CHAPTER 2

INDIAN DIASPORA IN EAST AFRICA: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ROLE
Chapter 2

INDIAN DIASPORA IN EAST AFRICA: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ROLE

This chapter narrates the outline of the political and economic role of Indian Diaspora in East Africa, which in turn provide the history of their valuable contribution to the host society. This chapter has been divided into two major sub-themes viz. political dimension and economic dimension. Sub-theme of Political dimension discusses political role of Indian Diaspora in seven-sub sections which includes Role in nation building, Participation in government, political parties, political movements, Indian Diaspora as a pressure / interest group, upsurge of democracy and double migration and government’s policies towards them. Second sub-theme of the chapter deals with economic role of the Indian Diaspora in the region. This section began with economic history of Indian Diaspora in East Africa and subsequently investigates contribution of Indian Diaspora in different sector of the economy in their host society. There has been a ferry debate over the economic contribution of Indian settlers in the region. Some says Indians have given invaluable contributions to the host economy while others look Indians as not more than an exploiter of indigenous people and economy. Discussion takes into account of both aspects.

2.1 Political Dimensions

Any discussion on political role of Indian Diaspora will naturally take us to the issue of political role of individual ethnic citizens. Also, under what circumstances political role fosters or hampers the larger integration in the society. The concept of political role implies more than political participation. It covers a whole range of differing behaviours and attitudes; namely political participation, political interests, trust in political institution and commitment to democratic norms and values. People can trust, but still decide not to participate. On the other hand, people can participate motivated by the fact that they do not trust the political institutions. People can distrust the current political institutions of a certain country, but trust the democratic norms and values of western democratic system.
Berger, Galonska and Koopmans argue that trust has a positive influence on political participation and some other argues exactly the opposite, namely that trust has a negative impact on political participation. It will be matter of empirical investigation that how the different elements of the concept political integration relate to each other. Theoretically and normatively, however, there exists no definite answer to this question. Where the relevance of political participation is relatively simple to argument upon this is not the case with for instance political trust.¹

It is crystal clear that political role is not merely holding political posts or participation in the electoral process by exercising franchise. It goes much beyond of those usual political rights and obligations. While discussing political role of a Diasporic community that had migrated century’s ago and decided to make permanent home to their host land, their role in the process of nation building can’t ignored. At the same time people who further migrated to other countries due to uncertain conditions in their host land their contribution as well as attitude of their first host government must not be left out in the analysis of political role beside description of usual role in terms of holding political offices, taking membership of political parties, acting as pressure groups and interest groups and so on. This section deals various aspects of political role of Indian Diaspora in East Africa.

2.1.1 Role of Indian Diaspora in Nation Building

The previous chapter, dealt with the settlement of Indians into East Africa and the immigration patterns of Indians in the region. It can be clearly traced out that most of the Indians went there either for business purposes or to work in the construction of Ugandan Railway. This was not the case in other cases of immigration under the British Empire where immigration was mostly in the form of indentured labourers to work in the plantation activities. The Indians, who went there, were relatively educated and

URL: http://www.wzberlin.de/zkd/poem/pdf/berger.pdf
politically aware of their rights. With such awareness they were soon united for their common cause. The political during the anti-colonial struggle which in turns was process of nation building could be discussed under these sub-headings- Role of Indian Diaspora in Trade Union Movement, Role of Indian Diaspora in National Movement, role of Indian Diaspora in the Mau Mau Movement of Kenya and role of Indian Diaspora in Press.

2.1.1.1 Role of Indian Diaspora in Trade Union Movement: The beginning of twentieth century was an era of expanding neo-colonialism through economic exploitation of the colonial country by their masters. The owners of industries were busy in maximizing their profits and were not concerned about their workers. The conditions of workers were very poor, they, had to work hard for longer hours at times without minimum wages. In East Africa, African workers faced severe hardships because of the legislation enacted by colonial administration. They were made to pay hut or poll taxes in currency rather than in kind which forced them to work mainly for European planters. They were required to work in their home areas without remuneration for several weeks each year on the maintenance of roads and drainage systems. The wages were low, the hours long and the working conditions harsh.

But at the same time this was an era when working class was awakening throughout the world for their rights. East Africa too was not exception of that. To protect the rights of the workers several trade unions emerged there. In the formation, popularisation and direction of trade unions, the Indians played a key role. They established the first significant trade union in East Africa and subsequently they were instrumental in assisting Africans in union organization and its development.²

The history of trade union movements in East Africa begins with the beginning of twentieth century. From 1900 to 1912 Africans and Indians remained busy in protesting against discriminatory practices of colonialists and demanding their rights. For this

purpose they adopted the effective tool of strike. In 1914 a weeklong strike was launched in Mombassa by Indian railway and public works department workers in combination with Africans. Meanwhile, acting apart from these political organizations, Indian and African workers had continued the formation of trade unions as Indian clerical workers established an Indian Civil Servants Association and a Railway Indian Staff Association soon after 1918, and Indian artisans combined to form a Kenya Indian trade union in 1934. Africans also constituted their own ‘Kenya African Civil Servant’s Association’ and a ‘Railway African Staff Association’ and a ‘Kenya African Teachers Union in 1934.’

In the 1930’s the trade union movement in East Africa took a new turn under the leadership of Makhan Singh, an Indian printing press worker. Consequently, the trade union movement in east Africa originated under the influence and direct participation of Indian trade unionists, specifically Makhan Singh. In 1935, Makhan Singh established Labour Trade Union of Kenya (LTUK). It was an attempt of first successful combination of Indians and Africans. The labour trade union of Kenya was the creation mainly of Makhan Singh. Being aware of the plight of Indian and African labour in colonial Kenya, Makhan Singh conceived of reforms through a democratic, non-racial organization. Early in 1935 he was invited to reorganize the Kenya Indian Labour Trade Union. At a general meeting in April 1935, he transformed it into the LTUK. He became the honorary secretary and Gulam Mohamed, a railway employ, the first President. The LTUK was formally constituted in June 1935. A constitution, setting forth the aims and immediate demands was approved and membership was declared open to any worker irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

Two successive newspapers were soon launched- ‘The Kenya Worker’ and ‘The East African Kirti’-edited respectively by Makhan Singh and Mota Singh. In March 1937 the LTUK was renamed the Labour Trade Union of East Africa (LTUEA). Through LTUEA,

---

Makhan Singh attempted to unite African and Indian workers at East African level. This was a difficult task as Indians were identified with the exploiters. In most cases the interests of the African workers clashed with those of the Indian workers. The Indian African workers unity was almost impossible to achieve but credit goes to Makhan Singh who made it possible.

In April 1937 all Indian artisans employed in the building works demanded higher wages and to press their demand stopped all works on the new buildings in the towns. African workers were influenced by the struggle of the Indian workers. The Native Affairs Department Annual Report for 1937 recording this change states- “Natives have as yet no organized trade unions but there no doubt that they took great interests in Indian strikes and not long after they would endeavour to form their own union. This struggle of the Indians helped the African political leaders realise of the importance of trade unionism. Soon many trade unions were formed. Scattered workers in various industrial and service units were collected and organized under professional umbrellas.

In Tanganyika, local Indians have been credited with influencing the formation in 1937 of the first important labour organisation, the African Labour Union (ALU) of Dar-es-Salam. An Indian advocate, Ramakrishna Pillai is said to have encouraged and advised the African Labour Union leaders in policy formulation and launching opposition to closer union of East African states that the British government had proposed to integrate Tanganyika-a Mandate Territory with its East African possessions. In Uganda trade union movement as a political as well as economic activity started very late. It was far inferior to its counterpart in Kenya and Tanganyika because of the absence of a settled working and urbanised population. In May 1939 Makhan Singh celebrated May Day as workers day of victory. This was the first time that a worker’s meeting was held on the Worker’s day.

---

6 Vijay Gupta, no. 4, P. 59.
The government tried to crush trade unions by arresting all the main trade union leaders. They included Makhan Singh, Jesse Kariuki, George K. Ndegwa and 21 others. These leaders were kept in detention for the entire period of the Second World War. But suppressive measures did not change the African aspirations. The workers were on the move and could not be denied their rights indefinitely. During the war period food shortage and increased cost of living arising because of war brought about a series of strikes in 1942 by the railway workers of Mombasa and Nairobi. The railway workers strike gave new strength to trade union movement. The government was forced to extend the minimum wage ordinance from Nairobi to Mombasa, where African trade union movement was beginning to provide a challenge to colonial situation.  

The Indian-African labour movement was also becoming increasingly militant. In mid January 1947 the largest strike took place among Port and Railway workers in Mombasa. The strike action, lasting several days with 15000 strikers participating, succeeded in producing on the island a complete stoppage of all activities that depended on African workers. Many influential Africans and Indians supported this, though declared illegal by the colonial authorities. Support for the strike was also echoed in the press coverage given by several Indian and African newspapers. Haroon Ahmed was sentenced to six months imprisonment for his editorials in the Daily Chronicle expressing criticism of the government’s handling of the strike and for his obvious sympathy for the strikers. With the return of Makhan Singh in August 1947, these trade union movements acquired a radical wing. The Labour Trade Union of East Africa and later the Larger East African Trade Union Congress (EATUC) formed in May 1947 became the nerve centre for the activities of the more militant Indians.

The repressive measures failed to weaken the labour movement, although it helped to enhance Makhan Singh’s popularity, and inspired a new co-operative venture in union organization. Makhan Singh assumed the EATUC’s presidency and Sheth became General Secretary. From the beginning the new coordinating organization had five-

---

8 Vijay Gupta, no. 4, P. 60-61.
affiliated unions- the LTUEA, Transport and Allied Workers Union, Tailors and Garment Workers Union, Typographical Union of Kenya and Shoemaker Workmen's Union. Its membership comprising of Africans and Indians in these unions, totalled around 5000. Its programme of demands included as eight-hour day and forty-five hour week, a minimum wage, a fortnight's annual local leave with full pay, workmen's compensation, an old-age pension, compulsory and free primary education and inexpensive secondary education, decent housing and abolition of forced labour and of employment of children under age fifteen. Makhan Singh and Sheth administered the EATUC in co-operation with Kubai and other African leaders and began an intensive campaign for labour and political reforms.10

After several unsuccessful attempts to suppress trade union, the government acted authoritatively. In 1949, against vigorous EATUC opposition, it introduced a series of bills and regulations that required the re-registration of trade unions, permitted deportation of British immigrants and aliens, imposed compulsory trade testing and wage fixing and sanctioned forced labour of the unemployed. The government refused the EATUC's application for registration on the ground that it was not a trade union. By 1950 new trade unions were formed, strikes increased and under Makhan Singh's leadership, trade unionism was tied to nationalism. In the opinion of some scholars the Unions became stronger than political movement. As Rosberg and Nottingham have asserted, the movement by then had become 'a far more militant vehicle for championing African aspirations, than KAU'. It was 'the organizational focus of urban African politics'.11

Meanwhile colonial government introduced several measures aimed at sabotaging the trade union movement. Registrar of Trade Unions was prearranged special powers and a new Trade Unions (Registration) bill was introduced to further delimit the powers of trade unions. Indian and African trade unionist met to workout a joint strategy in early 1950. At that meeting Makhan Singh publicly demanded that complete independence and

11 Ibid., P. 139
sovereignty of the East African territories was the only solution and it should be implemented at an early date. This was the first time that anyone had dared to take such a position in public.\textsuperscript{12} In May 1950, Makhan Singh and Fred Kubai were arrested, EATUC files were confiscated and office was sealed. The charges were that the two leaders were officials of an unregistered trade union and that Makhan Singh was a desirable immigrant subject to restriction under the new deportation (Immigrant British Subjects) ordinance. Immediately after the arrest, the remaining union leaders met and decided to call a general strike and for that purpose a strike committee was set with Chege Kiburu as acting President of the EATUC and Mwangi Macharia as acting General Secretary. Their demands included not only the release of Makhan Singh, Kubai and Kibachia but also a minimum wage of Shs. 100 and independence for the East African territories. The strike, which began as planned in Nairobi and spread to Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Thiko, Nyeri, Nanyuki and even to remote centres such as Kissi, grew to immense proportion. Following the strike the EATUC and its leaders were suppressed through a combination of covert decision and administrative order. In a trial without jury the EATUC was redefined as a trade union, and Makhan Singh and Kubai were found guilty of leading an unregistered union and fined Shs. 110 each. Kubai was then released but the Acting Governor served Makhan Singh, under the second charge of being undesirable immigrant, with a restriction order. For the next eleven years, until October 1961, he was to detained in remote outpost near the Ethiopian border. Kiburu was sentenced to twelve months hard labour followed by restrictions. The EATUC was deprived of leadership and could no longer exist.\textsuperscript{13}

At this time Pio Gama Pinto another Indian leader was working with other Africans in trying to revitalize the labour movement. Although, Pinto continued to work for labour, he became increasingly involved with journalism and the freedom fighters and their families. It was because of these other activities that Pinto was arrested in 1954 under operation Anvie and then detained until October 1959. In 1960 Pio Gama Pinto and in 1961 Makhan Singh both was released. But there was split in the KFL as some members

\textsuperscript{13} Robert G. Gregory, no. 2, Pp. 139-140.
blamed that this organization was working for the benefit of a few individuals and not for the workers. In this way trade union movement could not exert the influence, as it was capable in doing earlier.\textsuperscript{14}

2.1.1.2 Role of Indian Diaspora in National movement: As Indian community grew in numbers and became more prosperous in early twentieth century they started their political assertion. As early as in the year of 1900, the first step was taken in Asian political activity by the formation of the Mombasa Indian Association was organised on the initiative of L.M. Salve, who was known as ‘a fiery Maratha who hunted elephants and ran a small business’. He was joined in this enterprise by three of the wealthiest businessmen in East Africa- Allidina Visram and the brothers Alibhoy and Tayabali Mulla Jeevanjee.\textsuperscript{15} Later A.M. Jeevanjee became president of the Mombasa Indian Association. On 1 April 1906 he called a mass meeting of the Indians at Mombasa. The meeting was attended by most of the leading professional men and merchants of the time and its proceedings were dominated by the need to protect Indian right in view of the European campaign for the reservation of the Highlands as well as of selected areas in the towns for exclusive European occupation-the point that particularly irked the Indians being that non-British Europeans would thus have ‘preference in public matters over British Indians in a British Indians in a British Protectorate.’\textsuperscript{16} When A.M. Jeevanjee took the lead, the political opposition by the Indians to prevailing colonial discriminatory practices seriously began. He wrote articles in the Indian newspapers to draw the support of the Indian nationalist opinion against the anti-Indian politics of the Kenyan colonial administration, which were formulated at the instance of the European settlers. In 1909, A.M. Jeevanjee became the first Indian to be nominated as member of the legislative council of Kenya. After the retirement of Jeevanjee in 1911, the government denied to appoint any Indian in jeevanjee’s place on the pretext that there were ‘no Indians of sufficient educational qualifications for appointment to the legislative council.’\textsuperscript{17}

As Indian settlement expanded, political associations were established in Kisumu, Naivasha, Eldoret, Fort Hall, Nairobi and other parts of the Kenya. Indian association in the other territories appeared somewhat later. In 1909, the Indians staged the first organized protest against the British administration in Zanzibar; soon they formed a political organization called the committee of India, whose first president was Yusuf Alibhai karinje. It was renamed in 1914 the Indian National Association.

Indian political activity became more organised when the East African Indian National Congress (EAINC) was formed in March 1914. A. M. Jeevanjee was chief patronage of EAINC and it was modelled on the Indian Congress. However, as Jeevanjee had other concerns being head of a large business firm he appointed Manilal Desai to look into political activism and provided him all materialistic support. Shanti Pandit has written, 'the house of Jeevanjee was the home of late Manilal Desai and every political memorandum was mooted and drafted in the busy offices of A. M. Jeevanjee & Co., a small wood and iron house in Victoria Street was placed at Desai’s disposal and right up to his death, Jeevanjee supported Desai in terms of food, accommodation, servant & similar services. Others like Husseinbhai Suleman Verjee and Kalyanji Narshibhai Jani also assisted.'

In Uganda, 'Indian Association' was established at Jinja in 1918, in Kampala and Mbale in 1919 and in most of the other towns during the 1920s. In all over the Kenyan protectorate (which was consist of almost all part of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda), the Indians were demanding equal representation with the Europeans, on the legislative council, the end of segregation in the townships and the right to hold land in the highlands. They also asked for promotion on merit, not race, to the highest posts in the police, army and civil service. As Indians and Africans were facing same short of victimization they found ground to struggle together. Indian leaders assisted African leader, Harry Thuku in drafting resolutions, telegrams and other correspondence. They

---

also financially assisted Thuku and provided him a car which driver to rally his followers in the reserve. The office of Desai's newspaper, 'The East African Chronicle', became the headquarters of Thuku's East African Association and Desai's press printed Thuku's broadsheet, "Tangazo" (The Announcement). Desai wrote editorial in support of the movement and travelled to Kampala to assist coordination with another nationalist organisation the 'Young Baganda Association'. In the legislative council, he repeatedly defended Africans and introduced a resolution for a common civil service examination open to all races.  

Europeans did not like the support that Indian leaders were giving to Africans and they tried to spread the idea among the Africans that the help, which they were getting from Indians, was not for there welfare. This is evident from a letter written by Harry Thuku himself, (this letter was published in Democrat on 15 December 1923) in which, he gave description of his meeting with Mr. Maclellan wilson, the vice president of the Convention of the Associations. During conversation Thuku was blamed for supporting Indians instead of trusting white men.  

As early as 1920, some Indians asserted their political identity under leaders like A.M. Jeevenjee and wanted the Indian communities to be linked to India. The assertion made the colonial government announce the policy of "Paramountcy of Native" thereby preventing the Indians from inheriting any kind of political power sharing under colonial plan. British Colonial government to increase the gap between Africans and the Peoples of Indian Origin further used this.  

Beginning in 1924-25 when Joseph Kangethe and Jesse Kariuki formed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). It also received support from Indian politicians and journalists. The KCA was bringing its own journal Mwigwithania. Desai and Sitaram Achariar who at the same time were upholding African labour demands in their  

newspaper, The Democrat, printed this journal. Although the twenties till his death A.M.
Desai carried the banner of Indo-African unity for ending discriminatory colonial
practices. During the General Secretaryship of Kenyatta of KCA, Dass took over the
leadership and became the defender of both African and Indian interests. In 1927, J.B.
Pandya, Indian commercial and political leader, founded, the Kenya Daily Mail. In his
publication Pandya hoped to organize the Indian trading community throughout East
Africa in a drive for an end to racial discrimination and the introduction of a common
roll. Africans as well as Indians were to be the beneficiaries.23

In 1929 Dass had accompanied Kenyatta to London to present a Kikuyu Central
Association petition to the colonial office and through his connections with the League
against Imperialism, fostered a number of public addresses by Kenyatta in England. In
1931 as a member of Kenya Indian delegation, Dass assisted two KCA representatives
Kenyatta and Parminas Mockerir, in submitting a joint grievance to the joint committee.

During 1938 Dass helped the KCA leaders, Jesse Kariuki, campaign for political support
in North Nyanza. In July 1938 he was involved in the Kamba protest march in Nairobi
and was accused of instigating the riot that followed after the arrest of Samuel Mwindi
Mbingu. With other Indians he worked for Mbingu’s release. In August 1938 Dass read
in the legislative council a petition from the KCA opposing new discriminatory land
measures. In 1939 he was the only councilor to voice African objections to imperial
orders in council that defined the boundaries of the European highlands and the Kikuyu
reserve. During 1940s, the colonial printing works owned by Girdharilal Vidyarthi,
became the official news centre of the Indian community. His papers, The Colonial Times
and Habari Za Dunia commented weekly on such issues as the Kipande, the ascription of
land from the Africans and the colour bar. By 1939 the KCA had become a national
organization having members from all walks of life and from all tribes. The phenomenal
growth of the KCA as an African political movement worried the European settlers and
the government. The European settlers demanded that it should be banned and the

government once again complied with their demand. In May 1940, the KCA was banned, its leaders were arrested and its monthly journal was closed. This resulted in the African political movement going underground.24

In 1944 the Kenya African Study Union (KASU) was organized by Eliud Mathu, the first African to be nominated to the legislative council of Kenya. The Kenya African Study Union's chief objectives were to unite the African people and promote their social, economic and political interests. Two years later, at its second annual conference in 1946, the K.A.S.U. changed its name to Kenya African Union, and Jomo Kenyatta took up the leadership of the Kenya African Union (KAU).25 During the initial post war years, African and Indian leaders were drawn together in opposition to the continuing wartime restrictions and the European movement for autonomy. It was the Indians who took the initiative. At a large Indian meeting in November 1944, W.L. Sohan, Secretary of the Nairobi Indian Association, called for strong Indian African cooperation. Indian leaders then invited representation from the Kenya African Study Union at the meeting of the congress, and the President Gichuru became in October 1945 the first African ever to attend an open session.26

In mid December 1945, Indians and Africans were confronted by the British government’s new scheme for the closer union among the three East African territories; namely Kenya Plan for establishing a settler dominated British East African Dominion. This was presented in the form of colonial paper no. 191. The Indians offer this flair and wrote editorials in their paper against it. The British government acted authoritatively and arrested members of the Colonial Times staff i.e. G.L. Vidyarthi, W.L. Sohan and Haroon Ahmed. Similarly, the East African Trade Union Congress led by Makhan Singh and African leader Fred Kubai opposed government measurers.27

27 D. Seidenberg, no. 24, P. 83.
The Dominion Plan was represented by removing paper 191 and substituted it by Colonial Paper 210. This change became a focal point for a collective Indian-African agitation. The new proposals, published on 5 March 1947, called for the establishment of a central legislative assembly composed of five representatives from each territory. As the Europeans were in the majority in the council, those proposals were to ensure the membership of at least two Europeans to the proposed Central Assembly from each territory. When Indians and Africans came to know that the principle of racial equality in representation was to be replaced by a system, which, in effect, granted settler domination over the new union, they protested. D.D. Puri, Bachulal Gathani, Romesh Gautam and Chanan Singh represented Indian community. B.A. Ohango, Henry Muoria, M. Gikonyo, H.S. Gathigira, T. Mbotela and Nganga led African community. Indian newspapers, published in English, Gujarati and Swahili voiced the grievances of the Africans as well as of the Indians.²⁸ A prominent Sikh contractor, Sardar Bhagat Singh Biant said- “Is the white settler trustee and champion (of African rights) because he has usurped and reserved the most fertile land in the colony for himself? Is the white settler trustee and champion of African rights because he has been instrumental in prohibiting the sons of the soil to grow certain crops and raise their standard of living? Is the white settler trustee and champion of African rights because he has managed to create the squatter labour system, the Kipande and the conscription regulations?”²⁹

Several Indians attempted to consolidate their position by forming an alliance with the newly emergent African elite. Some African leaders responded to Indian initiatives by urging closer Indian-African ties. At a procession and public meeting on July 4, organized by the Nairobi Indian Association to protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation act, an ordinance limiting Indian rights in the Union of South Africa, four Africans were invited to address the meeting. Addressing to a crowd of approximately 5000, Muchochi Gikonyo, a newly appointed member of the Nairobi Municipal Council, advocated unity of action by Indians and Africans. Henry Gathigira, editor of Habari Za Dunia, remarked that he was prepared to stand by their side. Even

²⁸ Ibid., Pp. 88-89
²⁹ Ibid., P. 80
Jomo Kenyatta asserted that the Indians and the Africans have politically many things in common and a common platform can be built where the members of the two communities can work together on completely equal footing.

In July 1946, at a joint meeting of Africans and Indians held to celebrate an impending trip to London by an African delegation, S.C. Amin, President of the Congress, assured Indian support for the deputation by formally handing over a large check to help cover the costs of the trip. In replying to Amin, Gichuru thanked the Indian community on behalf of KAU and stated that the Africans would never forget this donation of which their so-called white Trustees had contributed not one penny. Similarly, the Eighteenth open session of the congress, held in Mombasa was attended by several African representatives including James Gichuru, Francis Khamisi, Peter Mbiyu Koinange, Senior Chief Koinange and Muchochi Gikonyo. In his presidential address Amin assured that all section of the Indian community would give the Africans “cooperation and assistance at this critical period of their history”. Peter Mbiyu Koinange, also commenting on Indian-African unity, stressed the fact that while the Indians had made the Africans useful traders, the only results of European instruction were the production of African waiters and cooks. He suggested that arrangements should be made whereby Africans might go to India for educational purposes and to improve understanding between the two groups. Resolutions were then passed advocating closer understanding between the two communities and the creation of an organization to further this aim; in addition, the Legislative Council and an appointment of an African to the Executive Council.

In 1950 the Indian leaders of Dar-es-Salaam formed a new political organization, “The Indian Association”. The leaders of the Association began to meet frequently with Africans, including Julius Nyerere. They helped to institute the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954 and afterwards to further its progress. Two Indian brothers, Surendra and Randhir Thaker, also devoted their printing works to issuing the TANU weekly *Mwafrika* and in 1959 established their own newspaper *Ngurama* (Thunder) as a voice of African independence. The Indian’s involvement in the
nationalist movement of Uganda began in 1952 when the Uganda National Congress (UNC) was formed. In April 1949 the Congress sent a letter to Creech Jones stating that closer union along the proposed settler lines would be against the best interest of the indigenous population and the Indian settlers. Two weeks later, a meeting of congress members including A.B. Patel, D.D. Puri, Chanan Singh, J.M. Nazareth, Shanti Pandit and KAU representatives was held, to discuss the formation of a united front against the Europeans. Famous Kaldeni Hall meeting was held in Nairobi on April 23, where many thousand of Africans and Indians packed the Hall and congregated outside for over three hours. Indian and African leaders shared a common platform in voicing their anti-settler demands. A.B. Patel moved a resolution that was seconded by Tom Mbotela, Vice President of KAU-“The time now come when the non-European communities must form a constructive political unit to fight and overthrow the unscrupulous domination which some irresponsible unofficial Europeans intended to enforce.”

Makhan Singh delivered an impassioned speech that-“The time had come for the people to unite and demand in a single voice, that the country was their and that no foreign power had the right to rule over it. That should be the aim of Africans, Indians and progressive Europeans. The British government had declared the independence of India, Burma and Ceylon; similarly it should declare the independence of the East African territories”. The Central Council of Indian Associations, the Central Council of Muslim Association and the Kampala Indian Association all sought cooperation with African politicians and supported the Uganda National Congress’s general multi-racial platform. In 1958 a group of young Indian Intellectuals including Gurdial Singh, Rajat Neogy and Natoo Karia- known as “Young Turks” with Dr. Muljibha Motibhai Patel as their guru formed the Uganda Action Group (UAG). Their principle aim was to explain to the African and Indian inspirations, and to collectivize, channelize and mobilize both communities for independence. Associating with the more Africans, they contributed to

31 D. Seidenberg, no. 24, P. 103.
Milton Obete's rise and to the breakaway from the UNC in 1959. This led to the founding of Uganda People's Congress (UPC) led by Milton Obete. Later most of the Indians in the UAG, above all Gurdial Singh and Ahafiq Arian worked closely with Obete and the UAG supported the UPC's demand for independence under a common roll and universal adult franchise.\(^{32}\)

In early 1960s the Freedom Party (FP) was formed in Kenya as an attempt to revive Asian-African cooperation. In the aftermath of Mau Mau and with African rule not for off, the Asian community found itself in a dramatically different world than that of the previous decade. For its short the year duration, the FP provided a new leadership for the community. Aimed at dissociating itself from the sluggish ambivalence of Congress and Muslim League politics the FP began by taking a categorical stand in support of African demands at the first Lancaster House Conference for immediate self-rule. It continued in its support for major African objectives by advocating: (1) Introduction of a democracy based on majority rule, (2) release of Jomo Kenyatta, Makhan Singh and the other detainees, (3) a unified Kenya within a larger East African Federation, and (4) egalitarian policies with respect to reorganization of the Kenya Civil Service, economic planning, health care and education. The FP also nominated and supported candidates for the General Elections held in 1961 who would work for the attainment of these objectives. Only in its proposed Bill of Rights, which after all was to protect the civil liberties of every individual in the new nation, and insistence on a small private sector were its concerns for self-preservation revealed.\(^{33}\)

Role of Indian Diaspora in anti-colonial movement and nation building was historic. It is fairly acknowledged by scholars and East African political leaders, for instance Kenya's most respectable leader Tom Mboya said, "The overwhelming majority of the Indian community in Kenya, supported the African stand and wanted to adhere to the standards

\(^{33}\) Dana April Seidenberg, no. 12, Pp. 265-66.
set by Nehru and Gandhi, as friend and allies in the struggle for freedom and democracy."

2.1.1.3 Role of Indian Diaspora in the Mau Mau Movement of Kenya: In 1940s, some militant Africans in Kenya started the Mau Mau movement. They became deeply resentful of European laws which denied them a voice in the government. Reserved areas were paid low scale wages for full time work in both rural and urban areas. Many Africans had neither land nor income. In May 1952 the Kenya African Union refused to recognize as African representatives, whom the government nominated for the new Legislative Council. Their refusal and their repeated demands for twelve additional African seats in the council went unheeded. During the summer of 1952, having greatly increased its membership since its formation in 1948, Mau Mau called for "land for freedom" and intensified its anti-British militant activities. The Kenya government declared a state of emergency and arrested Kenyatta and ninety-eight others and KAU was banned. The next seven years were to be filled with arbitrary arrests, beatings and tortures of subjects, unwarranted shootings and the hoarding of suspects in concentration like conditions to await trial, many of which never took place. 

At this time, some Indians were terribly afraid of aligning themselves with the Africans in their struggle. The entire atmosphere of Kenya was vitiated by repression that the British had launched against the Africans openly. Rare among the few was Pio Gama Pinto who strongly supported African movement and their demands. In 1953 he persuaded the Indian solidarity movements to receive KAU leaders in Indian and organize rallies in support of Kenyans. It was the time when British were trying to divide Africans on tribal basis and trying to raise puppet leadership serving their interests. Pio Gama Pinto campaigned for Indian and African unity and gave a call that there were no Africans or Indians they were all Kenyans. He also tried to organize meetings for bringing peace in Kenya since the guerrilla war was going on and European atrocious repression was continuing. Pinto took a decisive step in early 1950s. He believed that the

35 D. Seidenberg, no. 24, Pp. 110-111.

95
(EAINC) East African National Congress’s stand on African’s course was too moderate to force the colonial governments to change substantially. He mobilized some Indians, who had returned to Kenya after their studies abroad and quit the EAINC. They included Mr. Fritz De Souza, Arvind Jamidar, R.B. Bandari, K.P. Shah and Chanan Singh and formed the Kenya League. The League called for the introduction of equal political rights in Kenya for all races. Pio Gama Pinto could not continue these activities because the British government charged him of instigating the Africans and arrested him.

Another Indian Apa Bhai Pant, the first Indian High Commissioner for East and Central Africa also tried to bring both communities closer. Within a short time, he arranged weekly outlines, including picnics and dances. Since, the segregation, in hotels and restaurants precluded inter-racial meetings. Pant and his wife Dr. Nalini Devi with his first secretary A.R. Rehman set an example for others to follow. Pant's office and residence became multi-racial forum for discussion of many topics. Pant also arranged Indian scholarship for higher education of Africans in India.

In 1951, Pio Gama Pinto a strong supporter of the African demands and aspirations had joined the East African Congress as congress clerk and the congress and the KAU offices worked closely together, Pio Gama Pinto and few others gave KAU every assistance. With the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta, and almost the entire KAU leadership in October 1952, KAU was almost leaderless and it was this group of Indians who assisted the new African leaders W. F. Odedo and others, before the KAU was banned in June 1953. Pio Gama Pinto was subsequently arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment. In January 1959, the Indian elected members joined the African members in boycotting the Legislative Council over the issue of 1957 Lennox Boyd constitution. Mr. I.E. Nathoo resigned his position as Minister of Works over the Kenyatta issue as he felt that no progress could be made in political advancement of the country until Kenyatta was released.

38 A.R. Pathak, no. 34, P. 59.
From various activities of Indians it is clear that politically active Indians wholeheartedly participated in the East African nationalist movements by supporting African leaders. In this period, we see a beautiful picture of Indian and African unity or friendship. It was an anti-colonial movement, which brought them together on the same platform.

There is no doubt that even though privately most of the Indians had reservations about the capability of the Africans to rule themselves, they were sincere about their public stand and were influenced partly by ideological considerations of equity and justice-partly by a realistic consideration that power must eventually pass into the hands of the majority that is Africans and partly because of their own countries of origin had taken an open stand against the continuation of colonialism.39

2.1.1.4 Role of Indian Diaspora in Press: Information is a key factor for political and social mobilization. Throughout the history of human civilization people have been using various means to pass their ideas and information to others. In modern period, press has become an important source of information. Political scientists refer press as ‘fourth poll’ of the democracy. Indian Diaspora played instrumental role in the origin and development of press in East Africa. The first national newspaper in East Africa was started by A.M. Jeevanjee, who started The African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus in early 20th century. Publication of large number newspaper in India and their role in the building of nationalist public opinion inspired him to launch newspapers to mobilized people for assertion of their political demands.40 Later, several newspapers and periodicals came into existence and contributed in the nation building process of East African nations as Dana April Seidenberg notes, “Radical journalism from the community, at great personal risk, were unwavering in their support of the African nationalist movement.”41

41 D. Seidenberg, no. 24, P. 116.
During colonial period, journalism of Indian Diaspora in East Africa was highly idealistic and aimed at political reform. There were some newspapers and periodicals that were designated to provide only an informational service to the Disaporic community, but the mainstream journalism of Indian Diaspora was tied to the political issues that affected the role and status of the various racial communities. *East African Chronicle*, a leading newspaper of those days, edited by M.A. Desai, made it apparent from very beginning that, "We do not ask for concessions, we scorn concessions; we do not ask for generosity, generosity is for the weak; we ask for no rewards, rewards are for slaves. We ask only for justice."42 The more conservative publications were concerned primarily with the issues considered important to the Diasporic community. For them welfare of Indian Diaspora was primary. The more liberal or radical, however, were dedicated to the reform of colonial society on behalf of all oppressed people. To combat evil in any form was their aim. It was thus the more radical wing of the Asian press that assumed a militant defence of African interest.43 At the period of anti-colonial struggle they acted as a direct challenge to the colonial government. It would be appropriate to quote Shiraz Durani, "In the struggle for the freedom of the press, Asian African journalists and publishers also played a critical part. These included Haroun Ahamed, Editor, *The Colonial Times*, D.K. Sharda, Sitaram Achariar (*The Democrat*). N.S. Thakur, and four generations of the Vidyarthi family. Achariar also printed the Gikuyu newspaper *Muigwithania*, (1928) the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) paper edited by Achieng Oneko. Among others that the Vidyarthis published were *Sauti ya Mwafrika*, the Kenya African Union (KAU) newspaper, Henry Githigira's *Habari za Dunia*, Henry Mworia's *Mumenyereri*, and Francis Khamisi’s *Mwalimu*. The printing of all these papers for the forty years between 1920 and 1963 were direct challenges to the colonial government which sought to suppress the African voice against colonialism and for freedom."44

44 Shiraz Durani, no. 42, P. 62.
Table 2.1

Principal publications of Indian Diaspora in East Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of establishing</th>
<th>Country and Place</th>
<th>Founder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa Samachar</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Pio Gama Pinto et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa Times</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Standard</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>A. M. Jeevanjee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicle</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Goss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Bobby Naidoo and S.T. Patwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Guardian</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>Abdullah Rahimtulla Walji Hirji and J.J. Robertson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Times</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>G.L. Vidyarthi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Advertiser</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Chronicle</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>D.K. Shandra (English), Indu Desai (Gujarati)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>Sitaram Achariar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East African</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>M. A. Desai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East African</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Mota Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairplay</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>A.C.L. De Souza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forward</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Chanan Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goan Voice</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>A.C.L. De Souza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habari za Dunia</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi Prakash</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>B.H. Bhatt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Voice</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>M.A. Desai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jheeri’s Weekly</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Zaheer-ud-deen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jicho</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>G.L. Vidyarthi and N. S. Thakur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Daily Mail</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>J.B. Pandya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Mirror</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Abdul Karim Hudani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Author/Authors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Worker</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Makhan Singh and Mota Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrubhoomi</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mombasa Times</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>A. M. Jeevanjee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Aga Khan et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Guardian</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>J.M. Desai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngurumo</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Tanzania- Dar-es-Salaam</td>
<td>Randhir B. Thaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza Advertiser</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Kenya- Kisumu</td>
<td>V. H. Jobanputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observer</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>I.M. Paracha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Uganda- Kampala</td>
<td>Sudhir Vidyarthi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samachar</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Tanzania- Zanzibar</td>
<td>Fazal J. Master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauti Ya Kanu</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Pio Gama Pinto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Post</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Narain Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika Herold</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Tanzania- Dar-es-Salaam</td>
<td>V.R. Boal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika Opinion</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Tanzania- Dar-es-Salaam</td>
<td>T.B. Seth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans Nzoia Post</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Kenya- Kitale</td>
<td>Abdullah Mohammed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda Argus</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>A.M. Jeevanjee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzwod</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Kenya- Nairobi</td>
<td>Pio Gama Pinto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahindi</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Kenya- Mombasa</td>
<td>Chatrabhy Bhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zanzibar Voice</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Tanzania- Zanzibar</td>
<td>B.N. Anantani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2 Indian Diaspora in Government

After the independence of the countries in East Africa; the politics of racial hatred heightened. Since, Indian Diaspora constitutes even less than 1 percent of the total population; they have always been victims of this racial hatred. After attainment of independence many indigenous leaders in East Africa propagated that Asians have been brought there by colonial powers. And true independence can be only achieved by keeping Asians out from the political power and governmental institutions. Under these circumstances, there were not many possibilities of participation in the country’s political system. But despite of these numerical disadvantages, Indian Diaspora has been able to show some achievements in the political systems of these countries. Political activities among the Indians of East Africa are pursued through associations such as municipal Councils, town and district education boards, celebration and fund-raising committees, local branches of major political parties, and in some towns, employers associations. In these associations, Indian leaders represent the entire Indian community, on one hand, and the wider Afro-Asian community, on the other.45 It would be appropriate to study participation of Indian Diaspora in governments of individual countries.

2.1.2.1 Kenya- Initially, Indian Diaspora took active interest in the countries politics. During trial of Jomo Kenyatta lawyers of Indian descent Mr. F R S De Souza and A R Kapila came forward to defend Kenyatta.46 Due to active engagement in the politics of Kenya Mr. F R S De Souza became first deputy speaker in independent Kenyan parliament. Vice President Joseph Murumbi was also half Indian.47 In 1963, three members from Diasporic community were serving in Kenyan parliament- Mr. FRS De Souza (Nairobi, Parkland constituency), Mr. Joseph Murumbi (Nairobi, Westland constituency) and Mr. Jamal (Kisumu constituency) later Pio Gama Pinto also served in parliament in 1964. But, Kenya’s first president, Jomo Kenyatta, discouraged Asian involvement in politics because Africans had been disenfranchised for so long and hence, the Africans were entitled to rule. Thereafter, in four decade only two persons from Indian Diaspora could

45 Daniel D.C. Nanjira, no. 18, Pp. 110-12.
46 Personal interview: FRS De Souza, 10 July 2007.
47 Joseph Murumbi is considered as half Indian because one of his father was of Indian Origin and mother African.
get elected in the parliament- Mr. Krishna Gautama (1979, Parkland constituency) and Mr. Amin Walji (in 1980s, Westland constituency). In 1997, Mr. Rasid Sajjad became nominated member of the parliament.\textsuperscript{48} As per information given by Country Information and Policy Unit in September 1999, there was only one Asian Member of Parliament.\textsuperscript{49} Again in 2002, Mrs. Usha Shah got offer to get nominated in Kenyan parliament but she refused due to personal reasons.\textsuperscript{50} Though, Indian Diaspora has not made many success stories in the elected institutions of the state in post independence period. They have been contributing through various intellectual capacities. Some of the most prominent lawyers belong to ethnic Indian community. The 15-Member, “Parliamentary Constitutional Review Commission” which had been instituted by President HE Daniel Arap Moi to review the Kenyan constitution was headed by an ethnic Indian Professor Yash Pal Ghai.

It seems that Indian Diaspora in East African countries has lost interest in playing active part in the politics through contesting election because of gradual marginalization in the political sphere of the country in last four decade or so. Manu Chandaria, one of the prominent business icons in Kenya says that in most of the cases interest of PIO’s is not to become politician. Their interest is to flourish and see what the extent of employment they can create.\textsuperscript{51} However, according to lawyer Sharad Rao the view is beginning to change. He says-“Somehow, I think it has now got into a stage or has motivated the Indians into thinking they ought really to be playing a political role”.\textsuperscript{52} According to J.S. Mangat,

“The political vulnerability of the Indians in East Africa, which also contributed to their isolation as a racial minority, was intensified by developments in the post war period. The growth of African nationalism during this period led to the decline of the racial politics that had characterized much of the political activity during the colonial period-and led in the process to an end of the Indian role as a

\textsuperscript{48} Personal interview: Pheroze Nowrojee, 27 June 2007.
\textsuperscript{50} Personal interview: Usha Shah 4 July 2007.
\textsuperscript{51} Personal interview: Manu Chandaria, 21 July 2007.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{---}[Online: web] Accessed 26 May 2005 URL: \url{http://www.africaonline.com/site/Articles/1,3,49766.jsp}
political pressure group in East Africa. This was also the partially result of the partition of India in 1947, which precipitated a similar split among the Asians in East Africa, between Muslims and non-Muslims. The East African Indian National Congress of its inter-territorial role also signified the decline of the Indian political role in 1952 and subsequently of its political role in 1962. Moreover, Indian political activity after the war was marked by its increasing subservience to African nationalism—for much of the political disaffection that had inspired Indian agitation in East Africa seemed to provide a basis for a common cause with African nationalism.\textsuperscript{53}

During interview with Indian Diaspora in Kenya same views were reiterated by the interviewees. Indian High Commissioner to Kenya Mr. P.S. Randhawa explains,

"...the role of the Asian community in leading up to independence of these countries then the formation of economic life and commercial life is unquestioned. They were first people in East Africa to have this vision to have this Africa, East Africa to free of the colonial rule and their contribution in the coalition of the trade union movement and in the consciousness of nationhood is unparallel...in fact they were not in first generation migrants so they had stake in Kenya's life, they had stake in life at Uganda and in-fact many of them thought that they were part of political life in Kenya as people of Africa but it was the legacy of British empire to try and create feeling of separatism between the black Africans and those of Asian origin in East Africa... with the days of particularly the Jomo Kenyatta comes in power the one very notable fact of East African politics, particularly in Kenyan politics was the growing tribalism of politics. Politics was not based on ideology. In the first government some prominent Asians were accommodated but later it degenerated in one party rule particularly under Daniel Arap Moi, now there the Asian community had no role to play in to politics so gradually those were Asian and acting in public life gradually withdrew and their role was water down, was reduced with this all today virtually there are no prominent Asian personality involved in public life of this country. Although they had, or they should have had

\textsuperscript{53} J.S. Mangat, no. 16, Pp. 175-76.
much bigger role considering that they were the first to geared awareness, political awareness in East Africa.\textsuperscript{54}

Lack of interest in the participation of country's politics was also reflected in the survey. To analyse Indian Diaspora's interest in country's political process, a very specific question was asked in the survey, whether respondent wish to contest election and become part of government in future? 66 per cent of the respondent's opted for 'no' option, 7 per cent said 'can't say', 11 per cent did not replied and only 11 per cent opted for 'yes' option. (Graph-2.1)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{graph-2.1.png}
\caption{PIO's: Wish to Contest in Future Elections}
\end{figure}

In the survey among Indian Diaspora, 64 respondent were Kenyan citizen few questions were asked to know their interest in the using their voting rights. Questions were asked for casting vote in Presidential election, Parliamentary election and local elections. Four options were provided to them to know regularity of casting of vote-Regularly, often, rarely and never. All respondent provided information regarding using their franchise in Presidential election 48.4 per cent said that they caste vote regularly while 14.1, 15.6 and 21.9 per cent respondent opted for respectively often, rarely and never choice. [Graph-2.2]

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{graph-2.2.png}
\caption{Personal interview: H.E. PS Randhawa, High Commissioner of India to Kenya, 6 July 2007.}
\end{figure}
For parliamentary election, total 81.3 per cent respondent provided information out of that 36.5, 19.2, 13.5 and 30.8 per cent of the respondent choose option of respectively regularly, often, rarely and never. [Graph-2.3]

Third part of the question was to know about participation of Indian Diaspora in local election through using their franchisee. Total 82.8 per cent respondent given reply to that query, among them respectively 37.7, 18.9, 13.2 and 30.2 per cent opted for regular, often, rarely and never category. [Graph-2.4]
Tanzania-Tanganyika gained its independence from Britain in 1961. Zanzibar gained its independence in 1963, followed by a violent, armed revolution in 1964. A few months later the United Republic of Tanzania was formed. On independence numerous political parties existed both in Tanganyika and in Zanzibar and multi-party elections were the norm. In Tanganyika there was overwhelming majority support for Julius Nyerere's party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), while the political picture in Zanzibar was more varied. In practice one-party rule was introduced in both parts of the Union in 1964. In the general elections in Zanzibar in 1965, three Asians were elected to parliament all of them in overwhelmingly African constituencies. Among three elected members to the parliament there was one lady who was probably most vocal among them. Sophia Mustafa who went Tanzania during the wave of partition South Asian continent in 1947 and initially started career as a school teacher, soon became popular not only in the Asian community of Tanzania but also manage enough support of indigenous people due to services lender towards them. She elected Member of Parliament thrice. Julius Nyerere, the then Prime Minister of Tanganyika; wrote about Sophia Mustafa, "Mrs. Mustafa belongs to those people in Tanganyika whose willingness to stand publicly with the African struggle at a time when this was not so popular or easy as now, contributed to the atmosphere of racial harmony which now we have." It would be appropriate to quote the chairperson of TANU's appreciation to Mustafa during her illness, "Bibi Sophia, this is a small token of our appreciation of the work you have done for us. We are only human beings and cannot do much, but God will reward you and we will all pray for your speedy
recovery. We hope you will soon be well and will then wear this toga and come to see us." Other prominent leaders from Indian Diasporic community who played important role in the politics of Tanzania were Abdul Karim Karimjee (Deputy speaker), Amir Jamal (Minister for Communications, Power and Works), Dr. Krishna (Member of Parliament), Mr. Bajaj, Al-Noor Kassum etc. 55

In 1977, TANU on the mainland and the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) in Zanzibar merged to form a single party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). CCM consolidated its political control in the period up to the end of the 1980s. During this period politics, state and party merged, especially on the mainland. Independent trade-unions, cooperative societies, women's and youth organizations were banned. It was decreed that all political activity would be confined either to the party or to mass organizations established by the party. The parliament was subordinate to the party and the president had - and still has extensive powers. 56 Multi-party system has again been introduced in 1995. But, the experience of multi-party system cannot be considered very well for ethnic Indians. Several new parties have emerged in the 1990s. Some of them promised to give “indigenous” Tanzanians priority over “non-indigenous” Tanzanians and this led to furious debates in the media over who was “indigenous”. In January 23, 1993; Mtikila the leader of the Democratic Party declared war against non-indigenous Tanzanians in a rally. But very few Asians shared the above viewpoint. The majority of Asians joined the ruling CCM in blaming the fascist opposition leaders for “propagating racial conflicts to divide the people”; for their own political ends. In contrast, the supporters of opposition parties accused the CCM for allowing “greedy and selfish Asians” to grow from strength to strength”. An Asian origin political analyst masterfully commented on the current development thus:

“Asian racism seems to have come back to roots....Let the Asians question the underworld cowboys who have bought off the political elites and top civil servants. Let them question how come so easily a container load of cocaine can

56 ---Tanzania Political History and Background, [Online: Web] Accessed 5 July 2005
URL: Http://www.um.dk/publikationer/forretningsprog/English/Strategy/Tanzania
pass through Tanzania for onward transportation to a neighbouring country. Let them question how come expired medicines find their way to the selves of our chemists. Such are the questions that if asked by all honest Tanzanians (of all races) will lead to a conclusion that the so-called gabachori phenomenon is not confined to one particular race or that not all Asians belong to this category. In the absence of this consciousness being aroused the Mtikilas will continue throwing stones at Asians. And chances are that they will fall more on the heads of Asian doctors and teachers than on the cocaine importers. That is the irony of the whole matter."

However, even in the prevailing situation of racial hatred Indian Diaspora in Tanzania playing important role in the government. There were many members of Diasporic community who could secure their place in parliament in different elections and in the government. Mr. Ashok Shah describes that if we compare political participation or role of Indian Diaspora in these three countries of East Africa, Tanzania is the country where Indian Diaspora has been more vocal in the political space and could secure place in different governments and political parties. He emphasizes on role of Mrs. Zakia Meghji as a finance minister of Tanzania. She has done remarkable contribution in the economic development and investment promotion in the country.

According to country report of Ministry of External Affairs (India), in July 2005, an PIO Mrs. Shamim Parkar Khan was serving as a Deputy Minister of Tanzania and other 6 PIO’s were member in the parliament.

2.1.2.3 Uganda - From the first day of independence every government of Uganda made all possible effort to Africanize the system whether be it economic, political or cultural. In these circumstances ethnic Indians didn’t got chance to participate in the political system of the country. Only after, assuming the power by Museveni’s; few rays of hope have come. Now Uganda has adopted the new Constitution, which has came into force in

October 1995. The first Parliament under the new Constitution was elected in July 1996. It comprises 276 members, 214 of whom are elected by universal suffrage, and 62 representing interest groups.60 There were no formal political parties in Uganda's Parliament till 2003. The no-party or "Movement" system of government was endorsed by a referendum held in June 2000; around 90.7 percent of those who voted approved retention of the current system, while only 9.3 percent voted for a return to multi-party system. While the figures illustrate a resounding victory for Museveni’s position, the opposition, which ran campaign urging votes to boycott the referendum also, claimed victory. The boycott campaign appears to have had some effect as there were only 51.1 percent of eligible voters who participated in the referendum. The referendum was criticized also by the official observer group for not being carried out on a level playing field with very few resources allocated to the multi-party campaign.61

Despite of whole heartily welcoming ethnic Indians in the country; there is no representation to ethnic Indians in the government machinery until 2001. In the June 2001, Jay Tanna, a Ugandan national of Asian origin has been elected to represent the eastern region in the Ugandan parliament. Jay Tanna, whose family are investors in the eastern Ugandan town of Mbale, beat 20 rivals to be elected to represent young people in the eastern region. He is the first Asian to be voted into office in some four decades. According to, Electoral Commission spokesman, Dick Kizito: "(Jay) Tanna, is the first Asian MP for a long time. I think the first elected representative since the 1960s. It is a very significant thing, although people will still oppose him, as they don’t believe someone of a different colour can be a Ugandan," further he added “They may find it hard to believe that this young man is a Ugandan, but it is very good for our politics.” 62

Despite of lack of representation in government machinery Indian community in Uganda has done remarkable work for political awakening. Sugra Visram an ethnic Indian who’s

URL: http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/uganda


parents migrated to Uganda in early 1920s, has emerged most vocal women activist of the country in recent years. Her association with Ugandan politics and fight for the cause of women goes back to the early 1960s when she was elected as a Member of Parliament. Her first remarkable work was opposed the Amendment being proposed to the Penal Code in the National Assembly because as she says: 'It took away the rights and privileges of an individual and could also act against political organizations which did not see eye to eye with the government.' Regarding the election law she considered it unsatisfactory and felt that all the candidates' names should appear on the voting paper to allow the voters to make their choice. Also if a member wished to cross the floor, they should be required to contest a fresh election. Her term in parliament took a dramatic turn in 1966 when President Obote decided to change the constitution to make Uganda a one-party state and compelled all members of parliament to join his party, the Uganda Peoples’ Congress. Being a woman of principle and courage, Sugra opted to walk out, the only woman member to do so. 'The greatest difficulty I had to overcome was to pick myself up and continue working for the good of the country after I walked out of the parliament on a matter of principle,' concedes Sugra. 'I did so when Obote abolished the universally agreed original constitution and brought in his own. It was virtually a mechanism to open the way for a one party system. There was no doubt in my mind that it would lead to the end of democracy in Uganda. It goes without saying that it was a horribly frightening experience with potentially disastrous consequences, but I had to be true to my convictions.' Elected by the people in 1962, her parliamentary term officially ended in 1970. During Amin's period she was forced to leave the country but she again back when Museveni took over the power. President Museveni invited her to become his special assistant for Inward Investment into Uganda. Sugra felt highly honoured by offer and accepted that, her reaction was, 'It meant that I would be headquartered in London from where I could reach out to commercial and government organizations to acquaint them with advantages of opening businesses and industries in Uganda. 63

Sugra was elected as a member of parliament for the Kibuga area. The fascinating series of events which propelled Sugra into Uganda’s parliament are captured in the *Eastern Eye* article, dated 22 August 2003. ‘One thing that pleased me over the years,’ she admits, is that being amongst the first women to be elected to parliament, motivated and encouraged the young women of Uganda to get into politics and achieve high office. I am always happy to hear young strangers say to me your example made me determined to succeed at university and seek political office.

2.1.3 **Indian Diaspora in Political Parties**

Indian Diaspora was pioneer to start political activities in East Africa. In-fact they were the people who establish first ever political associations in various parts of East Africa. Initially, they were very active in the political sphere as in the colonial period racial political organizations were prevailing phenomenon and entering in the African political organizations was remote possibility Indians organized themselves in Asian political organizations like Indian Congress Party, Freedom Party etc. After achievement of independence, members of both the Indian Congress and the Freedom Party realized that their organizations have outlived their usefulness and in mid July 1963, at the 27th open session, the Indian Congress decided that it was no more desirable to continue function as an Indian organization. In November 1963, after KANU threw open membership to all races, the Freedom Party felt that there was no longer any justification for continuing as a separate organization. On the 17th November 1963, members of the FP called a meeting attempted by Tom Mboya, Mwai Kibaki and other prominent KANU leaders and officially expressed its desire to join KANU.64 However, gradually they were sidelined by indigenous political elites of the country from political parties. By of now all three countries have adopted liberal democracy and multi-party does exits in these countries. And there are hundreds of political parties have emerged in these states. Some of the most prominent political parties in these countries are:

---

64 A.R. Pathak, no. 34, P. 60.

Tanzania: Revolutionary State Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi), Civic United Front (Chama Cha Wananchi), Party for Democracy and Progress (Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo), Tanzania Labour Party, United Democratic Party, CHAUSTA (Chama cha Haki na Usitawi), Democratic Party, MAKINI (Demokrasia Makini), Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), Jahazi Asilia, National Convention for Construction and Reform-Mageuzi (NCCR-Mageuzi), National League for Democracy (NLD), National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA), Popular National Party (PONA), SAU (Sauti ya Umma), Tanzania Democratic Alliance (TADEA), Progressive Party of Tanzania-Maendeleo (PPT-Maendeleo), Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD), United People's Democratic Party (UPDP).


But, there is not even a single leading figure in either of the political parties in East African countries belong to Indian Diaspora, except Mr. Pheroze Nowrojee who is a national treasure and Executive Committee member of SDP in Kenya. In survey of the study a question was asked about membership of the political parties and findings of that inquiry reveals that only 17 per cent of the respondents have taken membership of any political party, 4 per cent skipped this question and rest 79 per cent said no [Graph-2.5]. Further, one respondent stated that through he is not a member of any political party but he and majority of other member of Diasporic community give support to Orange
Democratic Movement. 65 Prominent businessman of Kenya Mr. Ashok Shah accept that though he is not member of any political party but he himself and other businessman take part in cartel of various political parties and even some (regardless of ethnicity) offers donation to political parties for their activities. 66

Graph-2.5
PIO's: Membership of any Political Party

To get clearer picture on the subject a further question was asked in the survey related to active participation in the political parties. It was asked that whether they attend meetings of political parties. Question was open to all respondent whether they have taken membership of any political parties or not. 69 per cent of the respondent did not answer this inquiry. Only 31 per cent respondent opted this question and among them 9.7 per cent said that they attend meetings regularly, another 9.7 per cent said often, 32.3 per cent said rarely and rest 48.8 per cent said never [Graph-2.6].

65 Respondent no.4.
Some of the respondent expressed view that earlier Indian Diaspora was much involve in the political parties. But because of anti-Asian sentiments prevails in the meetings and other avenues of public function they have gradually sidelined them from political arena. To cash anti-Asian sentiments prevailing in certain section of the indigenous society sometime political parties propagates that Asians are exploiting resources of the country and not delivering in terms of socio-economic development of the nation. Some year back, The PICK manifesto booklet, entitled *Think, Work, and Grow Rich*, touches on the issue of the Asian community in Kenya, accusing them of having taken over business opportunities that should have been available to indigenous Kenyans.  

2.1.4 Indian Diaspora in Political Movements

Participation in the socio-political movements is another important way of the participation in the country’s political process. Indian Diaspora was champion in

bringing political awareness among indigenous people during the colonial period. As Kenyan President Mr. Kibaki said on one occasion,

"Asian-Africans, also participated actively in shaping up the post-independence social and political scene. Names like Jeevanjee, Desai, Makhan Singh, Pio Gama Pinto, Achroo Kapila, Fitz De Souza, Hassan Rattansi and Vidyarthi, readily comes to my mind".68

It is obvious to study their role in political sphere through this angel in the post independent period as well. In the survey question was ask that whether they have participated in any kind of Socio-political movements. 93 per cent of the respondent replied on this query and 78.5 per cent said no, only 21.5 per cent of the respondent said yes they have participated in the political movements [Graph-2.7]. Some of the respondent's provided detail of their participation in the political movements those are shown in table 2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68 President of Kenya's speech delivered at Oshwal Centre Nairobi, in July 2003 and published in Awaaz, Issue II, (2003), P. 6
### Table 2.2

**Indian Diaspora: Cause of Political Demonstrations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Respondent no.</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Society for the upgrading of the economic status of the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Peace and justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>I fought for the cause of Asians but later all Asians went away and I was caught (imprisonment) ... but it created problem later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Only once, as a Nairobi University student. Protest against UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) by Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) Ian Smith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Many protests and public meetings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Gender equality, media freedom, democratic process, constitutional reforms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Constitution of Kenya review process. Submitted papers on issue of assessment to police, local authority, members of elders in Council of religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Against the governmental policies of commercialization of education in 1993.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>EACA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Just demonstrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Movement for democracy; protest against imprisoning of intellectuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Idi Amin claimed that certain area’s of Kenya belongs to Uganda (sometime in 1975). We not only participated in the protest against such claim but also took a lead. Amin was forced to say that he was just talking in historical context and not present reality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Member of-Professional Association, Community Association, Religious Association-Hindu Council, Lions Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Against Anti-apartheids +Integration+ Discriminatory laws against Asian British Passport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>For constitutional reform, multipartyism, environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Religious procession only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Against building of a school in a residential house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>From 1990 to the present: in the movement for multiparty changes-in the movements for constitutional change-in the movement for “Moi must go”. In the movement for constitutional referendum, in the MAGEUSI movement for change, in the movement against detention of political prisoners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>In the Moi regime for the demand of multi-party democracy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.5 Indian Diaspora as a pressure / interest group

Pressure groups and interest groups constitute one of the major linkages between government and the governed in modern societies. In some respects, their origins parallel those of parties. They were the children of a new age of representative government and came into existence to articulate the increasingly complex division and cleavages of an emerging industrial society. While political parties, concerned with winning elections, sought to build coalitions of support and broaden their appeal, pressure groups and interest groups usually staked out a more distinct and clear-cut position, in accordance with the particular aspirations or values of the people they represent.69

In one of the previous sub-heading we have dealt the role of Indians in the governments and party systems of the respective states. It can be clearly extract from that analysis, Indian communities have been marginalized in the direct process of the government and politics of these countries in post independence period. Since they belong to minority community, they can not expect to become dominant in democratic institutions where number game has a determinative role. To prevent their own interests, integration in the form of pressure group and interests group were necessary. In the late 1990s, when the wave democracy has come in these countries these organization has got much more importance. For the purpose of discussion on role of Diasporic organizations as a pressure and interest group, broadly they can be clubbed into three categories- First, those or purely socio-cultural or religious organization and their membership is restricted to their own community members only; second those cultural organizations who claims to be representative of South Asian / Indian culture and their membership is open to all who hails their origin from South Asian sub-continent like Asian Foundation, Asian African Heritage Trust, Nairobi Gymkhana etc.; Third, those organizations which are formed with the ambition to awake people of South Asian descendant for their political interests and obligations for instance the Eastern Action Club for Africa. Since majority of the

69 Andrew Heywood, Politics, (New York Palgrave: 2003), P. 270.
organizations falls under first category, it would be appropriate to discuss them in little
detail.

Religious cultural and social organizations which are playing role of pressure groups and
interest groups of Indian Diaspora includes: (A) Organizations of Hindu community like-
Hindu Council, Arya Samaj, Brahmokumari Ashram, Ramakrishna Mission, Sanatan
Dharma Sabha,, Patel Brotherhood, Laohana Mandal etc. Arya Samaj has its expansion in
all parts of the East Africa. It was established here before the independence of these
countries. The purpose was to move the Hindu Dharma away from all the factitious
beliefs, and go back to the teachings of Vedas. Now it has become a key player in the
process of integration of Indian Diaspora. Among its major branches in East Africa
includes Arya Samaj Mombasa, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Eastern Africa, Arya Samaj
Eldorate, Arya Samaj Kisumu, Arya Samaj Nairobi, Arya Samaj Nakuru. (B)
Organizations of Jain Community Shree Sthanakvasi Jain Mandal, Nairobi Kenya; Jain
Sangh of Tanzania, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania; Jain Svetamber Derawasi, Mombasa
Kenya Visa Oshwal Community, Thika Kenya etc. (C) Organizations of Sikh
Community- East African Ramgarhia Board, Singh Sabha (D) Organizations of Asian
Muslims community- Aga Khan Society, Shia Imami Ismail Jamaat, Ithnasheri Jamat etc.

Apart from above mention organization, Indian communities have been organized in
several floras to protect their identity and promote interests. Indian Associations of Jinja
and Uganda are the oldest community organizations, both dating to the 1920s. There are
over 30 other associations in Uganda alone. As per information provided by the
Consulate General of India for Zanzibar (Tanzania), Indian Diaspora in Zanzibar has
established several organizations. Some of them are-

Hindu Union Community- This is an association of persons of Indian origin. 102 families
are members of this Association; Anjuman-E-Najmi Jamat (Bohra Jamat)- This is an
Association of Peoples of Indian Origin. This consists of 129 families; Kokni Jamat- This
is an Association of Peoples of Indian Origin. This consists of 62 families.
Hindi Sunni Jamat- This is an organization of Peoples of Indian Origin. This Association comprises 134 families; Cutchi Memon Jamat- This is an Association of Peoples of Indian Origin. This consists of 44 families; Goan Community- This is an Association of Peoples of Indian Origin. This consists of 60 families; Khoja Shia Ithna-Ashri-Kuwwatul Islam Jamat- This is an Association of Peoples of Indian Origin. This consists of 50 families; Arya Samaj- This is an Association of Peoples of Indian Origin. This consists of 50 families; Shia Imami Ismail Jamaat (Aga Khan) - This is an Association of Peoples of Indian Origin. This consists of 50 families.

Apart from these organizations some of the organizations, which has global reach are have their branches in the region. Some of them are GOPIO, Bhartiya Swayamsevak Sangh (BSS), Gujarati Association, Sikh Diaspora and Ismaili Khoja. These organizations help the Indian Diaspora in the region to raise their voice collectively. Therefore they also act as interests groups of Indian Diaspora. However, Indian Diaspora in East Africa expects much active role to play from these organizations for the protection of interest of the Indian Diaspora. In the survey, question was asked about functioning of these organizations as a pressure / interest group of Indian Diaspora, finding is indicated in Graph-2.8.

2.1.6 Upsurge of democracy and Indian Diaspora

Last decade of the 20th century has seen upsurge of democracy all over the world. East Africa is not exception of that. Kenya, has been democratic state since its independence but during the Moi’s era it became a short of authoritative state for the practical purpose. However, in late 1980s multiparty system was introduced. For a long time Uganda seen as ‘no party democracy’. Later, President of Uganda Musevini, lifted ban on political parties and multi-party democracy in truest sense was come much later. In case of Tanzania, for a long time it was govern under the Nyrere’s policies of socialist democracy and in last decade of the century it also adopted path of democracy. There is an obvious question of role of Indian Diaspora in the process of bringing liberal democracy or demanding it and their experiences in the era of liberal democracy in the country.
In late 1980s, Indian Diaspora fought together with the indigenous leader for the end of one party dictatorship in Kenya and introduction of multi-party government. Multi-party system was introduced in 1997 but thereafter, some Kenyan politicians are started using emotive issues like tribe and race for expedient purposes. The country is rocked by politically instigated ethnic violence and calls by some politicians for the expulsion of the Asian community. Ford Asili chairman Kenneth Matiba and a few other leaders have persistently called for the expulsion of the Asian community. These Asian calls are reminiscent to those by Minister for Home Affairs and National Heritage, William ole Ntimama to Kikuyus to leave Narok and the Rift Valley. The Minister asked Kikuyus to "lie low like envelopes". His calls were followed by bloody violence in Narok district, in which hundreds of Kikuyus were murdered and rendered homeless. From the 1991/92 ethnic violence experience should teach us that expelling the Asian community or relocating the Kikuyus and other tribes from the Rift Valley or the Coast Province is not a panacea for Kenyan problems.  

2.1.7 Double migration- Government Policies towards them

A major section of Indian Diaspora in East Africa, has further migrated to the develop countries of the world. Among those countries includes, USA, UK, Canada, Australia etc. A recently conducted survey among East African PIO's migrated further indicates that 39.8 per cent are resettled in United Kingdom, 27.3 per cent in United States of America, 23.9 per cent in Canada, 6.8 per cent in Australia, 2.3 per cent in New Zealand and 6.8 per cent in other countries. Reason for further migration they explains- 43.8 per cent education, 25.8 per cent safety, 16.9 per cent economic, 12.4 per cent to follow family, 4.5 per cent business / employment, 2.2 per cent marriage and rest 32.6 per cent specify other reasons. Among them 75.7 per cent still have connection in Kenya, 41.4 per cent in Tanzania and 24.3 per cent in Uganda.  


This survey was conducted by www.surveymonkey.com on behalf of Africa Orientalia group. Findings of the survey are available online URL: www.benegal.com (Registration is required to access website) Accessed on 2 January 2007.
After long time of neglect, suddenly they are in demand due to variety of regions. Since the introduction of policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization every country of the world has recognized their Diaspora and need their talent and money in bringing development in the country. In this context, double migrated people i.e. Indian Diaspora who have left these countries and settled in other countries are also in demand. This section is dealing governmental policies towards them.

2.1.7.1 Kenya: In Kenya, government’s effort to engage her Diaspora are collaborated with ‘The Kenya Diaspora Network’ a non-political organization whose primary objective is to support the Kenyan Government development efforts by aligning the resources and inherent knowledge of Kenyan Organizations in the Diaspora with the Government’s Economic Recovery Plan (GERP) and with the Donors' Country Assistance Plans. The Network was recently formed at the behest of the Kenyan government in conjunction with the World Bank Institute and Western Hemisphere African Diaspora Network (WHADN-an initiative of the AU). The Kenyan Network’s vision, like many others countries' Diaspora initiatives, is to mobilize the Diaspora to increase Kenya's wealth creation and multiplication. This will be done by pooling the respective resources and expertise of each Kenyan organization and their individual members into a unified, coordinated and constructive core towards a common project/goal in support of Kenya's socio-economic recovery plan. In that respect, The Network will operate as a Secretariat, which links Kenyan organizations in the Diaspora with each other, the government, local communities, other civil societies, private sector and national and international development actors. When implemented, the Network will be a development partner to Diaspora organizations, to the Kenyan Government and the Donor Community serving as a Clearinghouse – a centralized portal serving each group in a specific manner to enable each group to meet its socio-economic goals and objectives. Targeted sectors includes- Foreign Direct Investment, Health, Science and Technology, Advocacy, Tourism, Education, Agriculture, Trade, Environmental, Anti Corruption, Civil Society Strengthening, Emergency Assistance etc. 73

2.1.7.2 Tanzania: Tanzania government is continuously trying to attract her Diaspora and increase volume remittance flows sent by Tanzanian Diaspora. Various activities to increase and enhance the effectiveness of remittances have resulted dramatic increase in remittances flows from the Diaspora. In 2006 according to the World Bank, Remittances to Tanzania were US Dollars 100 Million. This figure excludes remittances through informal channels. “Remittances flowing into developing countries are attracting increasing attention because of their rising volume and their impact on recipient countries. In 2005, they totaled $188 billion- twice the amount of official assistance developing countries received. Most of the reported flows go to regions other than sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), but SSA has still been part of the overall rising global trend. Between 2000 and 2005, remittances to the region increased by more than 55%, to nearly $7 billion, whereas they increased for developing countries as a group by 81 percent.”74 Since Indian Diaspora in Tanzania further migrated to other countries is an unavoidable segment of Tanzanian Diaspora, these policies of Tanzanian government is effecting to them positively.

2.1.7.3 Uganda: Once Idi Amin dictator of Uganda, issued expulsion order to Asians. Now, his successor Mussevini is making all possible effort to ease comeback of those people. He is promising to return seize property of those people and full freedom to live and work there in the future. The New York Times report about these policies, “…Ugandan Asians, once the backbone of commerce and trade here, were forced out of the country and their properties were confiscated in 1972 by Idi Amin Dada, who was then President. Now they are streaming back...The legislation is more than a decade old, but it is only in the last year that the Ugandan Government, under pressure from Western aid donors, has made concerted efforts to speed and simplify the reacquisition of property taken from the Asians, most of whom have roots in India or Pakistan. Several hundred Asians have begun returning to Kampala, many convinced that after two decades of civil war, stability has finally returned. A Tangible Difference...Although they represent only a small

URL: http://africarecruit.com/Tanzania_Event/index.php
fraction of the more than 75,000 Asians who once lived in Uganda and owned most of Kampala’s shops and commercial buildings and the country’s plantations, their presence has already made a tangible difference. The cement buildings and storefronts in the capital, once gray and decrepit, are being repainted and refurbished. Factories are being reopened and equipment imported from abroad... The promised return of an estimated 3,000 properties is expected to have far-reaching political and economic repercussions. The repossession has been led by President Yoweri Museveni, who says he hopes that it will help dispel the image of Uganda as a place of poverty, death and chaos and convince foreign investors and Western donors that it is politically and economically stable.”

2.2 Economic Dimensions

In last few decades there have been divergent views in regards of economic role of Indian Diaspora. While, people like Idi-Amin has bitterly criticised Asians in general and Indian Diaspora in particular on account of its exploitative nature towards local people and economy; on the other hand scholars such as J K Jhaberi, Nitin Mehta, Prof. Bihari Lal etc. have fairly appreciated role of Indian Diaspora. There has been number of arguments and counter arguments regarding their economic contributions, which has been discussed under the challenges of integration in chapter 4 of this study. It would be appropriate to take a look on economic history of Indian Diaspora in East Africa. Broadly speaking, Inspite of the ancient trade links between India and East Africa, Indian settlement increased rapidly only with the beginning of construction of Ugandan railway. Viewing from this perspective any analysis of economic contribution must start with the beginning of construction work of Ugandan railway. In almost two centuries of the Indian settlement, we see five distinct patterns in economic history of Indian Diaspora in the region-

---

indentured labourers, dukawallah (petty shopkeepers), economic elite, small scale industrialist and in present context their engagement in vivid occupations.

2.2.1 Journey of Indian Diaspora from indentured labours to Economic Elite

Most of the early immigrants from India to East Africa, forced or voluntary were from middle or lower middle class background. They went there with the hope of getting new opportunities for livelihood. However, they faced fabulous hardship in early days. Robert G. Gregory notes,

"After arrival in East Africa the immigrants often went through several weeks or months of uncertainty and privation while determining their initial location and employment. Although some had a smattering of English, very few knew any German, Arabic or Swahili. Even among Asians they were strangers outside their own communities. In most cases, with a life of poverty behind them, they had borrowed the money for the voyage or spent nearly all their savings, and rarely did one arrive with more than a few rupees in his pocket. The Goans and the Patels, fairly versed in English could hope for some government position. The peasant farmers, such as the Shahs or Punjabis, lacked an adequate knowledge of English and had no skill in crafts or firsthand experience in business. With neither opportunity nor inducement to continue as farmers they could seek only some menial employment with someone from their own community who was already established."76

2.2.1.1 Indenture labourers: In the late nineteenth century as the British assumed the control of the interior parts of East Africa, the Indians were given important part in the development of East Africa. The founders of the British East Africa company-Sir William Mackinnon, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir John Kirk, William Burdetto Coutts, Robert Palmer Harding and George S. Mackenzie- thought that the East Africa would provide an outlet for India’s

surplus population. 'The Directors have contemplated from the first', wrote P. L. McDermott, the company's secretary-

"The colonization of the vast unoccupied areas, adjacent to the coast, with the British Indian families of the agricultural class; the prosperity of these would be assured where so many of their countrymen have for years been settled as successful traders and where congenial conditions of soil, climate and government exist.... while the relief which so eligible an outlet would afford for the surplus population of India hardly needs to be referred to."

The officers of British East Africa Company continued to emphasize the desirability of Indian colonization until 1895 when the East African administration was taken over by the Foreign office. Among them Fredrick Lugard was the most vocal advocate of the scheme. He wrote that the police and military personnel as well as labours, both artisans and coolies, would be recruited from India and that their presence in the midst of Africans will have encouraging and civilizing effect on the latter. Even Sir Harry Johnston described East Africa as a possible 'America of the Hindu', or contemplate the growth of Entebbe as the future Calcutta, a new capital on the Mau plateau as the Simla, Mombasa as the Bombay and Fort Portal as the Darjeeling of the new East African Empire'.

Despite of such enthusiasm expressed by some officers, the colonial Government in India initially was unwilling to provide indentured labours because of bad experiences of Indian labours in other countries. Though later on, Government encouraged migration of Indians to East Africa for a brief period. One of the British officers Sir Charles Eliot challenged the opinion that East Africa ought to be the America of Hindus. He wrote-

"I hardly feel able to agree with so broad a statement, for the various districts of East Africa differ so much from one another that generalisations are dangerous

---


79 J.S. Mangat, no. 16, P.63.
and the fact seems to be that India does not require an America. The Indian government do not encouraged emigration, and though Indians are ready to seek new markets, they do not really settle in foreign countries. They trade there, but they desire to return to India; and it is to India that they send their money, instead of spending it in the land of their residence.\textsuperscript{80}

In-fact, the population in the Indian subcontinent lived in abject poverty in different geographical regions, suffered from repeated famines and droughts and the subcontinent provided ready market for providing cheap labour to several possessions within Empire. The people had heard about immense opportunities to earn money in Africa from the merchants coming from the East Africa. The dual factor of push from within and pull from without played an important part in accelerating the tempo of Indian immigration to South Africa, Mauritius and East Africa; once they became part of the British Empire. Dr. Yash Tandon, a Ugandan Asian, writes-

"Applying the 'push and pull theory', for most of them the push was imparted by the relative economic poverty in their country of origin, and the pull of brighter economic prospects in East Africa that were instrumental in persuading them to part painfully with relatives and friend and undertake a long sea voyage to an unknown continent. There were many who came, or more correctly, were brought as indentured coolies to build the railways. Here once again, the economic aspect of the push and pull theory was the motivating factor".\textsuperscript{81}

The construction of railway was not an easy job; indentures labours faced many hardships and dangers. Soon after the beginning of work in the humid coastal lowlands, they suffered from malaria, jiggers, dysentery, scurvy and various liver complaints. In the early years fifty percent of the Indians contracted malaria. Often an average of 10 percent of the labour force was on the sick list.\textsuperscript{82} Despite of these difficulties Indian indentured labours were able to complete the 572-mile long railway. It will be interesting to quote

\textsuperscript{82} Robert G. Gregory, no., 77, p. 55.
Sir Charles Eliot who has acknowledged, important role of Indian indentured labours in these words:

"The railway was built almost entirely by coolies brought over from India; and though the cost of transport and of providing the food to which men were accustomed was considerable, I do not think the necessary labour could have been provided in any other way. After nearly nine years the natives have become so familiarised with the railway, and the idea of working for Europeans, that they are able to perform the class of work required for maintenance; but it may be doubted if even now they could be used for purpose of construction and it certainly was out for the question when the railway commenced. The jungle which surrounded the first part of the line is particularly uninhabited and to have brought labour down from Uganda would probably have been a more lengthy and difficult task than to bring it from India, to say nothing of difference in efficiency". 83

2.2.1.2 Dukawalla: Indians came to East African coast as traders long before the European colonizers. But unlike colonial powers, they were content to barter goods and return to their homeland. The permanent settlement of Indians began with the construction of Ugandan Railway; petty merchants who were spread all along the railway lines or moved to newly established posts. 'These may be called the real founders of the Indian commercial enterprises in the interior of East Africa, who helped to create trade, initially in a small way, and than in a large way; in areas where none had existed before. With considerable fortitude and perseverance against all kinds of odds, they pioneered the establishment of 'dukas' (derived from the Gujarati word 'Dukan' means a shop), local trading centers and bazaars in different localities. The introduction of a variety of imported items to the local population and later on the rupee as currency provided incentives for greater production as well as a transition from barter to money based economy. 84

83 Charles Eliot, no. 80, p. 215.
The Indian usually carried their goods to remote areas by a system of poterage as was practiced in Indian villages. Occasionally an Indian used a *kalami* a four wheeled cart which could carry 1600 pounds of merchandise, but it *Tse-Tse* areas a *kalami* often had to be pushed by porters. Although the Indians initially catered to the needs of the construction workers, they gradually developed a flourishing trade with the Africans and eventually with the Europeans who settled in the highlands. They monopolized the business life of the towns and acquired ownership of almost all the municipal lands. They were merchants of Indian products, small contractors, money-lenders, quarry-masters, dealers in lime, sand, stone and domestic firewood, barbers, saddlers, boot-makers, nurserymen and tailors. They came from the centers of the Indian Ocean trade- from Mombasa and other coastal towns of East Africa, from Zanzibar, Oman and other Arab states; and from Bombay, Karachi and other Indian ports. When the construction work of railways was completed, they stayed in Africa; as they prospered they called their wives, children’s and friends to the East Africa.\(^{85}\)

The emigration to East Africa then became a regular feature. Any enterprising young man who wanted to leave India had to arrange his own fare across the ocean or persuade somebody already established in Africa to pay it and help him on his arrival. For this reason the poor were not able to migrate in large numbers; nor for different reasons, did the rich or the well educated. The East African settlers were mainly petty traders and artisans and most of them came from a rural background, almost took to agriculture in spite of the hopes of some administrative officials at the beginning of the century.\(^{86}\)

Indian traders were adept in "*duka*" trading. Most of them had inherited the shops of their own fathers and uncles. For them "*duka*" keeping and trading had been a family inheritance, which in many cases passed on from father to son. Thus the art of trading had virtually become a part of their lives. It might be that some of Indians "*duka*" traders had little or no formal school or college education, but in the normal trade dealings even the University commerce graduate, not belonging to the trading community would find it

\(^{85}\)Robert G. Gregory, no. 77, p. 62.

difficult to beat them in trading talent and alert business faculty. Some of the Indian traders were relatively new to the job in the sense that trading had not been rooted in their family traditions. They had taken recourse to trading as a matter of convenience finding it a profitable proposition in the East Africa's conditions. But they, too, being familiar with the working of market forces, were quick on their own with a little guidance and help from their fellow countrymen.

For several years “dukawallah” had to pave his way through very trying and tough conditions indeed. There were no proper transport facilities and only a patchwork of footpaths leading to the interior African habitats. Some of African tribes were still considered to be dangerous by the unfamiliar strangers and above all diseases and death were commonplace. Malaria, Black water fever, Plague, Sleeping sickness were the most dreaded diseases and were widespread. They went to the unknown areas and settled in isolated areas in order to start trade with strange and primitive Natives who mostly had no previous knowledge of money and trade. An outstanding African anthropologist had this in mind when he writes: “The (African) people who lived near the coast had long trading connections with the outside world and suffered greatly from the traffic in slaves. But those who lived in the interior knew very little of the outside world and its inhabitants.”

Despite of, these circumstances a “dukawallah” carried the mechanism of monetary economy in the interior to create new methods in the process; he introduced a set of new values of mark for money, to produce for the market, to cultivate economic crops and to manufacture other goods not merely for exports but also for the expanding domestic market.

---

88 Ibid, p. 87.
89 Ibid, pp. 89-90.
91 R.R. Ramchandani, no. 87, p.90.
Indians, who migrated to East Africa to look for new opportunities as traders initially used to join as attendants with shopkeepers of retail and wholesale shops, perseverance and industry brought expanded opportunity. Before dawn he arose to sweep the floors and replace the self stocks and until nine or ten p.m. through a fourteen to eighteen hour day he was busy behind the counters running errands or even helping to care for the more enterprising, he left the city to open a shop of his own in small remote town where competition was less intense and he stocked his new shop with goods purchased wholesale or taken on credit from his former employer. Regardless of these obstacles the Indian traders carried out their work. Names like Jivanjee, Jairam Shivji, Jetha, Ladha Damji, Musa, Tharia Topan, Moosah, Wat Benia, Adamjee Alishoy and Waljee Hirjee should not be forgotten among the brave and hard-working early Indian pioneers.92

Since, the Indian ‘dukawallah’ or shopkeeper was a characteristics feature of townships and urban centers throughout East Africa for the decades, it is necessary to say something about it. To a typical ‘dukawallah’ living in a remote township, life offers few excitements, and hard work pays little compensation. The working day was long, usually starting at 7 a.m. and continued late till the evening. The shopkeeper, who generally use to live in a small brick house adjoining his shop, and will typically be helped in his chores by his relatives; but he may barely manage to save enough for his children’s education or for his daughter’s dowry. Life in the township offers few amenities; there is very little by way of organized recreation and entertainment. The tedium of enforced leisure may partly and occasionally be relieved by social calls on the few Indian families in the neighborhood. But, in general, there is little colour or variety in his dreary routine.93 Even in many cases Indian Dukawallah could not succeed in their businesses and subsequently moved to other avenues for their livelihood. It would be appropriate to quote G. Oonk’s analysis on business failure of some Indians,

“Not all Indian families were successful in East Africa. Some went bankrupt in the early stages of their settlement. The Zanzibar bankruptcy cases reveal a plethora of causes, conditions, and circumstances in which Indian businesses went

92 Shanti Pandit, no. 90, p.54.
bankrupt. Most insolvents stressed very personal situations and ‘bad luck’ as the main reasons for their deteriorated economic situation. In some instances, the trustee report mentioned irresponsible personal expenses, such as excessive gifts to religious leaders and expensive weddings of daughters, as the main explanation of the bankruptcy.\textsuperscript{94}

However, it seems that image of the Indian Diaspora’s occupation has changed a lot in last forty years. Now, they don’t feel of carrying traditional image of \textit{dukawallah}. In the survey an explicit question was asked that PIO’s / Asians in East Africa have been known as \textit{dukawallah}, according to you, are they still retaining that image in Kenya / East Africa. 98 per cent of the respondents replied to this question and those who replied among them 73.47 per cent said no, 19.39 per cent said yes while rest 7.14 per cent opted for can’t say choice (Graph 2.9). Respondent no. 85 said ‘Days of Duka’s gone’ and respondent no. 2 stated that ‘I never heard word \textit{dukawallah}. You are the first person from whom I am listening this word’. Respondent no. 4 said instead of \textit{dukawallah} indigenous people use word ‘\textit{Kalasingha}’ for them, though, he was not clear about meaning of the word. According to respondent no. 34, 66, 70 and 72; Indian Diaspora partially retaining that image but not exclusively so.

2.2.1.3 Economic Elite: From ancient period, Indians links with East Africa were mostly for the purpose of trade. These links acquired new dimensions by the construction of Ugandan Railway and aftermath. Further economic depression after First World War, gave new opportunities to Indian business communities in the region. The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a rapid growth of the Indian role in the interior of East Africa based on the twin foundations of the middle level employment and commercial enterprises.

Though, Indians were still characterized as 'dukawallah' living in remote parts of the country. Today their main economic contribution is the supply of middle level manpower and of capital. This combination of capital and technical know how in one section of the population is a great potential asset to the economy. According to Guy Hunter's estimates, in mid 1961 there were 67500 skilled persons in East Africa, divided into two categories: the first consisted of just over 18000 professional men of graduate or equivalent level, senior administrators and senior managers in commerce and industry;
and the second category covered about 49500 in the next layer of skilled manpower, including technicians and sub-professional grades (for example, the second echelon in agricultural extension work), executive grades in the civil service, middle management in industry and commerce and teachers with secondary education but without a University degree. Hunter’s estimates shows that Asians provide a little less than forty percent of the population in category I, and about fifty percent of those in category II, in the whole of East Africa. There were small numbers of business families, such as Mehtas, Madvanis, Mainis and Hindochas of Uganda and the Karimjee and Jivanjees of Tanzania who were rich by world standards. There were also some top professionals (specialist Doctors and lawyers) who also belonged to this category.

The booming economy, rising employment opportunities, particularly in the middle-level skilled labour roles, the high saving propensity and consequent reinvestment by Asian business and their expansion led to an expanding demand for goods supplied by such businesses. Expanding income also gave rise to some manufacturing industries and with the increase in middle level labour market needs; the Asians filled these. This created a virtuous circle of expanding industries for Asians. Nevertheless there were some Asians, who were excluded from these improvements: These were members of the large families with low or negative saving propensities, thus the economic picture of the Indians in the early sixties as the East African territories advanced towards independence was a mixed one.

2.2.1.4 Small Scale industrialist: After independence the newly established governments of these countries tried to prevent the role of Asians in the economies of respective countries. In Tanzania- Arusha Declaration of 1967, Acquisition of Building Act of 1971; in Kenya Kenyanisation policy of its economy and in Uganda the 1972 Amin’s expulsion order for Asians were major steps in this regard. Further, Tanzania’s and Uganda’s neo-Marxist anti-capitalist policies and narrow economic nationalist policies reduced the rate

---

95 D.P. Ghai and Y.P. Ghai, no. 93, p. 195.
97 Ibid.
of growth of all three economies. In general a non-expanding economy creates a much greater pressure on minorities to vacate economic space than does a rapidly expanding one. In the latter the majority population finds economic space with economic growth and can continue to gain both absolutely and relatively without necessarily having to displace the minorities. Consequently pressure on Asians to vacate economic space, without an alternative opportunity in the manufacturing sector or in higher level skills, was much greater in Tanzania and Uganda than it was in Kenya—at least over the 1965-80 period. After 1980, Kenya's performance deteriorated for a number of reasons: the high oil prices, the growing lack of confidence by African capitalists (mostly Kikuyu, against whom discriminatory policies have been adopted) and Asian capitalists (as their insecurity has heightened) meant reduced investment and reduced economic growth in Kenya. This in turn was accelerated in the eighties and nineties the process of exit by Asians from Kenya as well.98

Measures taken by successive governments in East African countries largely prevented Asian communities to venture in remote areas. They were discouraged to purchase agricultural land or conduct business in the remote areas. As a result the Asian community people migrated to the urban areas in these countries. Further, retail shops of certain communities were reserved for native people. In these circumstances Indian Diaspora moved towards small scale industries for their livelihood. Because of their predominance in commerce and their knowledge of African market, PIO's were in a position to explore new opportunities and overcome the Africanization policy of successive governments. Indravadan Chandaria's study (1962) of fifty-eight manufacturing enterprises with over fifty employees reveals that 67.2 per cent of these companies were owned by PIO's, 24.1 per cent by Europeans, 5.2 per cent by interracial partnership, and 3.4 per cent by international firms.99 David Himbara conducted a survey of one hundred manufacturing enterprises in Kenya in the year of 1989-90. Findings of his survey demonstrates that almost two-thirds (63 per cent) of the manufacturing firms

98 Ibid., P.133.
sampled in 1989-90 had been established since 1970; almost four-fifths had been established since 1960. 71 per cent of manufacturing companies established before independence belonged to PIO's. In 1960s the proportion established by PIO's increased to 79 per cent; in 1970s it felt back to 70 per cent; in 1980s it rose sharply to 85 per cent. For the years 1964-1990 as a whole share of new manufacturing companies owned by PIO's was 78 per cent; while from 1977 (when East African Common Market collapsed) to 1990 the proportion rises to 84 per cent. Figures of the overall result in the various period of growth (since independence to 1990) shows that PIO’s owns 75 per cent in all manufacturing companies and 73 per cent of the manufacturing companies with over one hundred workers. They own 86 per cent of manufacturing companies with a capital of over Kenyan Shs 100 million. His survey also studied ownership of the companies in the sample which were in financial or mismanagement difficulties (i.e. under receivership) in 1989 and 1990 and found no PIO’s owned company in this category. Findings of Himbara’s survey indicates that while the role of PIO’s in commerce and industries has continued to increase, the performance of private Africans and state parastatals has ranged from mediocre to total failure. Now, Indian Diaspora is a major stakeholder in the small scale industries of East African countries. A survey conducted by Vijaya Ramachandran and Manju Kedia Shah on enterprises ownership in five African countries also reveals the fact that minority communities own more industries then indigenous people (Graph 2.10).

100 David Himbara, Ibid. Pp. 45-51.
Findings of the survey conducted for this study also proves that Africanization policy launched by successive governments in East Africa had not affected drastically to the Indian Diaspora. A question was asked that, after independence successive governments tried to Africanized economy, do you think because of that the role of Indian Diaspora / Asians in the field of economy suffered? Five options were provided to answer this question 92 per cent respondents replied to this query among them 12 per cent each said drastically and very much, 32 per cent said to a great extent, 27 per cent said marginally while rest 9 per cent said all these policies not affected at all (Graph-2.11).

2.2.1.5 Indian Diaspora in vivid occupations: It is a common perception among local people that Indian Diaspora in East Africa is mostly engaged in business activities. However, contrary to prevailing notion Indian Diaspora in East Africa has been engaged in various activities for the livelihood. Robert G. Gregory provides detailed analysis of occupation of the economically active Asians in East Africa during the period of 1957-62 (Table). It is further evident in the survey of this study. In this survey 32.7 per cent of the respondents were employed in private sector while only 1 per cent was in government job. 23.8 percent respondent were professionals like doctors, engineers, architect, advocates etc. While, other which are about 22.8 per cent in the survey were students, housewife, retired or even unemployed persons. One remarkable change has occurred in employment pattern since then to now, while in 1962, 31.3 per cent Asians were employed in public services in current survey only one per cent respondent are employed in government services. Graph-2.12 indicates occupation of the respondents.
Further, a question was asked to know general impression about livelihood activities of Indian Diaspora, respondents had the choice to give more than one answer. Percentage of cumulative responses shows that respectively 7.61, 47.72, 34.01 and 3.05 per cent respondent opted for agriculture, business, service in private companies and jobs in government sector while rest 7.61 per cent opted for other category [Graph-2.13].
Table 2.3

Occupation of Economically Active Asians, 1957-62

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Kenya 1962</th>
<th></th>
<th>Tanganyika 1957</th>
<th></th>
<th>Uganda 1959</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Commerce, banking</td>
<td>16325</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>9247</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>9426</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Public services</td>
<td>11474</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1542</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>5001</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Private transport, communication</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, fishing</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1737</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Electricity, Water</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mining, quarrying</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1485</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>36653</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>18505</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>16627</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Contribution to the Economy of East Africa

In fact today's economic superiority of Indian Diaspora in the East Africa is the result of continuous hard work and sincere effort to achieve high-position in the economy of the region. History of entrepreneurship among Indian Diaspora, social networking and concept of family business has been important factors to their economic success and prosperity. Some scholars such as Baumol have argued that entrepreneurship is shaped by the rules of the game and reward structure in the economy. He thus extended the five traits by Schumpeter to include other activities such as tax evasion, speculation and rent seeking. Although these are the words consider synonymous with the Asian entrepreneur

---

by a typical indigenous entrepreneur but so far been no evidence. Though, some few are involved in such activities, majorities are involved in genuine business.\textsuperscript{103}

Family histories as a reason for the success in business also appear in a survey conducted for the World Bank in Tanzania. According to this survey, 74 per cent of the Asian origin entrepreneurs had their father involved in own business compare to 22 per cent of Africans. 80 per cent of the Asian entrepreneurs received their training in the form of informal training compared to 29 per cent of Africans. It was also evident in the survey that Asian entrepreneurs were more highly educated than their African counterparts. In the survey, 34 per cent of the Asians entrepreneurs had an education higher than school, against only 19 per cent entrepreneurs of African origin. In addition, 21 per cent of Asian entrepreneurs went to university compared to 5 per cent of African entrepreneurs. Another important finding of this survey is that while family network works as a supporting factor to the PIO’s it becomes a drawback to Africans. The African entrepreneur will be obliged to employ relatives even though the might not be qualified. Worse, the African entrepreneur is expected to invest in the rural areas despite assets such as rural homes generating no income. As a contrast the Asian entrepreneur re-invests in the business. The World Bank’s survey noted that 72 per cent of African origin entrepreneurs own a farm compared to 25 per cent of the Asian.\textsuperscript{104}

It would be appropriate to quote Kenyan President Mr. Kibaki’s appreciation of Dr. Manu Chandaria which implies for other businessmen of Diasporic community as well, he said,

“Dr. Chandaria’s leadership in industry is no less colourful. One of the areas where the Chandaria name features so prominently is in business, especially manufacturing. In Kenya, and the East African region, the Chandaria family has wide and varied interests. Indeed Manu has won the prestigious most respected Chief Executive Officer in East Africa award, for the third year running, since it


was established in the year 2003. When I was Vice-President and Minister of Finance, Manu and I had much useful interaction on economic and business matters affecting our nation. To date, he continues to be extensively involved in various Government Economic Committees and Task Forces, where he has served with distinction. We value his wisdom and experience.\textsuperscript{105}

Indian Diaspora's contribution to the economy of East Africa has been fairly recognized by scholars of the subject. Winston Churchill has written in his book 'My African Journey' year's ago about contribution of Indian Diaspora to the East Africa-

"How stands the claim of the British Indian? His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honorable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian traders who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man would go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication. It was by Indian labour that the one vital railway on which every thing else depends was constructed. It is the Indian banker who supplies perhaps the larger part of the capital yet available for business and enterprises, and to whom the white settlers have not hesitated to rescore for financial aid. The Indian was here long before the first British official. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and inland as the white settlers-especially the most recently arrived contingents from South Africa (the loudest against him of all)- can count years of residence. It is possible for any government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man, to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith.\textsuperscript{106}"

\textsuperscript{105} President of Kenya's speech at Oshwal Centre Nairobi, July 2003 and published in Awaaz, Issue II (2003), P. 7

In the survey for this study a question was asked from respondents whether they feel that they are contributing positively to the economy of East Africa. Total 99 per cent of the respondent replied to this question and 90 per cent in total said yes, 1 said no while rest 8 per cent opted for can't say category [Graph-2.14]

Further, a question was asked to know general impression about way of contribution to economy of East African countries by Indian Diaspora, respondents had the choice to give more than one answer. Percentage of cumulative responses shows that respectively 21.70, 19.57, 30.21 and 22.55 per cent respondent opted for creating infrastructure, Earning Foreign currency through external trade, Paying taxes to government, and helping local needy while rest 5.96 per cent opted for other category [Graph-2.15].
2.2.2.1 Primary sector-Agriculture and allied activities: Due to restriction in purchasing agricultural land in colonial period, initially Indian settlers. After independence many ethnic Indians purchased land for agriculture but soon after independent governments also adopted same policies. In a personal interview, Mr. Suresh Kapila informed, "During British colonial era Asians were not allowed to have land for farming, in very exceptional cases they could own land but that was relatively unproductive. All tea and coffee gardens were owned by Europeans. For example, Neera Kapila's fore-parents were engaged in vegetable plantation and animal husbandry. At the time of independence Europeans were selling the lands and Asians had money to buy those lands in first few years it happened but later government made very strict regulations on this so Again Asians were not in the position to have lands. But there are several tea and coffee gardens where Asians and Africans are partners and equally getting benefits of each other."  

2.2.2.2 Secondary Sector-Industries: Indian Diaspora has made remarkable success in the secondary sector of the economy. In East Africa, Indian Diaspora is a major player in the industrial sector. Chandaria Group, Madhvani Group, Mehta Group and others are the some of the biggest business group in whole East Africa. Through their huge business activities they are doing best possible contribution to the economic development of these nations. As a part of research work, researcher visited to various industrial houses. General impression researcher got that 80 to 90 per cent of the employees in these

---

107 Personal interview: Mr. Suresh Kapila 8 July 2007.
industries are indigenous people including in the highest posts of the organizational hierarchy. Even in some industries they are partners. And so that Indian Diaspora is contributing in secondary sector of the economy through industrial development of the country and employment generation. The entrepreneurship skills are well acknowledged by scholars. For instance, David Himbara, in his book “Kenyan Capitalists, the State and Development”, writes about success of Indian Diaspora in Kenya “Some of the determining factors that distinguished the Indians from businessmen in other Kenyan communities were their commercial skills, as evidenced by an ability to survive in remote areas on modest resources and by sheer determination and hard work; their vision of the potential mass market and the patience to transform it into an actual market; their general efficiency and competitive edge; and the role of family units and collective organizations in providing mechanism to engender discipline and cohesion.”

2.2.2.3 Tertiary Sector-Services: Tertiary sector or service sector is an emerging area for the developing economies. Since, East African countries are fast developing economies and have tremendous opportunities in the field of tourism, service sector is an important segment of the economy. Many ethnic Indians are engaged in transport, tourism and hospitality sectors. Kenya Bay Beach Hotel limited runs by Mr. Sarwan K. Kalsi, has established its hotels in various parts of East Africa. There are number of transport services owned by Indian Diaspora. Many educationalists, doctors, advocates and other service professionals are engaged in doing for the betterment of their country of adoption.

2.2.2.4 Role in infrastructure development: Indian Diaspora has played very important role in the infrastructure development of East African countries. Some of the best buildings in Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam and various other places are built by the contractors belongs to Indian Diaspora. They have built numerous roads, hospitals, educational institutes and so on sometime on charity basis or as a government contractor. Since last decades the ‘Asian Foundation’ registered as a limited company in the Kenya, have become a major catalyst for technological advancement and enhancement of employment

---

108 David Himbara, no. 99, p. 35.
109 Personal interview: Mr. Sarwan Singh Kalsi 24 June 2007.
110 Personal interview: Mr. HS Mangat 13 June 2007.
opportunities for indigenous people in Kenya. Asian Foundation built famous ‘City Park Market’ at Nairobi in 1991, within three years of its existence. This market was built to provide a permanent place for street hawkers selling vegetables and fruits in temporary kiosks and stall in Nairobi. Over the years a number of other commercial activities have also developed on site. At present over 600 hawkers are getting livelihood opportunities in ‘City Park Market’. Presently Asian Foundation is engaged in the ‘Linking Jua Kali (MSE) to the Formal Sector’ project in Kenya in the collaboration of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Ministry of Labour and Human Resources Development, Kenya Motor Industry Association (KMI), Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM), Ministry of Trade and Industry, Kenya Industrial Research Development Institute (KIRDI) and Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE). Total costs involved in the project are US$ 100000 which is a one of the biggest project in Kenya for the skills development of the human resources.\textsuperscript{111}

\textbf{2.2.2.5 An Important Source of Government’s Revenue:} Being merchandise economically prosperous community PIO’s has been always an important source of revenue generation for the East African governments. It has been estimated that before the expulsion of Asians from Uganda, the Madhvani Group alone was contributing approximately 10 per cent of the Uganda’s government income through corporate and excise taxes besides employing more than 20000 people of whom mostly were Africans. After their return to the business in Uganda, the Madhvani Group has again become biggest source of income to Ugandan government and by 2003 the Group was contributing about 8 per cent of total government’s income. The investment PIO’s have made in Uganda by 2003 at somewhere close to US$ 1 billion.\textsuperscript{112} Findings of survey conducted for this study also indicates that Indian Diaspora considers its biggest economic contribution to the host country in terms of taxes they pay to the government (Graph 2.15).

\textbf{2.2.2.6 Role in employment generation and poverty alleviation:} Poverty and unemployment are often considered an obstacle to achieve goal of development in the third world

\textsuperscript{111}---Asian Foundation Newsletter, Issue 1, (May 2007), Pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{112}Timothy Ranja, no. 103, Pp. 6-12.
countries. This statement equally implies in case of East African countries. In the survey conducted for this study a question was asked whether Indian Diaspora is playing any role in dealing with these issues. As many as 63 per cent respondent expressed their view to this open indeed question. An analysis of their opinions indicates that Indian Diaspora is helping these nations to overcome with problem of poverty and unemployment through providing them jobs in their industries and households. Various educational institutions are engaged in skill enhancement of indigenous people which ultimately helps in providing them employment opportunities. And many of respondent also informed that charity activities of Indian Diaspora is quite helpful in dealing with these problems (Table 2.4).

Analysis of this chapter made apparently clear that Indian Diaspora has played remarkable role in the political and economic aspects of East African countries. They were the people who became torch bearer in the colonial period for political awakening and nation building process. In post independence period, initially, they were able to hold political offices but later they were sidelined and today they are virtually absent in the government positions except in Tanzania. Similarly they have been marginalized in the political parties, and these circumstances have lead alienation of Indian Diaspora in politics. However, despite of certain odd circumstances in post independence period, economically they are still retaining very important position. They holds substantial share in the countries economy, especially in secondary and service sectors. Apart from an important source of revenue generation for government and highest employer of the indigenous people in organized sector they are also utilizing their economic prosperity for the socio-economic development of their country of adoption.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Respondent No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Association like RYA provides tricycle for handicaps, food, blankets and cloths for poor etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>By employing indigenous Kenyan and generating foreign exchange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Give employment and wages are usually higher than African owned companies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Employment opportunities, helping needy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>creating employment/jobs, helping the needy by donating them food, cloths and other things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Every Gurdwara give employment to African people as per requirement in our Gurdwara there are about 15 permanent local staff and we pay them more than average salary in the country. Apart from this our langar is always open to needy people. You can see any time there is no difference between African and Asians or any other basis such as caste, creed, colour, gender etc. in langar of Gurdwara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Providing jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Directly by creating jobs-employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Not a great deal. They should do more than hand out money to public appeals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Work for poverty alleviation, give employment to local people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>As far as I know that Asians are the majority employer of African people in our country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Indian creating jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Some Indian companies has more than 400 employees in their company mostly belongs to local communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Create employment through business deals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>plays good role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Providing jobs, providing assistance in education and medical area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>employment giving (measure by construction, business) Teach art of living.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>The obstacles can only be overcome by ‘money changing hands’. The Indian communities I believe provide education and medical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
facilities which have little or no effect on the obstacles in the short run. Capital needs to be injected in the stock exchange.

19. Employment is where Indians excel as they are 60% of employers (larger than Government). Poverty cannot be reduced by philanthropic activities but only through education and vocational training of individuals themselves when they let go of the "begging bowl" culture initiated by leaders and supported by World Bank/UN or other such governments!!!

20. Indians are somehow businessmen and so they are employing people will reduce poverty and also theft.

21. Indians are trying to develop industries So Indians are creating job opportunities and helping in the growth of country. Kenya is base for East Africa. So, we can sale our products to East African region. It helps in economical growth.

22. As above. Asians are largest employers in formal sector.

23. Charity work, employment generation.

24. Small scale and big industries, large scale construction (building of offices and industrial estates) industry. Putting up big super markets (like Robinson and Nay in USA) and shopping malls-all these create lots of jobs and 95 % jobs go to indigenous people.

25. By creating employment for them.

26. Provide employment to Kenyans, once employed, the poverty and unemployment can reduce to a great extent.

27. Indians employ workers in their businesses, domestic employer.

28. Marginal role

29. By creating more jobs through continuous investment and business in the country.

30. To provide opportunities in industrial and domestic employment to local people.

31. Indians are giving all the house hold jobs to servants and in shops and in business. Indians pay them well, treat them well in every way they are helping in an Indian house.

32. By initiating new projects like building ventures and starting new factories.

33. To create more employment.

34. Provide jobs.

35. They provide a lot of employment as employers in industries, business, commercial sector (insurance, bank etc.).

36. Creating employment/impartation of education sector all through funding of help projects.
| 37. | 61 | They are large employers of indigenous people; the ratio of Indians in Kenya to employment generation is very large—could average almost 1:5 or thereabout. |
| 38. | 62 | drastic, employment 50% of the countries employment in Duka’s factories etc. and most importantly Asian Community in general comply rules and regulations (labour law’s) of the country. |
| 39. | 63 | Through developing private sector and creating job opportunities. |
| 40. | 64 | To increase the employment. |
| 41. | 65 | They are a very big employment creator in Kenya, used to be second largest employers of Africans but I think they are third largest. Possible to a one Indian—employs almost 4 to 5 indigenous person. The largest employer is government, second is agriculture sector and third is the Asian employers. |
| 42. | 67 | (A) By establishing educational institutions like schools, University like Gandhi Memorial Academy and other academies like Oshwal Academy.  
(B) Creating employment by big and small scale industries and malls and super markets. |
<p>| 43. | 69 | Providing employment/assisting the needy. Creating infrastructure. |
| 44. | 70 | Poverty can only be eradicated by direct government actions in (a) providing infrastructure to hasten the pace of development. (b) labour laws (c) Foreign Direct Investment—hampered due to political obstacles. Then will create jobs ultimately bolt poverty and unemployment. Indian community can as indirect adorn to by expanding business which is not way possible. |
| 45. | 72 | The Asian Foundation built markets to enable hawkers to sell their products. Individual South Asians and others in organizations like the Lions, Rotary etc. do a lot charity work. The Asian Foundation has a project to train jua kali artisans and place them in employment. |
| 46. | 73 | Job opportunities and social activities. |
| 47. | 74 | creating employment, new business venture, investment in the economy of Kenya; philanthropy. |
| 48. | 75 | Establishment of business to provide employment. Invested in philanthropic activities like food donation, community projects like bore holes, eye clinic etc. |
| 49. | 76 | Indian community is giving employment to local communities in a |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>By developing business and industrial enterprises we create employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>To some extent, creation of jobs and retention of staff even in difficult economy condition for their businesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Unemployment-As major employers of a very large population of the formal employed infrastructure. As active participants/members in the Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM) and Federation of Kenya Industries (or whatever the correct name is).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poverty and social problems-As major and very active participants/members in social service clubs, such as Lions, Rotary, Giants, Round Table etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Employing so many people in the services and industries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>Creating Jobs Through Business Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Providing employment. Social and philanthropic/charitable activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>All above and other important thing is that Asians are the biggest job provider in this country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Education, Employment generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Creating job and education for poor people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>We provide jobs, skills and education to African people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>Providing employment and education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Employment generation, the best educational institutes in Kenya are established by Indian communities which are self explanatory to role of Indian Diaspora in Kenya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Employment generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>Generating employment by way of extending business and creating such opportunities as the globalization pursuit in Kenya.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>