



Claiming Kabale: racial thought and urban governance in Uganda

Edgar C. Taylor

To cite this article: Edgar C. Taylor (2013) Claiming Kabale: racial thought and urban governance in Uganda, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7:1, 143-163, DOI: [10.1080/17531055.2012.755307](https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2012.755307)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2012.755307>



Published online: 26 Feb 2013.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 577



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 14 View citing articles [↗](#)

Claiming Kabale: racial thought and urban governance in Uganda

Edgar C. Taylor*

Interdepartmental Program in Anthropology and History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, United States

(Received 4 January 2012; final version received 26 October 2012)

As Uganda's postcolonial leaders Milton Obote and Idi Amin sought to pin down Asians as legal and discursive subjects between 1969 and 1972, they invoked a contested administrative, political and social history to promote Africanisation initiatives. Traders targeted by the 1969 Trade Licensing Act in small towns such as Kabale reshaped malleable racial and legal categories in local administrative struggles over the control of urban space that did not map neatly onto policy-makers' visions. Nevertheless, the perceived decisiveness of Milton Obote's legislation and of Idi Amin's subsequent expulsion decrees has obscured from subsequent narratives the messy politics of Uganda's urban spaces. This article draws attention to the opportunities and limits of legal claim-making at the intersection of racial thought and urban governmentality during the Trade Licensing Act's uneven implementation.

Keywords: Uganda; Kabale; Uganda Asians; governmentality; urban history; racial thought

In late 1972, Pravin Nathwani and his younger brother Kish took a day-long journey from their home in Kabale in Uganda's Kigezi district to the capital Kampala to have their citizenship statuses verified. In August, President Idi Amin had declared "Asians holding [non-Ugandan passports] will have to leave Uganda within three months" while authorities will "carefully check the citizenship of those claiming to be Ugandan Asians".¹ Both brothers were born in Kabale and had registered as citizens at the same time. With their birth certificates and documents from the Ministry of Internal Affairs in hand, they eventually proceeded one at a time into a room where an exhausted young clerk inspected their papers. Pravin entered first and emerged with a card confirming his status as a Ugandan citizen; Kish followed and returned "stateless", the same clerk having declared that his documents were invalid despite being identical to those of his brother. While the rest of his family proceeded to the United Kingdom, Pravin returned to Kabale, where, out of approximately 700 residents classified as Asian, he was the only one remaining.²

The Nathwanis' experience was not unlike those of many others during the Asian expulsion of 1972, and it could easily fit within a familiar narrative in which Idi Amin decisively excluded a sociologically distinct Asian minority from a stable black Ugandan national whole. Such emphasis on a perceived moment of rupture – the expulsion – diverts attention from the ways people like the Nathwanis were

*Email: edgarjac@umich.edu

enmeshed in Ugandan urban life and shaped its administration. Much scholarship has tended to ignore the hard discursive, social and legal work of producing and effacing multiple ways of being Asian in Uganda's rapidly changing politics of control and administration of urban spaces.³ Neither racial nor legal categories mapped neatly onto the micro-politics of Uganda's small towns, where spatial dynamics shaped struggles over racial, economic and gender boundaries. Such categories also lacked the internal coherence to immunise them from being constantly reshaped by an array of actors at the intersection of the state and the wider field of local urban governmentality. The 1972 expulsion required a discursive and legal silencing of earlier negotiations of government bureaucracy that had validated claims to citizenship and property, such as those embodied in the documents Pravin and Kish brought to Kampala.⁴

Just two years before the expulsion, the Nathwanis, still in their early twenties, and their lawyer had convinced a lowly grade-two magistrate to legally invalidate the 1969 Trade Licensing Act, President Obote's signature legal attempt to shape the relationship between Asians and Uganda's towns.⁵ This case, examined toward the end of this article, exemplified both the openings and limits for policy-makers, local administrators and would-be citizens in reconstituting urban governmentality. Focusing on such legal negotiations and petitions to local and national authorities, alongside a historical ethnography of space in Kabale, offers a lens through which to see the messy politics of urban administration in Uganda in which efforts to distinguish social and legal groups drew on ambiguous histories and were always partial and deeply contested. This article offers a preliminary analysis of the intersection of racial thought and urban governmentality in Kabale in the final years of Milton Obote's first Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) administration (popularly known as 'Obote I'). By shifting attention away from Amin's expulsion decrees to the administrative challenges of the preceding years, it points to continuities not only, as others have observed, in Asians' precarious position in the political economy of regime control under Obote and Amin,⁶ but also in the challenges that local struggles over urban space posed to local administration in Uganda's districts and small towns.

Administrative challenges

Administration has long posed particular challenges in Kigezi region in south-western Uganda, a zone of economic, political and social mobility well before the arrival of traders from India in the 1920s. One's entrance into Kigezi from the direction of Mbarara and Kampala to the northeast is marked by a distinct change in landscape. Steep hills cultivated with terraced plots create numerous small, densely populated valleys. This landscape has long facilitated deeply localised political allegiances that confounded leaders with territorial ambitions, who competed with authority cultivated through perceived individual and collective healing capabilities.⁷ For British administrators and their postcolonial successors in the region, the roughly 500 kilometres separating them from the seat of central government necessitated considerable on-the-spot resourcefulness, even as the uneven terrain inhibited their surveillance over the entire territory. Since at least the early 1920s District Commissioners consistently complained of Kabale's unreliable telegraph service, and when a telephone connection between Kabale and Kampala was finally established in 1955, it remained prone to months-long outages

into the 1970s. Without dependable communication with Kampala or Entebbe, the region's administrators were often left to follow their own initiative.⁸

While Kigezi's landscape has posed administrative challenges, it has also remained an enduring zone of exchange and mobility. Kigezi peoples (Banyakigezi) were vigorous farmers, producing consistent surpluses that allowed for a thriving exchange with nearby regions.⁹ British administrators, like their local predecessors, struggled to exert political control over the area or to reshape its economic base. When the border between Rwanda and Uganda was demarcated in 1914, 20 kilometres south of the new administrative outpost of Kabale, it added a further layer of negotiation to commercial and migratory networks. The Baganda chiefs through whom the British sought to exert control over the region found it difficult to pin down those officially under their authority who refused to comport themselves as grounded and obedient subjects.¹⁰ Despite British efforts to introduce cash crops, Kigezi farmers found them undesirable given the profitability of food crops for domestic consumption and regional markets. As Grace Carswell argues, colonial authorities did not recognise this economic activity as proper commerce, since it largely evaded state surveillance and taxation.¹¹ Although this exchange escaped the full grasp of state control, Kigezi did contribute to the colonial economy as a labour reserve, as Bakiga, Banyarwanda and other Banyakigezi went to work on plantations and small farms in Buganda and Ankole.¹² Thus, administrative possibilities in the region have been entangled with its peoples' mobility and entrepreneurship, along with its particular geography.

Like many small east African towns from the 1910s onward, Kabale was established as a centre of colonial administration and commerce, and became not only a base for British administration but home to an assortment of civil servants and traders from east Africa and the Indian subcontinent. If Banyakigezi mobility and economic innovation frustrated administrative imperatives, the mobile, commercially ambitious, and legally ambiguous population of South Asians in eastern Africa posed equally challenging administrative and discursive difficulties. Beginning at the turn of the century, young men, primarily from northwestern India, responded to economic opportunities created by the expansion of British control in the east African interior, rapidly growing their businesses and inviting relatives to join them in burgeoning towns and trading centres, while others entered the Protectorate bureaucracy and other professions. They and their descendants often relied on family and community networks for employment as well as social and legal protection. Thus, for ambitious young men often seeking to marry into respectable families in India, cultivating strong community bonds in eastern Africa was critical to enhancing one's reputation and social standing in religious and caste networks that extended across the Indian Ocean and east African interior.¹³ British administrators, however, preferred to address a single "Asian" population, which was largely seen as a self-evident racial category that informed legal definitions. Thus, those positioning themselves as community leaders sought official recognition of Hindu, Ismaili, Sikh and other communities but also often presented themselves to administrators as leaders of a general "Indian", "Asiatic" or "Asian" community.¹⁴ Census takers, seeking to map a controllable reality, reified such categories throughout Protectorate rule, even as officials recognised that "a significant Asiatic floating population could well be spared" from enumeration unless "some Officers . . . poke about the inner rooms and the back kitchens [*sic*] of Indian shops and residences to discover what Asiatics are in the Protectorate".¹⁵

For British administrators, “Asiatics” fell into ambiguous double-negative legal categories, simultaneously “non-native” for taxation and most legal purposes and “non-European” concerning government employment. Their straddling of these categories, combined with their perceived urban anonymity, physical mobility, and economic opportunism divorced from a European civilising mission, made Asians a particularly worrisome object of colonial planning. After abandoning the idea of small-scale Asian agricultural settlement, Protectorate officials effectively barred the alienation of land to “non-natives”, who by 1923 were only permitted to lease plots in urban centres or for plantation agriculture.¹⁶ They simultaneously imposed laws that effectively limited lucrative cotton ginning to established Asian-owned firms while introducing similarly preferential licensing laws for buying agricultural produce.¹⁷ However, officials continually reiterated their view that although “many Asiatics [are] permanently settled in the country... natives are still more permanent”.¹⁸ Likewise, Governor Hall introduced Uganda’s post-War Development Plan by declaring the government’s “established policy... at developing Uganda for the benefit, not of imported Europeans or Asians, but of its African population”.¹⁹ Indeed, the Trading Ordinance of 1938 forbade “any non-native to trade outside any township or trading centre”, thus reinforcing an institutional connection between non-natives and urban space, while encouraging the promotion of African traders.²⁰ Yet, many first, second and third generation residents established social, commercial and affective roots that established Uganda as their permanent home, despite their institutional recognition as non-native. In the transition to Uganda’s independence, such claims frustrated authorities, who vacillated in the same breath between advocating the “Ugandanisation” of the public and private sectors, which “includes Asians, and indeed Europeans, who have been born and brought up in Uganda”, and “indigenisation” which did not.²¹ The contradiction between exploitation and paternalistic protection of the category “native”, especially during the ascendance of post-war developmental colonialism, produced bureaucratic inconsistencies that left those excluded from this category in ambiguous legal and administrative terrain.

Official equivocation over the legal status of “permanently settled” “non-natives” carried on after independence. Between 1948 and 1962, the British Nationality Act had in theory, as Kathleen Paul describes, enshrined “a larger vision of universal imperial nationality [that] outweighed racialised difference” by placing colonial subjects under the same rubric as citizens of Great Britain itself.²² However, with the independence of many of Britain’s colonies and protectorates and the rise of a conservative government in the United Kingdom, Ugandan Asians saw their legal options tighten. Beginning in July 1962, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act required citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies as well as British protected persons to apply for work or study exemptions in order to enter the United Kingdom, the quotas for which were far smaller than the number of applicants.²³ Meanwhile, the Ugandan constitution stipulated that in order to acquire Ugandan citizenship automatically, at least one parent had to have been born in Uganda, which applied to some Ugandan Asians but which few had the documentation to prove. All others had two years to apply through a process that required several steps, each of which left a documentary trail for the UK government, the Ugandan government and individual applicants to mobilise in their attempts to delineate or destabilise their respective obligations and claims. One had to apply to the Immigration Department and then, once registered, to take an oath of allegiance,

to declare one's intentions concerning residence, and to renounce one's previous citizenship status by registering at the Home Office within three months.²⁴

There was considerable continuity between the legal language of native and citizen,²⁵ but government policy was not a projection of a coherent logic that these categories contained; rather it was an arena of contestation, in which the slipperiness of legal and racial terms made them resources in a fractured political economy. While these categories informed segregationist policies and offered tools for the articulation of racialised nationalism, their inconsistencies left open a wider range of uses that upset efforts to map them onto local contexts. As Milton Obote's independent government sought to deploy racial and legal categories in the management of urban space, people negotiated their claims to property and particular spaces with local administrators in ways that often frustrated the political aims underlying government policy.

Africanisation under Obote I

At independence, the administrative history of Asians in Uganda presented particular narrative controversies and political opportunities, which Milton Obote's government sought to harness. In 1968, the government-appointed Committee on Africanisation of Commerce and Industry issued its final report, which provided legislative recommendations that were to become central to Obote's loose political platform of economic nationalism called the "Move to the Left". The report opened by foregrounding the social and aesthetic control of urban space:

It is a well-known fact that Uganda's commerce and industry is predominantly in the hands of non-Africans most of whom are non-citizens. This fact also accounts for the non-indigenous character and appearance of our towns and trading centres, which to a first visitor to the country would look like a transplanted Bombay, Calcutta or Madras, except that they would perhaps be tidier and less populated.²⁶

This passage, like the legislation the report went on to propose, identified a legal language of citizenship as a means of remaking the racial character of Uganda's urban commerce. The authors lamented, only "a sprinkling of commercial concerns belonging to Africans may be found in our towns", while "our young boys and girls" and "our African traders" lack educational preparation and institutional support like "Asians [who] band together against such an 'intrusion' [of] African trading in their midst".²⁷ The report proposed "a Trade Licensing Act", similar to that recently instituted in Kenya, which would exclude "non-citizens from carrying out business of any description in rural areas and certain parts of town", and "will inevitably throw a good number of non-citizens out of business".²⁸

The government's increasing focus on the racial character of Uganda's towns came at a time of growing economic instability. As neo-Marxist scholars were to subsequently note, Obote's government faced a crisis by 1969 in the face of a stagnant productive base as it sought to pacify diverse constituencies including a business class increasingly enmeshed with the governing bureaucracy.²⁹ By targeting Asians through a legal idiom of citizenship, the government could appeal to diverse and diffuse anti-Asian sentiment including among aspiring African traders cut out of Asian family business networks. Like its counterpart in Kenya, Uganda's Trade Licensing Act sought to expand an African commercial class allied with state power.

Others have noted that such an effort to promote a commercial class appeared to contradict the socialist rhetoric of the “Move to the Left”.³⁰ Yet Obote’s programmes, like those of Nyerere in neighbouring Tanzania, recognised the political volatility of urban social and commercial life.³¹ He decried the “educated youth[s]” aimless love for urban life” and threatened that the mass “clearing of slums” was imminent in the final year of his rule.³² With high unemployment, he simultaneously sought to placate unemployed youth by expelling a tenth of Uganda’s urban workers, who were Kenyans.³³ Yet, Uganda’s urban politics in the 1960s and early 1970s have remained little studied, leaving stories of how such politics were actually negotiated largely invisible in narratives informed by the high politics of national leadership.³⁴

The Trade Licensing Act of 1969 was the most far-reaching legal initiative to reshape the aesthetic and commercial character of Uganda’s towns since independence in 1962. The act enabled “the Minister responsible for local administrations and urban authorities . . . [to declare] any trading centre to be an area in which a person who is not a citizen of Uganda is prohibited from trading”. It did so even as it upheld the 1938 Trading Ordinance that had forbade “non-natives” and now “non-citizens” from trading “outside any city, municipality or town”.³⁵ The Minister of Commerce and Industry William Kalema subsequently issued a four-page list of areas in every major town and numerous smaller trading centres where the act would take effect.³⁶ (His usurpation of a duty allocated to the Minister of Regional Administrations would later become the object of legal controversy in Kabale.) For Obote and his ministers, the Act’s legal language of citizenship was openly intended to redress what they saw as a racial imbalance. Kalema informed a meeting of town clerks and administrative secretaries from each of Uganda’s districts, “Although rightly according to the law [emphasis] for giving the new trade opportunities were placed on Uganda citizens . . . the spirit of the Africanisation policy was that priority should be given to citizens of African origin.”³⁷ The Africanisation Committee had promoted such a view, arguing that since colonial institutional discrimination had racialised the commercial sector, “the Government has an obligation to discriminate among its citizens on the basis of wealth” in order to support “the majority of the people (who happen to be Africans)”.³⁸ The entanglement of legal and racial categories in the law and its public justification left considerable ambiguity over how these categories would correlate in the Act’s actual implementation. As Kalema acknowledged, the presence of “10,000 Ugandans [citizens] of non-African origin poses a problem in the implementation of the Africanisation policy”.³⁹

The history that advocates of Africanisation invoked was contested, and the status of Asians in relation to colonialism has been an object of both scholarly debate and political struggles. By 1969, Obote’s government found traction in arguments that identified Asians as a colonial class whose social exclusivity, urban concentration, and domination of commerce made their patriotism suspect. Indeed, restrictive licensing laws and segregationist town planning encouraged correlations between Uganda’s commercial centres and Asian traders, while economic inequality was stark. Economist Vali Jamal estimated, by 1967 “non-African income” was 30 times greater than that of “African-income” since “Asians maintained their monopoly of commerce and industry, and skilled and professional jobs”.⁴⁰ To the Africanisation Committee, the aesthetic character of Uganda’s prosperous commercial centres – the faces, the smells, the manner of their organisation – reflected a painful colonial history that the political leadership had fought against. Asian

became an intelligible category identified with an urban male trader on the former side of a coloniser–colonised binary.

Asian colonial collaboration is not the only compelling premise on which to narrate a history of Asians in Uganda and eastern Africa. When faced with accusations that Asian was a colonial identity antithetical to national loyalty, some reframed Asian economic success as evidence of an independent pioneering initiative that developed Uganda and demonstrated investment in the country's future.⁴¹ From this view, the racial spirit of Africanisation policy appeared not as an obligatory redressing of colonial inequality, but as “African racism” against a people who had demonstrated their nationalism through their investments and often their choice of citizenship.⁴² A narrative of Asian loyalty to colonialism distorted a more complex picture. Some early activists critical of British rule in Uganda had found inspiration in and support from those seeking self-rule in India, and Asian-owned presses often printed nationalist newspapers across east Africa.⁴³ Sugata Bose argues that alternative universalisms, in the form of both patriotic political and extra-territorial religious communities, were fostered in the circulation of people and ideas across the Indian Ocean.⁴⁴ Thomas Metcalf⁴⁵ has recently contended that from the 1860s well into the twentieth century, “the web of imperial connections focused on India” shaped the social and political imaginations of peoples entangled in this web, which included Indians abroad, the peoples among whom they settled (many of whom were simultaneously invested in conjuring territorial patriotic communities⁴⁶), and European administrators.⁴⁷ However, the ascendancy of nationalist political movements left little political ground for celebrating Indian Ocean networks in Uganda, whether within or outside empire. Rather, some sought to establish a narrative of Asian economic entrepreneurship independent of British control, all the while reinscribing Asian identity with urban traders.

Asian, however, was not a stable discursive category. Its link to commercial exploitation, whether for good or ill, did not flow automatically from experience. Michael Twaddle urged scholars to “distinguish between [the] established prominence [of traders] in racial rhetoric and [their] supposed position in (largely absent) occupational statistics”.⁴⁸ The 1948 “Census of the Non-Native Population” stated that only half of all gainfully employed Asians in Uganda worked in commerce, with significant numbers also in manufacturing industries and public services. Those in commerce, just over 5000, constituted only 15% of all those enumerated as Asian at the time.⁴⁹ Historians have complicated an oft-repeated argument that class and race neatly coincided in Uganda⁵⁰ by demonstrating that South Asians were economically and professionally diverse despite their relatively small numbers.⁵¹ Yet, census data itself inscribed racial categories that required constant reiteration to maintain relevance across varied social contexts. People identified as African and Asian intermingled in politics, business, religious devotion, leisure activities, marriage, and sexual intimacy, while other ethnic, family, caste and gender identities often rendered racial categories irrelevant.⁵² There were marked limits to such social intercourse, from endogamous marriage norms to the spatialised divisions of urban life. However, these were often accentuated in racial rhetoric, which was itself historically dynamic. Gardner Thompson observes that the numerically greater number of African traders in Uganda in the 1940s and 1950s were just as prone to overcharge their customers and resist competition as were their Asian counterparts,⁵³ though populist activists consistently portrayed these practices as a reflection of a peculiarly Asian character and lamented the perceived moral degradation of Africans employed by Asians.⁵⁴

While the Central Council of Indian Associations (CCIA) responded by portraying Asians as a community committed to the common good and in harmony with African interests,⁵⁵ young activists in the Uganda Action Group (UAG) tried to empty the category Asian of political content altogether by affirming Asians' identification with African-dominated political parties.⁵⁶ Asian remained an ambiguous, politically sensitive category whose historical iterations allowed considerable malleability. As the following discussion of the Trade Licensing Act's implementation in Kabale demonstrates, the legal language of citizenship was equally manipulable, allowing petitioners to remake the relationship that policy-makers sought to draw between the two.

In 1969, less than seven years after independence, Milton Obote's government sought to portray the enduring effects of racialised colonial policies as an affront to Uganda's national independence. As some scholars have argued, such a nationalist appeal was framed as a struggle by Africans, imagined self-consciously as a pan-ethnic race of indigenous Ugandans, to declare their entrance into modernity by claiming civic rights and Africanising urban spaces.⁵⁷ Following their lead, the 1969 Trade Licensing Act could be read as a culmination of a nationalist politics of African empowerment, whose incomplete implementation paved the way for the more drastic expulsion three years later by Obote's successor, Idi Amin. However, this reading is shaped by a national archive, dominated by state planners and political figures invested in national projects. It does not demonstrate how such laws operated in practice or how Ugandans produced and used racial and legal knowledge to shape their communities. The stories with which people could account for their presence in Uganda and belonging to a community were multiple and contested, as were the futures to which they aspired. The following discussion of how local officials and traders negotiated the implementation of the 1969 Trade Licensing Act in Kabale suggests that the town's residents often sought to use legal and racial categories toward ends that administrators had intended to render impossible.

Kabale and the Trade Licensing Act

Kabale was among the urban centres whose history of spatial and commercial segregation Obote's government sought to redress with the Trade Licensing Act. The town had its own particular administrative and economic history. Banyakigezi resistance to cash cropping inhibited an important commercial activity elsewhere in southern Uganda, leading the District Commissioner to remark in the early 1920s, "the Indians seem to be constantly in difficulties" as "trade in the [Kabale] bazaar is at a standstill and most of the traders seem to be insolvent".⁵⁸ Their commercial inroads in the 1930s came by wresting control of the mobility of people and goods in the district from Banyakigezi hands, "through the medium of their lorries".⁵⁹ As the town expanded after World War II, officials reported an increase from 101 Asians resident in all of Kigezi District in 1931, to 387 in 1948, to 603 just in Kabale town in 1959.⁶⁰ By 1970, Department of Town and Regional Planning officials estimated the town's total population at 8300 with an additional 7200 people residing in neighbouring settlements.⁶¹

The layout of Kabale was shaped both by the uneven implementation of racially and economically segregationist town planning and by the uneven physical terrain of its location. Administrative offices, a hospital, and homes for European administrators were built on Makanga Hill, which was connected to the rest of the town

below by a steep, winding road. At the foot of the hill, the main commercial street (alternately known as Main Street or Kabale Road) extended from the Kirigime Road junction at the west to the other side of the town's sports grounds nearly half a kilometre away. District officials struggled to promote high building standards in this area for Asian business people despite the financial burden it put on those seeking to build there.⁶² The buildings licensed for this central business district were for commercial premises in front and living quarters in the rear, accessible both through side entrances and doors leading directly into the shops. As one proceeded away from Main Street at the foot of Makanga Hill, there was a residential area for Asians of varying economic means, known locally as Kargote (after a prominent local contractor) and to administrators as Blocks K and J.⁶³ To the east of the main commercial district, separated by a stretch of undeveloped land, stood the market, relocated there by district officials in 1950 as a "center for the petty trader wishing to sell produce or craftsmen plying a craft such as tailoring, shoe makers and the like", and not for those already with "Dukas in the Township".⁶⁴ Unlike the commercial district by the sports ground, the main market had stalls run by a mix of African and Asian small traders, many of whom were dependent on wholesalers at the opposite end of town. Officials promoted the construction of "low standard" buildings across from the market with cheap leases mostly for retail shops operated by Africans.⁶⁵

Social life was deeply inscribed with these spatial dynamics.⁶⁶ The African and Asian trading areas were physically separated from one another by a stretch of undeveloped land, while the spatial configuration of commercial premises in each supported different sorts of consumer interactions. At shops in the African trading centre, agricultural produce and cheap consumer goods were stacked on the floor and shelves as traders sat on stools in front awaiting customers, who often haggled over prices as they examined and handled their potential purchases. By contrast, shops in the main Asian commercial district sold a range of general merchandise (ranging from shirts to bicycle parts to cement) displayed in glass display cases separating customers from merchants or on shelves behind. In order for customers to examine merchandise, traders had to take out items and hand them over the counter. The counter established a position from which traders could refuse service to would-be customers if they doubted they could pay for their goods. As one resident recalled, "If you asked how much is that, he might say, 'You have no money. Go away.' But he can be a changed man somewhere else. . . . [For example,] how can he abuse me in the bar?"⁶⁷ The few bars on the western outskirts of town in the 1960s offered a space where working-class African and Asian men mingled sometimes with African women. The intimate interaction of Africans, Asians and occasionally Europeans in such establishments contrasted with the spatial boundaries that some sought to guard elsewhere in town. The physical separation of wealthy and less prosperous neighbourhoods and trading districts was both racialised and gendered. With a few exceptions, women rarely operated shops on Kabale Road, and many residents remember constant community surveillance of and nervousness about Asian women's interactions with men outside of their religious communities. One woman remembered, "Everyone knew everyone. If you looked at a boy the wrong way, your father would know before you got home." The physical distance between African and Asian residential neighbourhoods as well as between wealthier and poorer areas shaped struggles over social mobility and gendered community norms.

Although town planning had long influenced the town's racialised, classed and gendered spatial dynamics, residents inhabited and exerted control over those spaces

in ways that did not always accord with planners' expectations. Officials in the 1950s had struggled to improve building standards in Asian neighbourhoods such as Kargote and Kabale Road, even as builders defied inspectors or left their work unfinished when they could not afford to fulfil officials' specifications, leading to fears "that we are in some danger of countenancing the presence of an 'asian slum' in Kabale".⁶⁸ Residents remember the commercial district on Kabale Road not only as a site of business but of Asian sociability, where families would lounge on mats on their verandas at the end of the day and socialise on their way to the nearby Hindu Temple and Ismaili mosque. Scholars have remarked that shops were the primary site of interaction between Africans and Asians in Uganda, as the latter maintained strong boundaries from those outside their respective caste and sect communities.⁶⁹ However, small towns such as Kabale invited and often required residents to mingle with others outside the religious, ethnic and class communities that some otherwise sought to maintain.⁷⁰ For example, although Hindu leaders did actively seek to summon up caste constituencies, members often recognised that efforts to discipline their behaviour and regulate extra-community interaction were impractical in East Africa's small trading centres where local cross-community networks were just as important as social and economic links to community members in Gujarat.⁷¹ Not only did regular picnics at Lake Bunyonyi bring together Asians of all religious affiliations, but free government-sponsored monthly movies drew a diverse cross-section of residents from the town as well as the nearby countryside that cut across the racial and socio-economic boundaries inscribed in town planning. The African Sunni and Asian Shia communities routinely marked Eid al-Adha by eating together at the Sunni mosque at the eastern end of Kabale Road. Despite facing varying levels of ostracism from Asian social circles, several Asian men took up permanent residence with African wives, while unspecific rumours occasionally circulated of intimate relations between Asian women and African men.

The Trade Licensing Act of 1969 intervened in these dynamics in an effort to cross a racialised spatial divide between the central commercial district and the African trading area as well as between Asian merchants and African customers. In July 1969, Kigezi district and Kabale town council officials received instructions from the Minister of Commerce and Industry Kalema to identify the citizenship status of all traders operating along "Main Street from Kirigime Road junction to the eastern end of the street" and to revoke the trading licenses of non-citizens with shops in this area.⁷² Tasked with enforcing "the spirit of the Africanisation policy" through the legal language provided in the Act, the officials responsible for its implementation, primarily the Town Clerk and the District Commissioner, faced the messy work of operationalising slippery legal and racial categories. The immediate task facing the Town Clerk was to enumerate the traders of Kabale Road according to citizenship. However, his initial work showed that 28 out of the 33 non-citizens he counted in the area had pending citizenship applications, rendering their legal statuses ambiguous since some had already renounced their previous citizenship.⁷³ The unresolved status of an estimated 12,000 out of 23,000 "non-native" applicants for Ugandan citizenship remained hotly contested until the expulsion decrees of 1972.⁷⁴ At independence, those subjects who did not automatically receive Ugandan citizenship faced conflicting pressures over what options to pursue. On the one hand, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian High Commissioner Apa Pant had urged Indians in east Africa to identify with the countries in which they were settled, while the Aga Khan advised his Ismaili followers to do the same.⁷⁵

However, many recognised their dependence as much in extra-territorial commercial and family networks as in Uganda itself, while populist agitation, such as the violent 1959 Uganda National Movement (UNM) anti-Asian boycott in Buganda, inhibited some from throwing in their lot with a state led by advocates of Africanisation.⁷⁶ As the former mayor of Kampala, Sir Amar Maini, observed, “There were a multitude of responses within the Asian community in Uganda, most of them designed to keep open as many options as possible. [This led to] charges of hypocrisy when private actions did not (and could not) match up to public, stated aspirations.”⁷⁷ Obote, like Amin after him, accused Asians collectively of vacillating loyalties as evidenced by the alleged high percentage of applicants who had failed to renounce their British nationality despite applying for Ugandan citizenship. Asian leaders meanwhile accused the government of failing to process applications made in good faith.⁷⁸

Citizenship did not so much provide a clear legal cover for analytically and politically amorphous racial categories as it presented another layer of contentious language for people to grasp and reshape. All but one of the 28 non-citizens with pending applications counted by the Town Clerk collectively wrote to the District Commissioner, arguing that they should not be punished for the slow pace of immigration bureaucracy.⁷⁹ Sensitive to the “anxieties and fears” of some of his district’s large traders, the District Commissioner sought Mr Kalema’s advice. However, the Minister, removed from the micropolitics involved in implementing the law, replied that it should be applied strictly, meaning that the petitioners were all required to evacuate their shops.⁸⁰ Others found their trading licenses cancelled despite having acquired Ugandan citizenship, because they had inherited their businesses from non-citizen relatives. When district officials informed Minister Kalema on a visit to Kabale three weeks after the Act’s new year deadline that some businesses run by predominantly non-citizen families were legally held by a single citizen family member, Kalema declared, “this would not be accepted”.⁸¹

Such directives from the Ministry increasingly emphasised to local officials the racial spirit of the law in the face of petitions that invoked the same legal category of citizenship through which the Act was supposed to be operationalised. As the deadline for non-citizens to vacate their shops approached, the Permanent Secretary Katagyira instructed all town clerks in the country, “no non-African individual or company should be granted more than one trading licence... [including] non-African citizens also”. He recognised that, if significant numbers of Asian traders were able to relocate to other premises outside of designated citizens-only trading areas, the Act would have little overall effect. As a result, he ordered, “all applications from non-citizens intending to transfer their businesses to new or vacated premises should be *rejected* and such applicants should be referred to this Ministry”.⁸² These instructions sat uneasily beside the Minister’s invocation of the Act’s legal language of citizenship “regardless of colour”.⁸³ However, where recourse to legal arguments over citizenship failed, some traders facing eviction invoked their role in Africanisation itself in hopes of swaying officials to their defence. Thus, after the Town Clerk ordered the citizen owners of Kigezi Wholesalers to leave one of their two plots on Kabale Road, they appealed directly to the Ministry of Commerce, arguing that their business benefited Africans in Kabale by offering a commercial service and a source of employment and investment. They argued that closing down one of their shops, which would force the company “to declare half its [24 African] employees redundant”, was counter-productive to the cause of Africanisation.⁸⁴

Petitions over the Trade Licensing Act reveal not only how traders pursued contradictions in the Act's legal and racial justifications but also the topology of urban administration. Even where petitions were not copied directly to each of them, the Minister of Commerce Kalema or Permanent Secretary Katagyira, District Commissioner Malinga, and the Town Clerk Lugemwa routinely shared this correspondence seeking each other's advice or approval. In so doing, they betrayed concerns particular to their respective positions in government bureaucracy. Except in politically sensitive cases, Mr Kalema was primarily concerned that the racial spirit of Africanisation policy should prevail. However, the District Commissioner was consistently more sensitive to the local socio-political dynamics of the Act's implementation, leading him to urge exemptions for several petitioners. For example, he unsuccessfully urged the Ministry to look favourably on an appeal from Nalal Kataria whom he characterised as a "humble old man...[who] has, I gather, generously contributed to national causes".⁸⁵ Given his responsibility for the social, political and economic stability of the district, Malinga feared the consequences of implementing the letter of the law at the expense of the overall economic health of the district's commercial centre. He noted that during the first few days after businesses on Kabale Road owned by non-citizens had closed, few shops were opened with sufficient stocks, causing "a certain amount of embarrassment and inconvenience to the customers".⁸⁶ Thus, when six traders who had yet to leave their shops requested that they be able to keep open their premises on the edge of the citizens-only trading zone, Malinga promptly and successfully lobbied the Minister to exempt their locations.⁸⁷ He did so despite protests from Mr Lugemwa, who objected that there were already more applications from Africans for trade licenses in the citizens-only zone than there were available shops.⁸⁸ Before Kabale became a municipality in the 1980s, its town clerks were civil servants charged with implementing statutes rather than appealing to constituents. Thus, although he recognised the near "hopeless" situation in the days after the Act's initial implementation, Mr Lugemwa's primary concern was in the law's enforcement.⁸⁹ As such, he proved to be the most uncompromising of his colleagues.

While petitioners navigated these levels of bureaucracy in drawing officials to their side, others used different means of exerting control over the spaces targeted by the Trade Licensing Act. Some traders targeted for eviction resorted to simply closing and refusing to leave their shops. Some landlords sought exorbitant rents that new tenants were unable to meet.⁹⁰ However, even where new traders managed to open for business, struggles ensued over their access to the residential back rooms of Kabale Road's commercial and residential buildings. Some residents bolted the doors leading into the front shops and refused to let the new operators use water and toilet facilities in their residences.⁹¹ Unable to enforce shop-keepers' access to private spaces connected to their commercial premises, the Town Council could only urge "intending shopkeeper[s] first to negotiate with the shop owner as to whether he would be as well allowed to have access to the back part of the premises or else he should not accept to rent the shop".⁹² Here they acknowledged their limits as administrators in struggles for control over private spaces, which they urged residents to work out for themselves.

Silencing claims

If the will of a racialised government policy shaped local politics of control over commercial spaces, its legal instruments also betrayed the limits of legal

interventions. The Nathwani family, with whom this article opened, not only maintained a consistent presence in the Minister's, the District Commissioner's and the Town Clerk's files but produced a legal opening that authorities could only close through extra-legal measures.⁹³ Even before the Trade Licensing Act's publication, Pravin Nathwani's father, who had not applied for Ugandan citizenship, transferred his business to his son, whose citizenship had been approved. Although they hoped that this would insulate them from legal actions against non-citizens, the Town Clerk still refused to renew Pravin's trading license.⁹⁴ Upon hearing of their situation through a mutual friend, a lawyer in Kampala, Novnit Shah, offered to take up the Nathwani's case. Rather than contesting the basis of the Town Clerk's decision, he instructed Pravin and his brother Kish to defy it by re-opening their shop. Pravin was arrested the same day and his case referred to the Grade Two Magistrates Court on Makanga Hill. At the hearing a week later, Novnit Shah did not raise the defendant's citizenship but instead argued that the Minister of Commerce had no authority to declare a restricted trading zone, since the Act allocated such authority exclusively to the "the Minister responsible for local administrations and urban authorities", which would have been the Minister of Regional Administrations. Grade Two magistrates such as Judge Ntegamehe generally did not handle cases that judged the legality of government policy, but after adjourning the court for nearly five hours, he emerged to declare, "I do agree with the defence counsel that the Minister of Commerce and Industry had no jurisdiction to make such statutory instruments in accordance with the trade (Licensing) act 14/69. Therefore his action has no power of law... Therefore the charge dismissed and the accused discharged."⁹⁵

The decision did not exempt an individual but set a legal precedent within the court's regional jurisdiction that rendered all the work of implementing the law until then without legal authority. As such, it technically provided a legal opening for others in Kabale, including non-citizens, to bring cases to restore their trade licenses and shops at least until a new set of instruments with new deadlines were issued by the proper minister. Reports of the case soon circulated in the Ministry of Commerce, the President's Office, the Attorney General's chambers, and offices of the Director of Public Prosecutions. Although their initial reaction was to contest the case in a higher court, it does not appear that they did so, possibly because an unsuccessful appeal would have spread the legal precedent to a wider jurisdiction.⁹⁶ However, neither does it appear that anyone else took up this legal opening in Kabale itself. The Ministry of Commerce quickly ordered that Pravin Nathwani's individual trading license be reinstated. The officious Town Clerk refused, as doing so would have forced him to acknowledge the court's verdict that the Act's instruments he had implemented were invalid. When Pravin appealed in person to the new Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Commerce in Kampala, his license was quickly issued and the Town Clerk replaced.⁹⁷ Pravin recalls, "It was all buried. No one wanted it to spread."⁹⁸ This case exposed the vulnerability of government efforts to shape the relationship between racial categories and control over Uganda's urban commercial spaces, but it also showed the limits of legal claim-making. Rather than rolling back the Minister of Commerce's initiatives, the case enabled a single exemption through the Minister's personal intervention.

Less than a year after the court case that challenged the legality of the Trade Licensing Act's implementation, Milton Obote's government was overthrown, and within two more years, former Minister Kalema had been killed and nearly all of those who had so energetically contested for their control of businesses and

commercial spaces on Kabale Road had been compelled to leave Uganda. Such a transformation of the politics of control over urban space could only proceed by silencing claims to property and citizenship, since the fluid category Asian and the people to whom it referred were constitutive of much of Uganda's legal, administrative, and social history. When people such as Kish Nathwani were ordered to verify their citizenship claims in Kampala, many found them declared invalid without explanation.

In the wake of President Idi Amin's decrees cancelling "every entry permit or certificate of residence" for "any person who is of Asian origin, extraction or descent" in 1972,⁹⁹ critics made two seemingly contradictory observations. First, scholars and expellees remarked that their immediate reaction had been surprise and disbelief. Expelled Makerere University political scientist Hasu Patel observed, "Indians in Uganda were shocked",¹⁰⁰ while his colleague Mahmood Mamdani remarked, "at the time nobody expected anything so drastic to happen".¹⁰¹ Although Bert Adams emphasised the pessimistic view of those without Ugandan citizenship in 1971, his surveys indicated "most [Asian Ugandan] citizens seemed to actually feel that they had a future in Uganda".¹⁰² "Amin, however, accomplished the unthinkable", wrote Yash Tandon, and it seemed to require explanation.¹⁰³ If some presented the expulsion as the product of a racist and incompetent buffoon's unpredictable dispositions,¹⁰⁴ scholars were quick to counter such representations by rendering Amin's decision as an all but inevitable culmination of Uganda's underdeveloped class relations set in motion by colonial capitalism. Such accounts insisted that human agency was subject to the structural requirements of these class relations, which by 1972 had produced a "contradiction between the petty bourgeoisie and Asian capital".¹⁰⁵ A scholarly consensus soon emerged that while the timing and form of Amin's edicts could have been different, independence in 1962 had exposed Asians' collective political vulnerability, making their discursive and physical exclusion from Uganda unavoidable.¹⁰⁶

The foundational work on the expulsion written in its immediate aftermath provided important insights into connections between racial thought and unequal relations of production in Uganda. However, it allowed little space for considering the messy politics of urban space in which racial and legal categories were contested. Some scholars considered Asians who saw opportunities for renegotiating their legal claims in the early 1970s to have been "somewhat myopic".¹⁰⁷ While Obote's and Amin's policies reflected attempts to decisively intervene in Uganda's racialised urban politics, in practice they were arenas of contestation in urban administration as people worked to convince officials in a heterogeneous bureaucracy to interpret their legal and racial statuses in idiosyncratic ways favourable to their claims. In light of the ambiguous administrative history of the category Asian, legal and racial justifications for shaping its relation to urban space and commerce could be constantly reshaped. For many, the dispossession of their property and right to live in Uganda were not products of the projection of coherent legal interventions but of extra-legal tactics that silenced their claims. However, Kabale's commercial spaces have been contested through the documentary state continuously since the Asian expulsion. Applicants to the Departed Asian Properties Custodian Board brought leases, licenses, and other documents to stake claims to property and businesses in hopes of preventing their appropriation by unscrupulous politically connected soldiers.¹⁰⁸ Anneeth Kaur Hundle's contribution to this special issue shows that those Asians who managed to stay in Uganda through the 1970s relied on both

political connections and legal documentation to convince officials to recognise their claims to property and citizenship. The present government's decision in the mid-1990s to invite expellees to reclaim their lost properties and invest in the country led to a proliferation of conflicting claims to properties and immigration statuses that continues today. It is in such negotiations that citizens, would-be citizens, and bureaucrats have negotiated a contested history of racial thought and administration and pushed the limits of legal interventions in Uganda's urban politics.

Acknowledgements

Research for this article has been made possible by support from the Social Science Research Council's International Dissertation Research Fellowship with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, as well as assistance for earlier research from the African Studies Center, the Department of African and Afro-American Studies, and the Rackham Graduate School at the University of Michigan. Many thanks for helpful comments on earlier drafts to the participants of the 'Uganda in the 1970s' conference in Ann Arbor and to an anonymous JEAS reviewer.

Notes

1. On August 19, Amin told a rally in Kigezi "that all the 23,000 Asians who hold Ugandan citizenship will also have to leave the country," but he quickly reversed course, instead using the mandatory verification of all "Asians and half-castes" to revoke many of their Ugandan citizenship claims. "Some Will Stay, Some Will Go," *Uganda Argus*, August 10, 1972, 1; "All Asians Must Go," *Uganda Argus*, August 21, 1972, 1; "These Asians Can Stay," *Uganda Argus*, August 23, 1972, 1.
2. Interview with Pravin Nathwani and Kish Nathwani, Watford, United Kingdom, June 30, 2012; KDA, Resettlement of Asians, Box 87, File "Confidential Flimsies"; KDA, Mr Pravin Kumar Popatlal Jeram Nathwani, March 26, 1973, File "Immigration," 281.
3. The foundational Marxist literature on the expulsion largely conflated race and class, and thus explained Asian behaviour and sociality solely in a functional relationship to the market. For example, Mamdani, "Class Struggles," 33.
4. Pravin Nathwani's success in retaining his citizenship illustrates that Amin's action did not entirely erase claim-making. Indeed, as Anneeth Kaur Hundle demonstrates in this special issue, many Asians who carried on residing in Uganda continued to successfully negotiate their legal claims to property and citizenship and to claim and remake specifically Asian spaces throughout the 1970s.
5. KDA, 2nd Grade Magistrate's Court, Kigezi, Criminal Case No. 35/70, February 20, 1970, File "Kigezi District Intelligence Committee."
6. Mamdani, "Class Struggles"; Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda*, 467–657.
7. Feierman, "African Histories," 167–212.
8. KDA, Quarterly report of DC Kigezi, April 20, 1920, File "Kigezi District: Report for 1921–3"; KDA, "Annual Report Kigezi 1954," n.d.; KDA, Police Message DC to COMPOL KLA, October 13, 1971, Box 124, File "Asian Census," 22.
9. Carswell, *Cultivating Success*, 24–48.
10. Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism*, ch 3.
11. Carswell, *Cultivating Success*.
12. Rutanga, "A Historical Analysis," 66–71.
13. Morris, "Communal Rivalry," 306–17.
14. *Ibid.*; Morris, *The Indians in Uganda*, chs 3 and 8.
15. Each Protectorate census (1911, 1921, 1931, 1948 and 1959) enumerated numbers of Asians identified as Hindus, Mohammedans or Muslims, and Sikhs, while the 1948 report introduced further distinctions within a "Non-Native" census that included Europeans. KDA, "Annual Reports by District Commissioner on Kigezi District for the

- Year 1931,” January 30, 1932, File “Annual Report – 1930, 1931 & 1932,” 72; UNA A46 1701: 55, PC Eastern Province to CS, 6 November 1919.
16. West, *Land Policy in Buganda*, 135–8.
 17. *The Uganda Cotton Ordinance, 1908* Ordinance No. 5 or 1908; *The Uganda Cotton Ordinance Rules, 1909 (No.1 and 2)* (January 18, 1909 and December 30, 1909); *The Uganda Cotton Rules, 1918* (November 27, 1918), p. 124; *Native Produce Marketing Ordinance, 1932*, Ordinance No. 20 of 1932 (August 31, 1932), sections 4–5, 11; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation*, 72–9.
 18. Acting Chief Secretary of the Legislative Council P.W. Perryman in “Legislative Council – Minutes of Meeting,” *The Official Gazette of the Uganda Protectorate* (November 15, 1929): 546; Motani, “The Ugandan Civil Service,” 103.
 19. Hall, “Foreword: Some Notes on the Economic Development of Uganda,” iii–iv.
 20. *Trading Ordinance, 1938*, Ordinance No. 19 of 1938 (October 20, 1938), section 5.
 21. For example, *Report of the Commissioners for Africanisation*, 2–3.
 22. This applied to “British protected persons” and the newly created category “citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies.” Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, 23; *British Nationality Act, 1948* Part II.
 23. *Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962*. Part I Section II.
 24. *Constitution of Uganda, 1962*, Articles 7, 8.
 25. Mamdani, “When Does a Settler Become a Native?”
 26. Government of Uganda, *Report of the Committee on Africanisation*, 3.
 27. *Ibid.*, 15, 3–4.
 28. *Ibid.*, 11.
 29. Mamdani, “Class Struggles,” 46–53; Brett, “The Political Economy of General Amin,” 17–18.
 30. Sathyamurthy, “The Social Base of the Uganda Peoples’ Congress,” 456.
 31. Ivaska, *Cultures States*; Brennan, *Taifa*.
 32. Obote, “His Excellency the President’s Communication from the Chair of the National Assembly on 20th April 1970,” in *Proposals for Document No. 1 on “The Move to the Left,”* 24, 34.
 33. Mazrui, “Casualties of an Underdeveloped Class Structure,” 262–74.
 34. On official rhetorical approaches to urban spaces in the 1970s see Decker, “Idi Amin’s Dirty War,” 489–513.
 35. *The Trade (Licensing) Act, 1969*, Act No. 14 of 1969 (March 20, 1969), sections 1, 2b, 4a; *Trading Ordinance, 1938*, Ordinance No. 19 of 1938 (October 20, 1938), section 5.
 36. KDA. “Trade (Licensing) Act – Declaration of Restricted Areas.” 28 July 1969. Box 175. File “Trade and Commerce,” 81.
 37. KDA, “Notes Taken at a Meeting of Trade Licensing Authorities,” December 11, 1969. Box 175, File “Trade and Commerce,” 96.
 38. Government of Uganda, *Report of the Committee on Africanisation*, 10.
 39. KDA, “Notes Taken at a Meeting of Trade Licensing Authorities,” December 11, 1969, Box 175, File “Trade and Commerce,” 96.
 40. Jamal, “Asians in Uganda, 1880–1972,” 611–12.
 41. “Contribution of the Asian Community in the Economic Development of Uganda” in “Asian Makes Bridge Building Plea,” *Uganda Argus* (December 8, 1971): 7; Ramchandani, *Uganda Asians*.
 42. Interview with Manzoor Moghul, Leicester, UK, June 11, 2012.
 43. E.g. UNA, C Series Box 9, C.569 1919 File “Native Affairs: Young Baganda Association.” For newspapers in Kenya, Frederiksen, “Print, Newspapers and Audiences in Colonial Kenya,” 155–72.
 44. Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*.
 45. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, 204. See also Brennan, *Taifa*, 6–8.
 46. Peterson and Macola, *Recasting the Past*.
 47. Maini, “Asians and Politics,” 112–24.
 48. Twaddle, “Was the Expulsion Inevitable?,” 2.
 49. Government of Uganda, *Report on the Census of the Non-Native Population*, table I, table XXXI and p. 69.

50. Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee*, 15; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation*, 213.
51. Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa*.
52. Tripp, "Women's Mobilization in Uganda," 543–64.
53. Thompson, *Governing Uganda*, 204–18.
54. For example, G.R. Kizza, "Antipathy to Asians, 1946," in Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, 131–3.
55. "Asians Confer on Common Roll," *Uganda Argus* (April 14, 1959): 1; Thompson, "The Ismailis in Uganda," 39–40.
56. "Minority Safeguards Not Needed, Says Action Group," *Uganda Argus* (April 15, 1959): 1; "U.A.G. 'Not a Political Party,'" *Uganda Argus* (April 23, 1959): 4; Thompson, "The Ismailis in Uganda, 40–1; Maini, "Asians and Politics," 117; Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation*, 84.
57. Mamdani, "Beyond Settler and Native," 654.
58. KDA, "Kigezi District Annual Report for 1923," January 27, 1924; KDA, Quarterly report of DC Kigezi, April 4, 1923, File "Kigezi District Report for 1921–3," 18.
59. KDA, Annual Reports by District Commissioner on Kigezi District for the Year 1931, January 20, 1932, File "Annual Report 1930, 1931 & 1932."
60. KDA, "Annual Report Kigezi District, 1948," February 18, 1949, File Kigezi Annual Report 1949 & 1948; Uganda Protectorate, *Non-African Population Census, 1959*.
61. KDA, Kabale Town Council, Report of the General Purposes Committee Meeting, 78/70 Kabale Master Plan (a) Boundaries and Population.
62. KDA, "Annual Report Kigezi District 1956," n.d., 28.
63. KDA, DC to District Medical Officer, November 20, 1951, File "Temporary Occupation Plots in Townships," 203; KDA, "Annual Report Kigezi District 1956," 28.
64. KDA, DC to Mr Rama Ghela, December 29, 1950, File "Application for Stores in the New Market," 95.
65. KDA, "Annual Report Kigezi District 1956," 23.
66. Ethnographic details in this and the following paragraph come from interviews in Kabale and London, April–June 2012.
67. Interview with Leos Batuma, Kabale, Uganda, April 27, 2011.
68. KDA, DC to District Medical Officer, November 20, 1951, File "Temporary Occupation Plots in Townships," 203; KDA, "Annual Report Kigezi District 1956," 28.
69. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 44.
70. Morris, "Communal Rivalry," 306–17.
71. Morris, *The Indians in Uganda*, 15–16; Morris, "Indians in East Africa," 203.
72. KDA, Appendix to "Trade Licensing Act – Declaration of Restricted Areas," July 28, 1969, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 81. "Main Street" was also referred to as "Kabale Road" in other correspondence. KDA, Town clerk to Kigezi DC, September 3, 1969, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 82.
73. KDA, Town clerk to Kigezi DC, September 3, 1969, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 82.
74. See "Uganda's Case for Expelling Asians" in Government of Uganda, *Uganda's Economic War*, 17–22.
75. Gregory, *Quest for Equality*, 86; Morris, "Indians in East Africa," 208.
76. Moghal, *Idi Amin*, 75–6.
77. Maini, "Asians and Politics," 117.
78. UNA, Office of the President 4: 8. "Report on Citizenship Submitted by Research Secretariat Office," 1970; "Asian Makes Bridge Building Plea," *Uganda Argus*, December 8, 1971: 8; "Memorandum of the Asian Leaders to His Excellency the President of the Second Republic of Uganda General Idi Amin Dada, in response to His Excellency's speech dated 8th December, 1971" in O'Brien, *Brown Britons*, 40–2.
79. The original letter was forwarded to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and no original copy survives in the Kabale District Archive. District Commissioner Malinga reported the contents in KDA, DC to PS Ministry of Commerce, December 17, 1969, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 93.
80. KDA, PS Ministry of Commerce to DC, December 23, 1969, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 97.

81. KDA, "Hon. W.W. Kalema's Tour of the Western Region Meeting Held at Kabale, on Tuesday 20th January 1970," Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 120.
82. KDA, "Trade Licensing Arrangements for 1970," December 22, 1969, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 100A.
83. KDA, "Hon. W.W. Kalema's tour of the Western Region: Meeting with District Team and Planning in Kabale on 20th January, 1970," Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 120.
84. KDA, "Petition" to Minister of Commerce, January 25, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 109.
85. KDA, DC to PS, Ministry of Commerce, February 2, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 117.
86. KDA, DC on Hon. W.W. Kalema Tour, January 23, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 108A.
87. KDA, Petition to DC, January 19, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 103; KDA, DC to Town Clerk, January 22, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 105.
88. KDA, Town Clerk to PS, Ministry of Commerce, February 9, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 122.
89. KDA, "Implementation of the New Trade (Licensing) Act, 1969," February 12, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 129.
90. KDA, W.W. Kalema's Meeting with District Team, January 20, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 131; KDA, PS Ministry of Internal Affairs to IGP, March 25, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 145; KDA. Kagaba & Co to Karmali Kharamshi, February 16, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 131.
91. KDA, W.W. Kalema Meeting Held at Kabale, January 20, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 120.
92. KDA, Report of the General Purposes Committee Meeting, 80/70 Health Inspector's Monthly Report, November 17, 1970, File "Kabale Town Council Minutes"; KDA, W.W. Kalema Meeting Held at Kabale, January 20, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 120.
93. Interview with Pravin Nathwani and Kish Nathwani, Watford, United Kingdom, June 30, 2012.
94. KDA, Shah, Patel & Co to Minister of Commerce, January 17, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 106; KDA, PS Ministry of Commerce to Shah Patel & Co., February 13, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 132.
95. KDA, 2nd Grade Magistrate's Court, Kigezi, Criminal Case No. 35/70, February 20, 1970, File "Kigezi District Intelligence Committee."
96. KDA, PS Katagyira to President's Office, March 13, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 142; KDA, DC Malinga to TC, March 25, 1970. Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 144.
97. KDA, PS Ministry of Commerce to DC Kigezi, August 26, 1970, Box 175, File "Trade and Commerce," 148.
98. Interview with Pravin Nathwani and Kish Nathwani, Watford, United Kingdom, June 30, 2012.
99. *The Immigration (Amendment) Decree*, Decree No. 30 of 1972 (October 25, 1972), section 1. The latter section was added to *The Immigration Decree*, Decree No. 17 of 1972 (August 9, 1972).
100. Patel, "General Amin and the Indian Exodus," 12.
101. Mamdani, *From Citizen to Refugee*, 12.
102. Adams, "A Look at Uganda and Expulsion," 238.
103. O'Brien, "General Amin and the Uganda Asians," 91.
104. Katono, "Western Newspapers' Coverage of Idi Amin."
105. Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation*, 304.
106. O'Brien, *Brown Britons*, 10; Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation and Destruction*, 127-8; Tandon, "Asians' Role in East Africa," 6.
107. Jørgensen, *Uganda A Modern History*, 271.
108. KDA, File "Trading Ordinance Policy & Processing of Licenses."

Bibliography

Archival sources

Kabale District Archive (KDA).
Uganda National Archive (UNA).

Government publications

Constitution of Uganda, 1962. Kampala: Marianum Press.
Government of Uganda. *Decrees*. Entebbe: Government Printer.
Government of Uganda. *Laws of Uganda*. Entebbe: Government Printer
Government of Uganda. *Report of the Committee on Africanisation of Commerce and Industry in Uganda*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1968.
Government of Uganda. *Report on the Census of the Non-Native Population of Uganda Protectorate Taken on the Night of the 25th February, 1948*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1951.
Government of Uganda. *Uganda's Economic War*. Kampala: Publications Section of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1975.
Hall, J. Hathorn. "Foreword: Some Notes on the Economic Development of Uganda." In *A Development Plan for Uganda*, E.B. Worthington. Entebbe: Uganda Protectorate Government Press, 1947.
Obote, A. Milton. *Proposals for Document No. 1 on "The Move to the Left"*. Entebbe: Printer, 1970.
Report of the Commissioners for Africanisation 1962: Part I Africanisation, Retention of Expatriates and Scholarships. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962.
Uganda Protectorate. *Non-African Population Census, 1959*. Nairobi: East African Statistical Department, June 1959.
Uganda Protectorate. *Ordinances and Subsidiary Legislation*. Entebbe: Government Printer.

Secondary sources

Adams, Bert. "A Look at Uganda and Expulsion through Ex-Ugandan Asian Eyes." *Kroniek van Afrika* 3 (1975): 237–49.
Bose, Sugata. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.
Brennan, James. *Taija: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012.
Brett, E.A. "The Political Economy of General Amin." *IDS Bulletin* 7, no. 1 (April 1975): 15–22.
Carswell, Grace. *Cultivating Success in Uganda*. Oxford: James Currey, 2007.
Decker, Alicia. "Idi Amin's Dirty War: Subversion, Sabotage, and the Battle to Keep Uganda Clean, 1971–1979." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, no. 3 (2010): 489–513.
Fallers, Lloyd. *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
Feierman, Steven. "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History." In *African and the Disciplines*, ed. Robert H. Bates, V.Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr, 167–212. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
Frederiksen, Bodil. "Print, Newspapers and Audiences in Colonial Kenya: African and Indian Improvement, Protest and Connections." *Africa* 81, no. 1 (2011): 155–72.
Gregory, Robert. *Quest for Equality: Asian Politics in East Africa, 1900–1967*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1993.
Gregory, Robert. *South Asians in East Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993.
Ivaska, Andrew. *Cultures States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
Jamal, Vali. "Asians in Uganda, 1880–1972: Inequality and Expulsion." *The Economic History Review* 29, no. 4 (November 1976): 602–16.
Jørgensen, Jan Jelmert. *Uganda: A Modern History*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
Kabwegyere, Tarsis. *The Politics of State Formation and Destruction in Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995 [1974].

- Katono, Deogratius Nzarwa. "Western Newspapers' Coverage of Idi Amin, 1971–1979." MA diss., Wake Forest University, 1990.
- Low, D.A., ed. *The Mind of Buganda*. London: Heinemann, 1971.
- Maini, Sir Amar. "Asians and Politics in Late Colonial Uganda: Some Personal Recollections." In *Expulsion of a Minority: Essays on Ugandan Asians*, Michael Twaddle, 112–24. London: The Athlone Press, 1975.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. "Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 4 (October 2001): 651–64.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. "Class Struggles in Uganda." *Review of African Political Economy* 4 (November 1975): 26–61.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *From Citizen to Refugee: Uganda Asians Come To Britain*. London: Frances Pinter, 1973.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*. London: Heinemann, 1976.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. "When Does a Settler Become a Native? Reflections on the Colonial Role of Citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa." University of Cape Town Inaugural Lecture Series, May 13, 1998.
- Mazrui, Ali. "Casualties of an Underdeveloped Class Structure: The Expulsion of Luo Workers and Asian Bourgeoisie from Uganda." In *Strangers in African Societies*, ed. William A. Shack and Elliott P. Skinner, 262–74. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- Metcalf, Thomas. *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Moghal, Manzoor. *Idi Amin: Lion of Africa*. Central Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2010.
- Morris, H.S. "Communal Rivalry among Indians in Uganda." *British Journal of Sociology* 8, no. 4 (December 1957): 306–17.
- Morris, H.S. *The Indians in Uganda*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968.
- Morris, Stephen. "Indians in East Africa: A Study in a Plural Society." *The British Journal of Sociology* 7, no. 3 (September 1956): 194–211.
- Motani, Nizar. "The Ugandan Civil Service and the Asian Problem, 1894–1972." In *Expulsion of a Minority: Essays on Ugandan Asians*, ed. Michael Twaddle, 98–111. London: The Athlone Press, 1975.
- O'Brien, Justin. *Brown Britons: The Crisis of the Ugandan Asians*. London: Runnymede Trust, 1972.
- O'Brien, Justin. "General Amin and the Uganda Asians: Doing the Unthinkable." *The Round Table* 63, no. 249 (1973): 91–104.
- Patel, Hasu H. "General Amin and the Indian Exodus from Uganda." *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1972): 12–22.
- Paul, Kathleen. *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Peterson, Derek. *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, C. 1935–1972*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Peterson, Derek, and Giacomo Macola, eds. *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009.
- Ramchandani, R.R. *Uganda Asians: The End of an Enterprise*. Bombay: United Asia Publications, 1976.
- Rutanga, Murindwa. "A Historical Analysis of the Labour Question in Kabale District." In *Uganda: Studies in Labour*, ed. Mahmood Mamdani, 53–135. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1996.
- Sathyamurthy, T.V. *The Political Development of Uganda: 1900–1986*. Aldershot: Gower, 1986.
- Sathyamurthy, T.V. "The Social Base of the Uganda Peoples' Congress, 1958–1970." *African Affairs* 74, no. 297 (October 1975): 442–60.
- Tandon, Yash. "Asians' Role in East Africa." *Patterns of Prejudice* 6, no. 6 (November–December 1972): 1–8.
- Thompson, Gardner. *Governing Uganda: British Colonial Rule and its Legacy*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2003.
- Thompson, Gardner. "The Ismailis in Uganda." In *Expulsion of a Minority: Essays on Ugandan Asians*, ed. Michael Twaddle, 30–52. London: The Athlone Press, 1975.

- Tripp, Aili Mari. "Women's Mobilization in Uganda: Nonracial Ideologies in European–African–Asian Encounters, 1945–1962." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 543–64.
- Twaddle, Michael. "Was the Expulsion Inevitable?" In *Expulsion of a Minority: Essays on Ugandan Asians*, ed. Michael Twaddle, 1–14. London: The Athlone Press, 1975.
- West, Henry. *Land Policy in Buganda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.