

Malegaon : Anti War Protest Suppressed, communal riots provoked



The Indian Express 11.11.2001

One of the pipeline breaches that sparked a water crises in the Malegaon region

A report by the joint Fact Finding Team constituted by

LOKSHAHI HAKK SANGHATANA (LHS)

and

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS (CPDR)

9th November, 2001

9th November, 2001

Suggested Contribution : **Rs. 5/-**

Printed and published by :

LOKSHAHI HAKK SANGHATANA,

on behalf of the joint fact-finding committee.

C/o. 10, Laxmi Niwas, Katrak Road, Wadala Mumbai - 400 031.

Printed at :

AMBIKA PRINTING PRESS,

Matunga Labour Camp, Mumbai - 400 019.

About Lokshahi Hakk Sanghatana (LHS)

Lokshahi Hakk Sanghatana is a democratic rights organisation that has been working in Maharashtra since 1979. It carries out investigations, propaganda, and agitations for democratic rights. It has brought out innumerable fact-finding reports on issues of repression – attacks on workers and peasants, communal riots, Government policies leading to drought, police torture, illegal closures of factories rendering thousands unemployed, repressive legislations such as TADA, POTO and so on. It also works to build up solidarity among various sections of the people against repression on any section of the people. It appeals to all democratically minded persons to join in its activities in whatever way they can.

C/o 10, Laxmi Nivas, Katrak Road,
Wadala, Mumbai 400031

About Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR)

CPDR came into existence in 1977 as a part of the outbreak against emergency. It is Bombay based not affiliated to any political party. Its aim is to create awareness among citizens of their rights, investigate cases of infringement of rights, and support the on going struggles for justice and better life. It has investigated and taken up cases of ordinary people killed in police custody, students, teachers fighting authoritarian measures, workers, peasants and tribals struggling against exploitation, slumdweller facing eviction or communal violence and the castist tyranny.

C/o. Adv. P.A. Sebastian, 104, Y.M.C.A. Hostel,
Nathalal Parekh Marg, Mumbai - 400 005.

Malegaon : Anti War Protest Suppressed, communal riots provoked

*A report by the joint Fact Finding Team
constituted by*

LOKSHAHI HAKK SANGHATANA (LHS)

and

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS (CPDR)

Terms of Reference of the Enquiry

- 1 (a) To enquire into the police firing on the 26th October 2001 in Malegaon, Nasik District, and
(b) To ascertain and record facts about the killings and injuries, loss of property following the firing and to ascertain the cause of the subsequent riots
- 2 To record the local context of the incident, to gauge the sentiments of the people of the area, to investigate the forces at work in Malegaon, and to place all these in the context of the politics at the state and national level at this point in time
- 3 To review and record the State's response to the incident and the response of the people

The team visited the riot affected areas of Malegaon and the Farhan Hospital, the relief camps in Satana town, the affected nearby villages of Patne, Ajang, Wadner (Khakhurdi), Nampur, Talavde and Antapur

The team met and interviewed the following persons: the victims of police firing and of attacks by communal organisations, the families of those killed in the police firing, the families of Khalil Ahmed Mohammed Sayyed and Babu Bachhav, who were both murdered in the communal riots, Mufti Mohammed Ismael, the Imam of Jama Masjid, Rashid Sheikh, the Congress MLA of Malegaon, Ashok Somnath Mistry, a second level leader of the Shiv Sena and the Jaanta Raja of Malegaon, Haroon B A, Editor of an Urdu weekly called 'Bebaak' (Fearless) and a former CPI Municipal Councillor of Malegaon, Mr Rajvardhan, the Additional Superintendent of Police, Sheikh Rashid Quadri, Editor of a local Urdu daily called Roznama, Ijaz Baig Aziz Baig, the President of the Malegaon Municipality, Altaf Kader Sheikh, a Municipal Councillor of Satana who runs the relief camp there, local journalists, politicians and social workers

Members

Vijay Hiremath, Advocate, Kannan Srinivasan, researcher, Sakhambar Sathe, Jennifer Coutinho, members, CPDR, Sanobar Keshwaar, Angel Mary, members, LHS

I. About Malegaon

Malegaon, in the Nasik District of Maharashtra, is one of the 3 main powerloom towns in the state. It is famous for its lungis and coloured saris. It grew in the late 19th Century when large numbers of Muslim weavers fled here from North India to escape the repression unleashed by the British in the aftermath of the First War of Indian Independence in 1857. They settled here and at Bhiwandi, the other town on the Agra Road, and over time these two towns became powerloom centres. Malegaon has a population of over 6.5 lakhs of which over 70% are Muslims. Malegaon Camp and Sangameshwar are the only areas where the dominant population is Hindu. Most of the Muslims of Malegaon are Ansari Muslims — descendants of the weavers who settled here long ago — and they still have links with their original homeland, now in Uttar Pradesh. They mainly speak Urdu. The rest are local Maharashtrians called Dakhani Muslims (i.e. from the Deccan) who mainly speak Marathi. There is amity between both these sections of Muslims though, however, there is no intermarriage between them.

Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat's Address to the LHS-CPDR Press Conference at Mumbai on November 9th, 2001.

(Extracts)

"The background of people in Malegaon is that they were invited by Rani Ahilyabai Holkar to settle down in the area; more came after 1857 as they were fugitives of British oppression. The part played by a small weaver town like Malegaon during the freedom struggle. No less than eleven Muslims were sent to the gallows by the British and more than 20 died in jails due to the unhygienic conditions there. It is perhaps the only major town in India which celebrates Independence Day with a meeting of thousands of people in a most peaceful manner well past midnight and so it was on 15th August, 20001 when 20,000 people gathered and three or four sleepy policemen sat around who could well have sat in the thana.

If there was any intention to create a riot, surely the minority community in Malegaon would have been wiped out on the basis of sheer numbers.

The issue that arises is what is to be done with the completely communalized police force like the PAC in Uttar Pradesh which violates the law and shoots to kill.

The urgent question before the secular parties that have formed the government is how do they weed out and retire the communal and Sena-affiliated members of the police force. If this is not done, they will be shedding only crocodile tears over the killing of the people and destruction of their property."

Ninety per cent of the powerlooms in Malegaon are owned by Ansari Muslims, but the loom workers are mainly Dakhani Muslims and Hindus from nearby villages such as Soyegaon and Dyanegaon. There are no unions of the workers in evidence here, though the Janta Dal (Secular) leader, Nihal Ahmed, has organised them in the past. The traders in Malegaon are mostly Marwaris and Gujaratis: they supply the raw materials to the loom owners and then buy the finished product from them. *Trade relations between Hindus and Muslims are normally cordial and based on mutual trust and are sustained by verbal deals only.*

Malegaon has a medical college called the Mansura Medical College which trains doctors in Unani medicine. There is also a school here where Maulanas are given religious training

The Union Home Ministry, expressing a strong bias, has long ago described Malegaon as an "ultra-sensitive" spot, mainly because of its large Muslim population. Some residents said that the atmosphere here is always tense, and small skirmishes sometimes take place. The absence of any worthwhile social, recreational or democratic activities for the citizens is one major reason pointed out for the vulnerability of the situation.

"Till 26th October, 2001, there was lots of mohabbat and vishwas between Hindus and Muslims. The 'wagh' in the Moharrum processions used to be a Hindu. A few kilometres outside Malegaon on the national highway is a dargah where the Mujawar (caretaker) is a Hindu named Balu. No one wants a riot here...this is the truth. This has happened because of the rise of the Shiv Sena here and their police backers."

— *Sajjid Ali, a worker of Malegaon*

II. Background to the riot

The tension in Malegaon has been building up for the last many months. Early this year, the Muslim sentiments were hurt over the incident of the burning of the Koran in Delhi. Then a liquor bottle was thrown into a local masjid by certain communal elements in an attempt to provoke a riot. A quarrel between a Hindu girl and a Muslim boy of Karajgaon was falsely reported as a rape which was later proved to be a fabricated false rumour spread by communal elements. The killing of innocent citizens by the bombing of Afghanistan by the US and Britain has angered the local Muslim community, as it has all democratic-minded people all over India and the world.

Nihal Ahmed led a morcha on October 19th, 2001, to protest against the war — the processionists were arrested, but later released by the police. This sparked rumours all over the city that all Muslims were supporters of Osama bin Laden and, therefore, of terrorism. All these incidents reinforced the stereotype image of Muslims as terrorists and anti-nationals in the minds of

common Hindus on the one hand; and created, on the other hand, in the minds of common Muslims, a sense of being wronged and persecuted unfairly.

Generally deteriorating economic conditions have also raised levels of stress for residents here. The powerloom industry has been in recession for the last 5 months with only 50% of the looms operating. Most of the cloth woven here sells in the northern states of Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Orissa. Due to floods and drought in these areas, the demand for cloth has fallen drastically. As a result, the powerlooms work only three to four days a week. Hence, powerloom owners and workers alike are adversely affected. Further, thanks to Enron, the electricity rates had risen steeply — reportedly by 300% in the last 8 months! This too badly affected the economy as whole. The situation was slated to improve slightly, with an increase for demand for cloth with the incoming festival period of Dassera, Diwali and Ramzan, when the riots took place. Now, people say, the economy has been set back by many months. People are out of jobs, youth cannot find employment and everything is getting dearer. Mr Rajvardhan, the Additional Superintendent of Police, opined that *"The economic problem has created a schism between Hindus and Muslims —each feels that the other is somehow responsible for their economic downslide."*

It is in this context that we must see the events which sparked off the riots in Malegaon city

III. Sequence of Events

"The problem which led to the disturbances was essentially one of the police versus the Muslims, not Hindus versus Muslims."

— Imam of Jama Masjid

Events in Malegaon were really sparked off by the suppression by the SRP (state reserve police) and the police of a legitimate anti-war protest by local Muslims. The anti-Muslim sentiment in these state forces manifested itself in unwarranted lathi-charges and the consequent firings which killed many innocent Muslims. We have tried to reconstruct the events below from versions given by eyewitnesses, victims of the firing and the police.

After Nihal Ahmed's morcha on October 19th, an SRP van was stationed outside the Jama Masjid (the biggest masjid in Malegaon) for the Friday prayers. At 2.15 p.m. on 26th October (Friday), when people were coming out of the Jama Masjid after the Juma prayers, a young man started distributing pamphlets in Urdu entitled *"Be Indian, Buy Indian"* which exhorted Indians to boycott American and British products in protest against the bombing of Afghanistan. (Even Mr. Rajvardhan, Additional Superintendent of Police, said he found nothing objectionable in the pamphlet whatsoever.) An SRP constable grabbed a pamphlet from the distributor, tore it up and assaulted the man. The SRP

constables then arrested the pamphleteer and dragged him towards the van. This angered the crowd who immediately rushed to get him released.

Hearing the commotion, the Imam of the Jama Masjid, Mufti Mohammed Ismael, rushed out of the Masjid and tried to disperse the crowd around the SRP van. He was soon joined by Suresh Ahire, the Superintendent of Police, R.K. Rathod, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and Sheikh Rashid, the Congress MLA of Malegaon. The moment Sheikh Rashid arrived on the spot, however, a section of the crowd started shouting and clamouring for him to go back and became restive. They managed to get the pamphleteer released from the clutches of the police. In the melee, part of a Navratri pandal, which had been put up near the Masjid also got damaged. The police then lathi-charged the crowd and chased them out of the Jama Masjid area. The police kept lathi-charging and pushing them back.

It is reported that no sooner had the crowd been chased out of the Jama Masjid area by the police than a huge group of Hindus led by Dada Bhuse (the chief of the Shiv Sena-spawned outfit called Jaanta Raja) arrived on the scene and held a demonstration to protest the damaging of the Navratri pandal by the Muslims. Soon thereafter, this crowd moved towards the Sangameshwar masjid, destroying Muslims' shops in front of it. Their numbers swelled as they went along leaving a trail of selective destruction in their path.

In the meanwhile, the police continued the lathi-charge on the gathering and drove them towards the Kidwai Road and Mohammed Ali Road area — which is the main Bazaar area of Malegaon city and is about half a kilometre away from the Jama Masjid. As Friday was Bazaar day in Malegaon, the gathering from the prayer was joined here by hundreds of people who had come to shop in the bazaar.

First Police Firing - 3.45 p.m.

According to the findings of the team, the stone throwing by certain elements in reaction to the persistent and brutal lathi charge provided an excuse for the police to open fire at this point. They fired a total of 35 rounds, leaving three dead and 10 injured. One bullet pierced Bilkees Bano (52 years) in the chest while she was hanging out her washing on the first floor balcony of her house on Mohammed Ali Road. She died in hospital soon thereafter.

Ijaz Baig Aziz Baig, the President of the Malegaon Municipality, was witness to the police firing. He saw a young man on the street, later identified as Mohammed Ibrahim Abdul Khaliq, get shot in the head and immediately slump to the ground. Whilst people were running helter-skelter, another young man came to pick up the bleeding Ibrahim but he too was shot down. This young man was identified later as Shafique Azizullah, 23 years, a vendor of ready

made garments. The police did not bother to pick up the dead and injured and take them to hospital. It was the people who did this.

According to Baig, the Tehsildar, Mr. Sapkale, and the SP, Mr. Suresh Ahire were present on the spot at the time of the firing.

According to the police, a section of the crowd torched the Gupta Dairy shop on Mohammed Ali Road after bringing out all the property from inside the shop and burning it on the street. This action of certain elements in the crowd has been shown as the justification for opening fire by the police.

"There was no need to fire," said Sheikh Rashid, the MLA for Malegaon, "the police could have very well have dispersed the crowd with tear gas or rubber bullets. And how could there have been so much stone throwing? Where did these stones come from? Kidwai Road and Mohammed Ali Road are completely paved."

"This was not a Hindu-Muslim riot... it was a political riot. Here the people, whether Hindu or Muslim, do not want a riot, only the political party leaders want it especially since the Municipal elections were slated for 2nd December. Certain political parties are behind the rioting — the Shiv Sena and the Janta Dal (S)," asserts Sheikh Rashid emphatically. "They wanted to malign our Chief Minister who is a Congressman. Further, the rural areas here have always voted for Congress for the last 50 years. The Shiv Sena wanted to change all this and control the politics in the villages. With the riots and the subsequent polarization of the populace, the Janta Dal and the Shiv Sena stand to gain. I know it for a fact that Nihal Ahmed had a meeting in Suresh Gawli's house 2 months ago. And just 3 weeks ago, the JD and the Shiv Sena combined together against the Congress—the whole public knows this. On 10th October, in the election for the post of the President of the Municipal Council, the JD candidate, Raju Bhosle, was supported by Suresh Gawli and the Shiv Sena. But of course, the Congress candidate won."

"Also, the elections in U.P. are coming up. 50% and more of the Muslims of Malegaon are from U.P. ... so what happens here will get reflected in U.P. too."

Haroon B.A. was of the opinion that Sheikh Rashid was trying to keep the peace in the city, "because if there is a riot, the the Congress and Sheikh Rashid will lose face. But Nihal Ahmed wanted the opposite. The Shiv Sena and the BJP took advantage of this situation."

The news that three people had been killed in the police firing and several others wounded spread like wildfire and the Muslim populace got incensed. Consequent to this, the Imams of all the masjids in Malegaon began to call the *azaan* beginning that evening right through the night. This is a practice in times of emergency to give succour to the people, as in time of floods, earthquakes, etc.

Second Police Firing

The police opened fire yet again on Friday night in the Azad Nagar area. They claim they were challenged by a stone-throwing mob of Muslims. Thirty-two rounds were fired here leaving two young men killed. One of the victims was Mohammed Salim Shahadat Hussain, a loomworker of 25, who is survived by a young wife and two infant children. The other victim was also a 22-year-old loomworker named Rafique Shah Hamid Shah, who was the only breadwinner of his family. Bullets hit three more youth but they survived.

Third Police Firing

On Sunday, 28th of October, the police opened fire once more near the Mira Datar Dargah in the early evening at 4 30 p.m. A police van came to be stationed next to the dargah and a nearby masjid and someone spread the rumour in the surrounding slums that the police had come to destroy the masjid. This rumour was believed because some other masjids had been desecrated in the past two days. So hundreds of people collected and went towards the dargah and masjid to protect it from destruction. The police called for more force and another van arrived on the spot and started firing into the crowd. 24 rounds were fired killing two men. One of the victims was Ahmed Khan Murad Khan, a 22 year old stove repairer, who was hit in the chest and died on the spot. The other victim was Sheikh Riyaz Sheikh Safiuddin, a 17 year old loomworker, who also was shot in the chest and died later in the Farhan Hospital.

IV. Systematic and selective destruction of property

On Friday itself a Hindu mob completely destroyed one of the bigger powerloom units in Malegaon, the Diamond Mill, and all the small houses of people in the compound. This powerloom unit was owned by Haji Zahir Ahmed and Salik Rizvi and employed 300 loom workers. They also damaged the masjid in the Diamond Mill compound and burnt down all the vehicles parked there.

On Friday at 6 p.m., the A1 Bakery, owned by Mohammedbhai Kutchi, was burnt down. The damage to this and another bakery is estimated the damage to be 20 lakhs. A large warehouse was destroyed on the Old Agra Road, a lorry and a forklift truck were also burnt down within its compound. The Proprietor, Mohammed Ibrahim Mohammed Yasim estimates the damage to amount to Rupees 25 - 30 lakhs.

The team visited the Paltan Masjid in the Camp area which has been severely damaged due to arson committed around 6 p.m. on Friday 26th. There is a police chowkey just outside the Masjid. The minarets and the speakers which are used to call the *azaan* have been damaged.

The team visited the Apni bakery in Malegaon Camp which was burnt down. At the Mohammed Baug Bada Kabrastan in Camp which the team visited, the team saw twelve graves smashed up and the main building severely damaged by fire. Workers say that this was done by a mob shouting "Jai Bhavani". The team met Abdul Jalil Ghulam Mohammed who owns an industrial unit in the MIDC area of Malegaon called Jain Plastics which manufactures agricultural pipes. Jalil said that he had bought this unit just a year ago. On Sunday, 28th October, 2001 at around 10.30 p.m. during the curfew a mob came and burnt down the unit along with another unit nearby owned by another Muslim called Sajjid Mortani. The damage at Jain Plastics has been estimated as Rupees sixteen lakhs.

The mob threw the watchman out of the premises and then proceeded to destroy two machines and all the raw material in the units. The unit is now completely unworkable. Jalil said that all the telephone lines in the area had been cut by 26th October night.

Azamuddin Mohiuddin Sheikh owns a tea shop near Soygaon Naka. He says, "I used to feel safe to stay in a Hindu area till today". On Friday night (26th October) a mob of 500 people looted his shop and burnt it down. When he phoned the police for help, they told him not to worry, their men were patrolling the area. Azamuddin also owns the Ambaji Saw Mill along with a Hindu partner. The mob came there too, forced his Hindu partner on pain of death to take out Azamuddin's share of the wood out on the street and then burnt it all.

The Masala Bazaar and the Fruit Bazaar, which are adjacent to each other, were completely gutted on Friday night (26th October). An Hindu trader known as Vani, whose brother is a local leader of the Shiv Sena, loaded all his goods in a truck and took them away to safety just moments before the bazaar was torched by rioters.

The team also visited the Navkiran Powerloom Co-operative in Dyane village on the outskirts of Malegaon headed by Nimba Kadam, where extensive damage was done by what observers claim was a Muslim mob. The extent of the damage is estimated at Rupees sixty lakhs, which includes a pre-powerloom processing unit. About thirty lakhs was insured. The team also visited Datta Mandir at Dyane which was damaged by rioters.

The Police estimate that in Malegaon town the total loss amounted to thirteen crore eighteen lakh one thousand six hundred and eighty four rupees.

The police and everyone the team spoke to admitted that most of the property destroyed and looted belonged to Muslims.

The water pipeline supplying water from the Talwade Dam to Malegaon town passes through the villages of Soygaon and Dabhade, which lie on the outskirts of Malegaon. The inhabitants of these villages are predominantly Hindu. The people of these villages allegedly breached the pipe-

line in a number of places with the result that Malegaon town had to go without water, especially drinking water, for nine days from 27th October to 5th November 2001.

Arrests :

The team was informed that in all about 400 Muslims had been arrested and 300 non-Muslims, both in Malegaon and the rural areas. Out of those arrested, 90 had been charged under S. 302 of the IPC (murder) when only three persons had actually been murdered by rioters.

Relief Camps :

Baig told the team that about 4,000 Muslims from Hindu dominated areas were rescued and brought to the make shift relief camps set up at the Sheikh Usman High School, the Maniar Jamaatkhana, the Munira Madrassa and at Yunus Isa's house (Isa was a former president of the Municipal Council). Baig said that Muslims from these relief camps were able to return home after five days

The ones who survived the firings

At Farhan Hospital, the team met Rizwan Ahmed Iqbal Ahmed, 23 years, who had gone to buy clothes on Kidwai Road and was shot in the leg by the police. Saeed Ahmed Saeed Kader, 22 years, a hotel worker, was not able to speak. He was hit in the right hand and in the stomach whilst he was passing by on Mohammed Ali Road. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, 23, powerloom worker, was shot in the foot and, as a result, his leg has been amputated. Ashfaque Ahmed Abdul Khalil, 17 years, had gone shopping to Kidwai Road to buy provisions for his mother when he was shot through the lung. Mohammed Farooq Abdul Jabar, 39 years old, a powerloom worker, had gone to collect his weekly salary when he was shot in the stomach. Abdul Hamid Khan Abdul Khalil Khan, a young boy, was shot in the head on Friday night. Irfan Amin Mohammed Amin, 17 years, a pan shop worker, was shot in the right thigh whilst at Kidwai Road. Mohammed Ibrahim Mukhtar Iqbal, 18 years, loom worker, was shot in the left arm on Sunday, 28th in the maidan in the Mira Datar Dargah area. The team also interviewed Dr Sayyid Ahmed Farhani, the head of the hospital. He confirmed the list of the injured in the police firing and the riot.

V. Murders during the riots

Apart from the twelve people killed in police firing, three people, one Hindu and two Muslims, were murdered in the midst of the riots.

On Friday 26th October, at around 9 p.m., the mob that destroyed the houses and powerloom unit in Diamond Mill compound, stabbed to death a former Municipal Councillor named Khalil Ahmed Haji Mohammed Saeed right there. Khalil Ahmed was a much loved and much respected local leader and was 47 years old. He was stabbed whilst he was trying to reason with the crowd not to destroy the masjid which is situated in the compound and where he had just offered evening prayers. His murder was witnessed by his brother, Jalil, who himself too was attacked but survived. Jalil, in his statement to the police, implicated Dada Bhuse and a former Shiv Sena councillor named Suresh Gawli, in the murder of his brother.

On Friday itself, a middle aged Hindu rickshaw driver named Bapu Bacchav was murdered at Kalikutti sometime in the night. Bacchav used to live in the predominantly Hindu area of Sriram Nagar (which is a Shiv Sena stronghold) and was a former vice-President of the Shiv Sena in Malegaon town. According to his mother, the people of his area came to him armed with sticks on Friday night and asked him to lead them to fight with a mob of Muslims who had amassed on the other side of the river behind their colony. Just as the Sriram Nagar mob was crossing the river to take on the Muslims, SP Ahire arrived on the spot and fired in the air to disperse the crowd. Everyone then rushed back to their homes except for Bapu Bacchav. When he did not return, people began searching for him and found his dead body at Kalikutti nearby — he had been killed by a sword wound on his head. There were rumors around in Malegaon that Bapu Bacchav's death is the result of certain internal rivalry in Shiv Sena and has nothing to do with the riot.

The third person to be killed in the rioting was a 60 year old Muslim truck driver by the name of Sheikh Isaq Sheikh Kader. He was beaten to death with lathis on the highway and succumbed to his injuries in Farhan Hospital.

VI. The role of the police

That the prejudice of the police against Muslims in general can take a very dangerous and destructive turn was evidenced in the Bombay riots of 1992-93 and well documented in the reports by independent bodies as well as the Srikrishna Commission. That public condemnation and criminal prosecution (albeit delayed and half-hearted) have not dimmed the police's hatred of Muslims can be seen in their behaviour in Malegaon.

1. Most people of Malegaon whom we interviewed feel that had the SRP not suppressed the distribution of the pamphlet, and had the police not resorted to a brutal lathi charge in response to the demand of the crowd to release the arrested pamphleteer, subsequent events would not have taken place. In people's minds, it was ultimately the shooting at Mohammed Ali Road and Kidwai Road which triggered the rioting.
2. There were incidents of arson and looting of shops and houses over the three days of rioting. However, visits to the affected areas revealed the fact that most of the property destroyed was that of Muslims. This fact was also corroborated by the police. But all those who died in police firing are Muslims, without a single exception. When the team asked Mr. Rajvardhan to explain why the police did not stop the rioters under the banner of Jaanta Raja, he could not offer any explanation.
3. Many Muslims we met said that when they rang up the police station for help when their property was being destroyed, the policeman would ask them their names and, on hearing that they were Muslims, promptly put the phone down. If at all they answered, they replied that they could not help due to lack of force.
4. There are two blood banks in Malegaon - one called the Ansar Blood Bank which is in a Muslim locality and the other is Bhavsar's Blood Bank which is in a Hindu locality. The Ansar Blood Bank is open 24 hours, but was compelled to close down for two full days during the riots when its services were needed the most. Around midnight on Friday the 26th, the police arrested Dr. Riyaz who was running the bank on the night shift and took him away. As curfew was clamped, the other doctor in charge could not come to take his place, with the result that no blood was available for those wounded and dying in the police firing. When questioned about Dr. Riyaz's arrest, the police stated that they arrested him because he had given a speech in the past instigating Muslim youth. It was only after two public-spirited citizens took the initiative and made a curfew pass for Dr. Haroon, the other doctor who also works at the blood bank, that the blood bank started functioning again.
5. Several shops of Muslims right outside and next to the Chawni Police Station have been completely gutted. This is a strange sight as one expects

that the police should normally take prompt action against any arson, at least in their own backyard. Here is an evident case for disciplinary action against the concerned policemen.

- 6 Some Muslims who had lost their shops in the arson and looting complained that even though policemen were present on the scene, they did not lift a finger to stop the destruction from taking place.
- 7 None of the bodies of the people who died in the police firing were picked up by the police. It was left to the public to do so.

VII. Attacks in the villages sparked by wild rumours

There is no history of communal clashes ever having taken place in the villages around Malegaon. The people in the villages also do not recall any communal clashes at all. Muslims are a minority in the villages of Malegaon taluka and the other nearby talukas such as Satana, Kalvan and Deola. There are as many as 35 to as little as two families of Muslims in these villages. The attacks in the villages have been solely on the Muslim community.

From 27th October onwards, mobs of around 500 Hindu youth led by the Shiv Sena and Jaanta Raja leaders went on a looting and burning spree from village to village. People were mobilized by the spread of vicious rumours such as the following: that Muslims had molested, raped and disfigured Hindu women in Malegaon and inscribed the name of Osama bin Laden on their bodies; that Muslims had destroyed mandirs and killed a pujari. These rumours were totally false and fabricated and no evidence was found in their support. Additional S P Mr. Rajvardhan categorically stated that no such incidents of rape or molestation or disfigurement had taken place, nor had any pujari been killed. No complaints of such incidents have been filed with the police. (Additional S P Mr. Rajvardhan informed the team that he had briefed Mr. Narayan Rane, the former Shiv Sena Chief Minister of Maharashtra when he had come to Malegaon about how such rumours were absolutely false, yet Mr. Rane had no compunctions in affirming these incidents as true in a subsequent press conference held by him in Mumbai, as is evident from newsreports about the said conference.)

The role of Vaartaahaar

These rumours, according to the villagers interviewed and Mr. Rajvardhan, were spread by some people who travelled from village to village in a vehicle and distributed thousands of copies of the issue dated 28th October 2001 of the Marathi newspaper called **Vaartaahaar**. The contents of this issue are infamatory, to put it mildly. The banner headline, printed in reverse, reads: "Laden-type terrorism in Malegaon! Bomb blast in Hanuman Mandir, priest killed! Hindu women raped". It is reported that a bomb was set off by Muslim anti-social elements in

a Hanuman mandir in Someshwar and they also killed a priest. The report further reads that in Muslim-dominated bastis, helpless Hindu women were raped by Muslim anti-social elements. The same issue of the paper also reports that to date eleven people had been killed in Malegaon, 5 in police firing and 6 in stabbing incidents during the communal riots. The team found that though a Hanuman mandir had indeed been damaged in the Someshwar area and an idol therein desecrated, there had been no bomb blast there. The police and the people the team met were not able to provide any evidence of the rape of Hindu women and denied it altogether. As for six people having been murdered in the communal clashes, only two have altogether died in such circumstances during the whole turbulent period (the rest have been killed in police firing). The Editorial of the above issue of the Vaartaahaar is entitled "Enough of fondling, now it must be plucked out!" (referring to the beards of Muslims, no doubt). The editorial decries how Muslims have been tolerated for so long and how the Congress government in the state is pampering them because they are a vote bank, etc. Rumours had anyways been spread far and wide in the villages of impending attacks by Malegaon's Muslims, and in peoples' minds they were confirmed to be true because they were reported so in a newspaper like Vaartaahaar. Such rumours were also reportedly spread by villagers who were returning home from the Friday Bazaar at Malegaon and who had to suffer a lot of inconvenience due to the curfew and the rioting.

People also told the team that one Dr. Surana, the President of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad of Deola Taluka, had addressed a public meeting in Deola on 29th October where he gave a provocative speech describing how Muslims had mutilated Hindu women in the name of Osama bin Laden.

Such inflammatory rumours and false stories played an effective role in mobilising unemployed Hindu youth to join in the attacks on Muslims led by the Jaanta Raja and Shiv Sena rioters. As Haji Hassan Raj Mohammed of Patne village (whose house was destroyed and burnt), put it, "This is the work of the younger generation, the older generation is not involved in these attacks."

The mob would descend on the village shouting slogans like "Jai Bhavan!" and "Jai Shivaji" armed with petrol cans, swords and lathis. Local recruits would identify houses of Muslims which would then be surrounded and threatened. The Muslims inside would be permitted to slip away to safety from the back door and after that, the mob would loot the house, taking whatever jewelry and cash they could find, smash the TV if there was one, take away all the stored grain, and then burn any vehicle the family owned. Furniture and other possessions were either brought out into the street and burnt or were destroyed in the house itself. Haroon B.A. informed the team that the Jaanta Raja's slogan was in fact something like this: "Maaro mat, lootoo, jalaaoo, maal barbaad karo ... to ve bhaag jaye!" "They want to destroy the Muslims economically," he said.

Patne village, Malegaon district

There are about 25 Muslims families in this village. Here eight houses of Muslims have been burnt and the rest of the Muslim's houses have been looted. All the Muslims have fled the village and had not returned when we visited the village on 5th November 2001. The team members met Haji Hassan Raj Mohammed, 50 years, who was visiting the village for the first time after the attacks. He broke down whilst showing us around his burnt and damaged house. The vessels were strewn around smashed beyond shape, the clothes had been burnt to cinders, the mounds of bajra in the storage room of his house had been burnt beyond use. "We heard that police had fired on the people in Malegaon on the 26th. The next day six police constables were posted in our village as a result. On 28th at midnight, a dozen boys of the village, armed with mashaals and petrol cans, surrounded my house, shouting "Jai Bhawani! Jai Shivaji! Inko Maro ! Inko Kaato!" My whole family — my wife, two daughters, 5 sons, 3 daughters-in-law and nine grandchildren — were petrified. We escaped from the back to my brother's house some distance away. The mob chased us but we were saved by the arrival of the locally posted police to the spot. I heard from my neighbours that on Monday morning , the mob came, thistime in numbers swelling to more than 500, and looted my house . they have taken cash from my cupboard worth rupees one lakh twenty-two thousand, clothes, utensils, 25 tolas of gold.....they burnt four two-wheelers my family owned- a Hero Honda, a Rajdoot and two M-80s. I heard these boys came from a nearby village — Mungsa.

"I escaped with my family members at 4 a.m. on Monday morning to Malegaon in a Trax van owned by a Hindu friend of mine. I was helped my Hindu friends - Tukaram Devchand and Nana Ramchandra."

The mob also severely damaged the masjid in the village. One of the four walls of the masjid has been brought down completely, the Koran has been burnt. Shops owned by Muslims were also burnt in this village.

The villagers the team met and spoke to mostly said they did not know who took part in the attacks, but were at the same time, certain that they had all come from outside their village. Here there was a strong anti-police sentiment because 25 youth from the village have been picked up and had not been released till then.

Ajangwade village, Malegaon district

The population of this village is nearly 6000 and there are about 20 Muslim families staying here. All their houses were looted and burnt and all of them have fled the village and most of them had not returned to their homes till 6th November.

The team spoke to the sarpanch of this village, Shravan Sukhdev Ahire, and other villagers.

They spoke about how wild malicious rumors had been spreading throughout the village since 27th night — that in Malegaon Muslims had slit the stomach of a pregnant Hindu woman and yanked out the fetus and then displayed it on the tip of a sword.

The villagers informed the team that the attacks took place here on 27th October 2001 at about 9.30 p.m.. A mob of around 500 outsiders descended on the village and was joined by some local youth. They started looting and burning the houses of the Muslims, all the while shouting "Jai Bhawani! Jai Shivaji!" A grocery store, which was owned by a Muslim named Habib Bade Miya was also burnt.

The team interviewed two victims of the attacks. One was Mehboob Atar whose house made of concrete slate was looted and his utensils were smashed beyond use. His cupboard too was burnt. An elderly Muslim man named Salihi Ali Noor Ali Sayyed told us, " My wife and I work as hamaals in the bazaar. My daughter-in-law was inside the house when the mob attacked. She escaped from the back door and ran towards the river nearby. The Rs.30,000 we had somehow collected with great difficulty for my son's operation was stolen by the attackers. Our neighbours gave us shelter for the night. "

The team met a gutsy young woman in her early 30s who had given shelter to her Muslim neighbours and protected them from the attackers. She said that when she went out and tried to stop the mob from burning and looting her neighbours' houses, they threatened to stab her and forced her to move away.

The villagers informed the team that the police arrived on the scene only after the burning and looting had taken place. They have arrested 5 persons from this village. Of these youth, two are member sof the Shiv Sena, two belong to the Congress and one is from the Nationalist Congress Party. The first to be arrested were the Shiv Sainiks - Anil Jadhav and Bhika Chauhan – who then revealed the names of the other attackers. The Jaanta Raja Mitra Mandal has a shakha in this village and all their activists are absconding.

The sarpanch informed the team that a Peace committee had been formed in this village on the 4th of November and that he had taken it upon himself to see that such attacks did not take place again in the future.

Wadner (Khakhurdi) village, Malegaon taluka

Here the attacks took place on 27th October at about 2.30 p.m and the modus operandi was the same : a mob of about 300 people descended on the village shouting "Jai Bhawani , Jai Shivaji!" and looted and burnt some out of the 10 to 12 Muslim houses in the village. The local masjid was also damaged by arson and, as a result, the Koran kept inside was also burnt.

The president of the local Jaanta Raja shakha of this village is a Muslim youth named Sheikh Ashfaq, but he too was not spared by the attackers : his house too was burnt PHOTO OF JAANTA RAJA SHAKHA IS FROM THIS VILLAGE. The team spoke to his neighbour, Laxman Sonawane, who said Sheikh came from a family of masons. Sonawane and others had offered to help the Sheikh family rebuild their house but none of the Muslims had returned so far to the village.

Here too the Hindus had helped their Muslim neighbours by giving them shelter and later helping them to move to safety. Some poor Muslims whose houses have not been burnt are still staying in the village.

Nampur village, Malegaon taluka

This is a huge village having a population of over 10,000 people of which 35% are Muslims. It has a burgeoning trader community and is the main bazaar centre for many goods. This village is surrounded by over 50 small hamlets. The relations between Hindus and Muslims here have always been warm and cordial.

The original Muslim inhabitants of this village were not attacked by the marauding mob. They focused their attacks on 15 Muslim families who have settled here relatively recently, since about 15 years. These Muslims are labourers on the farms nearby or construction workers and live on the outskirts of Nampur village in a slum-like colony named Indira Nagar. Their neighbours are tribals like Pardhis and Bhils.

The attack here took place on Tuesday, 30th October, 2001 at around 5 p.m., after the mob had finished with the village of Wadner. The villagers interviewed told the team that the mob came shouting slogans like "Jo bhi bahargaon ke hai, use nikaal do! Todo, maro Mussalmano ko !" On seeing the approaching mob, the Muslims of Indira Nagar ran for their lives to take refuge in a jungle nearby. The mob was armed with large sticks or dandas. Two women, Sabiha Moosa Saeed (who is 6 months' pregnant) and Shugrahi Raju Saeed were alone in the house when the attackers came. They were chased away by the attackers who outpaced them and beat them black and blue with sticks. The team met these two young women and observed that their bodies were still bruised and swollen from the beating.

The mob burnt seven houses and took out furniture, suitcases, cycles, clothes, utensils and other property from the other houses and burnt all these things outside in the street. Whatever little gold jewelry and cash was kept in the houses of the Muslims, as well as the stored grain (mainly bajra) was looted by the mob. A kufli manufacturing unit belonging to one Shafiq Shah Hassan Shah was burnt so also a bakery and a poultry unit owned by Muslims. A tractor belonging to one Sattarkhan was also burnt. One Shafiq Musa, a musi-

cian who plays the dhol-tasha and other instruments for which he had taken loans to purchase, was heartbroken to see his musical instruments burnt and vandalised

The mob also burnt down the Anjuman Madrassa where 150 Muslim boys were studying. Trunks containing religious books were also burnt.

Antapur village, Malegaon taluka

The attacks in this village took place at midnight on 28th October 2001. A mob of about 1000 people shouting filthy communal abusive foul language attacked about 100 houses of Muslims here and dispersed only after the SRP stationed here fired 3 rounds in the air. Some of the Muslims of this village are very well to do and the richest man here, one Isaq Seth, is rumoured to be the wealthiest man. The attackers burned two of his trucks and two motorcycles.

Since 1973, there has been a running feud between the Hindus and Muslims of this village over a shrine called the Dawal Maalik Dargah situated on a nearby hill. The Muslims claim that it is the shrine of a Sufi saint called Dawal Maalik whilst the Hindus claim that it is the Navnath Mandir built by Shri Dawal Malikdas. Both Hindus and Muslims flock to the dargah every Thursday to offer prayers and donate money, etc. Hence this shrine makes big collections weekly and is a bone of contention. In 1986, the Charity commissioner hearing the dispute ordered that the status quo as regards the character of this structure should be maintained, i.e. it should be maintained as a dargah for the time being. The SRP has been called out here on five different occasions to contain the communal tension over this structure.

Rumours played a crucial role in fomenting the attacks in this village. One rumour said that it was reported in the papers that the Antapur masjid had been demolished and the Maulana killed. The Hindus were provoked by rumours that Muslims from Malegaon were coming to attack the Hindus here.

Communal gangs have played the communal feelings up here amongst the common people. A Hindu man called Dhondur Mankar told the team: "Why is it that a secular country like ours always backs these Muslims? It is the Muslims who always start the communal riots here and the outside powers want it that way. Muslims must learn to be secular and patriotic." 70 people have been arrested so far, of which the majority are Muslims.

Talawade village, Malegaon taluka

The attacks here took place on 28th October at about 9 p.m. wild rumours had been afloat here since 27th itself that Muslims of Malegaon had stripped and raped some Hindu women. The sarpanch of this village, Ramesh Pawar, in-

formed the team that a mob of about 400 people from outside the village attacked and damaged, burnt and looted 51 houses of Muslims in the village. He estimated the loss to be in the region of Rupees twelve lakhs. The water pump which supplied water to Sheikh Isaq Dagdu's 3 acre farm was burnt down. A young Muslim woman who fled to the nearby jungle when the attacks took place was rumoured to have given birth prematurely in hiding.

This village is mainly populated by Marathas and dhangars (shepherds). Some of them pointedly told the team: "He Mussalman... janmaala bharataat, rahayala bharataat, khayala bharataat aani Afghanistan baddal prem ka? Afghanistan yaana gheil ka?" (These Muslims... they are born in India, they live here and they eat here... then why this love for Afghanistan? Will Afghanistan give them refuge?)

As the 26th of October being a Friday, it was Bazaar day in Malegaon and many people from this village had gone there. They suffered a lot because of the riots and came back to the village with great anger against Muslims. One of the villagers named Sanjay Pawar told the team, "In Malegaon, the Muslims always begin a riot on Fridays and because of this we always have to suffer. So this time our people have taught them a lesson by attacking their brethren in the villages so that next time they will not dare to riot in Malegaon."

17 youth were arrested from this village for participating in the attacks. Some SRP men have been stationed here since. On 5th November, 2001, a Bandh had been called in this village to protest the arrest of these 17 boys. Most of the Muslims who were attacked had not returned to the village when the team visited. In fact, the team met some of Talawade's residents in the Relief Camp at Satana - they were feeling very insecure and vulnerable to return to their village. Some even told us they had decided to leave the village for good and settle down in Malegaon town in safe Muslim-dominated areas.

The team was told by the villagers here that on 28th September, 2001, the Shiv Sena had organised a performance of the spectacular play called Jaanta Raja after a public meeting and that a lot of young Hindu boys from the village had attended.

VIII. About Jaanta Raja

The Jaanta Raja Mitra Mandal is an organisation set up by some members of the Shiv Sena who were friends and admirers of the Thane Shiv Sena leader, the late Anand Dighe. In fact, many of the Jaanta Raja cadre shaved their heads in respect after Dighe died. The Jaanta Raja is so named after a spectacular play of the same name put up by the Sena depicting the life of Chatrapati Shivaji, still being performed all over Maharashtra. The Jaanta Raja organisation in this area was set up by Dada Bhuse, a 40 year old civil engineer who resigned his job with the State Government Irrigation Department some years ago to become a builder and businessman.

Jaanta Raja members undertake social service in the villages, settling petty problems and providing help in small ways. Most Jaanta Raja's members are young men. Its influence has grown after these riots, the common Hindu villager perceives them as saviours. People have been made to believe that Jaanta Raja needed to attack the Muslims who are a minority in the villages to ward off their influence and keep them under submission.

Ashok Mistry, a local leader of the Shiv Sena in Malegaon, said that the town had about 30 shakhas of the Shiv Sena. According to him, the Jaanta Raja organisation had mainly spread in the villages, and had only 6 shakhas in the town.

There are some cases of beating up of some Muslim women by the Jaanta Raja troopers in some villages. In Nampur village, two women named Sabiha Moola Saeed (who is six months' pregnant) and Shugrahi Raj Saeed were chased out of their home by the attackers and beaten with big sticks. When the team met these women, their bodies bore marks of the beating. But by and large, the attackers concentrated on first scaring the Muslims so that they would flee their homes, and then looting and burning their property. Local journalists and social workers in Malegaon told us that the policy of the Jaanta Raja is not to kill Muslims, but to finish them off economically and frighten them into submission as second class citizens.

Most Muslims have not as yet returned to their villages since they fled after the attacks. Those whom we met in the refugee camps in Satana were very insecure, they were not confident of going back to live in their villages. They have lost everything in the attacks and the subsequent looting and burning.

Some of them are seriously contemplating shifting to Malegaon or other towns where they will be comparatively safer in Muslim localities. Those who have land in the villages may most probably sell it off at throwaway prices and then shift to the city.

IX. Communal amity in the midst of communal frenzy

There have been many instances of communal amity in the midst of this communal madness. In most villages, Hindu neighbours gave shelter to Muslim families on the run from the looters and then escorted them to safety. For example, Anjana and Suresh Nikam of Ajang village gave shelter to ten Muslim neighbours during the attack on 27th October. When they intervened to stop the attacks on the Muslims, they were threatened with death by the marauders. In Wadner village, some Hindu families gave shelter to their Muslim neighbours and then escorted them to their relatives' houses in Malegaon.

In the area of Malegaon Camp, Dr. Yeshwant Deore risked his life to escort young Muslim children home, as also the young men of a Muslim family that resides in his area, which is predominantly Hindu. Because of this, he was accosted in the street and asked whether he was a Hindu or not and told that if he were a Hindu, then he should not be helping Muslims.

In the village of Ajmer Soundana in Satana taluka, no attacks could take place because the police patil and sarpanch of the village took prompt action by telling each and every family not to believe rumours which were floating about and not to harm their Muslim brethren in any way.

X. Conclusions

- A peaceful anti-war protest, asking that foreign goods be boycotted, "*Be Indian, buy Indian*", was suppressed by the State. So complete is the communalisation of the police and the paramilitary forces that all Muslims are portrayed as pro-Bin Laden, supporters of terrorism. The unwarranted lathi-charge and firing by the police gave rise to communal tension and the subsequent riots.
- Rumours spread by political parties and communal organisations were responsible for the spread of the rioting and the continuing attacks on minorities.
- The police reaction was brutal and one-sided. Rioters belonging to Hindu communal organisations moved around freely, and there was no effective attempt to curb them.
- Political leaders have sought mileage from this fresh polarisation of the two communities, — ironically at the cost of loss of life and property and continuing communal tensions.
- The attacks in the villages were the result of the rumours spread against the Muslim community by communal organisations such as Jaanta Raja and the VHP.

XI. Demands

- 1 We demand punitive action against those policemen who acted communally and provoked further communal tension.
- 2 Action, both departmental and criminal, should be taken against those policemen involved in communal acts of commission and omission during the riots in Malegaon and the villages.
- 3 Criminal attacks on inhabitants of Malegaon, businesses in Malegaon and villagers across the district should be investigated and punished
- 4 Government relief camps have to be set up for those who fled the villages and have therefore been displaced; since all those relief camps presently functioning in Malegaon and Satana depend on private initiative and limited resources of community organisations.
- 5 Adequate compensation for all the dead and injured should be paid promptly by the Government.
- 6 Compensation for those whose property has been destroyed should likewise be paid.
- 7 The terms of reference of the judicial enquiry ordered by the Government should include coverage of all the riot-affected villages, police acts of commission and omission, and the role of political parties, local news papers and communal organisations.

9th November, 2001

Elsewhere in Maharashtra : Interviews

All over Maharashtra this year there has been police harassment of Muslims. A large number of attacks and provocations have taken place, beginning months before the attack on the WTC Towers and long before the war in Afghanistan. What happened in Malegaon cannot be simply seen as an isolated event, nor as a fallout of Muslim fanaticism.

None of this is spontaneous; it has been planned. All these incidents point to a pattern of harassment of Muslims by Hindutva communal forces and the police throughout Maharashtra

Bhagwat's report :

Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat, who has been travelling around Maharashtra, and is in constant touch with various organisations, says that in Sholapur and Aurangabad, the police have picked up young people, often cricket players, claimed that they are SIMI activists and then locked them up

This has happened with 90 young people in Sholapur, who have been arrested on the claim of being SIMI activists. The same harassment has taken place at Soyargaon in Aurangabad district, and at Juni basti in Buldana

In Aurangabad itself every Friday after namaaz 400-500 young Muslims are arrested, kept overnight, then released. A similar practice has been documented at the district level in Jalgaon

Simultaneous with this police action have been a number of attacks on Muslims by the Shiv Sena and related communal organisations. The focus has been invariably two-fold: first, to humiliate them, and second, to destroy their means of livelihood.

Admiral Bhagwat says that in Shirali Gaon in Sangli district, and elsewhere in Sangli, bearded Muslims have been compelled to shave. Similar incidents have taken place at Kalyan in Thane district, Nanded, Parbhani, Osmanabad and Sholapur.

Jamiat

Maulana Mustaqueem of the Jamiat-E-Ulama Maharashtra says that after the events of Malegaon there was a good chance of another major communal riot, fortunately nothing happened. In Akola, Amravati, Nagpur, Buldana, Jalgaon, Dhulia and Nashik, numerous attacks on Muslims have taken place

The Jamiat-E-Ulama has documented a number of attacks on Muslims in different places in Maharashtra. On the 11th August in Purnanagar in Amravati district, there was a riot which left one Muslim dead and 5 injured. According to the Jamiat, the police remained neutral and the riot was therefore brought under control.

On the 19th August in Karajgawan in Nashik District, 20 houses were looted, and 16 Muslims assaulted. In Pimpalner in Dhulia district on the 23rd August, Prabhakar Suryavanshi made inflammatory speeches; thereafter gulas were thrown into mosques, Muslims were abused in filthy language. The local police, says the Jamiat, took no action against the culprits.

In Arai, Satana, in Nashik District, a mutton shop was set on fire on the 26th August; Shiv Sena Pramukh Munna Sonawane of Yagwaan Taluka and the Pramukh of Londer village involved in this, and property worth Rs 17,000 was damaged.

On the 28th August in Wakhar in Nashik District, after Dr Suvarna's inflammatory speech, Wakhari Jama Masjid was attacked; the masjid was damaged and copies of the Quran were torn and thrown away. Dr Suvarna, Sanjeev Ahir and others were involved in this attack. This District Collector's attitude, says the Jamiat, was most unhelpful.

On the first September in Satana, in Malegaon taluka, 13 shops belonging to Muslims were looted, property worth more than Rs 10 lakhs was damaged, Shaikh Sagair Abdul Tamboli, Noor Mohammed Imam and Shafur Tamboli were assaulted, an attempt being made to shave them. The very Dr Suvarna who has been mentioned earlier, directed the operations.

Again on the first September, in Navapur, Nandurbar District, during the Ganapati immersion, miscreants threw gulas in the Anantpura Masjid near Satana. On the 4th September, in Bahdgaon in Jalgaon District, 2 mosques were attacked and a shop belonging to Master Hakeem was damaged on the false allegation that rubbish had been thrown in the mandir, says the Jamiat.

CPI (M) :

We spoke to the Mariam Dhawale of the CPI (M) related organisation Janwadi Mahila Sanghata who told us about Bhokhar taluka in Nanded, where there had been a curfew during Durga Puja. The Shiv Sena was everywhere in evidence: there were threats and much rumour mongering: "*we will send you to Afghanistan*". Drums were played outside the masjid. The police, meanwhile, played a partisan role.

In Amba Jogai in Beed, maha aartis were held. The situation has been very volatile. Muslim women have felt that they would be targeted again. The entire

atmosphere has been communalised. In Parli Vajinath in Beed, there is still tension. Pandurang Rathod, a CPI (M) worker says: "*galli mohalle me tension hai, patha nahin kya hoga.*"

In Selu in Parbhani district, there are reports of communal tension; Ramesh Devre, CPI (M) activist is quoted by Dhawale as saying that in Kalamnuri in Hingoli District there is a lot of tension. Abu Azmi of the Samajwadi Party was banned from holding a public meeting there. In Sangli there have been big riots and a curfew, on the 24th and 25th November.

Professor Pande of the CPI (M) recounts how Raj Thackeray was present at police recruitment at Sadakanth Dhaval Maidan at the Naigaon Police Centre, part of the communalisation of the police. But he said what happened in Malegaon could have happened in Bombay but did not because of steps taken here by the Police Commissioner.

There is a general feeling that the police in Maharashtra does not entertain minority complaints, and is tolerant of atrocities against them, of *goondagardi*. Muslim women complain of persistent harassment. There is widespread communalism in the lower bureaucracy and the police, the level at which the ordinary public deals with the State. Artisans have been targeted, and hathgadi wallas among others; the poor have been ruined so they cannot sustain themselves.

English translation of the Urdu handbill distributed by Malegaon youth after the Friday prayers on 26th October 2001.

BOYCOTT

BOYCOTT

Be Indian - - Buy Indian

"Drive out the foreigners, save our country !"

If 100 crore population of our nation save Rs 1 per person, we can save Rs 100 crore everyday from going to the MNCs and can utilise the money for the betterment and welfare of the Indian masses. The MNCs transfer this very amount to their respective countries — the USA, UK and Israel. They use this money not only for their own vested interests but also use the power of their countries to kill innocent and poor people of the world. Therefore, buying their products helps them and provides them financial muscle and hence amounts to being a part of them. **To help the oppressor is to participate in the oppression itself.**

Here are a few examples :

- Three lakh people were killed in the nuclear bomb attack on Hiroshima
- Innocent people have been massacred in Germany, Vietnam, Somalia, Palestine, Iraq, Chechnya and Bosnia.
- The present inhuman attack on Afghanistan which is killing thousands of innocent women and children
- The aim of these countries is to enslave the Third World economically, socially and politically
- Our country was forcibly captured through the East India Company and lakhs of Indians were martyred in the fight for freedom. Yet today we have more than 4,000 foreign companies in our country and every Indian is born steeped in debt.

All communities of Indians must unite to once again wage a freedom struggle to liberate our country from this economic slavery.

"Door raho e duniyawalon, Hindustan hamara hai..

Goods manufactured by foreign companies

Soft Drinks Pepsi, Coca Cola, Thums Up, 7 Up, Mirinda, Teem, Limca, Citra, Fanta, Mangola, Bisleri, Sprite, MacDowell, Crush **Bathing soaps** All soaps manufactured by Hindustan Lever, Lux, Liril, Rexona, Jai, Moti, Lifebuoy, OK, Ponds, Palmolive, Chandan, Jasmine, Clearasil, Imperial Leather, Gold Mist, Dettol, Dove, Pears **Clothes Washing soaps** All soaps manufactured by Hindustan Lever, Super Rin, Surf, Wheel, Chek, Ariel, 501, OK, Key, Trilo, Vim Bar, Sunlight, Rin **Tooth Paste and Tooth Powder** Colgate, Forhans, Cibaca, Close Up, Pepsodent, Signal, Prudent, True Gel, Aquafresh **Shaving Cream and Shampoos** All products of Amway, Palmolive, Old Spice, Nivea, Ponds, Cinthol, Gillette, Seven O'Clock, Wilman, Wiltage, Aramusk, Denim, Lux Shampoo, Clinic Shampoo, anne French, Yardley **Talcum Powder** Lakme, Johnson, Ponds, Charmis, Old Spice, Clearasil, Brylcream, Fair and Lovely, Velvet, Medicare, Lavender, Nycil, Shower to Shower, Imperial Leather, Nivea, Liril, Denim, Cuticura, Quantum Products, all perfumes containing alcohol **Biscuits and Chocolates** Britannia, Cadbury, Bournvita, Horlicks, Boost, Milkmaid, Kissan, Maggi, Farex, Anikspray, Complian, Kit Kat, Double Decker, MacDonalds, Domino's **Tea and Coffee** Lipton, Brooke Bond, Taj Mahal, Red Label, Diamond, Green Label, Tiger, Nescafe, Rising Sun, Tee Top, Quantum Instant Coffee **Ice Creams** Cadbury, Dollops, Walls, Kwality, Cornetto, Baskin, Yankee Doodle, Brooke Bond products **Masalas** Dalda, Crystal, SunDrop, Maggi, Soya, Refine, Annapurna, Kissan, Brooke Bond, Lipton **Electronics** Kelvinator, Eveready, Onida, Orson, Thomson, Akai, Whirlpool, Kenstar, GE, BPL **Shoes and Shoe Polish** Reebok, Adidas, Bata, Puma, cherry Blossom, Power, Nike **Medicines** Pfizer, American Remedies, Sandoz, Glaxo, Merind, Alembic, parke Davis, Rallis, Hoechst, Burroughs Wellcome, Anthoz Pharma, USV, Smith Kline Beecham, Fulford, Jayson Pharma, Rhone Poulenc, Vicks, Iodex, Crocin, Eno's **Branded Pens** Windsor, Newtron, Pasket, Fiber Castle, Parker **Credit Cards** Diners' Club, Visa, Mastercard, American Express, Citibank (all kinds of cards (dealings) which charge interest are prohibited by the Shariat) **Consumer Goods** All 650 goods manufactured by Hindustan Lever and Procter & Gamble **Mobile Phones** BPL, Orange, AT&T **Vehicles** Ford cars, etc. **Cigarettes** Wills, Bristol, Classic Menthol, Rothmans, Players Gold, Red & White, More, 555, and all the other cigarettes **Cement** Lafarge

Confirm before buying whether the above mentioned items are Indian or foreign products. Make Xerox copies of this pamphlet and distribute them in your village, town or other cities and stick them up in you homes so that you remember all this.

This list has been provided courtesy of
Swadeshi Vikas Samiti, Mumbai Region, Maharashtra

Five Point Mission :

Hum Honge Kaamyab Ek Din !

- 1 We pledge that we will practice what we undertake in this mission from now on.
- 2
 - (a) Individually we shall convince our family, relatives, friends and neighbours to join our mission
 - (b) Instruct shop-keepers by going in groups and ask them to return all foreign goods and to sell Indian products only
 - (c) Wherever possible we should try to produce these products ourselves

- 3 Our mission's symbol which means that what may apparently seem as correct is in reality not true, and the circle in the centre signifies our victory which is in the offing) Put up this symbol in every public spot, doors and all around so that people will be reminded of it all the time. Also distribute this pamphlet by multiplying it in large numbers and distribute it in your basti, city and other cities immediately, so that this message reaches a hundred crore Indians through you. Repeat this exercise every month till the target is reached

Remember — keep the struggle going. We have to pay this price from today for our families and ourselves for a free economic future

- 4 Create a positive opinion among people and gain positive results for our mission. Advertise in the media and press so that awareness is created among newer sections of people
- 5 Take each step hoping to receive pious rewards — One who works selflessly, will receive "greater" rewards