CHAPTER - 5

INDIA’S POLICY TOWARDS HER DIASPORA AND DIASPORIC ISSUES IN THE REGION

This chapter will focus on India’s policy towards its diaspora. It will highlight continuities and change in India’s policy. The aim of this chapter will be to test how far the recent initiatives taken by the Indian government to woo its diaspora fulfils the aspirations and demands of Indian community in Madagascar and Seychelles.

The overseas Indians are increasingly being recognized as a valuable asset for India as a bridge of understanding between India and the country of their domicile.¹

The above statement embodied in the annual report of the Ministry of External Affairs carries a message of compliment to the Overseas Indians that they are the vital source for the promotion of India’s bilateral understanding with countries of their domicile. Interestingly, such recognition of the importance of the Indians overseas in the context of India’s foreign policy and relations tends to pose two pertinent questions. How far the Government of India tried to secure and protect the interests of the Indians overseas? And to what extent was this community’s role perceived in the overall context of advancing India’s national interests?

The present chapter is addressed to answer these questions by undertaking a systematic perusal of the attitude of both the Indian National Congress (INC) during the colonial period and the Government of India in the post-Independence era, towards the problem of Indians overseas.

5.1 Indian National Congress and the Overseas Indians

Even since its inception, the INC made sincere and consistent attempts to alleviate the sufferings of the Indians domiciled abroad. In session after session since 1890, it passed resolutions on the entire gamut of their problems.

5.1.1 Demands of the Congress

The core demand of the congress was that the rights and status of the British Indian subjects, wherever they lived, be placed on a footing of absolute equality with other subjects of Her Majesty. This was in view of “their loyalty to the Crown,” their contribution to the economic development of the colonies, and the undertakings given by various colonial governments to guarantee their equal rights. At the same time, it exhorted the Overseas Indians to treat the interests of the original inhabitants “superior to all other interests” and continue to cooperate with them for “mutual advancement and removal of disabilities”. The Congress deprecated the Indians who exploited the natives in the colonies.

On the question of repatriation of the Indians overseas, the Congress did not approve the compulsory repatriation policy of the colonial governments. It endorsed the Indian repatriation only in exceptional circumstances, i.e. whenever they were in a state of distress and destitution, and not as a definite general policy. The Congress also sought the British Indian Government not to become a party to any scheme of repatriation, either voluntary or compulsory.

The Congress strongly upheld the Indian’s right to be considered at par with the natives for citizenship on the ground that they had, by virtue of their labour on the land of their adoption, produced wealth and increased the riches of the country. Also, it maintained that the majority of them were born and bred in the country of their domicile and as such it was their permanent home. India existed only in their imagination. However, the citizenship status of the Indian settlers was not as important issue during the colonial period owing to the then citizenship pattern in the British Empire (all were British subjects).

In sum, the Congress did not seek any special treatment for the Indians overseas, but equality of rights and opportunities. Despite the existence of a strong socio-political bond between India and Indian settlers, it considered them as a part of the society in which they lived. As such, it upheld their right to enjoy all the privileges and to shoulder all the responsibilities of citizenship.

5.1.2. INC's Strategy

The INC adopted different pressure tactics to seek redressal of the grievances of the Overseas Indians. Until 1908, the Congress fervently prayed the Imperial government to adopt a tough attitude towards those self-governing colonies which ruthlessly dealt with the Indian interests by denying them their just rights as citizens of the Empire. When the Imperial administration failed to pay heed to the INC's demand, it exerted pressure on the British Indian government to fight for the rights of the Indian settlers. Following the Indian government's inaction, the Congress warned Britain that if it was unable to protect the honour and rights of the Indians settled in its Dominions and Colonies, the people of India would be compelled to “reconsider their views regarding India’s partnership in the Empire”.

As a next step, the Congress appealed directly to the statesmen and people of Britain to prevail upon the Imperial government to alleviate the misery of the Indians overseas. Thereafter, it called upon the respective colonial governments to improve their status, and suggested for negotiations between the proper Overseas Indian’s representatives and the authorities in the colonies. In the event of any misinterpretation of agreements, the Congress proposed for its reference to arbitration.

At home, the INC organized nation-wide hartals, public meetings and boycotts of British goods to mobilize support for the cause of the Indians overseas. It also undertook educative propaganda at home and abroad, highlighting their disabilities in various colonies. After the establishment of a Foreign Department in 1936, the Congress

---

developed a close link with the Indian overseas who, in moments of crises, looked upon it for advice and moral support. It, time and again, reminded the Indian settlers of the need to shed all sorts of dissensions among themselves and develop a harmonious relationship with the natives in the colonies so as to ensure success in their struggle against the colonial governments.  

At a later stage, the Congress even put pressure on the British Indian government to sever its ties with the colonies which did not repeal the anti-Indian legislation. After exhausting all other possible means to ameliorate the status of the Indians overseas, it, as an extreme step, sought the intervention of international authority. In 1927, the INC had drawn the attention of the League of Nations to the imminent danger of infringement of the Tanganyika (now Tanzania) mandate by opening highlands in that territory exclusively for the European settlement. In a resolution passed in 1946, the congress wholeheartedly supported the Indian government’s decision to raise the South African Indian question in the UN General Assembly. It recorded the satisfaction at the excellent work done by the Indian delegation to United Nations by “exposing the narrow racialism of the South African government to the full glare of world opinion.”

5.1.3 INC’s Achievements

The strenuous attempts of the INC and the Indian nationalists to ameliorate the Overseas Indian’s interests from brutal subjugation did not yield any tangible result. All that they could claim to their credit was the systematic exposition of the shameful exploitation of the Indians overseas by the colonial governments, besides arousing humanitarian sympathy for them at home and in Britain and a sense of outrage that “their oppression was authorized by the British ruling power and permitted under the British system of justice.”

As these results were not substantial, the congress finally viewed both the Overseas Indian’s Struggle for equality and India’s movement for independence together.

---

15 Ibid., p.5.
Considering the harsh and humiliating treatment of Indians overseas as a deliberate offense vis-à-vis the “Indians as a whole”,\textsuperscript{16} it defined India’s independence movement broadly to include the radical amelioration of the former’s status in the colonies along with the achievement of India’s freedom. Hence, attainment of India’s independence was considered as pre-condition for the effective protection and improvement in the status of Indians abroad and the settlement of their problems on the basis of “mutual agreement with independent countries”.\textsuperscript{17}

5.2. India and the Overseas Indians in the Post-Independence Era

The drawn of India’s independence in 1947 made the problems of the Indian overseas more complex, rather than bringing a settlement as deemed by the Congress.\textsuperscript{18} The change which India’s achievement of sovereignty brought about in the entire situation affecting them is described below:

First, the problems of Overseas Indians during the colonial period had been as ‘internal issue’ of the British Empire. Although geographically each colony constituted a separate entity, Indians, Overseas Indian settlers and natives in colonial territories were Her Majesty’s subjects, ruled, directly, by the imperial government in London. But the dismantling of the British Empire following the decolonization brought about a dramatic change in the whole situation\textsuperscript{19}. With coming into force of the constitution, and enactment of the citizenship law in India and several other newly liberated countries, the Indians overseas ceased to be ‘British subjects’. Rather, they were divided into several categories – citizens of the country of their adoption, holders of valid British passport but without local citizenship (e.g. East African Asians in the sixties and the seventies), and the people of the stateless category (e.g. Indians Tamils of Sri Lanka and the Burmese Indians).

India considered those Overseas Indians who had not sought Indian citizenship under Article 8 of the Constitution as PIO, not Indian nationals, whose allegiance was only to the country of their adoption. Every aspect of their problems (except the issue of racial discrimination), therefore, became an internal issue, and the promotion of their interests


\textsuperscript{17} Sinha, Aroon. 2003. ‘Indian Diaspora and Emerging Concerns’. \textit{Think India}. Vol. 6, No.2, pp.54-56.

\textsuperscript{18} Jayaram, N.2004. \textit{The Indian Diaspora: Dynamics of Migration}. Sage Publications:New Delhi, p.3-4.

rested with the concerned national government. Given this fact, India had to view the Overseas Indian’s problems altogether in a different context.

Secondly, the INC was a body of nationalists who fought for India’s independence. It enunciated certain principles of foreign policy but did not conduct foreign relations with other countries. With regard to the Indians overseas, it not only formulated certain principles but also maintained ‘relations’ with them. As such, the Overseas Indians were one of the most important “foreign interest of the Congress”.

It viewed the promotion of their interests as an integral part of India’s liberation from colonial rule.

In contrast, in the sphere of conducting its foreign relations with sovereign states, India carried the most intangible burden of promoting its own ‘national interests’ for the eventual “good of the country” both in the short and long runs. Keeping this in view, Nehru declared that he was prepared to “switch over to any policy to safeguard the interests of the Overseas Indians if it would promote India’s national interests”.

The point is that India did not perceive the Overseas Indian’s interests within the framework of its own national interests because they, as mentioned earlier, formed a part of the sovereign country of their adoption. Importantly, the British colonial administration or the Imperial policy could no longer be a target of India’s criticism for the ill-treatment of the Indians overseas, but potential sovereign states whose interests had to be reconciled with India’s own. As such, any direct adverse reaction by India to the Overseas Indian’s problems or cultivation of relationship with them outside the periphery of its bilateral relations with the country of their adoption would infringe on the sovereignty of the latter country. This was bound to create problems in international relations, and the issue, if blown up, would affect India’s national interests.

It was against this background that India evolved its approach towards the Overseas Indians.


156
5.2.1 Principles of India’s Approach

Several policy statements made by Prime Minister Nehru in the forties and the fifties in and outside Parliament contained the basic principles to govern India’s attitude vis-à-vis the Indians overseas. At the outset, he maintained that the overseas Indians should decide whether they would continue to “remain Indian nationals or adopt the nationality of the country of their domicile”. “If they opted for the former”, he stated, “all that they could claim abroad was most favoured alien treatment”.

Nehru added: “certainly, we do not like any country to ill-treat Indian nationals or to give them a place which is lower than that of others”. “If they opted for the latter” (i.e. foreign nationality), he maintained, “they should be given all rights of citizenship. India’s connection with them will be cultural and not political”.

India however encouraged the Indian emigrants to become citizens of the country of their settlement. Nehru explained its advantage thus: “...if all your (Indians) interests are in that country (of settlement), it will be advantageous for you to function as citizens of that country and not as aliens living there.”

An important element guiding India’s approach towards the Indians overseas has been the emphasis on the development of their harmonious relations with the natives. Nehru felt the need for such relationship because the promotion of the Overseas Indian’s interests was rested with the political machinery dominated by the natives. Given this, any antagonistic attitude on the part of the Overseas Indians towards the natives or absence of any goodwill among the latter towards the former would result in the adoption of harsh measures to restrict the Indian’s rights and privileges. Nehru therefore advised the overseas Indians:

1. To completely “associate” themselves with the indigenous people of the country of their adoption and “cooperate” with, and “help”, them “while maintaining their own dignity and respect.” Disassociation with, or being unfriendly to, the

27 Bhat.CSK. Laxmi Narayan and Sadanand Sahoo. 2002.op.cit, p.3.
native people, according to Nehru, would “spoil the fair name of India”. He also asked the Overseas Indians who were unfriendly to the natives to “come back to India”.

2. To give “primary consideration to the interests of the original inhabitants” of their adopted country, and “not to develop any vested interests” which were against them.

3. Not to demand any “special rights and privileges” vis-à-vis the indigenous inhabitants.

4. To extend their undivided “loyalty” to the country of their residence, and to “work” for the establishments of multi racial democratic societies.

This policy, according to Nehru, was “right and practical, not only in the point of view of opportunism, but also in the long or the short run.” Significantly, the Nehruvian principles by and large continued to govern India’s approach towards the Indians overseas even after his death.29

Several weaknesses in the Nehruvian principles can be identified here. Contrary to the core demand of the INC, Nehru did not assert the equal rights of the Indians overseas30. It was correct on his part to suggest that the Overseas Indians should not demand special privileges and exploit the local people of their adopted country. However, by asking them to give paramount importance to the promotion of the native interests, Nehru made the Indians overseas subordinate to the natives. As such, he advocated an unequal relationship between the two groups31.

Second, Nehru viewed the entire Overseas Indian population as a homogenous ethnic group. Little was the influence of the heterogeneous character of their population in the formulation of the Nehruvian principles. More importantly, the Indians who constituted a privileged group in the East African societies formed the basis on which Nehru enunciated the principles. As such, his advice to the Indians overseas not to exploit the native people and develop vested interest in the country of their adoption was relevant only to those Overseas Indians who belonged to the mercantile class because they

occupied a dominant place in the economy. Nehru did not state as what would be India’s stand on those Indians who, comprising the poor stratum of society (as in Sri Lanka), were subjected to exploitation by the government of the country of their settlement. Was he prepared to secure them equal rights through all possible means? Or, did he consider their problems as an internal matter? Given the fact that they were not Indian nationals, how could he have intervened on their behalf? We cannot find answer in the Nehruvian principles to these questions.

Third, Nehru did not define the term ‘integration’. It may be assumed that the term, broadly, had a legal as well as a socio-cultural connotation. In the legal sense, what the Indian government meant was that the Overseas Indians should accept the local citizenry. As for the socio-cultural connotation, India’s advice only created misunderstanding among the Overseas Indians: Did integration mean surrendering the Overseas Indians tradition and customs to the culture of their adopted country? Or, did it mean only accepting the leadership of the country of their settlement?

Nehru himself held as inconsistent view on the matter of the Overseas Indian’s loyalty. At one point, he asked them to extend their undivided loyalty of their adoption. At another, he said that they had a dual loyalty – one to their country of settlement and other to their country of origin. This remark caused a good deal of controversy among the Asians in East Africa.

In sum, the Nehruvian principles lacked both clarity and precision. As such, Nehru was criticized for his failure to formulate a definite policy vis-à-vis the Indians overseas.

5.2.2 Revisiting Diaspora in the Era Liberalisation

The Narsimha Rao Government embarked on New Economic Policy that called for immediate and extensive reforms. The economy was for the first time opened up to outside investors who could acquire a majority share holding in the Indian companies.
plan to dismantle the public sector loss making units was also decided upon. Subsequently, the tariffs were slashed and the rupee was made convertible on the trade account. Thereafter, the rupee was also devalued. The Minister of State of the Finance Ministry R. Thakur stated that: "...the resulting improvement in our balance of payments will restore the confidence of NRIs in the Indian economy and encourage the inflow of foreign exchange from NRI sources".  

There were a number of concessions for the NRIs to invest in the Indian industries, set up new industrial ventures or deposit their foreign currency in the Indian banks. Some important incentives were: NRI investment in real estate development; 100 percent investment in 34 high priority industries; maximum limit of portfolio investment increased from 5 percent to 24 percent; investment in India Development Bonds; approval of investment and technical collaboration on automatic bases; establishment of a Chief Commissioner for NRIs; exemption of FERA to NRIs on various issues etc. Despite these relaxations there remained the blockades associated with the repatriation of the profits, alongside the overwhelming bureaucratic hurdles. The pre-1991 economic crisis had also seen the opposition parties also speaking up for the cause of the NRIs and portraying them as the 'saviours of their mother country'. But the Congress government in power clearly stated that they did not feel that the NRIs would simply move their money into the country out of sheer patriotism. The government also strongly felt that the investments were required in form of joint ventures instead of deposits in the banks that could leave the country without a moment's notice. The strong feeling that persisted among large sections within the government was that the money lend by the NRIs would be a debt that could lead India to default on payments later.

Therefore, the subsequent failures of the government to speed up the reforms made the rhetoric of attracting the NRIs seem empty the breakway from the Nehruvian tradition did not happen quickly enough. The government continued to drag its feet.

---

Simultaneously, the NRIs also placed their demands for a bail out plan of the Indian economy. They wanted the reforms to go all the way to protect their investments and use them efficiently. The question of dual nationality also arose\textsuperscript{40}. The NRIs felt that granting Indian citizenship would make investing in India easier, as under the present rules they could not stay in India for more than 180 days. Confusion prevailed within various circles of the government and the press as contradictory statements was made by a large number of government officials. For example, Eduardo Faleiro, the Minister of State for External Affairs declared in 1991 that the government was considering dual citizenship, whereas some others stated that it was not possible\textsuperscript{41}.

Therefore, mistrust continued between the government and the NRIs. It was felt that the government of India had shown disregard towards the expatriate, and its inability create the right economic environment was the cause of the estrangement between India and her diaspora. In the last, only on two occasions had the Indian government asked the expatriates to contribute – towards the defense efforts in the disputes with Pakistan and China\textsuperscript{42}.

5.2.3 The Bhartiya Janata party (BJP) and the New Diapora Policy

The advent of the BJP-led NDA government brought about radical shift in the policy of the government of India. They quickened the pace of the reforms and speeded up the move towards integration with the process of globalization. It recognized that the technology transfers and the augmentation of the foreign exchange reserves were part of its New Industrial Policy. This shift was clearly evident by 1999, when the Chennai Declaration of the BJP included:

"We believe that the vast community of NRIs and PIOs also constitute a part of the Great Indian Family. We should endeavor to continually strengthen their social, cultural, economic and emotional ties with their mother country. They are the rich reservoir of intellectual, managerial and entrepreneurial resources. The Government should devise


innovative schemes to facilitate the investment of these resources for India’s all-around development”.

In September 2000, the government constituted a High level committee on Indian diaspora under L.M. Singhvi to look into the matters concerning the NRIs and the People of Indian Origin. The government of India Committee on the Indian Diaspora was created to recommend a broad and flexible policy framework after reviewing the status, needs and role of persons of Indian origin (PIOs) and non-resident Indians (NRIs). The Committee was headed by L.M. Singhvi, MP (BJP) and former High Commissioner to Britain, with the rank of a cabinet minister, and submitted its report by 7 December 2001 to the external affairs minister.

5.2.3.1 Singhvi committee Report

Atal Bihari Vajpayee released the Singhvi Committee report on 8 January 2002. The report is in five parts. The Committee found that with over twenty million people of Indian origin spread across 110 countries, the Indian diaspora was as significant a player in the global system as diasporas of other countries. Indeed, the Committee found that in most of the countries in which it was present, the Indian diaspora was making a significant contribution to their socio-economic fabric. In general, people of Indian origin in most countries had better per capita incomes, were more educated, and made better professionals and businessmen than members of other nationalities. What is more, Indians also enriched local culture through their contributions to art, cuisine, spirituality, etc.

After mapping out the main characteristics of the Indian diaspora and appraising their expectations from their mother country, as also studying the policies of other countries towards their diaspora, the Singhvi Committee made a comprehensive set of recommendations covering all aspects of India’s relations with its diaspora. The thrust of the Committee’s vision was that rather than pursue a hub-and-spoke relationship with its diaspora, as attempted thus far, the Government of India must have a policy framework to forge a web relationship. The Committee thought, and rightly so, that creating a network of people of Indian origin that strengthens the diaspora would also strengthen India. What

---

44 www.indiandiaspora.nic.in

162
is more, this network would also have a positive impact on India’s relations with the host countries where the diaspora plays a significant role.

Among some of the highlights of this report is the granting of the dual citizenship to foreign nationals of Indian descent settled in certain country, within the rubric of the Citizenship Act\(^{45}\). The committee also recommended that a ‘single window’ organization should be opened for interacting with them. “it emphasizes the requirement for developing a clearly defined policy and suitably calibrated country-specific plans for enhancing connectivities”. Apart from general recommendations, the other issues that are covered include improvement of airports, regulatory requirements of the government, welfare of Indian women married to NRI/PIOs, problems of overseas Indian labour. There are sector wise recommendations too under the headings of culture, Economic Development, Tourism, Education, Health, Media etc.

Though Singhvi’s committee report voices the demands and expectations of Indian Diaspora in Madagascar and Seychelles, we do not see any special policy directed towards Indian Diaspora in these two countries. Also, Singhvi’s committee’s report is biased towards Indian diaspora in Anglophone and in the developed countries. There are only two paragraphs each on Indian diaspora in Madagascar and Seychelles which hardly do justice to the importance of Indian community in these two countries. Nevertheless, the submission of the L.M. Singhvi’s report on PIOs may be looked at as the most important embodiment of change in the outlook and approach of the Indian government. The government has undertaken initiatives like celebration of Pravasi Bhartiya Divas and the creation of separate ministry for overseas Indians in the light of the recommendations of the Report. It also started the PIO card, which provided very substantial advantages to the PIOs compared to other foreign nationals.

5.2.3.2 Pravasi Bhariya Divas

The Singhvi committee recommended that every year the Government of India must organize an event that brings together members of the diaspora from all over the world. Not surprisingly, the day chosen was 9\(^{th}\) January as it was on that day in 1915 that one of

\(^{45}\) Ibid.
the most eminent *Pravasi Bhartiys* of all time, Mahatma Gandhi, returned to India from South Africa. This formed the backdrop to the first *Pravasi Bhartiya Divas* that was conceived as a platform for forging a strong network of Indian diaspora across the globe.

Thus, 9th January marked a historical turning point in India’s relations with its diaspora when New Delhi hosted the first *Pravasi Bhartiya Divas* which brought together over 2000 Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) in Pragati Maidan from over 61 countries. This was at first and largest gathering of diaspora officially hosted by the Government of India and marked the beginning of a new journey of togetherness for people of Indian origin from across the world.

Co-organized by the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), the first *Pravasi Bhartiya Dias* was a mega-event comprising a conference, an exhibition, a food festival and cultural programmes that drew artists of Indian origin from many countries of the world including superstars from Bollywood. The three day conference included four plenary sessions, nine parallel sectoral sessions and seven parallel sessions with state governments of India.

Inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the conference opened with a memorable invocation by *Bharat Ratna* Pandit Ravi Shankar and *Bharat Ratna* Ustad Bismillah Khan. This was the first time these two giants of Indian Classical music tradition had come together to perform.

The invocation and the inaugural session were followed by presentation of *Bhartiya Samman* awards to ten eminent members of the diaspora drawn from ten different countries. Instituted specially for the occasion and to be given each year, the awards symbolized India’s recognition of the phenomenal contribution of the diaspora to the global community and its pride in its children’s accomplishments. These achievements had not come easy but had been earned through centuries of hard work and struggle since the time when thousands of Indians were forced to travel to distant lands as indentures labour to serve the colonial goals of an imperialist power. Their descendants were now not just respected in the host countries but in some cases had risen to political power and
leadership. Apart from PIOs, the contribution of NRIs, particularly those who had made a mark as professionals and businessmen, was also recognized.

This was evident from the list of awardees that included Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, Lord Dholakia of UK, freedom fighter professor Fatima Meer of South Africa, Dr. Hari N. Harilela of Hong Kong, Mr. Ujjal Dosanjh of Canada, Mr. Rajat Gupta of the USA, Mr. Sridath Ramphal of the Caribbean, H E Dato's Samy vellu of Malaysia, Dr. Manu Chandaria of Kenya, and Kanaksi Gokaldas Khimji of Oman.

At the occasion, the former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee stated, “We are in favour of dual citizenship but not dual loyalty. The loyalty with India will remain but they will also be loyal to the country where they have taken citizenship but it has been resolved now. I am hopeful that Indians settled abroad will find it suitable”. The dual citizenship will be applicable to people of Indian origins living in seven countries _ US, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, a large part of Europe and Singapore. Dr. Singhvi stated that dual citizenship recommended was within the framework of the citizenship Act and would not require any amendment to the Constitution. The issue of dual citizenship merged as the most controversial in the report.

Commenting on the idea of dual citizenship Jayati Ghosh wrote in the Frontline that: “The government’s apparent intentions on the issue of dual citizenship make it clear that certain elite Non-Resident Indians are to be treated differently from ordinary Indian citizens, both at home and Abroad”. Dual citizenship will give advantages to PIOs in investment in India like ownership of property within India. The BJP has enormous support both political and financial from the Indians living in these regions mentioned above. (mostly industrialized countries). Moreover, those who have migrated to these countries belong to the professional classes and would like to remain part of the decision making process. The inherent bias is visible as all PIOs are not eligible for the dual citizenship. For example, such privileges will not be granted to those who are the

---

47 The Hindu 9th Jan 2002. [www.hinduonnet.com](http://www.hinduonnet.com)
descendents of the indentures labour in the Caribbean or in Fiji or those who are in Africa, whose ancestors went as petty traders.

The aim of wooing the Indian diaspora in the western countries could be seen as part of that dramatic shifts in India’s policy since 1997. If one can stretch this argument that by providing the diasporic Indians these inducements they hope to inculcate and develop within the Indian diaspora a strong pro-India lobby in these countries that could help India back home. These countries could then look at India more favourably for investments as well as be more positive towards India’s Foreign Policy posturing. The Indians living there are rich and have substantial financial clout. Singhvi stressed the need for rethinking in India of its diaspora because of current changes in society and economy that had tremendous implications for the Indian diaspora. He stated that Indians operated in a web of relationships and the networked economy held tremendous possibilities for the prosperity of the Indian diaspora (like China). 49

Subsequently, during the second Pravasi Bhartiya Diwas, Bharitya Sammman Awards were conferred on ten eminent NRIs/PIOs. Here, Mr. Vajpayee welcomed the guests by saying that ‘We invite you not only to share our vision in the new millennium but also to help us shape its contours. We do not want your investment er also want your ideas. We do not want your riches we want the richness of your experience’.

The third Bhartiya Pravasi Diwas concluded with a call by the President API Abdul Kalam to the Non-Resident Indians to fund the establishment of an Overseas Indian Research Foundation (OISF) to support research in challenging areas including earthquake prediction, and involve themselves in extending urban amenities to rural areas of the country with the establishment of “PURAs (Providing Urban Amenities in Rural Areas)” Since the nation faced huge challenges in this area. Here, the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced that his government would extend dual citizenship to all overseas Indians who had migrated out of the country after 26 January 1950, and assured of the continuance of economic reforms at a greater speed to unleash India’s latent potential.

49 Ibid
Thus, in the recent past the government has taken some very imaginative and thoughtful initiatives to exhort the Indian diaspora ever since the creation of a separate Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs and such as the observance of Pravasi Bharatiya Divasa, the institution of Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards, the Overseas Indian citizens certificate and Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) cards.50

5.3 Diasporic Issues in the region and the Impact of Indian Government’s policy on the Indian Diaspora in Madagascar and Seychelles

5.3.1 Challenges faced by Indian Diaspora in Madagascar and Seychelles

From the previous chapters, we know that Indian community in Madagascar and Seychelles has different levels of economic, political and social status. Indians in Madagascar are economically a very strong community. They are controlling more than 50% of the economy51. However, their educational background is not so strong. Education is sadly absent. Most of them belong to business class and rarely join services52. Thus, the Indian community is exclusively engaged in business and trade, small or big, and is the largest trading community and exercised a discreet but considerable influence in the economic life of the island. Socio-politically however, the Indian community did not enjoy the status commensurate with its economic status53. A certain refusal to integrate with Malagasies and Malagasy society, even after years of living in the country and narrow social attitudes created a sense of distrust vis-a-vis the Indians among the local people54. In Seychelles, on the other hand, the community is quite assimilated with the local creole culture55. Most of them are highly educated, engaged in white collar jobs. Inter-race marriages are common and accepted56.

With this background, we will try to find out Challenges faced by Indian community in Madagascar and Seychelles

50 For details on Schemes see Appendix no.2 and 3
5.3.1.1 Economic prosperity

People of Indian Origin in Madagascar and Seychelles have done extremely well economically. Economically, Indian community in Madagascar is very strong. The Indian community, exclusively engaged in business and trade, small or big, is the largest trading community and exercised a discreet but considerable influence in the economic life of the island so much so, that the Indians are hated and seen as exploiters.

The unfortunate consequence of prosperity of Indians is that whenever there is political or social unrest in the country, PIOs become easy target for unruly demonstrators. Anti Indian riots took place in number of occasions, like in 1987, 1994, 2002. According to U.S. Department of State’s Country report on Human Rights Practices (2002) “During the political crisis, Karana businesses were vandalized on numerous occasions, and the authorities generally were slow to respond to these disturbances.57 Indians are mistrusted widely.

In a recent political crisis on January 26th, 2009, tens of thousands of people took to the streets of Madagascar's capital, Antananarivo, to protest against the rule of President Marc Ravalomanana by supporters of his rival Andre Rajoelina, opposition leader and mayor of the capital, Antananarivo. Unrest was sparked at a Rajoelina political rally on 24 January, after calls for a general strike and an end to Ravalomanana's growing "authoritarianism". Rajoelina had also been accusing the government of miss-spending public funds and suppressing press freedom. Demonstrations turned violent on 26 January, when anti-government protesters took to the streets, setting fire to state-owned television and radio stations in an apparent response to the government's previous closure of the mayor's private television station. According to figures released by the Malagasy Ministry of health, 82 people lost their lives and 321 were injured. Mob also looted and burnt many Indian shops in the capital. Police remained the silent spectator.

Indian community therefore is an obvious target in a poverty-stricken country.

Kidnapping is also one of the major problems that Indians are facing. The younger ones are most vulnerable. Most of the victims are freed after payment of heavy ransom, around thousands of dollars. However, there are incidents, though few in number where victims are also killed.

Similarly in Seychelles, one can find Tamilian Shop in even a remotest area. Tamils have captured entire retail trade of Seychelles. Likewise, Gujaratis in Seychelles are in the control of the construction sector. However, according to L.M. Singhvi’s report, the relative prosperity of the community is possibly responsible for the nascent anti-foreigner sentiment in the country. A natural consequence has been the growing PIOs concerns relating to their life, their property and their earnings.58

5.3.1.2 Denial of Equal Political rights

Although living for many generations, many PIOs have been denied Malagasy citizenship. They need residence permit. They are considered as foreigners and laws on the foreigners regulate their community activities, prohibiting certain professions to them and the acquisition of immovable without prior approval of the public authorities.

There are around 1000 stateless in Madagascar.59 The US Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor reported about the stateless Indians. In 2007, it reported that ‘An arcane system of citizenship laws and procedures has resulted in a pool of stateless persons in the minority Muslim community, many of whom have lived in country for generations. Citizenship is transmitted through blood; birth on Malagasy soil does not transmit citizenship. Children born to a Malagasy mother and non-Malagasy father must be declared by a certain age or risk losing eligibility for citizenship. Some members of Indian origin who failed to register for Malagasy or Indian citizenship following India’s independence in 1947 were no longer eligible for either.60

Lack of citizenship restricts PIOs to actively engage in political activities of Madagascar. Majority of them do not vote. Very few have managed to get political posts. In 2002,

58 Singhvi, L.M. 2001. www.indiandiaspora.nic.in
59 Ibid
legislative elections, two persons of Indian origin were elected as deputies to the 160 member national Assembly.

The social exclusiveness of Indians and refusal to adopt Malagasy culture has been looked with suspicion. Isolated incidents of violence and abuse occur on regular basis.

5.3.1.3 Upsurge of local nationalism

Influenced by a strong upsurge of nationalism, the most colonial governments in Madagascar undertook various measures to place political and economic interests of the natives predominantly over the immigrants. In the process, inequality and discrimination between them became legitimate and justified.

Madagascar adopted socialist policies under the Ratsiraka regime to promote the economic interests of the natives. The policy was implemented by undertaking a number of nationalization measures which affected the Indian community. The policy was specifically framed to accomplish the task of confiscating the Indian owned land without adequate compensation.

All this shows that Indians are considered as outsiders in Madagascar.

5.3.1.4 Religion

In general, it has been seen that the attitude of Indian immigrants towards their religion are favourable since immigration. One of the possible explanations may be that religion also serves social and cultural functions in an alien society. Another change that one can observe is that the indian immigrants tend to look at the religion more as ideology than as a set of strict dogmas and prescriptions. Nevertheless, it does not necessarily result in a decrease in religious observation and practice. Most Indian families in Madagascar have a place of worship at their homes. They also visit temples, churches, mosques and gurudwaras and participate in all forms of religious activity. One can support the hypothesis that religious activity among Indian emigrants has not declined as a result of immigration. On the contrary, there is a greater religious consciousness and a need to practice religious rituals individually as well as communally.\(^{61}\)

The social life of Indians in Madagascar revolves largely around Mosques and Temples. Majority of Indians in Madagascar are Muslims. They are extremely religious. Despite French Policy of ‘Assimilation’, Indian community in Madagascar has been able to maintain strong religious identity. Conversion to Christianity is not practiced and is also looked down upon. Unlike, Indians in other French colonies (for example: Reunion—where Indians have converted into Christianity, have taken French ways of life, have even changed their names), Indians in Madagascar strongly uphold their religious identity. Maintaining this identity has remained and today also is a challenge among the Indian Community.

The case of Indian community in Seychelles is very different. Up till now they were living a life complete assimilation with the local Creole culture. Before 1980, there was no Hindu Temple in Seychelles. Seychelloian society is very open and welcoming. For well over 200 years the Indian settlers became well integrated with the local population resulting in inter-marriages and some conversions also. They became well versed in the local Creole language also. In the course of this development their traditional values including language, religion and culture took a back seat in the land of their settlement.

But in the last two decades, there is strong urge among the Indian Community uphold their religious identity. In the 1980’s, however, there was renewed interest of Indians in establishing religious and cultural center. It was only in 1984 that Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam was established. The main purpose of this organization was to build a temple. Navasakti Vinayaga Temple was consecrated in May 1992. It is the only Hindu temple in Seychelles. Relative prosperity of Indian community, which may have led to anti-foreign sentiment among the local population, could be taken as a reason for this sudden urge for maintenance of religious identity. However, this religious consciousness among the Indian community in Seychelles has created a tension in a rather assimilated Seychellois society. Thus, Indian community in Seychelles too is facing problem in maintaining religious identity.

---

5.3.1.5 Ethnic Associations

Ethnicity is an eternal fountain of a sense of belongingness and an assurance of continuity. Ethnicity, in its real sense, is too abstract and too broad to define. Members of an ethnic group are recognized by commonalities of its basic characteristics ancestry and of several other ingredients such as customs, social mores, physical features, language, dress, food, music, etc. An ethnic group is composed of “those who conceive of themselves as alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others”.66 Ethnicity describes a sense of commonality transmitted over generations by the family and reinforced by the surrounding community. Ethnicity patterns our thinking, feeling, and behaviour, in both obvious and subtle ways. It plays a major role in determining what we wear, how we work, how we relax, how we celebrate holidays and rituals, and how we feel about life, death, and illness.67 It involves conscious and unconscious processes that fulfill a deep psychological need for identity and historical continuity. And it is this desire to maintain ethnic identity that has resulted in establishment of a number of ethnic associations. The ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversities among the Indians in Madagascar have manifested in the formation of separate associations over a period of time. Among these are: Association Of Khoja Shia, Faiz-E-MohammedIMadagascar, Hindou Samaj D'antananarivo, l'association Hindou Society.68 However, such associations are seen with suspicions by the natives and many attempts were made by various governments to discourage establishment of such ethnic organisations. One such attempt was made by Ratsiraka’s Government in 1980s.69 When tension grew between the native Malagasy population and Indians in late 1980s which eventually culminated into anti-Indian riots in 1987, these organisations were banned.70

In Seychelles, establishment of such associations is a recent phenomenon. Hindu Council was established by the most prominent families of Indian community in Seychelles such as Chaka, Oliahji, Valabhji, Afif, Suleman and Jivan Shah.71

---

70 Lionnet, Guy.1974. The Seychelles, Harrisburg: Stackpole., p.11
71 http://www.lenzinfo.org.za/internationalnews/seychelles_indian010603.htm
5.3.1.5 Education

Education is sadly absent among the Indian community in Madagascar. Most girls are married by the time they are 16 or 17 and hardly even finish their schooling. As for boys, they completed schooling after which they looked after family shops or business. They are many reasons for this lack of education among the Indian Community. One of the most important reason is strong desire of maintaining ethnic identity and resisting any kind of intermingling with the native population. This phobia of losing ethnic identity, as is generated in some closed minds, is very harmful, occupationally, socially and psychologically. It psycho-socially paralyzes especially those who are “cultural paranoids”, ethnically closed” and “rock rigid”. When a parent becomes paranoid of the host culture and lives in a self-imposed ethnic island, he creates an unnavigable gulf between him and his children who are exposed to the outside world. This ethnic inter-generational conflict within the family produces a severe strain on ethnicity. It generates ethnic guilt on the part of children and ethnic anger on the part of parents. The ethnic guilt-x-anger epidemic could be a major challenge to deal with among the Indian community in Madagascar. However, As far as Seychelles is concerned, Indian community is not so rigid. It is a highly educated community and inter-race marriages are also acceptable. Thus, there is less chance of such kind of challenge being faced by the Indian Community in Seychelles.

5.3.2 Demands from Indian State

Following are brief outlines of demands and expectations of the Indian Community in Madagascar and Seychelles. Most of these demands are general demands and are based on the Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora.

Firstly, the Indian Community in Madagascar showed no particular interest in acquiring dual citizenship. In fact, they feel such a status would only cast doubts on their loyalty to the countries of their permanent domicile. Indians in Seychelles demanded for the reduction of the fee for the acquisition of a PIO Card. An attractive brochure setting out

---

the special facilities that such a card would make available should be prepared and widely circulated for the information of prospective applicants.

Secondly, Many PIO would like to send their children to India for education in Indian institutions. It would be helpful if information regarding the courses of study available at various educational institutes in India, their fee structure, the minimum eligibility qualifications and other admission requirements could be made easily available\(^ {75}\).

Thirdly, in view of the exorbitant local cost of suitable health care, many PIOs would like to avail themselves of medical facilities existing in various prestigious hospitals in India. To facilitate this, a detailed publication containing relevant information should be produced and become accessible to PIOs through all the Indian diplomatic and consular missions abroad.

Fourthly, considering the immense interest of PIOs in Indian classical music and dance, one or more Indian Cultural Centre should be established. Suitably qualified and experienced artists should be deputed to train PIO children in various disciplines of Indian dance and music, both vocal and instrumental\(^ {76}\).

Other demands are: More trade opportunities on concessional terms, Award of scholarships to study in India, training of local pundits in performance of Vedic rites, religious ceremonies, marriage functions etc., financial grants to local Indian cultural and religious organizations. Assistance in tracing the Indian roots, etc.

Before going into details of how far Indian Government’s policy deal with the challenges faced by and demands of Indian diaspora in Madagascar and Seychelles, let us discuss very briefly the present Indo Seychelles and Indo-Malagasy relations.

5.3.2.1 Indo Seychellois Relations

Indo-Seychelles relations have been characterised by close friendship, understanding and cooperation. Diplomatic ties were established with Seychelles at it’s independence


\(^ {76}\) Lall. M.C. 2001. op.cit. p.27
(1976), but the links go back even earlier. An Indian naval ship INS Nilgiri was one of those, docked in Victoria harbour, along with French, British and Iranian ships to welcome Independence of Seychelles on 29 June 1976. An Indian Mission was established in 1979 in Mahe with the High Commissioner based in Dar-es-Salaam concurrently accredited to Mahe. The first resident High Commissioner was placed in Mahe in 1987.

Seychelles has over the years been extending valuable support to India at the international fora, especially in favouring India’s candidatures to various international bodies. It has unequivocally stated that it will support India for a permanent seat in the expanded UNSC.

On the Kashmir issue, Seychelles believes that it is a bilateral matter to be resolved between India and Pakistan directly. Seychelles signed a Joint Declaration with India, against International Terrorism, including cross-border terrorism in Oct'02. Seychelles is for elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and for non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is a signatory to NPT and CTBT.

India has played a significant role in developing and training Seychelles police and security forces, VIP security personnel, armed forces (SPDF) and its Coast Guard. Services of some Indian experts have been sought by Seychelles through the MOUs signed during Vice President of India’s visit to Seychelles in Sept’03.

Bilateral co-operation in various fields is governed by the Joint Commission on Economic and Technical Co-operation which has had six meetings so far, the last one held in Mahe in October 2002. The next was due in New Delhi [in 2004 but was postponed at the request of the government of Seychelles; to be held later].

---

Programme renewed for the years 2003-05, an Air Services Agreement (1981\textsuperscript{82}), an Agreement on Tourism (1996), a Trade Agreement (2000) as well as a Joint Business Council (2000). BIPPA and DTAA are currently under negotiation. MOUs on Healthcare, Defence and Science and Tech were signed in Sept,'03 during the visit of the Vice President of India to Seychelles.\textsuperscript{83} Seychelles would soon be linked to a satellite network that will connect all African countries to India.

\textit{5.3.2.1 Indo-Malagasy relations}

India opened a Consulate General in Antananarivo in 1954. Upon Madagascar gaining independence in 1960, this was upgraded to an Embassy. Bilateral relations have been cordial. There have been two presidential visits from Madagascar in the 1980s and a visit by Foreign Minister Lila Hanitra Ratsifandrihamanana in April 2001. In March 2005, the current Foreign Minister Marcel Ranjeva visited India and held bilateral discussions with his Indian counterpart. A Malagasy parliamentary delegation visited India in 2000. A high level delegation headed by Chief of Staff to the President visited India in the last week of February, 2006. Visitors from India have included the Minister of State for Commerce, Shri P.A. Sangma in 1985 and External Affairs Minister Shri Hari Kishore Singh in 1990.

Malagasy Minister for Agriculture Mr. Marius Ratolojanahary visited New Delhi on four day official visit in July 2007 and met India’s honorable Minister of Food and Agriculture. In March 2008 two Ministers of Government of Madagascar Mr. Ivohasina Razafimahefa Minister for Economy, Commerce and Industry and Agriculture Minister visited New Delhi to take part in CII organized India Africa Project Partnership Conclave held from 19-21 March 2008. India’s Navy Ship INS “Mumbai” paid a four day goodwill visit to Port Toamasina from 9th to 12th September 2006. Indian Coast Guard Ship ICGS “Samar” visited Diego Suarez Port in August 2007. Again INS “Talwar” was in Diego Suarez for four days from 24th to 28th August 2008.

As a mark of growing bilateral relationship between India and Madagascar, Government of India lifted the ban for export of 50,000 tonnes of non-basmati rice to Madagascar to help them in tiding over food scarcity that faced Malagasy people. The exemption was

\textsuperscript{83} \url{http://www.lenzinfo.org.za/internationalnews/seychelles_indian010603.htm}
granted in January 2008 and first shipment of 23500 tonnes of Indian rice reached Toamasina Port first week of August 2008. With the gradual improvement in investment climate in Madagascar, a number of leading Indian business enterprises from the Private Sector have been making exploratory visits to this country to plan their long term investment strategies. India has committed to install an Intranet Project, entirely at its cost, linking the Malagasy Presidency with all the Ministries and departments of the Government in Antananarivo. A Memorandum of Understanding for implementation of this prestigious project, estimated to cost more than US$ 6 million at current rates, was signed on 18th September 2008 by Ambassador of India to Madagascar, on India’s behalf and Malagasy Minister for Telecommunications signed on behalf of Madagascar. Government of India has also offered a concessional Credit of US $25 million to Madagascar for development of agriculture sector. Malagasy Minister of Agriculture signed an agreement in this regard in New Delhi on November 14, 2008 with EXIM Bank of India. Another Memorandum of Understanding which is to be signed soon between the two countries is on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture. Malagasy Agriculture Minister is expected to visit New Delhi in December 2008 for signing this document with his Indian counterpart.

The following bilateral agreements have been concluded: Agreement on Culture & Scientific Cooperation, 1997; Air Services Agreement, 2000 and Protocol on Mutual Consultations at Foreign Office Level, April 2001.

While bilateral trade volume is not very significant, there is considerable interest in sourcing small scale engineering products, rice and pharmaceuticals from India and three Indian public sector companies, Telecommunications Consultants India Limited, National Mineral Development Corporation Ltd. and Petroleum India International have executed works in Madagascar in the not too distant past. The India Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme has been actively administered in Madagascar and there are over 250 Malagasy ITEC alumni. For 2008-09 Madagascar has been allocated 40 Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) slots.94

94 http://meaindia.nic.in/foreignrelation/23fr02.pdf
Similarly, Indian businessmen are ready to invest in different sectors in Madagascar. The dialogue between Madagascar's President Marc Ravalomanana and local leaders as well as representatives of donors and international organizations convinced Indian traders to invest in the country. Indian entrepreneurs had already worked out five development projects in Madagascar and were waiting for permission from the government before they could start their implementation. The projects concern different sectors including agriculture, rural development, communication and media, health, road and rail infrastructures. One of the biggest projects, estimated at $3 billion, was the construction of railways linking some regions in the island country. When completed it would facilitate the movement of people and goods especially agricultural and mineral resources from many isolated areas in the country. The Indian investors have also plans to use the Pangalanes Channel in eastern Madagascar for promoting tourism.  

5.4 Government of India’s Policy towards PIOs in Madagascar and Seychelles

Though Singhvi’s committee report voices the demands and expectations of Indian Diaspora in Madagascar and Seychelles, we do not see any special policy directed towards Indian Diaspora in these two countries. Whatever policy initiatives that Government of India has taken are general initiatives and do not cater to the specific needs of Indian community in Madagascar and Seychelles. Government is silent on issue of ‘Stateless’ Indians in Madagascar. There are around 1000 stateless in Madagascar.  

Even after the report by US Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour about the stateless Indians, there was no response from the Indian government. In 2007, it reported that ‘An arcane system of citizenship laws and procedures has resulted in a pool of stateless persons in the minority Muslim community, many of whom have lived in country for generations. Citizenship is transmitted through blood; birth on Malagasy soil does not transmit citizenship. Children born to a Malagasy mother and non-Malagasy father must be declared by a certain age or risk losing eligibility for citizenship. Some members of Indian origin who failed to register for Malagasy or Indian citizenship following India’s independence in 1947 were no longer eligible for either.’ Government of India should immediately take some action.

85 http://www.samachaar.in/Business_and_Economy/Indians_ready_to_invest_in_Madagascar_15497/
86 www.indiandiaspora.nic.in
Similarly, the government remained silent when the Indian shops were looted during the recent political crisis in January 2009. Indian government can take some diplomatic measures to persuade the Government of Madagascar to look into various problems of ethnic Indians.

While it is true that Indian government is growing its relationship with Madagascar and Seychelles, as mentioned in the sub sections on Indo-Seychelles and Indo-Malagasy relations, it is completely silent about involvement of her diaspora for enhancing its relationship with the two countries. Indian community in Madagascar is controlling more than 50 percent of the economy and thus can help Indian government to enter Malagasy market. The demands of Indian diaspora in these two countries must be fulfilled on priority basis.

Indian Government should also take some initiatives for fulfillment of cultural aspirations of her diaspora especially in Seychelles. A large number of our cultural institutions such as Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, the Chinamaya mission and above all the ICCR should be directed to provide assistance in form of providing teachers and music instruments and also facilitate cultural exchange with these two countries. Although in Seychelles some of the efforts have been taken by the government like Yoga classes were held in High Commission premises since Feb’03, various dance groups like Odissi, Bihu, Rajasthani, Goafolk/classical and Santoor, Violin, Sitar and Dhrupad groups have visited Seychelles from time to time. In addition, concerts, painting exhibitions, festivals, etc. were held over the years. The Goan troupe (13) “Kepemchim Kirnnam” sponsored by the ICCR participated in the 30th anniversary celebration of Seychelles at the request of Seychelles Govt. in June 2006. The Maha Kumbabisheka Grand Cultural Show was organized by the Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam at the International Conference Centre (ICCS) on 9th Mar’08. About 75 participants took part in this grand cultural show. The Minister for Community Development and Youth, Sports and Culture, Mr. Vincent Meriton, was the chief guest of honour. A set of 10 books titled Incredible India, Fairs and Festivals, Crafting Nature, Classical Music, Cuisines, Life and Landscapes, Monuments, Traditional Theatres, Traditions and Rituals, Classical Dances and Arrested Movement Sculpture and Painting were presented by the High Commissioner to the

Conclusion

India, because of its size, population and strategic location is ambitious to establish itself as a global player. In this context the role played by Indian Diaspora has, over the period of time, become important and is emerging as an important factor in promoting certain foreign policy goals. Initially, the Indian government was conscious of the potential of PIOs. Till 2000 there was no definite policy vis-à-vis the Indian overseas. Recent initiatives taken by the government has given strong signals of the Indian government’s intentions to continue to engage the Indian Diaspora giving it a vanguard role in India’s quest to emerge as a regional and global power. Turning to the policy implications, an appreciation of the heterogeneous nature of the Indian diaspora and the asymmetrical orientations of India and her diaspora towards each other, rules out any uniform policy by the Government of India towards PIOs. A realistic policy must take into account the differential interests and expectations of the heterogeneous diaspora into account and differentially address the issues of the different diasporic Indian communities.

88 http://www.mfa.gov.sc/news_Indo-Sey_290107.htm