Being a collaborative effort to thank President Yoweri Museveni and the people of Uganda for welcoming us back
> Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Canada for giving us shelter
> Edward Heath and UK, and India and Pakistan for honouring historic pledges
> The Aga Khan for facilitating our settlement in Canada
> Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan and the UNHCR for picking up the remnants as refugees
> and a host of countries all over for settling us.

A people remember and turn their grateful eyes to you
5 Messages. HH Kabaka; Home Secretary of HM Government; HW Mayor; HE HC of India; ResRep of AKDN; Executive Director UIA; Prince Kassim Nakibinge Kakungulu; Prof Ali Mazrui; Prof Dharam Ghai

9 Profile. HE President YK Museveni

10 Foreword and from the producers

16 Historical. 1972 in the world. John Akii-Bua, Uganda at the 1972 Olympics, including Ajaib Matharu interview. How Uganda was in 1972. South Street. Timeline Uganda; Exodus by BOAC staff, Mike Wickings; A day in the life of...any Ugandan Asian.

42 Idi Amin Dada. Timeline. What he said, the telegrams he wrote. Profiles by British High Commission and son Jaffar

53 Mo & Mo. Photojournalists Mo Amin and Mo Dhillon photoed Uganda events. Jon Snow

57 What the archives show. British and Israeli role in Amin's coup; Israel-Uganda relations in the time of Amin; what the US knew about the coup and the Asian expulsion; from DRUM.

69 USA, 1971 and 72 from State Department memos, refugees arrive. Australian policy.

75 1972 in UK. Edward Heath, UK did not want Ugandan Asians, Houses of Parliament debates, how the expulsion looked from Britain, EA Asians vs UK, Observer article on Asian success. Mansukh Shah - helping hand

83 1972 in Canada. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Summit Series, Canadian immigration laws change, Komagata Maru. The Canada Mission. Timeline (diary), furnishing the office, were Ismais favoured, an encounter with Sir Eboo, the criteria evolve, final statistics and cast

95 1972 Aga Khan. Role; honorary pallbearer; Ismaali-Canada love affair; were Ismais favoured? an encounter with Sir Eboo, Mo Benoit.

99 1972 in UNHCR. Prince Sadruridin Aga Khan, HCR memos on the expulsion, compensation operation, Perviz Mitha, Trakerschen camp.

108 “Jews of East Africa”. Asians in Uganda history. Population figures. Uganda Railway; Socotra; dhows; Kana Malim takes Vasco da Gama to India; Indian Ocean; bullock carts; from Race, Rail and Society; from Two Indian Travellers. the rail saga - then and now; Periplus; Numbers. Africans in India, Asians in Mozambique; Harambee.

133 Pioneers. Alidina Visram, including Alidina Visram School and Politics as Usual; Vithaldas Haridas Madhvani; Rashid Khams; Bandali Jaffer; Muljibhai Prabhudas Madhvani; Nanji Kalidas Mehta, including dhow voyages and other excerpts from his autobiography; Suleiman Verjee family; Dharamsy Morarji Bhatia family, including Kutch/Kutchi; Kassim-Lakha family, Hassan Kassim-Lakha, including present-day pictures and story; Sultani; Dayalbhai Madanj Vadera; Pirbhai Alibhai; Dr Lal Din Ahmad; Valli Jamal, Jamal Pradhan andahu fortomoroni farm; Korde family; Sir Amar Nath Maini; Inder Singh Gill, including gift to a South African and tribute by Mo Dhillon; Rahematbhai Gangji Pirrmoahmed and Aalvai Baloo, including A Day in the Life of, Sukh-Dukh conversation and women's co-ops; Freny Meherwanji Damji Sidpra, including tribute by Nasirbanu Moody; Damaji Cara Sidpra; Shree Haribhai Rughnath Samani; Musabhai Ismail Nuraney; Haribhai Rughnath Samani; Shamibhai Jutlahabhi Gheewalla, including Drive-In; Husenali Nathu; Ramlji Ladhha Dalal; Dayabhai (Kaji) Mathurbhai Patel; Manubhai Gordahnbhai (Mahatma) Patel; Dr AM Kati; HH Vora; IV Jamal; Madatari Habib Keshwani (living), including tribute by Taj Kassam; Dr Chunibhai N Patel; Pragji Kalidas Lakhani, including son Gokaldas; AG Mehta; Abdulla H Hamdani; Manubhai Patel; Jayant Madhvani; Karmali Pirani; Amershi Jutha Kanani; Abdulhamid Shamji “Gomba” tributes; Rahemtulla family; Parun Pujya Shere Rambapa; Daulatrai Gopali Sthanki; Rajat Neogy; PJ Patel + Nalin; Patel Pioneers from Patidar Samaj Golden Jubilee Souvenir; Ithanasheri pioneers thumb sketches from Souvenir; HK Jaffer; Jal F Dastur and Mrs Threayty Dastur; Minocher Rustomji Ghaidiali; thumbnail sketches of Parsee in Uganda; Goan pioneers - Norman Godinho, Peter Pereira; founding the GI at Kampala and Entebbe, opening of Godinho School, 1933. Fakirmohamed family; Shekhar Mehta; SS Gupta and Amer; NV Mohamed; Haq Clan; Chotalala Narandas Khiroya; Clerk Family, Anil Clerk
disappears; M A Karim; Sir Tharia Topan.


Speaker Narendra M Patel. Present-day leaders. Dilip Joshi Mbane childhood (Kersi Rustomji). Mbane then and now

292 Jinja how it was, how it became. Rashmi Paun, Umesh Patel, Sharad Nari tribute to three in an accident, Nilesh Nathwani, Bhanu tributes

302 Three who fought for Uganda - and us. Dr MM Patel; Gurdial Singh; Shafiq Arain

308 Those who never left. Dr Mukhtar Ahmad; Hasmukh and Jayshree Kanani; Babulal Ruparelia; Nandlal Karia; Hussein Mohamed “Lira”; Pyaralli Khimji; Mohamed Raza G Manji; Sanjay Tanna; Pradip Karia; Yashwant Sidpra; Mukesh Shukla; Mohamed Abdulla; Shamash Abdulmohamed Hirji Damani; John Nazareth; Dr Surinder Kumar Gupta.

342 Coming in after Amin. Mahendra Mehta; Manubhai Madhvani; Mayur Madhvani; Amir Ebrahim Kassam (late); Rajni Tailor; Haider Somani; Sherali Bandali Jaffer; Vinod Vadera; Jagdish Thakkar; Ketan Morjaria; Sadru Virani; Sultana Virani; Nipun Bhatia, including Mayo College; Ramanbhai V Patel and Mrs Bhart-Shadi; Sadru E Jamal; Khatoon SE Jamal; Amir Husenali Nathoo; Shamsh Aliibhai; Aliya Shivji; ; Hassan Aliibhai (Ramji); A R (Mani) Khan; Bhasker Kotecha; Bhavesh; Vali Jamal; Sikander Lalani; Amirali Ebrahim Kassam. Vali Jamal, 1982 notes


412 Pioneers in Canada. Punjabis from 1900 onwards; early Ismailis in Canada - Zinat K Virani, Barkat Virani, Zebunnisha Valiani, Shabuddin Vellani family, including tribute by Zebi Jamal, Taj Kassam, John Baloo, Amir and Jenny Kanji

447 Expulsion and rooting in Canada, UK, and all. Sultan Ibrahim Mitha. Dr Kulwant Singh Bhangoo; John Baloo; Pilli Walji; Nellie Ahmed; Sadru Ahmed; Nimmu Nuraney; Taz Esmail; Sultan Baloo; Mansur Ibrahim Popat Charania; Vasant Lakhani; IV Jamal family; Jayantilal N Gandesha; daal, achar and other “rich foods” by Kalwant Singh Ajimal; Zahir (Zip) Dhanani; Marziya Sayani, MBE; Hemant; Gulam Raza Hassanali; Anil Popat; PK Pirani; Vinod Kataria; Niles (Nilu) D Nathwani; Gian Prashar; Chadrakant Kataria; Dhiraj Kataria; Mohamed Hussein Punjani and Punjani Family; Raza M Devji; Pyaralli G Nanji; Hydery; Sherbanu Dhanji (nee Mawji); Noordin Somji; Mahmoud Awan; death in the West - Mohan Patel and Vali Jamal; Akbar Hussain and family; Pyaralli Virani “Moomin”

525Prodigal daughters and sons in the diaspora. Shirtee Vadera; Mobina Jaffer; Nimisha Madhvani; Mumtaz Kassam; Farida Sayani; Supra Visram; Reshma Saujani; Lella Umedaly; Yasmin Allibhai-Brown; Heenal Raichuria; Farrah Esmail; Hamida Neumuller; Amber Chand; Shelina Esmail Edgar; Amin Lalji; Dolar Aramshri Popat; Rumi Verjee; Sam Hirji; Tarique Ghaffur; Shiraz Aliibhai; John Halani; Sherali Najak; Rahim Jaffer, MP; Sr Ravinder Maini; Dr Tidu Maini; Mo Tejani; Karim Virani; Mahmood Mandani; Zaheer M Lakhani; Mossadiq Umedaly; Arafat Jamal; Mina Farah Jamal by Zebi Jamal; Shafque Pirani; Zaheer Lakhani; Amoun Treone; Dinesh Chavda; Dharam Ghai; Jaffer Kapasi; Peter Nazareeth; Ramesh Chotai; Amin Kassam; Amin Jaffer (“Made for Maharajas”), including additionally gun salutes and modern-day Maharajas in India; Yash Tandon; Omar Sachdeva.

572 Collected list of other Ismaili prodigals in Vancouver and some more prodigals in the UK

574 Memories of Uganda. Ramzan Mandani; Ashraff Farran, including tribute to aunt Zarina and SS Uganda; Farouk BKS Verjee; BBK Pirani; Dharam Ghai; Neela Korde; Pyaralli Baloo; Badru Gulamhussein Habib (Keshwani); Sadru Ahmed; Hoorbanu and Jameela Sidiqi;
627 **Fashion.** Sulti Hajji (Karim).

632 **Cricket Uganda.** Timeline Cricket Uganda; Abdulrasool "Guste", John Arlott, Bradman, Sachin Tendulkar; meeting Guste again (and Shirin Jamal, niece); death of Guste and tributes; Noordin Virani, including tribute by Nazim Shivji; Mohan Patel, including 4 matches; TBK; Narottam Naran; tributes to Salaudin (Nazir Awan and Sharad); Hassan Alibhai Ramji; Lara visit to Uganda - Vali Jamal; Hassan Rasool; Shashikant Patel; Bhanu Patel

659 **Other sports.** Maqsood Minhaz; Shekhar Mehta; Malkit Singh Sondh


691 **Scouts,** including tributes to Nizar Bhatia by Vali Jamal, Zuli Rajan, and Amin Chatur

697 **African entrepreneurs** - Gordon Wavamunno; CC Sembuya; Mussa Marjan.

703 **Remembering our screen and off-screen heroes.** Raj Kapoor, Nargis, Dilip Kumar; Lata Mangeshkar, Mukesh, Mohamed Rafi

707 **A tale of 4 (+1) magazines and other dramas.** The CHOGM magazine trauma, diary, including Easter 2010, morphing into a movie (The End) + screenplay - It Ain't Me Babe - the Sequel

718 **Funnies after all**

719 **Afterword - afterwards**

721 “**Death has no escape**”
How would you feel? Wouldn’t you feel bad too – and wouldn’t you want to do something about it?

Your ancestors come out of drought-stricken India, often in their mere teens, with no more than “two-books” schooling. The railway hasn’t even commenced. Some of your hardy compatriots trickle in to do fundi jobs on the railway. Many get eaten up by lions. You fan out into the interior, reaching Arua and land of the “tuk-tuks” by the time the British have not even set up their offices. You sleep on the top of shop counters, with a simple meal of kadhi-khichri and yogurt to keep going. More fundis come not far behind to attend to laying lead pipes and electrical wiring. Children fall ill every rainy season from malaria and have to leave you for the big city in search of education. You buy whatever produce the farmers bring you – cotton and coffee, but also sim sim, millets, maize – and sell back by the cupful cooking oil, by the piece candles, cigarettes, and matches, cloth by the yard and roof sheets by the square yard. In the evening you play a round of volleyball as your only diversion before going off to the prayer house. Nearer independence the local pols point a finger at you for everything that is wrong in the country, the poverty is all due to you because you exploit the people. Nationalizations follow and eventually an expulsion. All your life’s savings are wiped out. When you open history books a few years later there is nary a mention of your existence here. Of course you feel bad and if you are Asian, writer and half-way decent observer of the scene you make amends by writing about that whole episode.

This is the book. It tells the story of Asian settlement in Uganda and expulsion in their “own words” and of resilience in foreign lands and hesitant return to a country still loved. Of course not all Asians were duka-owners. There were the Punjabis who worked side-by-side with Africans on construction sites and drank together in the evenings. Goans manned an honest civil service. Parsis went into land development. Truth to tell, there never was a monolithic “Asian community” and by the time of the expulsion most of Asian wealth was generated from services and industry rather than trade. There were tycoons amongst them who were expelled too. Some had monies stashed away in foreign countries. That didn’t justify the expulsion either.

The book builds on individual stories of ordinary Asians and captains of estates and industries. It’s like the “autobiography” of a people. It will move those who were expelled and their families but also the man on the street because there is real pain here and joy in simple things of life. One thing is for sure: After this book there will never be an excuse for not knowing how it really was in Wobulenzi in 1910 and for dismissing that whole 1972 episode as “the brutal dictator Idi Amin expelled thousands of them from Uganda.”

Vali Jamal is an original Ugandan Asian, currently resident at Kampala. He was in Uganda with his family during the expulsion, collecting data for his dissertation at Stanford. He has a BA from Cambridge and PhD from Stanford. Between 1976 and 2001 he was the Senior Economist for UN-International Labour Organization and in that capacity conducted several missions to Uganda where he studied issues related to poverty and income distribution in Uganda, which were also the questions he studied for his dissertation. His return to Uganda in 2004 has enabled him to piece the recent trends in the economy. The book is informed by these background studies.

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