence, India's efforts for a developed Namibia continued. India supported the establishment of a stable democracy in Namibia; it expanded the economic co-operation with Namibia in various areas including the highly coveted diamond mining, pharmaceuticals, railways etc. A very important part of the co-operation between the two countries is the multi-level exchange programme for personnel between them. This includes both the military and non-military personnel like bureaucrats, doctors, engineers, academicians etc. This is very crucial from the Namibian perspective for it allows for the development of trained man-power and human resources for Namibia. This trained manpower will be a very important source of future developments.

Namibia, on its part, has been a very reliable partner of African Union for India. Ever since its independence, Namibia has supported India's stake for a permanent seat in

the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) with veto power. The support is based on the premise that the current composition of the UNSC does not reflect the contemporary geo-political realities. It has the reflection of 1945's political status of the world. It has to consider the enormous political, economic and military changes which the world order has seen till now. Keeping this in perspective, India's claim for a permanent seat in UNSC is justified and should be given. This is also crucial for the development of stronger South-South co-operation and third world co-operation.

In nutshell, it is mutually beneficial for the largest democracy in the world and the youngest democracy in the world to work for better and sustainable development of co-operation between the two of them. This is also crucial for the larger issue of third world development.

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CHAPTER – 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

NAMIBIA: AN OVERVIEW

The dry lands of Namibia were inhabited since early times by Bushmen, Damara, Namaqua, and since about the 14th century AD, by immigrating Bantu who came with the Bantu expansion. The region was not extensively explored by Europeans until the 19th century. Namibia became a German colony and was known as German South-West Africa apart from Walvis Bay, which was under British control. South Africa occupied the colony during World War I and administered it as a League of Nations mandate territory until after World War II, when it unilaterally annexed the territory, without international recognition¹.

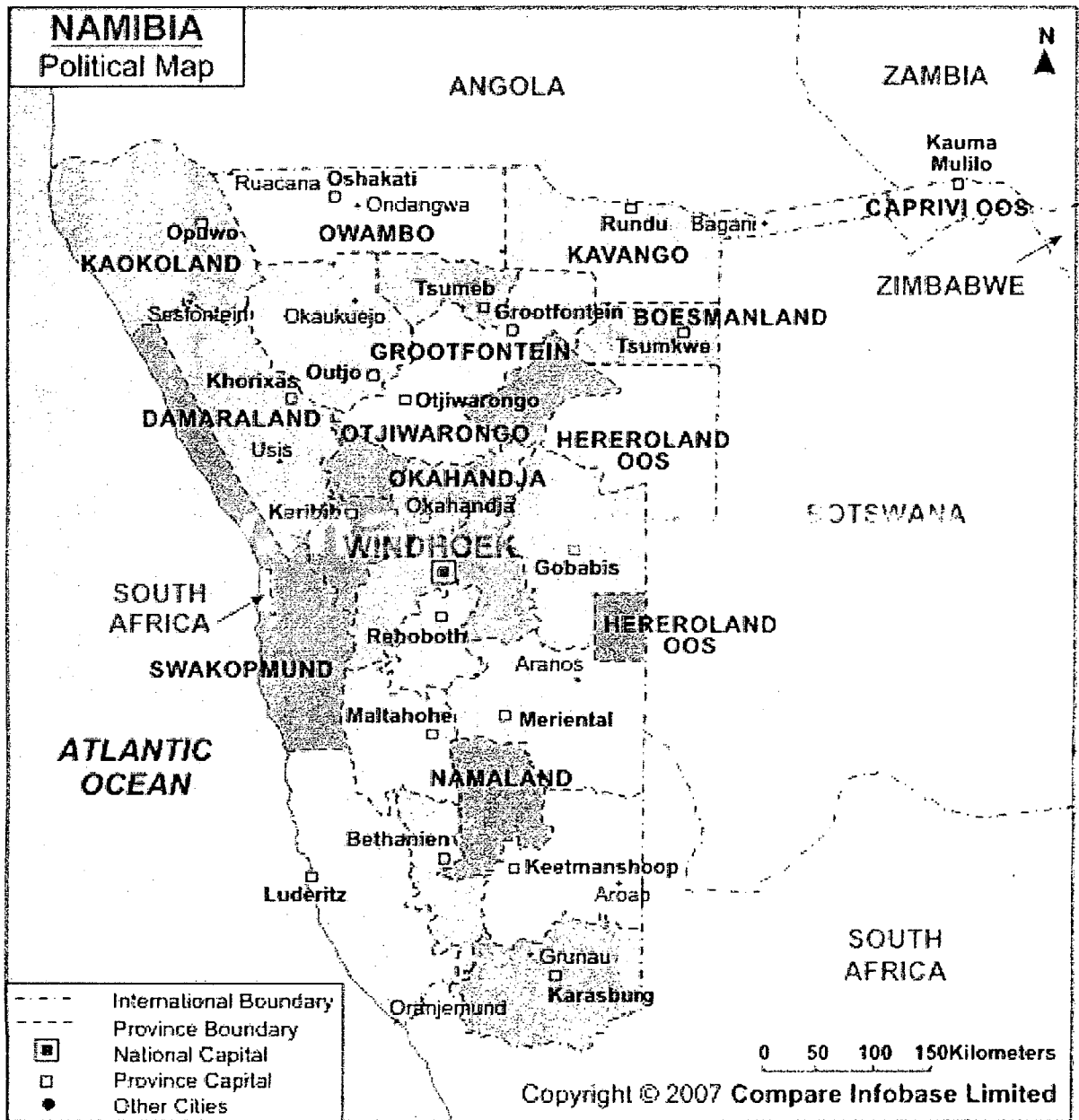
In 1966, the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) military wing, People's Liberation Army of Namibia, a guerrilla group launched a war of independence, but it was not until 1988 that South Africa agreed to end its administration of Namibia, in accordance with a United Nations peace plan for the entire region. Independence came in 1990, and Walvis Bay was ceded to Namibia in 1994 upon the end of Apartheid in South Africa.

Namibia is divided into 13 regions and subdivided into 102 constituencies.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Erongo. | (8) Omusati. |
| (2) Omaheke. | (9) Oshana. |
| (3) Khomas. | (10) Oshikoto. |
| (4) Okavango. | (11) Ohangwena. |
| (5) Karas. | (12) Hardap. |
| (6) Caprivi | (13) Kunene. |
| (7) Otjozondjupa. | |

¹ Gupta, V. (1990), “*Plans for Economic Growth*”, in Vijay Gupta (ed.), *Independent Namibia: Problems and Prospects*, Delhi: Konark Publications, PP. 87-104

POLITICAL MAP OF NAMIBIA



Source: www.mapofworld.com

Namibia is the world's thirty-fourth largest country (after Venezuela). After Mongolia, Namibia is the least densely populated country in the world (2.5 inhabitants per square kilometre (6.5 /sq mi)).

The Namibian landscape consists generally of five geographical areas, each with characteristic abiotic conditions and vegetation with some variation within and overlap between them: the Central Plateau, the Namib Desert, the Escarpment, the Bushveld, and the Kalahari Desert. Although the climate is generally extremely dry, there are a few exceptions. The cold, north-flowing Benguela current accounts for some of the low precipitation.

The Central Plateau runs from north to south, bordered by the Skeleton Coast to the north west, the Namibia Desert and its coastal plains to the south west, the Orange River to the south, and the Kalahari Desert to the east. The Central Plateau is home to the highest point in Namibia at Königstein elevation 2,606 meters (8,550 ft). Within the wide, flat Central Plateau is the majority of Namibia's population and economic activity. Windhoek, the nation's capital, is located here, as well as most of the arable land. Although arable land accounts for only 1% of Namibia, nearly half of the population is employed in agriculture.

The abiotic conditions here are similar to those found along the Escarpment, described below; however the topographic complexity is reduced. Summer temperatures in the area can reach 40°C during the summer, and in the winter, frosts are common.

The Namibia Desert is a broad expanse of hyper-arid gravel plains and dunes that stretches along the entire coastline, which varies in width between 100 to many hundreds of kilometres. Areas within the Namibia include the Skeleton Coast and the Kaokoveld in the north and the extensive Namibia Sand Sea along the central coast. The sands that make up the sand sea are a consequence of erosional processes that take place within the Orange River valley and areas further to the south. As sand-laden waters drop their suspended loads into the Atlantic, onshore currents deposit them along the shore. The prevailing south west winds then pick up and redeposit the sand in the form of massive dunes in the widespread sand sea. In areas where the supply of sand is reduced because of the inability of the sand to cross riverbeds, the winds also scour the land to form large gravel plains. In many areas within the

Namibia Desert, there is little vegetation with the exception of lichens found in the gravel plains, and in dry river beds where plants can access subterranean water.

ECONOMY OF NAMIBIA

Namibia's economy consists primarily of mining and manufacturing which represent 8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) respectively. Namibia has a 30-40% unemployment rate and recently passed a 2004 labour act to protect people from job discrimination stemming from pregnancy and HIV/AIDS status. Namibia's economy is tied closely to South Africa's due to their shared history. The Central Plateau serves as a transportation corridor from the more densely populated north to South Africa, the source of four-fifths of Namibia's imports. Namibia is the fourth largest exporter of non-fuel minerals in Africa and the world's fifth largest producer of uranium. There has been significant investment in uranium mining and Namibia is set to become the largest exporter of uranium by 2015. Rich alluvial diamond deposits make Namibia a primary source for gem-quality diamonds. Namibia also produces large quantities of lead, zinc, tin, silver, and tungsten. About half of the population depends on agriculture (largely subsistence agriculture) for its livelihood, but Namibia must still import some of its food. Although per capita GDP is five times the per capita GDP of Africa's poorest countries, the majority of Namibia's people live in rural areas and exist on a subsistence way of life. Namibia has one of the highest rates of income inequality in the world, due in part to the fact that there is an urban economy and a more rural cash-less economy. The inequality figures thus take into account people who do not actually rely on the formal economy for their survival. Agreement has been reached on the privatisation of several more enterprises in coming years, with hopes that this will stimulate much needed foreign investment. However, reinvestment of environmentally derived capital has hobbled Namibian per capita income. One of the fastest growing areas of economic development in Namibia is the growth of wildlife conservancies. These conservancies are particularly important to the rural generally unemployed population.²

² Kiljunen .L. (1981) "The land and its people" in Reginald, Green H. (ed.) Namibia the last colony, Addis Ababa. P-23-29.

Namibia is a young country located on the southern west coast of Africa. It achieved its independence in 1990 after a long and arduous liberation struggle. Namibia is a constitutionally multiparty democracy, and is a model of solidarity and peaceful development. Namibia foreign policy based on the principles of Non-Alignment, Seeking the peaceful resolution of disputes between countries under the banner of the United Nations, and a commitment to achieving African unity and increasing co-operation between developing countries.

Namibia became the 160th Member of the United Nations (on 23rd April 1990), Organization of African Unity, S.A.D.C. as well as Commonwealth. Non permanent membership for the term 1999-2000 (in the United Nations) representing the Southern and East African region. Although Namibia is a relatively small country in terms of populations. Namibia is a proud of the role it plays in international affairs. Namibia is an active participant in range of international organizations and Namibia enjoy sound diplomatic relations with most countries in the world.

India had been in the forefront in supporting of the liberation struggle of Namibia and was indeed among the first nations to raise the question of Namibian independence in the UN. Since 1946, in every international forum, especially the UN Committee on decolonisation, India took the lead in supporting the Namibian liberation struggle and provided all possible moral, material and diplomatic support to the Namibia.

India recognised South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and allowed it to open an office in India in 1981. Government of India funded the SWAPO Mission in New Delhi. ⁽²⁾ The first ever SWAPO Embassy abroad was established in New Delhi in 1986 and was funded by Government of India. The SWAPO Mission was closed after independence of Namibia. Government of Namibia opened a full-fledged resident Mission in New Delhi in March 1994.

An Indian Observer Mission was set up in Windhoek in July 1989 to monitor the implementation of the UN settlement process and to liaise with SWAPO. India contributed contingents of Army, Police and Civilian Observers to help during the

transitional period through maintenance of law and order and supervision of the election process. It is noteworthy that a retired Indian Army Officer, General Prem Chand commanded the force under the United Nation's Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

Diplomatic relations with independent Namibia were established right from the moment of its independence, with the Observer Mission being upgraded to a full-fledged High Commission on March 21, 1990.

The Republic of Namibia lying across the tropic of Capricorn covers an area of 824292 sq. Km. It is bordered by South Africa on the south and South east by Botswana on the east and Angola on the north, while the narrow Caprivi strip between the two latter countries, extends Namibia's boundaries to the Zambezi river and a short border with Zambia.³

India is one of the oldest civilisations in the world with a kaleidoscopic variety and rich cultural heritage. It has achieved all round socio-economic progress during the last 60 years of its independence. India has become self sufficient in agricultural production and is now the tenth industrialised country in the world and the sixth nation to have gone into outer space to conquer nature for the benefit of the nation. It covers an area of 3287263 sq. km extending from the snow-covered Himalayan heights to the tropical rain forest of the south. As the seventh largest country in the world, India stands apart from the rest of Asia, marked off as it is by mountains and the sea, which give the country a distinct geographical entity. Bounded by the great Himalayas in the north, it stretches southwards and at the tropic of cancer, tapers off into the Indian Ocean between the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. Countries having a common border with India are Afghanistan and Pakistan to the North-west, China, Bhutan and Nepal to the north, Myanmar to the east and Bangladesh to the east of West Bengal. Sri Lanka is separated from India by a narrow channel of sea formed by the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar.

President Sam Nujoma of Namibia when he returned from India (After state visit in march 1992) he wrote a letter to Indian president R. Venkataraman. "The

³ Chhabra, H.S., India and Africa a Saga of Friendship. New Delhi, July 1986.

Edited by Reginald H. Green Kimmo, Kiljunen, Marjaliisa Kiljunen. Namibia the last colony. P-23

people of Namibia would forever value and appreciate the brotherly and sisterly support that you rendered to us during our bitter struggle for the independence of our country”.

All Indians leaders inspired by the idealism of mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru have always acted in the belief that India’s on Independence would be meaningless if even a small segment of population anywhere in the world remains under the agonising yoke of colonialism. India has always been in the vanguard of the world wide struggle for the attainment of total decolonisation.

On the question of Namibia’s independence, India took a stand based only on one consideration: the interest and well being of Namibians and the territorial integrity of their country. India opposed tooth and nail the South African request for the incorporation of Namibia because it believed that such a step would go against the interest of the Namibians themselves who would become permanently subject to the apartheid regulations and practises of South Africa.

INDIA POLICY TOWARDS NAMIBIA WAS GUIDED BY SIX PRINCIPLES

India wanted Namibia to gain genuine independence which by implication, ruled out handing over the reins of government to anybody except those who enjoyed the support of the majority of the population.

- (1) The moral and material support to the South West African people’s organisation (SWAPO) should be increased to enable it to intensify its armed liberation struggle.
- (2) The independence of Namibia should preferably come through an agreement among all the parties with the united nation’s playing a direct role in it.
- (3) This independence should usher in as early as possible because delay would mean prolongation of the period of agony for the Namibian people and ruthless exploitation of Namibia’s rich natural resources.
- (4) The territorial integrity of Namibia should remain unimpaired which meant the Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands which belong to Namibia could not be annexed by any country.
- (5) Economic sanction against South Africa should be imposed without delay and international campaign to mobilise support in their favour should be

intensified. India believed that both the armed struggle and the sanction were required to push South Africa to the negotiating table for a serious discussion leading to the final settlement of the problem of Namibia independence.

INDIA SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

India's liberation struggle was pursued on non-violent lines, it supported the armed liberation struggle launched by the freedom movement in Southern Africa. For instance, it supported the armed struggle launched by the South West African people's organisation (SWAPO, which was founded in 1960) for the liberation of Namibia.⁴

It did so in the firm belief that the armed struggle would make it very difficult and increasingly expensive for South Africa to stay on the territory. India believes that the armed struggle would one day push the South African government to the negotiating table. India believe that the armed struggle was the only choice left before the Namibian people because the South African government had closed all avenues for the peaceful settlement of the problem. This strategy really worked because the South African government ultimately had to hold negotiations which pave the way to Namibia's elections under UN auspices.

India utilized for the provided by the NAM (Non alignment movement) and the commonwealth to mobilize public opinion and support from the member countries for the SWAPO.

In the 1970's India had taken a similarity strong stand on the Rhodesian question also. India had always considered Rhodesia as a non-self governing territory. On 7th May 1965 India became the first country in the world to break off diplomatic relations with Rhodesia and was one of the first to impose total embargo after the proclamation of the unilateral declaration of independence by the minority regime of Ian Smith. The move to break off diplomatic ties with Rhodesia came when India became certain that Britain would not effectively intervene to solve the Rhodesian problem. India pursued a pragmatic policy on the question of recognition of governments established by the nationalist movement of Guinea Bissau set up a

⁴ Independent Namibia, Problems and Prospects, By Vijay Gupta 1990 p-18.

government in exile; India didn't waste time to ponder over the legality of the newly established government and granted it immediate recognition.

When the Angolan civil war was in progress and the entire Angolan territory was parcelled among the FLNA. The MPLA and the UNITA factions of the nationalist movement the government of India announced its decision to recognise the MPLA. All these recognitions indicated a drastic reversal of India's policy on recognition pursued during Nehru's premiership. It may be recalled that Nehru had refused to recognise the provisional government of Algeria set up in Cairo by Farat Abbas. India refuses to establish diplomatic ties with Portugal until the Portuguese colonies in Africa were granted independence. The Rajiv Gandhi government also accorded recognition to the Saharwi Arab democratic Republic (SADR) established by the Polisario front in Western Sahara.⁵

An additional dimension to India's role in liberation of African countries was in the material, military and financial support provided to freedom fighters in Africa. By 1969, India had spent more than Rs.1.25 million to assist African liberation movement. By 1977 this amount had gone up to Rs.5 million. India has also contributed handsomely to the liberation committee of the organization of African unity (OAU). India has also made contributions albeit modest to the UN fund for Namibia, the UN institute for Namibia at Lusaka, the UN education and training programme for South Africa, the UN trust fund for South Africa and the international defence and aid fund for Southern Africa. A number of South Africans and Namibians have been provided free education in institution of higher learning in India.

In 1983 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared in her message to the UN conference on Namibia, held in Paris "India's solidarity with and support for the brave people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West African people organisation is a matter of record. I reiterate the pledge of the government and people of India to continue to support the freedom struggle of the Namibian people". In the same year SWAPO was given permission and facilities to open an office in New Delhi. In 1985 at the meeting of the co-ordinating bureau of non-aligned countries in the presence of Sam Nujoma, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi announced India's

⁵Green, Reynald, Marja-lisa Kiljunen, Kimmo Kiljunen (1981), *Namibia the Last Colony*, U.K: Longman, p.8-9..

decision to grant full diplomatic status to SWAPO, whose office in New Delhi was raised to the status of a diplomatic mission. It was logical therefore that in the next year when Sam Nujoma visited India, he was accorded all the honours due to a head of state. When Sam Nujoma visited India again in 1988 after the Brazzaville accord laid down a time table for Namibian polls and independence, he was accompanied by a high level delegation including SWAPO defence secretary, Peter Mweshihange. Describing his talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi as very useful, Sam Nujoma thanks the government and people of India for their unstinted political, diplomatic moral and material support to his organisation. While he ruled out any possibilities of Angolan type insurgency in Namibia he said with full confidence that in the event of any such trouble we have the legitimate right to call on India to come and help us.⁶

India hailed SWAPO's unqualified success in the 1989 election and congratulated Sam Nujoma in leading his people to freedom through peaceful negotiations. In 1990 president R. Venkataraman in his message of felicitations to president elect Sam Nujoma declared.

"It is but fighting that you who have led the Namibian people during the long years of freedom struggle, should call upon to lead the nation once that freedom is achieved". Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh expressing similar views. "We are happy to have been of some assistance in the Namibian struggle for independence. The co-operation between our two countries will, I am sure, expand after the independence of Namibia. President Sam Nujoma paid a state visit to India for six days from 24th February 1992. During the visit, he was also honoured with the award of the Indira Gandhi prize for peace, disarmament and development for the year 1990.

At a special ceremony to confer the award on 25th February 1992. On this occasion R. Venkataraman said "By choosing you for the award of the Indira Gandhi prize, the international jury has given us an opportunity to pay tribute to your valiant contribution in leading the people of Namibia to liberty. Speaking on the occasion Prime Minister P.V Narsimha Rao said "We have had the privilege of welcoming you, Mr. President, to India on many earlier occasions.

We count on you as an old and trusted friend but what an added pleasure it is to have you with us as the leader of a sovereign nation, a symbol of free Namibia".

⁶ Bley, H (1997) Namibia under German Rule, Uppsala Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. P-37-38

He added I wish to assure you, Mr. President that we are as firmly committed now in our support for the task of nation building in independent Namibia as we were during the day of the struggle.

Responding to these sentiments, President Sam Nujoma noted that “It was Namibia’s great good fortune that India achieved its independence first. He added “No other people had adopted Namibia’s struggle and made it its own struggle in the manner in which the great people of India had done.”⁷

India has for times immemorial had close relations with Africa, for centuries ships have traversed the seas between the two continents building commercial and cultural links. Colonialism and common sufferings under its yoke had helped forge feelings of oneness and political ties which continue to date. Mahatma Gandhi symbolised this connection, more than eighty years ago it was he who launched in South Africa his movements of civil disobedience for the restoration of human dignity. With this invaluable political weapon of mass action he later won for India its freedom. Again it was he, who along with India’s Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, together helped build an alliance with the African majority in South Africa for struggle and deliverance from the colonial domination. Thus began the two people’s shared common aspirations for dignity and freedom.

Jawaharlal Nehru set the guidelines for India’s foreign policy and threw the weight of free India on the side of those who were fighting against racialism. For seventeen years under his leadership, India remained in the vanguard of forces opposed to the oppressions against the people of South Africa and Namibia. For him the peoples of Africa were “a special responsibility”, a responsibility “to help them to their rightful place in the human family. The freedom that we envisage,” he said, “Is not being confined to this nation or that or to a particular people, but must spread out over the whole human race. That universal freedom also cannot be based on the supremacy of any particular class; it must be the freedom of the common man everywhere and full of opportunities for him to develop.” It was Nehru who awakened the conscience of the world to the tragedy of racial discrimination in South Africa as the very negotiations of the dignity of man and his inalienable rights. Consistently he

⁷ Chhabra, H.S (1986) “*India and Africa a Saga of friendship*” Thomson Press Ltd., New Delhi 1986. p-55-56

urged the world community to resist the loathsome phenomenon of discrimination and prevent it taking on the dimension of a catastrophe, the effects of which the world would be unable to escape.⁸

The guidelines said by Jawaharlal Nehru where latter reiterated also by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and then Rajiv Gandhi. Speaking at the “Africa Day” celebrations in New Delhi on 25th May 1974, she expressed consistent support for all freedom movements in Africa. “We sincerely hope that the racist and fascist regimes in Africa will have the foresight to realise that they cannot fight the inevitable much longer. Many people have been suppressed as also their desires, their aspiration, but we have found that the idea is stronger than any force, and the idea of freedom is one such thing which gives tremendous strength to the weakest peoples, and it becomes ultimately more powerful than weapons and military strength or any kind of repression. So I have no doubt that the hardship and the sacrifice of the brave freedom fighters has brought them very near success and our wishes are with them that this success may come very soon”. Again in 1982 Mrs. Gandhi condemning south Africa’s bid to subvert the United Nations plan for a peaceful settlement in Namibia, deplored the action of certain states supporting the apartheid regime in South Africa in defiance of world opinion and reaffirmed total support to the Namibian people’s right to sovereignty.⁹

Rajiv Gandhi also extended considerable moral and material assistance to the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia. He condemned apartheid as “A blot on our civilisation”, “A crime against humanity”, “A structure of institutionalized terror sustained by racist domination and economic exploitation”, as “a foundation of colonialism in Namibia its invasion, its destabilisation, the assistance that is being given to puppets and mercenaries in the states”, and called for a battle against it not just in South Africa and Namibia bur across the world. “Now is the moment to strike”, he said “and strikes hard” the superstructure of apartheid built on foundations of military relationships and economic sustenance.

⁸) *Africa Quarterly*, vol. 35, No 1, 1995 p-6-7

⁹ Ibid p-12

Moral support of the leadership apart, at the institutional level India took the lead following independence to fight, through every available forum, apartheid and colonialism. In fact, India's struggle against colonialism in the United Nations, the Non-aligned movement (NAM) and the commonwealth was never free from the deeper understanding of the kindred struggle against racism. India has openly identified itself with the overall struggle in southern Africa against apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia.¹⁰

Way back in 1946, India's interim Government under Nehru frustrated in the United Nations general Smuts' design of incorporating South West Africa into the boundaries of the racist state instead of placing it under the Trusteeship system. Presenting a long document to the general assembly, General Smuts had made out a case for annexation on the plea that the peoples of South West Africa enjoyed the same benefit and facilities as the people of the Union; continuance of an independent existence for the was thus not necessary.

The suggested move was further justified on the plea that the wishes of the people to such a move had already been ascertained. India, however, countered the argument and called for placing the territory under United Nations Trusteeship as this would enable the peoples of the territory at some date to achieve independence. India's stand was initially rejected in the Sub-committee because of its pro-western bias, but it did succeed in embarrassing South Africa and its Western supporters. India also succeeded later in having its amendment appended to that of the United States, which while conceding that incorporation was not justified at that stage did leave open the annexation possibility for a future date. India's compromise resolution which recommended the placing of the territory of South West Africa under UN trusteeship was finally adopted as Resolution 66 (1) on 10 December 1946, even while South Africa, Britain and several western states abstained from voting.¹¹

Other Indian initiatives in support of the Namibian cause were taken in 1949 and 1958. In 1949 in the face of strong opposition from the western states, India took

¹⁰ *Africa Quarterly*, Vol 35, No 1, p-12

¹¹ Solomon Slonin, *South west Africa and the United Nations* (Baltimore and London (1973) p-33

the lead to secure a hearing for Rev. Michael Scott representing the case of the Namibian chiefs and peoples to expose the fraud of the 1946 consultations by the South African regime- that the suggested move for annexation had been on the basis of an opinion poll taken then. In 1958 India scuttled a move launched by the western states for the partition of Namibia. The partition plan if implemented would have resulted in an outright annexation of the mineral rich Southern half of the country by South Africa, while the Northern half would be administered under the trusteeship system as an integral part of South Africa.¹²

South Africa's repression in Namibia intensified "Bantustans" or black homelands were set up and land distribution codified in favour of the Whites who received half of the country's tenancy particularly of the areas rich in mineral resources and convenient for farming. The South Africans rulers also drew up contingency plans for partitioning the colony in case they failed to retain the whole of it. Namibia's principal port Walvis Bay, for example, was excluded from the Namibian borders and handed over to South Africa. It was around this time in 1960, that the South West Africans launched their liberation movement- South West African People Organisation and proclaimed independence as its main goal. Founded by Namibia's largest ethnic group, the Ovambo, SWAPO has from the outset been a national organisation recognised by the United Nations as the sole representative body of the peoples of Namibia.¹³

As repression was intensified in South West Africa, India steadfastly stood by SWAPO's freedom fighters and consistently adhered to its stand for trusteeship in the region. It took the lead in the United Nations debates on Namibia, and , finally in 1966, along with other African states forced South Africa to terminate its mandate on Namibia on the ground that it had failed in its " sacred trust" over the peoples of Namibia. A UN council for Namibia, vested with trusteeship to prepare the territory for eventual transition to independence, was formed. South Africa, however did not allow the council to fulfil its mission, on the contrary it extended to Namibia its apartheid rules. All through these years of struggle, repression and disillusion, India

¹² Ibid, p-174-175

¹³Ray, Vanita (1990), India long standing bond with Namibia, in Vijay Gupta, (ed.) *Independent Namibia Problems and Prospects*, Konark Publishers, Delhi: p-179-180

has stood by the African countries, supporting their struggle for freedom and human dignity. At the same time, the western countries have openly supported South Africa in its defiance of the UN resolutions and the opinions of the international court of justice.

In the Non Aligned movement too, of which India is a leading founding member, it has continued its historic struggle against colonialism apartheid and the illegal occupation of Namibia. Way back in 1973, the fourth summit conference of the Non-aligned countries at Algiers, Mrs. Gandhi reiterated her earlier call to carry forward the “unfinished revolution” the political liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean’s. “The persistence of colonialism and racialism in Africa,” she said, “is an outrage on humanity the anachronistic colonialism could not have survived without the concealed or open support of their imperialist allies and the sub imperialist systems of South Africa and Rhodesia”. Ways had therefore to be found, she went on to add, “For giving more effective support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau”. The 1983 seventh Non Aligned summit meeting hosted by Delhi declared its unreserved support for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. “The struggle of the people of Southern Africa for self determination”, the conference declaration stated, “forms and integral part of the wider struggle of the peoples of the world against all forms of oppression, exploitation, domination, inequality and discrimination”. Reiterating solidarity with the Namibian people’s heroic struggle for liberation waged under the leadership of SWAPO, the conference “renewed its pledge to render increased material, financial, military, political, humanitarian, diplomatic and moral assistance to SWAPO for intensification of the struggle on all fronts”. Needless to add here that as the host of the conference, India played an important role in the formulation of the declaration.

The commitment of Mrs. Gandhi to Namibia freedom struggle was also unmistakable. A message addressed to a symposium on the “century of heroic struggle of the Namibian peoples against colonial occupation” held at the United Nations and recorded on the very day of her assassination, remains an enduring testimony to her deep and abiding commitment to the Namibians cause. “It is tragic”, she said, “to see men and women of the Namibia pitted against a regime which totally disregards human rights and dignity”. Pledging India’s support to the Namibian

people led by SWAPO, she reiterated India's "belief that the immediate and full implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolution (435) is the only basis on which the issue of Namibian independence can be settled"¹⁴

In 1985 India hosted the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the co-ordinating bureau of the non-aligned countries on Namibia on 19th April. Largely at India's initiative the meeting called for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa as the only viable option to compel the Pretoria regime to abolish the system of apartheid and might possibly lead to the unconditional implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolution 435 of 1978 on Namibia. The resolution had laid out a time frame for cease fire in the guerrilla war, the withdrawal of all armed forces and a UN supervised elections, to be followed up finally by full independence for Namibia. However, this generally well accepted breakthrough in the long impasse was scuttled by the introduction by the United States of its "Linkage" ingredients. This linkage concept was connecting the withdrawal of all armed forces with the simultaneous withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola. These troops however had been invited by the government of Angola to resist the South African invasion at the time of the Portuguese pull out in 1975. The "linkage" idea was rejected by SWAPO, Angola, the frontline states of Southern Africa, the organisation of African unity, the NAM and the UN.¹⁵

India was the first country to decide at this meeting to accord full diplomatic status to SWAPO's representative in New Delhi. This was a testimony of India's deep commitment to the cause of Namibian freedom, as also in direct line with the policy initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru to help countries still under colonial rule to achieve freedom. It would not be out of place to mention here that it was in 1973 that the United Nations General Assembly had recognized SWAPO as the true representative of the people of Namibia, and three years later the world body conferred on the Namibians the right to achieve independence "by using all means". India's initiative was indicative of its intentions and a reiteration of its commitment to the cause of liberation in Africa. The move becomes a source of inspiration for the recently independent former colonies in Africa-Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde. They all lauded India's role as being politically and diplomatically a blow to the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa.¹⁵

¹⁴ Report of the United Nation council for Namibia, UN, DOC, A/8724, Vol 1

¹⁵ Ibid. para 211

Echoing the sentiments of the Non-Aligned nations at this historic meeting of the co-ordinating bureau of NAM, the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi condemned the Brazen attitudes of the racist South African regime in not granting independence to Namibia and called on the meeting to implement the Namibian independence plan which alone “will show the brave fighters of Namibia that the NAM means business”. Rajiv Gandhi further underlined the fact that Namibian independence was the direct obligation of the United Nations and that the Security Council would have to find means to enforce its 1978 resolution (435), which was really the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the issue.

The NAM has since then, with India always in the forefront, pledged increased military, political and economic assistance to SWAPO in the struggle against the Pretoria regime and authorised its agencies to co-ordinate efforts of hasten in the independence of Namibia. And this event while the non-aligned countries are not economically, politically or militarily strong enough to oppose the western states support for South Africa. In fact, thanks to its numerical strength, NAM has come to be a power that cannot be entirely ignored by them. This was aptly stated by the then minister of state for external affairs, Khurshid Alam Khan, who while reiterating India’s determination told the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung in April 1985, that Asia, Africa and the whole non-aligned world would resist the revival of colonialism and while continuing its battle against its economic and cultural consequences would call for a halt to brokerage of power through military pressure or economic temptation.¹⁶

In the common wealth too, India ever since independence has taken the lead at a critical juncture in joining with other prominent African leaders-Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe- in opposing Britain’s intransigent attitude of support to South Africa, by blocking the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria regime. Indian leaders have consistently appealed to the heads of Commonwealth states to demonstrate their determination to apartheid and declare their resolve to end racism in South Africa. Where as to Mrs. Gandhi “the unfinished battles in Southern Africa” was a challenge “to be faced with determination” Rajiv Gandhi at the October 1987 common wealth summit meeting at

¹⁶ *Africa Quarterly*, vol 35, No 1, 1995, p-79

Vancouver called for a change which would have to come from the peoples themselves. He said let us not underrate the revolutionary rights of freedom fighters. We know from experience in India that the dawn breaks when the night appears at its darkest. Then as a member of the commonwealth eminent persons group, with Australia, Canada, Barbados, Britain, Nigeria and Tanzania, India assumed the tasks of examining issues relating to the dismantling of apartheid. Though this task is beset with obstacles because of the non co-operation of South African authority, India has left no stone unturned to see to it that appropriate measures, including sanctions, are taken and all efforts made to check South-Africa's activities of enforcing discriminatory measures throughout its own territory as well as Namibia.¹⁷

India's decision to grant diplomatic status to SWAPO is not only a culmination of forty years of solidarity with the Namibian people but has great international significance at this time when the racist regime in South Africa and its friends are intensifying manoeuvres to complicate the situation in the whole of Southern Africa.

For eight years, the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, approved by the Security Council in Resolution 435 (1978), and accepted at the time by the South African regime and SWAPO, has been blocked. At first, the Pretoria regime sought to impose pre-conditions and resort to delaying tactics in order to find ways to conduct rigged elections and install a puppet regime. Since the beginning of 1981, there has been a deadlock because of the linkage introduced by the United States between the independence of Namibia through free elections and its demand for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The recent decision of the United States to grant military assistance to UNITA to step up subversion in Angola has been unanimously opposed by the Organisation of African Unity and the Movement of Non-aligned Countries. It is likely not only to further delay the independence of Namibia but to reinforce a community of interests between the South African regime and the United States and to create wider complications in the region.

On the other hand, SWAPO now enjoys not only the unquestioned loyalty of the Namibian people but widest international support, including that of a great majority of Western governments. Its struggle is reinforced by the unprecedented and irrepressible upsurge of the South African people against the Pretoria regime. The Namibian people and SWAPO can secure the independence of their country, given

¹⁷ Ibid pp-80

political and material support by the international community to overcome external interference.¹⁸

India has shown, by granting diplomatic status to SWAPO and by offering increased material assistance to it that she will continue to make a major contribution both as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and after her term ends later this year. The example of India will no doubt be followed by a number of other countries. It is a warning against any manoeuvres to grant bogus "independence" to the puppets now installed in a so-called "interim government" in Windhoek and an undertaking to provide SWAPO with all necessary assistance for liberation by armed struggle if the negotiated settlement is frustrated.¹⁹

19 The actions of India should come as no surprise in view of the long record of support to the Namibian people in their struggle for self-determination and independence. In 1946, during the second part of the first session of the General Assembly in New York, the South African Government submitted a proposal to annex the mandated territory of South West Africa (now Namibia) instead of placing it under the United Nations trusteeship system. Field Marshall Jan Christian Smuts personally appeared before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly on November 4, 1946, to move the proposal. He was the darling of the West, extolled as a liberal despite his racist record in South Africa. He tried to be very clever. He recalled that the mandate agreement had allowed the Territory to be administered as an integral part of South Africa, and continued:

"By now, South West Africa was so thoroughly integrated with the Union that its formal incorporation was mainly required to remove doubts, and thereby attract capital and encourage individual initiative, and to render unnecessary a separate fiscal system. Incorporation would thus admit the inhabitants to the full benefits enjoyed by the population of the Union". Smuts presented a long document claiming that the

¹⁸ *Africa Quarterly*, Vol 35, No 1, 1995, p-86

¹⁹ *Ibid* p-87

wishes of the people had been ascertained, and that the Europeans and a majority of "Natives" (2, 08,850 against 33,520) favoured integration.²⁰

He argued: "The integration of South West Africa with the Union would be mainly a formal recognition of a unity that already existed. The South African delegation was confident that the United Nations would recognise that to give effect to the wishes of the population of South West Africa would be the logical application of the democratic principles of political self-determination."²¹

His racism, however, came through despite himself when he explained the nature of consultation of the people of South West Africa: "The wishes of the European population had been expressed through the normal democratic channels, that is, through the press, through public utterances, and through the unanimous resolutions of the South West African Legislative Assembly.

"The wishes of the natives had been ascertained in an equally democratic but rather different form, with due regard to their differing tribal organisation and customs... the task of explaining the purpose of the consultation had been entrusted to the most experienced officials, Commissioners who had long resided among the natives, who understood fully the native mind, and who enjoyed the complete confidence of the tribes."²²

The United Nations was then dominated by the Western and colonial Powers and General Smuts might have gotten away with his plot. The few Socialist States could have been ignored. Other delegations had little knowledge about the Territory. South Africa had prevented African chiefs from leaving the Territory and even held

²⁰ *Africa Quarterly*, Vol 35, No 1, 1995 p-91

²¹ *Ibid* pp-92

²² *Africa Quarterly*, vol 35, No 1, 1935, p-93

up their letters to the United Nations. The only information, rather scanty, was from groups such as the Council on African Affairs in New York and the Anti-Slavery Society in London. But Smuts received a shock and a surprise. A national government had been established in India, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, and its delegation came to New York with instructions that colonial freedom was the foremost concern of India.

India had a few months earlier broken trade relations with South Africa because of new discriminatory laws against Indians in South Africa and had complained to the United Nations against the breach of agreements by South Africa. At the very next meeting after Smuts spoke, Sir Maharaj Singh of India (who was ably assisted by V.K. Krishna Menon in the Fourth Committee) politely but firmly exposed the plot. He described the rampant racial discrimination in South Africa which belied the claim that the people would benefit from incorporation. He also exposed the fraud of consultation of the Africans in the Territory.²³

He stressed India's view that sovereignty resided in the people and that the purpose of United Nations trusteeship was to enable the people to accede to independence as soon as possible. He asked the Assembly to demand that South Africa place the territory under the United Nations trusteeship system. India's statement encouraged many Asian, Arab and Latin American countries to reject the South African proposal. The United States delegate, John Foster Dulles, then conceded on November 14 that "the data before the Assembly did not justify the approval by the Assembly during the current session of the incorporation of the mandated territory of South West Africa into the Union of South Africa.

The colonial powers were anxious to get approval for trusteeship agreements for their own colonies and did not wish to jeopardise their interests by active support to South Africa. The only exception was the United Kingdom. A.G. Bottomley, the British delegate, said: "The Government of the United Kingdom was satisfied with the steps taken to determine the people's wishes. In the opinion of Lord Hailey, a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the freedom of the people to express

²³ *Africa Quarterly*, vol 37, no-3 & 4, 1997 by S.C Saxena,



themselves on that question had been complete, and in accordance with normal tribal practice. Consequently there was no reason to doubt the fairness or the accuracy of the results of that popular consultation."²⁴

After the statement by Dulles, it became clear that South Africa could not get approval by the United Nations for the annexation of the Territory. The matter was sent to a Sub-Committee. In the Sub-Committee, the United States sponsored a resolution, agreeable to South Africa, to state merely that "the data before the General Assembly does not justify action of the General Assembly approving the incorporation..." India moved a resolution to reject incorporation and to call on South Africa to submit a trusteeship agreement for the Territory. The Soviet Union moved a more strongly worded resolution along the same lines. Because of the composition of the Sub-Committee, the Indian resolution was rejected by 11 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions, and the Soviet resolution by 12 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions. The US draft was adopted by 12 votes to 6, with one abstention.²⁵

But the Indian delegation did not give up, as the United States draft left open the possibility of annexation. It reintroduced its draft when the matter was taken up in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. Again, it was Britain alone which fully supported South Africa. Its delegate, Sir Hartley Shawcross, argued that "the measures taken by the South African Government to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants were as complete and satisfactory as practicable" and the results genuinely represent the wishes of the inhabitants.²⁶

India could not hope to obtain a two-thirds majority for her draft. But it embarrassed the Western Powers and they too became uncertain of a two-thirds majority for their draft. A compromise was reached to add to the United States draft the Indian proposal recommending that South Africa place the Territory under the United Nations Trusteeship system. It was adopted as Resolution 66 (I) on December 10, 1946, with South Africa, Britain and several Western Powers abstaining.²⁷

²⁴ *Africa quarterly*, vol 37, No 3 & 4, 1997 p-12

²⁵ Ravikumar, Veena (1990), "Significance of United States Policy", in Vijay Gupta, (ed.) *Independent Namibia Problems and Prospects*, Konark Publishers, Delhi: p-179-180

²⁶ *Ibid*, 123

²⁷ *Ibid*, 124

The demand that Namibia be placed under trusteeship became the focus of United Nations resolutions until the General Assembly decided to terminate South Africa's mandate in 1966. The integrity and the international status of Namibia were preserved. India continued to take the lead in United Nations debates on Namibia until African states joined the United Nations and the Namibian people established a broad-based national movement, SWAPO, in 1960. In 1949, India took the lead, against strong Western opposition, to secure a hearing for the late Reverend Michael Scott, to enable him to present to the United Nations the appeals of the chiefs and people of Namibia and to expose the fraud of the 1946 "consultation" by the South African regime. In 1958 when a Good Offices Committee - consisting of the United Kingdom, the United States and Brazil - negotiated with South Africa the partition of Namibia, with the mineral-rich southern half to be annexed outright by South Africa and the northern half to be administered under trusteeship as an integral part of South Africa, India again led the fight to reject any proposal for partition or for annexation of any part of Namibia.

The major Western Powers continued to advocate negotiations with the South African regime - despite its constant defiance of United Nations resolutions and opinions of the International Court of Justice - knowing well that no solution ending racial discrimination in Namibia or granting genuine independence to the country could result from such negotiations. From 1962, India, along with African States, pressed for sanctions against South Africa as the only means to oblige it to comply with the demands of the United Nations.

India also joined with the Organisation of African Unity and African States in providing political and material assistance to SWAPO when it emerged as the dominant political force in Namibia and launched an armed struggle on August 26, 1966. SWAPO has always been able to count on India as a reliable friend.²⁸

Namibia is far from India and India has no material "interests" there. But it is a country which was designated by the Allied Powers after the First World War as a "sacred trust of civilisation" - a trust that was cynically and repeatedly betrayed by the

²⁸ Ray, Vanita (1990), *India long standing bond with Namibia*, pp-175

Powers concerned. The Namibian people have suffered grievously under alien occupation. They were the victims of the first modern and organised genocide by the German conquerors. They have continued to suffer from South African racism and apartheid, as well as plunder by foreign interests. They have been robbed of their lands and reduced to the level of contract labourers or poor peasants in a country endowed with great riches.²⁹

It was enormously difficult to organise a national movement in the huge territory populated by many tribal groups, separated and repressed by the South African regime, and denied educational and economic opportunities. But SWAPO, a movement essentially of labourers and poor peasants, has been able to develop a national mass movement for liberation and, indeed, build a nation in the struggle for freedom.

It has carried on an armed struggle for twenty years against a powerful and ruthless enemy and earned the loyalty of all the people, including the leaders of all the churches, except for a few chiefs appointed by the South African regime and a handful of renegades.³⁰

In 1986, as the Pretoria regime is under siege in South Africa itself, there is an unprecedented opportunity to secure Namibia's independence. But there are short-sighted and sinister plots to plunge the whole region in Cold War and prevent genuine independence of Namibia. India cannot but join with Africa in ensuring that the international community counters these plots and fulfils its sacred responsibility to the Namibian people.

²⁹ *ibid* pp 180

³⁰ *Ibid* pp-181

INDIA SUPPORT DIRECT U.N. ADMINISTRATION

Major landmark in India's solidarity with the people of Namibia came in 1966 when she urged revocation of the mandate of South Africa and assumption of direct control by the U.N.O. By then the South West Africa People's Organisation founded in 1960 under the able leadership of Sam Nujoma, had already been given full moral and material support by India. After the world court had quibbled over the issue of South Africa's accountability under the original mandate, India saw no point in carrying on the farce any longer. India's minister of external affairs Sardar Swaran singh deplored the world court's pusillanimity and declared in the United Nation general assembly: - 'The only course of action left to the world community is to terminate South Africa's mandate and to take upon itself the responsibility of administering the territory until such time as arrangements can be made for the people of South west Africa to assume the reins of government themselves'. When this was done under the united nation general assembly resolution 2145 of 27th October 1966, India welcomed it as unique, historic and sacred responsibility.³¹

SUPPORT TO SWAPO'S ARMED STRUGGLE

In 1966 the assumptions of direct responsibility by the united nations, SWAPO decided to launch armed struggle in the face of increasingly vicious operation by the racist government of South Africa, though it was only in 1969 that the people's liberation army officially took shape as the military wing of SWAPO.

By then South West Africa had been renamed as Namibia by the United Nations general assembly resolution 2372 of 12th June 1968, in accordance with the desires of its people. India fully supported the resort to arms and the ten external affairs minister, Mr. P.V Narsimha Rao declared: we are convinced that we should recognise the right of every people to choose its own method of liberating itself from oppression and tyranny and remain prepare to contribute our mite to SWAPO's struggle. Even when another political party came to power in India, this policy was not changed. In 1977 the minister of external affairs under the Janta Party Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee told the general assembly: -

³¹ T G Rammurthy, Africa Quarterly, vol 35 No 1, 1965 p-7

We cannot expect the people of Namibia not to resort to armed struggle if that is the only means left to them to achieve their goal of Independence". Not stopping with words, India extended material support to the military struggle of SWAPO which included contribution of U.S. \$ 20000 to the special non-aligned fund setup by the non-aligned summit at Havana in 1980.

We, Indians, have to play a major role in sustainable development of Africa. India has already started the trade of knowledge, ideas and services. It will not give result immediately but the outcome of this approach will surely build a sustainable relation between India and Africa. Indian national movement exercised profound influence on the national movement of Africa. We fully supported Africa against colonialism and racial discrimination. Nelson Mandela of South Africa inspired by Mahatma's non violence expedited the freedom struggle and gave African people freedom from the discriminatory nature of a handful of white people. India became the first country to take up the question of apartheid and racial discrimination practiced by the South African regime.

India can't go against Mahatma Gandhi's desire, "Commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashion of western exploiters.

CHAPTER-2

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN NAMIBIA AND INDIA

A hundred and twenty three years ago in 1884 German had established their rule in parts of Namibia. For the last hundred years the Namibian Africans have been fighting against the colonial powers. From 1884 to 1915 Namibia was a German colony after that the racist rulers of South Africa, who had been assigned through an imperialist intrigue the tasks of preparing Namibia for self-government, were illegally occupying Namibia. In 1915 Namibia's colonial masters were changed, the South African army defeated the German colonisers as a consequences of the first world war then being fought in Europe. By the time South Africa marched into Namibia in 1915. In the history of African continent 21st March 1990 was a momentous day when the former Germany colony Namibia emerged as an independent entity after seventy five years of South African illegal control. After independence Namibia became a member of the United Nations on 23rd April 1990, (India became the member of United Nations on 30th October 1945), the organisation of African unity (now the African Union) and the common wealth. In March 1990, Namibia became a full member of the Southern African custom union (SACU) and a member of the Southern African development co-ordination conference (SADCC), which sought to reduce the independence of Southern African states on South Africa. In August 1992, Namibia joined the other SADCC members in recreating the organisation as the Southern African development community (SADC), to which South Africa was admitted in August 1994.³²

Pre-colonial history:-

Namibia has a small, but diverse indigenous population. As early as 8000 B.C.E. the San people (often referred to as "bushmen") lived in the arid and central region of present day Namibia.

A nomadic, foraging people, they gradually assimilated with the more southern Khoi to become the Khoikhoi. Between the 9th and 14th centuries the first conquerors, the

³² Gupta, Vijay," A Century of Struggle against Colonialism", in Vijay Gupta, (ed.) *Independent Namibia Problems and Prospects*, Konark Publishers, Delhi:pp.13

Bantu-speaking Nama migrated to the region, pushing the Khoikhoi into the Kalahari desert. They established sedentary societies based on agriculture, pastoralism and mining. Closely linked to the Nama were the Damara. In the north of the country the Ovambo and the Kavango, mainly traders, established small, loosely federated kingdoms, while in north-eastern and central Namibia the cattle raising Herero, who also migrated from central Africa, established a centralised state.

Much of Namibia's more recent history reflects its geographical isolation and harsh environment, most notably the notoriously dangerous Skeleton Coast, and the Namibia desert which stretches along most of the coast. Other than Portuguese sailors landing on the coast in 1486, there was almost no contact with Europeans until the 1670s when Afrikaans traders came to Namibia. It was only around 1790 that these traders and settlers, together with German missionaries, began to penetrate the region. They created the first avenues for trade in ivory and cattle and introduced firearms which acted to fuel and heighten conflicts among the various clans and peoples. It was, however, the discovery of diamonds in the 1850s and copper that acted as the main lure to an increasing number of European miners and traders. The acquisition of the first land rights by a German trader, Adolph Lüderitz, marked the beginning of Germany's colonisation. In 1884 the boundaries of present-day Namibia were drawn up by European powers at the Berlin Conference, and South West Africa was declared a German protectorate, though the important port of Walvis Bay remained a British possession.³³

The violent era of German colonization:-

Significant population movements occurred in the early part of the century. The northern Ovambo who had up until then avoided falling under direct European rule, were forced southward by adverse weather, locusts and a rinderpest epidemic. The Nama came into conflict with the Herero into whose territory they had been pushed by European expansion in the southern part of the colony.

In order to exploit the commercial usefulness of their new territory, the Germans introduced a system of private land ownership, settlers and concession companies acquiring property from local Africans who were in turn forced into reserves. Resistance to German colonial rule, initially sporadic, reached a turning

³³ A History of Resistance in Namibia. Peter H. Katjavivi Namibia upto 1860 pp-2

point in 1904 when the Herero, led by Chief Samuel Mahearero and supported by the Nama and Damara, attacked German towns as well as the colonial headquarters. A negotiated settlement proved to be little more than a ploy for the Germans soon turned to a strategy of annihilation to quell the resistance of the Herero. Over the next four years the Germans engaged in the most genocidal war in Africa's colonial history: by 1910 the Herero people had been reduced by 90 percent (80-85 percent dead by hanging, battle, starvation and thirst; 5-10 percent in exile). Nama resistance started in 1907, but they too were brutally crushed. More than half the Nama and Damara died - - those that survived battle were herded into concentration camps where two-thirds died. The annihilation led to severe labour shortages in the mines and ranches, which then started a system of contract labour among the Ovambo and Kavango who had not been involved in the war as German direct rule never extended to the north.³⁴

South African occupation:-

The year after war broke out in Europe in 1914; South Africa invaded and captured South West Africa. The League of Nations awarded South Africa a mandate to administer the territory, effectively annexing the territory. Afrikaners replaced German settlers but the new administration maintained its predecessor's repressive policies. Building on the system of reserves introduced by the Germans, the 1923 Group Areas Act led to the creation of ten "homelands". Large numbers of Afrikaners were allocated prime farming land under a generously subsidised settlement programme, while the economic status of Africans deteriorated as they were pushed onto less productive land. Ultimately 93 percent of the population inhabited 40 percent of the land, while white settlers- 7 percent of the population-Controlled the remaining sixty percent. In 1945 the UN altered the status of the colony from a mandate to a trust territory, making South Africa effectively responsible for preparing for its independence.

Despite this, a democratic system was established for the white community only while the African population was divided, and a system based on apartheid established. Commercial farming, fisheries and mining were developed, becoming central to an economy that was almost entirely integrated into that of South Africa's. Yet despite its wealth, South West Africa itself remained underdeveloped. Deprived not only of

³⁴ A history of resistance in Namibia, Peter H Katjavivi, p-14

much of their land, but also of political rights and benefits from the formal economy, most of the African population remained poor if not further impoverished.³⁵

Onset of the long struggle for independence:-

The first signs of resistance to South Africa's race-based policies emerged in the 1950s— youths began protesting, some of the Churches withdrew their support and the newly formed mineworkers' union, under the leadership of the Ovamboland People's Organization and its founder Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, staged strikes in Lüderitz. By the end of the decade there were three main anti-colonial movements— the OPO, the South-West African National Union (SWANU); and the Herero Council of leaders. Some years later OPO leaders created the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), led by Samuel Nujoma. SWAPO adopted a Marxist-Leninist programme, although ties with the Soviet bloc were more expedient in their intention to secure Soviet support for a guerrilla campaign. South Africa refused to negotiate with the party and banned meetings.³⁶

The UN initially failed to take charge of negotiating an independence settlement with South Africa, then in 1966 it voted to terminate South Africa's mandate and to assume responsibility for the territory. South Africa, however, refused either to relinquish administration or to negotiate with SWAPO. It was at this point that PLAN started the insurgency war for independence. In 1971 the Security Council finally took charge of negotiating an independence settlement -- the International Court of Justice declared South African occupation illegal and the UN gave recognition to SWAPO as the sole representative for the Namibian people.³⁷

The Turnhalle Conference in 1975-76 was the result of South Africa seeking an "internal settlement". It involved many small, mostly ethnically based parties, setting the end of 1978 as a target for independence. However, it soon became evident that South Africa was pursuing a strategy of leading Namibia to independence without SWAPO. Confrontation between South Africa and PLAN increased and after the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in neighbouring Angola in 1974-7 the war of independence escalated rapidly. From its military bases in northern Namibia, South Africa despatched an armoured column with the aim of seizing the Angolan capital

³⁵ Ibid, pp.121

³⁶ ibid pp-123

³⁷ Ibid, pp.124

Luanda and installing its ally, the *Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola* (UNITA), but they were driven back by the Marxist *Movimento Popular de Liberatacao de Angola* (MPLA) and their Cuban allies. South Africa withdrew to its bases in Namibia but was soon backing in Angola supporting UNITA, while the MPLA, now in government in Luanda allowed SWAPO to set up operational bases. Soon Namibian guerrillas were operating across a wide swathe of the northern border and penetrating deep into the country. South Africa responded by deploying more and more troops to the north and imposing emergency restrictions.

SWAPO calls on the international community to put pressure on South Africa received little support and so in 1976 South Africa reinforced its stance by holding internal elections, boycotted by SWAPO, that ensured the victory of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), an alliance of minor ethnic-based parties led by the white community.

A Western 'contact group' was set up to negotiate with South Africa, SWAPO and the other players. It managed to secure agreement on the processes involved in Namibian independence, which were duly incorporated in UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. What was proposed though offered little in the way of substantive change and was rejected internationally and by most Namibians. During the early 1980s the civil war in Angola and the war in Namibia escalated, with South African forces occupying large areas of central southern Angola, and an increase in human rights abuses in the war zones in northern Namibia.³⁸

The adoption of Resolution 435 was, nevertheless, central to the move towards independence. It provided for a phased decolonisation based on a ceasefire, the demobilisation of armed forces and free and fair elections. In February 1984 a ceasefire was agreed in Lusaka, Zambia, and a joint commission established to monitor the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola. In return, Angola promised not to permit SWAPO or Cuban forces to move into the vacated areas (although SWAPO indicated that it would continue its armed struggle). South Africa continued to explore the option of independence without SWAPO, however, and in June 1985 a

³⁸S C Saxena,(1978), "*Namibia, challenge to the United Nations.*" Pp-185

'Transitional Government of National Unity' (excluding SWAPO) was set up in the capital Windhoek, although the UN refused to recognise it. The ceasefire broke down, and South African troops again penetrated deep into Angola in 1986, although the limits to South African military power were becoming obvious.³⁹

The battle of Cuito Cuanavale in 1987 and the subsequent withdrawal of South African forces from Angola led to the reopening of negotiations, as both sides recognised the futility of further fighting and a lengthening casualty list. The introduction in 1988 of the concept of 'linkage' by the US administration, whereby progress in Namibian independence was linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, by then numbering up to 60 000, finally made possible implementation of UN Resolutions 385 and 435. South Africa accepted proposals for a settlement providing for UN-supervised elections the following year.⁴¹

Negotiations around Resolution 435 and 'linkage' continued, and in December 1988 South Africa, Angola and Cuba signed a formal treaty specifying 1 April 1989 as the date for implementation of Resolution 435, with Angola and Cuba agreeing to evacuate all Cuban troops by July 1991. Resolution 435 provided for South African troops to withdraw from Namibia one week before the elections, for PLAN fighters to report to assembly areas, for refugees to return and for 7 500 troops from the UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) to be deployed (this was reduced to 4 650).⁴⁰ UNTAG began to arrive in February 1989, but on 1 April large numbers of PLAN fighters unexpectedly swept across the northern border from their bases in Angola. The UN Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari, authorised South African forces to hunt them down, and at least 300 were killed. After this, however, the process went relatively smoothly and the elections were held peacefully in November. While many predicted a SWAPO landslide, it gained only 57 % of the vote, in part because of voting along ethnic lines, and in part also because it may have been weakened by revelations of human rights abuses in the camps it controlled in Angola.⁴¹

South African troops withdrew totally from Namibia, SWAPO bases in Angola were dismantled, and the elected constituent assembly duly drew up a constitution for a

³⁹ Ibid pp-187

⁴⁰ H S Chhabra (1986), "*India and Africa a saga of friendship*", New Delhi 1986 p-46

⁴¹ Ibid, pp.47

multi-party democracy, with an executive president who could serve only two five-year terms. In November 1989 SWAPO won a majority of the seats to the assembly charged with writing a constitution for an independent Namibia. SWAPO's main opponent in the constituent assembly was the DTA. In February 1990 the constituent assembly, under the presidency of Sam Nujoma, unanimously adopted a draft constitution.

Namibia's relations with India are based on deep appreciation for the diplomatic, moral and material support extended by India during the country's struggle for Independence and for the assistance rendered after Independence, for its nation-building efforts. Political interaction has continued at a steady pace, through exchange of high-level visits of dignitaries as well as interaction in various international fora, including the UN, NAM and Commonwealth. Former President H.E. Dr Nujoma, while launching his Autobiography entitled "Where Others Wavered, on the occasion of his 72nd birthday in May 2001, paid a glowing tribute to India for the contributions and supports made during the Namibian freedom struggle. The book is being made into a film and contains several references to India and Indian leadership as well as several photographs pertaining to India. It is considered significant and timely that President Nujoma has put on record such important bilateral connections otherwise the younger generation in Namibia, not involved with freedom struggle, may tend to forget.

INDIA SINCE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE:-

Relations after independence:

Since Namibian independence, relations have been extremely active marked by warmth and understanding. India's continued commitment to the task of Namibian reconstruction has been very much evident and appreciated. Advisers to the Ministry of Trade & Industry had been deputed until recently under the ITEC programme since 1992. An ITEC expert was on deputation to University of Namibia (UNAM) from January 1999 till December 2002, as Professor in the Department of Accounting, Auditing and Taxation. Another ITEC expert, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, has joined the UNAM in March 2003.

Major visits from Namibia:

- (i) President Dr. Sam Nujoma has visited India eleven times. Three times in 1983 (once an official bilateral visit and then to attend NAM Summit and CHOGM) twice in 1985, once in 1986 on a state visit; once in 1988; once in February 1992 to receive the Indira Gandhi Peace Prize, his first visit as President of independent Namibia; once in February 1997, during which he was the main speaker at the Special Inter-Parliamentary Conference on "towards partnership between men and women in Politics"; in July 1999 and his eleventh visit took place in March, 2003.
- (ii) Prime Minister Mr. Hage G. Geingob, accompanied by Minister of Basic Education and Culture, John Mutorwa, Governor of Khomas Region, Aser Kapere and other senior officials, paid an official visit to India from November 25 to December 1, 1995. A trade agreement was signed during the visit.
- (iii) Minister of Foreign Affairs, Information & Broadcasting, and Mr. Theoben Gurirab visited India in June/July 1999 when first meeting for Foreign Office consultations between the two countries was held.
- (iv) Minister of Trade & Industry, Mr. Hidipo Hamutenya in February 1999 for the first meeting of the Indo-Namibian Joint Trade Committee.⁴²

Visits from India:

- (i) Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh, accompanied by a composite delegation which included leaders of other parties and the then leader of opposition, late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, attended the ceremonies relating to independence celebrations for the first Government/President on March 1990. To underline the national consensus that lay behind India's policy towards Namibia, the delegation also included Shri .R. Narayanan, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Inderjit Gupta and Shri S. Surjeet.
- (ii) During the State visit, President Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, June, 1995, the president announced a gift of 1,000 metric tons of wheat. A 32-seater mini bus was gifted the National Aid Programme of the Ministry of Health and Social Services. The President also handed over scientific equipment such as computers and microscopes to the Vice Chancellor of the University of Namibia.

⁴² www.HighcommissionofIndia.web.na

- (iii) Smt. Sonia Gandhi visited Namibia in February 1994 to participate in the ceremony of mark the integration of Walvis Bay into Namibia, as a personal guest of the founder President Nujoma.
- (iv) Hon. Speaker of the Lok Sabha Shri G.M.C. Balayogi, accompanied by 5 Members of Parliament, attended the 99th IPU meeting held in Windhoek in April 1998.
- (iv) Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee paid an official visit to Namibia on August 30-31, 1998 at the invitation of the founder President of Namibia Dr. Sam Nujoma. Seven agreements/MOUs relating to Agricultural Research and Training, Setting-up India-Namibia Plastic Technology Centre in Namibia, Agreement on Technical Cooperation, Protocol on FOC, Agreement on Mutual Professional Co-operation between Press Trust of India and the Namibia Press Agency and extension of Line of Credit were signed during the visit.
- (v) Minister of State (SSI) Smt. Vasundhara Raje paid an official visit in September 2001 at the invitation of the Namibian Minister of Industry and Trade. The
- (vi) Minister of State extended an assurance for cooperation in establishment and development of SME Clusters in Namibia.
- (vii) Shri S.S.Ahluwalia, MP and 72 members' parliamentary delegation for CPA: September 2002.⁴³

On 21 March 1990 Namibia became independent: the constituent assembly became the national assembly and Sam Nujoma became president. He immediately adopted a policy of national reconciliation and began promoting private sector growth and foreign investment. A new Namibian defence force was constructed by merging PLAN with the SWATF. Four years later Namibia held its first post-independence presidential and legislative elections, which resulted in overwhelming victories for Nujoma and SWAPO. Nujoma secured 76.3% of the votes, his only challenger being Mishake Muyongo of the DTA. SWAPO increased its representation in the National

43 www.higcommissionofindia.web.na

Assembly at the expense of the DTA, securing 53 seats while the DTA secured 15, and the coalition United Democratic Front two.⁴⁴

Nujoma used his second term of office to secure his tenure for a third term -- in 1997 the party endorsed a proposal that Nujoma seek re-election on the grounds that he had initially been chosen by the constituent assembly, and elected only once by popular mandate. (In theory, this is a special case for Nujoma, and the two-term limit remains for future presidents.⁴⁵

Nine months before the December 1999 elections, Ben Ulenga, a former trade union leader, subsequently a deputy minister and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, formed a new party, the Congress of Democrats. He posed little threat to Nujoma, however, Nujoma acting swiftly at the time to co-opt the Congress of Democrats support base by appointing two key figures from the labour movement as deputy ministers, and making available funds for the social integration of 9,000 former combatants.

In the elections Nujoma won 77% of the votes to Ulenga's 11%. The DTA lost almost half of its previous support base in these elections. SWAPO has since consolidated its support and has maintained national unity with a minimum of civil unrest.⁴⁶

Governance

The constitution provides a firm safeguard against autocracy; nevertheless, Nujoma has succeeded in increasing his centralization of power, and in the face of escalating corruption has become belligerent and increasingly defensive about criticism as evidenced in his attacks on the independent media. National and international human rights organizations have expressed serious misgivings about the government's attacks on sexual and racial minorities.

Critics have questioned whether the line between SWAPO in government and SWAPO as a political party is become increasingly blurred with concerns being expressed about an increasing centralisation of power and a willingness to override

⁴⁴ Gupta, Vijay, (1990) "*Independent Namibia Problems and Prospects*," Konark Publishers, PP.33
⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp-35

⁴⁶ Gupta, Vijay, (1990) "*Independent Namibia Problems and Prospects*," Konark Publishers, pp 37

democratic checks and balances: the change to the constitution to allow President Nujoma a third term in office is the most obvious example of this. To some extent this concern has been addressed by Nujoma's announcement in November 2001 that he will step down when his term of office expires in 2004. The move was widely welcomed after months of speculation that he may consider a fourth term of office as head of state. Nujoma's departure may well open the way for real transformation of SWAPO from a liberation movement to a service-providing political organization.

Outlook for 2002

SWAPO's grip on power seems strong. Democracy has taken root and provides an outlet for domestic differences, although with the lack of any strong opposition and growing voter apathy, as evidenced by the low voter turnout in 1999, multiparty democracy remains fragile. The issue of the succession to President Nujoma may create some tensions, especially as Nujoma has enjoyed overwhelming support for policies of national reconciliation.

In a country which is not entirely free of ethnic tensions, Nujoma's departure has the potential to destabilize the country should it result in infighting within the ruling party. Sometime in 2003 the party will hold a special congress to elect a new party president who would then be the party's candidate in the 2004 elections. Nujoma has never indicated a preferred successor. The main contenders are Helmut Angula, a northerner from the largest Ovambo ethnic sub-group; Hage Geingob, the Prime Minister, a Damaran; Trade Minister Hidipo Hamutenya, a Kwanyama and a key member of SWAPO's younger top leadership; and Damaran Theo-Ben Gurirab. It is still anticipated, nevertheless, that Nujoma will continue to be a strategic player, influencing the way the party directs government policy.

In the face of rising unemployment, and aggravated by developments in Zimbabwe, land redistribution has become a key issue. Land is highly unevenly distributed with 4,000 white commercial farmers owning 30.5m hectares while black farmers have only 2.2m hectares. SWAPO has had little success in its land redistribution campaign. Since independence, only 35,000 black Namibians have been resettled on commercial farmland; over 240,000 are on the waiting list. A key factor, though, is that most of the commercial land is too arid for small-scale crop farming,

and is only suitable for large-scale ranching. Like its neighbours, Namibia's wellbeing is being threatened by the HIV/Aids epidemic and President Nujoma has made the fight against the disease a national priority. There are security problems in the north, along the border where the Angolan civil war spills over, and in the Caprivi Strip where separatists and the authorities have clashed, prompting thousands to flee to Botswana.

GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA:-

Namibia has a republican Constitution, with strong powers given to the President, which is both the chief of state and head of government. The President is elected by popular vote for a five-year term (the last election was held 30 November to 1 December 1999 and the next is to be held in 2004). The Prime Minister is appointed by the President, which also appoints the rest of the executive, the government.⁴⁷

The legislative branch is a bicameral Parliament, composed of the National Council (26 seats; two members are chosen from each regional council to serve six-year terms) and the National Assembly (72 seats; members are elected by popular vote to serve five-year terms). Last elections to the National Council and the National Assembly were held 30 November to 1 December 1999 (next to be held by December 2004). The judicial branch is lead by the Namibian Supreme Court. Judges are appointed by the president. The legal system is based on Roman-Dutch law and 1990 constitution. The judiciary has, with some recent exceptions, experienced independence. Although power remains formally divided between the President, his Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the bicameral legislature, the presidency has a very strong position in Namibian politics. Although the Constitution formerly limits the President to two terms in office, in November 1998, the National Assembly amended the Constitution to permit President Nujoma to run for a third term. President Nujoma in April 2001 stated his readiness to run for the presidency a forth time in 2004.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ “*Namibia National Day*” World mass communication, Vol 13 issue 29, Febv2008 p-17

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp.18-19

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN NAMIBIA:-

Independence meant a giant step towards the respect of democracy and human rights in Namibia, as the black majority finally was let to elect its own leaders. The SWAPO-led government adopted a liberal Constitution, guaranteeing the human rights of all citizens and the introduction of democratic institutions. Generally, this has been respected, although a tougher human rights climate has been noted the last years.

Namibia is a multiparty, multiracial democracy. When President Sam Nujoma was re-elected in the 1999 general elections, international and domestic observers agreed that these were free. Some observers however reported instances of government harassment of the opposition and unequal access to media coverage and campaign financing.

The government generally respects the human rights of its citizens, but several concerns have been raised the last years: Members of the security forces have committed several extrajudicial killings while conducting extensive security operations in the Kavango and Caprivi regions along the country's northern border with Angola. Members of the police force are reported to have committed serious human rights abuses. Arbitrary arrest and lengthy pre-trial detentions are a problem.⁴⁹

Pressure on journalists who work for government-owned media outlets not to criticize the Government has increased. The independent media are under attack, and critical media have on several occasions been punished with economic sanctions by the government. Minority groups are being attacked by the government; especially indigenous people, the white minority, foreigners and homosexuals. Women's rights are threatened, especially through violence.

The government of India reiterated to the mission of the council its consistent opposition to all racist and colonial policies in Africa as also its continuing support to national liberation movements in territories still under colonial domination. The government of India welcomed the significant success achieved by liberation movements in some part of Africa and hope that these developments would hasten the inevitable end of colonial rule and racial discrimination in other areas. The mission

⁴⁹ United Nations, Basic facts, Namibia p-374-375

and the government of India emphasised that the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the suppression of the fundamental rights of its people by the racist government of south Africa in violation of charter the decision and resolutions of the united nations as well as the advisory opinion of the international court of justice, constitute a threat to international peace and security. The Indian government reiterated the paramount importance of putting an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The government also reaffirmed its full support to the purpose and principle of the United Nations charter as the basis for finding a solution to the problem of peace and security that faced the international community and in the context to the work done by the United Nations council for Namibia.

The mission and the government of India discussed the efforts being made to implement Security Council resolution 366 of 17 December 1974 asking South Africa to make a solemn declaration to recognise the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia as a nation. The government of India reaffirmed its full support to any positive and concrete measures taken by the United Nations in pursuance of the resolution to achieve the withdrawal of the illegal administration and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia.

The government of India also reiterated its full sympathy and support for the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and independence under the leadership of SWAPO the sole representative of the people of Namibia. The government of India assured the council's mission of its continuing and active support to the council in all its activities. The visiting mission (United Nations Council for Namibia) express its deep appreciation of the continued economic and material support which the government of India has been giving to the people of Namibia through SWAPO, the U.N fund for Namibia and the OAU fund against colonialism and apartheid. Discussions were held between the members of the mission and the senior officials of the government of India to consider how to strengthen further their co-operation in these fields, particularly for post-independence reconstruction of Namibia.⁵⁰

The government of India agreed to provide training facilities to 150 people from Namibia immediately and to send experts, professors and lecturer to serve in the

⁵⁰ S.C Saxena, (1978), "Namibia challenge to the United Nations", Sandeep Prakashan: Delhi, pp.189-191

institute proposed to be setup in Lusaka for the people of Namibia. The government of India would also supply this to this institute whatever equipment would be made available. The two sides further agreed to remain in close touch regarding additional facilities and supplies which might be required.

The mission conveyed its appreciation for the efforts made by the government of India to disseminate information about the struggle of the Namibian people for independence and the council's activities.

The government of India assured the mission in this regard including in particular the observance of Namibia day on 26th august. The mission of the council thanked the government and the people of India for the warm welcome extended to it and the programme of visit and discussions arranged for it and expressed its gratitude for the firm and consistent position taken by Indian government on the question of decolonisation and with particular reference to Namibia. India has long supported the liberation struggle of the Namibian people. Our support for SWAPO, both political and material requires no elaboration. Today as events gain momentum towards the establishment of majority rule under UN supervision and control, the intentions of the South African Government are not clear but suspect. It is evident that they have deliberately sought to create difficulties by making unreasonable demands such as the monitoring of SWAPO bases outside Namibia. That these moves are only a cover for their real motives. i.e. to legitimate the puppet DTA regime the so called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance illegally installed last December none can doubt should South Africa thus frustrate the Security Council sponsored effort to bring majority rule to Namibia, the general assembly with its near universal membership must act. In keeping with the UN Charter and its various resolutions, it must unite to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

Strengthening the cooperation between the Government of India and the United Nations Council for Namibia during the forthcoming emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, the government of India reaffirmed its well known support for the council as the only legal Administering Authority for Namibia until its independence. The Government of India and the mission declared that South Africa's policies of repression of the people of Namibia militarization of the Territory use of the Territory as a springboard for repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring African states. Possession and exploitation of

massive reserves of uranium in Namibia and efforts towards development of nuclear weapons with the assistance and collaboration of certain countries constitute a threat to international peace and security within the meaning of chapter (7) of the United Nations charter.⁵¹

The government of India and the Mission consider that the strong political, economic, diplomatic and military support which South Africa receives from certain western permanent members of the Security Council encourages South Africa to refuse to comply with United Nations resolutions and decisions on Namibia. This stand by certain western countries has prevented the Security Council from imposing mandatory sanctions against South Africa. This encouragement confirmed existing doubts about the real intentions of the five western powers which had been the authors of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

The mission welcomes the paramount role played by the movement of Non-Aligned countries in seeking a solution to the problem of Namibia and expresses appreciation for the policies advocated for Namibia by India a founder member of the movement of Non Aligned countries. The government of India and the mission are opposed to any attempt to present the Namibia issues as a regional conflict with the aim of depriving it of its universal dimensions and under playing the degree of defiance by South Africa of the decisions of the United Nations as a whole.

At the same time the government of India and the mission denounce attempts by South Africa and its allies to characterise the liberation struggle in Namibia as part of an East West confrontation thus distorting and undermining the purpose of the struggle of the Namibian people against the illegal occupation of their country and for genuine independence.

The government of India expressed support for the peaceful resolution of the problem of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431(1978), 435(1978) and 439(1978). It also reaffirms its principled position of total support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self determination,

⁵¹ Peter H. Katjavivi, (1988), "A history of resistance in Namibia" UNESCO Press, Paris, p-121-123

freedom and genuine independence, in a United Nation, under the leadership of SWAPO, which is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people led by SWAPO has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The government of India and the mission denounce efforts by South Africa and certain of the western powers to elevate then so-called internal parties to equal status with SWAPO and any moves to revise or modify security council resolution 435(1978) which provides the only universally acceptable basis for a settlement. It also denounces any manoeuvres by South Africa to impose a neo-colonial regime upon Namibian people through a so called internal settlement.⁵²

The government of India and the mission express their support for the imposition of mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa under chapter (7) of the charter of the United Nations as called for by the General Assembly, the Non Alignment Movement and the organisation of African Unity as one of the most effective ways to obtain South Africa's compliance with the relevant security council resolutions.

The government of India supports the early convening of an emergency special session of the General Assembly to review the question of Namibian and take measures as appropriate under the charter of the United Nations. The government also supports the intention of the council to recommended for adoption by the General Assembly at the assembly at the emergency special session of resolution that would provide for measures to be taken by members of the United Nations in accordance with the charter to ensure the complete economic and political isolation of South Africa.

The government of India and the mission reiterate that Namibia's accession to independence must be with its territorial integrity intact, including Walvis Bay and offshore islands, and that any action by South Africa to fragment the Territory would be illegal and null and void. The government of India reaffirm its position that

⁵² *Africa quarterly*, Vol 35, No 1, 1995. p-79-80

Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations and rejects any attempts at reaching a settlement without the direct participation of the United Nations.⁵³

The government of India and the mission strongly condemn the activities of all foreign cooperation operating in Namibia under the illegal administration of South Africa. These activities constitute a major obstacle to the genuine independence of Namibia.

The government of India and the mission consider that in the light of the failure of the Geneva pre-implementation meeting in January 1981 and the subsequent failure of the Security Council to act, the efforts for the implementation of the United Nations plan have reached an impasse. The two sides commend the positive attitude of SWAPO which has worked for the implementation of the United Nations plan and condemn the persistent refusal of South Africa to comply with United Nations resolutions and its rejection of the United Nations plan.

The government of India and the mission consider that in these circumstances, it is necessary for the international community to prepare for an active and concreted political campaign in support of the struggle of the Namibian people. The government of Namibia and the mission consider that it is essential to ensure the non-recognition as called for by the security council of any fraudulent entities which may be established by South Africa in Namibia. The government of India and the mission consider that it is essential to seek the full implementation of Security Council resolutions on the question of Namibia all of which are binding on all member states.

The government of India and the mission consider that programmes of assistance to the Namibian people should be strengthened. In this connection the United Nations should consolidate all activities which are directed toward support for the Namibian people. The government of India and mission consider that the programme for a voluntary boycott of South Africa embodied in the panama declaration of the United Nations council for Namibia should be adopted by the General Assembly at its forthcoming emergency special session. In this context the

⁵³ Ibid, pp-93-94

mission notes with appreciation that as far back as in 1946, India was among the first countries to impose comprehensive voluntary sanctions against South Africa by appropriate legislation.

The government of India and the mission consider that in order to ensure the effectiveness of a boycott it is necessary to increase the assistance to neighbouring African States. Such assistance should envisage not merely the overcoming of short term difficulties but should be designed to enable these states to move towards self-reliance. The government of India and the mission reiterate the importance of the implementation of decree no. 1 for the protection of the natural resources of Namibia. In this connection the two sides express support for the development of a comprehensive programme to enforce the implementation of the decree consisting *inter alia* of exertion of pressure on Governments which have not yet done all in their power to carry out their obligations, institution of effective legal action in appropriate courts and action by non-governmental organisations.⁵⁴

The mission on behalf of the council expresses its appreciation to the Government of India for the moral and material support which it has extended to SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and welcomes the recent decision of the government of India to receive a resident mission of SWAPO in New Delhi. The mission on behalf of the council expresses its appreciation on the Government of India for its contribution to the United Nations fund for Namibia and for the scholarship which it has awarded to Namibian students.

⁵⁴ *Africa Quarterly*, Vol-35, No 1, 1995 p-95-96

CHAPTER-3

ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN NAMIBIA AND INDIA SINCE 1990

From the earlier times, Indians and Africans were involved in the trade and commerce with each other. For centuries they were trading across the high seas doing business and helping each other. By the beginning of the first century AD, there was already a thriving trading activity between India and Africa. The Indian involvement in Africa was mostly commercial. Indian settlers in Africa mostly belong to the trading community. The interior of east Africa was essentially opened up through the railway, and through the agency of 'Duka' trading and other merchant activities of the British Indian subjects.

So, the economic and trade links between India and Africa existed even before the dawn of independence in India and Africa. The dawn of independence in Africa came ten years after India had become independent. Ghana's independence in 1957 set the stage for the winding up of the colonial empires of Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and Spain. For India, the independence of African states gave it an opportunity to forge the new and consolidate the old, economic relations within the frame work of south-south co-operation to which the non-aligned movement was committed. India showed its willingness to help the African states, to the best of its ability, in their efforts to promote economic development. India's co-operation manifested itself from mid-seventies onward in diverse areas like trade, joint ventures, trainings, project executions and consultancy.⁵⁵

Unlike Western countries, India has never wanted to have a dominant presence in African economics; all that it wants to have each mutually beneficial economic relation with African countries. India's economic diplomacy in Africa was influenced by the consideration that china was gaining tremendous influence in the third world through its economic assistance programme. This influence could not be countered if India confined its relations with African countries only to political sphere and did not extend it to the economic sphere also. India enjoyed two advantages over China and

⁵⁵ Mathew, K (1998), "*India foreign Policy Agenda for the 21st Century*", Vol. 2, Foreign Service Institute, Konark Publishers: New Delhi

Africa. The first advantage was the geographical proximity of India to Africa and the other was the presence of a large number of affluent settlers, especially in eastern and southern Africa.

During the mid 1960's India launched a multipronged drive to develop its economic relations with African countries had not supported India when it was victim of Chinese aggression in 1962, India had to make a selective approach. In a country like Ethiopian which had supported India during the war with the China. Indian capital was poured to construct big textile mills, even at the cost of affecting adversely Indian textile export to that country. In the 1960's, India became the third largest source of Ethiopian imports. In countries like Kenya which were anti china but which did not support India openly in the 1962 war, India encouraged its industrialists to invest in building an industrial estate of twenty-two unit in Nairobi, joint venture too were a important component of Indian economic diplomacy. These joint ventures demonstrated India's sincere commitment to the economic development of African countries.⁵⁶

As far as Southern Africa is concerned, India's economic relations with that region have been minimal and this is quite understandable. India had broken all trade and commercial relations with South Africa as far back as 1946, and they were not resumed until apartheid was demolished and a black majority government was installed there. India did not have trade and commercial relations with Namibia also which was under illegal occupation of South Africa. This situation continued until 1990 when Namibia became independent. India has broken of all trade, commercial and economic relations with Zimbabwe also, and these where not restored until the country became independent in 1980. Although Angola and Mozambique became independent in 1975, India could not forge substantial economic relations with them because they where heavily preoccupied with the civil war and Southern African aggression. As far as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are concerned, there economy is too weak to permit the growth of economic relations to a substantial degree. It should be appreciated that several southern African countries- Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are land locked states, and exports to, and imports from, them are possible mostly through South African ports, Since

⁵⁶ Ibid, pp.18

Mozambique's ports, Maputo can not cope with so much trade. The other port, Dar-es-salam is too over crowded and therefore could not be relied upon for extensive trade with hinterland countries. Our comprehensive trade and economic boycott of South Africa have prevented India from making deeper economic penetration of Southern African countries, mainly because we could not make use of Southern African ports. These were the main difficulties which prevented India from having extensive economic relations with Southern African countries until the political environment in that region changed to India's advantage.⁵⁷

FIRST EVER INDIAN COMMERCIAL DELIGATION TO NAMIBIA:-

There was an urgent need for countries in Asia and Africa to get together to face the coming economic challenges and South-South co-operation was crucial to ensure a better quality of life for the nation of the third world. This was stated by shree A. Sreedharan, minister of state for commerce, in Namibia when he called on president of Namibia. India had faced problems similar to Namibia after its Independence and had achieved remarkable progress in many areas including agriculture and industry the minister said. Much of this was the result of application of science and technology. It was not easy to transform societies which had been exploited for long but it could be done and in this task, all the expertise that India had gathered over the years was at Namibia's disposal. The minister outlined various initiatives taken by India to improve the quality of life of her people, especially in the area of job creation through small scale industries and a variety of self-employment schemes.

The president of Namibia his Excellency Mr. Sam Nujoma said that now that Namibia was Independent, it needed help in economic development and nation building from countries like India which were not only very friendly and supportive but also had a vast fund of experience. Mr. Nujoma mentioned that he had seen some of India's projects in African countries and wanted similar projects in Namibia. He stressed agriculture and rural development as priority areas, especially the question of water supply for drinking and small irrigation. He urged action in the areas of small scale industries and agriculture especially production of agricultural implements to help farmers grow more food. It was essential that the quality of life in the rural areas

⁵⁷ Indian high commission, (2007), "*India-Namibia Economic and Commercial Relations*"

of Namibia where the bulk of the people live be improved so that the problems of urbanization were prevented.

The minister of state for commerce was accompanied at the meeting by Shree G. Sundaram, Additional secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and the Indian High Commissioner Shree Shiv Mukherjee.

The meeting with the president was the highlight of a packed programme in which the Minister of state met the Prime Minister of Namibia Mr. Hage Geingob and Ministers of trade and industry, Defence, Water Affairs and rural development. Discussion focussed on India's offer of assistance in these areas, possibilities of the strengthening of technical and economic co-operation as well as trade promotion measures.⁵⁸

INDIAN TRADE EXHIBITION IN WINDHOEK: -

The Indian trade exhibition which opened at Windhoek in Namibia on 15th September 1991 provides a window on India's industry and economy and will stimulate vigorous interaction between commercial operators of the two countries for the mutual benefit of both. Dr. Sam Nujoma president of Namibia while inaugurating the exhibition organised by the trade fair authority of India (TFAI) paid rich tributes to the Indian leaders and expressed gratitude to India for its consistent political support and material assistance in Namibia's freedom struggle.⁵⁹

He particularly recalled his meeting with late Smt. Indira Gandhi in New Delhi and meetings with late Sri. Rajiv Gandhi. Referring to the need of economic co-operation among the third world countries he expressed the hope that this exhibition will serve as a forerunner for co-operation in many fields. The Indian deputy minister for commerce Sri. Selman Khurshid in his speech expressed similar sentiments and the need for economic co-operation between Namibia and India. The deputy minister also paid tributes to president Sam Nujoma's leadership of the independent struggle for Namibia and it was in recognition of this that India had conferred on him the Indira Gandhi peace prize for 1990. The chairman of the trade fair authority of India

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.19

⁵⁹ Press release issued in New Delhi on 19th Sept. 1990 on the meeting of minister of state for commerce Mr. A Sreedharan with the President of Namibia. *Africa Quarterly*, Vol-35 1995, p-114-115

Sri. Muse Raja also spoke on the occasion and gave a brief account of the role of trade fair authority of India in India and an overview of the exhibition and the comprehensive range of products on display.⁶⁰

India's economic relations with other Southern African countries such as Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Namibia are also growing quite fast. When Zambia was still a colony the services of Indians were utilised by colonial administration in laying the railway lines. Indian workers also worked in Zambian mines during colonial days. After Zambia's independence India extended assistance to it to enable its citizens to pursue their education in India. One of Zambia's Prime ministers, Alumina Mania, had received his education in India. Like other frontline states, Zambia has also sought India's assistance to promote its industrial developments. During his visit to India in 1986 the prime minister of Zambia, K.S K. Musokotwno, had sought Indian assistance in setting up a still rolling mill, an aluminium melting unit, a paper pulp plant, an oil processing unit, a fruit and vegetable processing plant and several other medium industries in his country besides help in developing agriculture and technical training facilities for building up a pool of skilled man power to run Zambian economy. A credit of Rs. 200 million was made available to Zambia to enable it to buy equipment, industrial raw materials and consumer durables from India. Besides additional funds were granted for setting up a biogas plant in Zambia for demonstration and for deputing Indian experts to organise technical co-operation in Zambia. Zambia recruited a large number of doctors from India to help run its medical services.

Ever since Namibia became independent in 1990, India has been assisting in its development efforts. India's Prime minister, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh who had attended Namibia's Independence celebration, assured Mr. Sam Nujoma President of Namibia in its post independence nation building efforts.

Mr. Singh said that the areas of co-operation between India and Namibia could be human resources development, especially technical, manpower and training of personnel in administration. He added that industry and agriculture were the two other areas where India could assist Namibia. India also agreed to extend concessional credit to Namibia for the support of goods and services to that country.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp.116.

⁶¹ "President Sam Nujoma congratulated" *Africa Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1995.

India has been assisting Botswana also by providing technical assistance in the field of education and agriculture and by establishing small scale industries. The two countries are also collaborating in the processing of diamonds. Since the day of apartheid India has been extended its unstinted co-operation to southern African countries in developing direct links with the Indian Ocean ports so that they could withstand the retaliatory to the counter measures taken by the racist regime of South Africa. The telecommunications consultants (India) Ltd. (TCIL) has already completed the feasibility study to set up a regional satellite communication network to link 50 African countries. The network is likely to provide an opportunity to the Indian telecommunication industries to supply a variety of equipment to African countries. The TCIL has got business from Mauritius, Benin and Botswana⁶².

It is almost after two decades of lost opportunities that India and Africa have now started a new innings of economic co-operation and collaboration that is bound to help both in the long run. While Africa is seeking technical support in various sectors and participation from the Indian government as well as its private sector in building its economy and infrastructure, India is looking forward to make Africa its key ally to fulfil its future needs of natural resources. One such initiative was taken by Union minister of state for Commerce, visited the too booming African economies of Namibia and Angola and succeeds in ensuring that India plays a major role in the economic development of the two South African nations that are rich in diamond, crude oil and minerals. While the two nations have asked India's help in developing their railways, education, mining and power sector, India will be benefited by getting assured supply of oil, minerals and rough diamonds, which are crucial for the growth and development of the Indian economy.

India and Namibia will set up a joint working group to prepare a detailed plan for long-term partnership in the diamond sector where India will help Namibia in value-addition to its diamond industry, while India will be able to procure rough diamond for its own cutting and polishing industry. India will help Namibia on major infrastructure projects including modernisation of its crucial 300 km rail link between Walvis Bay and Windhoek. India has also offered help to setup a 300 MW power plant in Namibia, while the two governments have agreed to co-operate in the mining sector covering exploration, beneficiation and processing. In the education sector

⁶² Ramchandani, R.R, Africa Quarterly, Vol. 37, (1-2), 1997, PP.92

India will help the University of Namibia to establish a faculty of IT, a faculty of mining technology and a faculty of management.

The growth and success of the Indian private sector, both the African nations shown kill interest in allowing India inc. to set up shop in their countries. It is not just Indians who are eagerly awaiting commercial launch of the world's cheapest car Tata's Nano, Africans also want to ride one very soon. Impressed by the success of Tata Motors, Angola's leading diamond company Endiama wants to tie up with Tata Motors to manufacture its own commercial vehicles, while others are looking at Mahindra and Mahindra for its tractors to revive their agriculture sector. The success of Indian information technology giants in South Africa has now led to diamonds from various other African nations to TCS, Infosys, Satyam and Wipro to set up their units so that they too can catch up with the IT revolution that is happening around the globe.⁶³

As to the perspective of co-operation India and Namibia have many socio economic characteristic in common. They are predominantly agriculture with large ruler and semi urban populations. They also share a common colonial past. Similar political experience in the past and the present day difficulties in their effort to develop rapidly make them ideal partners who can help one another in their programme of all round economic growth. Science and technology from an important force for accelerating social and economic development. Technology should not be viewed in the narrow sense of something related to manufacturing activities. It concerned with all aspects of human life, that is agriculture, family planning, irrigation; energy protection of the environment etc. science and technology should start at the demand level and provide answers to the basic problems faced by the people.

In the development of technology the countries of South will have to evolve a careful mix of available technology and indigenous capabilities. Every country will have to work out a technological plan best suited to its own genius and conditions. Science and technology should not be transplanted in a mechanical way. They should be integrated with their socio economic environment. India can share with Namibia its

⁶³ Ibid, pp.93

experience of developing technology which is suited to its people and its socio economic environment. The manner in which the technology where developed and transferred through various methods could be of interest to African countries. In the developing countries there is need for technologies which will optimise both employment as well as output per unit of investment. Developing country should therefore think in terms of labour intensive technologies. But in the name of appropriate and alternative technologies the door should not be closed to advanced technologies as the latter is the motive force for bringing about a technological revolution. Technologies offered should be target oriented and take into consideration of the potential of the receiving countries to absorb the technologies. Even the so called appropriate or relevant technologies themselves may prove unsuitable in some countries because the technology needed by any country is determined by its socio economic conditions and its special characteristics. Technological linkages can be forced on the basis of study by multidisciplinary teams of technocrats, financial expert and researchers who will be able to indicate possibilities of areas of useful cooperation.⁶⁴

In the sharing of information, it would be worth while to share experience of failure also, besides that of successes. The mistake made by some country in the pursuit of objectives desired should be known so that circumstances leading to such mistakes are avoided by others. There is need for an institutional mechanism for development of science and technology integrated with the needs of society. Capabilities in the area of consultancy, technology transfer etc, need to be built up. There is a need to build up capabilities for absorption and up gradation of technology and training in specific areas; suitable traditional technology should be upgraded to meet modern needs. Cooperation in the area of science and technology should be include organising of training courses in the management of technology, exchange of information with regard to the nature of available technologies or areas of improvement and innovative technology.

Technology delivery services which cover consultancy services and industrial support services in the form of standardisation, testing and quality control and information and training are essential prerequisite for obtaining the benefits which

⁶⁴ Dhawan, R.K. (1997), "Current and Potential Trade and Economic Linkages between India and Africa," *Africa-India and South-South Co-operation*, pp.239

science and technology offer. In the process of transfer of technology it is essential to bear in mind technical and socio-economic compatibility of the country to which the transfer is being made. Technology transfer should include training of personnel and not merely transfer of plant and equipment. The training imparted in developing countries needs to be job oriented. The mechanism of cooperation in these areas can be on a bilateral or multilateral basis. India and African countries can also explore the possibilities of obtaining assistance from international agencies such as UNDP, FAO, UNIDO etc. India has made sustainable progress in the areas of construction, consultancy, particularly relating to infrastructural development i.e. power, irrigation, and transport. In the area of engineering consultancy also India has developed a training package which could be of interest to participating countries. Cooperation in this area can be at governmental, institutional or individual level. In their efforts towards industrial development, developing countries could consider ear marking a small part of the product or service cost or profit for technology delivery services.⁶⁵

In view of the constraints of capital and other resources in developing countries. Small scale industries became crucial for industrial and economic development and in the efforts towards achieving self reliance. They generate employment opportunities to large sections of the rural and semi urban populations and make use of local resources and talents. Small scale industries also meet local demands and help in the development of Entrepreneurial skills among the common people. They are labour intensive and also get integrated with the large industrial sector in the country. India experience in the area of small-scale industries is unique in the developing world which could be use to Namibia. All small scale industries must be bankable projects to build up the small scale sector, developing countries need to set up entrepreneurial developing programmes.

There is a vast scope for cooperation in the area of industrial development between Namibia and India. The extent of cooperation will increase if the existing communication gap among these countries is reduced. An important means of cooperation could be establishment to joint ventures. To increase cooperation among the Namibia and India, there is need to identify specific projects. A fold action is

⁶⁵ Ibid, pp.239-234

suggested: - identify specific projects and identify centralised or nodal agencies which will take on the work of cooperation in industrial development and in joint ventures.

The critical position of agriculture in the economics of India and the African countries needs to be emphasised. Economical and social progress can't be attained without development of the agricultural. Economics in the Namibia and India. India's greatest success in recent years has been in the field of agriculture relevant technology could be direct relevance to Namibia. There can be linkage between agriculture research institute in Namibia and India. Joints ventures in the field of agriculture and agro based industries could be considered for further cooperation there is an urgent need for building up a strong infrastructure related to agricultural development.

Trade has to be a two way flow. India needs increasing quantities of semi processed and processed minerals, industrial raw materials and products. Likewise many African countries will stand to benefit from an association of the vast Indian market with their products. If trade flows are increases infrastructural facilities such as shipping and transport, air links, communications and also lack of familiarity with conditions in India and Namibia hamper the efforts to come closer in the matter of trade. The lack of information particularly related to the existing political and economic realities of both countries. Traditional linkages of many countries associated with their colonial experience inhabit or prevent meaningful trade or cooperation among many developing countries. In many case the economics are very much linked with those of the metropolitan countries. Flexible co-operative links should be forged in relations to certain identified commodities, products or projects with a general consensus and understanding among the countries on major economic issues and a ready desire to share appropriate technology among them. The dominant role of the international financial institutions like the IMF, the World Bank etc, has an important political influence which goes to constrain South-South co-operations. Bilateral exchange of goods and services may provide a workable solution to the problem of lack of hard currency. Tariff preference long term planning and package deals could go a long way in strengthen trade flows.

Economically most African states are burdened by the legacies of their past. As European power developed their African colonies, they did not seek to create self-sustaining economies with internal markets. Instead they deliberately designed

economies that would produce primary products for exports, but would remain dependent on the colonial power for manufactures goods. With the exception of South Africa, no Sub-Saharan African states have fully been able to transcend its pervasive economic dependence on out- sides. To a large extent African nations remain producers of primary products, where there agricultural or mineral like copper and petroleum.\

ECONOMY OF NAMIBIA:-

The economy of Namibia is heavily dependent on the extraction and processing of minerals for export. Mining accounts for 20% of GDP. Rich alluvial diamonds deposits make Namibia a primary source for gem-quality diamonds. Namibia is the fourth largest exporter of no fuel minerals in Africa. The world fifth largest producer of uranium and the producer of large quantities of lead, zinc, tin, silver and tungsten. The mining sector employs only about 3% of the population depends on subsistence agriculture for its livelihood. Namibia normally imports about 50% of its cereals requirements, in drought years food shortage are major problems in rural areas. A high per capita GDP, relative to the region, hides the great inequality of income distribution; nearly one third of Namibians had annual incomes of less than \$1400 in constraint 1994 dollars, according to a 1993 study. The national economy is closely linked to South Africa with the Namibian dollar pegged to the South African rand. Privatization of several enterprises in coming years may stimulate long run foreign investment although with the trade union movement opposed so far most politicians have been reluctant to advance the issue. The Namibian economy has a modern market sector, which produce most of the country's wealth and a traditional subsistence sector. Although the majority of the population engages in subsistence agriculture and herding. Namibia has more than 200000 skilled workers as well as a small well trained professional and managerial class. The country's sophisticated formal economy is based on capital intensive industry and farming. Namibia economy is heavily dependent on the earnings generated from the primary commodity exports in a few vital sectors, including minerals, especially diamonds, livestock, and fish. The Namibian economy remains integrated with the economy of South Africa, as the bulk of Namibia's imports originate there.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ United Nations (2004) *Economy survey of Southern Africa 2004*, 11 New York pp-23-24

Since independence the Namibian government has pursued free market economics principles designed to promote commercial development and job creation to bring disadvantaged Namibians into the economic mainstream. To facilitate the goal, the government has actively courted donor assistance and foreign investment.

The liberal foreign investment act 1990 provides guarantee against nationalisation, freedom to remit capitals and profits, currency convertibility and a process for settling disputes equitably. Namibia also is addressing the sensitive issue of agrarian land reform in a pragmatic matter.

In September 1993 Namibia introduced its own currency, the Namibian dollar, which is linked to the South African rand. There has been widespread acceptance of the Namibia dollar through out the country and while Namibia remains a part of the common monetary areas. It now enjoys slightly more flexibility in monetary policy although interest rates have so far always moved very closely in line with the South African rates.

Given its small domestic market but favourable location and a superb transport and communications base, Namibia is a leading advocate of regional economic integration. In addition to its membership in the Southern African development committee (SADC). Namibia presently belongs to the Southern African custom union (SACU) with South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Within SACU no tariffs exist on goods produced in and moving among the member countries. Ninety percent of Namibia's imports originate in South Africa, and many Namibian exports are destined for the South African market or transit the country. Namibia's export consists mainly of Diamonds and other minerals, fish products, beef products and meat products, karakul sheep pelts and light manufactures. In recent years Namibia has accounted for about 5 % of total SACU exports and a slightly higher percentage of imports.

Namibia is seeking to diversify its trading relationship away from its heavy dependence on South African goods and services. Europe has become a leading market for Namibian fish and meat, while mining concerns in Namibia have purchased heavy equipment and machinery from Germany, the United Kingdom, the

united States and Canada. The government of Namibia is making efforts to take advantage of the American lead African growth and opportunity act which will provide preferential access to American markets for a long list of products. In the short terms, Namibia is likely to see growth in the apparel manufacturing industry as a result of African growth and opportunity Act. In 1993 Namibia became a GATT signatory and the minister of trade and industry represented Namibia at the Marrakech signing of Uruguay round agreement in April 1994. Namibia also a member of the international monetary fund and the World Bank and has acceded to the European Union's Lome convention.

MINING AND ENERGY IN NAMIBIA:-

Mining contributed 13.7% of GDP in 1999, of which diamond mining activity represented 9% diamond production n totalled 1.5 million carats (300 kg) in 2000, generally nearly \$500 million in export earnings. Other important mineral resources are uranium, copper, lead and zinc. The country also is a source of gold, silver, tin, vanadium, semiprecious gem stones, tantalite, phosphate, sulphur and salt. During the pre independence period large area of Namibia including off-shore, where leased for oil prospecting. Some natural gas was discovered in 1974 in the kudu field of the mouth of the Orange River but the extent of this find is only now being determined.

AGRICULTURE OF NAMIBIA:-

Namibia agriculture contributes only 12% of Namibia's GDP. About 70% of the Namibian population depends on agricultural activities for livelihood, mostly in the subsistence sector. In 2000 agriculture products constituted roughly 10% of the total Namibian exports. In the largely white dominated commercial sectors, agriculture consists primarily of livestock ranching. Cattle rising in predominant in the central and northern regions while Karakul sheep, goat and ostrich farming are concentrated in the more arid Southern regions. Subsides farming are confined to the communal land of the country's population north, where roaming cattle herds are prevalent and the main crops are pearl millet, sorghum and peanuts. The government introduced its long awaited agricultural and land reforms legislation in September 1994, and a companion bill dealing with the communal areas will be presented later. The government remains committed to a "willing sellers willing buyer" approach to

land reforms. As the government addresses the vital land and range management questions, water issues and availability considered.⁶⁷

In terms of gross domestic product (GDP), agriculture is Namibia's sixth most important sector of the economy.

60 A major factor in agriculture's relatively poor performance has been the effect of droughts on both crops and livestock. Whilst the contribution of agriculture is small, about 70% of Namibia's population is dependent directly or indirectly on it for their livelihoods. The Namibian Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD) has launched two initiatives to increase the local production and marketing of fruit and vegetables and other horticultural produce. The ultimate aim is to replace most of the imported products with local production. The green scheme promotes horticulture production and development and implementation of a free production co-ordination and marketing infrastructure⁶⁸

Namibia climate is marginally suited to dry land crop production, with the exception of areas in the north and north-eastern regions. Only 2% of the country's total surface area is regarded as arable, whereas about 46% is seen as suitable for permanent pasture, 22% are forest and the rest arid. Irrigation is possible only along the perennial Tiveri (on the northern and southern borders) and where dams feed irrigation schemes. Although substantial production in staple food takes place, Namibia is still dependent on food imports to address its food insecurity. The primary significance of the agricultural sector lies in its contribution to the livelihood of rural communities. Namibia has dual agricultural farming systems. The communal farming sector comprises 41% of agricultural land about 70% of population is directly or indirectly dependent on small scale agriculture, either as communal farmers or farm labours. The commercial sector occupies about 48% of the agriculturally usable land. The 4000 families on these farms employ about 70,000 families in commercial production.

⁶⁷ Namibia National Day, World Mass communication, Vol 13, issue 29, Feb 2008 pp.17

⁶⁸ Ibid, pp.18

The commercial sector contributes about 65% of the agricultural output of Namibia. With regards to the GDP agricultural contribution remains limited at around 10%, of which 80% comes from livestock production. Cattle farming are concentrated in central and northern Namibia, while the southern part of the country is used for sheep and goat farming. Because Namibia's cattle are bred and reared extensively in the country and live entirely on savannah grasses and shrubs, Namibian beef is entirely free from harmful residues, hormones and antibiotics. Namibia is widely regarded as one of the best sources of beef in the world. Between 70% and 80% of all livestock, meat and meat products is exported mostly to South Africa. The livestock sub-sector is the single largest contributor from agriculture to the GDP through the export of beef and mutton. The commercial dairy industry operates in accordance with a free market system. The Namibian Dairy Producers Association consists of small groups of farmers located in the Grootfontein, Gobabis, Mariental and Windhoek areas. Twenty one producers supply sufficient fresh milk for Namibia as well as considerable quantities of cream and yoghurt. Most butter, cheese and other dairy products, however, are still imported from South Africa. White Maize is produced mainly under dry land conditions in the maize triangle situated between Tlokweng, Otjozondjupa, and Grootfontein, in the summer down area and in the Otjozondjupa and Caprivi regions. The most important irrigation schemes contributing to domestic white maize production are the Hardap irrigation project, the Naute project near Keetmanshoop, Etunda in the North central regions, the flood plains in the Caprivi irrigation schemes in the Kavango. A total over 7000 ha of white maize is currently planted in the commercial dry land production areas. About 30% of Namibian production is officially marketed the rest is consumed at household level or kept for household consumption.

Ever large quantities of vegetables are being produced locally, primarily at venous irrigation schemes, such as at 1-Lardap Dam, Naute Dam and the Orange River. Fruit production has also taken off especially in Southern Namibia at Aussenkehr on the northern bank of the Orange River, primarily for the production of table Grapes. Augmented by exceptionally long hours of sunshine, Namibia can produce grapes earlier in the season than South Africa which gives significant price advantages in the European Union. There are a total of nine grape producing companies in the Aussenkehr valley. The Namibian Grape Company Ltd was established in 1999 by an empowerment group to promote the production and

marketing of table grapes for export purposes. These are supplied to northern hemisphere markets such as the UK, while some are shipped to the Far East. Fruit such as paw-paws, avocados, grapes and a wide selection of vegetables are produced at stampiest as part of the Hardap irrigation project. Hard gap's grace session is from December to February, when a relatively wide variety can be bought at farm stall in the Hardcap/mariental environs and at some fruit and vegetable shops in Windhoek and other towns.

Swakopmund Asparagus was founded in 1999, 15 km inland from Swakopmund. It supplies local hotels, South Africa. Namibia's climate is ideally suited for the production of olives. Today there are about 23 producers, and a total of about 20,000 trees. The biggest producer is Heiser's Oliven, which produces green as well as soft calamari-style black olives, and also olive oil and olive paste.

MANUFACTURING AND INFRASTRUCTURE IN NAMIBIA:-

In 2000 Namibia manufacturing sector contributed about 20% of GDP. Namibian manufacturing is instituted by a small domestic market, dependence on imported goods, limited supply of local capital, widely dispersed populations, small skilled labour force and high relative wage rates, and subsidised competition from South Africa.

Walvis Bay is a well developed, deep water port, and Namibia's fishing infrastructure is most heavily concentrated there. The Namibian government expects Walvis Bay to become an important commercial gateway to the Southern African region. Namibia also boasts world class civil aviation facilities and an extensive, well maintained land, transportation network.

ECONOMY OF INDIA:-

India economy, the third largest economy in the world, in terms of purchasing power is going to touch new heights in coming years. As predicted by Goldman Sachs, the global investment bank, by 2035 India would be the third largest economy of the world just after US and China. It will grow to 60% of size of the US economy. This booming economy of today has to pass through many phases before it can achieve the current milestone of 9% of GDP. The history of Indian economy can be broadly divided into three phases: - pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial.

PRE-COLONIAL:-

The economy history of India since Indus valley civilisation to 1700 A.D can be categorised under these phase. During Indus valley civilisation Indian economy was very well developed. It had very goon trade relations with other parts of the world, which is evident from the coins of various civilisation found at the site of Indus valley.

COLONIAL: -

Before the advent of east India Company, each village in India was a self sufficient entity. Each village was economically independent as all the economic needs where fulfilled with the village then came the phase of colonisation. The arrival of east India Company in India ruined the Indian economy. There was a two way depletion of resources. British used to buy raw materials from India at cheaper rates and finish goods where sold at higher than normal price in Indian markets. During this phase India's share of world income declined from 22.3% in 1700 AD to 3.8% in 1952.

POST COLONIAL PERIOD: -

After India got independence from this colonial rule in 1947, the process of rebuilding of economy started. For this various policies and schemes where formulated. First five year plan (1951-56) for the development of Indian economy came into implementation 1952. These five years plans started by Indian governments on the needs of Indian economy. If on one hand agriculture received the immediate attention on the other side industrial sector was developed at a fast pace to provide employment opportunities to the growing populations and to keep pace with the developments in the world. Since then Indian economy has come a long way. The gross domestic product (GDP) at factor cost which was 2.3 in 1951-52 reached 9% in financial year 2005-06.

| Year | Imports from Namibia to India | Exports from India to Namibia |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1997-98 | Rs. 20.57 lakhs | Rs. 616.06 lakhs |
| 1998-99 | Rs. 3.62 lakhs | Rs. 5772.39 lakhs |
| 1999-00 | Rs. 97.43 lakhs | Rs. 1703.88 lakhs |
| 2000-01 | Rs. 196.84 lakhs | Rs. 1237.37 lakhs |
| 2001-02 | Rs. 89.18 lakhs | Rs. 4712.74 lakhs |
| 2002-03 | Rs. 1582.80 lakhs | Rs. 2404.00 lakhs |

Exports from India to Namibia:

| 1999 | 2000 | 2001 (Tentative) | 2002 (Tentative) |
|--|---|---|---|
| N\$ 14.09 million (Rs. 93.31 million) | N\$ 19.80 million (Rs. 131.13 million) | N\$ 27.78 million (Rs. 183.97 million) | N\$ 38.29 million (Rs. 253.58 million) |

Exports from Namibia to India:

| 1999 | 2000 | 2001 (Tentative) | 2002 (Tentative) |
|--|--|---|--|
| N\$ 1.14 million (Rs. 7.55 million) | N\$ 0.99 million (Rs. 6.56 million) | N\$ 0.1 million (Rs. 0.66 million) | N\$ 0.08 million (Rs. 0.53 million) |

Source: Indian High Commission, Namibia

Top 20 Product Groups of Namibia's Global Imports, major supplier countries and India's %age share. (Year 2002)

Value in Million USD

| S.No. | HS code | Product Description | Global Imports | Imports from India | India's % Share |
|--------------|----------------|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| | | All products | 285.45 | 4.94 | 1.732 |
| 1 | 84 | Nuclear reactors, boilers, machinery, etc | 57.43 | 0.12 | 0.202 |
| 2 | 85 | Electrical, electronic equipment | 26.65 | 0.04 | 0.165 |
| 3 | 89 | Ships, boats and other floating structures | 26.56 | 0.00 | 0 |
| 4 | 99 | Commodities not elsewhere specified | 18.92 | 0.00 | 0 |
| 5 | 17 | Sugars and sugar confectionery | 18.31 | 0.02 | 0.093 |
| 6 | 60 | Knitted or crocheted fabric | 9.80 | 0.00 | 0 |
| 7 | 29 | Organic chemicals | 7.39 | 0.23 | 3.155 |
| 8 | 87 | Vehicles other than railway, tramway | 7.16 | 0.51 | 7.065 |
| 9 | 2 | Meat and edible meat offal | 6.86 | 0.00 | 0 |
| 10 | 39 | Plastics and articles thereof | 6.04 | 0.01 | 0.232 |

| | | | | | |
|----|----|--|------|------|--------|
| 11 | 90 | Optical, photo, technical, medical, etc apparatus | 5.90 | 0.14 | 2.304 |
| 12 | 30 | Pharmaceutical products | 5.78 | 0.53 | 9.168 |
| 13 | 76 | Aluminium and articles thereof | 5.71 | 0.13 | 2.295 |
| 14 | 10 | Cereals | 5.55 | 0.13 | 2.379 |
| 15 | 73 | Articles of iron or steel | 5.37 | 0.14 | 2.572 |
| 16 | 94 | Furniture, lighting, signs, prefabricated buildings | 5.05 | 0.00 | 0 |
| 17 | 63 | Other made textile articles, sets, worn clothing etc | 4.60 | 0.60 | 12.946 |
| 18 | 11 | Milling products, malt, starches, inulin, wheat gluten | 4.45 | 0.12 | 2.721 |
| 19 | 40 | Rubber and articles thereof | 2.99 | 0.21 | 6.856 |
| 20 | 88 | Aircraft, spacecraft, and parts thereof | 2.55 | 0.28 | 10.772 |

Source - UN Database

Principal Commodities of India's Bilateral Trade with Namibia

India's Export of Principal Commodities to Namibia

| Rank | Commodity | Value in US\$ Million April - Dec., 2002 | Value in US\$ Million April - Dec., 2003 | % Share in April - Dec., 2003 | % Age growth / decline Apr - Dec 2003 / Apr - Dec 2002 |
|------|---|--|--|-------------------------------|--|
| | Total | 3.31 | 4.25 | 100.00 | 28.28 |
| 1 | Miscellaneous Processed Items | 0.95 | 0.63 | 14.81 | -33.67 |
| 2 | Transport Equipment | 0.49 | 0.59 | 13.83 | 20.21 |
| 3 | Drugs, Pharmaceuticals & Fine Chemicals | 0.44 | 0.50 | 11.78 | 12.67 |
| 4 | Machinery & Instruments | 0.15 | 0.49 | 11.47 | 232.30 |
| 5 | Manufactures of Metals | 0.13 | 0.44 | 10.33 | 246.65 |
| 6 | Inorganic /Organic /Agro Chemicals | 0.06 | 0.23 | 5.35 | 267.97 |
| 7 | Plastic & Linoleum Products | 0.01 | 0.19 | 4.50 | 1309.31 |
| 8 | Other Cereals | 0.13 | 0.18 | 4.23 | 35.98 |
| 9 | Cotton Yarn Fabrics, Made-up, | 0.40 | 0.15 | 3.45 | -62.90 |

| | | | | | |
|----|---|------|------|------|---------|
| | etc. | | | | |
| 10 | Other Commodities | 0.08 | 0.14 | 3.26 | 83.31 |
| 11 | Glass/ Glassware/ Ceramics/ Refractories/ Cement | 0.06 | 0.13 | 3.12 | 107.19 |
| 12 | Electronic Goods | 0.00 | 0.11 | 2.56 | 6943.68 |
| 13 | Primary & Semi- finished Iron & Steel | - | 0.10 | 2.38 | - |
| 14 | Rubber Manufactured Products except footwear | 0.16 | 0.07 | 1.68 | -55.18 |
| 15 | Spices | - | 0.06 | 1.38 | - |
| 16 | Readymade garments cotton including accessories | 0.00 | 0.05 | 1.27 | 3129.10 |
| 17 | Cosmetics /Toiletries, etc. | 0.12 | 0.05 | 1.08 | -61.23 |
| 18 | Manmade yarn, fabrics, made-up | 0.05 | 0.05 | 1.06 | -7.89 |
| 19 | Residual Chemicals & Allied Products | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.60 | 106.33 |
| 20 | Natural Silk Yarn, Fabrics, Made-up | - | 0.02 | 0.57 | - |

| | | | | |
|--|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| Total for Top 20 Product Groups | 3.24 | 4.20 | 98.72 | 29.45 |
|--|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|

Source: DGCI & S

1USD : Rs. 48.61 (April - Dec. 2002 Average of Monthly RBI Rates)

1USD : Rs. 46.15 (April - Dec. 2003 Average of Monthly RBI Rates)

India's Import of Principal Commodities from Namibia

Value in US\$ Million

| Commodity | April - Dec., 2002 | April - Dec., 2003 | % Share in April - Dec., 2003 | % Age growth / decline Apr - Dec 2003 / Apr - Dec 2002 |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Total | 0.1385 | 0.0431 | | |
| Metallic Ores and Metal Scrap | 0.0597 | 0.0165 | 38.36 | -70.83 |
| Other Commodities | 0.0051 | 0.0131 | 30.30 | 170.21 |
| Pearls Precious, semi precious, Stones | 0.0000 | 0.0070 | 16.13 | - |
| Medicinal & Pharmaceutical Products | 0 | 0.0022 | 5.15 | - |
| Printed Books, Newspapers, | 0 | 0.0006 | 1.34 | - |

| | | | | |
|---|--------|--------|------|---------|
| Journals, etc. | | | | |
| Electronic Goods | 0 | 0.0001 | 0.19 | - |
| Inorganic Chemicals | 0.0378 | 0 | - | -100.00 |
| Wool, Raw | 0.0325 | 0 | - | -100.00 |
| Manufactures of Metals | 0.0016 | 0 | - | -100.00 |
| Essential Oil and Cosmetic Preparations | 0.0014 | 0 | - | -100.00 |

Source:

DGCI&S

1USD: Rs. 48.61 (April - Dec. 2002 Average of Monthly RBI Rates)

1USD: Rs. 46.15 (April - Dec. 2003 Average of Monthly RBI Rates)

Bilateral Trade Relations with India:-

- India's exports to Namibia during 2006-07 increased by 24% over the previous year, to stand at US\$ 18.1 million. This was mainly due to the decline in exports of transport equipments and manufactures of metals.
- India's imports from Namibia stood at US\$ 3.42 million in 2006-07 as compared to US\$ 20.1 million in 2005-06. This was due to the sharp fall in imports of non-ferrous metals.
- Thus India recorded a trade surplus with Namibia in 2006-07 of US\$ 14.7 million, a rise over the deficit of US\$ 6.1 million recorded in previous year.
- The main items that India exported to Namibia in 2006-07 were drugs, pharmaceuticals and fine chemicals (US\$ 5.9 million), transport equipment

(US\$ 4.3 million), manufactures of metal (US\$ 2.7 million) and misc. processed items (US\$ 1.1 million).

- India's almost entire imports from Namibia in 2006-07 constituted of non-ferrous metals (US\$ 2.0 million) and metalliferous ores & metal scraps (US\$ 1.3 million).

Trade liberalisation, financial liberalisation, tax reforms and opening up to foreign investments were some of the important steps which help Indian economy to gain momentum. The economic liberalisation introduced by the Manmohan Singh in 1991, then finance minister in the government of P.V Narsimha Rao, proved to be the stepping-stone for Indian economic reform movements. To maintain its current status and to achieve the target GDP of 10% for financial year 2006-07, Indian economy has become main challenges.

TRADE CO-OPERATIONS:-

The trade ties between Namibia and India would be strengthened in order to ensure its benefit to both the countries. This was started by the Namibian minister for trade and industry Hidipo Hamuteya while talking to media person at Punjab tractors limited (PTL) at chapper chiri village. A seven member team from Namibia, led by the minister, visited the PTL on 18 February 1999. The team interacted with the executives of PTL, a public sector manufactured. Hamunteya showed keen interest in the manufacturing house of tractors and harvesting combined machines and visited several factory units, where tractors and harvesting combine machines and visited several factory units, where tractors and harvesting combine machines were being manufactured. Hamunteya showed keen interest in the manufacturing process and witnessed the working of harvesting combine machines.

The Namibian ministers said that team had come to New Delhi to visit the international trade fair and collect requisite information about different development projects, trade and industry. Dantago N. Hoabeb, general manager, Namibia industrial development co-operation, said that the team would call on Punjab chief minister before finalising the teams for trade pact between Namibia and India.

The team comprised Joel Kaapanda, Namibian high commissioner to India (1999) P.P.S Haer, Indian high commission to Namibia, Dentago N. Hoabeb, general manager, Namibian industrial development co-operation, N.S Narula, M.N.Dilua and A.Fraj, journalist from Namibian broadcasting co-operation. In an interview Namibian broadcasting co-operation, the PTL executive director said that so far PTL had exported tractors to seven countries and had got positive response from them.

ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE OF NAMIBIA:-

Windhoek serves as the administrative, legislative and judicial seat of government as well as the country's economic and commercial nerve centre. The city offers every modern amenity, including internationally rated hotels, restaurants, conference facilities, specialised shops, beer gardens and street cafes. Its infrastructure compares with the best in the world: well-maintained roads, world class medical serviced, educational institutes and reliable municipal services. To top it all, it is a very clean metropolis and one in which everything works.

BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT ENVIRONMENT:-

The Namibian government is keenly aware of the fact that foreign investment into the economy is needed to increase the level of gross fixed investment and capital formation without which growth in the country's manufacturing and export sectors cannot be realised. As such investment promotion has become one of the government's high priority activities. Several steps have been taken in this regard, including the establishment of the Namibia investment centre in terms of the foreign investment Act of 1990 and offshore development company (ODC) which was setup in accordance with the EPZ act, in 1996. The ODC was established to propel the development of Namibia's offshore industry, entailing not only export processing zones but also offshore corporate banking and other financial services.

The Namibian investment centre working in partnership with the offshore development company remains pivotal in attracting increasing volumes of investment to Namibia, by means of proactive targeted promotion. Namibia has as a result developed and excellent reputation as on all round investment location. The country's excellent transportation infrastructure government support for a mixed economy

sound financial system, export oriented economy and natural resources like fish and diamond, continue to attract Significant level of foreign investment.⁶⁹

FOREIGN INVESTMENT ACT:-

The corner stone of Namibia's policy on foreign investment is the foreign investment Act (No. 27 of 1990, amended in 1993). The Act brought into being the Namibia investment centre (NIC) in the Ministry of trade and industry to facilitate the promotion and administration of foreign investments. Potential investors get in touch with in the NIC as their first point of contact in order to obtain current information on and assistance with investment incentives, introductions and administration requirements.

THE ACT PROVIDE FOR:-

- (1) Liberal foreign investment conditions.
- (2) Equal treatment of foreign and local investor.
- (3) Openness of all sectors of the economy to foreign investment.
- (4) No local participation requirement.
- (5) Full protection of investments.

Manufacturing incentives:-

These incentives are applicable to existing and new manufacturers.

- (1) 50% tax abatement for five years phased out over ten years.
- (2) New investment / relocation package – further negotiated tax rates.
- (3) Accelerated depreciation on building – 10 years.
- (4) Tax incentives for export promotion activities.
- (5) Concessional loans for industrial studies- 50% of real cost.
- (6) Exporters grants / loans – 50% for approved promotional expenses.

⁶⁹ Investment opportunities of Africa, Interaction with Indian business community, pp-41

CHAPTER-4

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF NAMIBIA-INDIA RELATIONS

In a globalising world, relations among nations are no more exclusively steered by the state alone. Societies and citizens across continents are increasingly interacting and transacting in a public sphere beyond the borders. The rise of the global scope and the debate and concerns in the emerging global public sphere is contributing in their own ways to the making of foreign policy agenda and foreign policy behaviour. The state is under pressure to redefine the scope and instruments of foreign policy. Public diplomacy is one such initiative where the state facilitates public debate to communicate with larger audience and citizens, both domestic and overseas, to project and promote its policy objectives. India with expanding stakes in a globalising world, is encountering issues and concerns of a universe larger than nation states. Its foreign policy engagement has to encompass a wide range of diverse interactions across societies. India, for instance, can not visualise its trade and investment relations merely as a commercial project. It has to recognise that trade embedded in society. It cannot overlook local concerns when making investment.⁷⁰

The socio, political and economic developments in Namibia its future revival cannot be complete without stressing the role of India. Africa and India share similar legacies and historic and have been natural allies through out the past decades. Yesterday, it was a common struggle against colonisation and apartheid. Today it is a fight for economic liberation. Yesterday it was a common struggle for political liberation. Today it is a common fight for sustainable development and prosperity for the Indian and African people.

Within this framework India's latest focus Africa policy is a praiseworthy development. Along with the struggle for the elimination of racial discrimination, India has given its unflinching support to the decolonisation of Namibia at all forums, especially at the United Nations and the Non-alignment movement. When after the Second World War, the Namibian independence issue got an international outlook, India back the plea that the mandate system had given way to trust ship and that South Africa must understand that the UN general assembly was the organ legally qualified

⁷⁰ Pant, Girjesh, , (Feb-Apr.2008), "Noters for a new , India-Africa DIALOGUE", *Africa Quarterly*, Vol.48, No.1

to exercise those functions previously entrusted to the council of the League of Nations. India welcomed the decision of the international court of justice to this effect. When in 1966 the UN general assembly decided finally to terminate South Africa's mandate over the Namibian territory and when it became a direct responsibility of the United Nations, the government of India welcome the development calling it a unique, historic and secret responsibility.⁷¹

What then are the areas of future co-operation and collaboration between the Namibia and India? The formidable tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction confronting independent Namibia would undoubtedly be daunting. Independence in fact, would mark the beginning of a new phase of struggle for survival political and economic not only against the deeply entrenched of South Africa, the western capitalist countries and the multinationals but also against the domestic vested interest of the whites and the various ethnic communities whom Pretoria has naturally encouraged to subvert through the years the activities of South West African People Organisation.

Once the independence process is complete, India could lend a helping hand to Namibia tackling the innumerable practical problem of national reconstructions which are bound to arise. An area in which India's assistance would be the most useful would be the training and provision of manpower. Despite South-West African People Organisation assurances of not discriminating against the whites, the flight of skilled manpower, farmers and businessman is not unlikely after independence. Those remaining behind may be suspect of attempts to destabilise the administration by giving support to the various reactionary minorities as well as the vested interest. Having thus a trained loyal bureaucracy alone would unable the management and co-ordination of the immense task of rehabilitation confronting a successor government having to face hostile reactionary forces with a vested interest in the country. To facilitate the building up of an educated and trained human resources base India could extend assistance in the spheres of culture and education. Already India has provided scholarships to African students from the newly independent state of Southern Africa. These could now be increased and further assessments made of Namibia's manpower requirements when it becomes clear how many professionals have left Namibia.

⁷¹ Dhar, Jagannath, (1990), India's consistent support in *Independent Namibia: Problems and Prospect*, pp.189

Feasibility surveys could also be made for helping set up educational institutions so that the present heavy dependence on South Africa could be reduced. Further upgraded courses for the Namibians could be introduced so that they would have the necessary education and training to replace the skilled white manpower.

It is however in the economic sphere that India could play an important role, for even after the political domination ends the economic involvement of South Africa and its imperialist confederates, so deeply entrenched in the territory of Namibia would continue. Thus an independent Namibia would have a structurally weak economy consisting of primary production controlled by the whites and foreigners and an open economy heavily dependent on South Africa for exports and imports. The total domination of the mineral rich sector by South African, American, European and British firms could also not be eliminated straightway as all these companies are engaged in extracting the country's mineral deposits of diamonds, copper, zinc, lead ore and uranium which is widely exported.

Namibia's wealth is thus being looted openly. The union carbide, for example, is involved in the most lucrative business of uranium prospecting; it has not only plundered this natural resource of Namibia but also the country's cheap black labour of decades with the collaboration of South-Africa. Also the Rossing firm, belonging to the Rio Tinto Zinc company has been extracting Uranium in Namibia for many years but not paid a penny for it till 1984. In fact every year about 60 percent of the gross domestic product goes abroad in the form of profits from the foreign firms. The mining firms provided over 75 percent of the total value of exports and are the country's biggest private sector employer. Even though the United Nations council for Namibia banned in 1975 this exploitation of the country's minerals resources, neither South-Africa nor the west stopped it. On the country fearing that their stay in Namibia would be short-lived they adopted the most predatory methods of extraction. Experts believe that given the present level of extractions, particularly of diamonds, there would be nothing left to extract in 20 years time. Attempts will therefore have to be made to relieve their stranglehold of the economy, for how long can the despoilments of Namibia's resources last? An independent government would thus negotiate with the various mining groups with a view to working out substantial recycling of mining profit to finance further explorations and development. Also new items for tax,

ownership, training etc. could be worked out so that the country could share the economic surplus secured by these companies.⁷²

A sector in which India could provide much needed assistance in that of agriculture, controlled totally by the white settlers population. It is they who controlled the sector tied to the production of the product with a market in South Africa and depending on imports of fertiliser, insecticide, farm tools machines and implements from South Africa. India could extend to an independent Namibia the expertise for diversifying the country's agricultural production, particularly food items with a view to meeting the country's needs. Presently the basic food items, cereals, dairy products and vegetables comprise only ten percent of the total agricultural output making the country totally dependent on food imports. A diversification and an increase of food production would certainly help Namibia achieve gradual self sufficiency. India could also help by extending technical assistance for the setting up of units for the manufacture of fertilisers, insecticides, farm tools, machines and implements needed for the agricultural sector.

The until now consciously under developed manufacturing and industrial sector could also receive assistance from India by way of feasibility studies for the setting up of joint ventures in the field of consumer products such as textiles, plastics, leather goods etc. this would be a tremendous help to the nascent economy whose manufacturing sector has been consciously left under developed by South Africa so that its own manufactures could find a market in South West Africa. Whatever manufacturing exist today have a very strong bias in favour of South Africa.

An independent Namibia would also like to free itself of its total financial dependence on South Africa which has resulted in it becoming an economic enclave of the latter with its own economy in a shambles. The external debt of the country had sky-rocketed with very low savings because most of the surplus generated by the enterprises of the transnational corporations was deposited in South Africa or foreign banks and it had no financial power of its own. Namibia in fact has been a part of the common ovulatory area with South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland, using the South

⁷² Gupta, Vijay, (1990), "Plans Economic Growth, in *Independent Namibia: Problems and Prospects*, pp.87

African rands as its currency. All Namibian financial resources are controlled by the South African reserve Bank which operates as the central fiscal authority.⁷³

Namibia had no authority over these financial institutions so that all its savings were freely transferred to South Africa or to international centres. To change this system would indeed be a massive task. India could despite its own economic limitations, extend to Namibia some assistance may be by way of helping it to assess its fiscal potentials and reorient its fiscal structures which would help it to consolidate its new status, stabilise its finance and promote the necessary growth.

Another area requiring assistance in independence Namibia will be the transport and communication system, totally controlled by South Africa. Not only in the entire communication network fully integrated with that of South Africa but also managed directly by the South African administration. South Africa's grip is further strengthened by its rotation of Namibia's only deep water port- Walvis Bay. With independence the likely withdrawal of the skilled technical personnel manning the Rail Network is likely to disrupt the services. India could extend a helping hand to launch a programme of road communication which would help link up the country regionally rather than only through Africa. It could also provide skilled manpower to man the railways till Namibia trained its own personnel. Apart from the bilateral assistance in this area, India also has an obligation under the objectives of the AFRICA fund to strengthen the transport and communication systems affected by the depredations of South Africa's racist regime against the frontline states.⁷⁴

Thus the problems likely to confront independent Namibia, undoubtedly, are of massive dimensions-political, economic and social. All of which could destabilise the nascent state. The levers of economic domination which have been held away for so long would naturally be used by South Africa to its utmost to maintain the original clout. Since independence would make this difficult it would resort to remote control through devious means. India with its age old ties with the region naturally has a

⁷³ Satpathy, Asuthosh,(1990), "The Questions of Nationality, in *Independent Namibia: Problems and Prospect*), .pp.73

⁷⁴ Saxena, S.C., (1997), "India and Southern Africa the Emerging Relationship, *Africa Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No.3and 4, pp.7

special responsibility to see that destabilisation attempts do not succeed through bilateral means as also through the international institutions of the United Nations, Non-Alignment movement and the Commonwealth aid and assistance should be channelled and political independence rendered a reality.

In international relations, every nation should have a policy of its own towards other nations. It is an official policy or programme that is technically called "Foreign Policy". A nation may have a number of unofficial relations with other nations, international organisation or with the people of other nations. Only the declared and defined policies of the nations are taken as foreign policy indicators or signs. In its widest sense foreign policy includes "the objectives plans and actions taken by a state relative to its external relationships". A foreign policy can only be formed and carried out by an independent state. Many a time one of these factors may get more importance on the whole these factors are considered as guidelines in the formulation and conduct of a nation's foreign policy. When it referred to these principles of foreign policy, it stands for the basic policy or line on which a nation's foreign policy is formulated. For example, in case of India the main principle of foreign policy is peaceful co-existence with others and non-alignment in international relations. In the case of Namibia it is same as the case of India. Namibia also believes in non alignment and peaceful coexistence with other countries in international politics.

Nation certainly has to face some major or minor problems in their relations with other nations. These problems may be with their immediate neighbours or distant countries. A foreign policy is formulated on the basis of certain ends or objectives which the nation want to realise in the end. A country may have genuine objectives of improving the standard of living of its people by pursuing a favourable policy. Country may think of building or increasing its military strength. Sometimes such objectives are mixed up with propaganda goal. On the whole, the foreign policy of a nation apparently indicates its officials or governmental stand or attitude towards a number of national and international problems. No nation can live in isolation. Hence all nations in the world present some or the other foreign policy role. Nation states "in responding to dynamic forces and pursuing goals operate through a complex set of institutional forms and procedures". All states possess their own legal and political institutions to carry out their foreign policies. The foreign policy of a nation is conducted with other states and various international organisations. The usual

relations of states are either bilateral or multilateral. Every government has the direct responsibility of conducting its foreign policy affairs. In order to carry on such normal and contingent relations there are established organisation and procedures. A foreign policy of a state contains “the objectives, plans and actions” to conduct its external relations.⁷⁵

This short account leads us to conclude that even when the world system is emerging from the gloomy shadows of the cold war travails and there is no dearth of conceptual niceties such as “empowerment of people” and “world wide participatory human development” seeking anchorage in terms of the synthesis of capitalist and socialist modes of development, aid aberration like September 11 and Iraq war or for that matter December 13 explosion continue to drag the world system along the uncertain paths. In the process, as the world system surges ahead under the imperative impulses of the global technological bind, the third world development issue be they related to under development problematic of the sub Saharan African countries or the poverty related concerns of India will have to be related to the shifting sands of globalisation.

The millennium challenges before emerging new world system would be to translate human development on world scale thesis in terms of economic decolonisation. In this respect it may be mentioned that the globalisation has been a historical process and that world system has now arrived at a fresh frontier of fast galloping global interdependence which this time is moving beyond concrete national political and economic interests to include mankind’s search for higher ethical and spiritual concerns through greater cross culture interaction. In the process, the scientific and technological outburst had led to ever increasing interaction among different peoples of the world, and the consequential rise of liberal and humanitarian school giving further push to the process of political democratisation. Simultaneously the impact of Keynesian economics of welfare state and the rising wave of the Marxist Leninist social doctrine has all along signifies the urgencies of securing classless societies and equitable distribution world over.

Therefore as the world system shakes of its centrifugal bipolar pull, the question would be whether the system will allow it to rest on one sole superpower as the ultimate arbiter of the world peace and security or rather it will sick fresh

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp.11

anchorage in the New United Nations system duly overhauled to meet with the fresh emerging challenges and seeking several cultural inputs from not only the Western world, but this time also from Asian and African civilisation thrust as well.

The third world cross-national relations are also found to be influenced by the new tidings. While the north-south collaborative linkages provide a vital element in raising the enabling capacity of the "The South" it would continue to be a dominant feature new world economy for a long time to come, yet countering the northern hegemony would need to draw on the world alliance system of some short more strong and more determined to make its impact felt. This is vital important as many a north-south battle would have to be fought and negotiated before the under development problem of the third world countries is confined to history books. It is for such compelling reason that even when NAM has lost much of its heat, it would be important for southern countries to refine their common goals and objectives, and relate them to the new ground realities of the global interdependence. There is, thus, several compelling reason for the south to stand together, but it is too early to indicate with any confidence the post-cold war South-South tidings. There is a lot of transitional confusion. The contours of the emerging New World Order are still hazy to piece together a clear picture of new world system. One thing, however, appears to be fairly clear. The south would need an elaborate policy package to provide adequate support structure to their ever-widening framework of production technologies.⁷⁶

Fifty years and more of India-Africa relations, in the context, also call for a fresh redefining of their policy frames with regard to cross-national economic and technical co-operation at both bilateral and multilateral levels. The question is not one of providing only political and cultural props. More importantly much would depend upon how the production complementarities are put to better use in building a mutually beneficial co-operative network. Presently in the light of acute economic stress and political turmoil in several African countries, India may find it worthwhile to focus attention on the southern and eastern African regions along with the Indian ocean-rim economic area. Meanwhile opening up of South Africa could provide a vital bridge for further expansion of the network to the neighbouring countries of Southern

⁷⁶ Ramchandani, R.R., India and Africa Economic and Technical cooperation, *Africa Quarterly*, Vol.37, No.1&2, pp,86

African Development Community (SADC) and the member countries of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).

As Namibia emerges from the travails of present political and economic landscape, the prospect of fresh vibrancy entering the relationship between India and the Namibia appears to be on the cards. In the process, economic and technical co-operation is likely to receive a fresh thrust. However as the 21st century rolls on several constrain will have to be overcome before the co-operative apparatus gathers its own momentum. One thing is certain. The South-South upsurge is bound to gather its own steam in the times to come to meet the challenges of the new world Order. The Durban declaration for the new millennium of the 12th NAM summit asserts. This can be the age of the once downtrodden when the time for the South has come as the old millennium goes to the new. The opportunities are there to grasp. The threats are there to contain. What is called for is to grasp the opportunities and be prepared to hold the bully by the horn.

AFTER SAM NUJOMA INDIA NAMIBIA RELATION:-

The new President of Namibia, H.E. Mr. Hifikepunye Pohamba, took office from the Founder President, H.E. Dr. Sam Nujoma, on March 21, 2005, is keen, like his predecessor, to strengthen further our warm bilateral relations.

Economic Cooperation: - Namibia is a partner country under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme and has received substantial assistance for its HRD and vocational training programmes. Since independence in 1990 till 2005 only around 200 Namibian nominees visited India under ITEC and various GOI scholarship programmes. During financial year 2004-05, the scholarship figure was 45. India's assistance, in the ITEC/SCAAP, is much appreciated. India has also gifted the machinery and equipment for setting up of India-Namibia Plastic Technology Training/ Demonstration Centre (INPTC) [costing Rs 3.71 crores] at Ondangwa.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ www.gksofr.com/gov/en/na.html

Agreements /MOU between India and Namibia:

1. Cultural Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Republic of Namibia was signed on 25.1.1991.
2. Trade Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Republic of Namibia was signed on 27.11.1995
3. Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in potable ground water resources in Namibia between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Republic of Namibia was signed on 27.11.1995.
4. Convention between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Republic of Namibia for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income and capital gains was signed on 15.2.1997.
5. Agreements signed between India and Namibia during the visit of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India, to Namibia: August 30-31, 1998:
 - i) Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Republic of Namibia for setting up of the Plastic Technology Demonstration and Common Facility Centre at Ondangwa, Namibia, under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme of the Government of India.
 - ii) Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of Agricultural Research & Education, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India and the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, Government of Namibia for Cooperation in the Field of Agricultural Research.
 - iii) Protocol for Consultations between Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Namibia; and
 - iv) Agreement on Technical Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Republic of Namibia was signed on 31.8.1998.

6. Initial Memorandum of Understanding between Namibia Development Corporation and Punjab Agri Export Corporation Ltd. was signed on 15.2.1999.

7. Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Non-Conventional Energy Sources of the Republic of India and the Ministry of Mines and Energy of the Republic of Namibia, on Enhanced Cooperation in the field of Renewable Energy was signed on 2.7.1999.

8. Memorandum of Understanding on Mutual Cooperation between the Foreign Service Institute, Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Namibia was signed on 24.2.2005.

BILATERAL VISIT BETWEEN INDIA AND NAMIBIA:-

An agreement between the EXIM Bank of India and the Offshore Development Company (ODC) of Namibia on the US\$ 5 million credit line has also been concluded, as a follow up of announcement made during the visit of former Prime Minister Shri Vajpayee to Namibia in 1998. The Namibian side has been saying that its interest rates are high. Namibian businesspersons have been coming to India to attend various trade and economic cooperation promotion events. The recently held CII, (in March 2005) conclave on project implementation, was attended by a Namibian delegation. Businesspersons have also been attending our handicrafts promotion fairs in recent years. Indian delegations from the Gem & Jewellery Export Promotion Council and CAPEXIL have visited Namibia for fruitful discussions during the last year. There have been visits by private business firms as well in different sectors.

POTENTIAL AREAS FOR INVESTMENT:-

Agro-industries, textiles and garments, leather goods, cutting, polishing and marketing of marble and granite, (both being exported to Europe and North America in blocks), cutting, polishing and marketing of precious and semi-precious stones, diamonds (amethyst, tourmaline, garnet, rose quartz etc.), solar energy, drugs and pharmaceuticals, rural electrification etc. Investment opportunities in the manufacturing sector also exist in the Walvis Bay EPZ. Goods manufactured here,

would have easy and preferential access to EU, North America under AGOA programme and the west coast of Africa. With the inauguration of the Trans-Caprivi and Trans-Kalahari highways, goods can be marketed in the hinterland of Namibia, to countries in Central and Southern Africa.⁷⁸

SOME IMPORTANT ISSUES BETWEEN INDIA AND NAMIBIA:-

Both the countries have resident diplomatic missions in their capitals and facilities of issue of visas both for officials, students, business people and tourists are available both at New Delhi and Windhoek. There is no direct air links between India and Namibia and air travel facilities are through Johannesburg in South Africa and via Frankfurt/London. At present there is no office of an Indian bank in Namibia. There is no branch office of other Indian Government and Public Sector organizations, Chambers of Commerce, Tourist Office, Export Promotion Council, FICCI, CII, ASSOCHAM, etc. Branch offices of these organizations located in South Africa cover Namibia also. Approximately 100 persons of Indian origin live in Namibia. Therefore, there are no NRI/PIO associations in Namibia. No Indian ethnic newspaper is published in Namibia. M/S. Multi-choice of South Africa telecast Indian TV channels such as Zee TV, Sony, NDTV, SUN and KTV programmes, which can be subscribed in Namibia also.

'Focus Africa' initiated by commerce ministry will give a thrust to India-Africa trade. Indira Gandhi National Open University's (IGNOU) initiative to launch tele-education programme for African people will boost the sustainable development of Africa and relation between India and Africa because the biggest drawback of the African countries is the lack of educational infrastructure and democratic value. India can cooperate in promoting education and spreading democratic value in these African countries. IGNOU initiative can be seen as adhering to this task. Tele-education is a satellite and optical fibre based pan African e-network connecting India and 53 members countries of Africa. This type of trade is not exploitative in nature like the China's approach of trade. We are sharing our knowledge with these African countries and helping in their sustainable development.

⁷⁸ *Meaindia.nic.in*

If India wants to maintain sustainable relation and sustainable development in these (African) countries, it needs to incorporate the use of a different kind of power—a power, which does not use the force of currency or money to engender cooperation. It uses an attraction of shared values, justice and duty of contributing to the achievement of those values. Initiation of IGNOU to facilitate education in Africa by tele-education is one such example. Indian values do not allow supplying illegal arms or ammunition to pursue vested interest.

ON THE ISSUE OF UNITED NATIONS PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP:-

Namibia has extended full support to India's bid for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council saying all continents must be equal represented in it, and demanded abolition of the veto facility enjoyed by a few countries. India has all the qualifications to become a Security Council member. In terms of man power India is the largest democracy in the world. India has a large population, India has the wealth. India has the capacity. So why is India excluded? Is it not a kind of system of imperialist playing with power when they are not in power, Namibia president Sam Nujoma told All India Radio in an interview coinciding with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's first ever visit to the country. Calling for "complete reforms" in the United Nations, especially the Security Council, he said "All Nations and all continents should be equally represented in the Security Council. Do away with the veto that is, at that moment enjoyed only by a few countries strongly criticising non representation of any African nations as a permanent member of the council, he questioned the selection criteria and said if it is in terms of wealth, in terms of raw materials, Africa is qualified for that. It is unjust and must be condemned and rejected

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INDIA-NAMIBIA TRADE- CURRENT TRENDS:-

After its independence in 1990, Namibia has embarked upon a project of economic development based on self-reliance, economic liberalisation and economic empowerment. It has been working on creating the necessary infrastructure for the same. Pre-independence Namibia used to import everything and the situation was like

⁷⁹ *Indian express News paper, Bombay, 30th August 1990.*

this that it produced things which it did not consumed and consumed things which it did not produce. Namibia has looked up to India's economic development for inspiration. The extreme poverty of India as a nation has been greatly alleviated by the help of huge investments in the education sector and this has helped India in the globally competitive fields of IT, telecom and Biotechnology. Namibia draws huge inspiration from India's success story.

On the bilateral trade front, India-Namibia trade has increased by about 6%. This trade is composed of exports of minerals from Namibia to India and Indian exports include domestic goods, machinery etc. A plethora of Indian companies operate in Namibia which includes the TATA group of companies, Mahindra and Mahindra, Iflex and Kirloskar Brothers. Namibia offers one of the best investment environments in Africa and this gets a huge fillip from the various investment-based incentives.

One of the most promising areas of Namibian economy is tourism. It is aptly called the 'Smiling face of Africa' owing to its clean environment, bright sunshine and immense natural beauty. There is a huge potential for various variants of tourism in Namibia including Hill Tourism, Water tourism and Eco-tourism. A recent trend of 'Community-based tourism' has also found favours among both the tourists and the associated business community. It can be safely classified as the hub of tourism in the SADC region because of its excellent communication network and its unique and diverse flora and fauna. Namibia as an attractive tourism spot has to be advertised extensively in India so that both the tourists and the business community, which includes airlines, travel operators etc, can take advantage of this huge potential.

CONCLUSION

Relations between Namibia and India have always been close and built on strong political foundations. We recognise each others voice and hear in the heartbeats to our peoples their hope for a life filled with greater opportunities. Namibia and India have now embarked on a new reinvigorated and multifarious relationship.

As far as relations between both countries (Namibia-India) are concerned, they have always been excellent. There is no problem of political nature between Namibia and India which needs to be attended to. The economic trade relations between them could not develop to the extent of their potential for reasons that have already been discussed above. However with the change in their political environment and the restoration of peace and stability in the region, the economic relations between India and Namibia are on the upswing after many years of slow growth. The leaders of the Namibia and India are determined to push these relations to the highest levels. The leaders of Namibia are aware that it is from a developing country like India that they can get the technology that suits them. The western countries in the first place are extremely reluctant to transfer their technology to the developing countries and in the second place; their technology is cost intensive so much so that is beyond the reach of African Countries. African exports to western countries are declining year after year and therefore these countries are exploring new avenues for their exports, and India with its large market and strong industrial base provides one such avenue. African countries are also finding the cost of sending their citizens to western countries for education and training unbearable and therefore they are interested in sending them to India where both education and training comparatively cheap and the standard high. With peace and stability returning to southern African countries after decades of turmoil, the work of economic and social reconstruction is being given to priority by them. India has given clear evidence that it can be dependent upon for whatever help the African countries need in this regard. The important thing is that both African countries and India want to forge closer economic co-operation with each other. The future of Namibia-India economic co-operation is certainly bright.

As the 21st century begins, much of Africa is characterised by poverty, violence and instability. Facing the pressure of globalisation, the information revolution, economic trauma and rising expectations, some African governments may

be losing the ability of control pent-up discontent. In states with relatively strong economics and civil societies, this has sparked pressure for increased government accountability and popular participation. In less resilient states the devolution of state power has led to collapse, fragmentation and violence. Many African societies face the black prospect of decades of political turbulence. But social unrest and violence may not be the most serious threats. The natural environments also possess many significant challenges. Such threats range from epidemic disease to natural disaster such as droughts, desertification and catastrophic floods. In Africa human and nature still live in a precarious balance with the balance often tipped against societies most vulnerable members yet, what is true of Africa at the beginning of the century need not be true at the country's end. Africa's security challenges are serious-perhaps even dire, but they are not insurmountable. They can be controlled with careful planning and wise leadership. One of the prime determinants of the Africa's future will be the way in which its leaders approach the continent's problem. An important feature of any solution must be the establishment of a consensus in African societies about the kind of security that is needed. Another is the development of well-conceived national, sub regional and regional security strategies that provide coherent paths towards identifying, advancing and protecting societies interests.

Namibia requires stability and security if it is to unleash its massive human potential and creativity. But a substantial challenge stands between today's African and a secure future. Because of the complexity of Africa's security environment and the limited economic and military resources. Resources must be applied in the most effective and efficient means possible. This suggests the need for a strategic approach to security. Strategic thinkers must develop a national vision, identify national interest, and assess threats, and then engineer policies and programmes that apply strategic resources to protect or promote interest. This should be an ongoing process with continual refinement of the strategy. But simply writing a strategy not enough. The people of each society must understand it and feel that it reflects their interest and objectives-security strategy must represent the aspiration on an entire society, not simply of those who crafted the strategy. Public education, consultation and consensus building are integral to strategy at least in open political system. Whenever possible debate should be open leader should talk about security strategy and right about it. From the market place of ideas, the best will emerge and because strategy is a challenging art, efforts must be taken to identify those with a skill for it, educated

them and reward their efforts. Africa's problems are severe but they are not insurmountable. The solutions are not easy and will not be rapid but they are attainable. Africa doesn't lack the human or material resources to solve African problems. Rather the problems themselves offer the opportunity for leaders to exhibit what mankind in its best manifestation highly commands: dedicated communal, harnessed efforts by all of society to achieve its goals and selfless service to humanity. Africa awaits the men and women of wisdom and vision who will lead Namibian societies to the peace and prosperity that all desire.

Invite the kind support and co-operation of all of us to strengthen the genuine and strategic partnership in the 21st century to achieve the common objective and mutual benefits in the front of combating poverty and promoting peace, stability and sustainable development in Namibia and India. India and Namibia have several profound regions for strategic, balanced and responsible partnership in the 21st century. In the words of late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "though separated by the Indian Ocean Africa is in a sense our next door neighbour". The relationship between Africa and India dates back to thousands of years. Therefore India and Africa are not discovering each other now. India and Namibia are bound together by very long traditions of partnership and common common historical struggle against the evils of colonialism, racism and injustice of all sorts. The common historical background based on western colonialism and a successful achievement of independence is one of the great opportunities for strengthening the India Namibia genuine and strategic partnership in the 21st century. The other regions for genuine and strategic partnership between India and Namibia in this 21st century are because India has become a significant player in the global economy. This rapid emergence of India in the global economy raises the demand for Namibia's natural resources, which fortunately are available in the African continent need to be industrialized for a better contribution in sustainable development of the continent.

It is in the above environment of profound reasons for genuine and strategic partnership in this 21st century that India and Namibia are keen to work to together for better and greater representation in United Nations Organizations and other international Forums so as to have their voice in international decision making. In the aforementioned context, India and Namibia should work together to narrow the gap in

view to bring Namibia and India's position related to United Nations reforms particularly the expansion of the United Nations security council, much closer.

It is also in the above environment of strengthening the India Namibia partnership in 21st century that India has launched and successfully implemented number of initiatives to support various aspects of the country peace, stability and development efforts. Such efforts have been visible in the following among other areas:

- 1) Human resources development and capacity building: Many being trained in Indian universities and other short term courses being conducted under the ICCR and ITEC scholarship schemes respectively. ITEC has been training more than 1000 beneficiaries per annum from the Sub-Saharan Africa since 1964.
- 2) India has launched many lines of credit to Africa to help its process of development.
- 3) India has announced the e-connectivity programme which will benefit 53 countries of the African union to boost development in the tele-education and tele-medicine.
- 4) India has supported the peace keeping process in many countries in Africa.
- 5) India has provided technical assistance under South-South co-operation.

All of Africa acknowledges these important initiatives of India in context to the Indo-African partnership.

Although India and Africa share a robust relationship there are also the challenges to overcome to further strengthen the India-Africa partnership in the 21st century so as to promote sustainable development in Africa. Therefore the strategic partnership between India and Africa in 21st century should bring solution for the various issues which are included in the African programme namely NEPED (The New Partnership for Africa's Development). Some of these issues among others are as follows:

- 1) Raise the level of investment in human capital development in Africa;
- 2) To promote more capacity building, technology acquisition as well as knowledge generation sharing and application;

- 3) Acceleration of African industrialization so as to add value to the huge African natural resource and get food, fair and competitive price for the African goods;
- 4) Acceleration of development of infrastructure which will facilitate intra Namibia trade and economic development.
- 5) Enhance economic co-operation, trade and improved market access for African products;
- 6) Sharing India's experience on green revolution for boosting agricultural products so as to combat hunger and disease in Namibia. Combating hunger and disease in

Namibia are the key areas of strategic partnership in 21st century so as to meet the first of the Millennium Development Goals, set by world leaders at the United Nations summit 2000, which aims to reduce proportion of the hunger people by half by 2015. The first of the Millennium Development Goals is facing tough challenges in Africa.

The challenges are enormous but possible to achieve, if we work together. There are huge opportunities of investment in Africa. Determined to raise its share in the world trade the African countries are making significant changes in the economic and social development. True transformation in the rural development: all inclusive health care, rapid growth in the educational sector, rule of law; good governance as well as the democratic culture, are deepening their roots in African countries. We should try our best to accelerate these economic and social developments through a strengthened India-Africa partnership in the 21st century.

Together we will succeed. As, together we were victorious yesterday against colonialism, apartheid racism and injustice and today nothing will prevent India and Africa to succeed on strategic partnership in the 21st century.

Let us interact and work together for a flourished, deep and everlasting partnership between Namibia and India in the 21st century, where Namibia provide opportunities for investment, trade and industrialisation of their untapped natural resources and in turn India will share with Namibia, its advance technology and expertise, suitable for African countries.

Namibia and India look ahead with faith and optimism to move together towards realizing the larger goals of their political freedom namely, economic empowerment of their peoples along with social justice. Recalling that their common struggle began with resistance to racial discrimination, the two countries look back with pride and satisfaction at their productive partnership, in the spirit of South-South cooperation.

They reaffirm their commitment to democracy and secularism and emphasize the importance of harmonious co-existence in multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-lingual societies, and stress the concept of unity in diversity. Convinced of the need for Afro-Asian solidarity, they resolve to coordinate efforts relating to regional and global security and to support other's efforts to promote good-neighbourliness and cooperation in their respective regions. Recognising that the end of the bipolar world has redefined global equations, India and Namibia reaffirm their belief in the vitality and increasing importance of the Non-Aligned Movement as a vehicle for safeguarding the independence of thought and autonomy of action of its members. Recalling the success of the Non-Aligned Movement in the past in relation to decolonisation and the dismantling of apartheid, both the countries believe in strengthening the role of NAM to face the new economic and social challenges of globalisation. They affirm that issues such as inequities of the multi-lateral trading system, global security issues such as terrorism, poverty alleviation, human resources development and capacity building and South-South cooperation should find priority in the rejuvenated NAM along with traditional issues such as international peace and security, peaceful settlement of disputes, disarmament and decolonisation.

Recognizing the importance of promotion and protection of human rights, both at the national and international levels, both countries oppose misuse of human rights as an instrument for interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Both view all human rights, whether civil, political, economic, social and cultural, as universal, indivisible, interdependent and inter-related.

Development, which empowers people and enables them to achieve dignity, is essential for meaningful and effective enjoyment of human rights by all.

India welcomes the role being played by Namibia in conflict resolution in the Southern African region and its contribution to the success of SADC. Namibia

appreciates India's initiatives to promote friendship and good-neighbourliness in the South Asian region. While recognizing that the State of Jammu & Kashmir is an integral part of India, Namibia calls for resolution of all differences between India and Pakistan through peaceful means and bilateral discussions in accordance with the Sheila Agreement of 1972 and Lahore Declaration of 1999.

Concerned at the uneven impact of globalization on developing economies, India and Namibia are convinced that the success and sustainability of the global process depends on its ability to bring equal benefits to developing countries. They agree to consult and collaborate with one another in forums such as the UN and the WTO and to make full use of their partnership within the Non-Aligned Movement to articulate this concern.

The two sides reiterate their support to the need to reform the UN, particularly the expansion of the UN Security Council. They stress, in particular, the need for equitable balance in the expanded Security Council to provide a constructive voice to the aspirations of the developing countries. They believe that piecemeal and discriminatory approaches to such expansion will be inconsistent with the objectives of that world body. Considering that India is the largest democracy in the world and in view of its past contributions to the promotion of peace, Namibia reiterates its support to India's candidature to the permanent membership of an expanded UN Security Council.

India and Namibia affirm that terrorism cannot be justified in any form, for any cause or for any reason used as an excuse. They agree that the fight against terrorism has to be global, comprehensive and sustained for the objective of total elimination of terrorism worldwide. In this context, they reiterate their commitment to the UN Security Council Resolution 1373. They stress the need to strengthen the international legal regime to fight terrorism through the adoption of the comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

They recognize that the India-Namibia relations have been a model for South-South cooperation. Namibia recognizes India as a true friend having shown resolve to stand by the country in its hour of need. The cooperation between the two countries has been extremely valuable in the human resource development sector of Namibia and both the sides stress its continued importance for bilateral relations. In this context, India will extend technical assistance to Namibia in the field of small scale industry.

India and Namibia welcome the positive developments that have taken place on the African continent and the successful transformation of the Organization of African Unity into the African Union. Both countries reiterated their support to the African Union's programme of economic recovery, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

Namibia expresses its support for closer interaction including regular ministerial level dialogue between India and regional organizations such as SADC. India reaffirms its support to the objectives of NEPAD and reiterates its desire to assist the African nations for realizing the objectives of NEPAD, through strengthening economic linkages between India and African countries.

The people of Namibia had at long last and after a protracted war of national liberation from the yoke of colonialism, become the masters of their own destiny. That development has presented the Namibian people with the opportunity to freely elect a government of their choice and mandate such government with the noble responsibility to plan and manage the affairs of the land like the rest of free humankind the world over. Namibia has not only pursued its national development agenda with steadfastness and vision, it has also actively participated in regional, international, and multilateral matters of concern to the global village, planet Earth. The Namibian government remains actively engaged in the global system by playing a very active role in United Nations and African Union peace-keeping mission in many part of the world.

Namibia commitment towards multilateralism remains unequally unwavering. It is against this background that his Excellency Mr. Hifikepunye Pohamba, President of the republic of Namibia expressed the country's full support for a comprehensive reform of United Nations when he addressed the 61st session of the United Nations general assembly. The president expressed his wish that the reform should aim at strengthening the organisation and making it more efficient, effective and responsive to the needs of all its members.

Namibia like the majority of nations around the world would like to see the world becoming more secure and a better place for all human kind to live in. Unfortunately the more technologically and scientifically advanced the world becomes, the more suffering humanity is expressed to. It is a sad reality that whereas the world sings the chorus of democracy and the rule of law in unison, the economically and militarily powerful tends to be more unilateral in international affairs, and insensitive to the plight, views and circumstances of the weaker nations. For a more secure and just world utopian an ideal as it may be there is need for all nations as member of the human family to appreciate and internalise the view that a collective approach to international problem is an important and dependent guarantee for peace and security in the world.

On the bilateral front Namibia maintains excellent relations with many friendly countries such as the republic of India. Indeed the relations with India are special as they are deeply rooted in our history. Namibia enjoyed all round material, diplomatic, moral and political support from India through its liberation movement, SWAPO, during the latter's struggle for freedom and total emancipations.

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