INDIAN DIASPORA IN MOZAMBIQUE AND MADAGASCAR: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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2007

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DECLARATION

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This is to declare that the Dissertation titled "**Indian Diaspora in Mozambique and Madagascar: A Comparative Analysis**" submitted by me in the fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this or of any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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"DEDICATED TO MY AUNT **Ms. SWARNALATA MOHANTY AND MY PARENTS** WHO CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED ME IN EVERY STEP OF MY LIFE AND SENT ME FOR MY HIGHER STUDY, WITHOUT WHICH THIS WORK WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been benefited from the consistent encouragement and cooperation of many while writing this dissertation. At the very outset I acknowledge the comments and suggestions of my supervisor and Chairperson Prof. Ajay Kumar Dubey, without which this research work would not have been possible. His guidance made me confident and capable enough to easily go ahead with this research. Dr. S.N. Malakar and Dr. P. C Jain suggested and commented on the selection of this topic and methodology respectively. I am heartily thankful to both of them. I am equally thankful to our outgoing Chairperson Prof. Girijesh Pant for his constructive views and suggestions.

My family remained the source of inspiration throughout my life which can not be discernable. First and foremost credit goes to my aunt ***Ms. Swarnalata Mohanty*** *who taught me the value of education and constantly given me moral support. I remember with heartfelt gratitude, the invaluable contribution and continuous encouragement of my Parents,* ***Mr. Keshab ch. Mohanty*** *and* ***Mrs. Kumudini Mohanty, my brothers and sisters,*** *Babi bhai, Anju Dei, Silly, Sibu and Jolly, my sweet nieces Kitimama and Naina and my sister-in-laws Jhili bhauja and Bobby bhauja and my cousins Pipu, Bitun, Runu, Bapi, Sopi, Jhilli, Lily, Bapu bhai, Dipu bhai and dada, khudi, kaka and kunu, Mina and others. Without their moral support and tender care at every stage of the work, it would not have been possible for me to sustain myself and complete this work.*

Last but not the least; I am thankful to my friend Sitaram who helped me a lot. I would also like to thank my other friends who by their sheer presence helped me ease out tensions and stay calm and focused. Some of them are Lopa, Beryl, Praba, Madhu, Sarah, Surabhi, Janardan, Ameswar, Jaya, Mandarsa, Priti mausi, Sweta, Binadi, Anita, Vaishu, Rukman and juniors Archana and Santosh.

Thanks to all of you for being there for me. Thanks a lot.

S. Mohanty

Sasmita Mohanty

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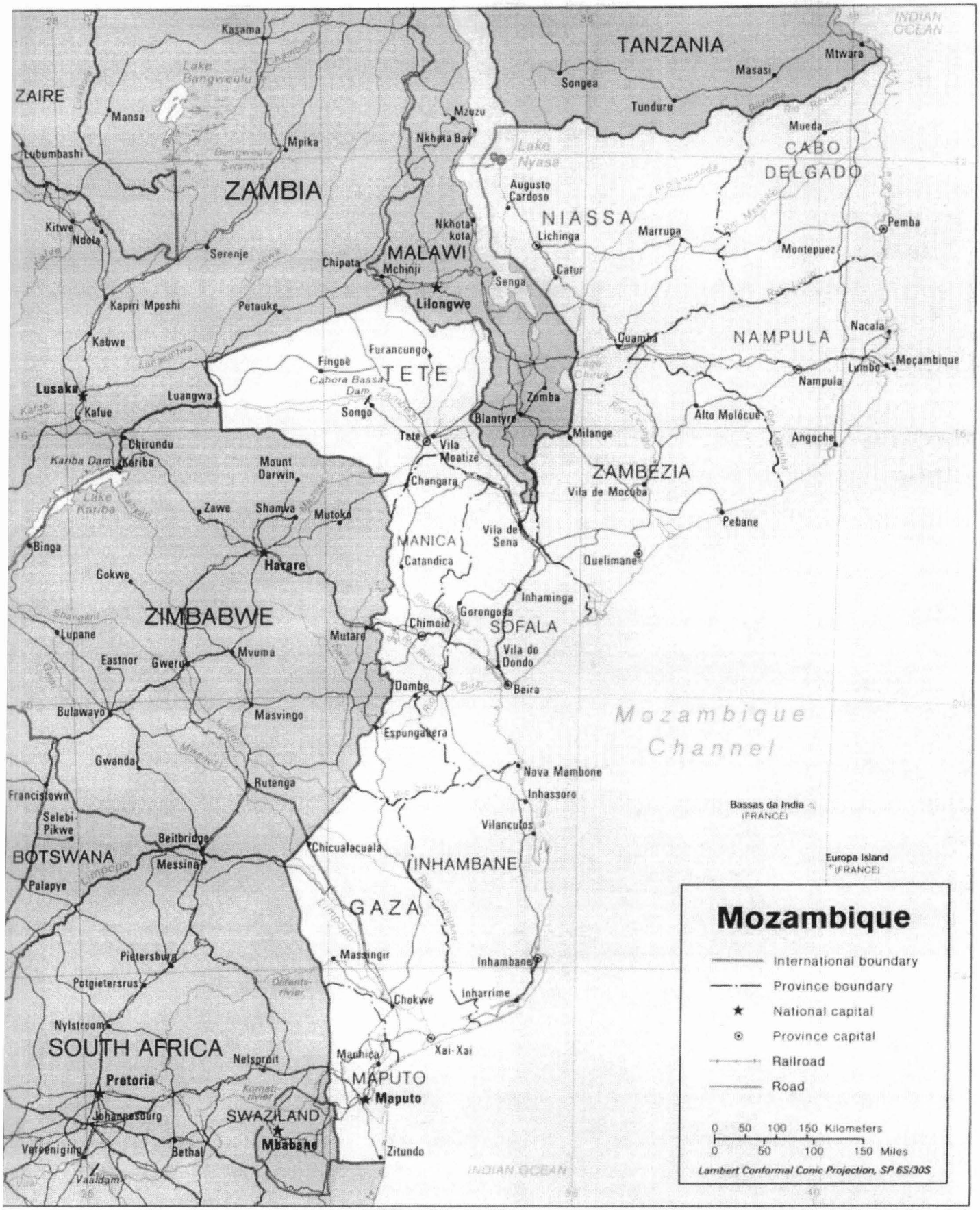

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PREFACE

PREFACE

The study of Indian Diaspora is increasing rapidly due to current rendezvous of the Government of India with the People of Indian Origins (PIOs) living beyond the territory of India. The Government of India has also decided to institutionalise the on going rendezvous between the PIOs and the Government of India. India has a strong diasporic population. The present engagement of the Government of India with the PIOs as such is not the main motif of this study. However, it is desirable to discuss this here due to two plausible reasons. The first reason is that this study is about the Indian Diaspora, Francophone Africa and Lusophone Africa, with specific focus on Madagascar and Mozambique in a comparative perspective. The second reason is that it might help the study in the assessment of the present conditions, especially their cultural, religious, political, social, and economic conditions of Indian Diaspora in other countries.

This study comprehensively looks at Indian Diaspora in African countries in general and Indian Diaspora in both Madagascar and Mozambique in particular. It is inevitable because this study is a comparative study of Indian Diaspora in above-mentioned countries where the relevant information of other countries in Africa is useful for the purpose of this study. The Indian Diaspora in both Madagascar and Mozambique were under two different colonies, the French and Portuguese respectively. The study Indian Diaspora in African countries is also important because India and most of the African countries share similar colonial experience and ideology. It has shared identical views on many issues concerning their countries in international forum. This is important for India for two different reasons, firstly, in Africa, there is a sizeable Indian population and the second reason is that Africa can provide an opportunity of trade and commerce for India in Africa.

Towards the Significance/Rationale of the study

The rationale of the study lays in the fact that the India has one of the largest Diaspora in the world. The importance of Indian Diaspora has increased manifold in

the recent years due to Indian government's recent rendezvous with heartiness towards its' Diaspora. There has also been a boom in the study of Diaspora in the recent decades. Therefore, it is imperative to look into the Indian Diaspora and the changes that subjected to them in political and economic process, at present and in the past. In this broad domain of political and economic change, there is the need to understand and locate the present social, economic and political status of Indian Diaspora. What has happened to their identity over time? Since their identity is very dear to them, how they have managed to keep that intact. What kind of confrontations it faces from the hosting countries as far as cultural identity is concerned. The cultural identity is the main crux of the rift that occurs overtime. Their integration and accommodation in the society of Madagascar and Mozambique is one of the important aspects. How has the onset of manifold changes overtime influenced and shaped their cultural practices? The present study has attempted to locate the differences and kind of colonial influence it subjected to the Indian Diaspora and their cultural identity in both French colonies and Portuguese colonies.

In economic field, the Indian Diaspora in both the countries has relatively done better than other indigenous populace. How have they achieved economic wellbeing and what role they play in shaping or influencing Madagascar and Mozambique economy? Their contributions to development of both the countries are also an important area, which needs special heed in the course of research.

In the political field, their representation is trifling than others. Why they have not been able to achieve success commensurate with their economic success? Though they have achieved economic success, they have not been able to influence the politics and institutions of decision making in both the countries. Why have they not been able to bridge with the indigenous populace leading often to rift and violence?

They have larger implications for India. In what manner they can contribute to make India a great economic power or a developed country is a substantive issue to address. How India can help them in their well-being and achieving progress cannot be ignored. However, it is not the main motive of this study but it cannot be ignored. This study provides a brief reflection of these issues because it has many implications to the study of Indian Diaspora and India.

Research Problem of the Study

The present research has attempted to make a comparative analysis of Indian Diaspora of both Madagascar and Mozambique. This study has analysed and uncovered not only the similarities and differences, as both had experienced two different colonial policies, but also analysed the success, difficulties, failure, and their prospects in various walks of their life. The identity and identity formation of Indian Diaspora faced difficult circumstances in both the countries that have been analysed in details.

In the context of the new policies of the Indian Government, the present study has analysed the social, economic and political role of Indian Diaspora in the hosting countries. It has analysed Indian Diaspora in the changing light of Indian policies towards it. How both the Indian government and Indian Diaspora can contribute to the success of each other has been dealt with in this study.

The Objective of the Research

This research is based on the following three main objectives. The first objective is to compare social, economic and political circumstances of Indian Diaspora in both Madagascar and Mozambique, and their economic and political role in hosting countries. The second objective, which is the important one in the context of this study, is to analyse the impact of colonial policies on the identity formation of Indian Diaspora and conflicts, integrations and their consequences as well as their impact on the status of Indian Diaspora. The third objective of this research is to compare and contrast their identity formation under two kinds of colonial legacies. Apart from the above-mentioned objectives, the study deals with many aspects related to Indian Diaspora.

Hypotheses of the study

Hypotheses form an imperative and integral part of research in the social sciences. Without hypotheses, the research will remain incomplete. Therefore, the present study is based on the following pertinent hypotheses.

*The economic possession and identity formation of Indian Diaspora in both Madagascar and Mozambique was the outcome of influences and colonial policies of French and Portuguese respectively.

*The economic prosperity of the Indian Diaspora is the important reason of rift between Indian Diaspora and Indigenous people than their identity.

*PIOs under Portuguese rules could retain their identity, whereas under French rule Indians lost it.

Reflections on the Methodology of the Study

This is a very broad and comprehensive study of Indian Diaspora of both Mozambique and Madagascar. Given the complex nature of the study, it will make use of comparative analytical method. This study assesses and analyses, the socio-political and economic conditions of the Indian Diaspora in both the countries. It will make causal descriptive inferences by making use of different sources concerning identity differentials in economic and political status of Indian Diaspora.

This study employs historical accounts to locate the impact of colonial policies on the Indian Diaspora and their differences in both the countries, since both had different colonial experiences. The primary and secondary sources have been made use of in providing a thorough explanation of those who migrated from India to these two countries. Government documents will provide information on their socio-economic and political status and the cultural root of their identity formation. The nature and scope of rift with the indigenous population has been analyzed by using available data and reports.

Configuration of the Dissertation

This dissertation has five chapters in all. In addition, the preface introduces the dissertation to the readers. The first chapter deals with some of the existing literature to explore the theoretical scholarships on the study of Diaspora in a broader perspective. This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the study of Diaspora. It reviews the existing theoretical literature on Diaspora. The brief review

of literature provides a comprehensive scope why I should study both Madagascar and Mozambique. The comprehensive survey of literature is necessary to have a sense of the various debates that surrounds the study of Diaspora. This chapter deals with the emergence, present relevance and the theorization of the study Diaspora. It has put extra efforts to provide a glimpse of the Indian Diaspora. It comprehensively deals with the Indian Diaspora as such.

In the second chapter, I have attempted to explore the historical foundation of the Indian Diaspora in Mozambique. It also tries to look at the colonial experience of the Indian Diaspora and demonstrate the factors that are responsible for the migration of Indians to Mozambique. This chapter has addressed some of the pertinent questions such as, why the Indians migrated to Mozambique. What was the need for migration to this country? It looks at the present socio-economic and political condition of the Indians. Apart from looking into the history of Indian migration to Mozambique, which is very old, it has also addressed some of the imperative questions relating to the present cultural, social, economic and political condition, and the relationship of India with the Mozambique. Most importantly, it has addressed the question of their cultural identity in the colonial policies to explain how much it has changed due to the impacts of colonial policies.

Third chapter focuses more specifically on the Indian Diaspora in Madagascar. It has attempted to explore the historical foundation of the Indian Diaspora in Madagascar. It deals with the Indian Diaspora in Madagascar in Indian perspective and it has attempted to locate the colonial impacts on the cultural identity of Indian Diaspora. It also tries to look at the colonial experience of the Indian Diaspora and demonstrate the factors that are responsible for the migration of Indians to Madagascar. This chapter has also addressed some of the pertinent questions such as, why the Indians migrated to Madagascar. What was the need for migration to this country? It has engaged with the present socio-economic and political condition of the Indians in Madagascar and India and Madagascar relations in the recent time.

Chapter four has tried to locate the colonial impacts on the cultural identity of people of Indian Origin. This chapter makes comparison between the Indian Diaspora of Madagascar and Mozambique. This chapter has critically analysed the political role

f the Indian Diaspora in these two countries like, their representation and ssimilation, their economic integration and their contested social identity. This study nalyses the impact of colonial policies on the identity formation of Indian Diaspora nd conflicts, integrations and their consequences as well as their impact on the status f Indian Diaspora.

he conclusion, which forms the last part of dissertation or chapter five, has dealt vith the concluding remarks or the findings of this research. The concluding nferences have drown insights from the discussions of different chapters to make oncluding remarks rather that making qualitative judgement or value preference of ny own. However, it is desirable to suggest the readers to go through the chapters to nake a sense of the findings of this research rather than confining to the concluding emarks. The findings of the research have been discussed in different chapters of this lissertation.

Chapter: I

Indian Diaspora: A Theoretical Understanding

CHAPTER: I

Indian Diaspora: A Theoretical Understanding

Introduction

In a general parlance, the study of Diaspora[1] is of much importance at current conjuncture than it was in the earlier decades. Gradually, the study of Diaspora phenomenon has come to attract more attention. Diaspora is defined as the scattering of people with a common origin, background, and beliefs. Though the word was referred to in, the context of the dispersion of the Jews after the Babylonian exile, in recent times it refers to the involuntary migration of people as slaves, indentured or contract labour. This is a comparatively new emerging area of research especially in post-colonial states of Asia and Africa. The earlier areas of research interest in these countries were on the impact of colonial rule on the economies of these countries. The migration of Indians to the far-flung part of the world was due to a variety of reasons. In fact, migration of people across the globe is an inseparable part of human history.

The origin of modern Indian Diaspora lays mainly in the subjugation of India by the British and its incorporation into the British Empire. Many other colonial powers also played significant role in exporting Indian labourers to far off countries of Africa. Many Gujarati traders left for East-Africa in large numbers in the early parts of the twentieth-century. In the post Second World War period, the dispersal of Indian labourers and professionals has been a nearly world-wide phenomenon. The study of Indian Diaspora is very recent like the study of Diaspora itself.

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[1] The origin and meaning of Diaspora is much contested like many other concepts of social sciences. The word Diaspora is the combination of two words derived from the Greek verb *Speiro* (to sow) and the preposition *Dia* (over). The notion of Diaspora is often used in an untheorized and undertheorized way. To some Diaspora meant migration and colonization and for others, especially, Jews, Africans etc., it signified a collective trauma, a banishment. This is due to one's dream of home but lived in exile. This is now a form of identity formation. For more on the comprehensive meaning and its' associated contestation of the concept 'Diaspora' see Robin Cohen (2004) *Global Diaspora: An Introduction*, Oxon: Routledge. I have used the term Indian Diaspora in the whole text which is synonymous in meaning to People of Indian Origins (PIOs).

1.1 Theorising Diaspora: An Indian Perspective

The study of Diaspora emerged due to many historical reasons. It is due to the emotional association and inseparable link in their past migration history. It is also due to a sense of co-ethnicity. The Indians have a rich historical heritage which makes them proud. There was a perception that the immigrants would identify with their adopted countries in terms of language, culture and political fidelity. This assumption was discernable even within the liberal democracies. The migrants often face the hostility and resentments of the indigenous population and assimilated citizenry. Some live out of their countries in exile and as refugee face a high degree of psychological alienation.

By analyzing the existing literatures, we can talk of Diaspora as victim, labour, trade, imperial and cultural Diaspora. The Indian Diaspora is regarded as archetypes of a labour Diaspora, they also have an important mercantile history.[2] In ancient times, they had migrated as merchants from western India to Africa and the Middle East. They earned their livelihood through international trade. Many Indian went to East Africa as free-passenger. The Indians permanently residing outside of their countries of origin had historically maintained contacts with people back in their old homelands are members of ethno-national Diaspora. The host countries often view the ethno-national Diaspora as temporary and marginal phenomena. The host societies and the governments impose social, political and economic strictures and pressure on those who have settled permanently. In the past two decades, the total number of established Diasporas and the numbers of their members have increased.

The growing interest in the study of Diaspora and Diasporism is due to the recognised importance of those entities cultural, social, political, and economic importance.[3] The Diaspora raises funds for their mother country when it is in serious

[2]ibid: xi.

[3] The interest in the study of Diaspora is due to their emergence and influences in multifarious fields. Diaspora contributed towards the developments of the country of their origin. The Jewish state Israel, for instance, benefited to a large extent from the Jewish Diaspora prior to 1948. The importance of ethnic and identity consideration in politics in the era of globalization might be one reasons of more emphasis on the Diaspora. For more on the issue of growing interest on Diaspora see Sheffer, Gabriel (2003) *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

crisis. When the country met with serious natural disaster they come in support of their country. Some use the opportunities of the host countries but their heart lives in mother countries. Staying away from country of their origin is in fact very nostalgic. The permanent settlement of migrants and the creation of new Diaspora community is the area in which this study is interested, with especial focus on the Indian Diaspora of Madagascar and Mozambique. The Indian Diaspora proudly maintains their ethno-national identity. Their identities are intricate combination of primordial, psychological/mythical, and instrumental elements.

1.1.1 Diaspora in World politics

There are arguments that Diaspora is playing important role in the world politics.[4] The Diasporas have grown to the extent of influencing on the international scene. Both the media and academic studies suggest to the influence of Diaspora on international behaviour in many cases. Here it can be mentioned that the Diaspora as independent actor that actively influence homeland (ancestral or kin-state) foreign policy. They are also as independent actors exerting influence on their homelands' foreign policy.

Globally, the impact of Diaspora is increasing as a part of the process of the migration and the problem of refugees. They often support the demand for a separate state from the territory populated by ethnic kin in a nearby state. This has posed challenge to traditional state institutions of citizenship and loyalty, and as an important creature of the relationship between domestic and international politics. It cannot be wrong to call it as a form of identity formation. They reside out their kin-state but claim legitimate stake in it. Diaspora defies the conventional meaning of the state. One important aspect is that Diaspora is de-territorializing communities.

Due to growing importance of PIOs, it is imperative to look into it in a comparative international perspective. Internally, Indian Diaspora constitutes a powerful collective.[5] They are dynamic world-wide. It is desirable to look into the

[4] Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth (2003) "Diaspora and International Relation Theory", *International Organization*, Summer, 57(3), pp. 449-479.
[5] For more on Indian Diaspora and its global significance see Ravindra K. Jain (2003) "A Civilizational Theory of Indian Diaspora and its Global Implications", in A. K. Dubey (ed.) (2003) *Indian Diaspora: Global Identity,* Delhi; Kalinga Publication.

position of PIOs in the country of their adoption. What happens to their identity and security in the country of their adoption? They are proud of their identity and prosperity but they often suffer from their status of minority in both Madagascar and Mozambique like many other countries. The Indian Diaspora has its limitation. Though it is a bigger force in the global stage, due to the weak position of India, the country of their origin, in the field of economy and military, it has failed to play an influential role in the international arena. The Indian Diaspora has no unified organizations internationally. They have emerged as a business community. There is need to unify the people of different profession with internationally viable networks. In the post-Cold War era, there are signs of organization among the Indian Diaspora. However, these are very less than the one they need. It is interesting to note that the interaction between the Indian Diaspora and Indian Government has increased manifold in the last few years.

1.1.2 Lobbing Indian Diaspora

In the host-lands, the Diaspora has ethnic lobbies. They often demand and advocate a multicultural foreign policy in the country of their domicile. They contribute to the economy of the homeland country. They also sometime play the role of mediator between the host country and the homeland country. This had happened in the case of Indian and US. In the Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, the people of Indian Origin played an important role. They lobbied for such an agreement. In many cases, it happened that the Diaspora supported democratic regime and fought against the authoritarian regimes. Diasporic population may some time play significant role in the violence and stability. Diaspora transmits the value of pluralism and democracy to their home countries. They have the skills and entrepreneurial spirit, which their home countries lack. In western countries, the Indians occupy highly paid jobs. Due to this, one can argue that India can return to PIOs at the time of crisis.

There are many inter-linkages and expectations between the Indian Diaspora and India. To uncover this it is necessary to deal with India's relations and policies towards its Diaspora. It is a fact that Indian Diaspora is a diverse entity.

The host countries recognise the fact that the PIOs are one of the economically developed communities in the host countries. In the US for instance, the PIOs have influenced the politics and often provide funds for different political parties. The same is true of PIOs in the UK. The PIOs have emerged an internally recognised force. However, the analysis of the cultural aspects of PIOs dominates the study of Indian Diaspora among the Indian academicians.[6]

The Indians are more organised and enduring ethnic Diaspora today. The root of Indian diaspora is very old but it can be documented from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. There was an eastward movement of people immediately after the death of Buddha in 483 B.C., to propagate his teachings. It was neither economic nor political but rather cultural and religious. From 6th to 11th century A.D there were commercial and military activities in the Southeast Asia. Migrants' movements from western India to Africa in the Middle Ages were mainly due to establishment of trade outposts. In Africa the Indian Diaspora had to compete with other ethnic Diaspora that existed there. The Indian Diaspora continued to expand due to Portuguese rule and the British rule over India. However, the Indian Diaspora was never homogenous. The indentured labourers were brought to Africa within the framework of British Empire.[7] The membership in the Diaspora organisation is increasing.

1.1.3 Diaspora in the Globalising World

The science and technology is influencing the relations among the diverse societies. The scientific and technological development establishing links of trade between far-flung societies. The discovery of sea route to wards the end of fifteenth century marked the beginning of human movements, which intensified, with the gradual passage of time. The interaction among the diverse societies and culture increased. The growing interactions between diverse societies gave rise to internationalization of trade and commerce from 16th to 19th century. There started a migration of people

[6] For more on this types of arguments see Ravindra K. Jain (2003) 'A Civilizational Theory of Indian Diaspora and its Global Implications', in Ajay Dubey (Ed.) *Indian Diaspora: Global Identity,* Delhi: Kalinga Publications, pp. 1-9. It is a fact that most of the studies of Indian Diaspora are having proclivity towards Indian perspective in understanding it. Jain (2003) rightly put that 'instead of cultural persistence as a static complex of cultural traits, one should conceive of the society of emigration as an on going and developing civilization (ibid: 1).

[7] Shaffer (2003), Opcit., pp. 62-63.

across the continents. The Indian labourers were also exported to many countries as indentured workers.[8]

There started a commercial link in the west coast of India with the Persian and African countries. The Indians from the west coast started trade with Persian Gulf, eastern and northeastern coasts of Africa since ancient times. This resulted in the settlement of small Indian communities on African coast and Indian Ocean islands before the arrival of Europeans.[9]

1.1.4 Colonialism and the Migration of the Indians

The Portuguese sailor Vasco de Gama was shown the sea route to India from African coast by the trader from the Indian Ocean, especially Indians and Arabs. With the consolidation of Portuguese control over Mozambique, Goa and other strategic places, Indian trade with Africa suffered. Indians were employed by the Portuguese as accountants, bankers, and skilled artisans to serve in the colonies.

Other European powers followed the Portuguese and the later half of 17th century, Portuguese authority declined. The Europeans powers were desperately looking for the market to sell their products after the industrial revolution. During the 19th and 20th century there was improvement in means of communications and transport and there witnessed spread of colonization.

There were two important factors, which could explain the reasons of migration of Indians to Africa. The first reason was that there were abject poverty in India and there was scope of chief labourer market within the Empire so many migrated as labourer. The second reason was that people had heard about immense opportunities to earn money in Africa from the merchants coming from there. This was instrumental in persuading them to part painfully with relatives and friends and undertake a long

[8] For an account of how Indians were exported to different countries and especially to Natal see Maureen Tayal (1977), "Indian Indentured Labour in Natal, 1890-1911", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 19(4), pp. 519-547.

[9] V. S. Sheth (2000), "Dynamics of Indian Diaspora in East and South Africa", *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, 8(3), 217-27.

sea voyage to an unknown continent. Many indentured labour worked in railway construction in the African countries. Some indentured labourers were repatriated back to India and other settled there in Africa. The nationalists in India opposed the system of indentured labour. They wanted that to be stopped. The British for instance argued that it is of help for the poor who were getting enough opportunities.

In between August and September 1896, many Indians migrated to East Africa. Nearly 12,212 Indians left as free immigrants to East Africa, between 1906 and 1908. East Africa was considered an outlet for the expansion of Indian trade and enterprise. The Indians captured all the retail trade from Arabs. Indians became shopkeepers, moneylenders, importers and intermediaries. Indians monopolised imports, exports, wholesale and retail trades and exercised financial control over clove trade in Zanzibar.[10] The Indians adjusted to their changed status in new global order and the Indian Diaspora in Africa as we recognise it today was born in 19th century.

Movements of Indians merchants between India and the rest of the world have a very long history. Merchants from the coastal regions of the subcontinent have been crisscrossing the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean for many centuries. The Indians migrated to far off countries as merchants and not just as indentured labourers. Merchants from inland northern India and the north-western borderlands have been active in the trade of Central Asia for as long as recorded history goes. The incorporation of India into a British dominated world-wide network of trade and finance which occurred at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, Indian merchant migrations accelerated and took new form. Many Indians went to far off countries as merchants and settled there permanently due to opportunities that offered to them by the host countries. Muslims are in majority.[11] The merchant migrations from India have had a very long history, which took a new dimension in the nineteenth century. In around 1830, there was existence of small communities of Indian merchants resided in Africa even before the British came to India. The first Indian traders reached in places like Mauritius in 1829, even before indentured labourer migration to the island started. There were traders and money

[10] Ibid: p. 222.

[11] Claude Markovits (1999) "Indian Merchants Networks Outside India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Preliminary Survey", *South Asian Studies,* 33(4), pp. 883-911.

lenders in country like Burma in 1826 and there were Indian settlements.[12] There were some legal obstructions but Indian traders could succeed in gaining a foothold in trade in many countries of the world. This they could achieve mainly due to the strength of various networks.[13]The Halai Memon, an Indian caste was operating trade from Kathiawar in South and East Africa.[14]Central Gujarat, the home of India's most powerful merchant families, figures less prominently in the saga of Indian merchant Diaspora. Traders from Surat and Broach, particularly Muslims belonging to the Daudi (Shia) Bohra community, played an important role from Thailand to Malagasy. The Patidars have also been very successful in trade in East Africa, where they did not go originally as traders.[15] The women in large numbers migrated along with the families. In recent times feminists studies have started constructing the history of Indian women who migrated to far off. They argue that the study of Indian Diaspora has neglected contribution and difficulties that the women faced.[16]

The study of Indian Diaspora is not only neglected of space for the women's issues[17] but it also neglected the space for those who lost their ethnicity in the host countries. Therefore, there is a need to understand those lost their identity in the course of time.

1.1.5 Transition in the Post-colonial Scenario

The developments in international scene have tremendous impact on the colonies after the Second World War when the colonial or occupying powers were made answerable to an international organization for their actions in the colonies. This influenced the Indian settlements in Africa. After the First World War, a process of weakening of the autonomy of the colonial and imperial power started. The formation of League of Nations is most important among them.

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[12] Ibid: p. 891-92.
[13] Ibid: p. 896.
[14] Ibid: p. 898, see Table No. 2, on Major International Trading Networks that were operating from India.
[15] Ibid: p. 900.
[16] It is a new area with in the study of Diaspora emerging late but with success. For more on the space of women in the study of Indian Diaspora see Shobhita Jain (2006) "Women Agency in the Context of Family Networks in Indian Diaspora", *Economic and Political Weekly,* June 10, pp. 2312-2316.
[17] Monisha Das Gupta (1997) ""What id Indian About you?": A Gendered, Transnational Approach to Ethnicity", *Gender and Society,* 11(5), October, pp. 572-596.

Strengthening of linkages with the people of common origin or descent has become important as boundaries and frontiers have lost meaning in an interdependent world. With the growing interdependence between Nation States, transnational linkages have become important and therefore word Diaspora has been used to refer the dispersal of people of common origin, irrespective of the time and conditions in which they have left their mother land for distance places.

The Indian Diaspora, like many other ethnic Diaspora, shows loyalty to their homelands. It is also true that they serve the host countries. They have only carefully support to their home country. This is because the most loyalty to the home country often creates rift and suspicion with the indigenous people in the host countries. In Africa the Indian Diaspora faces the allegation that they live on the resources of the host countries and they think much of India. It is also alleged that the Indian Diasporas are exporting the riches of Africa to India.

The indenture of million of Indians during the period of British colonialism is seen as creating a distinctive labourer Diaspora. The Diaspora might arise due to traumatic dispersal. A Diaspora could also be caused by the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuits of trade or to further colonial ambitions. The English Diaspora was due to colonial ambition. Some of the Indian Diaspora, especially the Gujarati in Africa, caused due to expansion in pursuit of trade. The Indian Diaspora in Americas and Europe is due to search of works or employment and trade. The example of labour Diaspora and an imperial Diaspora are the labour Diaspora of Indian indentured workers deployed in British, Dutch and French tropical plantations from the 1830s' to 1920s'.

Robin Cohen (2004) engages himself with a larger question: whether the Indian labourers abroad constitute themselves as a Diaspora. There are three features that were particular to Hindu indentured workers and that helped them to create a distinctive diasporic consciousness. The first is the reconstitution of family life and

secondly, their religious conviction in general. The third reason was, more especially, the adoption of Ramayana as 'the essential text of the Hindu Diaspora.[18]

The indentured labourers of Indian origin lived separately in barracks and remained isolated from others. Their offspring had the troubled relations with the indigenous and other migrant groups. In Fiji, for instance, the Indians are called 'marooned at home' because they remained as squatters, estate workers and leaseholders. This had happened in countries like Guyana, Fiji, Uganda, and South Africa. The conflict stems from the fight the flows from the issues of land and property. In countries like Madagascar and Mozambique, people of Indian origin are educated, professional and most of them are engaged in business. The African customer is often easily mislead that Indian traders hoarded goods and charged high price. In such critical situation they had very few options i.e. settle there and to acquire citizenship, move to safer place, and to return to their country of origin.

More than eight million people of Indian Origin, according to the U.N.I. report of 15 December 1966, live scattered almost all over the world, principally in Africa, Britain, Burma, Cylon, Fiji, Mauritius, Singapore, Surinam, and the West Indies Islands.[19] In 1897, the scheme of the construction of the Mombasa-Victoria Nyanza Railway was approved by the British Parliament and in 1896; the first batch of Indian coolies arrived at the port of Mombasa Railway.

In 1957, Ghana got independence, which showed the seeds of nationalism in West Africa as well as in East Africa. National agitation came out. The year 1860 witnessed the first arrival of the Indian labourers at Port Natal (Durban) in South Africa for employment on Natal's sugar plantations. The year 1852 marked the tercentenary of the foundation of the European settlement at the Cape of Good Hopes and also witnessed the launching of the first united campaign of the Indian settlers and African natives a like in protest against the Apartheid policy of the government of the Union of South Africa.[20]

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[18] Cohen (2004) Opcit, p.62.

[19] Chattopadhyaya, Haraprasad (1857), *Indians in Africa: A Socio-Economic Study*, Natal: Book land Private Limited, p. ix.

[20] Ibid.

1.2 Colonised Africa and the Indians

Africa, South of the Sahara gradually came under the various European colonial ruler. Among them the British, French and Portuguese played significant role in this region. Intrepid explorers and zealous missionaries opened up the interior of the continent in the second half of the Nineteenth Century and attracted the attention of Europe to its political and commercial possibilities for the future. The opening-up of the interior was followed closely by its colonisation by the European powers that lost no time in setting themselves to exploit to the fullest extent the economic resources of their respective newly carved-out colonies in Africa. In British colonies in Africa, British economic interests demanded the employment of labourers from abroad, preferably from India where cheap and efficient labour might be recruited. This led to the immigration of Indians into the British colonies in South of the Sahara. The status of the immigrant Indians and their conditions of living came eventually to be determined by imperial considerations.[21]

1.2.1 Immigration of the Indians

The immigration of Indian coolies in to South and East Africa was no isolated phenomenon. It was rather a part of Britain's general policy of indenturing Indian labourers, with Indian Government's formal approval, to her different colonies and protectorates where efficient labour for cultivation and plantation purposes was scarce, though much in demand. Economic forces and conditions, produced by the Industrial Revolution of Fifteenth century, lent a new value to the possession of colonies which invited excess capital, saved through an unequal distribution of wealth, for profitable investment and offered a tempting field for economic exploitation. To make capital of the economic resources of colonies required the employment of cheap labour. These colonial powers in Africa and elsewhere solved the problem of cheap labour by encouraging the immigration of labourers from Asia, particularly from India. The British colonies in Africa South of the Sahara were not

[21] ibid.

also slow in appreciating the indispensability of Indian labourers and taking steps to indenture them for mining, plantation and agricultural purposes.

India's earliest contact with South Africa dates back to 1860 when the first batch of Indian labourers reached Natal, but with East Africa India had her commercial relations, initiated and sustained by private enterprise, centuries before the building of the Uganda Railway.

The first batch of Indian coolies immigrated into Natal in 1960 to work on its sugarcane plantations. Coolies were soon followed by free Indians who came to settle not only in other parts of South Africa. On the other hand in East Africa, Indian Labourers were needed for the construction of the railway from Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza. The construction scheme maturing with parliamentary approval in 1895 during the third ministry of the Marquis of Salisbury, the first batch of three hundred fifty Indian labourers, recruited in the Punjab, arrived at Mombasa in January 1896. Waves rolled between the Kenya coast and the Indian shore, and Mombasa became resonant with the voices of more and more Indian labourers. They were working strenuously on a small pittance of fifteen rupees a month and risking their lives in areas like Tsova, which abounded them in man-eating lions, advanced the railway from the coast to Nairobi in 1899 and Lake Victoria in 1903.

The Indian immigrants in East Africa were the least inclined towards agricultural pursuits. Trade and craftsmanship appealed to them most, while agriculture remained in the hands of the whites.

1.2.2 Indian Diaspora as a Unique Force

In world culture, the Indian Diaspora today constitutes an important and in some respects unique force. The 'Diaspora' has a special place in India. Staying away from India they have succeeded spectacularly in their professions by dint of their single minded dedication and hard work. They migrated to far off places as indentured labourer but not without huge baggage of cultural values for which India is renowned. They have retained their emotional, cultural and spiritual links with the country of

their origin. It is primarily due to this reason the study of Indian Diaspora makes interesting and innovative.

It is encouraging that the Indian Diaspora constitutes a significant economic, social and cultural force and they have enormous affection for their native country. The government of India has recognised the importance of Diaspora. It is due to this reason the President of India said that effort should be made to take Pravasi Bahratiya Divas to the toiling people of Indian origin living elsewhere. Indian Diaspora is willing to invest in India. The government of India should reap this opportunities and should take initiative to involve them in commercial activities.[22] The new Diaspora, now eagerly courted by the Government of India, is represented to a substantial degree, by professional elites who have carved a niche for themselves in the countries of affluent north. It is no accident that the term NRI, which is now often cleverly passed off as a reference to any overseas Indians, only came into usage much less than two decades ago, and has acquired something of a magical resonance in the last decade when India finally became committed to the opening of its economy.

There are resentments among the Indian Diaspora, except the north, that they were disowned by India. The government of India conferred the privilege of dual citizenship upon the members of the newer, affluent Diasporic communities of the north, while leaving Indian communities in other parts out in the cold. This is due to the reason that the older Diasporic communities have not maintained much of living connection with the mother-land.

The study of their political and cultural lives is the emerging area of research and debate. This strikes a reciprocal chord in the hearts of the people of India. It is to nurture this symbolic relationship to mutual advantage that the government of India had established a High Level Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. L. M. Singhvi, to make an in-depth study of the problems and difficulties, the hopes and expectations of the overseas Indian communities.

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[22] Aarti Dhar and Anita Joshua (2007) "From Across the Shores", *The Hindu,* 21st January (Sunday Magazine).

This concerted effort by the Indian Government has a larger economic implication. Their role in making India an economic power may not be raised without their contribution and participation. Non- Resident Indian (NRI) is an Indian citizen who has migrated to another country. Those stay abroad under circumstances indicating an intention for an uncertain duration of stay abroad is a non- resident. For tax and other official purpose, the Government of India considers any Indian national away from India for more than 180 days in a year as an NRI.

Literally, a person of Indian Origin (PIO) is simply a person of Indian Origin who is not a citizen of India. India has a very strong 'Diaspora' dispersal around the world. The Diaspora is currently estimated to number over twenty million, composed of both 'NRIs' and 'PIOs'. The Diaspora covers practically every part of the world. It numbers more than a million each in eleven countries, while as many as twenty-two countries have concentrations of at least a hundred thousand ethnic Indians.

Indian Diaspora is widespread and Africa is no exception. The numbers of Indian Diaspora in South-Africa, Mauritius, Reunion, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Madagascar, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe are 1,200,000; 800,000; 250,000; 70,000; 60,000; 50,000; 25,000; 20,000; 20,000, and 20,000 respectively. This is the reason why the case study and comparative analysis of Indian Diaspora in African Countries make interesting. The study of Indian Diaspora in Africa is relatively a recent innovation, which emphasizes upon their retention of identity, cultural values, political space and their socio-economic background. The history is witness to the fact that Indian had very close commercial and cultural relations with the North-Eastern African Countries. The Sea-fearing merchants of North-Western part of India arriving along the East-African Coast. Many historical accounts reveal that Indian had established the trade relations between the Countries like, Ethiopia and India as back as the third century.

Many Indians migrated to African countries as indentured labourers worked in construction of roads, railways and in plantation. Due to abolition of slave trade the need for labourers increased and as a result many Indian migrated to work as paid labourers, many people also migrated as traders and free passengers. They migrated as contract skilled workers after India's independence.

However, this is a comparative study of Indian Diaspora in the two African Countries named, Mozambique and Madagascar. Most of the African countries were under the Portuguese control from the early sixteenth century. Madagascar became a French overseas territory in 1946.

The Indian Diaspora today constitutes an important, and in some respects unique, force in world culture. The origin of the modern Indian Diaspora lay mainly because of the subjugation of India by the British and its merger into the British Empire. Indians were taken over as indentured labour to far-flung parts of the empire in the nineteenth-century. The Indian Diaspora maintains some sort of tenuous link with the motherland. The most important force of bonding is the Hindi feature film, an occurrence unique to the Indian Diaspora. "Bollywood" is considered as Hollywood in the Middle East and East Africa.

1.2.3 Colonial Experiences of Indian Diaspora in Madagascar and Mozambique

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The Indians who migrated to these two Countries had two different kinds of experience as they had two different sets of colonial policies. The colonial policy of Madagascar and Mozambique were different mainly because they were under French and Portuguese respectively. Uncovering the differences of such colonial policies is useful for this study due to many considerations. It will help us to establish the differences between the Indian Diaspora of both the countries. It will also help in understanding the influences of colonial policies of two different colonial powers and their impact on Indian Diaspora. The assessment of the present condition of Indian Diaspora can not be sufficient without emphasizing the colonial policies of both the countries. The colonial policies of Portuguese and French had a great bearing upon the present conditions of Indian Diaspora there. How they have preserved their identity and cultural values is one of the important aspects of this study.

The assessment of their social, economic and political conditions would also form an integral part of this study. The emphasis of Indian Government on Indian Diaspora around the world has invited enormous interests to study various aspects of their condition. The study will cover the policies and Programmes of Indian government on

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Indian Diaspora and the recent emphasis. The destinies of Indian and the Indian Diaspora are intertwined. It is in the interest of both to develop a mutually beneficial relationship. Diaspora is an important resource in India's aspirations to be a developed country and knowledge superpower by 2020. In the concert time the emphasis is that the Diaspora would play an important role in making India a superpower.

1.3 Indian Diaspora

The study of Diaspora is relatively a new emerging area of research, which was primarily because of their contribution to the economic development of their mother country. The perception of Indian Government is that the Indian Diaspora can contribute to the making of India into an economically developed. The Diaspora of different countries had contributed to the development of their country of origin. The African Diaspora in some countries played important role in the economic progress on many considerations. Therefore, the economic role of the Diaspora came to be established as a significant area of research. However, the study remained limited by both the conceptual difficulties of defining what we mean by the Diaspora in general.[23] The study of Diaspora is growing particularly in African and Asian countries. However, the origin of Diaspora as such is very ancient and it has a Jews connections. The term also carries religious, philosophical, political and eschatological connotation, in as much as the Jews perceive a special relationship between the land of Israel and themselves.[24]

The Indian Diaspora is today an incontestable fact of the world culture. As the world drifts towards globalization, and India itself enters into the world economy. The Indian Diaspora is beginning to occupy a greater place in transnational economic and cultural exchanges. However, to some observers, the Indian Diaspora has had, perhaps most visibly through cultural artefacts, something of a global presence over the last few decades.

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[23] Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe (2005), "Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic", *African Affairs*, 104(414), pp 35-68.
[24] Britannica Ready References Encyclopaedia 2005(3), p. 149.

1.3.1 Migration of the Indians across Indian Ocean Region

Indians have been migrating across warm Indian Ocean waters for the purpose of trade and commerce since ancient times. During the 19th century, migration of Indians to various parts of the British Empire and other empires increased manifold. They used the Indian labourers for cultivating crops, building administrative and communications infrastructure in African colonies. They used Indian also to pacify hostile Africans tribes and to train Africans.[25] Thousands of Indians assayed back to do petty business in South and East Africa. They went as professionals, merchants, petty businesspersons and professionals.

The Indian Diaspora was politicised towards the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century in East Africa. The Indian Diaspora in East Africa was influenced by the success and gain of independence from the British. The Indian Government should be extra careful in the policies towards African policies because there is significant presence of Indian Diaspora in Africa.

Slavery has been an important phenomenon in Indian history but it invited little attention of historians. French colonization of Mauritius saw the import of Indians on a large scale. The migration of Indian to Mauritius spans almost the entire history of its colonization. The slave trade in Indian Ocean is little studies area among the historians. It is a fact that over 300 Indian slaves and a number of Indian workers arrived in Mascarenes between 1729 and 1731. In 1961 the Indian slaves was 7 percent of the total population of slaves in Mauritius.[26] The Indian labourers sent to far off as slaves also. This gives a vivid picture of how Indian labourers had to settle there with difficulties. The conditions during that period were full of difficulties due to lack of transport and communication and lack of other amenities. Indians faced lots of difficulties to settle permanently in Africa.

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[25] Sheth, V. S. (2000), "Dynamics of Indian Diaspora in East and South Africa", *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, 8(3), pp. 217-27.

[26] Carter, Marina (1988/89), "Indian Slaves in Mauritius", *The Indian Historical Review*, 15(1-2), pp. 233-247.

French East India Company stopped slave trade in 1731 due to shortage of labour in Pondichery. The government of India passed the Act known as Act V of 1843 by which slavery was abolished in India.[27]

1. 3.2 From Pravasi to Citizens

The M.L. Singhvi Committee recommended the measures for forging a constructive relationship between India and its Diaspora. 9th January 2003 is a historic day in India's relation with its Diaspora, when New Delhi hosted the first Pravasi Bhartiya Divas which brought together PIOs and NRIs from over 61 Countries. The Indian Diaspora is a significant player in the global system with over 20 million people spread across 110 countries,[28] wherever they are making significant contribution to their socio-economic fabric.

The Government of India has come out openly to help the people of Indian origin and to engage them with their mother land. The Government is emphasising on the following five fields. The first reason is to promote the interest and aspiration of Indian communities around the world and of specific groups residing in various countries of their adoption. The second reason is to promote common cultural heritage and therefore create a binding relationship. The third reason is to mobilise financial, intellectual and professional resources of Indians abroad for their mutual development and advancement. The fourth reason is to encourage interaction between Indian communities abroad on a global level to deliberate and debate on common issues and problems facing them including education and technology. The fifth and the last reason is to further the interaction between PIOs and other communities at the global level in promoting world peace, progress and ecological harmony. However, it will not be wrong to state that India has expectations of various sorts from its advanced Diasporas in the north.

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[27] Sareen, T. R. (1988/89) "Slavery in India Under British Rule 1772-1843", *The Indian Historical Review*, 15(1-2), pp. 257-268

[28] Bharti, Vivek (2003), "Pravasi Bharatiya Divas 9-11 January 2003", *Think India*, 6(1), pp. 19-23.

In most of the countries, they have better per capita income, education, better professionals and business than other nationalities. The government of India hopes that creating a network of people of Indian Origin that strengthens the Diaspora would also strengthen India. Whatever they have achieved today is due to hard labour and dedication to their profession. This achievement did not come easy but they earned through centuries of hard work and struggle. Though they were forced to travel to distant lands as indentured labour to serve the colonial goals of an imperialist country, in the host country they have raised to political power and leadership. This prompted the government of India to take initiative for keeping their emotions intact to India. It emphasized that the role of the Indian Diaspora would go a long way in making India economic and technological power. Dual citizenship, concessions and benefits are significant steps in this direction.

1.3.3 Value of Diaspora Network to the Native Country

Mid January, India was host to the Fifth *Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas* (PBD) in New Delhi. It is India's attempt at getting the Indian Diaspora together. Five years ago it started off as an idea to get the 25 million people of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) around the world, many of whom have forgotten their Indian roots, to reconnect with their homeland. It was also devised as a great platform for Pravasis to network among themselves and builds relationships. Keen interest from overseas Indians was palpable at the last Conference. More than 1200 people attended the annual meet this time around when Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and virtually his entire Cabinet interacted with the visiting *Pravasis,* thus stressing the importance India attaches to its Diaspora.

This year's PBD conference did make some departures from past such get-togethers. India is working on policy initiatives to make it easier for overseas Indians to engage in business with India, whether through more attractive tax policies or creation of special cells devoted to facilitating investments or otherwise encourage entrepreneurs to establish businesses in India.

Participants at the conference agreed that there has been a shift in sentiment, as India and its Diaspora begin to take each other seriously. It was generally noted that there is a huge difference in attitude amongst participants over the last five years. Participants were unanimous in their views that the Indian government has shifted focus of the PBD to actively encourage participation from overseas Indians in India's economic growth and not be just a sentimental platform to seek investments. It was appreciated that India is growing increasingly aware that it has much to be gained from tapping the strengths of overseas Indians. The Diaspora is being considered a formidable resource in many ways.

While looking at the prospect of doing business in India, it would be prudent on the part of business houses in Mauritius, to see what options are available to a non- Indian company to operate in India. India can attract business or investment based purely on sentiment or cultural legacy.

A sentimental or a nostalgic association with the Diaspora is far removed from the need to do business, which is obviously based on other interests, and need to be respected. Unfortunately, the PBD started off with the former in mind and has eventually pragmatically moved to the latter thinking. Indian can attract business and investment to India if we are competitive. All things being equal, the concept of nostalgia and cultural closeness will certainly help. Perhaps that often becomes an important reason for businesses to seek an entry into areas that are known entities.

1.4 Indian Diaspora in Africa and Africa- India Relations

India has very cordial relations with African Countries from the very ancient time and India's contacts with Africa go back to 2500 B.C. or earlier. More than 13 percent people of the world live in Africa. This provides an opportunity for India to set up strategic economic relation with African countries. In African Countries, there is a big overseas Indian Community. The presence of Indian Diaspora is a legacy of history. They have settled down in large numbers in Africa, both as indentured labourers and as traders. Most of them were exported as indentured labourers beginning from 1860. However, India's relations with Africa can be traced back to

the times earlier than the Christian era. With the coming of the western power Indian labourers were taken to Africa to work on sugar plantation. The Indians had made contribution to the development of East-African countries.[29] India has extended support to end the colonial domination in Africa, which had deepened the Afro-Indian relationship.

1.4.1 Nehruvian Policy

The first Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru's policies had tamed the Government of India's policy towards Indian Diaspora for many decades. He once said while speaking about the fate of PIOs: "*Indians abroad always should give primary consideration to the interests of the people of those countries; they should never allow themselves to be placed in a position of exploiting the people of those countries; in fact, we have gone thus far and said, if you cannot be, and if you are not, friendly to the people of that country, come back to India and do not spoil the fair name of India*". This had guided the Indian Government's policy on this line for long. Jawaharlal Nehru visualised clash of interests of Indians and Africans.[30]He also expressed incapacity to anything substantive for its children staying abroad. He said that the country was not in position to meet the wishes of Indians staying abroad. Though Mahatma Gandhi once fought for the cause of Indians in South Africa, he could not influence the policy of the government of India towards people of Indian origin. There were demand from the conservation wings in India that the policy of the Government of India should be more assertive and it should accommodate the needs and expectations of the children of Indian staying abroad. The policy of Jawaharlal Nehru was criticised from many quarter. The criticism was very limited to actually pressurize one of the tallest leaders of India. It is also true that the policy of the Government of India took vigorous shape when the nationalistic party came to power. The recent engagement of India with its Diaspora is the contribution of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Government.

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[29] Jain, P.C. (1982), "Indians Abroad: A Current Population Estimate", *Economic and Political Weekly,* 17(8), pp. 299-304.

[30] For more on this argument see Ajay Dubey (2000) "India and Experience of Indian Diaspora in Africa", *Africa Quarterly,* 40(2), pp.69-92.

India and most of the states of Africa shared a common history. After India's independence, the people of India and Indian government had extended support to the struggling mass and states of Africa against colonialism, imperialism and apartheid. Africa is now free from the vestiges of colonialism and imperialism. These countries have many responsibilities after the gain of political independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recognised this long back when at the first Afro-Asian conference at Bandung, he said:

"We have been backward. We have been left behind in the race, and now we have a chance again to make good. We have to make good rapidly because of the compulsion of events. If we do not make good now we shall fade away not to rise again for a long time to come" (cited in Mukherjee 1997:42).[31]

India is committed to democratic development in Africa. It is helping African states in building peace in a democratic framework and without violence. It has many peacekeeping missions in Africa, which needs special attention. Human rights violation in Africa is very common and India is making manifold contribution in preserving human rights.

1.4.2 Ideological Similarities

The relations of India with Madagascar and Mozambique are negligible despite a large presence of Indian population there.[32] It is perhaps due to the Nehruvian policy on the issues concerning the people of Indian origin staying abroad. The first Prime Minister of India Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru had once said that they should identify themselves with the hosting nations and should not think of much help from India. In fact the importance of the issues of the people of Indian origin came up due to keen interest on the problems of them by the former National Democratic Alliance government. Another reason is that the Indian engagement with the African countries was very limited right from Indian independence. The India was going through a series of domestic problems due to that it might not have given proper attentions to the Indian staying far away from India.

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[31] Cited in P K Mukherjee (1997) "India-Africa and South-South Cooperation", in N N Vohra and K Mathew (eds.) *Africa, India and South Cooperation*, Delhi: Har-Anand Publication, p. 42.

[32] Melkote, Rama S. (1994) *A Study of Foreign Policy of Madagascar*, Delhi: Kalinga, p. 100.

The ideological similarities after the independence continued to sustain Afro-Indian relations. Faith in Non-Alignment also played a significant role. India's stand on racial discrimination and colonialism, economic assistance to Africa, economic collaboration, transfer of technology, and support to liberation movements outside United Nations co-operation through International Organization and through assistance are significant commitment to the sustenance of relationship with the African Countries.[33]

The nature of Indian migration changed in the post War period. Different professionals migrated to East Africa in search of jobs and money, and they were sent by the government of India to support technical services. The Government of India's policy towards African countries changed during 1960s and 1970s. The government of India supported different African countries in their struggle for independence from the colonial occupation. India also selectively supported in the nation making of African countries. It provided technically in the economic development. It opened the doors of higher educational institutions for African students. It encouraged investment by Indians in Africa.

1.4.3 NAM and Struggle Against Colonialism

The Non-Align Movement also provided a platform for India to support the African countries internationally. The former Prime Minister Narashimha Rao had said in the Non-Aligned Summit meeting held at Cartagena: *"We believe that by co-operation with each other bilaterally, trilaterally, and multilaterally, we would not only strengthen and enrich one another, but collectively count for much more in the global economy. The more we are able to deal with each other meaningfully and to mutual benefit, the more attention we are likely to get from the North. It will then set a virtuous circle in which we are likely to be gainers."* The Indian government has considered all the recent development while formulating its' foreign policy towards Africa in the new millennium.

India and Africa have been allies in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. India and Africa can be partners in the battle to overcome underdevelopment. In fact,

[33] *Foreign Affairs Reports* (2005) Indian Council of World Affairs, pp. 16-18.

there are two problems, which continue to exist in Africa now; the first is the proliferation of conflicts and the international marginalisation of Africa. It has abundant resources and it is now at the threshold of regeneration and recovery.

1.4.4 India and Africa as Partners

The Indian relations with Africa must not be viewed in purely as an economic relation or mere market for Indian goods and services. India and Africa are partners in the collective endeavour to achieve betterment of the people.[34] Many considerations have given rise to the notion of South-South Cooperation. It is not just a catchword and it is a new spirit of an alternate approach to development. Cooperation among developing countries will help in their economic linkages, strengthen multilateral approaches, and strengthen their capacity to bargain with the North. It will help in building in building a just and equitable world.

It is beyond doubt that Africa is the most backward of the regions of the world. For the development of Africa, many African leaders thought of regional trade and cooperation. In 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was formed; all most every African state joined as member of OAU. The commitment to, and the outline plan for the establishment of an African Common Market by the year 2020 was a result of work by the OAU and the Economic Commission for Africa.[35] Africa has already institutionalised the issues of concern for Africans to solve in on a regular basis. One of the successes of OAU was its struggle against apartheid.

Regional trading is emerging in Africa. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is one of them, which was founded in 1980. The improved communication links facilitate the planned expansion of intra-SADC. This is moving towards a common market for African states. In East Africa, the tentative moves to re-create an East African Community, after its fall in 1977. A number of other sub-regional groupings are emerging in Africa. For example, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is making advances in sub-regional advances in

[34] V K Grover (1997) "India's Africa Policy", in N N Vohra and K Mathew (eds.) *Africa, India and South-South Cooperation*, Delhi: Har-Anand Publication :61-64)

[35] Julius, K., Nyerere (1997) Understanding Africa" in N N Vohra and K Mathew (eds.) *Africa, India and South Cooperation*, Delhi: Har-Anand Publication, pp. 31-40.

economic cooperation. The sub-regional organization in Africa is responsible for an increase in intra-regional trade from 657 million US dollar in 1970 to 4,364 million dollar in 1992.

1.4.5 Indian Diaspora, India and the development of Africa

India can play a greater role in the development of Africa. There are already co-operation between India and other African countries. There are agreements of friendship and technical, economic and scientific cooperation. There are technical assistance agreements where India is assisting in terms of providing training to African officials at the expense of India. Indian Ocean has been slow in exploiting its potential as a route for trade and other forms of cooperation and contracts. Many cultural exchange programmes are also taking place between India and more than 25 cultural agreements have been signed with African countries. There are more than 50 Indian joint ventures in Africa. The Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP) launched in 1964 have been the principal instruments of India's efforts to assist the newly independent countries of Africa in the development of their manpower resources. The launch of an Indian Ocean Rim Association is a courageous step towards harnessing Africa-Asia relation.

There exist two Africa; the first is the Africa of missed opportunities made up of starvation, famine, *coups d'etat*, civil war, drug trafficking and illiteracy. The second Africa is mainly located in southern Africa, which is politically stable and economically sound. There are signs of optimism in African states. The African countries are offering better opportunities to other countries, especially India.[36]

The Indians have contributed to the economic development of the East-Africa. Gujarati are significant among them. They have emerged as a significant commercial

[36] Poul R., Berenger (1997) "Understanding Contemporary Africa; and South- South cooperation", in N N Vohra and K Mathew (eds.) *Africa, India and South- South Cooperation*, Delhi: Har-Anand Publication, pp. 47-56.

class. The Indian Diaspora are internally divided by caste, community, religion, and bound together by common ties of language and orientation towards business.[37]

There are other literatures which suggest that the Indian Diaspora in Africa consists of many communities and from different states of India. Many of them in South-Africa are from South-Indian States.[38]

There are instances of rift between the Indians and others due to various reasons. There was increase of Indian population to 35, 215 in Uganda, as per 1948 Census which was one of the reasons of anti-Indian riots across Uganda in 1945. Four year latter there were riots again[39] at the time of independence of Uganda, PIOs population was 77,400.[40] Asian controlled 80 percent of commerce, 75 percent of industry and manufacturing. Most of the traders and industrialists were Gujaratis.

Many, Indian Diaspora have kept their culture and traditions intact. They have not fully integrated in to the African society and culture which often create rift between Indians and others. Indians have achieved economic prosperity in Mozambique and Madagascar but their political role is not commensurate within their economic gain. Gujaratis using their traditional kinship networks and indigenous business methods played a key role in building up the economy of East- Africa.[41]

India's relations with Africa are based on twin pillar of peace and development. The two are mutually interdependent. India's contribution to peace –keeping in Africa is significant among them. India emphasizes on South-South horizontal linkages. The relations are fraternal, an affinity, a common vision and a deep sense of empathy born out of a struggle, which have brought the people of Africa and India together. Both have always been part of a common struggle for universal freedom.[42]

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[37] Mehta, Makrand (2001), "Gujarati Business Communities in East African Diaspora: Major Historical Trends", *Economic and Political Weekly,* 36(20), pp. 1738-1747.

[38] (Kuper 1960)

[39] (Tinker 1977:151-53)

[40] (Gregory 1963:4)

[41] Mehta (2001), Opcit, p. 1746.

[42] *Foreign Affairs Reports* (2005), Indian Council of World Affairs, pp. 16-18.

The Indian settlers in Africa never formed a strong part of Indo-African relations. The Indo-African relations was neglected when Jawaharlal Nehru who foreseen the clash of interest between Indians and Africans.[43] The promotion of the cause of PIOs not seemed to be a concern of the Indian Government until the formation in India of a BJP-led government in 1998.[44]

1.6 Indian Diaspora and their Identity

Indians who are staying abroad have a deep respect for the country of their origin. Through the centuries they have kept the cultural practices and tradition alive despite manifold difficulties. "For Indian settlers abroad, India still remains a source of cultural strength and inspiration. Cultural tourism was one potential area where Indian settlers would remain a priority for both business and religious organization.[45] Indian Diaspora continues to relate, personally or vicariously to the homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. It is a fact that the Indians in most of the African countries form the middle section. They are economically mobile in African society. Cultural identity is what makes Indians abroad proud. They are proud to be from Indian Origin as it is a glorious cultural heritage. People staying abroad are stick to their identity through the centuries. They have maintained their identity and religions in western countries also like in African countries.[46]

In recent times scholars talk of two types of Indian Diaspora, old and new. The first is the old Indian Diaspora who migrated as labour in 19th and early 20th centuries. The second is the "Knowledge worker" migrated to industrially developed countries in mid-twentieth century onwards and continuing to this day. The Indian Diaspora is changing in culture, class and in mobility. It is argued that the culture, class and

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[43] Ajay Dubey (1998), "India-Africa Relations and Indian Settlers in Africa", *Indian Africanist*, 1(2), pp. 12-19.

[44] Ajay Dubey (2000), "India and Experience of Indian Diaspora in Africa", *Africa Quarterly*, 40(2), pp. 69-92.

[45] Ajay Dubey (1998), Opcit, p. 18.

[46] Eleanor Netsbitt (2006) 'Locating British Hindus' Sacred Space', *Contemporary South Asia*, 15(2), pp. 195-208 (see other articles in this volume for more on such related arguments).

mobility among the Indian Diaspora is dynamic and in this context that the current identity and culture of Indian Diaspora should be studied.[47]

Dubey (2003) rightly puts, "their adoptability has never subsumed their identity. It springs from their deep faith in their civilization and spiritual heritage. It is demonstrated through their pride and abiding faith in Indian value system. It is expressed in their aspiration and inspiration that they get from their country of origin. For settlement they may like their children to prosper and grow in their adopted countries, but globally they would prefer them to adopt Indian family values. The global identity of Indian Diaspora is distinct because of these preferences, practices aspirations".[48] They faced many difficulties to preserve their cultural values. "Living in and multicultural societies and being characterized as an ethnic identity, the Indian Communities abroad have been invariably required to negotiate the problem of ethnicity. They have been engaged in outline economic and cultural competitions. They have experienced ethnic discrimination, either explicit or covert. Sometimes they have been even involved in violent ethnic conflict and fierce political struggles.[49] In many cases, Indian cultural influences are also discernable in East-African countries.[50]

Indian Diaspora is not same to that of Indian.[51] However, they speak Indian languages, which sounds different and the influence of other language of host countries is vivid. The cultural practices and Indian language is with them. However, they have been influenced by other cultural practices. Some argues that, 'it is common

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[47] Ravindran K Jain (2004) *Indian Diaspora, Old and New: Culture, Class and Mobility,* First J. S. Bhandari Memorial Lecture, 27th March, Memorial Lecture Series, Indian Anthropological Association, Department of Anthropology, DU, Delhi.

[48] Ajay Dubey (2003), *Indian Diaspora: Global Identity*, Delhi: Kalinga, p. ii.

[49] N. Jayaram (ed) (2004), *The Indian Diaspora: Dynamics of Migration*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 17.

[50] (Keswari 1980:33-43).

[51] It will be wrong to say that the culture of Indian Diaspora has the culture synonymous with the one practiced in India. There are many differences in the form and practice. The little culture, which the Indian Diaspora had brought from the homeland has remained without further nurturance and flowering. Ravindra K Jain (2001) 'Culture and Class in Indian Diaspora: India vs Bharat', *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 28, pp. 1380-1381.

complaints that the homeland Indians flaunts their cultural superiority over Indians in the Diaspora'.[52]

1.7 Conclusion

It would not be wrong to say that the Diaspora is a legacy of history. The 20 million populations of Indian Origin are a great asset to India. They could be useful if they are taken care of properly by the Indian mission abroad. The Government of India must not consider its Diaspora as a mere economic opportunity. It must see them as its own citizens and help them at the time of their need. They could not only invest in India but also they could also influence International public opinion. The government of India should address the problem and difficulties faced by the Indian Diaspora. The Indian Diaspora is interesting because 'the sun never sets in the Indian Diaspora'. It means the Indian Diaspora is present around the globe. There are sources suggesting that the identity of Indian Diaspora is alive and they have not forgotten their cultural uniqueness despite series of historical odds they faced in the past. Due to multifarious reasons, people had migrated to far off places and settled there permanently. It is a fact that in our time ethnic affinity is more important than the economic gain. The PIOs in some countries may not be much well off to help India, but India must help them at the times of their crisis. There are arguments that Diasporas of some countries did not vigorously link themselves for long in the past so they are being denied the opportunity for dual citizenship. The government of India also denied the dual citizenship to the people of certain countries, which created resentment among the Diasporas of certain countries.

The study of Indian Diaspora in Africa is very interesting due to large presence of population of Indian Origin. It is also interesting because they have retained the Indian culture for generations. Therefore, it is a strong case to study the Indian Diaspora. How the colonial policies could not change the Indian or changed the cultural values. The assimilation of Indians in the African society is less than

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[52] Ravindra K. Jain (2001), "Culture and Class in Indian Diaspora: India vs. Bharat", *Economic and political weekly*, 36(17):1380.

expected. The government policies have changed towards the Indian Diaspora in the recent time. The Government of India have taken interest to know and understand the problems and difficulties of Indian Diaspora.

The study of Indian Diaspora in Africa is also interesting because the movement of Indian people to African countries started even before colonization started in Africa. They moved to Africa for trade and not with the intention of settling there permanently. However, the opposite happened. The Indian traders settled in many parts of Africa because the business opportunities offered by the host countries was very profitable to them. It is not to put that they did not face any challenge. The challenges were much mainly because the whole of Africa was covered with dense forest and there were lack of communications then.

Chapter: II

Indian Diaspora in Mozambique

Chapter: II

Indian Diaspora in Mozambique

2.0 Introduction

As the previous chapter deals with the theorization of Indian Diaspora, the present chapter focuses more specifically on the Indian Diaspora in Mozambique. The study of Indian Diaspora in Mozambique is new like the study of Indian Diaspora itself. This chapter makes an attempt to explore the historical foundation of the Indian Diaspora in Mozambique. It tries to look at the colonial experience of the Indian Diaspora and demonstrate the factors that are responsible for the migration of Indians to the above mentioned country. This is important for any discussion on the present manufacturing of the history of Indian Diaspora because such explanation will provide insights on the study of Indian Diaspora a solid base. In this context, it will also look at the Indo-Mozambique relation from historical perspective. This chapter will address some of the pertinent questions such as, why the Indians migrated to Mozambique. What was the need for migration to this country? What were the impacts of Portuguese policies? It will look at the present socio-economic and political condition of the Indians.

2.1 An anecdote of Economy, Society and Portuguese colonization in Mozambique

Mozambique is a country of Southern Africa. It shares borders with South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, and Tanzania. The country has a population around 19,420,036 (according to the official projection of 2006) and a total area of 799,380 sq. km. (larger by more than 200 times of Goa).[1] The Country of Mozambique is of special interest because of its historical experience. Straddling the Indian Ocean and the volatile world of racially divided South Africa, Mozambique has assumed an increasingly strategic international position. Its 2,000 mile (3, 200- kilometer) coastline

[1] For more on this see Edward George (2007), *Mozambique: Economy,* in Europa Regional Survey of the World; Africa South of the Sahara (36th Ed.) London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p. 817.

and three major ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala – all ideally suited for naval bases- have long been coveted by the superpowers. These ports from which a great power could interdict, or at least disrupt, Indian Ocean commerce and alter the balance of power in Southern Africa, also offer international gateways to the landlocked countries of the region.[2] Mozambique, according to western analysts, has enormous mineral potential. The world's largest reserve of columbo-tantalite-used to make nuclear reactors and aircrafts and missile parts–is located in Zambezia Province, and the country is the second most important producer of beryl, another highly desired strategic mineral. In addition, large natural gas deposits and the increasing likelihood of offshore oil enhance Mozambique's role as an energy producer. Mozambique has a long tradition of resistance, a tradition that dates back to the arrival of Portuguese merchants, settlers, and missionaries in the Sixteenth century.[3] The demand for slaves, the discovery of gold in South Africa and the need for migrant Mozambique labour, changing commodity prices on the world market, and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) military support for the Portuguese colonial regime in its war against FRELIMO all helped to shape the course of Mozambican history. Basically, Mozambique was a nomadic society in the pre-colonial period as most of them were hunters and food gatherers. Long before the coming of the Portuguese in 1498, successive groups of Bantu-speaking people had migrated in to Mozambique. With the coming of Bantu-speaking people, it became a mix society. Subsequently, Portuguese and immigrants from Asia and other regions came to this country. It is a heterogeneous society comprising of various religious and social groups.

The territory now comprising the Republic of Mozambique came under Portuguese control in the 19th century and became a Portuguese 'overseas province' in 1951. Mozambique is a young country with 29 years, having acquired its independence from Portugal on 25th June 1975. Since then Mozambicans have witnessed successive attempts of transition. In the post-independence period, the country witnessed a long conflict. The influence of ideology on the formation of government around the world was discernable and Mozambique is not free from such ideological influence. This was vivid

[2] Joseph Hanlon (1984), *Mozambique: The Revolution under Fire*, London: Zed Books Ltd, p. 4.

[3] Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman (1983), *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*, United States: West View Press, pp. 2-4.

when Mozambique became the Republic of Mozambique in 1975. The Frelimo government's goal was to build a developed, non-racial and socialist state. Frelimo (frente de Libertacao de Mocambique), headed by Samora Machel, was characterized as being a socialist organization turned in to a political party. The original fought for the liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) was a mass movement opens to all opposed to Portuguese colonialism and fascism.[4] The civil war broke out with the emergence of an opponent movement called Renamo (Resistancia National de Mocambique), which demanded a multiparty democracy. This conflict undermined the attempted peaceful transition from a colonial Mozambique to a sovereign socialist state. With the failure of socialism, the country is moving in a democratic path from 1990s onwards, although democracy is yet to flourish in this part of the world.

2.2 A Brief History of Indian Diaspora in Mozambique

As far as the study of Indian Diaspora in Mozambique is concerned, no systematic study has been done so far. This is a small attempt to contribute to the study of Indian Diaspora in Mozambique, which will bring about new possibilities and new facts about the Indian Diaspora community in Mozambique. This study is an attempt to boost the scholars more to explore the area and to have more knowledge about our fellow Indians of Lusophone Africa in general and Mozambique in particular.[5] From 1990s onwards, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the study of Indian Diaspora gained momentum. There is much debate and discussion on Indian Diaspora in the intellectual forum. For the first time, serious attempt was made from the Indian Government side to connect Indian Diaspora Community with India, spreading across the globe. Around 20,000 Indians are there in Mozambique. While going through the literature on the history of the migration of the

[4] Joseph Hanslon (1984), Opcit., p. 138.

[5] Lusophone refers to Portuguese speaking nations. All of these nations are former colonies of Portugal and constitute 4 per cent of the African population. Even after independence from Portuguese colonial rule these countries considered as a part of Portugal in Africa, as Francophone Africa considered as part of French Community in Africa. And still these colonial powers have greater military and economic influence in this Region even after independence. For more on Lusophone Africa see Patrick Manning (1988), *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa 1880-1985*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-2.

Indian Diaspora in Mozambique, it is observed to be interesting because the Indians migrated from Goa, Daman and Diu and from some parts of Gujarat (Portuguese call it as Northern province) to Mozambique and from Mozambique to Lisbon (Portugal). Some of them settled down in Mozambique and some in Portugal. All this happened during the Portuguese colonial period in the 19th Century as these provinces of India and the country of Mozambique were under Portuguese rule and shared same colonial experience. This does not mean there was no migration of Indians to this country before colonial period. Only during the colonial period, their migration intensified to meet colonial requirements. Indians migrated to this country since long back, when trade and commerce started across the Indian Ocean region. There is a long history of the migration of the Indian merchants to this region and Goa-Mozambique relation. If we will trace the history, we can see with the Portuguese controlling the Indian Ocean, Goans early started to be active in the commerce of wood, tea, coffee, spices, and cinnamon in the Goa-Mozambique-Lisbon triangle. From the 16th century onwards, they with the Gujarati traders played extremely important role in consolidating Portugal's control over the hinterland. Until 1752, Mozambique was under the direct administration of Goa.[6]

Mozambique officially Republic of Mozambique, formerly a Portuguese colony, East-African country located in Southeastern coast of Africa. Mozambique became an overseas province of Portugal in 1951 and got independence in 1975. Arab traders occupied the coastal region from the 14th century and Portuguese controlled the area from the early 16th century. An African estimate suggests that the Indian population in the country is around 20,000. Many Indians migrated over there during the colonial period as labourers in plantation and in construction work. Most of them are from western parts of India and particularly from Goa, Daman and Diu and Gujarat. Among them Goans are in majority, made remarkable progress in the economic and political sphere, and have higher social status in the Mozambican society.

2.2.1 Goans in Mozambique

Goans migrated to East-Africa since a long back, even before the colonial period, engaged in the commercial activities. Even before the arrival of the Europeans in India,

[6] Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman (1983), Opcit., p. 15.

there were innumerable commercial and navigational contacts between the west coast of India and the east coast of Africa which was in those days known as Swahili coast.[7] Only after the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama, via Mozambique and Milinde, the socio-cultural interaction between Goa and Mozambique started on a "regular basis". They played a pioneering role in Mozambique and did help to buttress the colonial structure in that country in a big way. Goans are very rich compared to the indigenous Mozambican people and undertook such tasks which the White men could not in East Africa in general and Mozambique. Goan pioneers played a role in different countries of the globe, and their involvement in Africa is well known. But less is heard of Portuguese speaking Africa.[8]

2.2.3 Migration of Goans to Mozambique

There was migration of labour and the geographical mobility of goods like wood, tea, coffee, spices, and cinnamon between Goa, Mozambique and Lisbon in a regular basis. Karnik (1998) says, "Goans found it quite advantageous to immigrate to Mozambique located on the East African coast across the Indian Ocean". There are many similarities between these two regions, despite the distance. Climatic conditions were same. Due to their own harbour and environmental circumstances, Goans had become a band of sailors and generated a "bulk of dynamic emigrants." The same 'firinghi' language (Portuguese) prevailed in both Goa and Mozambique.

Karnik further says that a cartographic map existing in the archives of the 'Casa de Goa', a Goan institution in Mozambique. It reveals in "unmistakable terms" the emigration route from Goa to Mozambique in Portuguese Carreiras across the Indian Ocean. It also shows the several land routes of Goan penetration and inroads into the mainland of Mozambique.

Due to early scanty records and their damage by the heavy monsoon climate of the region 'it is not possible to pinpoint exactly the name of the first Goan who migrated

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[7] Sharmila S. Karnik (1998), 'Goans in Mozambique', *Africa Quarterly*, 38(3), p. 95.

[8], Frederick Noronha, (1999) "News Feature Goa: Goans in Mozambique", [Online: web] Accessed23June2007URLhttp://www.goacom.org/news/news99/sep/msg00013.html.

and settled in the colony of Mozambique'. Nevertheless, one early Goan was named Calisto, a companion of the missionary called Rev. Fr. Dom Gonsalo da Silva, who was killed in Mozambique in 1560 during his missionary errand to Monomotapa, a region in the interior of Mozambique.[9]

In 1569, a military expedition sent to avenge the killing of the missionary, had some 650 troops, of which around 140 comprised of natives and Goons commanded by Geronimo ad Andrade. When the military expedition led by Dom Francisco Barreto marched up to River Zambezi in July 1572, soldiers of Goan origin were smartly and proudly integrated in the battalion. This historic event confirms the fact that Goans already inhabited the wild regions of Mozambique from remote times.

Portuguese historian Alexandre Lobato opines that the administrative, cultural and social evolution of Mozambique had received a great impetus and it made dynamic progress owing to the constant and continuous presence of the Goan emigrants there despite many climatic hardships which they had to face.

2.2. 4 Impact of Goans on Mozambican society

Goan emigrants not only have left their footprints on the sands of time but also their imprints on the habits, customs and traditions of their descendents and on the natives who lived under their influence. They were men and women of extraordinary physical resistance and had exceptionally strong temperament, lived in the regions of Zambezi river. In those days to live in the regions of Zambezi river was a very risky venture. Lobato argues that if the Portuguese possessed Alta Zambezia, they owed it in great part to the emigration policy, to which the Goans "contributed immensely".[10]

2.2.5 Impact on economy and polity

The vast river Zambezi and its tributaries irrigate Mozambique's central region. It is a very fertile region with luxuriant vegetation but with abundant mosquito larvae too. Local

[9] Sharmila S. Karnik (1998), Opcit., p. 96.
[10] Noronha (1999) Opcit.

inhabitants lived in small huts made of sticks, and dry grass called 'palhotas'. In this region of high fever and poisonous snakes, the Goan emigrants lived, toiled, and colonized the same, working shoulder to shoulder with the Portuguese. Other Portuguese researchers argue that none could surpass the Goan emigrants of Mozambique in shrewdness in their commercial excursions, business transactions and in their labour output in the exploration of gold mines. Louis Fernando da Carvalho Dias says the Goan emigrants were "so courageous" that they continuously moved across the forests, opened new roads, faced great perils and kept up the commercial and economic connections between Goa and Mozambique. Many Goan emigrants worked in the Zumbo gold mines and carried on the ivory trade between Goa, Mozambique and Portugal. Such were the close links between the Goans and Mozambicans that even 'achars' (i.e. pickles of various kinds), caju feni and dry salted fish were regularly transported by ships from Goa to Mozambique to be consumed by the natives.[11]

By May 1570, Goan troops played a key role in the success of an armed penetration into the interior of Mozambique. Portuguese archival records point to the fact that Goan emigrants such as tailors, sailors, fishermen, clerks and even Goan mercenaries consolidated the administrative and bureaucratic machinery of Portugal in Mozambique. Goan emigrants on behalf of the Portuguese government from the early days of the conquest developed the entire Zambezi region.

In colonial days, incidentally, Goa was the overseas headquarters of the Portuguese Empire. Some regions of Mozambique were climatically quite inhospitable, and were called the "graveyard of Europeans". In these areas, Goan emigrants built their homes. They mingled and mixed with local inhabitants. There were also some who married local women. Oral history reports say descendents of pioneer Goan settlers in Ibo Island were, over the years, submerged almost beyond recognition in the African ethnic environment, leaving no traces of their ancestral Goan origin. As white collar professionals and even as labourers, fishermen and farmers, the Goan emigrants were very energetic, alert and very much disciplined. Goan expatriates help convert "an

[11] Ibid.

inhospitable coastland into a very prosperous, healthy, and wealthy nation of East Africa".[12]

2.3 Successful story of some Goans

Several Goans from early times played a pivotal role in Mozambique's life. Pedro Caetano Pereira, a humble Goan trader in the Zambezi region, acquired prestige among the locals. He ended up dominating the rich territory of Macanga. He became its Chieftain and was given the title of Chamatowa (Destroyer) by the natives.

Gonsalo Caetano, another Goan, migrated from Goa to the island of Sena. He carried on a lucrative gold mine extraction work. Locals knew him as 'dombo-dombo' (Man of Terror).

Trade and commerce between Goa and Mozambique was largely in the hands of Goans who outnumbered Portuguese traders. Some Goan businessmen who established themselves in that country were Jose Anselmo da Santana, Sebastiao Xavier, Francisco Ferrao from Aldona, Caetano Vas from Ambora, Antonio da Cunha and Inacio da Miranda from Margao.[13] Portuguese traders were reluctant to trade with the Mozambican natives because of the perilous climate.

Goa on some occasions helped Mozambique when it was famine-striken. Roque da Sequeira Nazareth played such a role. He lived with several bodyguards like a "petty feudal lord" in his palatial mansion with by native farmers ploughing his vast fields.

The natives hailed Colonel Manuel Antonio da Sousa of Mapusa as his Majesty King Barue. He was regarded as 'one of the most honorable heroes of pacification of Mozambique'. Another successive story of Captain Anselmo Ferrao, born and bred in Africa of Goan origin, took some 2000 sepoys and conquered Bonga in Mozambique on

[12] Sharmila S. Karnik (1998), Opcit., p. 116.
[13] Ibid, p. 101.

behalf of the King of Portugal in 1887. Jose Vincente da Gama, a native of Saligao, is believed to have been the author of the first book to be printed in Mozambique, published in 1859.[14]

The 20th century was witness yet another renaissance of the Goan presence. Mario Viegas, who was born and brought up in Mozambique, currently lives in Lisbon and is editor of the local Goan magazine Voz do Oriente. He estimates that by the middle of the century, there were around 20,000 Goans in the region of Beira, 12,000 in the capital Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) and some 5,000 spread all over the country. He recalls Fr. Cirilo Vicente Constantino Saldanha, from Saligao, parishioner of Quelimane, who in the 1920s was a great social activist. The agronomist, Alberto de Santana Quadros from Nicoadala excelled in his experiments with cashew and fruit culture. Later on there was also an eminent Goan industrialist called Abilio dos Remedios Furtado. Soccorro-born D. Altino Ribeiro de Santana was the Bishop of Beira in the latter part of his life, city where he died in 1973. Goans also active in local press, Luis Vicente Alvares and Tomas Acquinas Alvares published "O Oriente", a Catholic weekly, which defended the reestablishment of the blocked flow of remittances to Goa in the after math of the 1st World War.[15]

2.4 Colonial Experience of the Indian Diaspora in Mozambique

The history of the colonial experience of the Indian Diaspora will be incomplete without knowing their migration to this region and their socio-economic and political status in the pre-colonial Mozambican society. That is why, the present study attempts to focus on both pre-colonial and colonial experience of the Indian Diaspora in Mozambique. Because of its economic and strategic significance, the continent of Africa has occupied important place in the imperialist and colonial designs of the western powers. It became a battleground for them and fragmented in to different colonies. The necessity to keep these colonies intact called for a greater role of military and diplomacy of the colonial powers

[14] Noronha (1999), Opcit.

[15] These data and information primarily collected by Constantino Hermanns Xavier (Research Scholar, CIPOD, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) who visited Mozambique as a part of his Global Lusophone tour. He has exclusively written on the Goans in Mozambique in his seminar paper "A Little Goa in Southern Africa".

in the colonial affairs. Military helped them to acquire and perpetuate their stronghold, diplomacy helped them to bolster their interests peacefully, and its failure ultimately involved military maneuvers.

The migration of the Indians intensified during the colonial period. However, the migration of Indians to Mozambique can be traced back to the pre-colonial period (from 1500-1880). During this period, the Maritime revolution intensified. Mozambique ties to the wider world. The arrival of Indian merchants along with other successive groups of Swahili, Portuguese in search of Ivory, gold and slaves marked the beginning of the Mozambique's incorporation in to the world economy. Coming up of these processes led to the distortion of the Mozambique's economic base. The Indian merchants landed in this country just for business purpose. However, they did not have any other intension like the Portuguese. Portugal's imperial ambition extended beyond near commerce. From the 16th century onwards, Lisbon (capital of Portugal) periodically attempted to impose its political hegemony.

2.4.1 Indian Diaspora and the changes during the colonial period

Not until the beginning of the 20th century, did Portugal finally prevail, but only after the 30 years of overcoming stiff local resistance. Colonialism brought about many changes in the Mozambican society, which the Indians do experienced along with the Mozambique's indigenous people. The process of economic and social integration, cultural borrowing, and assimilation and population diffusion started during this period.[16]

Portuguese moved into the Indian Ocean around the 1500 century. Lisbon was particularly interested in gaining control cover Mozambique because of the area's strategic ports and the existence of gold and ivory that Portugal needed to defray the cost of its expansionist policies. By the middle of the 18th century, Mozambique had become to Portugal little more than a backwater material zone of minimal value in comparison to Lisbon's holdings in Asia, Brazil and even Angola. In a halfhearted effort to revive the

[16] Isaacman and Isaacman (1984), Opcit., p. 11.

colonist sagging fortune, Lisbon gave Mozambique autonomous colonial status in 1752, previously Mozambique had been administered as a part of Portuguese India.[17]

2.4.2 Indian Merchants

Portugal's political set back coincided with its failure to consolidate its control over the prosperous Muslim commercial network. Outfitting the over land Caravans with cloth, breads and other commodities was costly and considerable capital reserves were needed to observe the reverses that regularly occurred. Neither the crown, which maintained a theoretical monopoly on all cloth and ivory imported into the colony, nor the Portuguese settlers, who circumvented the royal monopoly, possessed the capital required to fuel the trade system. The Indian merchants, primarily the Banyans, the Hindu trading caste, quickly filled this vacuum. They gained a foothold by providing manufactured cloths and trading beads. On credit to the local settlers who, exchanged them for ivory, gold and tropical products in the interior. After the middle of the 17th century, Indian merchants, along with other Asian merchants, based on the northern Island of Mozambique, began to organize their own Caravans in to the Makua homelands. By 1750, they controlled a vast trading network that extended as far south as Quelimane and the Zambesi valley, earning them the epithet "Jews of the Orient".

With the rise of Indian merchant capitalism in this region, a marked shift took place in the nature of international trade, although agriculture continued as the economic base of all Mozambican societies. In the 17th century, Indian cloths were in high demand in this region. The Indians got gold and ivory in exchange, especially ivory. The Yao elephant hunters and merchants of Mozambique extended their trading activities to satisfy the increasing Indian demands for ivory.

When campaign against slave trade started, Britain compelled Portugal to give up this as the Portugal helped the local aristocracy to perpetuate slave trade and retain their independence and they, in return, will acknowledge Portugal's nominal rule. During this period, the Indian merchants and the African and the European merchants supported the

[17] Ibid, pp. 14-15.

ruling class. And they received popular support from much of the Islamized African population by pledging to defend their historic way of life against alien Christians and to resist all efforts by the Portuguese to impose the dreaded hut tax.[18]

2.5 India and Mozambique

India has cordial relations with Mozambique. Indian government has assisted Mozambique for its development. Mozambique's ideological affinity with Third world Nations provided a basis for economic co-operation with country like India. A bilateral agreement between India and Mozambique was signed in 1982 called for $ 14 million in credit, technical assistance to upgrade Mozambican railroads, and a joint aluminium project in which Mozambique would smelt Indian-supplied bauxite using power from Cahora Bassa Dam.[19]

2.5.1 Historical Relationship

Historical evidence suggests that Indians arrived in Mozambique even earlier than the Portuguese did. The links between Mozambique and India go back to several centuries, and traders from Southern India probably visited Mozambique even before Vasco da Gama set on a journey to India. Indian merchants, primarily the Banyas, the Hindu caste, quickly filled on the northern Island of Mozambique. They gained a foothold by providing manufactured cloths and trading beds on credit to the local settlers, who exchanged them for ivory, gold, and tropical products in the interior. After middle of the 17th Century, they began to organize their own caravans in to the Makua homelands. By 1750, Asian traders controlled a vast trading network that extended as far South as Quelimane and the Zambesi valley.[20]

2.5.2 India and Mozambique in the post-colonial period

India extended moral support to Mozambique in its freedom struggle against the colonial rule. Indian Ambassador was present in Maputo when the Portuguese flag was brought

[18] Ibid, pp. 15-22.
[19] Ibid, p. 121.
[20] Ibid, p. 15.

down on 25th June 1975. The leadership in the two countries have maintained cordial and close working relationship. India contributed in Mozambique's peace and stability by contributing in the UN peacekeeping operations after the signing of the Peace Accord in 1992. However, after the 1992 Peace Accord and the end of apartheid in South Africa, the priorities of Mozambique underwent considerable change and India did not find any place of importance in their scheme of things, as it earlier had when Mozambique was one of the frontline states. South Africa being their immediate neighbour has emerged as their principal economic partner. At the same time, Mozambique's dependence on foreign aid on day-to-day basis even to organize the elections or balance their budget, has forced Mozambique to woo the western donor countries.

In spite of these compulsions, Mozambican Government led by President Chissano sees India as a developmental role model and would like to benefit from Indian experience in developing their agro-based economy. Mozambique from time to time, sought India's assistance in the fields of agriculture, agro-processing, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), health, rural development etc. President Chissano has been advocating strong commercial and economic links with developing countries, especially, India, in the true spirit of South-South Cooperation. Mozambique opened its High Commission in New Delhi in December 2001. The first Mozambican High Commissioner in India presented his credentials in April 2002.

2.6 Indo-Mozambique Economic & Commercial Relation

India has a long history of commercial relation with Mozambique as mentioned above. As India is an emerging economic power, all African countries looking for new avenues to have better co-operation with India especially in economic field. And Mozambique is no exception. Now India is the fourth largest trading partner of Mozambique after China, France and Germany down the line. And among the Asian trading partners, India is on the top (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Principal Trading Partners (US $ million)	2002	2003
Imports c.i.f*	2002	2003
Australia	7.5	211.3
France-Monaco	22.5	35.3
Germany	10.2	36.6
India	53.6	72.9
Italy-San Marino-Vatican	10.3	22.1
Japan	42.4	29.8
Malawi	2.3	19.2
Malaysia	n.a.	18.6
Pakistan	6.8	14.3
Portugal	77.5	62.4
Saudi Arabia	25.0	18.4
United Arab Emirates	14.1	11.3

Source: Europa Regional Survey of the World; Africa South of the Sahara (36th Ed.), 2007.

* c.i.f. – abbreviated form for cost-insurance-freight, i.e. charges that are incurred in transporting imports and exports of goods from one country to another.[21]

[21] Christopher Pass, Bryan Lowes & Leslie Davies (2005) *Collins dictionary of Economics* (4th Ed.), Glasgow: HarperCollins.

2.6.1 Mozambique's Economy

Mozambique's post-independence economy has suffered the damaging effects of a guerrilla war, drought, floods, famine, the displacement of population, and a severe scarcity of skilled workers and foreign exchange. Because of all these difficulties, Mozambique faced a large visible trade deficit, with export earnings covering less than one third of import costs, and high levels of debt repayments. As a result Mozambique has remained heavily reliant on foreign credits. In recent years, however, substantial debt relief has reduced servicing to a more sustainable level, while export has increased sharply.[22] The table 2.2 provides the overall glimpses of Mozambique's economy.

Table 2.2

Macroeconomic Indicators	2002
Currency	Metical (Mt) US$ 1.00= Mts. 23,638.51as on 29.3.2004
GDP Per Capita	US$ 197.4
GDP Growth	8.3%
Inflation rate	9.1%
Exports	US$ 682.02 million
Imports	US$ 1209.70 million
Balance of Payment	(-) US$ 1455.79

(Source: Statistical Year Book, 2002)

[22]Edward George (2007), Mozambique; Economy, *Europa Regional Survey of the World, Africa South of the Sahara (36th Ed.)*, London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p. 809.

Mozambique is essentially an agriculture based economy, which contributes more than 30 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)[23]. More than 75 per cent of Mozambican population are employed in the agriculture sector. The main crops are maize, rice, beans, vegetables, cassava, cotton, tobacco and sugarcane. Its main exports are prawns and shrimps, cashew nuts, cotton, copra and sugar. As mentioned above, severe floods in recent years and severe droughts in some parts of the country have adversely affected this sector. Agricultural productivity remains well below the African and regional average although this sector has considerable potential for further growth. Mozambique follows a liberalized import/export regime with few restrictions and it has also harmonized its import duty structure.

2.6.2 Economic Cooperation between these two countries

Both India and Mozambique have cordial relation in the economic field. India is making investment in Mozambique in economic sector. Recently in 2003 Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano accompanied by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Agriculture & Rural Development, Health, Industry and Commerce, Higher Education and Science & Technology paid an official visit to India. During the visit, two memorandum of sunderstandings (MOUs) - on cooperation in Agriculture, and Science and Technology were signed. The implementation of these agreements will also have some spin-off for Indian business. Other areas of bilateral cooperation also identified. The Prime Minister announced a grant of US$ 200,000 per year for the next five years to finance specific projects to be identified jointly. Out of the Africa Fund of $ 200 million, the Prime Minister announced a $ 20 million fresh credit line for Mozambique. This would provide the necessary push for Indian exports of plant and machinery for joint venture projects financed under the credit line. Against the grant of US$ 200,000 per year announced by the Prime Minister for the next five years, the Government of Mozambique have opted for a coir processing plant to be set up with Indian assistance.

[23] Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the total money value of all final goods and services produced in an economy over a one year period. For more on this see Christopher Pass, Bryan Lowes & Leslie Davies (2005), Opcit.

Among other sectors, Mozambique is asking for India's co-operation in the health sector and for the training of its personnel and for setting up laboratories for quality control in the pharmaceutical sector. They have also proposed (to some private sector firms) to set up manufacturing units in Mozambique including anti-retrovirals. Such a unit could cater not only to Mozambique but also to the entire South Asian Development Community (SADC) region. India extended credit lines in 1982 (now approximately at US$ 10 million). Indian experts have assisted the Mozambican railways, telecommunications and PETROMAC. Indian experts have also worked in the Ministry of Commerce, Agriculture and Finance and also in the Eduardo Mondlane University under the Commonwealth Special Fund for Mozambique. Tele Communications Consultants India Ltd (TCIL) completed a US$ 2.5 million IDA-funded project for establishment of telephone exchange and lines in the province of Pemba in 2001. Under the Africa Fund, India provided machinery, material and equipment to Mozambique at a total cost of Rs. 8.9 million in 2002. This included an ambulance, which was donated to Foundation for Community Development (FDC). Not only that, some Mozambican officials have received training in various technical institutes of India under various programmes initiated by both these countries.

Under South-South Cooperation, a tripartite agreement was signed between India, FAO and Mozambique in Rome in March 2001. Under this agreement, 65 Indian experts and technicians are to be deputed to Mozambique to assist upliftment of irrigation and agriculture facility in Mozambique. Three technicians have already arrived in Mozambique and have been deployed in the province of Zambezia.

2.6.3 Trade

In trading sector also India and Mozambique have good cooperation which needs to be further strengthened. The Indian Diaspora Community in Mozambique can play greater role in this regard. The main items imported by Mozambique from India are: drugs & pharmaceuticals, cotton yarn, fabrics, etc., transport equipments, rice (other than

basmati), rubber products (excluding footwear), metals, primary and semi-finished steel, miscellaneous processed items and fine chemicals and others (Table 2.3).

Table 2. 3

INDIA's EXPORTS TO MOZAMBIQUE

(figures in rupees crore)

Sl. No.	Items	2000-01	2001-02	2002- 03	Apr. 2002 - Jul. 2002	Apr. 2003 - Jul. 2003
1.	Drugs, Pharmaceuticals and Fine Chemicals	4.74	13.45	35.82	19.82	7.52
2.	RMG cotton, incdg. man- made yarn/fabrics/made-ups/textiles, silk etc.	1.43	30.67	34.33	10.25	8.70
3.	Transport equipments	29.65	34.88	29.14	7.96	8.02
4.	Rice other than Basmati	--	11.68	25.72	4.99	25.98
5.	Cotton Yarn, fabrics, made ups etc.	43.62	22.49	23.85	6.02	4.18
6.	Plastic & Linoleum products	3.05	3.83	10.27	1.32	0.40
7.	Primary and semi-finished iron and steel	5.65	5.81	8.78	--	3.32
8.	Manufactures of metals	3.18	4.34	7.25	3.13	2.14
9.	Machinery & Instruments	4.77	2.12	6.89	1.80	8.45
10	Rubber Manufactures products excluding footwear	4.39	3.27	5.22	1.81	1.75
11.	Inorganic/Organic/Agro Chemicals	0.17	0.55	4.49	4.14	0.42
12.	Glass/Glassware/Ceramics etc.	--	6.54	3.51	0.28	5.97
13	Misc. Processed items	5.64	1.80	3.25	1.36	0.33
14.	Marine Products	--	--	1.88	--	--
15.	Electronic goods	0.05	1.12	1.19	0.94	--
16.	Sugar	--	0.19	1.05	0.12	0.12
17.	Others	29.36	4.49	23.35	2.10	4.03
	TOTAL	145.70	147.23	225.99	66.04	81.33

(Source: DGCI&S)

The main items India imports from Mozambique include cashew nuts (raw), cotton raw and waste, coal/coke & briquettes, pulses and others (Table 2.4).

Table 2. 4

INDIA'S IMPORTS FROM MOZAMBIQUE

(figures in rupees crore)

Sl. No.	Item	2000-01	2001- 02	2002-03	Apr. 2002 - Jul. 2002	Apr. 2003 - Jul. 2003
1.	Cashew nut (Raw)	62.52	14.47	101.08	1.81	18.42
2.	Cotton raw and waste	16.93	13.25	15.18	2.55	2.22
3.	Coal/coke & Briquets	10.42	0.00	5.95	5.95	--
4.	Pulses	4.75	2.28	1.81	0.05	--
5.	Other commodities	2.56	1.53	10.38	0.05	0.54
	TOTAL	**97.18**	**31.53**	**134.40**	**10.41**	**21.18**

(Source DGCI&S)

2.6.3 Potential of Trade

There is great potential to increase India's exports in the fields of drugs, pharmaceuticals, hospital supplies, cotton yarn, fabrics, transport vehicles, electric machinery, electric meters and grains like rice and maize. Mozambique is strategically located in the way that it has 2270 kms long coastline (longer than US's west coast) in addition to providing access to land-locked countries like Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Swaziland. The country has superb natural harbours and rich resources of minerals and ores. Mozambican entrepreneurs have also expressed interest in the rural technologies developed by CSIR and are keen to import manufacturing equipment from India.

2.6.4 Major Thrust Areas of Trade

- Drugs and Pharmaceuticals and hospital supplies.
- Transport Equipment
- Rice other than basmati.

- RMG cotton including Accessories, cotton yarn/fabrics, made-ups etc.
- Plastic and Linoleum.
- Manufactures of metals.
- Inorganic /organic/agro-chemicals.
- Machinery and instrument, primary and semi-finished iron and steel.[24]

2.6.5 Investment made by India in Mozambique

According to statistics released by the Government of Mozambique, direct foreign investment by Indian companies and individual investors in Mozambique was US$ 4.065 million during the period January 1992-December 2000. However, there is no investment from Mozambique in India so far.

Since return of peace and establishment of democracy in Mozambique, the last ten years have seen rapid economic growth in Mozambique. Mozambique's strategic location, abundance of natural resources and political stability in the country has resulted in renewed interest in Mozambican economy by Indian investors.

From above, it is clear that India and Mozambique have a long history of interaction. Though they have a long history of interaction-especially through Goa-the axis of South-South cooperation has a large potential to be explored. India figures among the top ten marketing partners of Mozambique. The Indian Navy was recently in Mozambique to cooperate for the secure realization of two international conferences held in the country. An Indian company was also given the task to recover the large seaport in the city of Beira. There is also a large potential in the sectors of agriculture, power supply, health services, foods and pharmaceutics. India has just cancelled Mozambique's debt, which was estimated at around 3.8 million USD in order to develop Indian exports to the country. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry point out

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[24] "Indo-Mozambique Economic and Commercial Relations", [Online: web] Accessed 15thJune2007URLhttp://www.ficci.com/International/Countries/Mozambique/Mozambique-Commercial relations.htm.

language (Portuguese is official language in Mozambique) as one of the main obstacles to better economic cooperation.

2.8 Present Socio-economic and the Political Condition

In 1978, the per capita growth of national product (GNP) was estimated at $ 140, the lowest in all the Southern Africa. Although the terrain is furtile, only ten percent of the land is under cultivation and food shortages pose a recurring problem.[25] Impoverishment and inequality, rooted at least as far back as the Sixteenth Century, dramatically increased as a direct consequence of the imposition of colonial capitalism during the early years of this century. Mozambique has been witnessing another transition from 1992. In 1992, the General Peace Agreement was signed. This has been a complex process, including reconciliation, demilitarization, removal of landmines; formation of a new army, relocating refugee population etc. besides the shift to multiparty democracy and the necessary acceptance of constitutional guarantees such as freedom of press, the internal emphasis is on strategies aiming to reduce the Country's poverty, eradicate epidemics such as malaria and Aids, strengthen the education sector, promoting political participation and creating new economic opportunities in an emergent market economy. Mozambique's outward perspective has wide horizons, seeking to attract foreign investments and technologic know-how to key industrial sectors and to promote the beautiful coastline as a global tourist destination. The 19th century presented a golden era in Mozambique. The new wave of Indian migrants included administrative officers, lawyers, doctors, engineers and also fishermen, craftsmen and traders landed in this country. Jose Vincente da Gama, from Saligao, is said to be the author of the first printed book in Mozambique, published in 1859. And he was an Indian migrated from Goa.

[25] Isaacman and Isaacman (1984) op.cit, p. 8.

The Goans have greater participation in Mozambican politics as compared to the Gujaratis. Gujaratis are more in to business. Economically, Indians are quite well off compared to the indigenous people. Some of them are eminent industrialists, politicians, bureaucrats and press persons as mentioned above. Portuguese language is the main obstacle for the Indian traders in this region. Still the Indian traders are more successful compared to the indigenous traders and the Portugal traders. According to a recent estimate made by FICCI, there are about 900 persons of Indian nationality and over 16,000 persons of Indian origin, holding Mozambican and Portuguese passports. A majority of the persons of Indian origin are engaged in the wholesale and retail trade and originally hail from Gujarat, Goa, Daman and Diu as mentioned above. Along with other Asian communities, they control about 40 percent of the trade in Mozambique.

2.9 Indian Associations in Mozambique

There are various associations formed by the Indian community in Mozambique to have greater cooperation and coordination among them. Among those some are Hindu associations and some are Muslim associations.
(See appendix one) for more on Indian associations

2.10 Concluding Remarks

The Indians in Mozambique are economically prosperous. Along with other Asian, they control 40 percent of the country's economy. Among the Indian communities in Mozambique, Gujaratis are more economically advanced and it is a trader community as such. However, Gujaratis are less interested in politics. Another Indian community, the Goans, is more active politically, socially, professionally, and even economically. Goans as a whole have prospered in almost every field. Some of them are holding high posts and some others are in the ministry of Mozambique Government. The Goans have more assimilated into the Mozambique society. The colonial influences of Portuguese upon the Goans are discernable. Most of the Goans have converted into Christianity. The Portuguese slogan of '*assimilado and civilizado*' is also discernable in Mozambique.

Chapter: III

Indian Diaspora in Madagascar

CHAPTER: III

INDIAN DIASPORA IN MADAGASCAR

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses more specifically on the Indian Diaspora in Madagascar as the previous chapter deals with the Indian Diaspora in Mozambique. The study of Indian Diaspora in Madagascar is new like the study of Indian Diaspora itself. This chapter tries to explore the historical foundation of the Indian Diaspora in Madagascar. It also tries to look at the colonial experience of the Indian Diaspora and demonstrate the factors that are responsible for the migration of Indians to the above-mentioned country. More specifically how and what thoughts or circumstances led to their permanent settlement there. This is important for any discussion on the present manufacturing of history of Indian Diaspora because such explanation will provide insights on the study of Indian Diaspora a solid base. This is also critical because this will make comparisons of colonial experience of Indian Diaspora in two above-mentioned countries because both the countries were under the two different colonial powers, i.e., France and Portuguese. Madagascar is a francophone country and the influence of France is beyond doubt. This chapter will address some of the pertinent questions such as, why the Indians migrated to Madagascar. What was the need for migration to this country? It will look at the present socio-economic and political condition of the Indians in Madagascar. The analysis of the identity of Indian Diaspora is important because the identity is also a dynamic one like many other things and subject to change. There are arguments that the identity of Indians in African countries are still alive. This is due to this reason that the analysis of Indian diaspora and their identity is desirable.

3.1 An Anecdote of Economy, Society and French Colonization in Madagascar

The Indian Ocean island of Madagascar separated from main land Africa some 130-million years ago. From that time, the geography, culture, and history of this island evolved along unique lines. Its history and geography have combined to produce a society of considerable diversity with a disarticulated economy and a disarticulated

communications system. That is why Maureen Covell in his book, *"Madagascar: Politics, Economics and Society"* rightly said that 'Madagascar is not an island but an archipelago'.[1] The island is a wedge, with the sharply sloping side to the east and the gradual slope to the west. The mountains that form the apex run the length of the island, reaching over 1,500 meters in the north, where they form an important barrier between the province of Antseranana and the rest of the country. Because of heavy rainfall in the eastern coast, maintenance of any types of transportation system is very difficult task. The south of the island is in a rain shadow and has a desert climate and a widely scattered population. The west coast, from Morombe to just north of Mahajanga receives less rainfall then the east, but profits from the presence of a series of rivers that rise in the higher parts of the island to provide water and alluvial deposits for agriculture. In the interior lies the region known as the plateaux, a mountainous area where again topography makes the construction and maintenance of transportation system difficult.[2] In the pre-colonial period, roads were not made deliberately as a part of their government's defense strategy. During colonial period, roads and railroads no doubt made by the French colonial power but the intention was to meet its own political and economic priorities.

3.1.1 Ratsiraka Regime

The influence of ideology on the formation of government around the world was discernable and Madagascar was not free from such ideological influence. This was vivid when Madagascar Republic became the Democratic Republic of Madagascar on 15th June 1975. The head of state of Madagascar Didier Ratsiraka declared that only scientific Socialism would solve the socio-economic problem. He also announced the formation of a government based on humanist Marxism. The adoption of scientific socialism made the country an early member of self-identified African Marxist regimes. In 1980s, it had the experience of a combined civil-military regime with important civilian participation and a multi-party system.

3.1.2 Present Political Scenario

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[1] Maureen Covell (1987), *Madagascar: Politics, Economics and Society*, New York: Frances Printer, p. 9.

[2] Ibid: p. 9.

The present government is the gift of the constitution, which deliberately mentions of a multi-party system. The constitution was adopted by the referendum of December 1975. Of course, many apply different malpractices and fraud means in the election process. The individual charisma of different leaders has bypassed the democratic norms in the political trajectory of Madagascar. The history of Madagascar suggests that the influence of communism in the formation of government is enormous. There was international influence in the state building process.

3.1.3 Madagascar Economy

In the economic field, Madagascar historically has not done well. The agriculture dominates the economy of Madagascar. Traditional implements and methods are applied in agriculture. Rice is the main food crops, which is the main food items of the people there. Other crops are mostly export crops. There was crisis of food from 1960s on wards. Agricultural productivity and industrial growth was low. This created a serious problem in feeding the growing population of the country. Among the non-agricultural economy, service sector occupies major portion of the Madagascar economy. The land holding was a serious question in Madagascar. There was state ownership of agricultural lands in some provinces. Individual ownership and sharecropping is also in operation there. Non-Malagasy own most of the economic enterprises.[3]

3.1.4 Madagascar Society

There are many explanation exist on the origin of Malagasy population and the time of arrival on the island. Madagascar has mixed language, culture, and population. It has culturally become plural with the high influence of Indonesian and African elements and some Indian and Arab influences. The Malagasy language is spoken in the island, which is largely Malayo-Polynesian. In Madagascar officially there are eighteen ethnic groups. There exist subdivisions among these groups. There has been

[3] Moureen Covell (1987), Opcit, pp.10-11; 136-146.

unrest in the country due to urban and rural riots due to different reasons. There were fights among different politically opposition groups.[4]

3.1.5 Political Transition

Madagascar has the experience of transition from the authoritarian regime to a democratic regime in 1990s. This process of transition was rather torturous and it started since 1989. Under the leadership of Ratsikara the policy of decentralization was introduced which resulted in the establishment of a system of autonomous provincial governments (1996-2002). It shifted to the process of economic liberalization, democratization with universal franchise and the establishing rule of law. It adopted a liberal economy in this period. The 16th December 2001 was historic day in the politico-democratic history of Madagascar when the historic presidential election pitted Didier Ratsikara against Marc Ravalomanana. The result of the election was inconclusive leading the country to a crisis for at least six months. Legislative elections held on 15th December 2002 to provide a solid base to the government. The country is one of the poorest in the world.[5]

3.1.6 French Rule

The French had occupied the greatest expanse of territory in Africa which included the great island of Madagascar surrounded by various satellites. In 1920 French West Africa comprised nine times the area of France. When the French occupies the African countries the population was very small and with some black tribes speaking different tribal languages. Most part of Africa was uninhabited and many of the tribals were nomads. The French were completely at a loss as to what to do with it. They had gone there in the first place only to keep others out, rather than any preconceived plans for colonization. However, the situation of Madagascar was quite different by reason of its island situation, its smaller size, its mixed population derived from two continents, the unity of its language and its customs. Political unity started by the

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[4] Ibid: pp. 11-14; 76-135.

[5] Solofo Randrianja (2003), "Be not Afraid, Only Believe: Madagascar 2002", *African Affairs,* 102, pp. 309-329.

Merina kings and completed by Gallieni, the conversion of its people to christianity. Mozambique had supplied France with rice, meat and many other things during the first world war. Madagascar was of much use to the french during its occupation and after that. There was no French colinial system as such. The French derived from it both the pleasure of exoticism and the pride of a resurgent nationalism. The people thought no more about the subject. In administration the french dominated and no exchange of caders.

It is a fact that in Madagascar the slave trade dominated the economy in the begining of 19th century. The island of Madagascar played an important part in the slave trade of the western Indian Ocean in the nineteenth century. Though it was neglected by the historians it was a supplier of the slaves to foreign markets. There was an phemenal growth of an internal slave market after 1820. It countributed to the unique nature of the western indian Ocean trade in the nineenth century. It farmed an integral part of the slave trade.[6]

3.1.7 Policy of Assimilation

During the early part of the twentieth century the doctrine of assimilation had first made its appearance. They sent the gimmicks that French improving the social and economic progress of its colonies. France also preached that it would provide good administration to its colonies. France preached that 'it is in a civilizing mission'. They were only the vague patriotic and humanitarian idealism. The whole central plateau was christianized in Madagascar. Native elites benifited from this and consider themselves as French. The driving force of the system (local aspects) was the colonial administration. The Governor of Madagascar has the title of governor-general, although the colony was a unitary one.

In Madagascar, where the colonization by the Merina had proceeded that by the french,the chiefs had gradually been replaced by officials- governors and chefs de

[6] For more comprehensive account of the historical trajectories of the slave trade in Madagascar see Gwyn Campbell (1981) "Madagascar and the Slave Trade, 1810-1895", *Journal of African History,* 22, pp. 203-227.

canton. In Africa, the former Systems were more or less retained under French control. The French succeeded more or less effectively in achieving a kind of administrative uniformity. In Madagascar, where colonist were most numorous had only 40,000 Frenchmen –most of them from Reunion (Deschamps 1970: 226-250).

3.1.8 Agriculture, Infrastructure, and Trade under Colonisation

Plantation worked by colonist constituted pilot enterprises for coffee in Madagascar. The administration played a vital part in the organization of agricultural production. The natives came to work on these plantations and learned the processes of cultivation, which they then took back to their villages. There rapidly developed a shortage of labour; the colonists had recourse to the administrative machine inorder to obtain manpower. There were many small land, medium-sized Indian traders in Madagascar. So far as the development of other infrascture, rail begun but it was rather slow. The road construction was quick though it faced shortage of funds.

The construction of roads and rail was not sufficient. The forced labourer were used in the construction of railway in Madagascar which finished in 1936. The ports were also built. African relied mainly on the subsistance economy. Coastal were given priority in bulding communication networks. The introduction of money thereafter created an exchange economy based on export crops. Export of Coffee starting from zero, reached 45,000 metric tons in Madagascar between 1920-1939. Madagascar could boast of a wide range of products-rice, monioc, cattle,coffee, vanilla,etc.-which gave a certain economic stability (ibid: 240-242). This cahnges amounted an economic revolution in the interior plateau of Madagascar. In 1938 the propertion of export and import was qual at 75 percent for each.

3.1.9 Health under French

Frence had managed the demographic stagnation problem in its colonies. There were widespread diseases in African countries. French began to wage war on the grest epidemic diseases. It started to build hospital and opened dispenseries and it provided free treatments. It set up many health institutions. It gave rise to growth in the population in French colonies and it brought about falling death rate, notably in infant

mortality. In consequence the population began to grow during the inter-war period from 3 to 4 millions in Madagascar.

3.1.10 French as Educator

The French also took keen interest in educating the colonies though the success was very less. It set upschool in it school. One of the important aspects is that the benefit was confined to the French citizens only. There were many doctors and dentist in the assimilated upper strata of the Madagascan society. All these were French citizens.

3.1.11 Impact of French in Cultural and Social Lives

Though there exists disagreements on the extent of the influence of the the European rule upon the cultural and social lives of African people, some other sholars argue that the influence was profound. They argue that colonial episode affected profundly every aspect of African life. The extent varied from colony to colony, depending upon circumstances. One effect appears to be more or less general. This is the change which colonial rule brought about in the essential frameworks within which social action in Africa occurred. In the process, the relative importance of various social groups shifted considerably (Wallerstein 1970: 399-421).

The coastal areas of Africa came under the colonial rule first. The year between 1885 and 1960 represent the one period during which most of the land area and most of the people of the African continent were under the legal and administrative jurisdiction of one or another of the European powers. In various part of African during the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, a number of state bearing all the marks of the process we currently call modernization either came into existence or expanded. The major relationship between the Europe and Africa 1500 to 1800 revolved around the slave trade. One consequence of this association was strenghthening of states who served in the one way or another as procurers of this export commodity, and the development of a coastal trading class who served as middlemen between the inland procurers and the Eurpean purchasers arriving with their boat. During the late eighteen and the nineteenth centuries the slave trade was

gradually abolished (ibid:400-401). The abolishtion of slave trade facilitated the reconstruction of production to cash-cropping.

The most immediate effect of colonial rule was its impact on the African traders, whose ability to play their traditional late nineteenth-century monopolistic role as middlemen was drastically curtailed. A standard features of the colonial economy was the development or expansion of an export commodity. Many of the minerals were extremely profitable whichwas dominated by the European.

Madagascar's cultural diversity makes for fascinating music, dance and other art forms, but complicated politics. Prior to the colonial period, the ethnic Merina had established an expansionist regime based in the island's central highlands. The Merina succeeded in rebuffing English colonial exploits, but in 1895, the French fought their way to power and created a colony that would last until Malagasy independence in 1960. Government since then has been unstable, marked by riots, coups, rigged elections, one impeachment, and for the people, an ever worsening economic situation.[7]

3.2 Brief Anecdote of Indian Migration to Madagascar and Indian Communities

Indian settlements were in existence in the North-eastern part of Africa dating from the third century, as there were trade relations between Ethiopia and India. In Madagascar, as per the official estimate 25,000 people of Indian origin are there who are called the Karanes. Most of them are from Northwestern part of India and particularly from Gujarat and Bombay. The means of communication was ship sailing through which there was regular contact between Malabar and East-Africa often touched Madagascar, from as early as 12th century.

The settlement of some of the families dates back to pre-colonial period. With the beginning of French colonization immigration intensified. After the abolition of slave trade in 1835 in Mauritius British recruited Indian labourers which eventually

[7] For more see Banning Eyer, online web http://irrc3.sas.upenn.edu, last visited on July 2007.

became majority of the population. It was not before 1901-1902 that large migration of Indian to Madagascar took place. Indians migrated as workers, in the railway line Construction in the French colony. Indonesians also migrated to Madagascar in 700 AD. Madagascar became a French Overseas territory in 1946. In 1958 France agreed to let the territories decide its own fate as the Malagasy Republic. It gained independence in 1960. It severed ties with France in the 1970s, taking its present name in 1975. A new constitution was adopted in 1992. When it was under French rule, Madagascar was known as Malagachi. Indian community in Madagascar consists of various social groups and religious sects. The Muslims constitutes majority. Among the Muslims who constitute the majority, four sects-the Bohras (40%), Khojas (35%), Ismailis (13%) who are well off, and Sunnis (5%) are the poorest. There are Hindus among whom the Sonis (goldsmith) are in largest number.

As far back as 1900, predominantly Gujarati Indians from the Saurashtra region had arrived in small sailing boatsat the port of Hahajanga, located in the Northwestern part of this Island. In the initial phase, Muslim as migrated to this island predominantly, consisting of Khojas, Ismailis and Daoudi Bohras as mentioned above. A small number of Hindus also followed them and settled down in other parts of Madagascar.

As mentioned above, during colonial period migration was intensified. Even after independence Indians in Madagascar are descended. They are mostly from traders who arrived to the newly independent nation looking for better opportunities. The majority of them came from the west coast of India known as Karanes (Muslim) and Banian (Hindu). The majority speaks Hindi or Gujarati, and though some of the other Indian languages are spoken. Nowadays the younger generations speak at least three languages French or English, Gujarati and Malagasy. A large number of Indians are highly educated in Madagascar, particularly the younger generation, who try to contribute their knowledge to the development of the Madagascar.

3.2.1 Indian Communities by 1950

By 1950, the community had spread to practically every nook and corner of the country. Apart from five families who had carried their prosperity with them, most of the others were initially just about able to make both ends meet as traders and general merchants. After the country's independence in June 1960, the French bureaucracy stayed back and so did their commercial enterprises. With the wholesale nationalization of private industries after the revolutions of 1972-75, they were compelled to leave. A gaping void ensued in the country's bureaucracy, its trade, and its commerce. However, the local Indian Diaspora was in no position to step in immediately, as most of the Indians were then illiterate. Nevertheless, they were gradually able to seize the opportunity that had come their way and, in time, they became a force to reckon with in the trade and commerce of Madagascar.

3.2.2 Economic Status of Indians in Madagascar

It is generally believed that approximately 50-60 percent of the country's economy is in the hands of people of Indian origin. The unfortunate consequence of this prosperity is that, whenever there is political or social unrest in the country, PIOs becomes an easy target for unruly demonstrators.

With little interest in the bureaucracy or local politics, the Indian community maintains a low profile socially, while zealously guarding its culture and languages. It has no other problems in this country. But those members of the community who are stateless persons constantly pressurize the government of Madagascar to grant them local citizenship. Foreign nationals can easily acquire Malagasy nationality if they are married to a local citizen, where upon their children automatically acquire local citizenship. But this regulation provides little solace to stateless persons.

3.2.3 Languages spoken by Hindus

It will be wrong to say the Indian Diaspora is a homogenous community. It is a heterogeneous phenomenon. They have different history of their migration, religion, social, economic and educational backgrounds, and language. They have difffent socio-cultural experiences. In Madagascar majority of the people of Indian origin

speak Hindi or Gujarati, although some other Indian languages are spoken. Nowadays the younger generations speak at least three languages including, French or English, Gujarati and Malagasy.

However, it will be wrong to say the the language spoken by the Indian Diaspora is much similar to the language spoken in India today. They are spoken in a modified form and mixture of languages. However, it is difficult to study the status of Indian language among the Indian Diaspora.[8]

3.3 Life Status and Identity of Hindus

Hindus and Pakistanis run the retail sector of this country, and together with the Chinese, are some times called the 19th tribe of Madagascar. Large numbers of Hindus are highly educated in Madagascar, particularly the younger generation, who try to contribute their knowledge to the development of Madagascar.

Some ethnic Malagasy have resentment against the ethnic Indian community, primarily due to perceptions that the relative prosperity of the ethnic Indian community, is due to the corruption of government officials and the economic exploitation of ethnic Malagasy customers.[9] At the social level, the largely conservative background of Indians, their very closed typical living and daily hard work routines came in the way of frequent social intermingling with indegenous population with whom they used to trade. The further advancement of the Indian

[8] Is is difficult to construct a sociological history of status of language among the Indian dispora. N Jayaram says that the langage spoken among the Indian Diaspora is little different from the one spoken in India today. For more on the language spoken by the Indian Diaspora and its dynamics see N Jayaram (2000) "The Dynamics of Language in Indian Diaspora: The Case of Bhojpuri/Hindi in Trinidad", *Sociological Bulletin*, 49(1), March, pp. 41-62.

[9] There might be many reasons for lack of synergy between the economically successful Indian there and other indigenous populations of Madagascar. There are many empirically studied literatures suggesting different inferences on community conflicts. The economic prosperity of Indian communities may not be only reason of their anger. The Indians feel that they are racially superior to the Africans. This argument makes sense when we say that the people of Indian origin in Africa are still sticking to their culture. They have maintained their identity fully separate from others. When we say that Indians are attacked there due to their economic success it is a view with an Indian perspective. This view in African perspective will certainly be different. For more on this issue specific to Madagascar see (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism_in_Madagascar), last visited on 30th May 2007. Recent attack against Indians in Uganda may not entirely due to their economic prosperity. The Madagascar experience is also not necessarily due to their economic prosperity for more see (Melcote 1994:100-1). African distrust Indians as the exploiters of the economy. The mass expulsion Asians from Uganda in 1972 by President Idi Amin was the direct result of that distrust.

communities will depend upon many factors. The democratization of the Madagascar polity and society will provide more security to their prosperity they have been earning through hard labour and entrepreneurial capacities. Though the democratic career of Madagascar is very bad due to authoritarian interventions in past, the democratization process continues.[10] The constitution of 1992 provides much emphasis to rule of law. The liberal democratic institutions are emerging to safeguard human values and liberties. It will provide fundamental scope to democratic Indian there.

There are concensus among the scholars that the Indian family was gradually reconstituted, often in an oppressive patriarchal form, but none the less in such a way as to provide as to provide a source of social cohesion and a site for reasserting communal life.[11] The patriarchal domination continue to exist among the indian Diaspora family life. Cohen also talks of the serious gender imbalances that lead to many breakdown of normal family life.

Hinduism continue to be the religion of the Indian Diaspora. The conventional ritualistic set of beliefs also a part of the Indian diaspora. The Indians had to face challenges to keep their conventional prectices and religion alive. They had to deal with the colonial policy. The French, for instance, pressed its' people for assimilation. In the french policy of assimilation the Indian faced an uphill struggle.

The Christian missionaries also gained considerable number of adherents by combining their theological sticks with the carrots of free education and the provision of orphanages. The orthodox forms of Hinduism became predominant in the diaspora and were the principal means where by the indian labourer diaspora was reconnected to the 'Great Tradition' of India. The social stratification among the Indian diasporic population continue to exist.[12] The Indian diaspora relied on mission from Indian to

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[10] Marcus, Richard R. and Razafindrakoto, Paul (2003), "Madagascar: A New Democracy?" *Journal of Current History*, 102(664):215-221.

[11] Cohen, Robin (2004), *Global Diasporas: An introduction*, Oxon: Routledge, p. 63.

[12] Parekh. B. (1994), "Some reflections on the Hindu Diaspora", *New Community*, 20(4), pp. 603-620, cited in Cohen (2004), opcit, p. 612.

meet their religious needs. The retaintion of their identity and the religious practices of their country of origin often lead to inter community conflict in the post colonial periods.

3.4 Indians and their country of Origin(India)

In the present time the the link between the Indian Diaspora and the mother indiais being further deepen by the initiative of the governmentof india which started in the form of Prabasi Bharatya Devas during Bajpai government in India. Parekh (1994) provides an exclusive information on the influence of Indian practices and its' religion. Parekh puts that the text like Ramayana had the profound influence on the the People of Indian Origin.[13] They had also distinct food habit, clothing, religious and traditional artefacts. Politically the Indians in Madagascar are unsuccsessful. The Indian-African diaspora is also not the financer to the home country. However, this is true in case of the European and Americans dollar diaspoara.

The African societies were influenced and impacted upon by the colonial dominations of the European countries. The colonial power by ruling colonial over the Afrian countries for centuries. The spread of western way of life and other European values were significant. The changes due to colonial occupation in the fild of social, cultural and religion needs special attention. It is during this period of rapid chage in social, cultural, and religious field the construction of history of Indian diaspora would be of much utility. The colonial ruler pressed the Indians to change their religion. The impact of French rule on the social, cultural and religious lives of Indian in Madagascar was more than the Indian people in Mozambique which was under the Portuguese colonial occupation.

3.5 Fascinating Successes of Indians

The Indians in Madagascar have improved a lot economically due to their hard labour and entrepreneurial capabilities. They have excelled not just in economic field but also in other fields like Film Industry. There are many example of remarkable success

[13] For more on how Hindu religious texts have gided the daily life of the Indian diaspora see B Parekh (1994) " Some Reflections on the Hindu Diaspora", *New Community, 20(4)*, pp. 603-620.

in the Film Industry.[14] Most of them are educated in western countries. They are above all a strong professional group. However, majority among the Indian community are engaged in business there. They may be best considered as a business community at all.

Their success has not stopped them from celebrating Indian festivals. They celebrate Indian festivals with many festivities. The festivals like Holi and Diwali are celebrated among Indian community in Madagascar. Gujarati is still their first language, even for Indian children who are now the fifth generation born outside of India. In fact, some old Gujarati words that may have disappeared from the language in India are still in their vocabulary.

3.6 India and Madagascar

Though the presence of large Indian population on the great Island, Madagascar was large, the Indo-Madagascar relations were peripheral. India's relations with Franco-phone countries have not been as close as with commonwealth countries. Our conscious apathy contributed to our neglect of the Francophone Africa. Besides the low profile of the Indo-French, relation also affected India's involvement in the area, but with the increasing interaction between India and France initiated by the former French President Mr. Giscard d'Eastating whose African policy, led to more involvement of India in this region. For the last few years, Indian scholars have evinced some interest in the French speaking Africa.This work will help boosting to explore the area and to have more knowledge about their fellow Indian brothers who settled down there.

The European Powers made arrangements in such a way that it would safeguard their interest even after the liberation of the colonies. They had three

[14] Their success has not detached them from their fascination towards India. Afsana is a successful Indian there. Afsana recalls, "India was always a passion for me. In the millennium year, we decided to go to India for the first time with our children and see where we came from. In my mind, India had always been like Africa, small villages, everything small. But when I reached Mumbai, Mumbai was huge, it was big! India was completely different from my image. It was a spectacular India and I thought it had to be put on an Imax large format screen. It would be incredible to see the colors and people, the whole spectrum. For more on this see the Big Picture, by Lavina Melwani, online web: *www. Wildmadagascar.org*, visited last in 29th May 2007.

following alternatives, which they resorted to in order to safeguard their vital interests.

Firstly, to decolonize and accept a peripheral in the world politics, by joining one or the other Super powers, because it was not pragmatic and viable to stand-alone. This was the British approach to decolonization.

Secondly, it was to retain the colonies by force and there by become satellites of Super Powers. The reason of such an approach was in harmony with the existing politico-economic requirements of the concerned powers. Portugal may be sited as an instance.

Thirdly, France had the ambitions to maintain an independent identity in the world politics, because of economic, political, and cultural imperatives after the decolonization, which it had to do due to varieties of reasons. France attempted to do so under de Gaulle.

De Gaulle's basic approach to Africa was to both decolonize and yet keep a network of relationships with the ex-colonies not only for economic purposes, but to expand France's diplomatic and political role elsewhere. This was a different type of diplomacy from that of the other ex-colonial powers.

Ratsiraka's coming to power provided wider scope for Indo-Madagascar relations. They shared similar ideological perspectives. Ratsiraka provided a certain ideological understanding between the two countries, which was eloquently expressed by the President at the Seventh Non-aligned Summit in New Delhi in March 1983. India had hardly any differences with the assertions on many issues made by Ratsiraka, like North-South to South-South relations, the NIEO, dismantling of racist regime of South Africa, problems of Western Sahara.

Trade relations between India-Madagascar improved in 1980 as compared to 1960.[15] India imported goods worth $3.98 crores from Madagascar in 1980-81 as

[15] Melkote, Rama S. (1994), *A Study of Foreign Policy of Madagascar*, Delhi: Kalinga, p. 100.

compared to $228,000 in 1968.[16] The Indian community is playing a very significant role in its economy as it dominates fifty percent of Malagasy economy.

Indian population, which is officially estimated at around 30,000, is facing a great deal of anti-Indian riots there. They are economically well off than the indigenous populations. Many anti-Indian protests have often ruined their business. Their integration with the indigenous people was difficult as their economic prosperity is often the main cause of anti-Indian protest there. The Indians were involved in black marketing, which spiraling prices affected the Malagasies much more than they affected the Indians. It is not therefore surprising that a flourishing minority community should have been the target of violence.[17]

3.7 Colonial Experience of the Indian Diaspora in Madagascar

In the sixteenth century, along with other European Powers France quickly gained control over the colonies of Africa and Asia. It quickly gained control over much of the Indian Ocean region. Both France and British had similar motives. Both were interested in raw materials and market for their products. To meet these purposes both employed Indian indentured workers in these Island countries. Both these European Powers discouraged going back of indentured workers to their mother countries.

Unlike Britain, France had always followed the policy of assimilation in their colonies. French ruled their colonies as extension of their empire. Under this policy, the subject population was to be fully uncultured in the mainstream French culture in terms of language and culture. French influence is clearly seen in its ex-colonies and Madagascar is no exception.

The French learned early that their colonies would last longer if they work to become friends with the people of their colonies. France therefore never left its colonies even after formal independence was granted to them. Madagascar got independence in 1960, still French presence can be seen not only in government's

[16] Ibid.
[17] ibid: p. 104.

policies and the economy but also on the people of these countries, even on the Indians in lesser degree although they able to retain their Indian identity. Since independence France by signing certain accords, tended to limit Madagascar's sovereignty by imposing restrictions on the sale of strategic raw materials to countries other than France. Madagascar's right to conclude trade, financial, customs and excise agreements are equally curtailed by the preferential regime in favour of Paris and by the obligation to consult the erstwhile colonial authorities in all such cases. Though subsequent governments tried to come out of the clutches of France, however, Madagascar came back in the fold of Francophone. France regained its rank as one of the Madagascar's first economic partners, and is considered today to be indispensable for Madagascar's economy.

The colonial experience of Madagascar is different from Mozambique as it was under the French colony. In 1947, an uprising against French rule broke out in Madagascar. That bloody war of decolonization decapitated Malagasy nationalism and left upwards of eighty nine thousand Malagasy dead. The Indians also victimized in this uprising. (Sik, Endre, 1974, 267).[18] After independence, also France had a greater influence on this island. Madagascar became a candidate for autonomy within the over arching framework of the French Union which was part of the France's new policy emerged from the 1994 Brazzaville Conference.

This new policy of France, which was self-consciously modernizing and reformist model for policymaking, was imposed on an older model of policy of Madagascar. (Shipway, 1996: 72-100).

The purpose behind the fact of giving special status to Madagascar in the French Union was that Madagascar perceived as having a continuous indigenous tradition of political activity and a strong national identity based on its pre-colonial statehood. Therefore, it was believed that it could be accommodated within a French-oriented framework.

[18] From the 11,342 victims who died in the uprising, 2 Indians, 19 Chinese, 2Syrians, 17 Senegalese, 140 French and 11, 162 Malagasies. For details see Sik, Endre(1974)"The History of Black Africa", 276.

Madagascar's settlers community of planters and traders including the Indians and many of them with roots in the far older colony of Reunion, were more numerous and vocal than in any of France's continental African Colonies. Their presence was part of the rationale of colonial annexation in 1896(ibid).

Nearly 1700 Indian workers were recruited by the French for the construction of the railway line from Tamatave on the East coast to the capital- Tananarive. Many who came died of disease and some were repatriated. Indians continued to come either alone or with families until 1939 and in lesser numbers later, until independence in 1960.

3.8 Present Socio-Economic and the Political Condition

In Madagasy society, Indian community constitutes a viable part. The Indian community of Madagascar is a veritable mosaic of religious sects and social groups. Among the Muslims who constitute the majority, there are four sects- the Bohras (40%), Khojas (35%), Ismailis (13%) who are also the most well off and Sunnis (5%) who are the poorest. Among the Hindus, there are the Sunnis (Goldsmiths) who constitute the largest number and the Lohanas or Baniyas and a small number of Brahmins.

Traditionally specialized in commerce, the Indian community is concentrated in towns, where the more enterprising have also invested in industries. Certain dynamism of the Indian community in their commercial dealings and their capacity to organize them selves as a group is recognized by the Malagasy society. Therefore, the Indian community in Madagascar occupies an important position in its economy, which is often a source of distrust between the Malagasies and the Indians resulting in anti-Indian riots at times. For example, in March 1987, anti-Indian riots broke out. The incidents were revealing of the social relations and relations between the two communities and the state of the press in the country.[19]

[19] Melkote (1994), Opcit, p. 100.

Indians are specialized in commerce and are concentrated in towns. They have occupied a position of dynamic commercial community in the Malagasy Society. This economic position very often create distrust among others and Indians. The political position of Indians do not matches with their economic position.

3.9 Indian Associations in Madagascar

There are seven Indian Associations in Madagascar (see Appendix No. two). Among them, five are Hindu Associations and two other Associations are Muslim Associations. The unusual cultural mix that underlies Madagascar's sensational palette of musical styles reflects the brave souls who came to live in this vast, wild, beautiful land. Indonesians, Africans, Arabs, Persians, and ultimately Europeans and Asians have all left their marks.

3.10 Concluding Remarks.

The Indians in Madagascar have achieved success, which is beyond doubt, especially in the economic field, that deserves a special attention of any researcher attempting to study the Indian community there in Madagascar. It is vivid that the economic success has not set up synergy with other indigenous communities. The Indian constitutes ten percent of the total population of Madagascar but it controls over fifty percent of the total economy of Madagascar.

The economic success of Indians is not simulated in the political field due to different reasons. It may be due important reasons. The first reason might be due to their handful of population in comparison with other population of Madagascar. The second reason is that it has not been able to bridge the dividing lines between the Indians and others. The French colonial policy of assimilation could not do any adverse impacts on the identity, culture, and religious lives of Indians.

Chapter: IV

Indian Diaspora in Mozambique and Madagascar: A comparative analysis

CHAPTER: IV

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA IN MOZAMBIQUE AND MADAGASCAR

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the critical comparison of Indian Diaspora in Madagascar (a Francophone country) and Mozambique (a Lusophone country). It analyses the political role of the Indian Diaspora in these two countries i.e., the basic colonial experiences, their representation and assimilation, their economic integration and their contested social identity. It also deals with the state of identities and cultures of Indian Diaspora in both Madagascar and Mozambique due to colonial policies. It compares and contrasts the socio-economic and political situation of the Indian Diaspora in these two countries in both the colonial and post-colonial period. But more emphasis has been made in the colonial period. What was the role and impact of colonial policy on the identity of Indian Diaspora? The identity is dynamic and it is subject to change. Therefore, it is plausible to study the identity of Indian Diaspora, in the context of these changes. It is true that Indian Diaspora never lost their identity but it has been modified further and it has been influenced by many other factors.

There is a substantial number of Indian Diaspora in Africa. Compared to Lusophone, in Francophone African territories it is sizable. But unlike PIOs in the Anglophone, the Indian Diaspora in Francophone and Lusophone territories of Africa has not been studied adequately. There is a need to give special attention to these Lusophone and Francophone regions in the larger framework of India-Africa relations and India's policy towards the People of Indian Origin (PIOs) in Africa. This is a small attempt to understand the Indian Diaspora of these two Lusophone and Francophone Countries in a comparative perspective. The Indian Diaspora of these two countries had different colonial experiences as France and Portugal had different colonial policy towards their

colonies. To look into the impact of colonial policies in above two countries upon the identity of the Indian Diaspora is desirable.

4.1 Experiences of the Indian Diaspora under two colonial powers in the Francophone and the Lusophone region

Africa has around one million people of Indian origin spread in several countries. Most of them are in Indian Ocean region. Anglophone countries accounted for 40 percent of Africa's population. Francophone sub-Saharan Africa covers 40 percent of the area of sub-Saharan Africa and one fifth of the entire African population where as Lusophone sub-Saharan Africa covers 4 percent of the African population in 1985.[1] Among these three regions, in Francophone there are 972,031 Indians and Madagascar has around 25, 000 Indian population. Among the Lusophone countries, a bulk of Indian population is in Mozambique. Mozambique has approximately 5, 7000, 000 people. Among them around 50,000 are Asians.[2] Mozambique has 13 percent overseas Indians (For more on this see Table 4.1). In the Francophone countries, there are two categories of Francophone Indian Diaspora, one which experienced both British and French colonialism and other which was under French colonial rule only.

As far as Madagascar is concerned, Madagascar's PIOs remained only under French rule.[3] On the other hand, in the Lusophone Countries, the Indian Diaspora experienced Portuguese colonialism. As far as Mozambique is concerned, Mozambique's PIOs remained under Portuguese rule. PIOs of these two countries, Mozambique and Madagascar needs special approach to enable them as facilitate of India-Africa relations. The Francophone territories are French-speaking only at the elite and the administrative

[1] Anglophone is the English speaking countries of sub-Saharan Africa include the former British colonies plus Liberia. Francophone is the French speaking countries of sub-Saharan Africa include the former French colonies and Lusophone is the Portuguese speaking countries, all of which are former colonies of Portugal in sub-Saharan Africa. For more on Francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone Africa see Manning, Patrick (1988) *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa 1880-1985*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.1.

[2] J. Gunther (1955) *Inside Africa,* London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd, pp.579.

[3] Ajay Dubey (2007), "Indian Diaspora in Francophone Africa", a paper presented in an international Seminar, organized by CWAAS/JNU, New Delhi.

levels during French rule in this region, because firstly they kept education and political participation at the least. All and each could not able to reach to that level to make themselves fit in the France's so called civilized people framework. But since Second World War, the French language has come to be spoken very widely. The Francophone countries have more centralized administration. In Lusophone Africa, they had to rigorously fight against the Portuguese colonial power but it was not the case in the Francophone Africa. In contrast with Lusophone Africa, the Francophone countries gained independence without having to go to war for it, and are left with a tradition giving relative emphasis to moderation and compromise.[4]

There are some similarities between the Lusophone and the Francophone from the policy perspective of the two colonial powers. Unlike Britain, both Portugal and France adopted the policy of assimilation and considered colonies as extended part of their empire. Now also even after independence these colonial powers have greater influence on their colonies in terms of their impact on the culture, economy and other areas of these regions. From cultural point of view, Portuguese is the official language of Mozambique and French is the official language of Madagascar. Compared to Francophone and Lusophone Africa, largest numbers of PIOs are there in the Anglophone Africa. And in other two regions their numerical strength is quite good especially in these two countries Mozambique and Madagascar. In Madagascar, the PIOs constitute 10% of the total population where as in Mozambique it constitutes 13% of the total population (For more on this see table no.4.1).

[4] Patrick Manning (1988), *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa 1880-1985*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: pp.3

Table 4.1

Regions	Overseas Indians	% of PIO to the Population of major countries
Francophone	972, 031	Madagascar: 0.10% Mauritius: 60.35% Reunion: 31%
Lusophone	21, 190	Mozambique: 0.13%
Anglophone	1, 276, 778	Kenya: 0.36% South Africa: Tanzania: 0.28%

Source: Dubey, Ajay (2007), "Indian Diaspora: A Profile", International Seminar Paper, New Delhi: JNU, p3.

The major issue of PIOs in Francophone African territories since India's independence is analyzed and discussed in the context of evolving Indo-African relations and in comparison to PIOs in Anglophone Africa. But hardly there is any comparison made between the PIOs of the Francophone and Lusophone Africa.

4.2 Colonial policies in Madagascar and Mozambique and its impact on the Indian Diaspora

Francophone Africa has been defined on various criteria. The most realistic criteria is to consider French as the major or main language of the country, irrespective of its political official status. By this criterion there are more than 25 African countries/territories which are Francophone. Madagascar is one among them. On the other hand as mentioned above, in two Lusophone countries, Mozambique and Angola, Portuguese is the major language. Unlike Britain, France has always followed the policy of assimilation in their colonies.

France ruled their colonies as extension of their empire. Like Francophone, there was no colour bar in Lusophone Africa, as a part of its assimilation policy. And Mozambique is no exception. Gunther (1955) says Portuguese Africa has one unique phenomenon, the *assimilado* or *civilizado* system. Any native may rise from his status as an *indigou* and become 'civilized' by a process of law. He passes certain tests (if he wants to) and then-presto!-becomes a white man instead of black, no matter what his colour.[5] Many Indians passed this test and joined in white collar jobs. But it was not that successful compared to French policy of assimilation. There were only a handful of *assimilados* –only 4,378 in Mozambique, out of a total population of more than a million.[6]

During colonial period, Portuguese most of the time involved in solving problems back home. They could able to give little attention to Mozambique and other colonies under its rule. They did not have a systematic policy towards their colonies as the French and British had. French policy, even if it gives Africans more rights than the British in some areas, is diametrically different from British policy. The British trained Africans eventually *self*-government and French trained them to be *Frenchmen.* The British have the long range aim of creating African domains within the Commonwealth; the French ambition is to make their Africa part of France. They consider themselves as the most civilized community on earth. Differences are also there in terms of membership. Full-fledged members of the British Commonwealth are self-governing and in fact are to all intents and purposes independent, since they have the right of secession. On the other hand, members of the French Union are ruled from Paris, and make no mistake about it-Paris does not intend to stop being boss.[7] It is mentioned in the Preamble of the French Constitution that,

[5] Gunther, J. (1955) *Inside Africa,* London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd: pp.576.

[6] Ibid: pp.577.

[7] Opcit, pp.685.

France shall form with the peoples of her Overseas Territories a Union based upon the equality of rights and privileges, without distinction as to race and religion.

-PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC, 1946.[8]

French style of decolonization was different from that of British and Portugal which aimed at maintaining close links with Africa even after decolonization and therefore fifth Republic offered the African territories choice of becoming either a department of France or autonomous republic within the newly conceived French Community or opt for independence. Countries were told the continued association with France and the new community would bring substantial benefits, where as a vote for independence would mean a total break and loss of all economic assistance from Paris. All Francophone African countries accepted this proposal except Guinea. Madagascar also accepted the proposal of becoming a part of the French Community. However, there was not such type of arrangement made by Portugal while decolonizing Lusophone territories. Hurriedly they left this territory after grave resistance. As a result, Portuguese influence is not that much in Mozambique in the post-independence period as in the case of France in Madagascar. But it has impact on the Mozambican society.

In 1960, Madagascar became a member of the Franc Zone. There was a strong level of French influence on Madagascar economy. The Malagasy role was largely limited to the impact of decision makers in the upper echelons of government and input in the grassroots level by small-scale farmers producing for subsistence or export. Other sectors by and large remained the domain of French trading corporation, large-scale agriculturalists, or Indian and Chinese middlepersons.

[8] ibid, pp.679.

A very important distinction between the French rule and the Portuguese rule was the practice of forced labour which is almost a kind of slavery. This is the worst thing about Portuguese Africa and the Portuguese authorities admit that it exists and it is necessary and even a good thing for its victims.[9]

There is a long history of trading relation between the Indians and the Mozambicans even prior to the coming of the Portuguese. But to Madagascar, Indians migrated much later. Still there is similarity in terms of the intensification of migration. During colonial period, Indians migrated in large bunch to both these countries to fulfil the need of the colonial powers. They were in search of cheap labour to employ in plantation and other construction work. And they found Indians are more efficient to do this task compared to Chinese and the other people coming from far off places. Chinese were demanding more wages and less work.[10]

4.2.1 Socio-economic and the Political Impact

The people of Madagascar whom the French do succeed in turning in to Frenchmen are more loyal to France than the Portuguese educated Mozambicans of the same class are to Portugal. That's why; during independence time most of the African *élite* in French territories (south of Sahara) did not want independence from France at all; on the contrary they wanted more complete inclusion into the French orbit. They said that they don't want liberty; they want fraternity. From this point of view, French system has been extremely successful in the Francophone region.[11]But Portuguese system was not that successful like the French system. In Mozambique, administrative power was limited and exercised through individual settlers and officials who were granted extensive autonomy. As a result investment lagged. Portuguese hardly contributed anything to the Mozambican economy and made any investment during the colonial period. Where as, for improving the communication system, establishing rail road lines in Madagascar,

[9] J. Gunther (1955) *Inside Africa,* London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd: pp.574.
[10] Indian labourers were more labourious and hard working than the Chinese labourers. That is why they preferred to employ Indian labourers in the plantation work. To get more information on this see Chattopadhyaya, Haraprasad (1857), Indians in Africa: A Socio-Economic Study, Natal: Bookland Private Limited.
[11] J. Gunther (1955) *Inside Africa,* London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd: p. 686.

credit goes to France. In post-independence era also France immensely contributing to the Madagascar economy without which it will be difficult for this country to sustain its economy. But it is not there in case of Portuguese role in Mozambique. As Madagascar is a part of French zone, it uses French currency that is Franc CFA for all its monetary transaction. But in Mozambique they use Mozambican currency not Portuguese currency.

If we will compare the economic circumstances of the PIOs of Madagascar which was a French colony and the PIOs of Mozambique, which was a Portuguese colony, there are many differences and similarities in terms of their occupation and colonial inheritance in the economic field which they borrowed from the colonial masters.

4.2.2 Economic status: Differences and Similarities

During colonial period there are differences in terms of their access to the Madagasy and Mozambique economy respectively. In Madagascar, the Indian traders had a subordinate role in the economic field as French traders were largely dominating. They had to learn French language in order to compete with the French traders, which was a difficult task for the Indian traders but somehow they managed to learn French slowly. But they had to pay tax in big amount to the French government.

On the contrary, in Mozambique the Indian merchants did not face such type of obstacle from the Portugal side except the language. They had to learn Portuguese language to communicate with the common people and to manage their task.

The study reveals that sometimes the Portuguese traders find it difficult to mix up with the indigenous Mozambican people to gain more in the economic field. But the Indian traders easily use to intermingle with the local people and in that way they get more profit by shelling goods to them.

At the same time, there were some similarities as mentioned above, in terms of language barrier. Both in Madagascar and in Mozambique they faced this problem. In Madagascar, the Indian traders had to learn French language and in Mozambique they had to learn Portuguese.

In the post-colonial period also Indian traders are facing the same problem in both these Lusophone and Francophone countries Mozambique and Madagascar respectively.

Another difference is that in Madagascar largely Indians are trading community and economically more active and controls 50% of the Madagasy economy in spite of so many obstacles which is an irony. In Mozambique, unlike Madagascar not only in economy they are also active in other fields. Some of them are in the Ministry of the Mozambican government and some others are bureaucrats and engaged in other white collar professions. They have higher social status in the Mozambican society.

In Madagascar, Gujarati traders are in majority among the Indians and largely confined themselves in the economic activities. Most of them are well off. On the other hand, in Mozambique Goans are in majority and spreading almost in all profession of Mozambican society.

In Madagascar, the Indians did not play any important role in French administration during the colonial period. They were not involved in politics. Even now also they are least interested in politics. Education wise they are not that advance, which may be the one of the reason why they are not in politics and administration and other white collar jobs. In contrast to the Indians in Madagascar, the Indian community in Mozambique is more active in politics and administration, particularly the Ismailis migrated from Gujarat and the Goan Catholics. Most of them holding important position in the government and the administration, there are the instances that sometimes they use

to outshine the Portuguese officials.[12]Unlike the Indians in Madagascar, most of them are well educated and both men and women are engaged in almost all profession even in politics except the Gujarati Hindu women, as they can not speak Portuguese. They are confined to the ritual and household works. One has to learn Portuguese in Mozambique to participate in public and political sphere.

In the social sphere, there is no instance of conflict between the Mozambicans and the Indians in the Mozambique society as in the case of Madagascar. They easily intermingle with other groups in Mozambique. Where as Portuguese people found it difficult to do so. The Indians are discriminated especially by White people in Mozambique in many ways particularly during the colonial period. Gunther says, "A powerful Indian Community lives in Mozambique, mostly Goan. The Indians are White-collar workers, artisans, and in particular servants. No restriction on immigration from India exists, in strict contrast to the Union. But Indians even if they are Portuguese citizens from Goa, are discriminated against in petty ways".[13]

But the Indians did not forget their Indian culture and societal values. For example, the Goans are still linked to Goa. Indians who migrated to Mozambique, sometimes found themselves at odds with their Indianness since the partition left those before 1947 affiliated to two different countries, India and Pakistan.

Neither in Madagascar nor in Mozambique Indian Community is a homogeneous group. Indian Diaspora in both the Mozambican and the Madagascar societies are the veritable mosaic of religious sects and social groups. Indians migrated from Goa and some parts of Daman and Dui are basically Catholic Christians and those who migrated from Gujarat are Muslims and Hindus to Mozambique. On the other hand, Indian

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[12] Brij V. Lal, Peter Reeves, Rajesh Rai (eds.) (2007), *The Encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora,* Singapore. Kuala Lampur. Paris: Editions Diddier Millet in Association with National University of Singapore:pp.355

[13] Gunther, J. (1955) *Inside Africa,* London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd: pp.578.

community in Madagascar consists of both Hindus and Muslims and Muslims are in majority.

4.2.3 Cultural Impact of colonialism

In Mozambique, the Portuguese missionaries converted most of the Indians in to Christianity. Both in Madagascar and Mozambique the French and Portuguese missionaries respectively taught the Indians along with other native people the culture and civilization of their society. French and Portuguese history and other scripts, the missionaries taught them which had a greater impact on their life. Goans became Catholics, although the Gujaratis managed to retain their religion. Indians, particularly Goan Catholics privileged because of their religion and given more wait age by the colonial power. Most of them were fluent in speaking Portuguese language and were more efficient in managing the administration work that sometimes they use to outshine the Portuguese administrators and clergy. Still they are stick to their identity as an Indian. They formed their own cultural association to celebrate their festival and to bring together their homeland people across the country. On the other hand, in Madagascar, the Indians learned French language which is a must and adopted some local customs. Some of them speak French better than the Madagasies. Their language, dressing sense has changed. But still they maintained their Indian-ness. They do celebrate their festivals like the Indians in Mozambique.

4.3 Assimilation and the Identity

In one way or other, Indians have retained their identity both in Mozambique and Madagascar. In Madagascar, the Indian community maintained its Indian-ness but lost the language and adopted some local customs. Safran (1998) says, "Indian Diaspora continues to relate personally or vicariously to the homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the

existence of such a relationship".[14] On the other hand in Mozambique, Indians are proud of their cultural identity in abroad. Indians staying abroad are stick to their identity through the centuries. They are proud to be from Indian Origin as it is a glorious cultural heritage.

4.4 The Present condition of the Indians

Indians in Africa formed the middle section in the three tier society, with the whites at the top and the blacks at the bottom. However, their presence was more apparent to Africans as they came directly in contact with them through their retail shops and business. At the same time, they were aggressive in commercial sector. Elspeth Huxley once observed:

In all countries the backbone of the country is small man, the White colonialists with small means, but there is no place for him in the country when once the Asiatic is there....It means, if open competition is allowed, the small White colonialist must go to the wall.[15]

4.4.1 Mozambique and Madagascar comparison

In this era no doubt French are plying major role in the Madagasy economy as they are the major contributor. At the same time the contribution of the Indians can not be ignored. In spite of so much competition in this globalized world, because of the rise of multinational corporations, Indians managed to hold their foot strong in Madagascar. They are more successful and affluent in economic sphere in contrast to other sections of the society. Indian businessmen are giving them employment by employing them in their firms and shops. In social sphere they maintain very low profile, though they control more than 50% of the Madagasy economy. This is often a source of distrust between the

[14] Safran (1998), Opcit, p.84.

[15] Ajay Dubey (2000), "India and Experience f Indian Diaspora in Africa", *Africa Quarterly*, 40(2), p.72.

Malagasies and the Indians resulting in anti-Indian riots at times. In the Madagasy society, status wise Indians represents the middle strata. French are in the top and Malagasies at the bottom. In a country which is politically not so stable and majority of the population is poor, a rich Indian community becomes a target of attack.[16] Politically they maintain a low profile and because of their low interest and advancement in education they have not moved in bureaucracy and other white collar jobs. In the post-independence period largely professional class are migrating to these countries.

At the outset, it is very much clear from above that they constitute a powerful Indian Diaspora Community in both Mozambique and Madagascar. Compared to other groups, Indians are in much better position today in these two countries. They are courageous and hardworking people. Compared to Madagascar in Mozambique, the Indians are much more advancing educationally and professionally.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

It is beyond doubt that the Indians in these two countries, Mozambique and Madagascar achieved success especially in economic field. The PIOs of Mozambique in contrast to the PIOs of Madagascar are remarkably successful not only in economic field but also in other professions. Compared to the PIOs of Madagascar, the PIOs of Mozambique much more educated and actively participate in the public and political sphere except some of the exceptions. That needs a special attention of any researcher doing research on Indian Community in both these countries. Impact of French colonial rule is much more on Madagascar society, economy and polity, which in tern reflected in case of the Indian PIOs than the Portuguese rule in Mozambique.

[16] Ajay Dubey (2007), "Indian Diaspora in the Francophone Africa", International Seminar Paper, New Delhi: JNU, p.6.

The assimilation policy by the two colonial powers could not impact much on the religious and cultural life of the Indians in Mozambique and Madagascar respectively. Indians still cherish Indian values and perform their rituals in these two countries.

The Indian Diaspora in both the countries has retained their identity or in a sense they have not lost their identity as Indian. However, it will not be good to say that their identity is similar to the one we have at present in India. They have changed the Indian tradition a little to go well with the circumstances and the realities of those countries. The form of practices is different from the Indian one because it has been influenced by the realities that exist in the countries of their adoption. In other words, their identity is a mixture of Indian one and the one where they are residing since their settlement there.

Chapter: V

Conclusion

CHAPTER : V

CONCLUSION

The study of Indian Diaspora is not a simple errand. The Indian Diasporic community is spreading across the world. The Indian government is late than the Chinese to recognize the potentials of its Diaspora. It is recently that the Government of India has decided to endorse its Diaspora. Though it started late, the momentous rendezvous is an appreciable one. It is important because, over 20 million populations of people of Indian Origin (both NRI/PIOs) are a great asset to India and it will certainly help India to realize the ambition of making India a developed nation. The recent focus by the government of India has been on the western Diaspora. It has to change it policy towards the Diaspora of African and other countries. Millions of Indians have made Africa their home and have been active in making a positive contribution to the economies of the countries of their adoption. Twentieth century was an age of nationalist upsurge and democratic governance. The Indian settlements in Africa was influenced by the cross currents at the global level.

As far the study of Indian Diaspora in Africa is concerned, there is not much attention given to the study of the Indian Diaspora in the Lusophone and Francophone territories. Though India had an Africa policy since its independence, it had no distinct policy towards Francophone and Lusophone African territories. The French speaking and Portuguese speaking countries were roofed under the broader policy on Africa. The economic success of Diaspora should not invite Indian Government's policy towards it. India has one African policy and it needs to have more country specific policies.

The study of Diaspora no doubt gained momentum recently. It is an emerging area of research which became a world over phenomenon. In the developing countries of Asia and Africa not much research has been done on the Indian Diaspora compared to the developing countries. Sometimes questions raises in the intellectual forum that most of these Third World Countries of Asia and Africa are going through momentous poverty,

political instability, civil war and underdevelopment problem. In such a situation how the Diaspora Community will get better treatment in these countries.

Because of the development of science and technology, the Diaspora population are coming closer and making a space for themselves in the global sphere. Looking at their success, the mother country coming forward to protect them in the foreign land when they are in need and the Diaspora Community is also helping for the development of the mother country. For example, the Chinese Diaspora immensely contributed to the development of China. That same even India expects from its Diaspora Community. And no doubt the Indian Diaspora is not remained at the back. The need is to reinforce the relation of India with its Diaspora Community. And for the first time lately in 1990s, the government of India realized that and started taking initiatives in the form of giving citizenship right to them and in celebrating *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* to bring them together and other initiatives. However, many things remain to be done. This is just the beginning. Here comes the work of the pollster to provide more and more information about its diasporic community spreading transversely the globe.

As discussed in the fourth Chapter, large bulks of Indians are staying in Africa. They need to be given special attention by the Government of India. India is from the beginning engaged with the Indian Diaspora of the Anglophone African region. No coherent policy has been initiated so far by the Government of India to engage with the PIOs of Francophone and the Lusophone Africa.

Diaspora studies comparatively a new emerging area of research especially in the post-colonial states of Asia and Africa. Earlier, the researcher use to focus on the areas like the impact of colonial rule in the economies of these Third World Countries. The origin of the modern Indian Diaspora lays in the subjugation of India by the British and its incorporation in to the British Empire. Many other colonial powers like French, Dutch, and Portuguese also played significant role in exporting Indian labourers to far off countries of Africa and Asia. The study reveals that during the colonial period, migration of Indians to Mozambique (a Lusophone country) and Madagascar (a Francophone

country) is intensified. One very important distinction which stands out between the French and the Portuguese rule is that the practice of forced labour which is almost a form of slavery and still exists in Lusophone Africa (Gunther 1955: 574).

Diaspora as an area of study emerged due to many historical reasons, due to the emotional association and inseparable link in their past migration history. It is also due to a sense of co-ethnicity. The India has a rich historical heritage, which makes them proud and keeps themselves intact to their mother country. The growing interest of the study of Diaspora and Diasporism is also due to the recognized importance of those entities cultural, social and economic importance. The Diaspora raises funds for their mother country when it is in serious crisis.

The Indian Diaspora community uses the opportunities of the host countries but their heart lives in mother country. This study as mentioned in the previous chapters, focused on the permanent settlement of migrants and the creation of new Diaspora community, with special focus on the Indian Diaspora of Madagascar and Mozambique. The Indian Diaspora continued to expand due to Portuguese rule and the British rule over India. However, the Indian Diaspora was never homogeneous group. In Madagascar and also in Mozambique Indian Diaspora is consisting of various religious sects and social groups.

Indians migrated to Mozambique, since long back, when trade and commerce started across the Indian Ocean region. Indians migrated from Goa, Daman and Diu and Gujarat. Above 20,000 PIOs are there in Mozambique, consisting 13 percent of the Mozambican population. There is a long history of the migration of the Indians to this region and Goa-Mozambique relation as both Goa and Mozambique were under the Portuguese rule. Until 1752, Mozambique was under the direct administration of Goa (Issacman and Issacman 1984: 15). Indians are spreading in almost all profession of the Mozambican society. Some of them are in white color jobs and some others are in business and other areas of activities.

Indians migrated as traders in 1900 to Madagascar. It has around 25,000 PIOs and majority of them run merchant shops. They constitute 10% of the total population but control 50 percent of Madagasy economy. In Mozambique, among the Indians, Goans are in majority and in Madagascar, Gujaratis are in majority.

In both these countries Indians are economically vibrant compared with other social groups. It proves that Indians are quiet successful in these countries in spite of facing so many atrocities from indigenous population. The rift is primarily due to their economic success. However, PIOs of Madagascar needs to be excelled educationally and politically as they do in economic field. Sometimes, rich Indians became a target of attack by other social groups in Madagascar. It is not politically stable and majority of population are poor this can be mitigated if they have representation in the polity and in the administration of the country. One more reason behind the attacking of Indians may be because they are closer to the French people then the other Madagasy population in the sense that as they are quiet well off and they can fit into the France's so called civilized criteria.

On the other hand in Mozambique, Indians are equally a part of the Mozambican society. There is not any instance of rift between Indians and other social groups unlike Madagascar. They enjoy higher social status and also quiet rich as in the case of Madagascar. Unlike Madagascar PIOs, most of them are educationally advanced and have representations in the government and join in bureaucracy and other white collar jobs.

Colonial system has a larger impact on the economic, social and political status of the Indians as they constitute part of the Madagascar and Mozambique societies respectively. PIOs of Madagascar speak French which is official of Madagascar and PIOs of Mozambique speaks Portuguese which is the official language of Mozambique. So, they lost their language and adopted some local customs but still they retained their identity.

One unique thing about the PIOs of Madagascar is that, in the rest of the Francophone countries PIOs lost their identity except in Madagascar. In Mozambique also there is no doubt that they lost their language and adopted some local customs but still they retained their identity. The Goans formed their own Cultural Association to bring the Indians together who migrated from Goa.Indian Muslims are stick to their customs and rituals and even Hindus didn't forget to practice their own rituals and going to their temples and reading Ramayana and Mahabharata.

But it has been noticed that because of the language barrier and lesser interaction of the Indian government and Indian socio-cultural organizations they are no synonymous with Indian practices. The PIOs of Madagascar and Mozambique remained largely out of Indian policy supports or responses (Dubey 2007).

So the need of the day is the more involvement of the Indian government in these areas and building confidence among the Indian Diaspora community that era has gone when India was least bothered about the Indians staying abroad. Now, these are the era of connecting Indians to India and strengthen the ties. There is a need to take more concrete steps from the Indian government side as the western countries have taken for the protection of their citizens staying abroad. In this sphere, PBD is just a beginning initiated by the BJP government and being carried forward by the present incumbent.

The Indian Diaspora spreading all over the world constitutes a powerful human resource, which has greater potential to contribute to the development of India and to make India stand among the developed countries as one among them in near future. It is to mobilize international public opinion in favour of India in various issues of international importance. It will help in the fields like getting permanent seat in the United Nation Organization, fighting against terrorism and meeting energy needs.

In the back drop of these, it is expected from the Indian government side to realize the potential of its Indian citizens staying abroad and carry forward the policy initiatives

as taken recently in the last decade by the Indian government. And make them realize that in every aspect that they are part of India, it will come to their rescue whenever they are in need.

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Appendixes

Appendix One

Indian Associations in Mozambique

ASSOCIACAO MUCULMANA DE TETE (SUNNI-JAMAT) (MUSLIM ASSOCIATION OF TETE)
Rua Da Argelia,
No. 85,
TETE , MOZAMBIQUE
TELEPHONE NO. 00-258-52-22747

COMUNIDADE HINDU / (BHARAT SAMAJ)
Av. Guerra Popular,
699, C.P. 2123
MAPUTO , MOZAMBIQUE
TELEPHONE NO. 00-258-1-428275/431853
FAX NO:00-258-1-428275/304396
EMAIL: comunidadehindu_mpt@yahoo.com

COMUNIDADE HINDU, NAMPULA
Av. Trabalho,
120,
NAMPULA, , MOZAMBIQUE
TELEPHONE NO. 00-258-6-217542/213293

COMUNIDADE HINDU, GAZA
PO Box No. 285
XAI XAI , MOZAMBIQUE

COMUNIDADE MAHOMETANA, MAPUTO (MUSLIM COMMUNITY)
Av. Alberth Luthuli 291, C.P. 88,
MAPUTO , MOZAMBIQUE
TELEPHONE NO. 00-258-1-425181/426450
FAX NO:00-258-1-300880/425181]

INDIAN PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS COUNCIL (INCON)
Vista Um International
Av. Das FPLM, NO. 1991
MAPUTO , MOZAMBIQUE
TELEPHONE NO. 00-258-1-461000/1/2
FAX NO:00-258-1-460784
EMAIL: vistaum@teledata.mz

Appendix No Two

Indian Associations in Madagascar

Muslim Associations in Madagascar

ASSOCIATION OF KHOJA SHIA
C/o Magasin Luna Av de I'Independence
ANTANANARIVO, MADAGASCAR
POSTAL CODE: 101
TELEPHONE NO. 261 20 22 28045
FAX NO: 261 20 22 23620
FAIZ-E-MOHAMMEDI MADAGASCAR
Anjuman-e-Jamali
Mosque Bohra Anosizatio Est.
ANTANANARIVO, MADAGASCAR
TELEPHONE NO. (261-20) 22.901. 40 & (261-20) 22. 901. 26.

Hindu Associations in Madagascar

There are five important Hindu Associations in Madagascar. They are:

HINDOU SAMAJ D'ANTANANARIVO Bijouterie PALA 10, Rue Ratsunukaho B.P. 656 ANTANANARIVO, MADAGASCAR POSTAL CODE: 101

I'ASSOCIATION HINDOU SOCIETY 28, Rue Colbert B.P.470 DIEGO SUAREZ, MADAGASCAR POSTAL CODE: 201

I'ASSOCIATION HINDOU SAMAAJ B.P.52 TULEAR, MADAGASCAR POSTAL CODE: 601

I'ASSOCIATION HINDOU SAMAJ 1, Rue Madame Rauffast B.P.401 MAJUNGA , MADAGASCAR POSTAL CODE: 401 TELEPHONE NO. (261.62) 222.21

I'ASSOCIATION HINDOU SAMAJ SOCOBE 13, Rue Lievtenant Lubert B.P.559 TAMATAVE , MADAGASCAR POSTAL CODE: 501(http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism_in_Madagascar