

DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION REVIEW

Editorial

Special Articles

Democracy and South-South Cooperation in IBSA Countries: Emerging Legislative Debates

Laura Trajber Waisbich

Trends and Perspectives in Improving South-South Cooperation in the Republic of Moldova

Irina Babuci

Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission for Cooperation: A Case of South-South Cooperation

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Ambassador's Perspective

India–Nepal Economic Cooperation: A Partnership for Development

Manjeev Singh Puri

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Editorial

Development Cooperation Review (DCR) brings its ninth edition forward with a mosaic of articles to immerse the reader in the plurality of country experiences to further South-South and Triangular Cooperation. The articles showcase cooperation efforts from countries, irrespective of their size, reflecting upon the principle of solidarity that is foundational to South-South Cooperation (SSC).

The special articles unfold with the Laura T. Waisbich highlighting the state of debate on development assistance in IBSA countries. Waisbich provides a qualitative semblance of the legislative-executive debates in India, Brazil and South Africa, wherein parliamentary oversight guides development cooperation indicating an increased role of the legislative in SSC. The special article by Irina Babuci draws attention to the increasing role of SSC towards the attainment of the sustainable development goals, which presents SSC as a viable mode of engagement for the Republic of Moldova. Babuci highlights the landmark visit of the Moldovan Minister of Foreign Affairs Tudor Ulianoschi to India in August 2018 as a step towards establishing mutually beneficial partnerships. The special article by Farida Zakaria Abdou Rahamane presents the Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission for Cooperation as a case study to further SSC. The article illustrates the institutional setup of the commission, its background, targets and key areas of engagement. The Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission for Cooperation presents a good practice towards addressing common challenges faced by the two countries as they embark on their development journeys.

India-Nepal partnership is cemented on a shared history, strong people-to-people linkages and open border. Since the 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, the relations have evolved manifold spreading over a diverse cooperation landscape covering trade and economics, water and energy cooperation, humanitarian assistance, Indian grant assistance and capacity building initiatives to name a few. This month, DCR provides a brief account of India-Nepal cooperation by Ambassador Manjeev Singh Puri. He narrates the multifaceted nature of development cooperation between the two countries, highlighting the various projects of the Government of India to enhance connectivity, trade and infrastructure.

This month, DCR takes up the book by Kevin Gray and Barry K Gills (eds.), 'Rising Powers and South-South Cooperation'. Reviewing the book, Kartikeya Dwivedi highlights that the compilation presents a variety of analytical perspectives related to South-South and Triangular Cooperation and focuses primarily on the role of emerging economics. Dwivedi draws attention to the need to understand SSC at the sectoral operational level along with the macro politico-economic level to better grasp the potential and demand-driven nature of SSC.

SSC in statistics underlines the share and characteristics of BRICS trade in the total world trade and highlights the share of manufacturing exports in the total exports of BRICS countries.

Development Cooperation Review solicits comments and feedback from its readers and invites policymakers, officials, researchers, academics and practitioners to contribute to the forthcoming issues.

Democracy and South-South Cooperation in IBSA Countries: Emerging Legislative Debates



*Laura Trajber
Waisbich**

The dynamics of legislative participation in SSC policy-making is particularly interesting in the case of IBSA countries as one of the possible entry-door to studying the ways in which democracy and SSC interact.

Introduction

India, Brazil and South Africa (also referred to as IBSA countries) are among the most active providers of South-South Cooperation (SSC) for development, not only in terms of material and financial flows but also for their political and symbolic leadership of this agenda. IBSA countries' governments and vocal civil societies have historically championed the right to development in global affairs (Westhuizen 2012). In the more recent years, however, IBSA countries have also featured in global politics as representing a particular sub-group among emergent economies, namely a group of "rising democratic powers" (Piccone 2016). Democracy and development have indeed been central elements in the international identity and foreign policy narratives for the three countries, albeit in different and particular ways. Democracy also became a defining element of the IBSA self-proclaimed identity as a political group since 2003, when this informal coalition was officially established. In a very recent joint statement on SSC by high representatives of the three countries, the first of its kind, the governments highlighted that "IBSA is bound together by a shared conviction in the universal values of democracy, plurality, diversity, human rights, rule of law and commitment to sustainable development, inclusivity of all communities and gender, and respect for international law".¹

While there is a broad recognition of IBSA countries' principled-based democratic claims, less attention has been paid to how democracy takes shape and is

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operationalised in IBSA countries' SSC policies and practices. Seeking to address this knowledge gap, this paper looks at one specific and very concrete dimension of the interplay between democracy and SSC policy-making, namely the Executive-Legislative interactions in the context of development cooperation policy debates in India, Brazil and South Africa.

In what follows, this paper intends to briefly explore some of the emerging dynamics of Legislative-Executive interactions in IBSA countries, through short vignettes of legislative debates focusing on development cooperation related matters in each of the IBSA countries. It argues that in the current SSC consolidation phase there are signs of increased participation by and engagement of the Legislative in SSC policy debates and policy-making. The paper further suggests that it is possible to distinguish three different and interacting types of legislative responses to the growing development assistance role IBSA countries currently play: calls on the Executive for "doing more", calls for "doing less" and calls for "doing better".

An important methodological caveat, however, needs to be highlighted before moving on to the vignettes. This paper is neither the result of a systematic study on law-makers' voting behaviour, political ideology or preferences in all three countries nor a systematic review of law-making or legislative debates (discourses or expressed agenda). Rather, this first qualitative approximation to the topic takes on the form of short-narrations on selected legislative debates. The selection of the cases, as well as the complementary analysis, was made through literature review, first-hand in loco observations and interviews with

academics and practitioners in India, Brazil and South Africa between 2015 and 2018. In the concluding section, the paper elaborates on the comparative aspects of the emerging legislative engagement in SSC-related debates in IBSA countries and suggests some points for future inquiry.

The domestic politics of South-South Cooperation

SSC for development, and even more so South-South relations, are not new to India, Brazil and South Africa and have shaped the foreign relations of the three countries throughout the twentieth century. Nonetheless, the degree and nature shift that took place in the early 2000s is undeniable, when SSC - and SSC for development - simply boomed, calling the attention of development scholars and practitioners from all around the globe. Following the first paradigmatic moment in the early days of SSC or "development aid by non-Western countries" during the Cold War until the early 2000s and the 'golden years' and the expansionary phase of SSC from the early to the mid-2000s, the current and third moment is one of consolidation of SSC (Mawdsley, forthcoming). Albeit provisional, this periodisation reveals waves of studies on SSC, with important shifts in objects and research questions, as well as on approaches and research methods. While the bulk of studies in the first wave focused on understanding flows, attempting to map emerging actors and their practices, and asking questions about the challenges and opportunities of an increasing fragmented and decentred "development cooperation field" (Mawdsley 2012; Esteves & Assunção 2014; Paulo & Reisen 2010), the more recent ones have started to critically assess practices (Bergamaschi,

Moore & Tickner 2017), investigate the effects of the shifting geographies of knowledge and power in global politics and changes in global developmental norms (Esteves 2017; Constantine & Shankland 2017). Recent studies are also opening the black-box of SSC governance, moving beyond flat accounts on foreign policy-making and looking at competing interests and ideas on domestic and external development, and the interplay between them (Leite 2013; Cabral et. al. 2016; Gu et al 2016; Bergamaschi, Moore & Tickner 2017; Farias 2018).

The closer look at the domestic politics of SSC benefits both from dialogue with the “bureaucratic turn of development studies” (Lancaster 2007; Yanguas & Hulme 2015), as well as a home-grown turn of foreign policy analysis in Southern powers, seeking to pay more systematic attention to domestic politics and policy coalitions shaping foreign policy-making (for instance in Brazil: Lima 2000; Cason & Power 2009; Oliveira & Onuki 2010; Milani & Pinheiro 2013; Lopes 2014; Farias & Ramanzini Junior 2015; or in South Africa: Nel & Van der Westhuizen 2003). Greater attention to domestic politics in the case of SSC is revealing of the current dynamics of institutionalisation of SSC, in several providers including IBSA countries, and thus better apprehends the shifting policy priorities and practices.

Previous research on domestic politics in major SSC providers has described policy-making as considerable dependent on presidential diplomacy, led by the Foreign Affairs, Trade and/or Finance ministries, and implemented in a rather fragmented institutional landscape, with limited societal and parliamentary awareness and oversight. Yet, in spite

of this burgeoning literature on Indian, Brazilian and South African development cooperation, few studies have actually systematically studied Executive-Legislative interactions.² Commentators on the role of the Legislative point that oversight of SSC policies and practices remains generally low or *ad hoc* in the three countries (Poskitt et al. 2016; Gu et al. 2016; Pomeroy et al. 2016; Mawdsley 2014). Studies do point, however, to the issue capturing law-makers’ attention nationally, either within the formal foreign affairs committees (such as in South Africa, cf. Westhuizen 2017) or through special sessions (such as in Brazil, cf. Leite et al. 2014), but those have been exceptions rather than the rule. Nonetheless, it seems that below the academic radars, there are interesting developments on that front that deserve to be better understood, as observed in the coming sections.

“Do it better”? South Africa’s Parliament Oversight over African Renaissance Fund

In August 2010, South Africa’s flagship development cooperation initiative, the African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund (ARF), became the object of an increased parliamentary scrutiny on efficiency grounds. The ARF was formally established through an act of Parliament in 2000 and started operating in the following year to provide cohesion to South Africa’s development cooperation initiatives. ARF annual appropriations are done through “money bills” by Parliament (Naidu 2017). The intensive scrutiny of 2010 came primarily from the opposition in the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on International Relations, and targeted operational shortcomings

in the ARF management, challenging the South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) for the lack of proper monitoring and evaluation on how the funds were being spent in partner countries (Westhuizen 2017). Far from being a purely technical-operational debate, the incident led, in 2013, to an internal investigation into DIRCO's then General Director Jerry Matjila for "possible fraud, corruption and gross negligence". Since 2014, the Fund has 4-year strategic plans and annual performance reports. Moreover, the debates in the South African parliament have also impinged on the broader (and still inconclusive) negotiations on the creation of an autonomous development cooperation agency by South Africa, SADPA, shedding light on the divisive nature of political and financial responsibilities sharing between national agencies on issues concerning development cooperation, namely DIRCO and Treasury.

In one of the few studies on this matter, Westhuizen (2017, p. 3) argues that despite civil society organisations and think-tanks as much like the opposition parties not having "fundamentally questioned South Africa's role in development cooperation", the 2010 parliamentary debates on the ARF and DIRCO responses to it, combined with the constraints arising from the larger political-economic context in South Africa in the past years, have contributed to shape country's current approach to development cooperation and its alignment with a public mood of "seeking demonstrated benefits back home". Still according to the author, the way in which South African elites, and DIRCO, decided to sell development cooperation to domestic audiences since

has been through emphasising a counter discourse of interdependence with the African region, the need to "align development cooperation initiatives more strategically with the country's own economic interests and more rigorous monitoring and evaluation processes with the creation of a fully fledged development cooperation agency". Due to the particular arrangements that sustain the ARF, and the standing that South African parliament has on approving annual appropriations, the Portfolio Committee has indeed become a locus and a voice for advocating institutional reforms for the ARF, such as for the creation of a permanent secretariat for the Fund or, preferably, a migration towards the new SADPA.³ Such role is increasingly supported by research and advocacy groups, including think-tanks and civil society organisations, which provide law-makers with supporting evidence of projects and policies, as well as training on broader foreign policy issues.⁴

This brief vignette from debates in South Africa sheds light into one particular manifestation of the "doing better" call vocalised in Parliament that illustrates the mounting results-efficiency pressures coming from members of the Legislative and a growing need to demonstrate benefits also at home, particularly during economic downturns. Those pressures are framed and remain localised in the more technical-management realm and do not threaten the existing (societal and cross-partisan) consensus on South Africa's role in international development.

"Between doing more and doing better"? India's Parliamentary Debates on Development Assistance

The features of India's development

assistance are contested in its domestic political domain. The Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs (Lok Sabha 2017, p. 21), in their appraisal was 'peturbed to note a sizeable reduction in aid and loans to countries in [India's] immediate neighbourhood such as Maldives, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Bangladesh'.⁵ The Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs recommended (recommendation no. 21) enhancing budgetary allocation in consonance with India's "neighbourhood first" policy. The Ministry of External Affairs acknowledged the concerns of the Standing Committee, and noted an additional allocation of INR 600 crore towards Indian assistance in its neighbourhood (Lok Sabha 2017, p. 22).

Parliamentarians also voiced concerns over the shortage of funds allocated by the Executive for the MEA potentially compromising India's foreign policy objectives and country's international standing, particularly in light of the sharp increase in official commitments made by high-level officials and India's soul-seeking quest in the Indo-Pacific region, in light of a growing China. Another set of budgetary concerns were again raised in 2018, in the Committee on External Affairs 21st report concerning demand for grants for 2018-2019 (Lok Sabha 2018). In light of India's "burgeoning foreign policy goals", the report highlights the challenges and mismatches in budget allocation and expenditures related to development programmes, 'technical assistance and development cooperation schemes, projects and programmes being implemented abroad where certain extraneous factors come into play which are beyond [MEA's] control' (Lok Sabha

2018, p. 11). The 2018 report devotes a whole chapter to India's development engagement, found also in previous reports since 2015, where it analyses several countries and projects in some detail. In its recommendations, the Committee suggested the Ministry to consider granting the Development Partnership Administration (DPA) the financial autonomy of a fully-fledged development agency.

Beyond appropriation debates, it seems that Indian Parliament remains at large supportive of Indian development cooperation and largely delegating to the Executive power (both the MEA and the Prime Minister Office) most of the content decisions, including sectorial and geographical priorities. Still, in a brief commentary of India-Africa relations, Dye (2016) suggested an emerging role for the Indian parliament in shaping Indian development cooperation institutional mechanisms. According to the author, the recent expansion of the Indian foreign loan programme, mostly through the Lines of Credit (LOC) by the Indian Exim (Export-Import) Bank, are generating an increased need of justification "to an often sceptical Indian parliament and the public wanting development 'at home', which could in turn explain some of policy and management headways, such as the adoption of the 2015 Exim Bank Guidelines to improve LOC's delivery. If and whether the pressures came from Parliament or from foreign policy reputation needs to boost India's image among developing partners, or both, remains an issue for further research.

Equally important in India's case, is the rapidly growing visibility of Indian international role and its emerging

implications for the politicisation of the topic at home as well as pressures (coming from the Legislative, the Prime Minister Office, the foreign policy experts' community in Delhi and partner countries) on the existing structure to improve delivery, mostly on the DPA/MEA and on the Exim Bank.

Brazil: from international solidarity to “do it less”?

There is relatively more detailed discussion available on the Brazilian National Congress engagement with Brazil's development cooperation, including a comprehensive panoramic analysis by Leite et al. (2014), in their State of the Debate study. There, the authors map some paradigmatic debates in the Brazilian Congress concerning engagement in international cooperation, namely on the new statute of Embrapa (the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) authorising its international operations and debates concerning the legality of Brazilian food aid, mostly in 2010 and 2011. While the influence of particular law-makers, lobbies and groups concerning the areas and countries of allocation for Brazilian development cooperation were not assessed by the authors, their analysis is revealing of the disputes between the government coalition (in that occasion led by the Workers' Party) and the opposition, in a highly fragmented party system, like the Brazilian one.

Leite and colleagues suggest that while the Embrapa debate was brief and low in public participation, the second has generated longer debates and wider participation from a series of domestic groups. According to the authors, the main contention was between national

needs (including food needs and securing food prices at home) and international solidarity. In 2010, positions raised did not challenge the need for international solidarity, but rather how to balance those apparently competing goals. Still according to the authors, despite the opposition concerns with the political use of food aid by the incumbent party at the time (the Worker's Party), “the deputies have considered solidarity as a principle that goes beyond the Workers' Party's foreign policy, mirroring international, religious and moral principles as well as values held by the Brazilian parliament and society as a whole” (Leite et al 2014, p. 57).⁶

These tensions between solidarity, Brazilian global leadership goals and national development priorities have actually set the tone of several of the legislative debates in Brazil. Other authors, however, show that those conflicting views were already present in 2004, when the Congress discussed the participation of Brazilian troops in the United Nations-mandated peace mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), led by Brazil from 2004 to 2017, based on the constitutional requirement of the Legislative power having to formally authorise Brazilian troops to be sent to Haiti (Feliu & Miranda 2011; Waisbich & Pomeroy 2014). In 2004, discussions touched not only the discomfort of congressmen with having little say in the process, as well as conflicting views on how Brazilian engagement in Haiti fitted Brazilian larger foreign policy goals and whether sending troops abroad was appropriate considering Brazilian security needs at home. Feliu and Miranda (2011) state that budgetary issues were seldom

raised in 2004, but become more important in the national debates, including in the press, as Brazilian participation extended to several years. Another use of solidarity-based defences of Brazilian international engagements by law-makers were also found in more recent humanitarian debates, namely in global migration and refugee crisis (Waisbich 2016), even as the domestic environment in Brazil was already evolving from the “golden emerging power mood” under Lula da Silva to the more pragmatic tone under Dilma Rousseff (Suyama et al. 2016, Marcondes & Mawdsley 2017), as the first signs of the political-economic turbulences started to unfold. However, far less supportive voices have gained room in Legislative debates in the last years, either on the humanitarian and refugee crisis in Venezuela or the international operations of the Brazilian National Development Bank (BNDES) in Latin America and Africa. In both cases, partisan politics and the increased political polarisation also within the Legislative are an important factor in understanding congressional behaviour.

Interestingly, unlike the Indian Lok Sabha grants’ review, a more comprehensive review of Brazilian development cooperation agenda, or the workings of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), was never object of a Legislative review. This could be the case if the long-awaited bill on development cooperation – being drafted and negotiated within the Executive for several years now – finally reaches the National Congress. Foreign Minister Aloysio Nunes (2017-2018) publicly announced his commitment to do it before the end of his tenure, but could not keep with this promise.

Based on the existing studies, it appears that the Brazilian National Congress is still mainly reactive to the agenda set by the Executive. There is not specific caucus or organised group on international development cooperation, but the historical initiatives (such as the 1999 Parliamentary Group on Brazil-Africa) and the growing contemporary debates on development finance, food aid, peacekeeping, migration and asylum could be signs of the Legislative “slowly, but steadily, acting as a check-and-balance force on cooperation issues” (Leite et al 2014, p. 9) with a potential to both polarise and build constituency around development cooperation in Brazil.

Final discussion

Legislative oversight on foreign policy and development cooperation has been growing in all IBSA countries, despite its still marginal formal role in the overall policy process. Debates happening in Legislative houses are signs of increased public attention to the subject not only among law-makers, but also the media and civil society. This critical gaze on the dynamics of legislative participation in SSC policy-making is particularly interesting in the case of IBSA countries as one of the possible entry-door to studying the ways in which democracy and SSC interact, not only at the diplomatic level, but also in policy-making. The vignettes presented here are merely illustrative of some of the recent debates, but they already point to some interesting leads for future research.

First, the centrality of debates focusing on resource-allocation to law-makers’ participation in development cooperation policy. Due to the very formal checks-

and-balances and competencies sharing arrangements in foreign policy matters in the three countries (which formally call for legislative oversight on this kind of matter), resources and budget discussions emerge as a major arena for Legislative participation. Rather than purely technical matters, budget debates are a fertile ground to assess competing policy narratives and priorities (Roe 1994). Considering the emerging middle-classes in all three countries, one could speculate a rise in this kind of resource-related debates in parliaments, together with some sort of tax-payer conscience among citizens, shaping both electoral politics and beyond-elections citizen mobilisations around foreign policy and development cooperation.

Second, the role of think-tanks as supporting and mediating parliamentary policy debates in both India and South Africa. Although the centrality of this kind of actor in foreign policy debates, particularly in the Indian case (McGann 2018) goes beyond the specific case of legislative participation, their role of knowledge-producer actors (equally shared by other civil society organisations, like advocacy non-governmental organisations) in supporting and qualifying law-makers participation remains key to understanding the themes that will emerge in the agenda, as well as the quality of parliamentarians' inputs into the policy process.

Third is the growing politicisation of development/SSC debates, including in the Legislative. Far from been a surprising finding, considering the very nature and role of legislative bodies in democracies, the vignettes here open future research avenues for confirming or challenging

Lancaster's (2007, p. 20) findings that Parliamentary systems tend to support incumbent governments' aid policy, applying her framework to the case of IBSA countries. Brazil, a Presidential regime unlike the other two, has a longer track record of plural (and divisive) congressional debates. Both the debates on contributions to peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts as well as the discussions on operations of BNDES are signs of the growing politicisation of SSC taking place in legislative debates in the South American country. Whether and how a more vocal National Congress actually shapes Brazilian development engagements abroad, moving away of the traditional abdication and delegation positions of the Legislative power in foreign-policy matters, also remains an open-ended question.

Finally, "do it better", "do it more", "do it less" are expressions of conflicting preferences by members of the national Legislative (and by other social forces) in all three IBSA countries, which coexist and fluctuate in tandem with the shifting domestic political environments. Those expressions are signs of development cooperation in IBSA countries slowly but steadily entering the realm of politics: principles, institutional frameworks, and policy designs are increasingly questioned and disputed, including in legislative debates. Insofar IBSA countries' development cooperation engagements remain intrinsically linked to foreign policy-making, they might be subjected to similar Executive-Legislative patterns of interactions found in other foreign relations-related matters, including the so-called broader bipartisan support. Nonetheless, SSC policy debates are also shaped by the particular nature of

development cooperation, as a (incipient) policy field, which (unlike many other arenas of foreign relations) cuts across several sectorial policy domains⁷ and has a clear budgetary dimension, thus opening formal and/or ad hoc opportunities for democratising SSC policy-making through Legislative participation, and consequently broader participation from outside the state, including civil society at large.

Endnotes

- ¹ Ministry of External Affairs, India. (2018). *IBSA Declaration on South-South Cooperation*. June 05. Retrieved from: https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/29955/IBSA_Declaration_on_SouthSouth_Cooperation
- ² Within the field of foreign policy analysis, the relationship between the Executive and Legislative power - both in Parliamentary regimes such as India and South Africa or in Presidential regimes, such as Brazil - has also become a promising research avenue. For Brazil, see for instance, Lima 2003 and Fares 2005. However, less evidence is available on the contours of this interaction when it comes to SSC.
- ³ Du Plessis, C. (2018) "Plans to implement humanitarian aid projects in Africa stalled in a state of promises, not delivery", *Daily Maverick*, 24 October 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-10-24-plans-to-implement-humanitarian-aid-projects-in-africa-stalled-in-a-state-of-promises-not-delivery/>
- ⁴ Interview with South African academic, Cape Town, July 2018.
- ⁵ News18 (2016) "Shortage of Funds Affecting MEA Functioning: Parliamentary Panel", News18, 2 May. Retrieved from: <https://www.news18.com/news/politics/shortage-of-funds-affecting-mea-functioning-parliamentary-panel-1237910.html>

- ⁶ A more detailed analysis of the legislative debates on both cases can be found in Costa Leite (2013).
- ⁷ In Brazil, an illustration of those domestic politics shaping and being shaped by development cooperation engagements can be seen in Brazilian agricultural cooperation with Africa. See, for instance, Pierri 2013, Cabral et al 2013, Cabral et al 2016.

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MEKONG-KOREA COOPERATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Diplomats and government officials from the Mekong Region and Republic of Korea (ROK) met for sixth Mekong-ROK Business Forum on 13 December 2018, in Seoul. Ahead of the inaugural of the Mekong-Republic of Korea Summit and ASEAN-Republic of Korea Commemorative Summit in 2019, the countries of the Greater Mekong Sub region covering Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, and Korea are taking initiatives to tackle development challenges.

The forum focused on “Promoting Co-prosperity Through Eco-friendly Innovation among SMEs in Mekong Countries and Republic of Korea,” was jointly organised by the ASEAN-Korea Center, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises and Start-ups and governmental certification agency Innobiz.

The focus was to engage all stakeholders towards adopting eco-friendly technologies and associated best practices should change and adapt their ways of using resources, energy and waste for higher efficiency. It was noted that ‘cooperating on ecological and environmental protection will be an important part of building an ASEAN-Korea community of a shared future’.

Source: Lee, J. (2018). ‘Mekong-Korea Cooperation spearheads Sustainable Development’. The Korea Herald. December 24. Retrieved from: <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20181224000254>

TEN PILLARS” OF INDIA-CHINA CULTURALCOOPERATION

Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi visited India from 21-24 December, 2018, to hold the first-ever meeting of India-China High-Level Mechanism on Cultural and People-to-People Exchanges with External Affairs Minister (EAM) Sushma Swaraj.

The meeting aimed to strengthen bilateral relations between India and China. The two countries agreed upon ten pillars of cooperation including cultural exchange, cooperation in films and television, cooperation in museum administration, cooperation in organising sports, exchanges between the youth of the two countries, cooperation on tourism, exchanges between states and cities, cooperation in traditional medicine, cooperation in yoga and cooperation in education. This High-Level Mechanism brings all the existing bilateral cultural and people-to-people engagements between India and China under one umbrella, adding a new facet to the expanding India-China ties.

The decision to establish the India-China High Level Mechanism on Cultural and People-to-People Exchanges was taken during the Informal Summit between Prime Minister Modi and President Xi Jinping in Wuhan in April 2018.

Source: PTI. (2018). India, China agree on ‘ten pillars’ of cooperation’. The Hindu Business Line. December 21. Retrieved from: <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/news/india-china-agree-on-ten-pillars-of-cooperation/article25798743.ece>

Trends and Perspectives in Improving South-South Cooperation in the Republic of Moldova



*Irina Babuci**

SSC represents an international engagement opportunity for Moldova, which has begun its journey towards forming partnerships that ensure mutual benefits and ownership of development goals.

The crucial role of the South-South and Triangular Cooperation in accelerating sustainable development has gained continued momentum over a period of time. There is growing consensus around sharing ideas, knowledge and skills to address common challenges and build upon common strengths. Developing countries are increasingly recognising best practices in South-South Cooperation (hereinafter SSC) and Triangular Cooperation, as viable pathways to intensify progress in the attainment of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this respect, the Republic of Moldova (hereinafter Moldova) is at nascent stage of development and implementation of the concept of SSC in its efforts towards development cooperation. Nevertheless, the country has been acknowledging and respectful of the main principle characteristics of SSC.

From the perspective of Moldova, SSC is reflected as a new mode of engagement to address the challenges of globalisation which entail commercial, economic, political and social relations, seen through implementation of the mutual benefiting and national development concepts. There is room for improvement on selecting modalities for targeted priority areas for cooperation drawing upon mutual respect, trust and cooperation between partners in order to identify true intervention needs that would stimulate SSC.

Background on Moldova

Moldova is a lower middle-income country with a population of 3.55 million (estimated 2017).¹ Its GDP per capita is USD 2,311, according to the latest

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census results;² which is roughly half of the average income per capita in the post-Soviet region of USD 5,079 (IMF 2017). Moldova ranks 112 out of 188 countries on the Human Development Index.³ In 2017, the net total of Official Development Assistance (hereinafter ODA) received by Moldova accounted for 328.0 USD million and the ODA net per capita registered 92.5 USD. Moldova scored 1.010 on the Gender Development Index and 0.248 (rank 50) on the Gender Inequality Index.

The Moldovan economy is dominated by the service sector (63.2 per cent of its GDP in 2015) but remittances are also central, amounting to around one quarter of GDP. Overall, the Moldovan economy has proven to be quite resilient; some effects of financial crises were mitigated due to the robustness of the budget and treasury management systems.

Since gaining its independence, Moldova has been developing its economic, political, social and cultural ties as a new member in the international platform. In this sense, Moldova signed the Association Agreement with the European Union (EU) in 2014, and as a result intensified its cooperation with developed European countries and also with developing countries, which are not EU members.

Development Cooperation and Moldova

From the theoretical perspective, as stated by the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC), SSC is about developing countries, linked by similarities in development trajectories, working together to find solutions to common development challenges, sharing knowledge, exchanging technologies and

forming common agenda and collective actions (UNOSSC 2017). Additionally, the SSC initiatives are being complemented by Triangular Cooperation, which is collaboration between traditional donor countries and multilateral organisations on one side and two or more developing countries on the other side, to support SSC initiatives through provision of funding, training, management and technological systems amongst others (UNOSSC 2017).

SSC represents a huge opportunity of sharing national values, ideas and practices at the international level. In this regard, Moldova has already set objectives towards identifying relevant SSC frameworks, conditions, patterns, successful practices and challenges at the level of national coordination authority, ministries, relevant CSOs and private companies as well as UN representatives, funds and active programmes developed in Moldova. It has also initiated efforts towards analysing common and individual strengths and challenges from different actors' vis-à-vis efficient promotion of SSC and finding possible synergies.

As Moldova is a recipient of foreign traditional assistance along with a budding partner in SSC, the Government of Moldova has adopted new institutional arrangements in April 2018, such as a new regulation on the mechanism of coordination and management of foreign assistance. The purpose of this regulation is to maximise the impact incoming foreign assistance that addresses developmental needs of Moldova. It aims to ensure consistency between the tools provided by the provider community and a sustainable financial management of foreign assistance to build national institutional capacities for meeting its own development needs.

The impact of traditional foreign assistance depends primarily on the decision within the provider community on what to support, with what tools, including the level of complementarity to national development efforts. In this regard, with the end of the public administration reform, the Ministry of Finance of the Government of Moldova was designated as the National Aid Coordinator. It is obligated to identify the needs in the light of governmental sectoral priorities and the commitments made to the international community. Moreover, the Ministry of Finance shall consider, to the degree possible, the provisions of the country's partnership frameworks, prepared by the external development partners.

Moreover, in order to ensure transparency, the Ministry of Finance is serving as the administrator of the Aid Management Platform (AMP)⁴, since June 2018. AMP is a website created to reflect all funds received by Moldova in the form of external projects that can serve as an informative source for all stakeholders.

In the same context, during November 27-30, 2018, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Social Protection, Boris Gilca, participated in New York at the United Nations Global Forum on SS and Triangular Cooperation.

The Republic of Moldova was part of the global thematic meeting that promotes strategic and flexible partnerships through mutual learning on the principles of national ownership, respect for sovereignty and equality between partners. Moldova has advanced deeply in the field of social and medical reforms, youth policies, demographic

strategies and the application of aging integration methodology in sectoral policies – “all as good practice models” on the platform SSC. The senior UN officials have emphasised the progress of Moldova in building transparent and responsible governance, ensuring sustainable economic growth and implementing social policies based on respect for human rights.

Along Agenda 2030

Over the last few years, Moldova has been improving the National Development Strategy, updated in 2017, as a result of a sustained policy dialogue and effective foreign inputs generated by donors' community. The national policy agenda is partially aligned to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and one-third of SDGs targets are not included in any of the national policy papers. Most of the aligned targets are related to the “environment” sector, and most misaligned ones are related to governance and human rights” sector.

Main differences between the national policy agenda of Moldova and the SDG targets are caused by national specifics; lack of vision in some important areas reflected under the SDGs; different optics of public policies; and the different degree of disaggregation of the beneficiaries targeted by public policies. The biggest achievement by Moldovan Government to achieve the other SDGs was the adoption of the National Development Strategy “Moldova 2030”. Thus the successful implementation of SDGs depends on how flexible is the strategic planning framework, which is now quite problematic in Moldova; as it has too many policy papers, and it definitely needs a reformed strategic planning framework.

Moldova-India Relations: A Step towards Common Goals

Since 1991, India and Moldova have been making strides towards achievement of common development goals. Both countries have been found supporting each other at many international platforms like the United Nations through reciprocal support mechanism. Despite the fact that India-Moldova bilateral trade has been rather modest, over the last few years both countries signed a number of bilateral treaties to enhance cooperation, such as: Declaration on the basic principles and directions of cooperation between the Republic Moldova and the Republic of India; Protocol of consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of India; Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of the Republic of India on technical and scientific cooperation; Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of the Republic of India; Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of the Republic of India concerning to trade and economic collaboration; Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of the Republic of India on cooperation in the fields of education, science, culture, art, mass media, sport, tourism and youth issues; Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Republic of India; and Protocol on Establishing Consular Relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Republic of India.

As a part of India's development cooperation efforts, Moldova is a beneficiary of the technical assistance support provided by the Indian Government through its flagship Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme aimed at enhancing capacities of individuals from developing countries so that the countries can take ownership of their development trajectories.

Furthering a step in this direction, Moldova is ready to intensify its bilateral relations with India to establish a new level of partnership. Minister for Foreign Affairs (MFA) and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova (EAM), Mr. Tudor Ulianoschi, visited India from August 11-15, 2018. This represented a landmark visit as it was the first time that a MFA from the Republic of Moldova paid an official visit to India. During the visit, Mr. Ulianoschi held official meeting with Indian External Affairs Minister, Mrs. Sushma Swaraj, in New Delhi, on 14 August, 2018 and discussed various aspects of bilateral ties, besides important regional and multilateral issues of mutual interest.

The discussions also focused on building of cooperation in the priority areas of interest such as trade & investment, pharmaceuticals, food-processing, information technology, ease of mobility, education and tourism. Such cooperation could assist both countries towards achieving the SDGs. India welcomed the decision of the Government of Moldova to open their Embassy in New Delhi and expressed full support towards its establishment. An embassy marks the first step towards enhanced people-to-people contact

thereby deepening engagements beyond Track 1 (Government to Government). It would contribute to strengthening of bilateral relations by facilitating visas for tourists, businessmen and students as well as promoting international interactions. Furthermore, such a set-up ensures continued engagement that is necessary for countries to continue on a positive development trajectory.

Conclusion

SSC provides a diverse mode for cooperation amongst developing countries. To improve coordination and coherence of development efforts, Moldova has already decided to become an active participant in SSC. In this regard, there is a vast potential for strengthening country's engagement towards South-South dialogue through international and regional cooperation platforms and mechanisms.

It is important to note that Moldova is open to share its good practices and approaches towards youth and women empowerment and prenatal care with other Southern countries to foster an environment of knowledge exchange in best practices. Moreover, Moldova is a fast learner, and wants to improve its trade and economic relations, for moving towards a "win-win" partnership. This can be complemented by the learning's from countries such as India which has made strides in this direction. Further, what Moldova needs is dependable cooperation that allows for knowledge exchange of good practices, focusing primarily on the strengthening of public administration management, anti-corruption and e-Governance, as Moldova aims to simplify and digitise all public services by 2020.

To sum up, SSC represents an international engagement opportunity for Moldova which has begun its journey towards forming partnerships that ensure mutual benefits and ownership of development goals.

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Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission for Cooperation: a case study for South-South Cooperation



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The Commission between Niger and Nigeria has laid the foundation for cooperation between the two countries, with a mutual understanding towards achieving common goals.

Introduction

Today the world is more interconnected given an increased interaction in all aspects of life, especially towards cooperation, entailing policy coordination, transfer of technology and trade. Complementing this interconnectedness, South-South Cooperation (SSC) aims towards promoting self-sufficiency among Southern nations and in strengthening economic ties among states whose markets are more equally matched. One of the modalities of SSC works towards the exchange of expertise among governments, organisations and individuals of developing nations. Through SSC the developing countries help and support one another with sharing of knowledge, providing technical and humanitarian assistance and increasing trade and investments.

Such cooperation necessitates a coordinated effort, first and foremost at the governmental level that seeps into the importance of having bilateral organisations. Taking the case of Niger and Nigeria, this paper brings forth a case study that highlights a common vision for development shared by both the countries. Through a partnership agreement, a Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission had been created for solving common problems and fostering common solutions. The Commission aims towards strengthening SSC to foster an alliance of unity, building upon the shared interests among developing countries and ensuring economic linkages keeping in mind a common development trajectory.

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This article focuses on understanding SSC through an analysis of the Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission (hereinafter, Commission). The Commission has made tremendous efforts and progress to promote mutual understanding and bilateral trade. The article is structured as follows: first, it gives background to the establishment of the Commission; second, it highlights the targets of the Commission; third, it analyses the structure of the organisation; and fourth, it gives examples of sectors where the Commission has been successful in promoting cooperation as well as highlights an example of triangular cooperation that emerged from an initiative of the Commission.

Historical Background

Since time immemorial, Niger and Nigeria have been intimately linked by their history and geography which shapes their present and further directs them towards a common future. The two countries share a 1500 km border covering twelve regions. These regions share commonalities in the demographics of people, who speak the same language and have similar cultural and religious practices. However, the vast space of Sahara, which groups together Niger and Nigeria, is threatened by desertification highlighting a mutual challenge to be addressed.

Despite shared values, the effort to address common challenges requires a framework built methodologically and guided by mutual determination. Thus, 10 years after their independence, Niger and Nigeria, felt the need to create a legal framework to organise and govern multiform relations. The convention establishing the Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission for Cooperation¹

was an outcome following the official Government visit of the President of the Niger Republic to Nigeria in November 1970. His Excellency President Diouri Hamani and the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency General Yakubu Gowon in March 1971 signed the convention establishing the Commission. It was amended by a Protocol of 22 December 1973 and set-up on 23 December 1973, which took place at Niamey, Niger. Thus resulting in the establishment of the Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission for Cooperation. Its premises of the Commission are located at the Boulevard des Ambassades (Route de Goudel) since 1982. The Commission is a bilateral body under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the two member-states. Its executive body is run by both Nigeriens and Nigerians reflecting joint working at both the organisational level as well as the project level. Its staff works in a hierarchical structure and in close collaboration for smooth running of the institution. The vision and organisational structure of the Commission highlights a true mutually beneficial institution created with joint resources to enhance cooperation to meet common goals and challenges.

Targets of the Commission

The Commission has set targets to fight against desertification, against violent extremism along the borders of the two countries; moving towards women empowerment; strengthening economic ties; building dams (Kandadji, Sabke, KafinZaki); controlling the spread of diseases; and promoting tourism as well as solidarity through sports and cultural engagements. It has general and exclusive

competence to seek in all fields the means of coordinating and harmonising the economy of two countries aiming at increased effective cooperation.

Furthermore, the Commission is empowered to make proposals to both the governments of Niger and Nigeria, regarding, in particular, the measures to be taken and the projects to be carried out with for rational, harmonious and balanced cooperation. These proposals should be capable of ensuring maximum development of two countries while being cost effective. Overcoming the desire to assert particular nations sovereignty and the principle of equality, a core principle of SSC, directs this mutually beneficial cooperation. Further, the founding fathers of the Commission have provided in the statutes equality in contributions by the two States. The financial charges for the operation of the Commission shall also be borne equally by the Governments of Niger and Nigeria.

Structure of the Organisation

The structure of the organisation is laid in such a manner so as to reflect the harmonisation of targets, mutual understanding about working of the organisation as well as in jointly achieving the vision of the Commission. It has been organised in such a manner where the governance is by the High Authority, which is the supreme body of the Commission, made up of the two heads of the State. The structure then moves in a downward hierarchical manner with the Council of Ministers which is second in command, responsible to the High Authority. The Council meets once a year and it is composed of representatives of the two governments

of coming from an equivalent level in their individual countries. The third in row is the Permanent Secretariat, which is responsible for day-to-day functioning of the Commission and the execution of the decisions of the High Authority and the Council of Ministers. The Secretariat is headed by a Secretary General, appointed by the Federal Republic of Nigeria and assisted by a Deputy Secretary General, appointed by the Republic of Niger, jointly approved by the two Governments. This reflects an inclusive and representative organisation, that can undertake activities that are of mutual concern and driven by the demands for development by both Niger and Nigeria.

Joint committees of experts are also set up to deal with the various areas of cooperation, which meet regularly and make recommendations to the Council of Ministers. These joint committees are the important levers of this institution as they are the designers of the measures and actions and at the same time responsible for the follow-up processes that are an outcome of decisions taken by the Council of Ministers. They make a decisive contribution to the effectiveness of the Secretariat of the Commission, which aims to retain a lean structure in terms of its workforce.

Areas of Engagement

The Convention establishing the Commission has Statutes and Rules of Procedure which constitute the general legal framework for bilateral relations between Niger and Nigeria. Special agreements and programmes of cooperation are concluded to govern activities of the different sectors of the economic, social and cultural engagements

of the two countries. These agreements and programmes are: Agreement on the Supply of Electric Power to the Republic of Niger by the Federal Republic of Nigeria; Trade Agreements Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agreement; Air Transport Agreement; Agreement on combating desertification; Road Transport Agreement; Agreement on the fight against pests; Memorandum of Understanding on information; Agreement concerning the equitable sharing of the development, conservation and use of shared water resources; Cooperation Agreement on Health; Agreement on the establishment of local bilateral committees; Judicial Cooperation Agreement; Programme of cooperation and cultural and educational exchanges; and Agreement on the sports' exchange programme.

The areas of intervention focus on economic integration; transport and connectivity through air, road and rail; safety through the establishment and support towards a border security surveillance system; human development with a focus on health, agriculture, education, supply of energy and sharing of water resources; addressing climate change through combating desertification and ecosystem management; and clear demarcation of borders in respect of territorial sovereignty, amongst others.

This bilateral SSC has also opened avenues for Triangular Cooperation through engagements with traditional donors and international organisations. An example of this engagement is between the Joint Commission and the World Bank, which led to the launch of the Kano-Katsia-Maradi (K2M) initiative for food security and trade, including livestock and agricultural products. This takes

SSC between Niger and Nigeria to a level of triangulation with the World Bank. The main objective of this initiative is to promote economic integration through people-to-people and contacts across the border of both Niger and Nigeria. The initiative also aims to ensure free movement of people, capital, goods and services in both the countries without any unjustified barriers. The effort seeks to provide a great opportunity to record the volume of border trade thereby establishing reliable commercial information for the purpose of generating revenue for both the governments.

The trade corridors under this initiative cover the Kebbi-Sokoto-Zamfara, Jigawa-Daura and Borno-Yobe in Nigeria, and Dosso-Tahoua, Magaria-Zinder and Diffa in Niger. These corridors mutually organise trade fairs in both Nigeria and Niger. The Commission has succeeded in setting up a Niger-Nigerian Consular Chamber (NCCN), whose headquarters is in Kano. To ensure the proper functioning, the commission has focus on human, material and financial resources to be contributed by both the countries and supported by the World Bank. This initiative is a step towards ensuring sustainable trade engagements between the two countries, maintaining a flow of goods and people at the borders and sets a framework that can spill into other areas of cooperation under the ambit of the Commission.

Conclusion

The Commission between Niger and Nigeria has laid the foundation for cooperation between the two countries, with a mutual understanding towards achieving common goals. Without

cooperation, there can be no development. This is what makes the Niger-Nigeria Joint Commission for cooperation a unique bilateral tool and a best practice initiative in the region. The joint commission is a key example of a SSC towards developmental projects that aim to strengthen security, address environmental concerns, enhance trade and economic ties, and ensure diseases control.

Through its institutional structure, the commission establishes legitimacy in providing expertise and identifying common interests between the two countries. Further, the institutional setup acknowledges the principles of equality, demand driven cooperation and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty that are key to SSC engagements. The

efforts initiated by the Commission, including the triangular cooperation with the World Bank, aim towards making Niger and Nigeria the protagonists in their own stories towards development.

Endnote

¹ The Commission Mixte Nigero-Nigeriane, acronym CMNN in French

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FIRST EDITION OF AFRICAN FORUM ON VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The city of Dakhla in Western Sahara, administered by Morocco, hosted the first African Forum on Vocational Training from 21-22 December, 2018. The Forum took place under the theme, 'the Governance of vocational training systems for employability and competitiveness in Africa'.

The event was in line with Morocco's strategy to enhance South-South Cooperation and saw the participation of the Moroccan Agency for International Cooperation (AMCI). The aim of the event was to provide a platform for the exchange of expertise, create models for partnership and provide the youth access to vocational training.

The first African initiative of its kind, the Forum led to the signing of six cooperation agreements to strengthen the cooperation between Morocco and other African countries in the field of vocational training.

All participants called for the creation of an African committee to brainstorm on vocational training, developing digital exchange and sharing platforms, twinning vocational training centers, working towards a regional/continental certification framework for African countries in order to favour youth and worker mobility, amongst others. The event stressed the importance of establishing a common African vision and integrated vocational training systems.

Source: All Africa. (2018). Africa: 1st African Vocational Training Forum in Dakhla, 'Resounding Success'. All Africa. Maghreb Arabe Presse (Rabat). Retrieved from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/201812270221.html>

India-Nepal Economic Cooperation: A Partnership for Development



*Manjeev Singh Puri**

India remains steadfast in its commitment to support the people and the Government of Nepal in their quest for development and prosperity.

India's development cooperation with Nepal is based on the solid foundation of Indo-Nepal friendship that draws its strength from shared history, common cultural ethos, open-border, trade linkages and intense people-to-people engagements. Seventy years of India-Nepal economic cooperation provides glimpses of 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas' - the motto of the Government of India in Nepal. After India's Independence, the Government of India took major steps for bringing socio-economic transformations in India, which contributed towards the setting up of the Indian Cooperation Mission. This Mission was instrumental in establishing physical and social infrastructure in Nepal from 1950 to 1980.

Physical and Social Infrastructure Development

The projects constructed with Indian assistance such as Tribhuvan International Airport and other domestic airports at Simra, Janakpur, Pokhara, Biratnagar, etc. and Highways such as Tribhuvan Rajmarg, Sidharth Rajmarg and East-West Highway laid the foundation of Nepal's connectivity, domestically as well as internationally. Similarly, construction of 22 bridges and their approaches on Kohalpur-Mahakali sector on East-West highway enhanced mobility of people and freight between Far-Western region of Nepal with other parts of Nepal, India and outside world. Likewise, 858km East-West Optical Fiber Cable (OFC) laid along East-Highway highway along with setting up of 80 stations with Synchronous Digital Hierarchy (SDH) equipment have brought transformational changes in Nepal's telecommunication sector, and in the lifestyle of its people, especially those living in remote areas.

* Ambassador of India to Nepal

Apart from the physical infrastructure, the social infrastructure in the form of education and healthcare facilities are the key to growth and development of people. The Government of India has lent support to establish various hospitals, colleges and vocational training institutes, etc. in different parts of Nepal. The BP Koirala Institute of Health & Sciences at Dharan, National Trauma Centre at Kathmandu, Manmohan Memorial Polytechnic at Biratnagar, etc. are among the state-of-art institutions of Nepal constructed with the Indian technical financial support, that provided much needed services and also contributed towards creation of skilled human resources for Nepal.

Small Development Projects

The India-Nepal development cooperation deepened further with the focus on grassroots projects in 1990s. Since 2003, the Government of India has been supporting Small Development Projects (SDP) in education, health, rural infrastructure, drinking water, irrigation, river embankment work, etc. in different districts and municipalities. The Government of India provides about INR 500 million annually towards implementation of these SDPs. The projects are implemented through district authorities, municipalities and other regional departments and agencies responding to local needs for inclusive socio-economic developments in close collaboration and partnership with the Government of Nepal.

Economic Cooperation

The multi-faceted India-Nepal Economic Cooperation Programme has been supporting essential development

activities, and providing benefits to the people in all 75 districts of Nepal. These include programmes like Goiter Control Programme, that ensured eradication of goiter in Nepal; and the installation of Deep and Shallow Tube Wells that helped farmers in almost all Terai districts augmenting production of wheat, rice and seasonal fruits and vegetables thus increasing their income and improving standard of living and contributing to Nepal's food security. Similarly, various health camps for screening diabetes, eye and ear diseases etc. were organised, which contributed in improving the standard of living. India also gifted 662 ambulances and 130 school buses to various hospitals and other health facilities, schools and socio-cultural organisations in Nepal. The Government of India offers around 3000 scholarships to Nepali students every year to support their studies in Nepal as well as in India. In addition, 250 scholarships are offered annually for Government and non-Government employees of Nepal for training and skill enhancement in premier technical institutes in India under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme.

Cultural Cooperation & Cross-Border Connectivity

To further strengthen existing historical and religious-cultural ties between India and Nepal, the Government of India has been supporting restoration and renovation of important cultural heritage sites in Nepal apart from supporting construction of essential community infrastructures such as Dharmshalas, drinking water and sanitation, etc. to meet

needs of large number of pilgrims visiting places of religious significance such as, Pashupatinath, Muktinath and Janaki Temple, etc.

In 21st Century, smooth cross-border flow of trade and goods and stronger people-to-people linkages would be the key driver for socio-economic transformation in people's lives. To achieve this, India is closely working with the Government of Nepal to create an extensive network of infrastructure projects. Many large projects such as construction of Integrated Check Posts, development of Rail links along India-Nepal border, Postal Highway Project, etc. have been taken up for construction with the support of the Government of India in the recent times. The Integrated Check Posts at four border check points, viz. Raxaul (India) – Birgunj (Nepal); Sunauli (India)–Bhairhawa (Nepal); Jogbani (India)–Biratnagar (Nepal); and Nepalgunj Road (India)–Nepalgunj (Nepal) envisages world-class state-of-the-art infrastructure for smooth flow of passengers and goods between two countries.

Similarly, five cross border rail links being constructed at different sections viz. Jogbani- Biratnagar; Jaynagar- Bardibas; Nepalgunj road-Nepalgunj; Nautanwa-Bhairahawa; New Jalpaiguri-Kakarbhitta would reintroduce Railways in Nepal, connect them with vast Indian rail network and facilitate smooth movement of passenger and freight. Both the governments have invested significantly in the development of new cross-border transmission lines facilitating import of more than 380 MW of electricity into Nepal. Recently completed Kataiya-Kusaha and

Raxaul-Parwanipur transmission lines would make additional 100 MW of power available to Nepal.

India is Nepal's largest trading partner and the largest source of foreign investment in Nepal. There are about 150 Indian Joint Ventures in Nepal, engaged in manufacturing, services (banking, insurance, dry port, education and telecom), power sector and tourism industry. Indian banks and insurance companies are pioneers in their fields in Nepal.

Way Forward

Notwithstanding certain global economic trends, India stands out as a bright spot in the world economic landscape and an engine for global growth. India's robust economic growth has been the result of a host of policy measures and structural reforms undertaken by Prime Minister Modi-led government. Sustained economic growth and expanding job opportunities in India enhances opportunities for Nepali citizens and businesses. India's transformation presents an opportunity for Nepal's economic growth and socio-economic development of its people.

India and Nepal share a unique bond of friendship that knows no beginning, and in modern times, the endeavour of the two Governments is to expand this partnership. The multidimensional partnership between India and Nepal stands to be further strengthened with the ushering in of a new era of hope and peace in Nepal. India remains steadfast in its commitment to support the people and the Government of Nepal in their quest for development and prosperity.

Book Review

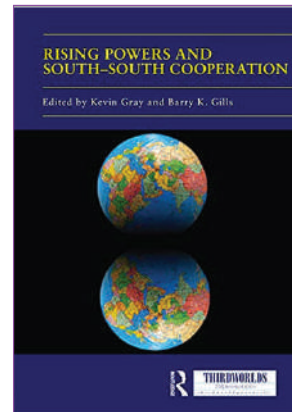
Rising Powers and South-South Cooperation

Edited by Kevin Gray and Barry K. Gills.

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*Kartikeya Dwivedi**

SSC has the potential to be more effective and productive at the operational level owing to its ideals of heterogeneity and demand-driven nature.

While the votaries of South-South Cooperation (SSC) substantiate the spirit of their cooperation in terms of solidarity and horizontality, the book under review looks at the idea through the lens of ‘power’. Hence “*Rising Powers and South-South Cooperation*” finds a unique place within the literature concerning SSC. The book raises various questions focusing on the impact of emerging countries on global development patterns. Are we witnessing a ‘global centre-shift’ from North to South? If yes, then how best to measure the impact of these emerging countries? What are the implications of a parallel tendency towards increasing competition between the emerging countries vis-a-vis the North? What are the theoretical approaches and conceptual tools required to answer these questions? To what extent are some of the global peripheries being re-subordinated to the emerging centres? The book provides the reader with a collection of papers, reflecting upon these questions, arguing from both sides of the fence, about the pros and cons of SSC all observed through the perspective of ‘power’.

Deepak Nayyar, in his chapter, discusses the resurgence of SSC post the fall of the New International Economic Order in UNCTAD due to reinforcement of intellectual property rights, is owed to the process of globalisation. He mentions that China and India have been the primary beneficiaries of globalisation. Nayyar argues that the rise of the BRICS is itself uneven with all Southern countries including India,

* Intern, RIS.

Brazil and South Africa running sizeable trade deficits with China and the rise of China cannot be synonymous with the rise of the South. However, Branislav Gosovic's paper in the book, from a practitioner's perspective, argues that China's relationship with its developing partners is recognised as a positive one with the former helping the latter to loosen their dependence on Northern metropolises. Initially, the formation of institutions such as UN Economic Commission for Latin America was met with conservative backlash from the North. However today, Gosovic explains, the opposition from the North is not uniform given the push for Triangular Cooperation as a move to get a piece of the pie within SSC.

Kevin Gray and Barry Gills, in their chapter, describe the International Monetary Fund (IMF) announcement of its 2010 reform package as giving an increased stake to the BRICS countries, in lieu of their \$75 billion contribution to \$430 billion bailout, hailing it as a victory to the South. However, even with their enhanced position in the IMF, assert the authors, no effective change in the global development finance architecture has been executed, thereby signalling a lack of solidarity within the South. The consequent establishment of the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB) and its Contingency Reserve Arrangement (CRA) are landmarks in the story of SSC. But, Patrick Bond argues on the contrary that they are the very tools to consolidate the dominance of the West in the development processes of the rest of the world instead of being instruments of turning the financial hegemony of the West on its head. He gives a two-fold substantiation pointing out the fact wherein if a country

needs to draw more than 30 per cent of its quota from the CRA, it must first seek a loan from the IMF which comes with structural adjustment conditionalities. He also emphasises on the use of the US dollar (USD) leading to the exposure of all other countries to Exchange Rate Volatility of the USD except the United States, making the developing countries especially vulnerable as they stand on the margins (or periphery, as Prebisch would say) of the world economy.

The papers of Nayyar and Bond converge on calling this kind of economics as imperialist. Nayyar says that the Chinese model of development is a predatory one. The pattern of export of primary goods to China and its import of finished products reflects a neo-colonialist pattern of trade which is hardly conducive to industrialisation, let alone indicative of a partnership for development. Bond further fuels the imperialist claim drawing from the works of Rosa Luxemburg that the financial flows from emerging countries exhibit a sub-imperialist nature. He throws light onto how the creation of the NDB resulted in the subsequent irrelevance of the Bank of the South and the increasing South African investments in Africa complemented by military patrols for their protection replicate an imperialistic nature.

However, it is only logical to understand that making Bank of the South, a bank for the BRICS countries, would consolidate too much of its stake and influence within the Latin American and Caribbean Countries while BRICS being a grouping that cuts across continents. Similarly, it makes sense to back an investment with military support in order to ensure the sustainability of the

project especially in regions such as Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of Congo which have been marked by protracted conflicts, low capacity of the national armed forces and a war economy that thrives on destruction rather than development. Such nuances are overlooked in the contributing papers of the book.

Further, the majority of the book, in a relentless fashion, writes off the will of the rest of the developing and least developed countries against the emerging countries, providing a lopsided reflection on SSC. However, Fantu Cheru in his paper argues the case for the agency of the African nations by citing the case of Ethiopia which navigates its development objectives through the conditionalities of the West and the debt diplomacy of Chinese government. This is done by giving away contracts of Western financed projects to Chinese companies while utilising India's capacity building programmes in order to consolidate the sustainability of the mega infrastructure projects in their country.

The claims against the solidarity of the South and the imperialistic nature of trade and cooperation among the Southern countries are met with a hindrance in a paper by Thomas Muhr. He articulates his ten theses argument and rallies a case for SSC, highlighting aspects which can easily be ignored in any analysis. Muhr emphasises that SSC has an emancipatory potential that has been marginalised in Anglophone literature. Unequal gains within SSC are inevitable and not a reason to withdraw from it. There are intangible gains like knowledge exchange, capacity building, and diplomatic solidarity instead of monetary benefits which are also

important and intrinsic to southern exchanges.

The global development architecture is incomplete without factoring in South-South bilateral flows. The traditional strings that have been associated with the Official Development Assistance (ODA) emerge in Soyeun Kim and Gray's paper over South Korea's ODA to Africa. They argue that Seoul's ODA is torn between short term political objectives such as a seeking influence in the UN voting system, case in point for the appointment of Ban Ki Moon as the Secretary General and the larger, broader soft power strategy objectives such as the implementation of the 'Korean Development Model', pursuit of national prestige through the membership of the OECD/DAC and 'global branding'. The papers assert that a wide arrays of objectives make the spread of aid very thin over a number of recipients compromising its effectiveness to Africa. Caught in bureaucratic traffic, the authors argue that Seoul is unable to streamline its objectives behind ODA.

James Mittleman, in his contributing paper, talks about repositioning in global governance through a horizontal and vertical shift in pliable neoliberalism by analysing IMF, G7 and G20 and in particular the informal networks of authority that bind them together. Markus Kroger and Rickard Lalander in their paper ask the question as to whether constitutions matter in the context of ethno-territorial rights and the resource extraction boom in Latin America. Maria Guadalupe and Moog Rodrigues present a view from Brazil on the prospect of transnational advocacy from the India Brazil and South Africa (IBSA) Bloc asking the question as to why civil societies have

failed to form transnational networks that seek to effect policies in a coordinated way. Eduardo Gudynas through his paper raises the conceptual question on what is meant by development and its implications for understanding of SSC. He argues that the notional spectrum of development itself has been bound by the two models and types: the Latin American progressivist model of neo-developmentalism or the Chinese state-led development. He details out two types of models of development - neoliberal Western model (type1) or the Keynesian model (type2). However, Gudynas calls for a 'type 3' as an alternative which can be achieved through the concept of *Buen Vivir* which focuses on the quality of life and an expanded nature of community and the delinking of progress from growth.

The book as a whole is a compilation of analytical perspectives concerning SSC and the emerging economies of the world. However, the majority of the arguments in the book have been made from one of two perspectives, a macro level politico-economic/constitutional lens or the global financial architecture lens. A glance at the research questions would suggest that they view SSC from an eagle eye perspective in the two aforementioned contexts. The debates constructed in the book and largely along the narratives around SSC focus on it from the policy making level. In other words, the collection of essays approach SSC in a top-down manner. One should note that, on the contrary, inter-state and inter-regional conferences like Bandung (1955) and Buenos Aires Plan of Action (1978) established principles and norms which consider all Southern countries lying on a horizontal platform. This is not to

deny, however, that inter-state and inter-regional agreements emerging at a macro level were also captured in the book. They considered features such as constitutional validity, financial hegemony and global governance etc.

However, SSC and ideally development cooperation at large deserves to be analysed more closely. SSC is emerging at a new level which can be understood by tracking the changes in quality of lives at the grassroots of an economy. SSC has the potential to be more effective and productive at the operational level owing to its ideals of heterogeneity and demand-driven nature. Such initiatives involve people-to-people interactions which build strong linkages across populations. The Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC), Colombo Plan or Special Commonwealth Assistance to Africa Programme (SCAAP) and Barefoot College inter alia are some of the capacity building initiatives that not only instil important technical knowledge and skills in people but also prepare its beneficiaries for catalysing the development process of their countries in a sustainable fashion. As Chaturvedi (2016) points out that over the years the expertise (of such programmes) has greatly contributed to an observable incremental improvement in vital development sectors in partner economies. Such capacity building initiatives in SSC emerge from mutually beneficial modes of cooperation. They empower citizens to take ownership of their country's own development trajectories. The book, however, discusses forms of development cooperation wherein certain lending decisions resulted in indebtedness and alleged that it was because the receivers of infrastructure assistance were incapable of

sustainably operating on the investments made and in repaying their debts. One must remember that SSC support is not decided by the provider rather it is demand-driven. However, there may have been instances wherein the demand may not have been well-informed. Furthermore, the principle of 'mutual benefit' and the multi-modality approaches in most Southern engagements ensure capacity building and knowledge exchanges along with infrastructure development and investment-laden projects. Thus the plurality of SSC can best be appreciated when understood through a variety of perspectives, than that just of power.

Moreover, the governance of aid flows through the OECD/DAC channel is largely a function of macroeconomic fundamentals which are controlled at the policy level. However, the impact of SSC is qualitative in nature and cannot always be inferred through monetarist measures. It is therefore logical that the assessment of a qualitative impact must happen through qualitative tools. As Chakrabarti (2018) points out, there exists an institutional heterogeneity in development cooperation. The three institutions identified are of the DAC (Pre and Post) Paris Declaration and SSC. The institution of SSC is characterised by relations of trust between actors as opposed to authority or bargaining and coordination through ideology rather than commands or contracts among other

qualities which make it a suitable model to be applied across macro and micro levels against the OECD/DAC regime, which has been asserted at the policy level but is completely absent from the grassroots.

The book argues that the South suffers a fate where short-term national interest is traded off for long term solidarity by its members. As Waltz (1959) theorised that international relations are characterised by anarchy between states and the hard 'materialistic' power is the only factor which overcomes this anarchy. The North, therefore, has been able to assert its conditions and terms through a policy of divide and rule even in the post-colonial world. However, SSC's inherent qualities cannot be viewed through such a 'power-centric' lens as its true strength lies in connecting and consolidating grassroots across continents in a cooperative rather than competitive manner.

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SSC in Statistics

Characteristics of BRICS Trade

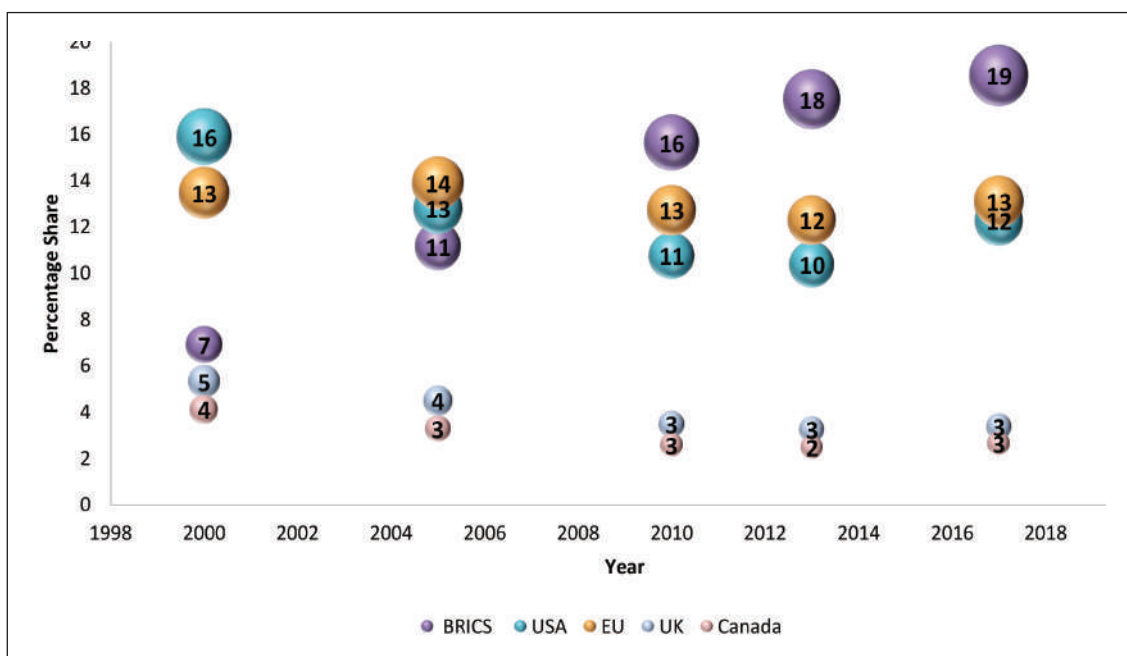


Sushil Kumar*

BRICS brings together five major emerging economics of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa comprising of 41 percent of the world population and contributes 23 percent of the global GDP.

The share of BRICS countries in the world merchandise trade has increased from 7 percent in 2000 to 19 percent in 2017. In absolute terms, it increased sevenfold from USD 0.87 trillion to USD 5.97 trillion over the same time period, i.e. a compounded annual growth by 12 percent. During the same period the share in global trade recorded a declining trend in respect of USA, UK and Canada. That of EU remained almost stagnant (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Share of BRICS, USA, EU, UK and Canada trade in Total World Trade



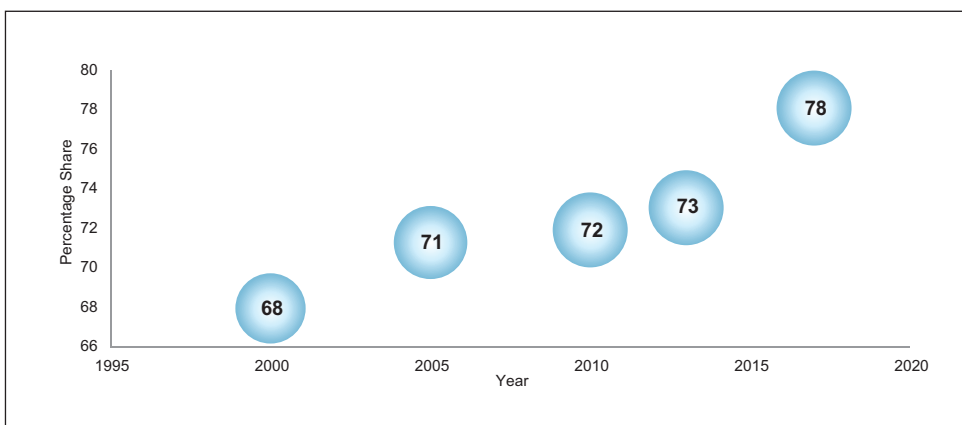
Source: UN Comtrade database

* Consultant, RIS

Share of manufacturing exports in total exports of BRICS countries also increased from 68 percent to 78 percent over the time period 2000-2017 as exports of manufacturing items from BRICS increased from USD 0.32 trillion to US\$ 2.52 trillion during this period (see Figure 2).

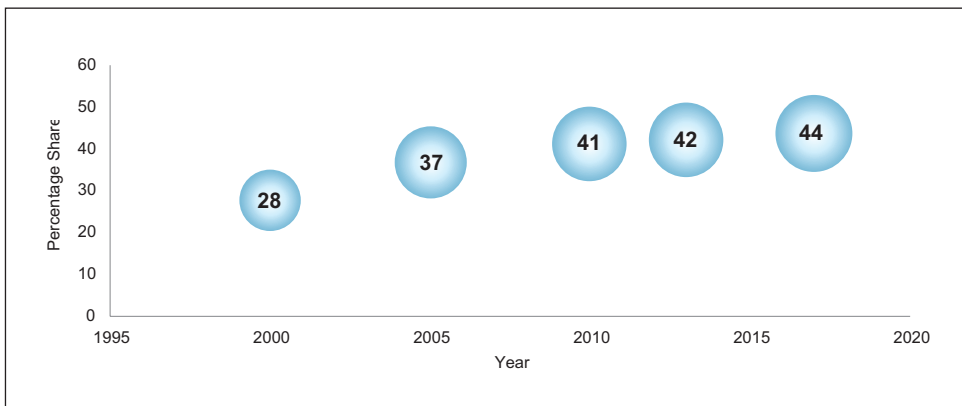
In 2000, BRICS's share in total trade of South was 28 percent having increased to 44 percent in 2017. During the 2000-2017, total trade of BRICS to South has grown at a compounded annual growth rate of about 11 percent (see Figure 3).

Figure 2: Share of Manufacturing Exports in Total Exports of BRICS countries



Source: UN Comtrade database

Figure 3: Share of BRICS Countries trade in Total Trade from South



Source: UN Comtrade database

Guidelines for Contributors

1. DCR is a refereed multi-disciplinary international journal. Manuscripts can be sent, as email attachment, in MS-Word to the Managing Editor (milindo.chakrabarti@ris.org.in).
2. Manuscripts should be prepared using double spacing. The text of manuscripts should not ordinarily exceed 1500 words. Manuscripts sent for peer review section may be limited to 5000 words. Such submissions should contain a 200 word abstract, and key words up to six.
3. Use 's' in '-ise' '-isation' words; e.g., 'civilise', 'organisation'. Use British spellings rather than American spellings. Thus, 'labour' not 'labor'. (2 per cent, 3 km, 36 years old, etc.). In general descriptions, numbers below 10 should be spelt out in words. Use thousands, millions, billions, not lakh and crore. Use fuller forms for numbers and dates – for example 1980-88, pp. 200-202 and pp. 178-84. for example 'the eighties', 'the twentieth century', etc.

Reference Style: References should be appended at the end of the paper. References must in double space, and should be same author(s) is cited, then arrange them chronologically by year of publication.

All references should be embedded in the text in the APA style. For details please refer to Course and Subject Guides: <https://pitt.libguides.com/c.php?g=12108&p=64730>

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Call for Contributions

We invite contributions from interested readers on issues related to development cooperation in general and South-South Cooperation in particular. Contributions may also capture theory, practice and associated debates on development cooperation. Reviews of latest publications - books, monographs, reports - are also welcome. Any institutional upcoming events on development cooperation may also be captured in DCR. The contributions should be restricted to not more than 1500 words.

For editorial information, contributions, feedback and comments: mail to milindo.chakrabarti@ris.org.in and dgoffice@ris.org.in

Introduction of a Section on Peer Reviewed Articles/Essays


In keeping with suggestions, feedbacks and accumulated experience, we have decided to introduce a section, containing peer reviewed full length articles/essays. Interested scholars willing to contribute are requested to send in their manuscripts (preferably in not more than 5000 words) to the editorial office.

About Development Cooperation Review


Development Cooperation Review (DCR) aspires to capture holistic narrative around global development cooperation and fill an important knowledge gap towards theorisation, empirical verification and documentation of Southern-led development cooperation processes. Despite growing volumes of development partnerships around the Southern world, there remains an absence of detailed information, analysis and its contribution to global development processes. Even though there have been sporadic efforts in documenting some of the activities, a continuous effort in chronicling the diverse experiences in South-South Cooperation (SSC) is still absent. RIS, in joint publication with FIDC and NeST has endeavoured to launch DCR, a monthly periodical, to fill this gap till March 2019 after which DCR would graduate to become a full-fledged Journal.

DCR is designed to bring policy-makers, officials, researchers, academics and the development practitioners onto a global platform to share their ideas, experiences and concerns vis-a-vis development cooperation. The periodical would further allow us to feature special write-ups, analyses, opinion pieces, commentaries and in general the South's take on the emerging narratives of global architecture of development cooperation, including ODA.

About Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS)

RIS is a New Delhi-based autonomous policy research institute envisioned as a forum for fostering effective policy dialogue and capacity-building among developing countries on global and regional economic issues. The focus of the work programme of RIS is to promote South-South Cooperation and collaborate with developing countries in multilateral negotiations in various forums. @RIS_NewDelhi

About Network of Southern Think Tanks (NeST)

NeST was established on the sidelines of the first high-level meeting (HLM) of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) in Mexico in April 2014, and as a follow-up to the Conference of Southern Providers held in Delhi in April 2013. The network has committed itself to 'generating, systematising, consolidating and sharing knowledge on South-South co-operation (SSC) approaches to international development'. @NeST_SSC

About Forum for Indian Development Cooperation (FIDC)

FIDC aims to encourage detailed analysis of broad trends in South-South cooperation and contextualise Indian policies by facilitating discussions across various subject streams and stakeholders based on theoretical and empirical analysis, field work, perception surveys and capacity building needs. @FIDC_NewDelhi

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