

After Mandela Met Gandhi: The Past and Future of India-South Africa Relations

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ABSTRACT This paper traces the relationship between India and South Africa during the twentieth century. Its main focus is on how the Indian National Congress (INC) came to play such a pivotal role in the struggle to isolate apartheid South Africa. It argues that the first seeds were sown during Gandhi's attempt to garner support in India for local battles. Once Gandhi left, there were significant visits by leading members of the INC, most notably Sarojini Naidu, and the Office of the Agent-General. From the 1940s, independent India raised the issue of apartheid at the United Nations and sought the isolation of South Africa. India also signaled its support for African majority rule, mirroring developments inside South Africa where the Indian Congresses allied themselves with the ANC. A bond between India and the ANC was forged and this was exemplified by Nelson Mandela's visit to India in the immediate aftermath of his release from prison. Today however, with both countries adopting similar neo-liberal trajectories, the relationship is contradictory. There is competition between India and China in Africa and South Africa tries to straddle an African commitment while seeking to maximize its own advantage in the global economy. This paper argues that in the present phase of global capitalism, notions of solidarity are difficult to sustain as states find that their room for manoeuvre is limited, and the search for markets intensifies.

INTRODUCTION

While the link between India and Africa goes back many centuries, this paper focuses on India's involvement in the southern-most part of the African continent since the arrival of the first indentured Indians in Natal in 1860. They were part of the international circulation of labour from India following the end of slavery in the 1830s. A smaller number of free migrants (known as 'passengers') followed in their wake from the 1870s. Around two-thirds of the 152,184 Indians who arrived in Natal as indentured labourers did not return to India, while many of those who returned 'home' made their way back to Natal, some as passenger migrants and others by re-indenturing. This is not a comprehensive history, but rather a focus on key moments which will be used as a lens to analyse shifts in the relationship between South Africa and India, and reflect on what the future holds for this relationship.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on archival research for the earlier period, secondary material, ethnography, personal observations, oral interviews, as well as a perusal of websites of relevant individuals and organisations.

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSION

i. Indenture

Both indentured and non-indentured migration to South Africa was circular, as most migrants maintained some form of interaction with their ancestral homes through remittances, return visits, marriage, and even investment in home villages in the form of schools, temples, and mosques. Desai and Vahed (2010b) have shown that many of the indentured returned to India after completing their indentures, and then emigrated to South Africa, while others periodically visited India on holiday. Those of the trading class, mainly Gujarati Muslims, visited their villages and families every few years throughout the century. Levitt and Schiller (2004) have termed this religious, economic, social, and political linking of migrants and non-migrants across national borders 'transnationalism'. But, as Bhana and Vahed (2005: 17) point out, even while migrants 'were strongly tied to their ancestral land, they also engaged in making a new home for themselves and adapted in various ways as South Africa became their home.' They were to discover, however, that in the emerging racial order in South Africa, they would not be accepted as citizens. This would result in many turning to India for help in their political struggles.

The Indian government's direct intervention in the affairs of Indians in Natal probably began with the return of the ship, the *Red Riding Hood*, which took back the first group of time-expired indentured workers to India in 1871. They lodged the first official complaints about the treatment of Indians in Natal. Ten returning workers complained to the Protector in Madras, where the ship first stopped, and there were further complaints when the ship reached Calcutta. The complaints were referred back to the Colony where a commission was appointed in 1872 to investigate. Complaints included flogging, assaults, irregular payment and rations, extra working hours, poor medical facilities, and so on. The report of the commission led to the Natal Government tightening its immigration laws and conditions of employment. Immigration resumed on 25 June 1874 and continued uninterrupted until 1911 (Desai and Vahed 2010a).

ii. Gandhian Period

As racial suppression intensified in South Africa, Mohandas K. Gandhi became the public face of the Indian demand for citizenship in South Africa. He set the trend in articulating a politics that linked South African Indian struggles to the British Empire and Indian nationalist politics. He formed the trader-dominated Natal Indian Congress (NIC) on 22 August 1894, which was modelled on the Indian National Congress (INC), and he regularly sought out the help of prominent Indian figures. He visited India in 1896 and published the Green Pamphlet which outlined anti-Indian discrimination in South Africa. Gandhi started a newspaper, *Indian Opinion*, and also used English-language newspapers in South Africa and Britain to publicise the status of Indians in South Africa.

Gandhi appeared before the INC at regular intervals; he sent many appeals to Indian members of Parliament, such as Dadabhai Naoroji and Mancherjee Bhownagree, and he went to London in 1906 and 1909 to put the case of South African Indians before Whitehall. Gokhale (see below) discussed the tax with the Union government and left with the impression that it would be repealed. When Smuts denied giving such an undertaking, Gandhi considered it ethically proper to pursue its repeal and he and his supporters initiated a strike by Indian workers at the coal mines in Northern Natal in October 1913.

Soon the strike spread to the coastal sugar estates, railways workers and municipal workers. The violence associated with the strike, coupled with pressure from the British government in India, led to the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 which abolished the tax but maintained other restrictions. Gandhi's final act in South Africa was the strike of 1913 which culminated in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 (Bhana and Desai 2005).

It was Gandhi who invited a prominent leader of the INC, Gopal K. Gokhale, to South Africa in 1912 to help resolve some of the issues facing Indians. Gandhi described Gokhale as his mentor. Gandhi failed in his efforts to lobby the authorities in South Africa, India, and Britain through petitions, and between 1906 and 1910 was involved in a passive resistance campaign in the Transvaal against a law requiring Indians there to register. By the end of 1909, only Gandhi and a few loyal supporters were engaged in the 'movement' and between 1909 and 1913, resistance constituted mainly of negotiations between Gandhi and the government. By the time Gokhale arrived on a three-week tour in October 1912, two years after the Union of South Africa had defined citizenship on the basis of race, Indians had a host of grievances. Gokhale's visit galvanized the Indian community, attracting thousands of Indian supporters and mobilizing people countrywide. He also fostered a strong sense of Indian-ness. He left behind the impression among ordinary Indians that India would intervene on their behalf (Desai and Vahed 2010a).

iii. The Age of Segregation, C. 1914-1948

After WWI, two conferences of South African Indians were held, one in Cape Town in January 1919 and another in Durban in August 1919 to discuss the appointment of the Asiatic Commission. This conference stressed the links to India - failure to act would be tantamount to letting down the 'Indian nation'. According to one delegate, *'our countrymen ... the cream of Indian society, have suffered every indignity rather than submit... We as Indians here have sympathised with them because blood is thicker than water. The destinies of India and ourselves are one, and we cannot afford to dissociate ourselves from our Motherland.'* Steps were taken to strengthen links with India. In 1919,

Swami Bawani Dayal represented South African Indians at the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar. From 1922, he got the INC to agree that South Africa could send 10 delegates to their annual meetings (Vahed 1995).

The first major Indian figure to visit South Africa after Gandhi's departure was internationally recognized poetess and Indian politician Sarojini Naidu, who arrived in the country after visiting Kenya and Mozambique in January 1924. Anti-Indian agitation had been mounting in South Africa in the years after the First World War, resulting in the introduction of the Class Areas Bill which sought to segregate Indians in trade and residence. Naidu's visit underscored the fact that visits by Indian political figures to colonies with sizeable diasporic populations perpetuated a reliance on India for political redress. Like Gokhale before her, she drew large audiences but unlike Gokhale, she did not couch her views in diplomatic niceties. Naidu stood apart from those who came before her, in that although she came as Gandhi's emissary, she went well beyond him in calling for a broad-based Non-European alliance against white minority rule. She urged Indians to join the African majority and not to pursue their political rights in isolation. She also emphasised that Indians in South Africa were citizens of the country and owed their allegiance to their adopted home rather than India. She urged them to stop seeing India as home and to dedicate themselves to developing South Africa. Naidu was highly critical of Empire (Vahed 2012).

The optimism that Naidu's visit generated about political unity would only bear fruit in the 1930s.

In the face of mounting Anti-Indianism in South Africa in the mid-1920s, a Round Table conference was held in Cape Town in December-January 1926-27 between the Indian and South African governments. South Africa hoped to solicit India's help in repatriating Indians, while the Indian government took part in order to placate public opinion agitated by discrimination against Indians in the British Empire. The Indian Government agreed to the voluntary repatriation of Indians; the Union Government promised to "uplift" the social and economic position of those who remained; and the Indian government was to appoint an Agent to monitor the workings of the Agreement and to facilitate relations between Indians and the Union Government.

It was hoped that through the Agent, who was to be the channel through which Indians were to direct their problems to the government, the Indian government could keep a check on Indian South African politics. It was also the Agent's task to facilitate contact with sympathetic whites in order to make public opinion more favourable towards Indians. The Agency lasted until 1946, when India withdrew its last representative in protest against intensifying racial segregation in South Africa. Agents such as Sir Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Shafa'at Khan and Sir Kurma Reddi advised Indians to struggle for their rights in isolation from that of the African majority. One consequence was that the government persisted in considering Indians as an "alien" population, which caused many to see their problems as being disconnected from those of the African majority. The Agents also encouraged reliance on the paternalism of white liberals to achieve an evolutionary improvement in the position of Indians (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 1987).

Although the Agency was conservative, from the mid-1930s, younger Indian political activists, including many professionals and trade unionists, with the support of the new working class, challenged the strategy of Agents. They got involved in trade unions, the South African Communist Party, the Non-European Unity Front / Movement, and also challenged for leadership of the Indian Congresses. At the forefront of the new political orientation were doctors Dadoo and Naicker, who had studied in Edinburgh and returned to South Africa in the early 1930s. The new leaders dealt with isolation from the mainstream of African resistance by actively forging a cross-race alliance. But as Desai and Vahed (2010a) point out, reliance on guidance from India remained strong. In 1939, for example, Dadoo and the Transvaal Indian Congress sought to embark on a passive resistance campaign against proposed segregation in the Transvaal. He informed Gandhi, who advised him that the timing was not right. Though all the logistics were in place, Dadoo deferred to Gandhi.

From 1946 to 1948, Indians embarked on a passive resistance campaign in Natal against residential segregation. In the midst of this campaign, Dadoo and Naicker attended the All-Asia Conference in India in March 1947. There they met Gandhi and other Indian leaders as well as influential segments of Indian society. Shortly after his return, Dr Naicker told the 1947 conference of the NIC:

Every political party in India pledges its full support. We were inspired ... also by the fighting spirit of the masses who everywhere encouraged us to fight with increased vigour... India recognised that we in South Africa were not only fighting for our just rights but also to preserve the national honour and dignity of all Indians.... A mighty India is arising and will allow no country to trifle with her sons and daughters in other countries (Desai and Vahed 2010: 247).

As Dr Naicker's comments show, the link with India remained very strong; however, this new generation also sought to forge an alliance with the African majority. In March 1947, Dadoo and Naicker signed a joint declaration of co-operation with Dr A.B. Xuma, president-general of the African National Congress (ANC), pledging 'the fullest co-operation between the African and Indian peoples.'

iv. Apartheid, 1948-1994

Nehru was a hero to many Indian South Africans as well as Africans whose attraction to pan-Africanism partly took inspiration from Nehru's commitment to global de-colonisation. In his 'Letter from prison to India' on 3 August 1980, Nelson Mandela wrote that in the anti-colonial struggles in the postwar period, '*there could hardly be a liberation movement or national leader who was not influenced one way or another by the thoughts, activities and example of Pandit Nehru and the All India Congress.... I find that my own ideas were influenced by his experience.*'

Nehru influenced the thinking of many young militants in South Africa. When Gandhi died on 29 February 1948, Dadoo lamented, 'that great champion of our cause, the Father of our struggle is no more with us.... But we are fortunate in having a worthy successor [Nehru] whom we have accepted as our undisputed leader and adviser.' (Desai and Vahed 2010: 252). As far as the "Indian Question" in Africa was concerned, Nehru was adamant that Indians were part of Africa and their struggles should reflect this. He said on 15 September 1946: 'While India must necessarily aim at protecting the interests and honour of her nationals abroad ... we do not seek any special privileges against the inhabitants of the countries concerned.... Our objective should be to help in the rapid progress of

these African territories towards political and economic freedom.' (Desai and Vahed 2010: 251). The Indian government indicted South Africa's racial policies before the UN General Assembly. Its delegation wrote to UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie on 26 June 1946, requesting that the treatment of Indians in South Africa be placed on the UN agenda when it met from October to December 1946. Nehru took office on 1 September 1946 and immediately made this an important concern at the UN and also opposed South Africa's request to annex South West Africa (Namibia).

The Delhi-based *India News Chronicle* observed on 25 September 1949 that the South Africa question had 'become a hardy annual with the UN' that underscored the failure of that body to take action against offending members. When the South African government refused to accede to Indian demands not to impose segregation, India asked its High Commissioner in South Africa, Ramrao Madhavrao Deshmukh, to return for consultations. He sailed for India on 24 May 1946. The Indian High Commission in South Africa was closed in 1954.

In 1955, when India secured the exclusion of South Africa from the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Nehru took Moses Kotane and Moulvi Cachalia along as observers. When Oliver Tambo and Dadoo escaped into exile in the early 1960s, Nehru provided them with Indian travel documents and transport from Dar-es-Salaam to London. He also sought to secure the exclusion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. Nehru repeatedly emphasized that the problem of Indians in South Africa could not be separated from the legitimate aspirations of the African population. For example, at a speech in Rajya Sabha on 5 December 1958, he said that the '*question of the people of Indian descent in South Africa has really merged into bigger questions where not only Indians are affected but the whole African population....*' In the Lok Sabha [Upper House of Parliament] on 28 March 1960, following the Sharpeville massacre, Nehru said that 'the people of Indian descent have had to put up with a great deal of discrimination and we have resented that. But the African people have to put up with something infinitely more, and ... our sympathies must go out to them even more than to our kith and kin there.'

Under Nehru's leadership, the South African issue was kept high on India's agenda and

he was insistent on the need for Indo/African unity.

Nehru's firm stand on apartheid inspired many South Africans' powerful affinity and affection for him. When he died in 1964, Monty sent a letter of condolence to Indira Gandhi on behalf of the SAIC:

The SAIC on behalf of Indian South Africans extend to you, the Government and peoples of India our heartfelt condolences at the irreparable loss mankind has suffered at the death of India's beloved Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The democratic world has lost one of the greatest torch bearers of freedom of our times. He was a great inspiration to peoples the world over who believed in and fought for the brotherhood of man. His entire life was dedicated to opposition to all forms and the dignity of man. With the rest of the democratic world we mourn his loss for he was to us one of the most outstanding symbols of freedom in this age of conflicts. On this sad occasion we can do no more than pledge to uphold the noble ideals of peace and freedom which were so dear to the hearts of Pandit Nehru. May the almighty give us all courage to sustain this great calamity which has befallen India and the free world.

Nelson Mandela, then imprisoned on Robben Island, was given the 1979 Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding for the year 1979. Mandela's award was received on his behalf by Oliver Tambo, then President of the ANC, in New Delhi on 14 November 1980. In a letter that he smuggled from prison, dated 3 August 1980, Mandela wrote:

Truly, Jawaharlal Nehru was an outstanding man. A combination of many men into one - freedom fighter, politician, world statesman, prison graduate, master of the English language, lawyer and historian. As one of the pioneers of the Non-Aligned Movement, he has made a lasting contribution to world peace and the brotherhood of man. It would be a grave omission on our part if we failed to mention the close bonds that have existed between our people and the people of India, and to acknowledge the encouragement, the inspiration and the practical assistance we have received as a result of the international outlook of the All India Congress.... It was on South African soil that Mahatmaji founded and embraced the philosophy of Satyagraha. After his return to In-

dia, Mahatmaji's South African endeavours were to become the cause of the All-India Congress and the people of India as a whole. On the eve of India's independence Pandit Nehru said: 'It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take a pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.' Our people did not have to wait long to witness how uppermost our cause was in Panditji's mind when he made this pledge. The determination with which his gifted sister, Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit as free India's Ambassador to the United Nations, won universal solidarity with our plight made her the beloved spokesman of the voiceless masses not only of our country and Namibia but of people like ours throughout the world. We were gratified to see that the pronouncements and efforts of the Congress during the independence struggle were now being actively pursued as the policy of the Government of India. Today, we are deeply inspired to witness his equally illustrious daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, continue along the same path with undiminished vitality and determination. Her activities, her interest, her pronouncements, remain for us a constant source of hope and encouragement. India's championing of our cause assumes all the more significance, when we consider that ours is but one of the 153 countries which constitutes the family of nations, and our over 21 million people, a mere fraction of the world's population (<http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/nelson-mandela-letter>).

v. Post 1994 -After the Honeymoon

The year 1990 was a turning point in South African history. The liberation movements were unbanned, Nelson Mandela was released from prison after 27 years, and negotiations to end the apartheid system began. It was also a particular time in global politics; as the Cold War petered out, protests against the Soviet regime intensified and the former Soviet bloc began to crumble. The front-line states that had once supported the liberation movements were left with deep economic challenges and were hurrying the ANC to the negotiating table. At the same time, a particular ideology was sweeping the world, that of neo-liberalism. This was a direct challenge to inward forms of industrialization, protectionist barriers and state intervention. It advocated open markets, deregulation and en-

hancing the role of the private sector in society. The ANC, given the historical legacy of apartheid, seemed at first to want to buck this trend. Mandela spoke about nationalization as a central tenet of ANC policy while a redistributive socio-economic programme, with the state at the centre, and aimed at alleviating poverty, creating employment, and providing basic service delivery to the masses, came to coalesce around the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (Gelb 2006).

However, by the mid-1990s, the new government's macro-economic policy shifted. The RDP gave way in June 1996 to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic programme which called for cuts in government expenditure, limited wage increases, foreign investment, and privatization of services such as water and electricity. GEAR had all the trappings of neo-liberalism. Tariff barriers came tumbling down, exchange controls were lifted and nationalisation jettisoned (Terreblanche 1999). This came to be labeled the triple transition: deregulation, international competitiveness alongside democratization. The key to redressing the past and building a vibrant economy was seen to be international competitiveness, tight fiscal and monetary discipline and the need to create an environment conducive for foreign investment. It went down well with the Washington based institutions.

These developments paralleled what was going on in India at the time, with India seen as a fast forwarded version of South Africa. In India, the liberalisation of the economy has generated new millionaires and Indian companies are rapidly becoming global players. India is "shining" and Bollywood serves as the advance guard of its global cultural reach. The world receives images, not of the villages of Gandhi's India, but of an urbanised and affluent country. Indian South Africans met India in this moment of gloss and polish, an India basking in 'a rising tide of self-congratulation' (Guha 2007: 719).

Did Some Special Relationship Develop between India and South Africa? It certainly seemed that way initially. Mandela, as a free citizen, visited India in 1990 to huge popular acclaim soon after his release from prison, and was conferred one of India's highest honours, the Bharat Ratna. *The Boston Globe* (17 October 1990) described Mandela's visit to India as 'the first leg in a tour of Asia and Australia seeking

support for the fight against apartheid' and reported that the Indian government set aside one million dollars in assistance 'to Mandela and his fight against apartheid.' As president, Mandela visited India in 1995 and again in 1997 to develop bilateral ties. India and South Africa signed a treaty on the principles of inter-state relations, agreements on the establishment of a Joint Commission and on Foreign Office Consultation, and the Red Fort Declaration of March 1997 which outlined the vision of a 'unique and special relationship' between South Africa and India, underpinned by mutual interests and perceptions. It was Deputy President Mbeki who, leading a delegation to India in December 1996, first endorsed the idea of a 'strategic partnership' between the two countries. Speaking at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, he declared: '*Our common hope of success will depend on our ability to act together. We are reassured that we can count on India as our strategic partner in this historic endeavour, which seeks to give birth to a new world of a just and lasting world peace, of prosperity for all peoples and equality among nations*' (Ram 1997).

But as Ram (1997) observed, already there were worrying tendencies in this relationship. Reporting on the visit to South Africa by Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral, he wrote:

One caveat needs to be entered about how Prime Minister Gujral responded, during this visit, to the challenge of inequality, exploitation, mass poverty and socio-economic injustice which dominate the experience of South Africa as much as India. The governments of both countries seem ambivalent about so much as recognising the centrality of these problems: they are there for everyone to see, discuss and analyse but official economic policies, in the propagandistic mode, either downplay them and deny their centrality or seek to sideline them in socially damaging pursuit of liberalisation and 'reform'.... The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), adopted by the ANC in 1994, seems to have receded in the list of priorities of the ANC-led government of South Africa. Unemployment and its social effects among blacks and Indians in "new South Africa" are at appalling levels and a drive from Durban to Gandhiji's Phoenix reveals slums, and a level of mass destitution, that seem comparable to what is found in Indian metros (even though South Africa's annual income per capita is better than ten times

India's \$304). Prime Minister Gujral put out two divergent and conflicting messages: in a larger political context, he highlighted mass poverty, destitution and a denial of socio-economic justice as a central challenge before India, while in a typical business lunch, as in Johannesburg on October 6, he claimed (against facts that are there for Citizen Mandela and everyone else to see) that "poverty has been forced into retreat as, in these fifty years, India has progressed from a largely rural and agricultural economy to an industrialised forward-looking economy, confident of facing the challenges of the 21st century."

When Nehru and the Indian Congress supported the anti-apartheid struggle, they saw it as part of a broader struggle against colonialism and imperialism. While they worked hard inside of the UN on South Africa's behalf, they also sought to build a political bloc around the non-aligned movement (NAM). The NAM however largely became an ineffective body, finding it hard to carve out a space with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union. In recent years, there have been some attempts at re-alignment around BRICS, an acronym for the combined economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. It was coined in 2003 as BRIC and changed to BRICS in 2011 when South Africa was added to the list. This relationship is based on the assumption that by 2050, these will be the most dominant economies in the world.

To date, there seems to be little in the way of tangible results to show for this association. Much of this has been over-determined by the struggle between India and China for markets in Africa. On the other hand, the India-South Africa political relationship is strong but is no different from the relationship with China.

In fact, it seems that China has stolen the march.

Given the nature of the current political configuration, the Chinese state remains a powerful player, supporting their own business interests in the main. Chinese business and the state act in tandem. There has been a substantial entry of Chinese migrants, including small and large traders, into South Africa in the post-apartheid period; this is matched by the Chinese state's leverage on the South African state. One example of China's influence was the South African government's delay / refusal of a visa to the Dalai Lama in October 2011 to attend Archbishop Des-

mond Tutu's 80th birthday. Ela Gandhi, granddaughter of the Mahatma, was quoted as saying: 'Everybody thinks this is because of pressure from China. It's very sad another country is allowed to dictate terms to our government. It's going back to apartheid times. I am ashamed of my own country' (Smith 2011). During 2011, South Africa's Deputy President, Kgalema Motlanthe, met with China's top leadership and negotiated \$2.5 billion in infrastructure investments. It was also reported that in November 2010, the Chinese government extended a \$20bn line of credit to South Africa for nuclear and renewable energy. In so doing, it exerted pressure on South Africa to adopt a position on climate change, that is, liberal emissions standards for developing countries (Lieberman 2011).

In comparison, the situation in India is somewhat different. Indian capital has overtaken the Indian government as the face of India. Indian capital does not need the support of its government to enter South African markets. At the same time, it appears that the Indian government has not been able to find a way to build on the historical and principled relationship it once had with the ANC. When it does enter the public domain, the Indian government's role has been reduced to a few cultural events on the side.

Not only has Indian capital established an important business base in South Africa, it has also built a cosy relationship with the SA government, vital to their long term interests in the country. Key players are the Gupta brothers, Ajay and Jay. The brothers are partners in the IT business, Sahara, with Jagdish Parekh and Duduzane Zuma, the son of South African president Jacob Zuma. It is this relationship in particular that has led to intense media investigation and speculation about the power and influence of the Guptas in South Africa. Fred Khumalo used his *Sunday Times* (24 October 2010) column to subtly portray Indians as conniving. Khumalo wrote:

The media should be commending poor Duduzane for being a fast learner: he realised that his good father became quite a comfortable man thanks to his friendship with Schabir Shaik, who just so happens to be an Indian and a businessman. So Duduzane figured: ah, let me get myself my own Indian as well. This was nothing new, an Indian businessman finding a politically powerful darkie or vice versa. Nelson Mandela had his own Indians. You remem-

ber those chaps who started selling some pieces of paper with doodles on them to the art galleries under the pretext that the Old Man was the original artist? If such a powerful, reputable darkie-with-political-power could have his Indians, why couldn't a Zuma have his own Indian?

According to newspaper reports, Zuma Jnr's company Mabengela Investments' assets include a R2 million Porsche 911 Turbo, a R4 million 2,023m² property with a mansion in Saxonwold, a Ducati Streetfighter superbike, a R500,000 Chrysler 300c and a BRP Spyder 990, worth about R130,000. Zuma Jnr is a director in Mabengela Investments, part-owned with Tony Gupta, which in turn owns shares in Islandsite Investments 255, the BEE vehicle for much of the Gupta family's deal-making. In March 2011, it was revealed that Ngema, the president's then soon-to-be-sixth wife, was appointed in 2010 to head up the marketing and communications department at JIC Mining Services, in which the Guptas own a 60.74 percent share. Duduzane is a non-executive director of the company (De Waal 2011). There are similar accusations and revelations in the media on an ongoing basis. Whatever the truth of the stories, and whether or not or how this relationship is directly benefitting the Guptas, is really less important than the fact that the flood of negative press is having an impact on how Indian capital is perceived by ordinary South Africans, a point made by Khumalo above.

Nothing exemplifies the imbalance in the relationship between the Indian government and Indian capital to the South African state than a T20 New Age Friendship match between South Africa and India followed by a celebration concert at the iconic Moses Mabhida Stadium on 9 January 2011 to mark the 150 year commemoration of the arrival of Indians in South Africa, to honour Indian great Sachin Tendulkar, and also bid farewell to South African cricketer, Makhaya Ntini, who was retiring. *New Age* is the newspaper started by the Guptas in 2010 and there has been persistent criticism that it is a mouthpiece of the ANC government. Indian superstar Shah Rukh Khan performed at the concert alongside the likes of Indians Anil Kapoor, Shahid Kapoor, and Priyanka Chopra, and South African artists Locnville, HHP, Liquideep and Drum Cafe. The concert was organised and choreographed by the same team that organised the Commonwealth Games. The President of South Africa, Jacob

Zuma, was at the game, along with a slew of his ministers. The Indian government, however, was largely absent. Instead, it was the Gupta family that sat alongside the President. When actor Shah Rukh Khan spoke, he thanked the Guptas for making the trip possible. Indian capital and Bollywood were the main actors and the Indian government had at best a cameo appearance.

It is something that South Africans have become accustomed to.

CONCLUSION

Much of the image of India in the post-apartheid period is a romantic one, forged through satellite television that caters for both North (Sony, B4U and Zee TV) and South Indians (Sun TV and KTV). This is supported by regular screening of Bollywood movies in "mainstream" cinemas, DVD outlets, and pirated copies on street corners. Indian South Africans are able to 're-create their own fantasy structures of homeland [through] the collapse of distance on the information highway of cyberspace and a collective sharing of knowledge about the homeland through web sites and search engines'. Class determines the intensity of this (re)connection with the homeland. But the reality is that India is viewed by most Indian South Africans as an ancestral homeland to which there may be an emotional attachment, but South Africa is "home". Most South African Indians have roots that go back four to five generations in South Africa and are highly unlikely to emigrate to India. Those who can will most likely emigrate to places like the UK, Canada, or Australia. Yet India has a certain new-found allure. Mishra's reference to the creation of 'imaginary homelands from the space of distance...' seems to hold true. The link to India is about being tied to an ancient culture, about religious knowledge and pilgrimage, and sensory enjoyment such as cricket, films, music, dance, and dress.

These developments raise questions about identity and belonging which have come to the fore in previous times, such as during Gandhi's struggles against the British and especially when India became independent in 1947. Then too, Indians in South Africa took pride in their Indian heritage. South Africa was home and India homeland. This suggests, as Parvathi Raman reminded us in her e-mail correspondence on 15 February 2009, 'any relationship with home for a di-

aspora community is in flux and subject to historical context.' There are differences between 1947 and 2013. The possibilities of 'imaging the homeland' are greater today because of technology and encouragement by the Indian government. In 1947, Nehru made it clear that Indians in the diaspora belonged to the countries where they lived.

The Indian government inaugurated the category of non-resident Indian (NRI) for both economic and political reasons in 1973. The Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) extended NRIs by introducing the People of Indian Origin (PIO) card in 1998 which makes it easier to maintain relations with India and extend that affective link into a material one (Brown 2006: 159). The economic reason was to raise foreign exchange, while politically, it was part of a wider 'effort by the right-wing Indian government to convert diverse, often wealthy populations of Indian origin into a permanently attached "expatriate nation", or a "global Indian family" At the 2008 Bharatiya Pravasi Divas (Global Indian Diaspora), Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced that Indian professionals with Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI)¹

RECOMMENDATIONS: NEW BEGINNINGS?

There are some uncanny similarities in the trajectory of both South Africa and India. Walmart is a haunting window in this regard. After much soul searching and wringing of hands, both countries have agreed to allow Walmart to open stores and conduct trade. Time will tell as to how this will affect millions of small businesses and farmers. In the age of global capital, Walmart's presence indicates the kind of pressure that is brought to bear on countries by local elites and international investors. The voices of protest go largely unheard and unheeded. In September 2012, the Indian government passed laws allowing the country's 28 states and seven territories to decide whether to allow transnational multi-brand retailers to operate in cities with more than 100,000 residents under partnership with Indian companies.

In South Africa and India alike, the transition to a more open economy has resulted in the same equation –those who pay the price (the poor) and those who gain (the local elite who have become part of the global super-rich). It

seems from the outside that there are two India's and two South Africa's responding to the global. The local elites and the state want to speed up their links with Northern capital, while people on the ground seek to slow it down; as it is often they who pay the price. And all the time the divide grows, with some sectors of society sutured into the global rhythms of capital while others cannot even find a job that delivers a living wage.

There have been persistent insurgencies from below in both countries.

Democratic structures still operate, but parliament is increasingly removed from people's everyday lives, and decisions are made by the executive.

It would appear that the ANC government is keen to develop a greater closeness with China in recent times. The old special relationship with India appears to be on the decline.

The question is - can it be re-ignited?

It will not be the first time that old friends have come together and rekindled old desires.

At the same time, there are possibilities of a South Africa/India relationship from below as neo-liberalism's discontents seek to confront global capitalism.

Alongside this, in the intellectual world, there is already a growing body of comparative work around the possibilities and limits of constitutional democracy, quotas, the effects of affirmative action, the pace of land redistribution and the role both countries play in their own regions.

NOTES

1. The OCI card was introduced in 2006. There are differences between the PIO and OCI cards. The OCI, for example, entitles the holder to lifelong visa-free travel to India while the PIO is for a period of fifteen years. In early 2011, the Indian government announced that the two cards will be merged. For a detailed comparison, see <http://www.immihelp.com/nri/overseascitizenshipindia/>

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