

trading relations through the specialization of her economy. This has resulted in a drastic change in the domestic production of Israeli agriculture accompanied by some new trends such as the industrialization of rural settlements, the renewal of regional planning, etc. The new trends which we can trace on the Kibbutz economy in the 'sixties are for the most part the reflections of these circumstances, which are quite universal to any type of agricultural management in Israel and not necessarily peculiar to the Kibbutz. Only in the context of the recent development of the Israeli national economy, can the recent change of the Kibbutz economy be understood, and only from the viewpoint of the comprehensive construction of Israeli society can either social or economic elements peculiar to the Kibbutz be discovered. As Kanovsky's efforts are highly valuable, it is all the more regrettable that he has confined his analysis to the narrow domain of statistics.

Like a few other similar studies on the Kibbutz, this book may be regarded as a valuable and provocative work which, perhaps contrary to the author's intentions, urges us to reconsider the method of approaching the economic affairs of Israel. Although detailed surveys on the actual realities of each agricultural settlement of Israel are a prerequisite to any study of the problem, they have not necessarily been carried on to an ample extent, probably due to political circumstances there. But if studies develop in this direction, Kanovsky's endeavoring work will constitute a remarkable milestone for its objectivity, not only in studies of the Kibbutz, but in the study of Israeli economy. (*Kazumasa Ōiwakawa*)

INDIRA ROTHERMUND, *Die Politische und Wirtschaftliche Rolle der Asiatischen Minderheit in Ostafrika*, Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, München, Afrika-Studien 6, Berlin-Heidelberg-New York, Springer-Verlag, 1965, xi+75 pp., 1 map.

I

This book represents the results of a study made by Mrs. Indira Rothermund, under the sponsorship of the Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Munich. During her stay in East Africa for a brief period from August 12 to October 20, 1964, Mrs. Rothermund interviewed over 70 resident Asians and many African statesmen, to investigate and summarize the political and economic condition of Asians living in this area of the continent.

In Africa, "Asian" generally refers to Indians—including Pakistani, immigrants of Goanese origin, etc. Africa has a total of about 900,000 such Asians—accounting for about 0.4 per cent of the total population in Africa—and about one-third of them reside in East Africa. The Asians in East Africa are considerably outnumbered by those in South Africa, but the white population being relatively small in the former region, they play a somewhat more important role in economic activities, and in activities involving circulation and distribution, they are often compared to the Lebanese and Syrians of West Africa.

To date, study of Asians in Africa has been, as far as I know, limited to the works by C. A. Woods, A. L. Müller, etc., for South Africa; and those by L. W. Hollingsworth, D. Delf, etc., for East Africa. By and large not many books have been written to date, especially given the interest and significance of the problems involved. In particular, there is a scarcity of books which contribute to assessing the future of the Asian problem in Africa in relation to recent moves toward "Africanization." In that sense, this book is one of the few timely and concise thorough works responding to the interest of contemporary students of Africa. And the fact that the author is Indian, raised in Europe and married to a European seems to contribute not a little to the persuasiveness of her argument. In the Preface, she states, "The book does not attempt in any way to offer a complete survey or a conclusive judgment; it has been written in order to have the Asian problem better understood and further studied by students on the politics and economies of East Africa." She describes the book as a mere "Vorstudie." It is probable that few authors could be found who entertain such sincere concern about the problem of Indian minority in Africa and at the same time retain an academic objectivity while examining this problem as does Mrs. Rothermund. For this reason, this work seems of really great value, along with its informative utility.

II

The subject matter and scope of investigation of this book may be briefly summarized here.

In Chapter One, the author demographically describes the Asians in East Africa noting their relative quantity and distribution of population. She perceives the Asians, a component of the immigrant population in this area, as a "settled middle layer" (ortansässige Mittelschicht) (S. 6), not much influenced by events in their home country, or by either political factors such as the India-Pakistan disruption or by social factors such as the caste system. Therefore, the author regards the Asian population in East Africa as a "special minority group that does not wholly represent the social characteristics of its home country" (S. 10).

Chapter Two classifies the Asians in East Africa into several groups. The author avoids the more common classification according to religious groups, in favor of a classification on the basis of language groups. The reason is that in the author's view, "classification by religious groups itself does not necessarily have significance; and rather the most essential is classification by language groups including Hinduism and Moslemism" (S. 10).

Chapter Three investigates the Asians' economic activities in East Africa, sector by sector, and discusses their relationships with the European immigrants and with the new independent governments. In regard to the economic role of Asians in East Africa, the author indicates that Asian society in East Africa was multi-stratified in nature because of the variety of aggregations of immigrant groups that came at different times for diverse reasons. She further indicates that first, Asians contributed to the introduction of a monetary

economy within the limits of the colonial system; second, that Asians as merchants or lower-ranking government officials shared the benefits of commerce and administrative duty with European minority. She develops her argument as follows: At the beginning of the 20th century, the British promoted the advance of Asian merchants as a means to drive out German rivals; thereafter, Asians rapidly surpassed Arabian merchants and consolidated economic bases at Mombasa, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam. The Asians' companies supplied imports to retailers in various places through the big British trade companies (which were in turn agents of major shipping companies). Therefore, Asian merchants in East Africa were oriented to open market operations fundamentally different from commercial practices in their homeland. Their business, however, was composed mostly of petty trade with a high turn-over rate of capital; and thus they were, so to speak, merely "*Träger* in the final process of the world economy" (S.20). In other words, in East Africa where commodity circulation has not yet matured, Asian merchants played some part in the formation of pre-modern merchant capital. In spite of this activity, however, there were severe limitations upon the market and moreover, business profit was very small as compared to that of the Europeans. As a result, Asian merchants were condemned to an unreasonable degree for their responsibility for the "underselling and cheating" inherent in commerce. As Africanization of the East African economies proceeds, European and Asian merchants are obliged to enter into partnerships with African merchants. Of the two foreign groups of merchants, the European are more likely to succeed in maintaining the partnership; because, while the managerial system of the Asian companies (based on personal relationships, mainly on management by the family) remains traditional and exclusive, the management of European companies (based on an anonymous corporation system) makes it easier to attain the Africans' cooperation. The reason why Asians are criticized more unfavorably than Europeans by Africans lies not only in the differences of languages, culture, and commercial practices, but also in this structural difference of capital which is further strengthened by legislation of the colonial powers. At any rate, there is but little probability that the Asians can adjust their relationship with the new governments, unless political stability is accomplished and the new governments' dependence on private enterprises is continued.

Chapter Four discusses the political status of the Asians in the three states of East Africa, noting the differences in political systems as well as the problems of Asian franchise and citizenship. In regard to Kenya where political moves by the Asians were most active, the author dwells on the course of events from the beginning of the 20th century and she analyzes the later deterioration of Asian political activities, dividing this later period into five sections. The descriptions are the most outstanding part of the book and help us to understand not only the political status of the Asians but also their economic role.

According to the author it was half a century after the establishment of

the East African Indian National Congress in 1901 that the Asian political movement in East Africa developed so fiercely as to threaten British colonial rule. The nature and the aims of this political movement are understandable from the assertions of two eminent Asian statesmen: M. A. Desai in the 1920's and I. Dass in the 1930's (though they themselves gained little from their efforts). But the author thinks that under the influence of various external factors subsequent Asian political movements were obliged to gradually deteriorate and at last decline through the following stages.

The first stage was the demand for a separate suffrage from Indians by the Mohammedan group and the abrogation of "Common Roll" in 1952; the second stage was the failure of the Lyttleton Plan and the gradual lessening of affective public voice on the part of the Asians in 1954; the third stage was the objection to the Lennox-Boyd constitution by a united front of African Diet members; the fourth stage was the resolution in 1957 at the Lancaster House Conference and the organization of the Kenya Freedom Party; and the fifth stage was the absorption of the Kenya Freedom Party by the Kenya African National Union. In this process Asians were weakened in terms of political position; they were alienated, abandoned their political privileges and at last lost their political right of representation. The author's historical analysis in this Chapter seems to be very interesting and of utility to those who are concerned about the problem of the Asian minority in Africa. Particularly noteworthy is the author's depiction of the tension between Asian demands for establishment of suffrage and security of their economic privilege, and the rising tide of African nationalism.

Chapter Five summarizes the present condition and future directions of research on Asians in East Africa, in the form of ordering the methods of research and the points at issue, and appears to have useful suggestions for other students. Also of value are the bibliography, list of interviewees, and the chart of population distribution.

III

We may now turn to a critical consideration of this book in terms of its explicit aim, research on the "Asian problem" in Africa.

First, earlier research on Asians in Africa was mainly devoted to the economic aspect, in which the Asian minority was seen only in quantitative terms as a "labor force" which contributed to economic development in Africa. In contrast, this book perceives them qualitatively as "political and economic subjects" which behave with their own consciousness within their own societies in Africa. As clearly indicated by the title, this book tries to give some perspective to Asians in East Africa by observing the totality of their economic role and political position.

Second, in discussing the problem of Asians in East Africa, the author adopts the system of classification according to languages, denying the necessity of that according to religion. It may be said that the author thinks that

differences among religions are reflected only in such political movements as the separation of the Hindu and Muslim in 1952. The author thus seems to express her critical attitude toward the former European scholars who tended to overestimate the influence of religion on Asian economic activities.

Third, the author has compassion for the political and economic position of the immigrant minority because she found in the condition of Asians in East Africa similar problems to those in her homeland, India. As for the causes of the disunity between African Nationalist and Asian politicians in Africa which occurred after independence in the African countries, the author attempts to locate them not only in the structural contradiction in British colonialism but also in the difficulties and complexities of the so-called "race relation" after independence.

Finally, the reviewer will offer some comments on this book. First, this book dwells on the Asian as "entrepreneur" but neglects him as "laborer." But analysis of the latter aspect is of great significance in that the existence of Asian laborers will give rise to competition with African laborers, as secondary industry develops in East Africa. For although it is usually said that African laborers are inclined to choose unskilled occupations, while Asians go into skilled occupations, it may be that there are still a fair number of unskilled Asian laborers whose economic situation is closely related to the political consciousness of Asians in Africa.

Second, in regard to the economic activity of Asians in general, it is often noted that the influence of clannish Asian society is reflected especially in the lower age of chief part of laborers and low rate of women being converted into the labor force. This book, however, scarcely refers to the matter. Of course, these phenomena become a matter for discussion when Asians are viewed from as part of the "labor force"; but in practice, the low rate of Asian women being absorbed into the labor force is a remarkable phenomenon in comparison with the rate of European and Colored women, and is directly related to actual economic interest. Perhaps the reader expects the author to explain it in connection with caste system and joint family system in India.

Third, the author recognizes that Asians in East Africa are not the descendants of the so-called "indentured laborers" but are aggregations of "free immigrants" who entered at various times for various purposes, and therefore she seems to expect that Asians will tend to engage in petty enterprises or work at professional jobs rather than be laborers in the future. But if this is the case, then how can the present unemployment problem of Africans be solved? Even though the high rate of unemployment among Asians may not be so serious as in Natal Province of South Africa (notorious for an unusually high unemployment rate among Asian immigrants,) it is all the more serious because in the case of East Africa apparent institutional factors obstructing the employment of Asians such as the "Color bar" in South Africa, cannot be emphasized so much.

In regard to "political position," a number of comments seem called for. First, although this book was written after interviewing a number of Asians

in site, why was the structure of consciousness of Asian as a "settled middle layer" left so vague? The reason seems to be that for the sake of describing the process of the formation and development of Asian society from a historical viewpoint, the author chiefly confines her interviewees to old and retired businessmen, politicians, lawyers, and scholars who had been in activity in the past.

Second, though the author makes clear the main points of the political activities of Desai and Isher Dass, she does not give sufficient supplementary explanations of her estimate of their political ideology and their significance to the modern era. The reviewer remains doubtful of whether or not their political ideology had any actual influence beyond the restrictions of the "multi-race society."

Third, the author considers that Asian political activities in East Africa developed within the countries there, and she makes little reference to what position they occupied in relation to the external world. For instance, the Kenya Freedom Party is depicted as an outsider which is fairly dealt with neither by African Nationalists nor by former African political leaders. The reviewer questions whether the political position of this party was not of greater international influence. (*Akira Hoshi*)