CHAPTER VI

SOUTH AFRICA’S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS INDIA
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South Africa’s foreign policy towards India can be examined in the following ways: a background of the relationship between South Africa and India, emerging areas of co-operation, India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Initiative, Indian Diaspora in South Africa, areas of conflict and cooperation between South Africa and India.

South Africa’s foreign policy towards India can be seen by examining the remarks by Pranab Mukherjee in Pretoria. “Relations between two countries – South Africa and India, are unique, based on, shared ideas, ideals and icons. The common fight by the two countries against apartheid forged a deep bond between leaders of India and South Africa. The challenge for the two countries has always been how to leverage the excellent political understanding between the leaderships into concrete and beneficial outcomes for the strategic partnership between two countries.”

The bilateral relations between the two countries are good at the present stage. This can be due to different factors. First is historical factor. Second, during the days of apartheid, India was at the forefront of international struggle against apartheid and during that time India formed close links with anti-apartheid bodies including the African National Congress (ANC). Since then, there has been a mutual regard between South Africa and India. Third, in the post-democratic South Africa, India was the first country to establish a relationship with South Africa. Today, the IBSA bloc has become a force in World affairs.

2 This is when Mahatma Gandhi took part in the struggle in South Africa against racial discrimination and oppression. His philosophy has become the base for the current leaders of South Africa.
3 Kumar, S, “We cannot ask for better relations”, Indian Express, New Delhi, 9 February, 2005.
6.1. South Africa and India Relations: A Background

India’s relation with the Republic of South Africa has grown from strength to strength over the years. This is due to historical links, mutual support of their struggle against colonialism and racism, the presence of Indian diaspora in South Africa and common perceptions of major global issues.4

India had been in the forefront of the international community in supporting the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa ever since Mahatma Gandhi started his Satyagraha movement in South Africa a century ago. India was the first country to sever trade relations with the apartheid Government in 1946, and imposed a complete - diplomatic, commercial, cultural and sports- embargo on South Africa. India worked consistently to put the issue of apartheid on the agenda of the UN, NAM and other multilateral organisations and for the imposition of comprehensive international sanctions against South Africa. The ANC maintained a representative office in New Delhi from 1960s onwards.5

Following the commencement of talks between the South African Government and the ANC, India’s relations with South Africa were restored after a gap of over four decades, with the opening of a Cultural Centre in Johannesburg in May 1993. Formal diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa were restored in November 1993 during the visit to India of the then South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha.6

In the light of the above background, South Africa’s relations with India in the post-apartheid period have improved considerably. Subsequently, Nelson Mandela visited India in January 1995 as the Chief Guest of India’s Republic day celebration;

4 Aparajita Biswas, Post Apartheid South Africa, Its Relations with the Neighbouring Countries, (New Delhi, 2007), p. 146.
6 A Consulate General was thereafter established in Johannesburg. The Indian High Commission in Pretoria was opened in May 1994, followed by the opening of the Consulate General in Durban in the same month. Since Parliament in South Africa meets in Cape Town, a permanent office of the High Commission was opened there in 1996.
again in March 1997 the Red Fort Declaration on Strategic Partnership between South Africa and India was signed.

6.1.2 The Red Fort Declaration on a Strategic Partnership

Let's examine some of the important declarations on strategic partnership between South Africa and India: (1) Gathered at the historic Red Fort in the fiftieth year of India's independence and with the emergence of a new South Africa, South Africa and India look ahead with faith and optimism to journeying together towards the larger goals of their political freedoms: economic development and social justice. As a new millennium draws near, they also pledge to work for a global order that is marked by peace, security and equity.

(2) In the knowledge that their shared mass struggles began with initiatives against racial discrimination launched in South Africa by Mahatma Gandhi, the two countries look back with pride and gratefulness at their creative partnership through decades of struggle. They rededicate themselves to the ideals and vision of the Mahatma which have inspired them and which are powerfully symbolised by their common commitment to the preservation of the Gandhi heritage sites in South Africa, Phoenix Settlement and Tolstoy Farm.

(3) Recalling the spirit of the Asian Relations Conference held at the Red Fort fifty years ago and the Asian-African Nations' Conference held at Bandung in 1955, South Africa and India reaffirm their commitment to the goal of universal human freedom and equality among nations.

(4) Convinced that the United Nations' structures need to be more representative of the concerns and diversities of the developing world, South Africa and India re-emphasise their belief in the need for UN reforms. They stress, in particular, the need for an equitable balance in the composition of an expanded Security Council to provide a constructive voice to the aspirations of the developing countries. They

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believe that piecemeal and discriminatory approaches to such expansion will be inconsistent with the objectives of that world body.

(5) Recognising that the end of the bi-polar world has re-defined global equations, South Africa and India reaffirm their belief in the vitality and crucial importance of the Non-aligned Movement as a vehicle for safeguarding the independence of thought and autonomy of action of its members, as an instrument for extending the principles of democracy and freedom in international affairs; in promoting the objective of a world free of nuclear weapons; and as a mechanism for furthering the impulse for an equal world. South Africa and India therefore resolve to work for NAM's increasing effectiveness in the promotion of political and socio-economic justice and disarmament. They do so because they believe that peace, freedom and prosperity are each one of them, equally indivisible. 

From the above declarations, it can be seen that the present day relations between South Africa and India derive their sustenance from the strategic partnership agreement signed between the two countries in 1997. The words "strategic partnership" to define the relationship between India and South Africa were first used by the then Deputy President Mbeki during his visit to India in 1996. It was during President Nelson Mandela's visit to India in March 1997, that a declaration was made at the historic Red Fort in New Delhi. This basically involves enhancing bilateral cooperation between South Africa and India.

6.2. Emerging Areas of Cooperation between South Africa and India

After the establishment of diplomatic relations in November 1993, South Africa and India have signed around 15 agreements/MoUs on various spheres including economic, defence and cultural cooperation. The second meeting was held in New Delhi (December 1996) co-chaired by external Affairs Minister, Shri I.K.

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8 These are among the important declarations of the Red Fort Declaration on a Strategic Partnership between South Africa and India in March 1997.

9 Around 10 agreements/MOU's are under consideration. A joint commission was set up between the two countries in January 1995. Its first meeting was held in Pretoria (July 1995), co-chaired by Minister of State for External Affairs (MOS [EA]) Mr. Salman Khurshid and South African Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Aziz Pahad.
Gujaral and Mr. Aziz Pahad. The third meeting was held in Pretoria on December 4-5, 1998. It was co-chaired by Ms. Vasundhara Raje, MoS (EA) and Mr Aziz Pahad. The joint session consists of five committees: political, economic, trade and technical cooperation, education and culture, health and science and technology.\(^\text{10}\)

"Focus Africa Plan" of the government of India in the year 2001-2002, has focused initiatives to strengthen Indo-African Cooperation in the area of trade, technology transfer, investment opportunities, information technology, health care etc. South Africa and India relationship has acquired confidence after President Thabo Mbeki came to India on a five day official visit in October, 2003. A new and exciting dimension was added to the India-South Africa relationship when the foreign ministers of India, South Africa and Brazil met in Brasilia for the launch of India Brazil South Africa dialogue forum (IBSA) on June 6, 2003.\(^\text{11}\) The details of IBSA will discuss in the latter part of this chapter.

The emerging areas of cooperation between South Africa and India are as follows:


### 6.2.1. Economic Cooperation

India's economic and commercial relationship with South Africa, in many ways can be described as unique. An active trading relationship existed even before India's independence in 1947 and India was a major supplier of commodities like jute and tea to South Africa. However, India was among the first countries to impose sanctions against South Africa following the introduction of apartheid in 1948. This led to a virtually complete secession of bilateral economic relations until the establishment of democratic government in 1994. Since then, economic relations have been growing rapidly and momentum has specially picked up over the last five years.


\(^{11}\) Biswas, n. 3, p.152.
South Africa, in particular, Johannesburg is the preferred location for a number of Indian companies that have based their Africa headquarters. Another important element of the growing bilateral economic relations is the relative complementarity between the two economies. The third aspect is the active exchange of business delegations, and the expanding institutional framework that underpins such exchanges.  

6.1. Bilateral trade figures between India and SA from 2001 to 2005:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig. in M. Rands</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India's Exports</td>
<td>2113.50</td>
<td>2943.26</td>
<td>3126.14</td>
<td>4547.26</td>
<td>7029.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India's Imports</td>
<td>3300.03</td>
<td>4037.28</td>
<td>3350.32</td>
<td>3713.04</td>
<td>7393.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Trade</td>
<td>5413.53</td>
<td>6980.54</td>
<td>6476.46</td>
<td>8260.30</td>
<td>144423.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the economic sphere the total trade between India and South Africa has risen by leaps and bounds in the last five years. From US $ 575.6 million in 1995-96 to about US$ 2.5 billion in 2000 and it is expected to reach the 3 billion mark by next year. Starting from a relatively small base, bilateral trade has grown rapidly over the last few years rising from US $ 1.8 billion in 2001-02 to US $ 4.7 billion during 2006-07. South Africa has shown interest in exchange of expertise in developing small scale and cottage industries.

The main items exported from India are textiles, leather hides, skins, chemicals, machinery and equipment, and vegetable products. Major imports from South Africa are – base metal and products, chemicals, wood pulp and paper and

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13 South Africa is India’s largest market in Africa and our exports to South Africa have grown from just US $ 352 million in 2001-02 to over US $ 2.25 billion in 2006-07.
mineral products. Another important development has been the establishment of India­South Africa Commercial Alliance (ISCA). The terms of reference for the establishment of this alliance were signed during the visit of the then Prime Minister I.K. Gujaral to South Africa in October 1997.14

The first meeting of the alliance was held in Pretoria on December 3, 1998.15 ISCA agreed on the need for a more structured approach to engagement, on the need for sectoral MoUs to be initiated to identify projects for cooperation and the need to conduct studies to identify complementarities and synergies for the formation of joint ventures. Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) is working as a secretariat for the alliance on the Indian side and has held discussions with the members of the industry to give concrete shape to the business opportunities between the two countries.

The Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) has also signed MoU for future cooperation with the South African Chamber of Business (SACOB) in 1994. A number of Indian companies, viz. NSIC, EEPC, TEXPROCIL, CII, TATA, UB Group, DCM, SRF, Liberty Shoes, Ranbaxy, Torrent Pharmaceuticals, Thapar Group, Shriram Industrial Enterprises and a host of other small companies have already opened their offices in South Africa. While the Exim Bank and the State Bank of India have opened their offices in Johannesburg, Bank of Baroda has done so in Durban.16

India is the eleventh largest investor in South Africa. “Made in India Show” organised by the High Commission of India and CII was held in Johannesburg in 1998. The show brought together about 100 Indian companies for an impressive display of India's engineering, scientific and technical capacity. Poor air connectivity between India and South Africa, delays in processing of business visas and work permits required by Indian companies and creeping protectionism in sectors such as

14 Beri, n.9, p. 4.
15 The discussions were held on seven sectors of cooperation: Chemicals and Pharmaceuticals, Engineering and equipment, Information technology, Mining, Housing and Infrastructure, Food Processing and Transportation.
16 Beri, n.9, p. 5.
6.2.2. Defence Cooperation

Defense sector is one the oldest areas of co-operation between South Africa and India in the post 1994 period. There is significant potential for defence trade and joint ventures between South Africa and India. South Africa is the only major arms manufacturer and exporter on the continent. In 1994 the exports by the Armament Corporation of South Africa (Armscor)\(^\text{18}\) amounted to R 1,097 million but by 1996-97 Armscor reported exports of only R302 million. In these changed circumstances there appears to be significant scope for cooperation between South Africa and India in defence research and production.\(^\text{19}\)

In defence cooperation a Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in the field of defence equipment was signed between the two countries during South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's visit to India in December 1996.\(^\text{20}\) At the time of Prime Minister, I. K. Gujral's visit in October 1997, the South African Defence Minister Joe Modise announced that the two nations would "enhance and intensify defence cooperation", with South Africa offering a whole range of military hardware to India.\(^\text{21}\) In 1998, Gen. V. P. Malik, India's Chief of Staff announced that India had bought 90 Casspir mine protected mine protected personnel carriers from South Africa's Reumech OMC. South Africa supplied 155-mm gun ammunition worth $47 million at very short notice during the Kargil conflict in 1999.\(^\text{22}\)

\(^{17}\) Consulate General of India, n.11, p. 5.

\(^{18}\) Armscor (or ARMSCOR), the Armaments Corporation of South Africa is a South African government supported weapon-producing conglomerate that was officially established in 1968 primarily as response to the international sanctions by the United Nations against South Africa that began in 1963 and were formalised in 1967.

\(^{19}\) Beri, n.9, p. 5.


\(^{21}\) Specifically, the agreement was to supply ammunition for the 155 mm Bofors guns as well as avionics and night vision equipment.

The Indo-South African Joint Committee on Defence cooperation was held in Pretoria in August 1998. During this meeting it was agreed that progress in the defence sector was a concrete manifestation of the desires of India and South Africa to build a strategic partnership between the two countries. Views were exchanged on the security environment in their respective regions and on issues and developments that affect regional security and stability.23

There has been keen interest shown by both sides towards maritime cooperation. An exchange of visits of naval ships between the two countries has taken place since 1994. India was a key participant in Exercise Blue Crane with South Africa and other SADC countries. This exercise took place at the SA Army Battle School Training Area in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa from April 7 to 30 1999.24 Exercise Blue Crane was one of the largest peace support operations ever undertaken. It was of particular significance to Southern African countries wishing to evaluate their combined peace support capability. India provided the IL-76 aircraft to transport troops from Tanzania, Namibia, and Zambia and the Naval Ship INS Sujata formed the main communication platform for the naval exercise off the Durban coast.25

There has been exchange of visits at the level of Service Chiefs for promoting goodwill between the armed forces of South Africa and India. During 1998-99, the Indian Chief of Army Staff (COAS) visited South Africa while the South African Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) made a visit to India. The South African Chief of Staff visited India in March 2000. A Defence Cooperation Agreement was signed by the two countries in September 2000. It has provided the framework for further strengthening cooperation in this sector. A large IAF contingent participated in a joint exercise ‘Golden Eagle’ in September-October, 2004.

24 It consisted of six stages involving approximately 4000 members from the SADC countries of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
25 Beri, n.9, p.6.
India's participation in the last Aerospace and Defence Exhibition in Cape Town in September 2006 attracted considerable interest. Four Indian ships paid a goodwill visit to South Africa in June 2005 and INS Mumbai\textsuperscript{26} visited Cape Town and Durban in September-October 2006. Training has emerged as an important new dimension of defence co-operation.\textsuperscript{27} It is seen that defence is a key area of cooperation between South Africa and India in the post apartheid period.

6.2.3. Political Relations and Exchange of Visits

Against the background of India's consistent support to the anti-apartheid struggle, there has been a steady consolidation of India’s close and friendly ties with South Africa, both bilaterally and through the trilateral IBSA Dialogue Forum. A number of bilateral agreements have been concluded between South Africa and India since the assumption of diplomatic relations in 1993 in diverse areas ranging from defence, culture, health, human settlements, public administration, science and technology and economic cooperation. The visit of Thabo Mbeki to India on December 1996 was equally significant. There were two prolonged objectives of his visit. Firstly, the political aspect of his visit was to consolidate the existing close relations with both the government and the people of India. The second thrust of the visit was to have purposeful interaction in the field of trade, investment, culture, science and technology.\textsuperscript{28}

President Thabo Mbeki, accompanied by the First Lady and 11 Cabinet Ministers, visited India in October 2003. This was his second visit, but first as President of South Africa. Five important documents were signed on the occasion.\textsuperscript{29} A Joint Declaration reaffirming the commitment of the two countries 'towards a strategic

\textsuperscript{26} The INS Mumbai (D62) is the third of the Delhi-class guided-missile destroyers in active-service with the Indian Navy.

\textsuperscript{27} On request of the South African Navy, their submarine personnel are being trained in India. This cooperation is likely to continue; a Memorandum of Understanding has been signed in this regard by the two countries.

\textsuperscript{28} Biswas, n.3, p.150.

\textsuperscript{29} These included: an Extradition Treaty; an Agreement on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, Cultural Exchange Programme for 2004-2006 and Agreements on cooperation in the field of power and in the field of hydrocarbons.
partnership, based on their shared values: democracy, economic development with social justice, and a just and equitable global order’ was issued during the visit.

In April/ May 2004, the Vice President of India, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat visited South Africa. He attended the inauguration of the President of South Africa and celebration of 10 years of democracy. He also inaugurated the launch of the Centenary Celebrations of the Phoenix Settlement in Durban. His visit imparted further impetus to the already warm bilateral relations. The relation between the two countries received new boost when India committed US $ 200 million assistance to the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), to be utilised through the credit lines for the project that can fulfill the NEPAD objectives.30

President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam visited South Africa in September 2004, the first visit by an Indian President. He was accompanied by the Minister for Social Empowerment and Justice Mrs. Meira Kumar. He held wide-ranging discussions with President Thabo Mbeki.31 Speaking at the Pan African Parliament during the visit, President Kalam reaffirmed India’s engagement with Africa. He announced Government of India’s offer of creating a $50 million-worth integrated satellite and fibre-optic wireless network for improved communication connectivity among the 53 African countries, which could be used for tele-education, tele-medicine and e-services.32

In March 2005, the then External Affairs Minister Shri Natwar Singh visited South Africa for the 2nd IBSA Ministerial meeting. Later in the month, Rao Inderjit Singh, MOS for External Affairs paid a bilateral visit. The India-South Africa Joint Commission at the level of Foreign Ministers was set up in 1994 to identify areas of mutually beneficial cooperation. Its 6th highly successful session took place in New Delhi on December 5-6, 2005. As PM was holding the portfolio of External Affairs,

31 A bilateral Memorandum of Understanding on Information and Communications Technologies was signed during the visit. The Presidents agreed that the two countries could share their expertise and strengths for growth of both countries.
the meeting was chaired by Minister of State Rao Inderjit Singh and Deputy Foreign Minister of South Africa Mr. Aziz Pahad.\textsuperscript{33}

The Ministers reviewed the whole gamut of relations between the two countries, encompassing political, commercial and economic and defence matters as well as fields like science and technology, culture, education, health, different aspects of energy, information and communications technology and human resource development.\textsuperscript{34} Other important matters discussed included the prospects of economic development, stability and security on the African continent.

6.2.4. UN Reforms and Peacekeeping Operations

The UN reform is another important area where South Africa and India could co-operate to each other. An issue to which both South Africa and India attach the greatest importance is the reform and expansion of the UN Security Council. India believes that the reform and expansion of the UN Security Council in both permanent and non-permanent categories is central to the process to UN reform. India also believes that South Africa can play an important role in the overall process, within AU and in co-ordinated efforts of the AU and G- 4.\textsuperscript{35}

The idea of participating in UN peacekeeping operations was a hotly debated issue in South Africa. It was only in October 1998 that the South African Cabinet approved the white paper on peacekeeping where the rules of South African participation in international peace missions were established. India has been involved in a number of peacekeeping operations during the 50 years of its independence mainly in Africa. These include ONUC, MONUC (Congo), UNTAG (Namibia), ONUMOZ (Mozambique), UNITAF, UNOSOM II (Somalia), UNAMIR (Rwanda),

\textsuperscript{34} The two sides also discussed a wide range of global issues including international economic relations, the forthcoming Hong Kong WTO Ministerial meeting and South-South Cooperation including the New Afro-Asian Strategic Partnership.
UNOMIL (Liberia), UNAVEM, MONUA (Angola), and the most recent UN Mission in Sierra Leone.\textsuperscript{36}

In the post-Cold War era the burden of UN peacekeeping has fallen on the developing countries. Indian contributions in terms of numbers rank first in the world today and are spread in three continents. Both South Africa and India look forward to continue the cooperation in the UN reforms and different peace keeping operations.

\textbf{6.2.5. Cooperation in the Indian Ocean}

The major aim of establishing the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation (IOR – ARC)\textsuperscript{37} was to promote greater economic interaction and human resource development across the region, what is paradoxically both the world’s poorest and richest country’s region. The formation of an Indian Ocean Rim Association was a manifestation of a combination of events that had transpired at the time with respect to regionalism among the countries of the Indian Ocean.\textsuperscript{38}

The Mbeki government has renewed its interest in the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation (IOR-ARC). India and South Africa, along with Australia, Mauritius, Oman, Singapore and Kenya are founder members of the Indian Ocean Rim Initiative. The IOR-ARC was formally launched in Mauritius in March 1997. Both India and South Africa have played a leading role in the formation of the organisation.

In fact the concept of an IOR-ARC was first seriously mooted in November 1993 by Pik Botha, the then South African Foreign Minister, during his visit to New Delhi.\textsuperscript{39} He identified the IOR as an area of great mutual importance to both South Africa and India. In January 1995 during a visit to New Delhi, President Nelson Mandela put forward the proposal to form the Indian Ocean trading alliance which

\textsuperscript{36} Beri, n.9, p.8.
\textsuperscript{37} The Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), initially known as the Indian Ocean Rim Initiative, is an international organisation with 18 member states. It was first established in Mauritius on March 1995 and formally launched on 6-7 March 1997.
\textsuperscript{38} Biswas, n.3, p.154.
\textsuperscript{39} Beri, n.9, p.9.
was enthusiastically received. During President Mandela's government the two countries had held extensive bilateral discussions on the proposed charter and objectives of the organisation. Both India and South Africa were in general agreement that security issues should be kept out of the scope of the IOR-ARC.  

South Africa's initial post-apartheid excitement at helping to create an organisation that would expand its international links was supplanted by a growing sense of pessimism. Further it was argued that due to the lack of direction in foreign policy in the Mandela era, South Africa was unable to put forward its agenda. In the process it was felt that South Africa was reduced to "following the initiatives of the others rather than shaping developments". Mr. Mbeki's interest in South-South cooperation has led to the revival of South African interest in the IOR-ARC. From the geostrategic point of view, South Africa forms part of the coastal region of South Atlantic and South Indian Oceans. Its geostrategic importance arises from its location, its strategic minerals, and industrial base and extensive communications. It lies at the gateway between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

6.2.6. Tourism, Culture and Multilateral Co-operations

Tourism from South Africa to India to has shown an upward trend but is still below potential. Recent figures are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inbound/outbound</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India to South Africa</td>
<td>34,062</td>
<td>41,018</td>
<td>36,172</td>
<td>36,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa to India</td>
<td>18,238</td>
<td>23,873</td>
<td>32,148</td>
<td>39,234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With over a million people of Indian origin in South Africa, one of the largest Indian diasporas abroad, cultural exchanges and cultural diplomacy assume great

importance, not just in terms of interaction with this community, but with South Africans across the whole spectrum of population. With the help of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), an intensive programme of cultural exchanges is being promoted throughout South Africa. Under the Cultural Exchange Programme, the first major exhibition of Indian contemporary art "Visual Trajectories" traveled to South Africa from April - September 2006 and was a great success.  

ICCR sponsored artists such as Odissi dancer Reela Hota, Bharatnatyam dancer Urmila Satyanarayanan and a Qawwali troupe led by Mohd. Idris performed throughout South Africa. Ustad Amjad Ali Khan came specially to Durban to perform at the Satyagraha celebrations in Kingsmead Stadium on October 1, 2006. An Indian Film Festival was organised in Durban, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town from October 20-November 14, 2006.

The cultural relations between South Africa and India can be best examined as described by Pranab Mukherjee, "given the fact that the closest bond between two countries is the bond between the people, it is important that both sides make extra effort to show case their cultural offerings and to take them to areas outside the metros".  

South Africa and India have a common approach on many global issues, including the future of multilateralism, South-South Cooperation and multilateral trade negotiations. This has led to fruitful cooperation in the UN, NAM, Commonwealth, IOR-ARC, WTO, G-77, G-20 and the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP).

The other areas of co-operation where South Africa and India could enhanced are - WTO negotiations, climate change, science and technology, higher education, fight against international terrorism, etc.

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43 Mukherjee, n.34, p. 5.
6.3. IBSA Initiative

IBSA\textsuperscript{44} is a trilateral, developmental initiative between India, Brazil and South Africa to promote South-South cooperation and exchange. In the aftermath of discussions between the Heads of State and/or Government of the IBSA countries at the G-8 meeting that took place in Evian in 2003, and following ongoing trilateral consultations, the Foreign Ministers of the respective countries met in Brasilia on June 6, 2003.

The main objectives of the IBSA Dialogue Forum could be summarised as follows: To promote South-South dialogue, cooperation and common positions on issues of international importance; to promote trade and investment opportunities between the three regions of which they are part; to promote international poverty alleviation and social development; to promote the trilateral exchange of information, international best practices, technologies and skills, as well as to compliment each others competitive strengths into collective synergies and to promote cooperation in a broad range of areas, namely agriculture, climate change, culture, defense, education, energy, health, information society, science and technology, social development, trade and investment, tourism and transport.

6.3.1. IBSA: Genesis

The genesis of the IBSA can be traced since the failure of Cancun Conference of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2003, where developing countries felt the need to strengthen their cooperation in trade, investment and economic diplomacy. The leaders of three regional goliaths spearheaded a new approach for South-South cooperation at the 2003 UN General Assembly Forum, resulting in a trilateral India-Brazil-South Africa agreement. The term, South-South cooperation signifies the cooperation between India (South Asia), Brazil (South America) and South Africa.

\textsuperscript{44} IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa) represents three important poles for galvanising South-South cooperation and greater understanding between three important continents of the developing world namely, Africa, Asia and South America. The forum provides the three countries with a platform to engage in discussions for cooperation in the field of agriculture, trade, culture, and defence among others.
Yashwant Sinha, External Affairs Minister of India, Celso Amorim, Foreign Minister of Brazil and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Foreign Minister of South Africa met in Brasilia, where the IBSA Dialogue forum was formalised through the adoption of the "Brasilia Declaration".45

The IBSA Dialogue Forum plays an increasingly important role in the foreign policies of India, Brazil and South Africa. The three main issues which brought India, Brazil and South Africa into a dialogue forum are – WTO negotiations, the UN reforms and democracies.46 The three countries agreed on the urgent need for reforms in the United Nations, especially the Security Council. The declaration was of the view that the United Nations Security Council should reflect the current world scenario. The Ministers highlighted their priorities on promotion of social equity and inclusive growth by reiterating the need for tackling hunger and poverty by means of effective implementation of government schemes. The ministers also stressed the importance of elimination of racial discrimination and gender bias while framing public policies.

The Ministers recommended to their respective Chiefs of State and Government the convening of a summit-level meeting of the three countries. They also decided to further intensify dialogue at all levels, when needed, to organise meetings of top officials and experts responsible for issues of mutual interest. They agreed to hold regular meetings and dialogues on issues of common interest.47 It is seen that the genesis of the IBSA can be seen from WTO negotiations and various areas of cooperation among the three countries. Let’s examine some of the important areas of cooperation of the IBSA dialogue forum.

45 On 6 June 2003, the Brasilia declaration was signed by the foreign ministers of India, Brazil and South Africa.
47 They further agreed to establish a Trilateral Joint Commission. The Foreign Ministries will be the pivots of the Trilateral Joint Commission and the meetings will be co-chaired by the three Foreign Ministers.
6.3.2. Areas of Co-operation of IBSA

IBSA, even though established recently, it has a number of areas of co-operation among the member countries. Among the areas of co-operation, defence, economic, energy, education, transport and science and technology can be mentioned. It can be examined as follows:

6.3.2.1 Defence Cooperation of IBSA

India, Brazil and South Africa are the leading military powers arms producers in their respective regions. Therefore, it was not surprising that IBSA countries included defence cooperation in plan of action, which covers training, exchanges, combined exercises and sourcing, development, production and marketing of defence equipment. Over the years, India’s defence industry has developed capacities that cater to a broad production spectrum from maintenance, repair and licensed production to designing and developing a range of state-of-the-art weapon systems. South Africa has also built a strong defence industrial base with an emphasis on land system and aerospace. It is also the only major arms manufacturer and exporter in Africa. Similarly, Brazil has a well-developed defence industry that produces a wide variety of equipment, from small arms to aircraft. India has a longer history of defence cooperation with South Africa than it has with Brazil.

The first step towards formalising the defence ties was the signing of a memorandum of understanding on in the field of defence equipment between the two countries during then Deputy President Mbeki’s visit to India in December 1996. However, this agreement merely facilitated arms transfers between the two countries. South Africa’s naval sector is relatively less developed with no military ships built since 1987 and it has shown keen interest in the field of maritime with India. The exchange of visits of naval ships between two countries has taken place regularly since 1994.

The defence cooperation agreement between India and Brazil is fairly recent compared to India and South Africa and was inked during the visit of Brazilian Defence Minister Jose Viegas Filho to New Delhi in December 2003. Cooperation is being visualised in the field of co-production and co-development in aeronautical and ship building systems and subsystems such as software, avionics and ordnance. Brazil has a well-developed aeronautical and defence industry and a well established air defence surveillance system. In 2004, an agreement on cooperation in space technology was signed between the two countries, which included the possibility of launching the Brazilian micro-satellite Equaras from India amongst other areas of mutual interest.

On the defense industry collaboration there are reports that suggest that India is likely to join in the air-to-air missile (AAM) development agreement between Brazil and South Africa. The issue of cooperation in research and development had been discussed during recent high-level Brazilian military delegation visits to India. Brazil and South Africa had announced their AAM cooperation efforts in 2005. These are some of important areas of cooperation in defense sector among the IBSA countries. Let us discuss some areas of economic cooperation of IBSA countries.

6.3.2.2. IBSA Economic Cooperation

IBSA Comprehensive Economic Partnership Arrangement

IBSA constitutes a large and expanding economic space where in the total two-way trade is close to US$ 400 billion currently. The share of intra-IBSA trade in their total trade has been approximately 2 per cent (about US$ 5 billion) in 2002. The New Delhi Action Plan has put an ambitious goal for doubling the mutual trade by 2007. To achieve this target several measures will be necessary. To exploit the synergies and potential of cooperation for mutual benefit, IBSA countries can explore

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51 Beri, n.48, p.820.
an IBSA Comprehensive Economic Partnership Arrangement covering the following aspects among others:52

An IBSA FTA

At the Ministerial Meeting of IBSA in New Delhi in March 2005, it was decided to work towards evolving an FTA between the three countries. However, a trilateral FTA between India-Brazil-South Africa may not be technically feasible as Brazil and South Africa are members of customs unions (viz. Mercosur and SACU respectively) and hence are bound to maintain common external tariffs with other partners. Therefore, it may consider evolving an IBSA Free Trading Arrangement (IBSA FTA) between India-Mercosur- SACU. This FTA could subsume the ongoing negotiations between India-Mercosur and India- SACU PTAs. This way we could have a framework for mutual trade taking place on a preferential basis besides giving access to even other members of the respective customs unions.

IBSA Trade Facilitation Framework (IBSA TFF)

The IBSA FTA may be supplemented by an IBSA TFF focusing on identifying and eliminating the non-tariff barriers and evolving a framework for trade facilitation. RIS study finds that significant non-tariff barriers impede mutual trade in the grouping.

Facilitating Trade in Services

Service sector has emerged as the leading sector of the economy accounting for more than 50 per cent of the GDP in all the three countries.53 Also the service imports of Brazil and South Africa recorded negligible or negative growth rate during the recent past. The only service sectors of Brazil wherein imports showed significant increase are insurance, computer services and other business services. The service imports of these countries are subject to a number of barriers such as job quotas and


53 However, with the possible exception of IT software services in India, and travel in South Africa, the service sector is an area wherein IBSA is found to be relatively weak in terms of comparative advantage.
barriers for commercial presence in select sectors. These barriers can be addressed within the framework of IBSA CECA in select sectors of mutual interest.\textsuperscript{54}

**IBSA Cooperation in Multilateral Forums**

The strategic importance of IBSA cooperation in shaping the outcome of multilateral negotiations cannot be overemphasised. As emerging powers they can provide leadership to the developing world in these negotiations and thus help in evolving more development-friendly framework for multilateral trade and financial architecture. If the recent experience of their cooperation in multilateral trade negotiations is any guide, this partnership is going to have a major influence on the shape of multilateral negotiations in future.


Considering the common development concerns of IBSA countries, they could also coordinate their positions and provide leadership to developing countries in pushing reforms of international financial architecture including reform of IMF conditionalities to prevent reoccurrence of financial crisis and making it more development friendly and sustainable. Both Brazil and South Africa have suffered from mild crises in the past.\textsuperscript{55}

Thus the IBSA comprehensive partnership could be of immense strategic importance for the countries involved and be a trail-blazer for South-South Cooperation. A Comprehensive Economic Partnership Arrangement including an FTA in trade in goods, services and investments could provide an institutional framework for exploiting the potential of their partnership and their synergies for mutual benefit.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{54} RIS Policy Briefs 2006, n.51, p.2.

\textsuperscript{55} The reform of the UN with expansion of the UN Security Council is also a common agenda and Brazil and India have announced support of their candidature for permanent membership of the UN Security Council on a mutual basis within the framework of G-4.

\textsuperscript{56} RIS Policy Briefs 2006, n.51, p.6.
6.3.2.3. Cooperation in Agriculture sector

Agriculture is another area of cooperation of IBSA countries. A Joint Development Project in the agriculture sector has been undertaken in Guinea Bissau. This project, though a series of strategic interventions, envisages support for the national authorities for the development of capabilities for the sustainable management and use of agricultural and livestock resources. This would, it is expected, increase income of targeted communities and groups.

IBSA Ministers of Agriculture met in Rome on 22nd November 2005 on the margins of a FAO Conference. This was followed by a meeting of IBSA Senior Officials in Agriculture in New Delhi on 18 and 19 January 2006. The meeting discussed a draft MOU for trilateral cooperation in agriculture and allied fields. 57

6.3.2.4. Cooperation in Education, Energy and Health

Education, a powerful instrument for achieving the goals of social equality, had been included by the Governments of India, Brazil and South Africa as an area of cooperation in Brasilia Declaration. India is the lead country in education sector. At the 2nd IBSA Focal Points Meeting held on 29th November 2004, the following three major areas of cooperation were identified for collaboration in the education sector: Open and Distance Education, Higher and Professional Education; and Universal Mass Education with special emphasis on quality and gender equality. Each of the three countries is to host one Round Table on one of the selected themes. 58

The WG aims to promote the production and use of Bio-fuels as environmentally friendly and sustainable fuels that would promote socio-economic development, taking into consideration their global importance. The WG also creates an opportunity for information exchanges on Renewable energy and the Bio-fuels value chain. The focus of the WG on Health is on the exchange of information and

57 The draft provides for the development of action plans for cooperation in research and capacity building; agriculture and trade; and rural development and poverty alleviation.
58 The theme of the Universal Mass Education with special emphasis on quality and gender equality was chosen by India, Open and Distance Education by South Africa and Higher and Professional education by Brazil.
best practices in the following areas of co-operation: epidemiology surveillance; sanitary regulations; traditional medicines; and related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights.

6.3.2.5. Cooperation in Information Society, Science and Technology

The Working Group (WG) reached an agreement on the content of the IBSA Framework for Cooperation on Information Society. This framework sets up the basis and defines the areas of cooperation in the fields of Information Society and Communication Technologies. The WG is also responsible for the design and configuration of the IBSA website hosted by South Africa.\(^{59}\)

Science and Technology was one of the key areas identified for tri-lateral cooperation in the Brasilia Declaration. Activities in this area are guided through annual meetings of the S&T Ministers of India, Brazil and South Africa. The inaugural meeting of the IBSA Science and Technology Ministers was held in New Delhi on October 25, 2004. The Second IBSA Ministerial meeting on S&T Cooperation was held in Rio de Janeiro on 8-9 June 2005.\(^{60}\) Activities in each area are implemented by experts designated as Area Coordinators. Based on their recommendations, a calendar of activities is recommended by the IBSA Trilateral Working Group on Science and Technology for approval by the IBSA S&T Ministerial meeting. The IBSA Trilateral Working Group on Science and Technology has met three times: Cape Town, South Africa (7-9 March, 2005), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (8-9 June 2005 and 28 - 30 March 2006).

6.3.3. Declarations of IBSA

The Foreign Ministers of Brazil, Celso Amorim, of South Africa, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, and of India, Yashwant Sinha, met in Brasilia on June 6, 2003, following ongoing consultations and after the respective Heads of State and/or

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\(^{59}\) IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa), Areas of Co-operation.

\(^{60}\) The following are the approved areas of research cooperation and the corresponding lead countries—TB : South Africa , Malaria : Brazil, HIV/AIDS : India, Nanotechnology : India, Biotechnology : South Africa, Oceanography : Brazil.
Government of their countries held conversations during the G-8 meeting, in Evian. This was a pioneer meeting of the three countries with vibrant democracies, from three regions of the developing world, active on a global scale, with the aim of examining themes on the international agenda and those of mutual interest. In the past few years, the importance and necessity of a process of dialogue amongst developing nations and countries of the South has emerged.

The Foreign Ministers of Brazil, South Africa and India gave special consideration to the importance of respecting the rule of International Law, strengthening the United Nations and the Security Council and prioritising the exercise of diplomacy as a means to maintain international peace and security. They reaffirmed the need to combat threats to international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and with the legal instruments to which Brazil, India and South Africa are parties. 61

6.3.3.1. First Meeting of the Trilateral Commission of IBSA Dialogue Forum

The Minister of External Affairs of India, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, Foreign Minister of Brazil, Mr. Celso Amorim, and of South Africa, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma met in New Delhi on 4th and 5th March 2004 for the first Meeting of the Trilateral Commission of the IBSA Dialogue Forum. The Foreign Ministers reviewed developments in the trilateral initiative that began with their meeting in Brasilia in June 2003 and the meeting of the three Heads of State and Government in New York in September 2003. They appreciated the progress achieved so far and stressed the importance of carrying forward the multi-faceted dialogue and of registering tangible results in the operational areas already agreed upon. The Ministers noted the significant steps already envisaged at the trilateral meeting of the Defense Ministers of the three countries (held in Pretoria on 1 February 2004) for stepping up cooperation. 62

The Ministers held a wide-ranging discussion in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and exchanged views on regional and international issues of mutual

61 IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa), Brasilia Declaration, Brasilia, June 6th, 2003.
62 IBSA (India-Brazil -South Africa), New Delhi Agenda for Cooperation, New Delhi, 5th March, 2004.
interest as well as on promotion of trilateral cooperation in accordance with the objectives set forth in the Brasilia Declaration. The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed their determination to play a constructive role in international affairs and to maintain friendly relations with all countries. Their approach to IBSA dialogue aims at imparting a new synergy to these interactions.

The Ministers agreed to work together to strengthen the multilateral system. They expressed support for early reform of the United Nations to make it more democratic and responsive to the priorities of its member states, particularly those of the developing countries that constitute the vast majority of its membership. They agreed that their respective delegations to the UN and its specialised agencies as well as other multilateral bodies would remain in close touch with each other and would consult on all issues of significance. The Ministers noted that primary focus on human development, the fight against poverty, and measures to promote a better quality of life, should underpin and provide for greater guarantees for international peace and stability.

The Ministers agreed that international terrorism was one of the most significant threats faced by the world today and that it can only be tackled collectively. They further agreed that terrorism should only be considered with reference to the terrorist act and its consequences. Recalling their commitment to pursuing policies, programmes and initiatives in different international forums, to make the diverse processes of inclusive, integrative, humane, and equitable, the Ministers noted with concern that the current global economic structures and mechanisms continued to be marked by globalisation inequities.

India, Brazil and South Africa have similar concerns with regard to the protection of environment while they march ahead on the path of socio-economic

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63 They attached immense value to the beneficial spin-offs from their enhanced trilateral cooperation to South-South cooperation. IBSA aspires to make a significant contribution to the framework of South-South cooperation and be a positive factor to advance human development by promoting potential synergies among the members.

64 The three Ministers took stock of the global security situation - concerning disarmament and non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD).
development in their respective countries. In this context the three sides agreed to work together to promote practical cooperation in ensuring sustainable development. The Ministers in the context of the approaching 10th anniversary of the World Summit for Social Development recalled that the Summit had sought to put people at the centre of development. They emphasised the need to have the well-being of people as the focus of efforts to assess and address the gaps in the commitments made and results achieved. The Ministers also reiterated the invitation for the participation of interested parties in the South-South initiative, including the private sector and civil society. To stress their political commitment, Brazil, South Africa and India announced that they have made fiduciary contributions to the Facility.

6.3.3.2. Second Meeting of the Trilateral Commission of IBSA Dialogue Forum

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, the Minister of External Affairs of India, Mr. K Natwar Singh and the Foreign Minister of Brazil, Mr. Celso Amorim, met in Cape Town on 10 and 11 March 2005 for the Second Meeting of the Trilateral Commission of the IBSA Dialogue Forum. The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed their determination to play a constructive role in international affairs and to maintain friendly relations with all countries. The IBSA Dialogue Forum serves as a mechanism for political consultation and co-ordination as well as for strengthening co-operation in sectoral areas and to improve economic relations between India, Brazil and South Africa.

The Ministers agreed to work together, within the UN processes in New York, towards the successful conclusion of the Millennium Review Summit scheduled to take place from 14 to 16 September 2005. They looked forward to the Report to be issued by the Secretary-General in March 2005 in preparation for the Summit. In this regard they noted that the Report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change and the Report of the United Nations Millennium Project 2005 provided

65 IBSA (India-Brazil-South Africa), Cape Town Ministerial Communiqué, Cape Town, 11th March, 2005.

66 The Ministers expressed the hope that the Summit outcome would reflect a balance between development and security concerns and emphasised that development was an indispensable foundation for a new collective security system.
useful inputs towards this end. The Ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the goal of developing countries successfully achieving, at the minimum, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a core strategy in the international fight against underdevelopment, hunger and poverty. They reiterated their support for the New York Declaration, issued at the World Leaders’ Meeting on Action Against Hunger and Poverty, and reconfirmed the importance of obtaining new and additional financial resources for fighting poverty and financing development.

The Ministers re-iterated their continued support for the early reform of the United Nations to make it more democratic and responsive to the priorities of its Member States, particularly those of developing countries that constitute the vast majority of its membership.\textsuperscript{67} The Ministers committed themselves to developing a common vision for enhanced South-South co-operation and the realisation of the development agenda of the South during the 21st Century. They agreed to work together on economic development with social equity in the context of a globalising world. IBSA would examine ways to adopt a pro-active approach to channel the forces of globalisation in this direction. They re-affirmed the principle that IBSA was dedicated to the strengthening of the international framework of South-South co-operation and the advancement of human development through the promotion of potential synergies among its members.\textsuperscript{68}

The Ministers reaffirmed their support for the socio-economic development programme of the African Union and committed the IBSA partnership to seeking practical and concrete measures to be pursued in support of the implementation of NEPAD. The three countries shared a common experience in the struggle against poverty and underdevelopment, as well as complementary levels of development. There was therefore much to gain from sharing information and best practices in

\textsuperscript{67} The three countries agreed to utilise fully the window of opportunity afforded by the Millennium Review Process for a serious effort at the long-needed UN reform, in particular the institutional reforms relating to the UN General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council.

\textsuperscript{68} IBSA (India-Brazil-South Africa), \textit{Cape Town Ministerial Communiqué}, Cape Town, 11\textsuperscript{th} March, 2005.
dealing with common challenges and in identifying areas of common concern, need and benefit.

The Ministers noted the decision made during AASROC II, held in Durban in August 2004, to launch a New Asian-African Strategic Partnership during the Asia-Africa Summit, scheduled to be held in Jakarta, Indonesia in April 2005. The Ministers agreed to intensify co-operation in areas of mutual interest in the current round of multilateral trade negotiations, in the lead-up to the 6th WTO Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong in December 2005.

The Ministers reaffirmed that international terrorism continued to constitute one of the most serious threats to peace and security and that acts of terrorism were criminal and unjustifiable whatever the considerations or factors that might be invoked to justify them. The Ministers emphasised the need for concerted and co-ordinated action by the international community, with the ultimate objective of eradicating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

The Foreign Ministers of Brazil and India expressed their deep gratitude to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa for convening the Second Meeting of the Trilateral Commission and noted the special privilege of having had the opportunity to meet and interact with President Thabo Mbeki. The three Ministers agreed that the next meeting will be held in Brazil in 2006.69

6.3.4 IBSA: The Challenges and Prospects

From the above discussion we can see that the IBSA initiatives have various areas of co-operations and declarations in different fields. There are also challenges of IBSA on various grounds. One of the major challenges faced by the IBSA states is the risk of being challenged by countries within their respective regions for parading as leader of South.70 This concern is expressed by the Egyptian Ambassador to South Africa: “The problem comes when South Africa wants to decide for entire developing

69 IBSA (India-Brazil-South Africa), Cape Town Ministerial Communiqué, Cape Town, 11th March, 2005.
70 Beri, n.48, p.824.
world. It cannot fly the flag of the whole group until those positions are endorsed by the whole group. We ask are three countries enough to represent the developing world? Do you want to tell me that Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia are not important Asian countries in G-77? Is it only India?” 71 Therefore, it means that there are different views against the development of IBSA from Asia, Africa and Latin American Countries.

Another challenge of IBSA is diverse interests and perceptions among the three countries. One of the main areas of cooperation of IBSA is promoting intraregional trade. There is no doubt that trade volume has grown in the recent years. From a mere $200 million in 1998, Indo-Brazil trade reached $2.5 billion in 2005. Similarly, in the last one and half decades, Indo-South African trade has grown from almost nil to $2 billion. 72

Next important challenge is the diverse domestic pressures of the respective countries. In case of India, the IBSA engagement appears to have earned the UPA government brownie points over its coalition partners, particularly the Left. The last important challenge is the China factor. While the IBSA countries are dominant in their respective regions, they should deal with other countries notably China, for the leadership of the South.

Prospects of IBSA

The IBSA initiatives are guided by the desire for cooperation between states that enjoy similar positions in global politics. At the same time, these countries have expressed concern that large parts of the world have not benefitted from globalisation. They have stressed that globalisation must become a positive force for change for all peoples, and must benefit the largest number of countries. In simple words, the key

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72 Beri, n.48, p.824.
objective of IBSA is to make the international economic system responsive to the needs of developing world.\textsuperscript{73}

In terms of trade, IBSA countries are among the top developing countries. Their growing significance in international trade is shown by the way India has doubled its global trade share from 0.8 percent in 2000 to more than 1.2 percent. Similar trend can be seen in the South African and Brazilian trade. Their intra trade more than three fold the decade 1994-2004. IBSA countries can reinforce the economic strength of each other by creating a market of 1.2 billion people, 1.8 trillion dollars of GDP and foreign trade of nearly 600 billion dollars.

In recent years, there has been a qualitative and quantitative leap in intra-IBSA trade. From a mere $20 million in 1998 and $800 million in 2002, Indo-Brazil trade has reached $2.5 billion; India-South Africa trade has also exceeded $4 billion this year. These trends indicate that IBSA trade is close to the $10 billion target set for this year.\textsuperscript{74}

IBSA countries have now become major buyers and they can become part of each other’s global production chains. India and South Africa can source competitive agricultural products and ethanol, construction materials, and vehicle parts from Brazil, while Brazil and South Africa can source most competitive pharmaceuticals and IT-enabled services from India. India and Brazil can source equally beneficially certain minerals and metals from South Africa.\textsuperscript{75}

These sectors have displayed consistently high growth and increased share their intra-trade, several sectors are emerging more dynamically in world trade in which IBSA countries have also made impressive gains, though these are still below potential. They could individually and collectively plan new tie-ups amongst them

\textsuperscript{73} The main driving force behind the IBSA initiative of coalition building among developing countries is that they believe in liberal economic order at institutionalised level. Their initiative is therefore ‘reformist’ in character, and not ‘transformative’.

\textsuperscript{74} FIEO, Federation of Indian Export Organisation, \textit{IBSA: Challenges and Prospects}, vol.xxvii, no.11, New Delhi, 2007.

\textsuperscript{75} In some of these key sectors include chemicals, electrical goods, automobiles and automotive parts, engines and motors, ores and metals, textiles and certain services sectors including outsourcing.
which could enable them to expand their existing share of global trade. The dynamic sectors being among the fastest growing product group’s on global trade, well structured and more focused relationship among IBSA countries in these sectors at policy, industry and company levels will contribute significantly to their individual and collective export dynamism.

In the wake of post 9/11 developments, the developed world appears more willing to consider developmental concerns of the South. This is an opportunity as well as a necessity in bridging the increasing gap between the North and South. In this process, IBSA could play key role in defining South’s concerns for poverty eradication, debt relief and other problems. This sets out an important lead role for IBSA not only from their regional development perspective, but also from an international systematic one.76

IBSA has therefore the potential of emerging as the key grouping in the global economy in general and in the South in particular. It could be the engine of economic development and voice in the developing world. And, this would inevitably have important implications for global politics, especially on those related to global economy and development. IBSA countries have already acquired significantly increased weight and influence in international trade and economy, and are contributing in an unprecedented way to its dynamism. Their intra-trade although still well below true potential, and small in terms of their overall trade, has been growing dramatically.

It may also have to be borne in mind that a key challenge being IBSA is how to overcome the physical, cultural and economic distance between its members. It would be necessary to simultaneously seek to bridge these three gaps. It is our experience that bridging the economic distance greatly helps in developing closer bonds in other areas.77

76 IBSA has therefore the potential of emerging as the key grouping in the global economy in general and in the South in particular.

Some of the important areas where IBSA countries could be enhanced are as follows: discussions in friendly atmosphere and exchanged views on regional and international issues of mutual interest as well as on promotion of trilateral cooperation, to make significant contribution to the framework of South-South Cooperation and be a positive factor to advance human development by promoting potential synergies among the members. The Foreign Ministers of IBSA countries also reaffirmed their determination to play a constructive role in international affairs and to maintain friendly relations with all countries. Their approach to IBSA Dialogue aims at imparting a new synergy to this interaction.  

The Ministers also agreed to coordinate positions on climate change, biodiversity and other related issues at the concerned multilateral fora. The IBSA forum has established working groups, signed cooperation agreements, fostered collaboration on research issues of common interest and helped to built business partnership. Of the sixteen working groups currently operating within the forum, science and technology, bio-fuels and communications have made the most progress.  

6.4. Indian Diaspora in South Africa

Indian Diaspora is a generic term referring to the people who migrated from territories that are within the borders of Republic of India. Indian migrations to different parts of the world are not a new phenomenon. Indian migration stated more than five thousand years ago. It continued with the migration of Indian traders who travelled throughout the world for trade and business. A large number of Indians migrated as indentured labourers to countries like Mauritius, South Africa, Fiji, Trinidad and Guyana to work on sugar plantations. Indian Diaspora is currently estimated to number 20 million composed of NRIs (Non-Resident Indians) and PIOs (People of Indian Origins).  


The political, diplomatic and economic moves of India towards African countries emanated from India’s own formulations of Afro-Asian Solidarity, Non-Alignment, South-South Cooperation and issues of Racial Discrimination. The former British colonies in Africa got a priority in the framework of Indian policies. For India, the issue of Indian Diaspora in Africa was largely guided by India’s search for its place in the international arena and Nehru’s firm belief that, for nascent states in Africa and the third world countries, a proactive diaspora policy will be seen as external interference and would be counterproductive for people of Indian Origin in African countries.81

The nature of Indian Diaspora comparatively, is emerging in the changing international socio-economic environment having the elements of pre-independent and post independent India. The changing nature of Indian Diaspora in general and South Africa in particularly, needs to be analysed on the three fronts like: the socio-economic dimension which leads to the identity of Indian community, the political awakening and the struggle of its identity and the tradition of Indian culture emerged from the debate.82

6.4.1. Indian Diaspora in South Africa: A Background

Historically, Indians went to South Africa much before they traveled to other countries. They mostly went in 1860 or earlier to work in the mines and fields. Some people also went for trade. But most of them went as labourers and over these 100 years; they have integrated part of the society. At the same time, they have maintained a very rich cultural bond with India.83 People of Indian origin who are now South Africans citizens are very proud South Africans. They have played a very active part in South African nationalist movement. Also there are many eminent politicians with Indian roots.

83 Ibid, p.2.
Most of the initial migrants were drawn from what are today Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh with some from eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. A second wave of Indians came after 1880. These were the “passenger Indians” – so-called because they paid their fares as passengers on board steamships bound for South Africa. This was the community of traders mainly from Gujarat. The South African Indian Origin community currently numbers around 1.15 million and constitutes about 2.5 percent of South Africa’s total population of 45.45 million. About 80 percent of the Indian community lives in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, about 15 percent in the Gauteng (previously Transvaal) area and the remaining 5 percent in the Cape Town area. In KwaZulu-Natal, the major concentration of the Indian population is in Durban. The largest concentrations of Indian settlement are at Chatsworth, Phoenix, Tongaat and Stanger in the Durban Coastal area, which covers approximately 500,000 of the Indian origin community. Pietermaritzburg – noted for its link with Mahatma Gandhi - has a community of approximately 200,000.84

6.4.2. Post Apartheid South Africa and PIOs

Since the end of apartheid in the 1990s, the Indian community in South Africa has undergone a significant transformation particularly in socio-cultural fields. In the post apartheid era, there has been a tremendous scope for Indian settlers to rise up with the structural changes in South African society, polity and economy. The concern in South Africa in the post apartheid period is on how different racial groups in South African society should be incorporated into the whole social system. Association is necessary for reconstruction and reconciliation of a new South Africa where blacks, whites and Asians could amalgamate in the community. To realise the position of PIOs in post apartheid South Africa, the political dynamics of PIOs in South Africa in relation to different political parties has to be understood.85

Preparation of educational materials for cultural education, exchange of artists and exchange of exhibitions etc. is taking place frequently between the two countries. A cultural agreement between Indian and South Africa were signed on December 4

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84 The Indian Origin Community in South Africa, available at: www.indiansouthafrica.com
85 Pathak, n.71, p. 80.
1996. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) set up an Indian cultural centre (ICC) in Durban and Johannesburg in July 1995 with the objective of strengthening relations between South Africa and India through cultural contexts.\(^{86}\) Thus, Indian settlers in South Africa are only promoting bilateral economic relations but are also responsible for strengthening cultural understandings between the two countries.

**6.4.3. Links with India**

In common with other large long-established overseas Indian communities, South African Indians have a deep emotional bond with their mother culture. Having been the unfortunate victims of the severing of ties with their motherland due to international sanctions against the apartheid state, they have warmly welcomed re-establishment of diplomatic, sporting, cultural and trade relations. Many community organisations want closer religious, cultural and educational ties. They are interested in visiting India to rediscover their roots and for tourism and trade. They are also eager to start interacting with other overseas Indian communities with whom their ties also suffered as a result of the apartheid rule.

The community participates actively in the celebration of National Day by the Indian missions in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Diwali is celebrated as a big public function in Durban as well as in Lenasia, Laudium and other areas where Indian communities reside. There are a large number of community organisations, which are working to propagate their cultural and linguistic traditions.

The Indian origin community in South Africa is one of the largest such communities in the world, and one of the oldest, and had an honorable and acknowledged role in the liberation struggle with strong emotional and cultural bonds with the country of their origin, and while they may have concerns about their future, like all minorities, are proud of being South Africans.\(^{87}\)

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\(^{87}\) The Indian Origin community in South Africa, available at: www.indiainsouthafrica.com
6.5. Areas of Discord between South Africa and India

Even though South Africa and India have different areas of co-operation, the two countries also have areas of conflict. In the post-apartheid era, the joint initiatives taken by respective governments have set the bilateral relations on a sound footing. Nevertheless, all relationships cannot be perfect and existence of differences is but natural. One of the persistent problems in the relationship is on the nuclear issue. South Africa is the world's first state to have voluntarily renounced nuclear weapons. It is also party to a host of nuclear arms control regimes including the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). They would like India to be a party to these treaties too. India is not ready to sign the treaties in their current format as it finds them discriminatory. India's position in this regard is well documented. There was a rising concern in India that South Africa has moved closer to the West on this issue. This closeness appeared to have a deep impact on the South African mindsets and this was visible also during the Durban summit of the Non Aligned Movement (NAM).

On the nuclear issue too, South Africa's formulation—first enunciated in the draft resolution circulated to the coordinating bureau in New York well before the summit—was changed, but only after a protracted effort by India and others. Expressing deep concern at the re-emergence of the nuclear arms race in South Asia, the draft called upon "all states, with the capacity to produce nuclear weapons, to refrain from weaponisation of the capability and to desist from placing them on delivery systems". The final document however incorporated the traditional NAM position with a clear thrust on disarmament and a sharp criticism of the old nuclear haves for seeking to perpetuate discrimination and justifying their monopoly over weapons.

Nuclear Issues: South Africa's nuclear policy in the post-apartheid era has emerged as a constant irritant in the relations between the two countries. India had hoped that the inauguration of President Mandela's government in South Africa would

give a fillip to its effort towards achieving universal nuclear disarmament. The African National Congress (ANC) in the past had been quite vocal in its support to nuclear disarmament. It "shared the commitment of the United Nations to general and complete disarmament under effective international control as resolved by the General Assembly at the special session on disarmament in 1978." 89

In recent years however, there has been a dilution in the stance of South Africa and it has drifted more towards the Western approach towards nuclear arms control. This was quite visible during the negotiations of the 1995 NPT Review Conference and the CTBT. While the decision of the previous government to accede to the NPT may have been motivated by the desire not to bequeath a nuclear capability to a government dominated by the ANC, there are few doubts on the decision in Pretoria. The South African position on nuclear issues could also be explained through their desire to avoid being isolated in the world community. After years of being dubbed a pariah, from the South African perspective it had very little to lose and a lot to gain in terms of "diplomatic dividends" from the negotiations on nuclear disarmament. At the same time South Africa did not want to alienate its neighbours in the region. After facing years of destabilisation the establishment of the ANC government had brought forth an era of peace and stability in southern Africa, the continuance of the nuclear weapons programme and not signing the NPT and the CTBT could have given the wrong signals.

South Africa's official response to India's nuclear tests at Pokhran in May 1998 was mild in comparison to that of the United States, Japan and other Western countries. The statement issued by the foreign office immediately after the tests expressed 'deep concern at the nuclear testing' and pointed out that the South African government "opposed all nuclear tests, since they do not promote world peace and security." However, there were reports which suggested that Mr. Mandela was indeed quite upset on the issue. Subsequently, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, principal secretary to the Prime Minister was dispatched as a special envoy of the Prime Minister to diffuse the tension between the two countries over it. While the government in Pretoria

appreciates India's security compulsions that necessitated the decision to go nuclear, however they would like India to sign the NPT and the CTBT. India on its part considers them discriminatory and is unwilling to sign them.\(^90\)

The good news is that against the back-drop of Indian nuclear tests, South Africa has enhanced the efforts towards global nuclear disarmament. In the last two years it has been part of the New Agenda Coalition (NAC), which originally consisted of Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, Slovenia, South Africa and Sweden. The NAC had responded to nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in May 1998 by calling for a new approach to non-proliferation and disarmament. In their joint declaration in June 1998) the members of the NAC put forward a new agenda in an effort to rejuvenate the deadlocked talks at CD. South Africa is also part of the Middle Powered Initiative (MPI). This coalition calls for rapid elimination of nuclear weapons\(^91\).

India and the other members of the G-21 have in the past called for the establishment in the Conference of Disarmament (CD), of an adhoc committee on nuclear disarmament to start negotiations on a phased programme with the eventual aim of eliminating nuclear weapons within a time bound framework.\(^92\) South Africa while appreciating India's position does not agree with its time bound programme of nuclear disarmament. They appear to favour a step-by-step approach (incremental) without a firm time frame being defined. However, after the Pokhran nuclear tests in May 1998 India has moved away from its time bound position as propounded in former Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi's Plan for Nuclear Disarmament, tabled at the UN in 1986.

Although India still favours the phased process of disarmament, it has dropped the emphasis of it being bound to a certain time frame. Thus it appears that India and South Africa have an almost similar position on this issue and apparently are on the same side at the CD. From the above points of discord areas between South Africa and India, it can sum up by mentioning the personal interview with Vikas Swarup, the

\(^{90}\) Beri, n.79, p. 11.
\(^{91}\) Ibid., p. 12.
Deputy High Commissioner of India in Pretoria. As he pointed out, "We have common position in terms of WTO negotiations, UN reforms, NAM etc. But South Africa and India have conflict area in terms of nuclear issue".93

From the above discussion, it can be concluded by saying that South Africa's foreign policy towards India has been a positive approach since the end of the apartheid period. The two countries have been maintaining a bonhomie relation in different areas of cooperation. One of the most important areas of cooperation is the IBSA initiative. The Indian Diasporas have also been an important factor in the relations between two countries. It has been found that in the post apartheid era, there has been a tremendous scope for Indian settlers to rise up with the structural changes in South African society, polity and economy.

The key areas where South Africa and India's relations could be enhanced in the years to come are: enhancement in terms of security, enhancement in the context of stability, enhancement in socio-economic development and co-operations, and enhancement in science and technology particularly in information technology.

The next chapter presents the important findings and conclusion of the present study. It also examines the trends and challenges of South Africa's foreign policy in the post apartheid period.