Chapter-2

Historical Background of Indo-South African Economic Relations
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2.1 Introduction

This chapter makes an attempt to trace the historical relationship between India and Africa in general and South Africa in particular. In doing so it will look into how the historic relationship is an important factor in shaping the economic relations between India and South Africa in the present era (1994-99). This chapter also specifically highlights the role of Indian settlers in the socio-economic lives in African continent, with specific highlights on Indian settler in South Africa, and to what extent they have strengthened the economic relationship between India and South Africa. It has also explored the historical linkages between India and African continent; the role of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, India's role in both apartheid and post-apartheid era in their socio-economic and political contexts.

Although specific information is not available to explore the share of the Indian community in the bilateral trade relations, but indirectly, they contribute significantly to the overall economic relations. This is evident in terms of import of India's ethnic goods by the Indian community in South Africa, which are largely consumed by them. Besides, the tourism and cultural sectors have also been explored to analyse the role of Indian settlers in South Africa for the promotion of economic relation. Also, an attempt has been made regarding the
Indian settlers overall contribution to the South African economy in comparison to their demographic scenario. This chapter also serve as the background on which the rest of the chapters are analysed on relationship between Indo-South African, particularly on trades and investment cooperation in the period between 1994-1999.

2.2. Indo-South African Economic Cooperation During Pre-colonial and Colonial Period

The contact of the people of India with the East-African region- present by comprising of South Africa, Kenya, Uganda etc, is an age-old event. Unless one goes back to the epoch when both the African and South Asian continental mass drifted away from the Antarctic, one might say that India's association with South Africa dates back to the mid-nineteenth century when the first group of indentured labourers arrived in South Africa. These contacts have political, economic, social and cultural significance for the diaspora both for their host countries and homeland. One of the purposes of these contacts is to create and increase the readiness and ability of the diaspora to preserve a continued interest in cultural, economic and political exchange with their homeland. India and South Africa are two shore neighbours. It is the geographical proximity and along with navigable Indian Ocean that brought the people of the two regions closer to each other. During the colonial period of eighteen and nineteen century, their relationship was continued in a different fashion i.e., the

2 ibid.p.9.
immigration of Indian people and anti-colonial struggle equation. However, in the contemporary period of post-independence, the sovereign countries have forged for greater cooperation on the historical bases of their relationship. The present chapter covers an analysis of Indo-South African economic cooperation in historical context, which could enable us to look into the deep of their concern for each other in the present period.

The Indio-African relations are not of recent origin; they go back to the ancient times, for which there is ample evidence available in ancient Indian religious and secular literature in Sanskrit and Pali, archaeological findings, art, coinage and traditional lore. This fact is corroborated by pre-Christian era, which accounts of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and Babylon. India used to trade with some countries of Africa some centuries before the Christian era. By the beginning of the first century A.D., a thriving trade between India and Africa had already developed. Indian ships used to carry Indian merchandise to the regions lying on the western and northern shores of the Arabian Sea, to Persia, Arabian coast, Egypt and the East African coastal regions. According to Richard Reush, a leading maritime scholar, the coast of East Africa was known to the Ancient Indians much before the present Christian era. Since those ancient times there has also been some migratory movement of Africans to India as well as Indian settlements in some countries of Africa.³

The Indian state of Gujarat has had a long tradition of trading with the eastern coast of Africa. It is in this region that a large number of Africans are settled. The Africans in Gujarat are popularly known as Sidis, though sometimes the word 'Habasi' is also used. They might have come to Gujarat with Gujarati traders returning from Africa. From their language it appears that the Sidis came from northeast Africa. These African settlers have become thoroughly integrated with the Indians of Gujarat, and they have accepted many local social customs, and codes of conduct; they hardly retain any of their original customs, except perhaps their Dhamal dance.4

Although Indians also did settle in Africa in ancient times, the large-scale migration of Indians took place with the expansion of Europe and the coming of Europeans to Asia and Africa. A large number of Indians went and settled in African countries either as indentured workers or trades. Although some Indians went to West Africa, concentrations are to be found more in Mauritius, East Africa and South Africa. The Indians also played a very important role in the economic development of East Africa. The Indians mainly supplied middle-level service force—clerks, artisans, teachers and supervisors, and provided channels of distributive trade. They entered the interior areas through 'duka' trading. They also introduced money economy. In due course, Indians became a significant factor in the economic life of the East African countries. In fact, in

Kenya, Indians had become an integral part of the country much before the White settlement gathered momentum.\(^5\)

Contacts between the Indians and Africans have developed in various dimensional space and time frame. In the absence of abundant written historical evidence, Western scholars through the extensive search of Indian Vedic and other ancient Hindu literature had the knowledge of east coast of Africa, where Indian settlements were believed to have been established in as early as seventh century B.C. Since the ancient times people living near the Indian coast have traded across the high seas though India was not a maritime power. Indian goods were dumped on the horn and the east coast of Africa, and then spreaded across the continent and to Egypt. Periplus of Erythrean Sea or the guidebook to the Indian Ocean written in the first Century A.D. by a Greek sailor provides the first historical account of flourishing trade and commerce between the North-Western coast of India and the Red Sea, Horn and the East Coast of Africa. Indian trade during the fifth and sixth century A.D. continued to expand inspite of the disappearance of dominant Roman traders. With the rise and spread of Islam, the Indian commercial and trading activity accepted the primacy of Arab political control. From the fifth to sixth century A.D., Indian goods and merchandise such as cloth, spices, wheat etc were purchased by the Arabs on the east coast in exchange of gold, ivory, gum rhinoceros horns, tortoise shell, amber, leopard skins and African slaves. Arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century changed the trading pattern as a

whole. It eroded the Arab supremacy on the east coast of Africa and from the fifteen to nineteen century Indian trade with Africa alternated between the Portuguese and the Arab control. During this period, many Indians provided their skills and services both to Arabs and the Portuguese. Indians were employed as bankers, accountants, clerks and skilled labour for the state activities. This diversification of Indian contacts with Africa was brought about by the expansion of alien political control of the African coast.\(^6\)

During pre-independence period India was South Africa's third most important source of imports. At the same time India's exports to South Africa accounted for only about 5 ½ percent of its total exports in 1944-45, and the commodities exported were of a kind which had a ready market elsewhere. It had also a near-monopoly in its main item of export to South Africa, namely jute manufactures. India itself imported very little from South Africa and was not dependant on any of its products of the same extent as South Africa was on Indian exports of jute manufactures. Though the decision to sever trade relations with South Africa was motivated primarily by considerations of national self-respect and prestige, it was undoubtedly strengthened by this belief that they could also be effective.\(^7\)

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\(^7\) "India's Trade Boycott of South Africa", This paper was prepared by Dr. K. N. Raj of the Delhi School of Economics for \textit{"The International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa"} held in London from April 14 to 17, 1964, and in being reproduced by courtesy of Penguin Books, U. K. p. 3.
The people of India have interacted with the East African region since the ancient times. Their contacts with the regions—present Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania—are age old indeed. During the colonial times the interaction was further intensified, even though the parameters had changed. As a result, it is estimated that there were more than 3,50,000 ethnic ‘Asians’ (the people of Indian sub-continent origin) in the East African countries at the time of their independence in the early 1960’s.\(^8\)

During the ancient period, Indians were known for their sea-faring activities that enabled them to extend their influence across the Indian Ocean. This is supported by pre-Christian era accounts of Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and Babylon. Robert Gregory in his book *India and East Africa* points out that Indians began ocean trade with Mesopotamia and Egypt as early as in 3000 B.C. Similarly, R. K. Mookherjee in his book *Indian Shipping* quotes Dr. Sayce, a famous Assyriologist who maintained that sea-trade between India and Babylon existed around 3000 B. C. In regard to India’s contact with East Africa they are traced back to the remote age of ‘Puranas’. The Puranas conceive of the earth as consisting of seven territories (*Sa paused Dwipa Vasumati*), one of which is called ‘Cusha’.\(^9\)

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The antiquity of Indo-African contacts has been asserted also by the
the Discovery of the Source of Nile*. As a proof of India's contact with East
Africa in the distant past, Speke wrote that the Hindus opened trade in slaves
and ivory, possibly sometimes prior to the birth of Christ, which he believed,
'must have been one of the largest kingdoms in Africa'. Again, Prof. S. M. Ali of
the Saugar University, India, writes that the word 'Zanzibar' is derived from the
Arab term 'Zanzistan' which in those times covered the whole of the eastern
coast of Africa. The word is a derivative of the Sanskrit word 'Sankha' (or
Sancha) meaning shells. However, G. Mathews, an eminent archaeologist,
almost rejects out of hand the belief that the *Puranas* contained detailed
account of East Africa. "This strange myth", he writes, "originated with Lt.
Wilford in 1801." However, according to Robert Gregory, who has done
substantial works on Indio-Africa relations, found that ancient Hindus had a
significant knowledge of the East African coast and perhaps the interior.\(^\text{10}\) In
the recent years, more and more scholars have held the view that Indians had
begun settling in the East African coastal regions as early as in seventh century
B.C.\(^\text{11}\) It may, therefore, be safely assumed that Indians had built up substantial
trade relations with East Africa much before the period for which we have
concrete archaeological evidence.

\(^\text{10}\) Ibid, p.39.

\(^\text{11}\) Robert Gregory, *India and East Africa: A History of Race Relations within the British
The first historical reference to Indian trade with East Africa in the ancient times occurs in *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* a guide book to the Indian Ocean, written in Greek about Six century A.D. It bears an eloquent testimony to ancient India's commercial relations with foreign countries. The anonymous Greek writer of *The Periplus* describes how in his days ships were customarily fitted out from 'Africa' and 'Berygaza' bringing to the market towns of East Africa the products of their own places such as wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth, girdles and honey from the reed of 'Sacchari'. W. H. Schoff, the commentator of 'the periplus' identifies, 'Ariaca' with modern Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat, and 'Barygaza' with modern 'Broach'. If identifications of Schoff are correct then it is quite evident that by first century A.D. there existed a long established trading connection between western India and the East coast of Africa. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the commodities imported from Africa which were traded in the medieval times, account for which are well documented. The geographical work of Potelmy is another historical account that throws further light on the early pre-colonial Indo-East African contacts. It mentions that from second to seventh centuries A. D. was the period of disintegration of the Roman Empire and the decline of the Grocceo-Roman era was in turn witnessed the period of the rise of Indian and Persian sea-power.

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Since eighth century A.D., it is possible to construct a properly documented history of the coast of East Africa. With the greater availability of accounts regarding the seamen from India, Persia and Arab and their commercial inter-course with East African Coast, the account gets more authenticated. Even though the full extent of the historic India connection is yet to be explored the Arabic, Persian and Swahili sources confirm Arabian, Indian and Persian influence in this region. The recent archaeological findings firmly confirm active Indian role in the financial and commercial lives of the region and give credence to the writings of those scholars who have conjectured that Indian influence and impact was certainly important.\textsuperscript{14} G. Mathews suggests that between the eight and twelve centuries, the Chola Hindu Kingdoms of South-East India may have exerted considerable influence on East Africa comparable to that of Sri-Vijaya on Madagascar. He is inclined to attribute to the Cholas, the Maldives cowries, Indian system of weights and measures and Indian beads found on the Indian Coast.\textsuperscript{15}

It is clear that, throughout this period, India-East Africa trade seems to be expanding and developing new dimensions. While Masudi lays emphasis on ivory, Idrisi underscores iron as a major exporting segment from East Africa to India. There are also many references to Zanj Slaves, which suggest that slave trade was also prevailed. Besides, rhinoceros horns and tortoise shell, amber,

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\item[14] Ibid, p.41.
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and leopard skins were the other articles in trade.\textsuperscript{16} Such were the developments in North-West and western India between the sixth and fifteen centuries A.D., i.e., the period of the expansion of Islam. After prolonged vicissitudes of the Portuguese rule and, of recurrent hostilities in the Indian Ocean among the seamen of rival European powers, during the nineteenth century the traditional Indian commercial connection with East African coast entered a phase of revival.

2.2.A. Indian Migration and Settlement in South Africa

The migration of people from India to different parts of the world is not a new phenomenon. The entire history of the Indian migration can be studied under four phases, during the first phase, more than five thousand years ago, the saints and seers moved in different directions. Although in this phase, migration from India was not in big numbers. Their basic purpose was to spread the message of Indian culture to other parts of the world. The second phase of the Indian migration could be that of traders, who travelled throughout the world for trade and business purposes. The Indian silk traders from Bengal and the traders dealing the spices from Southern India had exported not only to neighbouring countries but also way up to Italy and France. The third phase of Indian migration was during the British period. As slavery was abolished by the British parliament in 1830 the white colonial masters traced some alternative labour force to replace the black slave contingent working in the sugar

\textsuperscript{16} According to Al Masudi, most of the trade was carried by the Muslim who had taken the Island and ensnared the "Zaiji" between 747 and 754 A.D. One of the most famous Muslim trading post was "Kanabalu" which is Zanzibar.
plantations, Indians were migrated to various parts of the British colonies to create the need of the British Empire. During the colonial era large number of Indians migrated as indentured labours to far off countries like Mauritius, South Africa, Trinidad, Guyana, Fiji etc. to work on sugar plantations. In the fourth, the last phrase of Indian migration started after India became independent. It was of professional doctors, engineers, charted accountants and businessmen. This is also known as the 'brain-drain' wave because most of the migrants have been professionals.\(^{17}\) And presently in the era of globalisation, Indians are migrating to various parts of the world for multiple purposes. In order to tap this vast potential of the Indian Diaspora for promoting of national interest, it is imperative to develop a clearly defined policy.

The history of Indian South Africans can be studied by essentially two different cutting streams of settler development; they are the indentured (or labourer) class and the free passenger (or merchant) class.\(^{18}\) With the abolition of slavery in 1833 throughout the British Empire, there arose an urgent need for labour force in various plantations of the empire. To fill the employment gap, the British government suggested British India where there were millions of unemployed and impoverished peasants eager for employment, to send out its manpower.\(^{19}\)


\(^{19}\) Ibid., p.62.
Indian traders followed indentured immigration. The traders who began to arrive in 1860, were called “passenger”. The Indians migrated to Natal under the ordinary immigration laws, paying their own passengers and enjoying equal citizenship rights with the Europeans. The “free passenger” Indians were also communities of the Bombay presidency. These passenger Indians were mainly merchant traders, who supplied condiments, cloth and commodities not only to Indians but also to local Africans and Europeans. Whereas the South Indians recruits mainly consisted of persons of lower-socio-economic status i.e. the landless peasants, low menial workers etc, the North Indians recruits were peasants and skilled artisans. The women constituted around one-third of the total Indian indentured labour in South Africa, and were useful particularly on the sugar estates and tea estates where their labour was used intensively. Indian indentured immigration system continued until 1911, by which time total of 1,52,184 labourers had been imported in to Natal. Over two-third of the total indentured labourers were recruited in the Madras presidency and the rest in the Bengal presidency and

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20 Regarding the origin of the word Arab, in the South African context that the Muslim sought to establish a distinction by calling themselves as Arabs.


22 Ibid. p.9.


24 P.C.Jain, n.21, p.5.
the United provinces. The majority of the indentured labourers were found in the age group of 20 to 25, and 70% of them were male and unmarried.

For the commercial production of sugar and cotton industry, supply of labour was required. At that time the Indian indentured labourers were being exported to the various British colonies. Therefore, the first shipment of Indian indentured labour reached Durban on November 17, 1860. The total number of Indian immigration was 6448 in 1874. The aspects of the life of the Indian people of early period in Durban largely were compounded of human indignity, a depressed and largely unwanted. The living conditions of the Indians were terrible. Many of them lived in barrages and under subhuman slum conditions such as partitioned off stables with no lights and no privacy. Thus, the early settlers remained poor and neglected community whose socio-economic needs were rarely met in the early 1930's. The Indians settled in Natal over a long period of time. This is because, first, the voluntary repatriation had failed; few Indians took advantage of the free passage they were offered to India and no evidence was forthcoming of any significant trend in that direction. Secondly, Indians were became legal citizens and documents issued since 1910 (when the Union was formed). Passports, census returns, identity cards and other official documents testified to this. The legal citizenship status of Indians was

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25 ibid. p.5.
27 P.C.Jain ,n.21., p.3.
29 Ibid., p.196.
not in doubt and no government indicated that it could be prepared to take steps to deprive Indians of their status as South African citizens. Thirdly, the old traditional mindset that Indians were primarily loyal to India became less convincing as Indians steadfastly maintained that South Africa was the only home they knew. Fourthly, the South African government was faced with an annual assault by the government of Indian and Pakistan in the United Nations on the questions of racial relations.

Indian labourers contributed considerably to the growth and prosperity of the sugar industry in Natal. The export value of sugar from Natal increased from 2009 in 1857 to 10,000 in 1864.\(^{30}\) During this period Natal's revenue itself increased four folds and the per capita revenue for the white population rose significantly. Moreover, the presence of Indians benefited the exchequer by keeping down the price of African labour.\(^{31}\) The diligence, industry and skill of the Indian immigrants rapidly transformed the economy of Natal. It is axiomatic that the Indian community, with such low percentage has shown remarkable achievements in the political field as well. The greatest contribution was the passive resistance under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, against the racist policies of the South African government. This movement inspired subsequently, the moment led by the African National Congress (ANC) against the apartheid regime in South Africa. The Indian community threw up leaders of such calibre as Monty Naicker, Yousuf Dadoo etc, who carried on the high


\(^{31}\) ibid., p.65.
political traditions set by Mahatma Gandhi. Many members of the Indian community such as Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, Mac Maharaj, Yousuf Pahad etc. were deeply involved in the armed struggle launched by the ANC against the apartheid government.\textsuperscript{32}

At present, there are 1.2 million people of Indian origin in South Africa which may seem relatively small, compared to the total population of 45 million. The table 1 shows that in South Africa there are 1,007,300 people of Indian origin that constitute 2.6\% of the country's population of 39,81,000. Out of total population of Indian origin, 78\% are settled in a Natal, 17 \% in Transval, 5 \% in the Cape and 0.1\% in the Orange Free State.\textsuperscript{33}

The Indian settlers are concentrated in major industrial centres of the South Africa especially the Durban-Binetown and Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vall regions. Therefore, they are the most urbanized community of South Africa's four racially-defined population groups, 96\% are of Indians, as against 91\% of whites, 83\% of the coloureds and 47\% of Africans.\textsuperscript{34} The economic profile of the Indian Diasporas is heartening. While around 40,000 people could be termed really rich, the rest are also the earning members of the society. There is not much poverty among the Indian community.\textsuperscript{35} Around 80\% of the Indian

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community live in Kwa Zulu, Natal and Durban. These regions in South Africa are also highly industrialized and prosperous. This could be attributed due to the presence of the Indian community.

The indentured labours started arriving in South Africa from November 1860 onwards and this flow of immigration of India labour stopped in 1911, when the Government of India prohibited immigrating of Indian labour to Natal. But the most important milestone in Indo-South Africa relations was the arrival of Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi in South Africa in 1893. Gandhi launched his Satyagraha campaign against racial discrimination in South Africa and laid the foundations for organised protest against the white minority government by forming the Natal Indian Congress in 1894. The Natal Indian Congress and The Transvaal Indians Congress were the precursors to the founding of the African National Congress in 1912. India’s relations with South Africa did not begin in 1893 when Gandhiji went to Natal or even in 1860 when the first shipload of Indian indentured labours landed in Durban. They have a long history. Dr. Cyril Hromnik, a South Africa historian claims in his book, Indo-Africa, published in 1981, that Indians had settled in Southern Africa more than two thousand years ago to exploit gold and other minerals. According to him, the term “Bantu” comes from the Sanskrit word “bandhu”

38 Lakhan L. Mehrotra, “India’s Response”, in A. B. Sawant, (ed.), n..2, p. 27.
39 Ibid.,p.27.
(relatives) which the Indians used for their African helpers or servants.\textsuperscript{40} According to the records of the National Archives, it was in May 1806 that a reputed firm M/s Robert Blony of Calcutta was given permission to export grain, provision stores etc. to the 'Cape of Good Hope'. And with the emigration of Indians to Natal in 1860 the Indo-South Africa trade gradually picked up reaching its zenith during 1944-45 (see table-1).

Prior to South Africa becoming Republic; the attitude of South African government had indifferent attitudes towards the Indian community. The Indians were considered as an alien and inassimilable group. According to most of the white politicians, the Indians did not take any responsibility in the formation of the South African nation. The Indians were discriminated in all forms of socio-economic and political fields. But as soon as South Africa became a Republic, the government made a major policy and declared that Indians were to be, henceforth, regarded as an integral part of the South African nation.\textsuperscript{41} This is because the government recognized the tremendous contribution of the Indian settlers to the overall development of the South African society. Hence, there is a remarkable switch in the policy of South Africa in the recent past.

There is sufficient indication that Indian settlers are engaged in the mainstream economic activities of South African economy. The Table No. V indicates that the two-thirds of Indian settlers are engaged in manufacturing

\textsuperscript{40} E.S. Reddy, "India and South Africa", \textit{Mainstream}, (Delhi, January 11-17, 1997), p. 20.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid. pp. 260-261.
(27%), commerce (25%) and services (14%). With only 2.5% of Indian settlers, this seems to be a remarkable achievement. They are disproportionate to other population/race represented in commerce and manufacturing. However, they do not have predominant share in other economic activities such as mining, agriculture and construction. In manufacturing production workers of Indian origin are engaged in the clothing, footwear, textile, furniture and food sectors.\[^{42}\]

Since the end of apartheid in the early 1990s, the Indian community in South Africa has undergone a significant transformation, particularly in socio-cultural fields. Indians in South Africa are today moved integratedly into the wider society than ever in the past. Due to the occupational mobility in the post-apartheid period, the Indians have become a highly urbanized and economically advanced group and contributing significantly to the economic growth and prosperity of the country. The 1991 census data witnesses that 16% of economically active Indian population were engaged in professional, technical, management and executive occupation, whereas the Africans and coloured were just 6.4% and 6% respectively. It is also known from the Table IV that more than 50% of economically active population in South Africa are Indians. The present situation is due to the occupational mobility of the Indian community. They have become a highly urbanized group. The proportion of Indians living in urban areas has increased from 69.5% in 1936 to 83.2% in 1960 and 86.2% in 1970. From Table IV it is known that their dependence on

agricultural occupations (in terms of the percentage of Indian workers involved) sharply declined from 38% in 1936 to 12% in 1960 and less than 4% in 1980. At the same time the industrial job became increasingly more important; about 41% of the Indian work force were engaged in manufacturing in 1970 as against 19% in 1936. Although the proportion of Indians engaged in commercial activities did not change appreciably during in 1936-60 period, it did change significantly between 1960 and 1970 from 18% to 245. These data suggest that Indians in South Africa continue to constitute a major segment of economically advanced class since the 1960s. Therefore, all the above said frays figures reveal that, on the whole the Indians in South Africa constitute the second most prosperous community after the white, and they have significantly contributed to the South African economies.

Presently, the Indian community is economically quite active in South Africa. The Indians are engaged in various sectors of economy namely farming, trade, manufacturing (small and medium level), transport, government services and professionals like doctors, lawyers, accountants, teachers etc. The present generation of Indians in South Africa were born there and know no other homelands and very much integrated to the mainstream of the South African society. But the South African Indians during the apartheid have no access to the power structure, except through the department of Indian affairs, and know only too well that they cannot affect policy decisions taken at the top. In the post-apartheid era there has been a definite significant changes occurred not only in the power structure but also in all walks of life for the Indians and black people. While they began their life in the colony on the lowest rank of the social
and occupational hierarchy, they are today the most economically advanced South Africans.

The Indian settlers in South Africa are not only promoting bilateral economic relation, but also responsible for strengthening cultural ties between the two countries. Their cultural contact with India has attributed to the economic co-operations in an indirect way. This community accounts for a large segment of tourist traffic from South Africa to India. This tourist exchange has also contributed to keep the cultural and tourist links alive between the two countries and thereby strengthening bilateral economic co-operation during the period of analysis.

2.2.B. Role of Gandhiji in South Africa

Relation between India and South Africa is also shaped by the experience of racial discrimination by Mahatma Gandhi and his historic role during twenty-one years of stay in South Africa (1893-1914). Gandhiji went to South Africa as a lawyer for his client Abdulla Sheth in May 1893.\(^43\) Gandhi had the first hand experience of the tyranny and inequality in South Africa. He evolved and made maiden use of many of his tactics of non-cooperation, civil disobedience, Satyagraha and peaceful protests in South Africa, long before he used it in the Indian freedom struggle in 1920. The racial discrimination of Indians in South Africa received constant condemnation from Indian leaders and the cause of Indians in South Africa always remained high in Indian foreign


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Gandhi's Satyagraha was directed against anti-Indian legislations like Asiatic Registration Act and Immigration Restriction Act. On Gandhi's call, Indians in South Africa publicly pledged themselves in as early as 11 September 1906 to resist the Draft Asiatic Ordinance which he called "the black Act". Gandhi's technique of non-violent resistance thus emerged as a corporate action. In the beginning Gandhi called this concept as "Passive Resistance". Later the title was changed to "Satyagraha". The most intense phase of the Satyagraha in South Africa began in 1913, when over 5,000 India coalminers and railway workers struck work and joined the Great March, a peaceful protest march from Natal to the Transvaal under the leadership of Gandhi, H.S.L Polak and Herman Kallenboch. Earlier to this in 1912, the Indian Congress leader G.K. Gokhle visited South Africa and witnessed the pitiable conditions of Indians there. He met several South African government officials and although failed to get the tax abolished, according to Mahatma Gandhi, it was largely due to him the issue was made "a plank in our platform".

Gandhi's struggle in South Africa was one of the most remarkable manifestations in the history of the spirit of passive resistance. Nelson Mandela, during his visit to India in October 1990, recalled that it was Gandhi who pioneered the struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa, "Mahatma Gandhi showed us the way". The historic and peaceful transition

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44 Ajay Dubey "India-Africa Relations and Indian Settlers in Africa", Indian Africanist, (Delhi, April-June, 1998) p.17.
45 E. S. Reddy n.41
46 P.C. Jain,n.21,p..20.
from the brutal system of apartheid to multi-racial democracy in South Africa in
the mid-1990s signifies the continuing influence and relevance of Gandhi to
Africa, as to the rest of the world.47

2.2. C. Issue of Apartheid and Indian Stand

Traditionally, relations between India and South Africa centred around
the key role India played in the anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa. India
supported that struggles in South Africa to end the racial discrimination even
before its independence. India has been in the forefront of the anti-apartheid
movement ever since Mahatma Gandhi started experimenting Satyagraha in
South Africa. From the very beginning India had been opposed the racial
policies pursued by the South African 'whites' in that country. India protest
against this policy was even older than the India's independence and the birth
of the United Nations. Before independence, the Indian National Congress
which was the representative body of the political wills and aspirations of Indian
people, laid down the basic principles of India's foreign policy, and adopted
several resolutions against the policy of racial discrimination and supported all
forces struggling against it.48 In this way India tried to relate its struggle for
independence to similar struggles of other Afro-Asian countries in the broader
approaches of anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-racism.

No.182, (Delhi,1997), p.6.

48 M. M. Khan, Fifty Years of India’s Foreign Policy Towards Southern Africa, (Delhi: Deviva
Indian nationalists during India’s own freedom struggle gave special place to struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa. This was the result of Mahatma Gandhi and his fights in the late 19th and early 20th century, against the discriminatory treatments meted out to the Indians in South Africa. The Madras session of the Indian National Congress in 1927 deserved special mention, which condemned the policies of racial discrimination, colonialism and imperialism.49 This policy of the Congress continued throughout the freedom struggle and her support to the people in South Africa against racial discrimination became more and more firm. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was very passionate on the issue of South Africa, denounced the humiliation of Africa and declared that Asia had special responsibility to the people of Africa and must help them to attain their rightful place in human family.50

With the above background of struggle against racial discrimination, India formulated a concrete policy against the racial discrimination after its independence. For giving effect to its policy against racial discrimination the UN was considered as one of the major instruments. Secondly, India kept on raising the issue of South African racial discrimination and apartheid laws at the UN. But the post-independence policy marked the difference in Indian approach to the problem, as Indian concerns did not remain limited to the people of Indian origin only. The earlier political activities starting from Gandhiji

49 The India National Congress, Congress Bulletin, issued by the office of the All India Congress Committee, Allahabad, 1927, p.37.
50 Nehru’s address to the Asian Relations Conference on 23rd March 1947, in Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches, (New Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India, September, 1946- April 1961), pp.1-3.
to the Interim government of India headed by Nehru took up the cause of the Indian community only in South Africa. But in post-independence period i.e., after 1947, India soon realised that the struggle against racial discrimination should not remain limited to the issue of the people of Indian origin alone. In a major decision in 1954, India withdrew its Mission from South Africa for not responding to the UN resolutions, thus breaking all diplomatic contacts. At the same time India totally stopped its trade with South Africa, which had already been reduced considerably since its sanctions in 1946. 52

Table I shows that India enjoyed a trade surplus of four crores and eighty lakhs (48 Million) of Rupees with South Africa in 1945-46 which declined to Rs. two crores and twenty lakhs or 22 Million Rupees) in the following year. The severing of trade since 1946 and finally its complete stoppage in 1954 was not a simple contribution of India to the struggle against apartheid. However, India became the first country in the world to totally boycott South Africa since 1954. This boycott continued till 1992 and it was lifted only when apartheid was officially abolished.

The foreign policy thinking in the Third World countries after the World War II had changed considerably. With the success of liberation movement and many colonial countries got independence, there was a concern among the newly independent countries to cooperate among themselves. India's role is


extremely important in this context. In the broader context of Indo-African relations, some focus has been given on the major thrust areas of India's foreign policy, while analysing her African policy during the post independence period. The anti-colonial, anti-racial stances, South-South co-operation, ideology of Non-alignment and self-reliance through mutual co-operation and enumeration of war and imperialism etc. are the basic thrust areas of India's foreign policy during those periods. The foreign policy of a country is determined by the interaction of a large number of factors which affect the formulation of policy in different ways in different circumstances. Such factors which were taken into consideration by the founding fathers of Indian foreign policy are (a) geographical (b) historical and cultural backgrounds (c) ideological (d) development requirement etc. Since the analysis of all above determinants of Indian foreign policy is not in the purview of this chapter, only India's Africa policy in broader context has been analysed.

Since its independence India followed her own independent foreign policy in the area of international relations. During those periods, the Post-Colonial relation among the developing countries was entirely a major concern among the Indian leaders and policy formulators. Therefore they were searching for a more meaningful and mutually beneficial pattern of relations with post-colonial countries. In this regard, the India's relations with South Africa in the broader contexts of Indo-East and Southern African relation,
would, therefore, call for a brief probing into (a) Basic parameters of India's foreign policy and (b) Determinates of India's Africa policy.

At the Asian-African Nations Conference, during the preparatory days of Non-Aligned Movement, though Africa from the regions South of Sahara, was not much represented, Jawaharlal Nehru made a pointed reference "to the infinite tragedy of Africa", greater than anything Asia had to bear. He declared, "It is upto Asia to help Africa for we are a sister continent". The Indian approach to the apartheid problem was to find a peaceful solution through non-violent method. The Indian representatives at UN reiterated in 1959 that India would continue to seek a peaceful solution of the problem and appealed to all member states to help towards peaceful solution. In certain international circles there had been a feeling that India had remained interested in fighting against apartheid due to the presence of large number of people of Indian origin in South Africa who were also the victims of racial discrimination and segregation, and that India's concern for the Africans (blackmen) in that country had been only a tactical move. However, such argument is not true. In fact it is a great mistake in understanding not only India's leadership, but its fight for the cause of humanity. India's opposition to apartheid was in 'principle' and pragmatist, and not tactical. The opposition to racialism and colonialism later on became essential for this newly independent country in order to survive and maintain its own freedom and security.

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54 M.M. Khan, n.51, p.72.
55 Ibid, p.74.
2.3. Indo-South African Economic Cooperation After India's Independence

The history of economic relations between India and South Africa owes its antecedents to the ancient times. But it was geared up particularly before that Second World War. Before the Second World War as shown in table I, India's exports were worth Rs. 15 million and more than half of it was accounted for by jute manufactures. In the reverse direction, goods worth Rs. 3.5 million were imported mainly bark of tanning leather. In 1945-46 South Africa made up nearly 3% of India's total exports and 1% of India's total imports and absorbed about 20% of India's exports destined to the Africa as a whole. In 1945-46, cotton textiles emerged on the top making up 28.5% of India's exports to South Africa closely followed by jute manufactures (25.7%). Other important exports were oil seeds (10%), and woollen manufactures (2.6%). Among India's imports from South Africa, metals and ores group made up 31% of total imports followed by dyeing and tanning substances (20%) and diamonds (18%). The balance was made up by liquors (9.2%), arms and ammunitions (4.9%), chemicals (4.7%), provisions (3.5%) and vehicles (1.1%).

Both the countries felt the impact of trade ban. In South Africa, for instance, the trade ban resulted in the acute shortage of jute bags. In India also the loss of trade with South Africa was acutely felt. The business circles in India observed that "it was no pleasure for this country to lose the jute trade or for that matter the trade in any commodity with South Africa and it would rather see the present economic conditions improve.

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57 Ibid., p. 343.
sanctions against the British Dominion ended as a result of better understanding between the two countries". That the boycott had an immediate effect on the trade between the two countries will be seen from Table-I which shows the magnitude of India's trade with South Africa in 1944-45. According to Indian trade statistics, trade between the two countries dwindled further in the following year and was practically negligible after 1948-49.

To analyse from South African trade statistics, imports from India continued to arrive for several years. The boycott seemed to have made hardly any difference to the supplies from India till 1956. India's trade boycott of South Africa appears to have been thus rendered ineffective, initially by re-export of products of Indian origin from the countries like Australia, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, and Hong Kong and later by the breaking of the boycott by Pakistan. It is probable that South Africa had to pay higher prices initially for the imports from India secured through third parties, and suffered in the process some deterioration in its terms of trade, but the loss on this account could not have been very considerable. After Pakistan's entry into direct trade with South Africa, even this adverse repercussion is likely to have been corrected. The case for economic sanctions is obviously a political one and the factors that determine their success are also in the ultimate analysis of a political character.

58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., pp.4-5.
60 Ibid., p-9.
2.3 A. Indian Ban on Economic Relations With South Africa

When South Africa was becoming a Republic in May 1961 under the white rule, India announced that it would not recognise the South African a Republic unless it abandoned the policy of apartheid.61 By the year 1970, it became a general demand from the side of India to expel South Africa from the UN. This fully coincided with the African aspirations who by this time had been in large numbers in the General Assembly. As a result, the Assembly in the year 1970 declared the racist regime of South Africa illegitimate and ceased its right to represent the people of South Africa. Thus South Africa was expelled from the UN.62 India refused to play Davis Cup against final South Africa in 1973 in response to the UN General Assembly resolution barring South Africa from the world of sports. India had already imposed total economic and political embargo against South Africa since 1954.63

In the Nehru Period, it was found that India’s relations with South Africa was the product of Indian leaders’ thinking on African issues since the days of its freedom struggle, but also several policy initiatives and issues of apartheid. For instance, India was deeply involved in the question of apartheid and Indian settlers in South Africa. It should not be misunderstood that banning the trade and economic and diplomatic relations with South Africa as a reaction to the undemocratic apartheid system, India’s relation with South Africa had never

62 M.M. Khan, n.51, p.81.
63 Ibid, p.85.
stopped rather it probes the greater involvement and commitment for South Africa's struggle for establishing democratic set up and hence indirectly India had maintained greater contact with South Africa than with any other Sub-Saharan country.

India played an important role in exposing apartheid in the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. The value of the role of India became self-revealing in the sense that the Special Committee against Apartheid held a special meeting in October 1976 at New York to pay tribute to India for the work done by it against racialism. On that occasion, the spokesmen of various countries praised India for the role it had played in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Until 1960 India's primary role in relation to South Africa was limited to the United Nations and since the world body was then dominated by the Western powers, India's policy failed to have much impact on South Africa. Its taking the issue to the Commonwealth and linking it with the Non-Aligned Movement marked a new stage in India's policy towards racial discrimination.

The international political economy in the early 1960s and 1970s changed the situation dramatically. The commitment of developing countries to the principle of "collective self-reliance" is to achieve a viable solution to their 'dependency' and 'under development' problem. It is essentially a 'trade policy' that becomes a major instrument of structural transformation aimed at

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64 Ibid, p.85
65 For detail see Frances Stewart, Recent theories of international trade: Some implications for the South (unpublished mimeograph).
redrawing the lines of international division of labour on a more equitable basis. It is a question of considering intra-South trade as a catalytic agent to redesign the contours of global development in the spirit of New International Economic Order (NIEO), altogether distinct from the present North-South economic divide.\textsuperscript{66}

Since economic planning has now been largely recognised by developing countries as a major instrument of policy to generate and allocate resources in keeping with their respective development needs, it is the time that planning exercise of developing countries is co-ordinated on regional and/ or inter-regional basis, depending upon the exigencies of a given situation. What is called for instead is channelling the disturbance, resulting from the slowdown in the North, into a new pattern of development that stimulates intra-South trade flows and linkages. This would, in turn, call for collaborative arrangements among the countries of the South in the matters such as of building up larger markets on a collective basis through devices such as intra-South aid flows and development funds (like Saudi Fund, Arab Development Fund), preferential trade agreements and relevant policies aimed at collective import substitution and export promotion measures. Besides promoting product heterogeneity among themselves, by encouraging intra-South joint ventures, consultancy services and prospecting.\textsuperscript{67} But it is equally urgent to direct the state policy to designing a functional model of South-South co-operation and


\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., p.44.
demonstrates its potentialities as a working proposition. In previous chapter we have, therefore, looked for an economically viable conceptual frame of reference for India-Africa economic relations the framework with certain built-in complementarities, which were conducive to mutually beneficially functional model based on the principle of collective self-reliance. This path of development not only fits into the South's strategy to work for the establishment of a NIEO, but is also tailor-made to the objectives of the NAM to build-up an international alliance system which helped in diffusing international tension between the two dominant power blocs and simultaneously enabled the countries of the third world to safeguard their hard-won independence.68

In 1970 the General Assembly (UN) adopted the resolution on the right of people of South Africa to end colonialism by "all means at their disposal" including armed struggle. This resolution was backed by India and it was a clear departure from its earlier insistence on peaceful decolonisation. India was first to contribute funds to provide assistance to political prisoners in South Africa and their families. It gave the first major 'International honour' to Nelson Mandela, the 'Nehru Award for International Understanding' in 1979. India supported the Organisation of African Unit (OAU) in its initiatives in dismantling apartheid in South Africa. It provided financial and other assistance to ANC in 1967 to maintain its Asia mission in New Delhi. It gave generous assistance in cash and kind, including military assistance to the liberation movement. India has contributed handsomely to the liberation committee of the OAU, the U.N.

68 Ibid., pp.50-51.
Education and Training Programme for South Africa, the United Nation Trust Fund for South Africa and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. It provided hundreds of scholarships and places in educational institutions to South Africans. India also supported the South African liberation movement through NAM. “Africa Fund” was established in 1986 to help the frontline states and the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia on the initiative of the then Prime Minister of India Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. On 5th October 1976, the United Nations Committee against Apartheid was specially convened in New York to pay a tribute to India for its crusade against apartheid. Delegates from all over the world showered praise on India for its principled stand against apartheid during the last thirty years.69

As a combined result of all the struggles and pressures, the South African racist regime decided at last, to stop the attitude of repression and confrontation, and conceded to the demands of nationalists. It freed the most popular ‘black’ leader of South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela in 1990, who had been imprisoned for more than 27 years. After this the then South African President, Mr. F.W. de Klerk agreed to have majority rule in South Africa, abolished all major apartheid laws by 1992 and started talks at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). India honoured Nelson Mandela by, Bharat Ratna, the highest civilian award of the nation, for his struggle against apartheid. Though, till September 1993 the government and nationalists were not able to reach an agreement and the country was witnessing escalating

violence day by day but a major development took place in October 1993 when various political parties, after protracted negotiations, drafted a new Constitution. The new Constitution (1993), for the first time in the country's history, promised equality under law to every section of South Africa. A new chapter in the history of South Africa started after the general election in April 1994 when a multi-party government (Government of National Unity) headed by Nelson Mandela as the President of the country was elected to govern democratic South Africa. This also started a new era in India-South Africa relations, as India reopened its Embassy in South Africa on 6th May 1994 after 40 years and started new efforts to establish political, economic, social and cultural relations with that country.70

India during post-independent period, used various international forums to raise the apartheid issue, such are the NAM, the Commonwealth, the UN etc and their role in the post-apartheid period for the promotion of economic relationship between India South Africa, which has been extensively discussed in the chapter 5. The idea of Afro-Asian solidarity itself has a sign of the emerging new relations between India and Africa. Nehru, the architect of India's foreign policy, had a personal commitment to Africa-Asian resurgence.71 In post-Nehru period till 1993, India has made tremendous efforts at various international forums such as UN, NAM, IOR-ARC, and Commonwealth etc. to

70 M. M. Khan, n.51, pp.95-96.
keep up the issue of apartheid. The NAM and South-South cooperation are conceived to provide them an alternative operational channel towards the establishment of closer relationship between the two countries through the process of “collective self-reliance” strategy. A landmark event in cooperation between the Indian National Congress (INC) and the ANC was the signing of historic Xama-Dadoo-Naicker Pact of 1947 which symbolised the non-racial dimensions of the struggle against apartheid which coincided with India’s own independence.

The economic relation between India and South Africa during the pre-sanctioned period is so vast that it covers the huge period starting from the ancient times till 1948. In this context, the Indo-South Africa economic relations could be historically analysed in terms of Indo-Africa commercial relations, since India had a direct business linkages with the eastern African countries. In this changed environment of post-apartheid period, India and South Africa have forged for stronger economic ties by promoting South-South cooperation in the spirit of collective self-reliance. In the post-apartheid era, India’s main concern for helping South Africa became a vibrant and powerful economy in the African region and to seek the helps of South Africa for the promotion of her own interests in politico-diplomatic, cultural and economic arenas. However, the discussion on the political diplomatic relations is not in the purview of this

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72 For details of Indian role in South Africa’s struggle for ending apartheid during the post Nehru era, see A. B. Swant (ed.), *India and South Africa: A Fresh Start*, (Delhi: Starling Publication, 1994).

73 Ibid. p..28.
chapter, the focus is on the analysis of economic relations in the post-apartheid era.

It is evident from the table-I that India had very favourable trade relations with South Africa during the period of 1938-1947. But subsequently with the imposition of the economic sanctions, the trade has been drastically declined to almost zero. During those days South Africa was an important trading partner of India. In 1945-46, for instance, South Africa alone constituted nearly 3 percent of India’s total exports and 1 percent of India’s import. And South Africa absorbed about 20 percent of India’s export destined to the continent of Africa as a whole.\textsuperscript{74} Therefore, in this vastly changed context of post-apartheid period, both the developing countries i.e. India and South Africa reached for a conceptual framework for meaningful economic co-operations.

2.4. Summary

From the above analyses it can be inferred that historically India and Africa had a close linkages. The Indian settlers had tremendous contribution for the development of African Continent in general and South Africa in particular through trade and commerce. The role played by Mahamta Gandhi was extremely valuable for the South African black community. In the post-independent period India, played a constructive role for bringing Afro-Asian solidarity for better cooperation both at bilateral and multilateral level. Since

\textsuperscript{74} Daleep Singh, n.46, p.342.
early 1990s, the international political economy has changed considerably with the adoption of SAP as part of globalisation by most of the country of the world. Globalisation provides greater opportunity for countries to become much closer in furthering their relation. India and South Africa is forgoing new partnership in many areas.

It is, thus, observed that the Indo-South African relations had passed through several phases of integration and disassociation or isolation. During the colonial period the issues of colonialism, apartheid and Afro-Asian solidarity, etc. have brought the two subcontinents together. Finally at this present phase of post-apartheid period, both countries have entered into a phase of total integration through several initiatives, policy options and issues of commonalities. This phase of integration in Indo-South Africa economic relations also reached climax while signing of the historic strategic partnership agreements between India and South Africa since 1994. Therefore, the series of efforts at both bilateral and multilateral levels have facilitated both the countries to forge for greater co-operation in several fields such as trade, investment, commerce, tourism etc, which are widely discussed in the subsequent chapters.
Table No. I
Indo-South African Trade Relations (1938-50)
(Rs. in Million)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>15.27</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>11.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>58.84</td>
<td>12.40</td>
<td>46.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>105.12</td>
<td>22.44</td>
<td>82.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-44</td>
<td>100.01</td>
<td>25.90</td>
<td>74.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>118.81</td>
<td>29.65</td>
<td>89.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-46</td>
<td>74.75</td>
<td>26.78</td>
<td>47.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td>36.22</td>
<td>13.43</td>
<td>22.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>-0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-49</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Govt. of India, Annual Statement of Sea-Borne trade of British India, No. 74 (1939-40), No. (1943-44), No. 78 (1945-46), No.83 (1949-50).
Table No. II

Occupational Distribution of Indians in South Africa as per 1936 Census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Fishing</td>
<td>18,415</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>14,002</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Communication</td>
<td>2,608</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>16,740</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Service</td>
<td>8,290</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6,375</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68,331</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry Division</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL (100%)</strong></td>
<td>47,000</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>134,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Massdorp and Pillay (1975:241)*.
### Table No. IV


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, Sales</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production and related</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan, apprenticeship</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Technical</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, executive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Communication</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming and related</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Figures have been rounded off where appropriate and may not tally.

**Source:** *South African Statistics, 1992.*
Table No. V

Employment of the Economically Active Population by Industry,
1991(Percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed/No class</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures have been rounded off where appropriate and may not tally.