PREFACE

For a reason, I have chosen the subject of study on Indo-Ethiopian relations for Ph.D thesis because both the countries had close historical links through trade and culture extending over two thousand years of recorded history. Ethiopia is one of the oldest nations in the world long history; ancient civilization deeply rooted cultural values. Ethiopian is hospitable, law-abiding and tolerant country in the world. The country is second most populated in sub-Saharan Africa and is strategically located in North east Africa at the crossroads between Africa, the Middle East and Asia. India's relations with the countries of East Africa are marked by friendship and cordiality.

India's relations with Ethiopia go back to the ancient times and have grown stronger and cordial with time. India-Ethiopia links, both classical and contemporary, are qualitatively different from India's links with the Eastern and Southern African countries where Indians played significant role in the liberation struggle. Over the years, relations between Ethiopia and India have grown steadily. Today in the era of globalization and south-south cooperation, both the nations are cooperating in various areas of trade and commerce. Their cooperative relationship, which is based on mutual respect for each other, is a classic example of genuine South-South Cooperation. India's sympathetic attitude towards the problems of economic development of African countries and its sensitivities to their needs are viewed by Ethiopia with appreciation. Ethiopia considered India's experience in grappling with the problems of economic reconstruction after independence as more relevant and modeled its development and institutions after India's. With Ethiopia, the India trading presence on the Red Sea in early times was the vehicle of rich cultural contacts, evidence of which can be seen to this day in the Northern port of Massawa and in the ports of Eritrea, Tigray and Hararghe. In contemporary times, official and unofficial links have intensified. Indian armed forces fought valiant battles with the Ethiopians during the Second World war to defeat Italian occupation of Ethiopia. India and Ethiopia maintained close cordial relations during the long reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. Even after the 1974 revolution in Ethiopia, India is perhaps one of the few countries with which its relations were never hostile unlike with most of the Western, Arab or even other Asian countries.

Ethiopia and India always supported each other on policies and postures on disarmament, North-South dialogue, South-South Cooperation, and numerous other
issues on international form. South-South cooperation between two or more developing country they must cooperate in individual collective development goes through cooperative exchange of knowledge, skills, and resources and technical know-how. In this context, Indian government is providing various skills and technical know-how to the Ethiopian government. India has built framework of cooperation through the variegated strands of sound political relations, vibrant trade and economic ties assistance in education and training.

Rationale and scope of the study:
India has a diversity of historical, cultural, geographical, political, economic, commercial and other links with African countries. India and Africa were both victims of colonial oppression. They became partners in anti-colonial struggles. In the post-independence period India and African countries face identical problems of underdevelopment and challenges of nation building. Struggle against colonialism and racial oppression in Africa has been integral part of the basic objectives and principles of India’s foreign policy. At the level of diplomacy, cultivation of friendly relations with the members of the United Nations from the African continent and to gain support in various international forum is vital to India’s national interest and for Indian’s foreign policy.

African countries provide vast scope for mutually beneficial trade and commercial linkages in the spirit of South-South cooperation. The imperative of India’s liberalized and globalize economy today make it necessary that Africa and their markets has great prospects for Indian industries. There is a need to expand export market and a challenge for the developed and industrialized economics to have closer ties with Africa.

More recent developments in international relations such as 9/11 attack on U.S. and the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq, point to the dire need for Africa, India and other countries to work for the establishment of a new world based on respect for the international law and the authority of the United Nations. Africa which accounts for close to half the total membership of NAM and one-third of the United Nations with vast human and natural resources and enormous economic potential should occupy a prominent place in India’s foreign policy. Thus the main objectives of the study are to explore all areas in which both India and Africa can work together
under the framework of South-South Cooperation. On the basis of above background objectives of the thesis are as follows:

To examine the post-socialist political system of Ethiopia and its implications for India.

To focus upon the historical ties between India and Ethiopia relations.

To examine Indo-Ethiopia political and diplomatic relations.

To study Indo-Ethiopian economic relations.

To study the challenges in Indo-Ethiopian bilateral relations.

To suggest measures in improving the overall people to people relations between the two countries.

Following are the Hypothesis/research of the thesis:

1. The traditional area of co-operation between India-Ethiopia changed during post socialist regime with new focus on agriculture sector and now on industrialization.

2. Political and diplomatic relations between India and Ethiopia continued even after shift from socialist to market driven democratic regime.

3. The independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia had significant bearing on Indo-Ethiopian relations.

Research Methods:
In this study descriptive and analytical methods will be used. Apart from this, comparative and historical methods will be used. Though the India-Ethiopia relations are contemporary in nature, it has historical roots. The study seeks to follow a multi-disciplinary approach by using International relations theory pertaining to negotiations, as well as, a social scientific study of the modern concept. This research work will be based on both primary and secondary sources. The primary source will include reports, interviews, documents published by the government, statements of the government, international organization and documents relating to bilateral or multilateral agreements. It will also use secondary sources like books, articles available on related subject. News item from various newspapers and News portals from internet related to these two countries will be used to supplement the cause.
Materials that are available related to political-diplomatic relations and related to educational and cultural relations are very less.

**The survey of literature is thematically presented as follows:**

Relations in contrast to first twenty-five years of Indo-African relations since India Historical background India-Africa, relations in general and India-Ethiopia relation in particular. It is viewed that the contacts between the Indians and Africans have developed in three dimensional space and time frame. It’s argued that ancient Hindu had the knowledge of east coast of Africa and has traded across the seas and got settled there. Indians Foreign Policy towards Africa particularly on colonial and ideological considerations has been intended by geo-political determinants and development needs. Technological and scientific advances and the need for rapid and higher economic growth have also been factors as mentioned by Seth (1998). Ethiopia and India are the two oldest countries of the world which seek comfort in the glorious past of the two countries’ relationship. The historical relationship of the two countries co-ordly falls into four different eras, i.e., Ancient contacts, The Axumite Period, Medieval Times to 18th Century and at last 19th to 20th centuries. In the Ancient contacts Seth had tried to mention that how these two countries relationship flourished and how the contacts between these countries began by way of trade and commercial intercourse. In Axumite Period he dealt on how trade benefited through exchange of commodities. In Medieval Times to 18th Century he had shown the role that trade played in forging stronger ties between the two countries. In 19th to 20th centuries Indian merchants, workers and artisans came to Ethiopia and settled down in the country to do business. This phase is very important for as mentioned in the study by N. Kebret (2001). India’s relations with Africa go back to the Vedic Period evidence of which can be found in writings of the Egyptian thinkers and how regular trade relations existed between India and Egypt during the 8th century. The Non-Aligned Movement during the post-World War II years became the important factor in bringing India and the countries of Africa closer. In his book he has also said that under ITEC programmes. India has given all possible assistance to the countries of Africa. This proposed study’s emphasis will be to look into how people to people contacts of these two great continents benefited each other as mentioned by Jha (2001).
Although, scholars of the subject has tried to comprehend Indo-Ethiopia relations from the historical view point. These scholars discuss about trade and diplomatic relations between two countries in different time and space and have also suggested measures which are vital for maintaining good relations in present context. However, these literatures fail to take into account other factors like cultural and strategic relations in the historical context. Therefore, it will be an endevour to comprise cultural and strategic relation (in term of military cooperation) between two countries.

Political, Diplomatic and Cultural Relation: The author has discussed the Indo-African state’s independence. The focus is to understand political diplomatic relations between India and the African states. This article includes politico- diplomatic interactions including those that intend to realize the economic objectives. In this article he has given in-depth analysis of India- Africa political diplomatic relations, which will prove very vital for this proposed study as illustrated by Dubey (2001). Indian settlers have historically and politically become a part of African states and India primarily looks towards Africa for cooperation in the field of production and trade enhancement. He also mentions that India is a source of cultural strength and inspiration for Ethiopia. Through this article it will be easy for me to relate cultural and religious aspects of both the countries. He deals with Indian Settlers in Africa: A Link with Great Potential. Africa’s historical linkages with India and its close trade and cultural links. In this article he opines that the Africans have played an important role in India’s socio- economic, cultural and political life. He also says that class and social factors are interrelated and are complementary to each other which have its cultural impact on both countries. This study will help to exploring the civilisational and cultural influences of both countries which have gone beyond their frontiers to have a lasting impact on their relations. In another article, he suggests the two Indians bodies’ Indian embassy club and Indian women association to play an important role in establishing friendship with Ethiopian people. In the institutions managed by the Indian Central Board of Secondary School in Addis Ababa, several Ethiopian students are enrolled as mentioned by Malakar (2001).

Recently, some new literature has focused upon the study of the relation between India and African states which deals with the diplomatic, cultural, trade and commerce relation between them in the post independence era. India and African countries have been identified similar in term of class and social formation. Although these text offer a significant insight when we study Indo-African relations,
nevertheless, these literature lack particularity in connection with Indo-Ethiopian relations in the post independent era.

Globalization and Economic Relations: The author writes about the economic development of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and East-Central Europe. Nafziger (2006) explains the reasons for the fast growth of Pacific Rim countries, Brazil, Poland, and (recently) India, and the increasing economic misery and degradation of large parts of sub-Saharan Africa. He also examines China and other post-socialist economies as being low- and middle-income countries. But his primary focus is on the third world. Nafziger's text is filled with real-world examples—emphasizing the themes of poverty, inequality, and unemployment, the environment, and deficiencies of people in less developed countries. He analyses the problems arising on account of agricultural crisis, deforestation and external debt servicing. He also deals with the challenges to design policies that influence the pattern of growth in such a way which can cause the income of the poor to grow faster than average income of the country. This article will prove beneficial for my work in dealing with the problems emerging from the globalization in the economic arena by Singh, (2001). India's participation in the economic development which had provided material and moral support to the liberation movement in Africa has been mentioned in the article mentioned below. The author has tried to show that Africans are getting to know India better through their experience and help from India in developing their resources and infrastructure. The political scenario in Africa is stable for which credit also goes to India. He has dealt with few programmes and policies related with both the countries which will enhance their economic as well as political relationship and this will be very helpful in my work in dealing the current perspective of the two countries- Chabbra (2001). The author analyses the problem of African recovery under three heads, Revisiting Sub-Saharan Africa, Economic Aspects of Globalisation and Plausible Recovery Prescription. He also talks about the socio political factors of economic performance. He suggests building and promoting indigenous innovative skills and "poverty alleviation" programme through greater emphasis on labour-intensive technologies in agricultural and small industrial sectors. This study will help me in relating economic aspects of both the countries with Globalization- Ramachandani (2001). Africa has always figured prominently in India's external relations, before and after independence. Development cooperation has always been the principal component of India's Africa policy. This has taken different forms- educational assistance, technical
training, development of experts, joint ventures and above all trade. This study will try to focus on how India can work closely with Ethiopia. This article will prove beneficial for the proposed study- Sunanda (2001).

Scholars suggest that African states are facing more economic problem in the phase of globalization. India has immense opportunity to participate in the economic development of African states. India has also provided material and moral support in the liberation movement of various African states. Scholars have also raised socio political issues of African states. Although these literatures are not trivial for our purpose, however, this literature lacks theoretical and analytical framework.

Eritrea during independence and its impact on India- Ethiopia relations: In this book the author deals with one of the most serious threats to peace, security and the sovereignty of nations in the post-Cold War era is population migration. This book offers an analysis of refugee experience in the Horn of Africa. It includes an examination of the dynamics of flight from the country of origin, settlement in exile and repatriation to the country of origin as mentioned by Bariagaber (2006). The aims of this book is to tell the story of the Eritrean people’s struggle for their right to independence; to explain the original dynamics and long development of this struggle and to place all this history and struggle in the wider history of north eastern Africa, which includes Eritrea and Ethiopia. The character and qualification of these authors has made this book a work of critical inspection and analyses. The authors have tried to articulate the recent and renewed political and military success of the Eritrean nation. Through this book they have showed that how EPLF have brought the Eritrean to the threshold of their independence and therefore to the opening of the prospects for stability and peace deal- Cliffe and Davidson (1998). The paper discussed the prospects and problems in the process of creating a single integrated community in the Horn of Africa. This paper rests on the premise that Eritrea independence may if taken in good faith, in fact, where a new era of meaningful cooperation which enable the two countries to resolve hitherto existing contradiction and problem and to provide a more rewarding life for their respective peoples- Tekle (1994).

We also find literature on population and migration in the Horn of Africa; how people of Africa have fought their war of independence; development of nationalism; problem of national integration in Eritrea. These literatures help us to understand the social and political culture of Africa in general and Eritrea in particular which is more
or less similar to Indian social and political culture. Notwithstanding, these literature are insufficient to give a good understanding of Indo-Eritrea relations.

**Research Design**

The first chapter of the thesis discuss about historicity of all types of relations between Ethiopia and India. Diplomatic relations at national level were established in 1948. Sardar Sant Singh who led a goodwill mission to Ethiopia became India’s first Ambassador to Ethiopia when our relations were formalized in 1950.

The second chapter of the thesis discusses about political and diplomatic relationship between India and post socialist Ethiopia. In this chapter emphasis has given on the Indo-Ethiopia bilateral relations as well as cultural relations. Indo-Ethiopian cooperation on international forum has also discussed. India sees South-South Cooperation as an effective cooperative approach. Both the countries cooperating each other under the umbrella of south south cooperation. Indo-Ethiopia relationship, which is based on mutual respect for each other, is a classic example of genuine South-South cooperation in the third World particularly in Africa.

Third chapter of the thesis discuss about the Economic relations between the two countries. First two sections of the chapter discussed about economic overview of the two nations. Impact of Globalization on economic relations as well as trade relations between India Ethiopia has also discussed in detail. There will be detail analysis of import-export and future prospects for India and Ethiopia trade. India has technology and capital where as Ethiopia has natural resources and important crops. Basically both countries are agro based economies which makes such cooperation even more beneficial. Ethiopia can also gain from India’s huge skilled manpower, world class IT sector and its reputed educational Institutes. After the change in the political leadership of Ethiopia the new regime had considerable departure in the foreign policy from the previous regime. The new regime adopted the Structural Adjustment Programmed (SAP) and foreign policy was re-oriented accordingly in the light of liberalization and political reforms.

The fourth chapter of the thesis examines the effects of Eritreans independence on the Indo- Ethiopia relations. The comprehensive analysis of the country political history over the past three decades discussed. Eritrea, the newest nation-state in Africa, gained independence from the Ethiopian state after a prolonged and bitter conflict. This thesis examines the origins of Eritrean nationalism, and charts
the development of its various nationalist movements, assessing the programs and capabilities of the parties contending for power.

In concluding chapter there are summary of the thesis and findings of the research. There are some suggestions about future course of action to improve relations between India and Ethiopia.
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