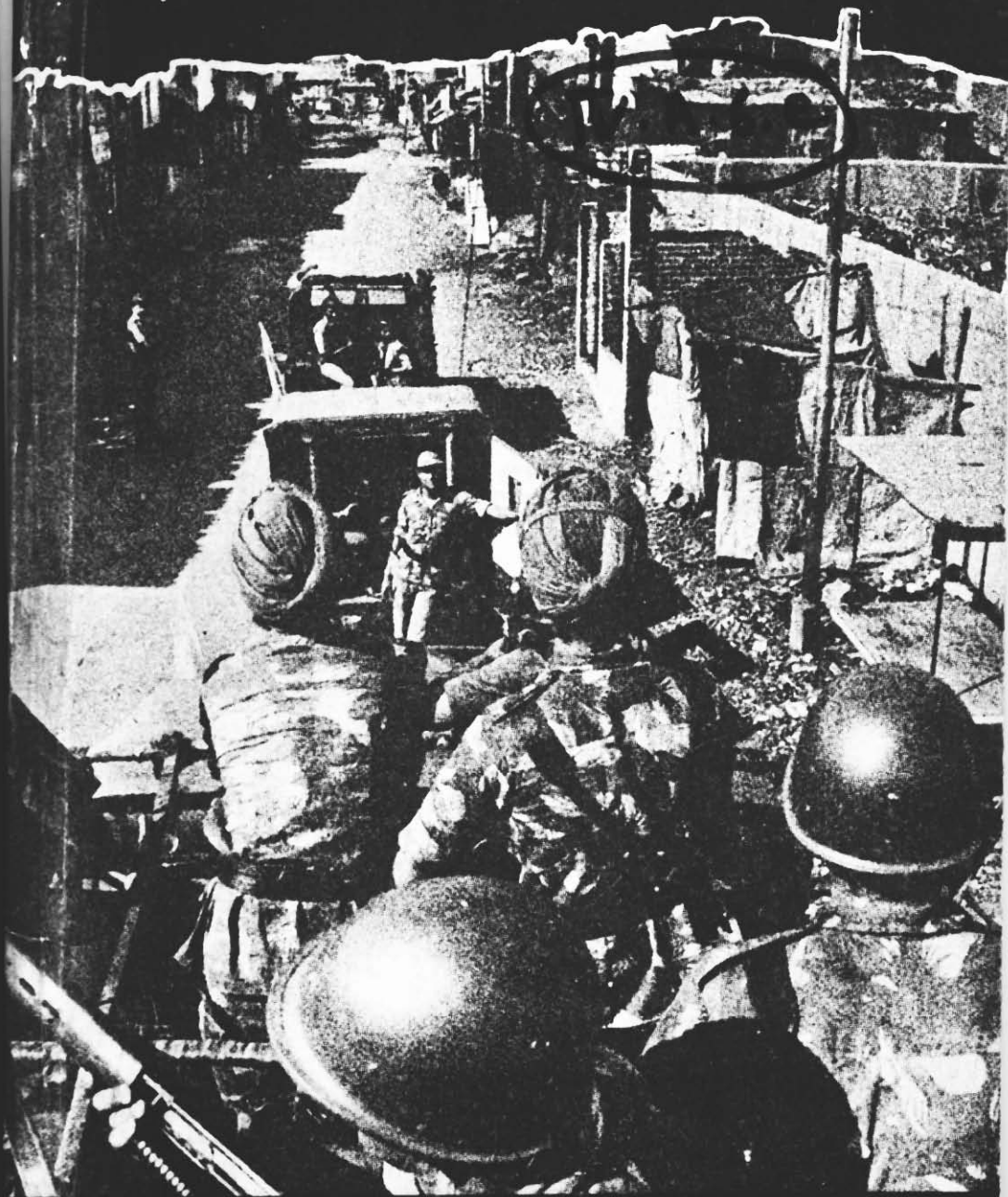


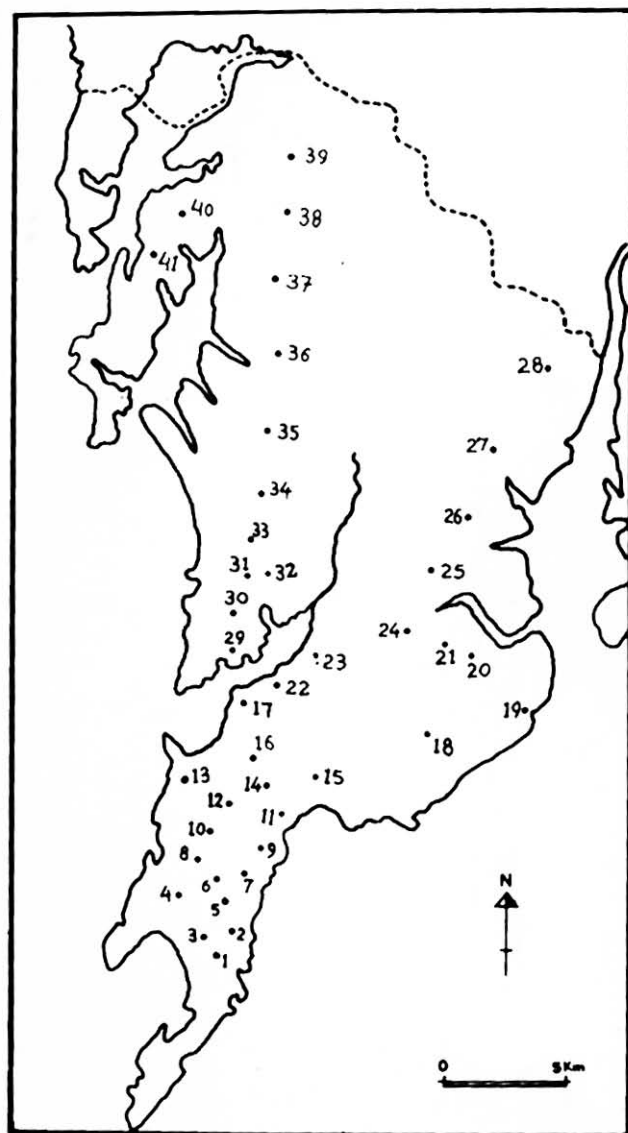
# Bombay's Shame

A Report on Bombay Riots



EKTA SAMITI, Bombay

# MAP SHOWING RIOT-AFFECTED AREAS

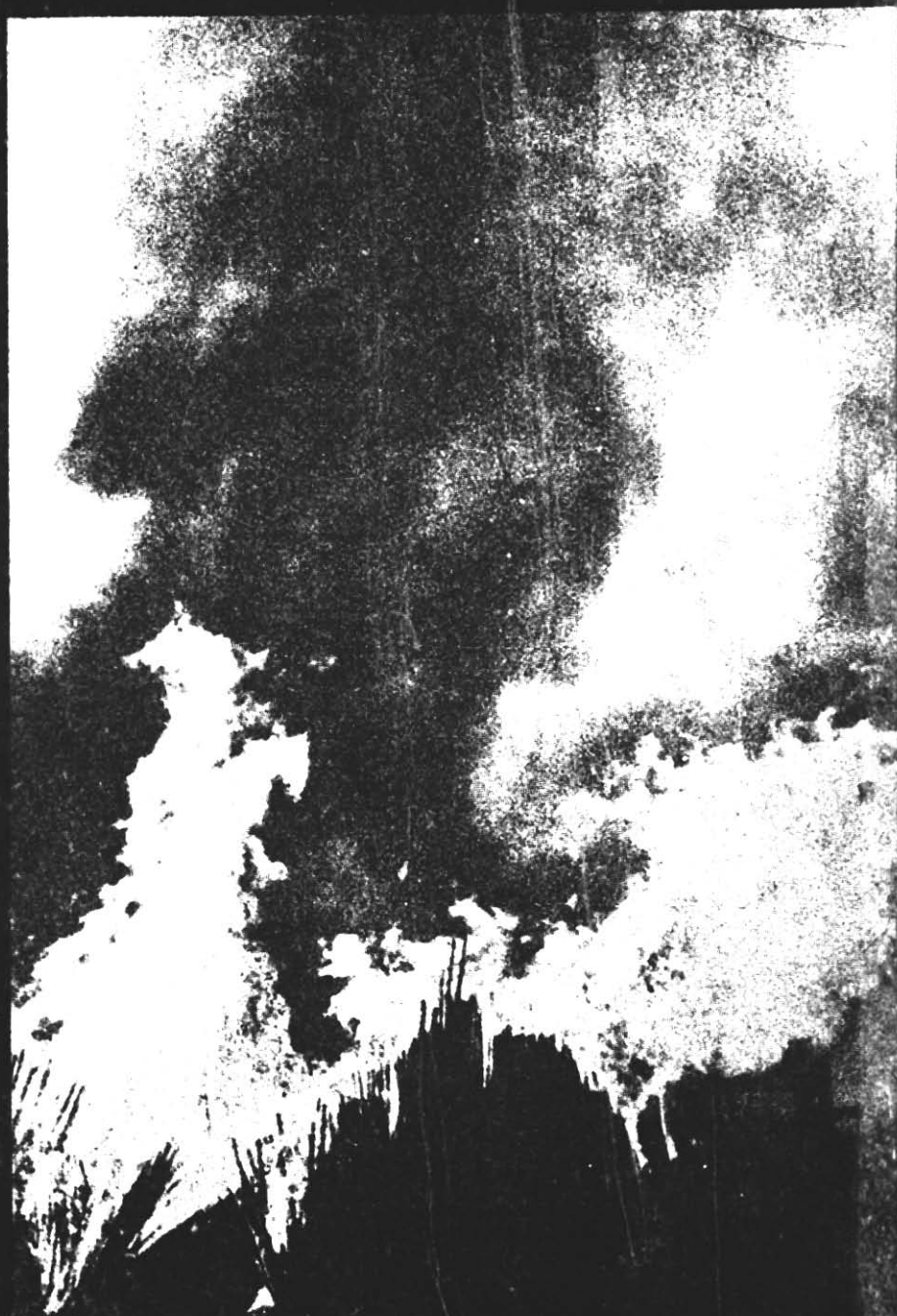


1. Lohar Chawl
2. Masjid
3. Kalba Devi
4. Tardeo
5. Mazgaon
6. Byculla
7. Raay Road
8. Agripada
9. Cotton Green
10. Lal Baug
11. Sewri
12. Bhoiwada
13. Worli
14. Naigaon
15. Wadala
16. Dadar
17. Mahim
18. Antop Hill
19. Pratiksha Nagar
20. Mankhurd
21. Govandi
22. Dharavi
23. Kurla
24. Chembur
25. Ghatkopar
26. Vikhroli
27. Bhandup
28. Mulund
29. Bandra
30. Khar
31. Santacruz
32. Vakola
33. Vile Parle
34. Andheri
35. Jogeshwari
36. Goregaon
37. Malad
38. Kandivali
39. Borivali
40. Charkop
41. Malwani

## ABOUT EKTA

Ekta was formed in 1987 after the Meerut Riots of 1987 which had shaken the nation. Prominent individuals, social activists, trade unionists, women's youth and student organizations came together and formed Ekta. Since then it has been carrying on campaign for communal harmony. It organised dharnas, peace marches, street plays and various other programmes for strengthening forces of communal harmony and secularism. It organised 40 km. long march from Azad Maidan to Thane for communal harmony in which more than 150 people participated.

Ekta also organises training workshops for social activists. It also carries out investigation of major communal riots and publishes reports. During Bombay riots too, various activists came forward to carry out investigation. They also worked, along with others, for distributing relief in the midst of the riots. They also went to riot affected areas for restoring peace. On 1st August 1993, Ekta also organised Ekta andhan in some riot affected localities like Behrampada, Narharavi and Wadala to promote unity and solidarity between Hindus and Muslims.





## **CONTENTS**

FOREWORD	1
BOMBAY SHAMES INDIA	2
BOMBAY SHAMES INDIA - PHASE II	16
AN OVERVIEW, EVENTS & INVESTIGATIONS	26
ANNEXURE 1	68
ANNEXURE 2	75

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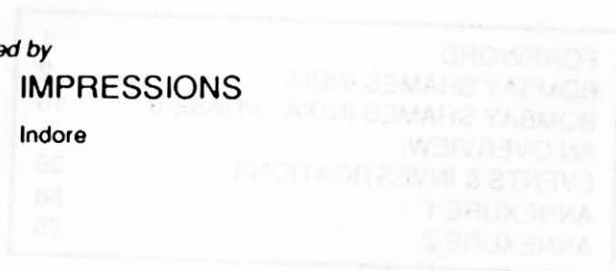
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## Foreword

The Bombay riots both in December, 1992 and January, 1993 shook the whole country. Not only that both the riots had much wider repercussions throughout the world. Destruction on such a scale had never taken place before in the city of Bombay. There is no doubt that it was most major riot after the 1893 riot i.e. exactly after 100 years.

Naturally, like other similar organisations, the EKTA was also greatly concerned at the outburst of religious frenzy on such an unprecedented scale. The EKTA, therefore, not only worked actively for promotion of communal harmony but also undertook work of investigation in both the phases. Many people volunteered their services for the investigation which was no mean task. We are grateful to all those who volunteered their services for this purpose. I must mention here the names of Fr. Misquitta, Dilip D'Souza, Ms. Mona, Dr. Uma Seth, Shahnaz Bano, Tasnim Bano, Dr. Vaswani, Shridhar, Manisha Giri, Leslie Rodrigues, Ketty Irani, Pushpa Mehta, Anand Patwardhan, Saeeda Khan and several others. But for them, it would not have been possible to prepare this report.

We have tried our best to make this report as objective as possible. But no one can claim that the account given here is beyond challenge. In fact we get so many versions in the field depending on the predilection of the narrator. An investigator has to exercise his/her judgement and thus subjective factor becomes unavoidable.

We are also grateful to Shri Brajendra and Dilip D'souza for putting the areawise reports on computer. It greatly facilitated compilation of this report.

**Asghar Ali Engineer**

April 20, 1993

## **BOMBAY SHAMES INDIA**

**Asghar Ali Engineer**

Bombay has achieved the dubious distinction of setting an all India record of communal madness under the leadership of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra who has lost will to govern and has yet strong will to continue in the seat of power. Whole Bombay is burning when these lines are being written. The city had begun to limp back to normalcy after the riots of 6-12 December which erupted after the demolition of Babari Masjid. Before complete normalcy could be restored the city erupted again on 6th January exactly one month after the demolition of the Masjid. However, we will deal with the riots in the second phase in the second instalment of this report. Right now we will be concerned with the rioting in the first phase.

### **II**

The demolition of the Babari Masjid was no doubt a national shame. It deserves strongest condemnation by all those who have any respect for the constitution and the rule of the law, if not for other religions. Also, one can hardly exonerate the Central Government, specially the Prime Minister Shri Narsimha Rao and the Home Minister Shri. S. B. Chavan. They knew that the Kalyan Singh Government of U.P. will not open fire on the Kar Sevaks in Ayodhya. The BJP-VHP had already announced that they will mobilise more than 2,00,000 kar sevaks. Kalyan Singh, the Chief Minister of U.P. gave assurance to the highest court of the country that Babri Masjid will be protected. One wonders how could he protect the mosque when a mob of two hundred thousand highly motivated kar sevaks collect there on whom he is unwilling to fire. Who on earth could keep such a mob under control and how the Prime Minister was convinced of that one does not know?

Anyway the inevitable happened on 6th December, 1992. The BJP-VHP betrayed the country and mocked at the rule of law. And the Prime Minister by accepting the assurances of the Kalyan Singh Government betrayed the largest minority of the country. It was quite natural for Muslims to express their anger against such vandalism. What is worse the authorities even did not have political imagination to anticipate such trouble. No proper instructions were issued to the police whether in Bombay or any other place. The police was left to its own devices to deal with the situation. Also, the police has its own stereotypes about the Muslims, stereotypes prevalent among others too. According to these stereotypes Muslims are aggressive, violent and a fanatical lot and that they must be dealt with severely. These stereotypes were further 'confirmed' when some Muslims in Bhendi Bazar and other areas indulged in petty violence, attacking buses, taxis, signals or looting some shops. The police drew its own conclusions and began to put down this violence as harshly as it could.

A few words about Bombay exploding in such unprecedented manner would also be in place. Bombay has grown into a megapolice with constant influx of people from various parts of India. More than half its population lives in slums in most miserable conditions. These slums have mixed populations of various religions and regional as well as caste communities. These slums are usually a

maze of narrow lanes and bye-lanes and at times so narrow that hardly one person can walk through them at a time. Thus it is very easy for the miscreants to hide and very difficult for law enforcing agencies to pursue them in such baffling maze of lanes and bye-lanes.

These slums are controlled by different slum-lords who impose their own rule. More often than not, the governmental authorities have no existence whatsoever in these slums. The police can also hardly make its presence felt there. So either the police is in league with these 'lords' or just looks the other way when they enforce their authority. Much of the trouble in Dharavi and other slums can be ascribed to these slum-lords. Thus communal trouble soon changes its complex.

Also, there is ever rising curve of unemployment and rising prices which boost crime. The Bombay's underworld is ever-expanding. It leads to gang rivalries and it is worse if the gangs are divided along communal lines which is not rare. These gangsters have, more often than not, their own political connections and they may be connected with different warring factions of the ruling party. Bhagalpur too, notorious for its criminal gangs, had these gangs aligned to the warring factions of the then ruling Congress and this was reflected in the communal riots of October, 1989. In Bombay too, it is being alleged, that some notorious gangsters are aligned to the Sharad Pawar groups which is at daggers drawn with the Chief Minister Sudhakar Naik group. This groups rivalry is allegedly one of the contributing causes of perpetuation of communal violence, specially in the second phase. The edit of the Indian Express published on 11th January, 1993 also alleges that the Chief Minister is reluctant to call the army as then the credit of stopping the riots will go to his rival Sharad Pawar. This may or may not be true but certainly it is the perception of many political analysts.

The Shiv Sena is also playing very active role in the conflagration. The reason is obvious. It has lost all its regional appeal, even in Bombay. Now it is the Hindutva platform which is being systematically exploited by it since 1984 Bombay-Bhivandi riots. Though the BJP is exploiting communal sentiments in very crude and raw form today, the Shiv Sena is even cruder in this respect. If the Shiv Sena has to prove its 'worth' vis-a-vis the BJP, it must outdo it (the BJP) in promoting communalism and this what precisely the Shiv Sena is doing. It otherwise cannot compete with the BJP which also has considerable presence today in Maharashtra. No wonder then that Bal Thackeray boasted it is his Shiv Sainiks who demolished the mosque though it was pointed out later that his men had never reached Ayodhya before the mosque was demolished. He also declared after the demolition that he was the happiest man after hearing that most awaited news.

It also has to be born in mind that no Chief Minister in Maharashtra, however powerful, can touch Mr. Thackeray. He, on the other hand, must be placated. Sudhakar Naik first tried to break it and weaned away Mr. Bhujbal along with few Shiv Sena MLAs. But soon he was pitted against pro Pawar dissidents and instead of breaking it further, as Naik had planned, he made his peace with Bal Thackeray. The Chief Minister's position became so weak that when communal trouble broke out on 6th December and the Shiv Sena paper Sama began writing highly provocative editorials and articles, the Chief Minister, instead of taking action against it, appealed to Bal Thackeray not to write such

articles in the interest of peace. Obviously it shows the dire straits to which Naik administration was reduced. Also this sends wrong signals to the police force a section of which has cryptic, if not open, sympathies with the Sena. How can such an administration be at all relied on for effective action against the miscreants.

After Babri Masjid was razed to the grounds by the vandals of BJP-VHP-RSS on 6th December, the nation in general and the Muslims in particular were utterly shocked. Even liberal and progressive Muslims felt that as the two nation theory lies buried under the debris of Bangla Desh. Indian secularism lies buried under the debris of Babri Masjid. They were not pained as much by the vandalism of the BJP-VHP-RSS kar sevaks as by the inaction and indecision of the Prime Minister Narsimha Rao. They felt that this inaction was great betrayal by the Central Government. History will never pardon them for that.

As soon as the news of the demolition of the mosque spread Muslims in many areas of Bombay came out on the streets and expressed their anger by attacking buses, taxis and other public properties. They even attacked some temples in certain areas and partially damaged them. Some of the antisocial elements among them looted the Hindu shops also. However, if the police had acted with tact and imagination, this violence could have been contained and the miscreants could have been arrested minimising the loss of life and property. However, in most of the cases the police fired indiscriminately and many innocent people were killed.

#### **BHENDI BAZAR-NULL BAZAR AREA**

It started on 7th Morning specially after the BBC news bulletins showed repeatedly the debris of the Mosque. It shows clearly that in a country like India uncensored news at times can play havoc. Even selective reporting of names of those killed from one particular community causes lot of damage. It is, therefore, necessary to follow some norms for reporting. It is felt by many that but for repeatedly showing of demolition of Babri Masjid on BBC news bulletins, the damage could have been minimised. A section of Muslims came out on the streets on 7th morning in the Bhendi Bazar area and began stoning and looting some shops. Near J. J. Hospital they damaged signals, bus stops and also some buses. They looted six shops belonging to the Hindu on Ibrahim Rehmatullah Road. Also, they extensively damaged Suleman Police Chowkie on the corner of Maulana Shaukat Ali Road and Underia Street.

This went on for a couple of hours and then the police began firing after 12 p. m. The way people were killed shows that firing was less for disbursing the mob and more with the intention of killing. One woman Nasim Bano, aged 22, who was married just two years ago, was hit on her temple while taking the towel off the drying string on second floor of the building and the bullet passed through her head instantly killing her. It was at about 2-2 30 p. m. Similarly, a young boy, Mukhtar Ahmad, aged 17, had come out of his house in search of his father in Gali Mohallah. The police fired from Maulana Shaukat Ali Road and he too was hit on his temple and the bullet shattered his brain. He died on the lap of his mother. Another boy too was hit whose name could not be ascertained. He was aged 22 and died after being admitted to the hospital. This happened around mid

day.

Another boy Zahid Husain Khan, aged 17 and studying in 11th standard, living in Building No 25, Room No. 6, Khandia Street, off Maulana Shaukat Ali Road was hit on his left shoulder. The bullet passed through his heart. He died on his way to hospital, another man called Asghar, aged 32, was hit with bullet while coming out of urinal of Maulana Azad cross lane No. 10 at about 11-30 a. m. He died. His colleagues told us that the Hindus were throwing stones and bottles from Kamatipura side and Muslims were throwing from Maulana Azad Road side. However, the police was firing only on Muslims. This was ofcourse a common complaint. In this area in all we were told seven persons were killed in the police firing.

A Muslim mob attacked temples near Kalabadevi also. It began at 11 a. m. on 7th December. Near Pydhonie one Jain Temple was slightly damaged. The police fired in the air and dispersed the crowd. In Nagdevi Street two temples -Nagraj Temple and Human Temple - were attacked. The police fired in Nagdevi area and shot one person. Lakshmi Narayan Temple was partially burned nearby Dongri. Another temple in the area Someshwar temple was also attacked but only slightly damaged. One police constable was assaulted in Dongri area and his rifle snatched. Also, one Asstt. Inspector of police was shot and sustained three bullet injuries but survived. It happened near Bhendi Bazar Naka. Between Bhendi Bazar Naka and J. J. Hospital, two persons were killed in the police firing.

Near Char Null on S. V. P. Road, 7 cars were burned and 38 shops looted by the Muslim mob on 7th December. Hindus also looted 10 Muslims shops in this area. 7 Muslims and one Hindu were killed in police firing in this area on that day. Similarly in Ghoghari Mohailan a police constable had gone during relaxation of curfew. He was fired upon and his body was riddled with 17 bullets, according to the Asstt. Commissioner of Police Shri. Zende, who helped restore control over the situation in that area with minimum use of force. According to Shri. Zende, police stopped firing at about 4.30 p. m. on 7th December and no disturbances had taken place since then.

## **NULL BAZAR MARKET**

The Null Bazar Market near Gol Deval - an old Hindu temple - is a very busy market with mutton, vegetable stalls and other shops belonging to both Muslims and Hindus. The majority of shops of course belong to the Muslims. It is a huge market and has good business turn over. In this market there are 512 shops, out of which 90 belong to Hindus and rest to the Muslims. This market was set ablaze after looting the shops on 7th December at about 12 noon. The shopkeepers ran away for their life. Entire market was reduced to ashes. All shops in Loban gali were also completely gutted and fire lept across the lane and burnt a multi-storied building Husaini Mansion housing many Marwari families. This building was also completely gutted. It is a complete mystery who set fire to Null Bazar Market. We interviewed many people around the market but most of them showed their ignorance. Everyone said we were not there when the miscreants set it afire. The whole market was reduced to ashes. Since there were both Hindu and Muslim shops together it is more baffling as to who did it. Some Muslims said it is a handwork of some Hindu misceants who came from behind Goldeval. Why Muslims themselves set fire to the Market where they have more



than 400 shops and Hindus about 90. Moreover the Hindu shops were mostly of vegetables whereas Muslim shops sold costlier and non-perishable goods. But no one could say for sure who are the culprits.

Behind Goldeval there are mostly Hindus. The fact that the police had to fire shows that the Hindus (read Shiv Sainiks) were on rampage. Behind Goldeval there were few Muslim shops - a pan shop, a cassette shop, a radio and T. V. repairing shop, were all looted and gutted in all 11 Muslim shops met this. The police fired on the miscreants in which, according to the V. P. Road Police Station, 10 person killed. This included deaths at the Two Tank area also which is predominantly Muslim. Behind Goldeval it appears few Hindus were killed in the police firing. A local Shiv Sena Board displayed the names of four people killed. It clearly shows there were widespread disturbances in the area. All this happened on 7th December. On that day, according to the police sources, 4 policemen including one PSI Shiekh were injured.

### III

#### GOVANDI AND EXCESSIVE POLICE FIRING

Govandi, near Chembur (in Eastern suburbs), is one of the largest slum areas of Bombay with a considerable Muslim population. Generally very poor, the most marginalised in the society live here. Our interviews with a large number of affected people clearly show that the police went on rampage and made especially Muslims as their target. The evidence for this seems overwhelming. We interviewed those who had otherwise no axes to grind. They had hardly any political consciousness and spent all their time asking out miserable living. We spoke to number of women who appeared quite truthful in their presentations. In our view there was nothing which would make what they said doubtful.

Unlike Bhendi Bazar it all started on 8th December in various areas of Govandi. In early morning on 8th the Muslims of Govandi reacted to the demolition of Babri Masjid by indulging in petty violence. It appears that they stoned and damaged some Hindu temples. The Hanuman Temple at Kama'bai Jhopadpatti on plot No. 19 in Shivaji Nagar came under attack at 6.30 a. m. The Hanuman idol of marble was chipped off from its base and removed. Other parts of the temple were also damaged. We interviewed number of Hindus in the area. But all of them denied any knowledge as to who did it. Most of them felt they were some outsiders but not sure of their religion or personal identity. Muslims in the area also denied any knowledge, some even vigorously said it was not our work at all but circumstantial evidence make us feel that some young Muslims aided by antisocial elements might have damaged the temple. Similarly two other temples were also damaged though not as much as the Hanuman Temple.

It appears this was the beginning of the trouble in Govandi. Next it erupted near Masjid Nur-e-Ilahi in Sajay Nagar, Bainganwadi. The Imam of Masjid Maulana Hannan Ashrafi told us that Muslims were guarding the mosque when some Shiv Sainiks came from plot no. 16 along with the police. When they came face to face with the Muslims, they went aside leaving Muslims to face the police. It was early morning on 8th December. The police started firing at the Muslims at about 7 a. m. One boy, Sibte Nabi was killed and many injured. Police stepped forward and shot another boy, Rahimullah, aged 25, near Sanjay Nagar School No. 4. The police had, as if, gone berserk and shot three persons dead - Syed

Kazim Ali, Shamim (aged 22) and Nasim, aged 18 years. Another person 25, was shot and injured around 9.30 a. m.

Then, according to the Imam of Masjid Nur-e-Ilahi, the police entered the mosque and set fire to it. There were 4 persons inside the Masjid including the Imam. Six policemen had entered the mosque. They beat up the inmates with rifle butts and asked them to line up. They said they want to put out the fire first. The police said that let the mosque burn. But when the inmates insisted on putting out the fire the police shot on Abdul Ghaffar, a trustee, dead. He was shot in the chest. Another person Mohammed Yaqub was shot in the leg. The third person Hafiz Kafi was taken away by the police beating him on the way. He is reported to be dead. Imam of the Mosque was also beaten up with rifle butts. Mosque was damaged in fire and three shops around the Masjid were reduced to ashes.

Curfew was then imposed in the area at about 10 a. m. After the curfew the timber shop belonging to one Haji Baitullah was set on fire. According to the owner the SRP itself allegedly set fire to it. When the owner and some others tried to put out the fire, they began firing. Syed Kazim Husain, aged 28, standing near his house in a nearby lane beside the timber mart was hit by the bullet. He was taken to the hospital where he died after three days.

In Shivaji Nagar Plot 31, D line the police came around 4.30 p. m. Some people were in chawls and some standing on the road. Apparently there was no trouble in the area. The police began firing and one Muslim who was crossing the road died. Two other persons, one of whom was Zafar aged 18, were in toilets. The police broke open the doors and allegedly shot both of them dead. Another person a Hindu - who was looking out from the chawl was also shot dead. One lady told us that the police pulled his son Sheikh Islam out from the house, shot him and took him away. He was not since then traceable.

Similar case was reported from Subhash Chandra Bose Nagar, on plot No. 40A, Bainganwadi. His mother told us that Aftab Alam, aged 30, was pulled out of the house and allegedly shot by the police. Aftab was hit on hand and stomach. The police, six in number and led by inspector Nikkam according to the lady, also fired on the walls of the house. The police set fire to a taxi parked outside the house. We saw the burnt remains of the taxi. In the same locality the police shot Nawab Ali, aged 30, living in house no. 115, dead after pulling him out of his house. The police also pulled out another man Jaili, around 25 years, and shot him but fortunately he survived. The police set the house No. 3 afire which belonged to one Mansur Khan and reduced it to ashes. The nearby house of Bhika Raoji Bhalerao was also burnt.

Another Mohd. Saghir, 18, too was pulled out of his house No. 8, taken to a distance and shot dead. His body could not be traced out. Similarly Akbar Ali and Hamid were made to run and then shot but both survived. In the case of Farouque Sheikh, he was pulled out from his house, taken for some distance and then shot dead by the police. The police, according the eye-witness account, was shouting 'Jay Shri Ram' while shooting him. Similarly Mohd. Mehboob Sheikh was also shot but was wounded. He is alive.

In Chikkalwadi area of Bainganwadi disturbances started at about 12 noon on 7th December. Some miscreants who could not be identified came from outside and burnt the Mandir in the vicinity. The police reached on spot at about 12.15 p. m. The SRP broke open the doors of many houses and pulled out the

people and beat them up. On plot No. 40, Room 6-7, nephew of Mohd. Umar, aged 27, was shot dead and one Mohd. Anwar was severely beaten up. Mohd. Umar was also beaten up. Another person living behind this house was also allegedly shot but could not be identified. A small garment factory was looted. Afsari Begum told us that her house was completely destroyed. We saw the remains of the hut ourselves.

One S. A. Rashid told us that police began firing on 8th December at 10 a. m. as a result of which 5 persons died namely Yunus Mulla, Israr Ahmad, Salim Ahmad, Rais Ahmad and Shamsuddin. Six persons were injured. On Datta Mandir plot no. 30 BEST Chawl, Muslim area was burnt along with some Hindu Houses. The temple in the area was damaged by unknown people (presumably the Muslims) after the firing began. Aslam Khan and Afsari Banu told us that their houses were burnt by the police at 11 a. m. after imposing curfew. Police also fired on the same day from Madrasa Jamia Qadariya on the nearby houses. We saw the bullet marks on the walls.

In Bandra Plot, Bainganwadi disturbances broke out on 7th December itself. We were told that on plot no. 37-A Salim Usman was standing near his room no. E-8. Police fired at him at 2.30 p. m. and when he ran, the police ran after him and shot him twice. He died in hospital on the same day. Another person Salim, aged 40 was killed by the police bullet on 7th December at 11 a. m. while returning home from his work. Similarly, one Mr. Mohd. Yunus, about 40, was hit with bullets while doing work on 7th December at about 10-11 a. m.

Another calamity struck in what is known as Kamla Raman Nagar near dumping ground, Govandi. In this area there were 46 huts of which 44 belonged to Muslims and two to Hindus. On 8th December, according to a resident there, the police came around 1-1.30 p. m. and first started firing and then set fire to huts without any provocation. When we visited the site not a single hut existed. According to Mohd. Hanif Ramazan Sheikh, a taxi driver whose hut was also burnt, five persons were injured in police firing of which two were still missing at the time of our visit. There were some Maharashtrians also staying in the same locality but their huts were spared. And no one was arrested from amongst them.

In Shivaji Nagar Plot No. 6, Flat No. F-6, one Amir Bano, aged 35 told us that at about 2.30 p. m. some people came and broke the door. They were carrying swords, gupis and iron rods and were accompanied by two policemen. She was pulled out of her house and attacked in the presence of the policeman. She had deep wounds on her back which needed 45 stitches. She was admitted to the hospital by her brother. She showed her wounds to us. Similarly one Mohd. Arif, 20 years, was shot by the police in Lotus Colony plot no. 14, Room No. 930 and then taken away. There was no trace of him since then.

According to the police sources in all 58 persons died mainly in the police firing, 10 in Lotus Colony and 48 in Chikalwadi, Indra Nagar, Umerkhadi and Bandra Plot etc. in Govandi area. However, according to the Govandi Relief Committee sources, 92 persons died in police firing and 210 were injured in lathi charge. 21 persons were missing. 5 vehicles were burnt or damaged and 45 pan beedi shops were looted or destroyed and one masjid was also burnt. Thus it will be seen that the Govandi area was very badly affected. Almost all were Muslims. One can very well see what role the police played in that area where poorest of the poor live. Many of these people live in and around the garbage. It seems

there is hardly any respect for the life of the poor. Not only that there was no respect for life, there was no respect for the dead either. The most pathetic case was of an 11 monthold child who died for want of medicine during curfew. When Saira Begum, the child's mother approached the police for permission for burial as there was curfew, the police said "burial"? throw it in the creek. The child had to be buried then in the nearby dumping ground in the garbage, the bloated body of the child appeared on the surface and had to be pressed down again in the garbage.

According to Maulana Mohd. Qasmi, member of the Jamiat al- Ulama, Sr. Inspector Bhagwat Rao Patil was the main person behind shooting down innocent people. However, DCP Pawar and Tyagi helped restore order and reprimanded Patil severely who then feigned madness and was admitted to hospital for treatment.

### **Behram Baugh, Jogeshwari (W)**

Jogeshwari West and East are communally highly sensitive. It is a huge slum on the eastern side of Western High way. Both Hindus and Muslims live cheek by jowl in many areas of this vast slum in the western suburban of Bombay. This area was badly affected during 6-11 December disturbances in the wake of demolition of Babri Masjid. Behraum Baug is in Jogeshwari West and has mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. Muslims are about 35% rest being Hindus and others.

On 8th December Muslim started brickbattling at about 11 p. m. to express their anger against demolition of Babri Masjid. But there was no specific target to this brickbattling. Three four vehicles parked along the Link Road nearby which was also hit but not damaged. The brickbattling continued for sometime. The police came in two jeeps after about two hours. When the police came the mob dispersed and people went into their houses. The police entered one of these houses which was a house-cum-carpenter shop. There were 6 carpenters in this house. The police fired at them killing four of them and injuring two others. Those killed were Mohd. Maksud (26), Mohd. Aslam (25), Mohd. Anees (21) and Mohd. Nafees (19). The two injured were Mohd. Kamil (24) and Mohd. Ishrat Ali (20). They were all skilled carpenters. Cf those killed Mohd. Aslam had come to Bombay just six days before.

Mr. Mohammad Ashfaq Khan of Lorik Yadav Chawl told us that on that day the police also burnt some vehicles at about 1.45 a.m. and after that they took photographs of these vehicles. Curfew was imposed on this area on 9th december at 2 a.m. In all 21 persons were arrested of which 19 were muslims and two Hindus.

### **Malad East - Pathanwadi and Islampura**

Pathanwadi had majority of Muslims, they are almost 80%. Nearby there is M.H.B. Colony which has mainly Hindus. This area was quite tense after demolition of mosque. Here too some Muslim youth started brickbattling to express their anger on 8th December. The police came and resorted to lathi charge. But the Muslim youth threw stones at the police. The police then opened fire. Three Muslims were injured but no one was killed.

Islampura is also part of Malad East but Muslims are not more than 6-7%

in this area. There is a mosque from where Islampura actually begins. On 10th December about 100 Hindu youth started pelting stones on the Masjid at about 11.30 a. m. The Muslim youth from Islampura defended themselves. However, some Hindus also joined the Muslim youth for defending the area. The Hindu youth began attacking from Ambe temple. Now they also threw soda water bottles and petrol bombs towards Islampura. But the Hindu-Muslim youth group from Islampura side did not retaliate as it would have damaged the temple. What was heartening was that both Hindus and Muslims had come together and they saved the Islampura mosque. Mr. Shankar Bhattacharya and Mr. Zuber Malik gave a lead to their respective communities in forging unity between them.

However, the Hindu rioters now shifted to Laman Nagar and damaged one mosque and stabbed one Chandmiyan who was bangi (i. e. one who gives azan, call for Muslim prayer) of that mosque. According to Mr. Abdul Rashid the role of police was excellent in that area. Mr. Thakur, the PSI played very good role and prevented outburst of violence in the area.

Squatters Colony was also badly affected in Malad east area. It is situated near Chincholi Railway crossing. This area also has a mixed population. In this area Muslims constitute one third population. The tension started building from 7th December. On 8th some minor clashes took place but nothing much happened. On 9th and 10th there were rumours among both the communities for being attacked from the other. But it was on the night of 11th December that the Muslim youth started brickbattling at about 11 p. m. They also threw petrol bulbs. Hindus also retaliated. On both sides there were about 400 people. the Hindus set fire to Al-Falah school and a mosque. At about 11.45 p. m. Muslims attacked Gajanan Temple and badly damaged it. Some Muslims were carrying choppers and swords. They stabbed Shyam Sunder, son of the Pujari Mr. Laxminaryan who was away at that time. The Muslim mob also threw acid on the cow belonging to the Pujari family. They also killed Mr. Prahlad Shinde, aged 19 inside his house.

Sub-inspector Nadaf, a Muslim, lathi charged a Hindu mob to disperse it. Some 800 Hindus marched to police station demanding his transfer as he lathi-charged the Hindu mob. The morcha was led by the Shiv Sena leaders. At 7 p. m. curfew was imposed and an hour after it a Muslim boy Sayed, aged 19, was burnt alive near Swan Bharti Co-op. Housing Society.

It was alleged that some builders had a hand in the disturbances as Govind Nagar area belongs to Govindram Seksaria who wants to develop the plot. The builder was trying to build a wall there so that he could develop the plot subsequently. It is alleged that in a joint meeting of the two communities someone suggested to build the wall and the builder immediately agreed. The cost of the wall is estimated to be around 10 lakhs. One can very well understand the value of the land involved.

#### **BANDRA EAST, BHARAT NAGAR AND NIRMAL NAGAR**

In Bharat Nagar there are 70% Muslims and 30% Hindus. This constituency is represented by the Shiv Sena MLA, Madhukar Sarpotdar who is known for his communal outbursts and anti-Muslim positions. Here too the Muslim began stoning and brickbattling on 7th December, 9.30 a. m. They also threw soda water bottles and other missiles on the police. The police began firing

at about 10.30 a.m. without first resorting to lathi charge or tear gassing. The police firing intermittently continued for three days i.e. on 7, 8, and 9 December. The stoning from Muslims also continued for all three days. In police firing 12 Muslims were killed. Their ages ranged from 18 to 25 years. About 48 persons were injured of which four were Hindu. However, there were no instances of people being pulled out of their houses and killed. There were no complaints of police excesses in this locality.

There were two general stores in the locality Hanuman General Store and Chamunda General Store. Their owners were of the view that there was no Hindu-Muslim conflict in this area at all. It was between the Muslims and the police. But in the Govt. Colony, Bandra East 10-12 Muslims shops were looted by the Shiv Sainiks. Also, near the police station there, about 10 trucks were parked of which one belonged to a Muslim. That truck was burnt by the Sena mob.

Bahrampara is a big slum area in Bandra East where 85% are Muslims. Adjacent to Behrampara is Khernagar Housing Board colony wherein Muslims are only 10%. There is semi-slum area called Kherwadi road area. Here Muslims are about 30%. Nearby on the road there is a temple of Lord Ganesh. This temple was allegedly damaged by the Muslims. However, our inquiries could not confirm as to who did it. Some Muslims maintained that they have not done it. They pointed out that there is a Ganesh temple right inside Behrampara which Muslims could have easily damaged, if they so desired. But that temple was quite safe. Why should we damage a temple outside our area then? However, even an old lady who is in-charge of the temple was not available for comments. It was, therefore, not possible as to who did it.

As soon as the news about the temple being damaged spread the Shiv Sena mob began collecting but the police was trying to stop them. On the Muslim side too, mob began to collect but the Amir of Tablighi Jamat, Mohd. Ali Baba Bhai and F. A. Baba were trying to exhort them not to be restive. It will harm the cause of the Muslims. But it was both sides. It all happened on 7th December at 10 a. m. The rioting became very serious. The Muslim mob also became restive and began stabbing Hindus. The stabbing incidents took place for three days and some 8 persons were stabbed. Three bodies were later recovered from nearby drain and five were discovered from a nulla. Of those killed was a police constable Afzal Ismail Sheikh (E. C. No. 270). It was perhaps case of mistaken identity. The constable belonged to Nashik rural district police. One of the stabbing victims was a woman called Shewantabai.

On 8th December one police inspector Kasbekar began firing at about 11.30 a.m. apparently without any reason. Mr. Kasbekar was accompanied by three more constables. In this firing one woman named Neelam Mazhar Khan was killed though one Mr. Sharful Huda alleges the police intended to kill him who is an SEM and member of Cong. Seva Dal. In police firing in Behrampara in all six person were killed on 7 and 8 December - all Muslims and 15 were injured and they too were all Muslims.

#### IV

#### DHARAVI

Dharavi is considered to be the biggest slum in Asia. One finds here



people of different castes and communities. There are also large number of Tamilians both Hindu as well as Muslims. Tamil Muslims are mostly in leather business. In this area one finds units of AIDMK and DMK units also. Generally the Tamil Hindus and Muslims were taught to be well assimilated both linguistically and culturally. In Tamil Nadu there has been no history of communal conflict between the two communities and it was thought that linguistic and cultural assimilation helped create harmony between the two. Similarly Malayali Hindus and Muslims were also well assimilated and not much communal conflict existed between them too. But increasing communalisation has pushed this assimilation to background and communal differences are becoming more and more pronounced both among Malayali Hindus and Muslims and Tamil Hindus and Muslims. In Dharavi too relations between Tamil Muslims and Hindus have been quite strained.

Dharavi is also a den of criminals and slum lords. One finds here gambling dens and centres of illicit liquor. The notorious gangster Varad Rajan also had large following in this area. Thus one can understand how explosive the situation can become in Dharavi once it gets out of hand. And it did get out of hand after demolition of Babri masjid on 6th December. All sorts of contradictions surfaced.

On 6th December after demolition of Babri Masjid, some Hindus took out a victory procession at about 6 p. m. One of the slogans being shouted by the processionists was "talwar lenge aur mandir banayenge" (We will take swords in hand and construct the temple)." There were about 500 persons in the procession. The procession heightened communal tension. On 7th December stoning began early morning. The Muslims allege that Hindus began throwing stones but it is more likely that both sides indulged in that. People were throwing stones and petrol bulbs from the roof of their houses.

It was alleged by the Muslims that at about 2 p. m. a mob of 100 led by the local corporator belonging to the Republican Party Mr. Shinde attacked Muslim houses in the Khadda area. About 56 houses were looted and burnt. Also, the Muslims were driven out from there. On 8th December both sides began pelting stones on each other. What was interesting to note was that there was complete polarisation between the Hindus and Muslims. All Hindus, Tamil, Maharashtrian, Gujarati and others were on one side and all Muslims, whatever their regional origin, were on the other.

The Police came at 11.30 on 8th December and began firing in which three Muslims were killed and 4 were injured in Chamda Bazar. The Muslim youth some of whom were pelting stones tried to surrender to the police; yet the police did not stop firing and killed three persons. It arrested 27 Muslims thereafter. When one Wasim Ahmed told the police why do you commit excesses against Muslims, one police officer told him if you cannot bear this go to Pakistan. The Hindus also looted godown of a Muslim merchant which had leather goods worth 45,000.

The trouble had erupted in various parts of Dharavi which is a huge area. In Social Nagar, Dharavi, Muslims are majority. The victory procession passed through this area also. The processionists were shouting along "Kamar pe lungi munh men pan, bhago landiya Pakistan" (wearing lungi on waist and betel leave in the mouth, go away you circumcised ones to Pakistan). On 9th December a Hindu mob came and set fire to 50 huts 46 of which belonged to the Muslims. All



Muslims had to run away from there to nearby relief camps set up by Muslims. The huts were set ablaze at 9 p. m. and fire brigade came to about 2. a.m. and put out the fire. And when the police came at about 2 a.m. it began to fire in which 6 Muslims died and 18 were injured one of which was Hindu. Obviously here the police played anti-Muslim role. Those whose huts were set ablaze by miscreants, the police fired on them only. In Social Nagar and its vicinity two Hindu temples were damaged. Also, in Social Nagar the Muslims set ablaze about 50 houses of Hindus, in different incidents, reduced to cinder 100 Muslims houses. It was, as if, free for all. But the Muslims alleged that when they did anything the police fired on them but it did not fire when the Hindus indulged in mischief. That is why most of the casualties in the police firing in Dharavi was among Muslims.

Similarly the Mukund Nagar Area (also known as Damar company area) where 90% are Muslims was worse affected. There were intermittent trouble and the police resorted to firing repeatedly in which five persons, all Muslims, were killed and 45 were badly injured and 150, of which three were Hindus, sustained minor injuries. 38 houses were looted and 38 were burnt by the Hindu mob yet there was no police firing, the Muslims complained. But when about 80 Muslim women came to complain to the police, it fired on Muslim women too in which one woman was badly injured. Not only this, some Shiv Sainiks attacked these Muslim women in presence of the police, the Muslims alleged and yet the police did not fire on the Sainiks. But the Muslims of Mukund Nagar also said that since DCP Pande took charge they are satisfied with the police role.

Besides these incidents in Dharavi number of other incidents took place, mostly of arson and looting. It created a climate of terror throughout Dharavi. Slumlords and other criminals played no mean role in all this. Many slumlords put up their own locks on the houses from which people had fled so that those locks could be opened only on payment of money or increase in rent etc. This climate of terror still persists. In all in Dharavi about 42 persons were killed of which 40 died in police firing and 2 in mob violence. Those who died in police firing 30 were Muslims and 10 Hindus. The two who died in mob violence one was Christian and one Dalit. Also, at least 300 persons were injured in police firing. But according to the police sources in all 32 persons died of which 22 bodies were found (17 Muslim and 5 Hindus) and 10 were yet to be recovered. Also, according to the authorities about 200 persons were injured. In all 489 houses were burnt and 91 shops were looted and burnt. Also, 35 garment factories and 60 business houses were looted.

## **MAHIM AND DARGAH MAKHDUM MOHIUDDIN**

There is large Muslim population in Mahim particularly near Dargah Makhdum Mohiuddin. In some parts there are middle and upper middle class muslims and in other parts they are poor Muslims living in kutchcha and semi-pucca huts and houses. Also, in these areas there are Hindus and Christians but in fewer numbers. Also, in these areas there are Hindus in majority and Muslims are in minority. There is a big slum behind the BEST Depot in parts of which there are Muslims in majority and in other parts there are Kohlis (fisher people) who are supporters of the Shiv Sena. There are few Christians too, in the area.

Mahim, it must be noted is communally a very sensitive area. Communal

trouble have occurred in this area number of times. So this time again it erupted on 7th December. Early on that day the Kohlis began stoning from their colony at Makhdum Nagar being BEST depot. The youth from Makhdum Nagar threw stones at the Kohlis in retaliation. The stoning from the Kohlis side was quite heavy. They were throwing stones from above the terraces of Housing Board Buildings behind. However, not much damage took place. Meanwhile in other areas of Mahim like Vanjawadi, Mahim Bazar Dargah Street disturbances started as the parents came out on the street on 7th to inquire about the safety of their school-going children an ambulance was arranged for bringing the children. The police stopped the ambulance and rumours spread that untoward things have happened and began stoning the police. The police then fired and stone throwing and firing went on until evening on that day in which 5 persons were killed. The toll would have been not so high if the police had not arrested Mr. Amin Khandwani, the stir got intensified and the police had to resort to more firing.

On 10th suddenly rumour spread that Bal Thackeray of Shiv Sena had been arrested which was not true. It seems the rumour was deliberately spread to create trouble. As soon as the rumour spread some miscreants from amongst the Kohlis began pelting petrol bulbs on Makhdum Nagar which caught fire and was completely reduced to ashes. More than 680 huts were gutted and about 1000 families dishoused. They took refuge in various relief camps opened near the Dargah. We saw more than 5000 people in those camps who were being fed by the committee. They ran away from their homes with only their clothes on. They could not retrieve anything. The residents of the colony complained to us that when they came out to put out fire the police fired on them. Thus it became impossible to save their huts everything was consequently destroyed. Mahim continued to remain tense since then.

## **JOGESHWARI**

Jogeshwari is another communally highly sensitive area and is often rocked by communal violence. It is another huge slum in the Western suburban of Bombay. In this sprawling slum Hindu and Muslims live cheek by jowl. In some places they live in separate areas or live together in certain other areas. The trouble started, like in other areas, on 7th December near Pascal Colony and Shankarwadi. The former is a Muslim area whereas the later is Hindu dominated one. When mob collected from both sides, the women persuaded them to go and restrained their respective youths. Police also played persuasive role. However, the mobs gathered again. A Muslim garage was torched at 3 p.m. which heightened the tension. This garage was located little further from Pascal Nagar. The Muslim women again tried to persuade their men not to indulge in violence. Similarly the Hindu women dissuaded Hindu boys from Fernandes Chawl from indulging in violence. However, in that highly tense atmosphere persuasion did not work and violence erupted.

It is alleged that a Hindu pandit was burnt alive by the Muslims. Similarly a Muslim mob was attacked which was going to Muslim cemetery. The police also resorted to firing to disperse violent mobs and 7 persons were killed. Subsequently 2 persons, both Muslims were stabbed to death. In all 9 persons died in Jogeshwari area in the first phase of the communal disturbances.

## **KURLA HALAU PUL AND OTHER AREAS**

Kurla is part of Eastern suburban of Bombay. It also had mixed population. Certain areas in Kurla are highly sensitive and have mixed Hindu and Muslim population. The Shiv Sena has its hold over Marathi speaking people in Kurla. On 7th December Muslims began stoning a Hindu temple in the Jugar Chawl area at about 2.30 p.m. The Hindus then replied by attacking a Mosque in Mahajanwadi on 8th December and also one Muslim school (MES School) was also attacked along with a Madrasa. One Suleman Sheikh's sari factory was set ablaze. Then one ready-made cloth factory, one motor-bike and one tanker all were burnt. The local corporator Feroz Mantri's office was also burnt. The Muslims stabbed a 27 year old man called Manumanta Rama Arote and he died. Also, one Lady Mrs. Ishrat aged 35 was hit by the police bullet in a building called Pasaban in the Halau Pul area, she fell down and died. The bullet hit her in the neck. Three other persons were injured in the police firing. Besides this in Kurla numerous stabbing cases took place but it is difficult to get the details as people were afraid of speaking.

## **GHATKOPAR, ASALFA VILLAGE**

Ghatkopar Asalfa village and nearby areas were badly affected. One timber mart belonging to a Muslim was set a fire, persons inside the mart were roasted alive. A builder Damji Valji wanted to develop the site and wanted it vacated but the owner of the timber mart was not vacating. The timber mart was torched by the builder, it is alleged. In Khairani Road area there are number of scrap shops belonging to Muslims. Five hundred such shops were set ablaze. Some families lived behind these shops but fortunately none died. These shops were burned on 9th December allegedly by supporters of Shiv Sena.

There were 60 shops in Subhash Nagar, Bharat Market, Ghatkopar were also completely burnt. However, there were shops belonging to both the communities, Hindus as well as the Muslims.

There were several other small incidents throughout Bombay. Total deaths admitted by the police sources were 202 of which 137 died in police firing. However, this is gross underestimate. The death mark seems to have crossed 400 and most of them died in police firing. Barring few places it was a Muslims-police riot rather than Hindu-Muslims riot. The Bombay police obviously displayed anti-Muslim riot. The Bombay police obviously displayed anti-Muslim bias though there were some impartial officers also. But they were far and few in between. But it was very different in the second phase. It was Shiv Sainiks versus Muslims in the second phase. We will deal with the second phase separately.

(The investigation was carried out by Asghar Ali Engineer, Premsagar Gupta, Sridhar, Leslie Rodrigues, Nilofar Bhagwat, Katty Irani and others on behalf of Ekta)

## **BOMBAY SHAMES INDIA - PHASE II**

**Asghar Ali Engineer**

Babri Masjid was vandalised on 6th December, 1992 and Bombay had witnessed communal violence from 7th December onwards about which we have already prepared the report. The riots in second phase began on 6th January, 1993. The causes are varied and controversial. It is very difficult to say with certainty as to how the riots in 2nd phase began. There are different theories. Some say, it began because of murder of two mathadi workers in Dongri area inside a godown. It was alleged that the Muslims murdered them out of communal vengeance. However, it is far from known with certainty as to who murdered them. It is also maintained that the mathadi workers were killed in union rivalry. The police also corroborated it but only after the damage was done.

It is also maintained that riots began in Bhendi Bazar, Null Bazar and Mohammed Ali Road are on account of rumour that the Muslim Dargah in Mahim was demolished by the Hindus. It is true that few cases of stabbing were reported from these areas. And undoubtedly, this became the flash point for the riots. However, it would be utterly simplistic to say that riots started because of these stabbing cases only and no other factors were at work.

In fact, the Shiv Sena was preparing for the violent outburst on a large scale. It only waited for the flash point and the incident in Bhendi Bazar - Mohammed Ali Road area provided one. The note prepared by the Government of Maharashtra for the MPs lists only those incidents between January 6 to 8 in which the members of the minority community attacked the Hindus. It is, to say the least, highly biased view. Thus by implication, the Maharashtra Government has accepted the Shiv Sena view that the riots were started by the Muslims and that what happened thereafter was a 'spontaneous' response by the Sena and others.

However, the close scrutiny of events would belie the Government's claim. Apart from other things, the Maha Artis (Roadside Worshipping of the Hindu Deities) had done lot of damage to communal peace. Hundreds of Shiv Sainiks, BJP men and others participated in each Maha Arti which invariably ended with anti-Muslim propaganda that exacerbated communal tensions and prepared atmosphere for irruption of communal violence. In many cases, the Maha Artis were followed by attacks on Muslim properties and life. And the Government note mentions that there were 33 such artis between December 26 and January 5 i.e. before the events to which the Government ascribes the riots.

The Police Commissioner himself had admitted on January 7 that the Maha Artis were "Aggravating" the situation, and by January 8, 113 such artis were already organised. What was worse, these Maha Artis were allowed throughout the period of riots and 498 of them had taken place by February 5 of which 172 had attendances of over 1500, according to the Government. It also should be noted that rioting in fact had begun on January 2 in Dharavi, leading to the exodus of Muslim families (as reported in The Times of India on January 3). This certainly cannot be ignored which the Government note does.

In fact, systematic preparations were made much before the second phase of riots began. Even surveys carried out to identify Muslim houses,

rickshaws, taxis and cars. For example, in Pratiksha Nagar, near Sion-Koliwada, such a survey was carried out a week before the riots and after the riots began, those very houses - identified as Muslim houses - were demolished. Bal Thackeray of course blamed it on 'outside element, an anti-national element'. He even identified the anti-national elements as 'Pakistanis', one crore of whom, according to him, have entered the country and spread all over India. Besides these, he also mentioned infiltration of 'Bangia Muslims' into the country. And on being asked that "The Shiv Sena has reportedly accepted having been involved in the riots", he said, "We have been forced to get involved because our job is to retaliate. If there would have been no Shiv Sena, the Hindus would have been slaughtered."

Earlier, Mr. Pramod Navaikar, Shiv Sena's leader of opposition in the upper house, had admitted in an interview to Rajdeep Sardesai of the the Times of India that "Our boys were involved in the rioting" and also added "But for every five Shiv Sainiks on the street, there were also 20 anti-social elements involved." Mr. Manohar Joshi, senior Sena MLA, told Rajdeep that "I will not call them Shiv Sainiks. They were all anguished Hindus, who were spontaneously reacting to what happened in Jogeshwari". (Four Hindus were burnt alive in the Radhabai Chawl on 8th January in the Jogeshwari slum). Some grassroot Sena workers told Mr. Sardesai that there are approximately 220 "active" Shakhas (branches) in the city. On an average, each Shakha has around 200 committed members. This itself gives the Sena an army of 40,000 Sainiks as against the police strength of just over 30,000.

According to Mr. Rajdeep, "The plan decided upon in the Shakhas was simple - spread the word that people's lives were threatened, that temples would be destroyed and that sophisticated arms were being brought into the city. The more active Sainiks began going through voters' lists and also finding out the names of buildings and shop owners in some areas. These lists were available with the Sena Shakha Pramukhs immediately after the December 6 riots."

All this clearly shows the involvement of the Sena in the January riots in a big way. The Sena had deliberately spread the rumour that the sophisticated weapons had come for use in the riots but what is surprising that the then Police Commissioner, Mr. Bapat, made a press statement that there was a sustained firing for an hour from a Mosque in Mohammed Ali Road area from AK-47 rifles. He even said that the "shells were found" though the gun itself was not traced. This was an unfortunate statement and the Commissioner had to admit later that no trace of AK-47 was found and that such a weapon might not have been used. But to give such a statement when the riots were raging was highly irresponsible.

Then the Governor of Maharashtra, Shri C. Subramaniam, also gave a statement to the press before he resigned that "there was foreign hand" in organising these riots and he even promised to give details at a later date which he could not till today. This shows that even the Governor who is considered quite secular, had either lost his poise or was misinformed. It is common sense that in highly communalised atmosphere, at least people at such responsible positions should be very cautious before making any statements to the press.

Another theory floated about these riots in the 2nd phase was that builders had organised these riots. Apart from the fact that the builders organisation denied their involvement through a press statement, no such evidence was found

during our investigations except in Malad, wherein in the first phase too, a local builder was involved in all probability. However, to say that builders' lobby was systematically involved in these riots is to fly in the face of fact. At least, we did not find any evidence to this effect. Anti-social elements were undoubtedly involved either of their own or they were used by the concerned vested interests.

It is also maintained that the in-fighting within the two factions of the Congress, i.e. one led by Mr. Sudhakar Rao Naik, Chief Minister (and the other by Shri Sharad Pawar, the Central Defence Minister). According to this theory, the Sharad Pawar group was fuelling the riots to destabilise Naik Ministry. It was also being said that since Mr. Naik had got Pappu Kalani and Bhai Thakur - both Congress MLAs belonging to the Sharad Pawar group - arrested and their unauthorised building demolished, their men, in order to teach Mr. Naik a lesson, systematically organised riots in the second phase. However, it is very difficult to substantiate this theory.

Among the reasons given by Mr. Naik for the riots, various lobbies and mafias with connections in high places, provoked the violence and specially because he had dared to take them on. Here, he may be hinting at those two controversial MLAs and their clout with Mr. Sharad Pawar. But he also mentioned the demolition activities undertaken by the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the minority-dominated areas and other such incidents. There may be some truth in the theory that some people were interested in destabilising Naik Ministry. Earlier, riots were organised to destabilise the Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh Chief Ministers. The riots raged in Hyderabad and in Karnataka until the respective Chief Ministers were removed.

However, one thing is quite certain that the Naik Ministry totally failed in controlling the situation. The situation became so grim that many from the city, including Mr. Tata and Nani Palkhiwala demanded partial emergency be declared and the city be handed over to the army. The city had never witnessed communal violence of such magnitude ever before. Even May 1984 riots were nothing compared to what happened during the January riots. The whole city went up in flames and very few areas remained free from curfew. The Muslims, rich or poor, spend their days in sheer terror during the riots, generally, poor people are considered soft targets and it is they who die, and it is they whose properties are looted and burnt. But during these riots in Bombay, even the richest Muslims were not safe. Their flats were located in high-rise apartment buildings and threatened. Many had to pay protection money. Even their cars parked in the courtyard of these buildings were found out and in many cases set ablaze. Hundreds of shops, belonging to the Muslims, were looted and set afire. About 300 bakeries, mostly belonging to U.P. Muslims, were burnt to ashes with the result that there was serious shortage of breads for many days in Bombay. For few days, bread could be sold for about Rs. 10 as against their normal price of Rs. 4 for a 400 gram loaf. Even factories and industries were not spared. It appeared as if it was a systematic attempt to destroy Muslims economically in this prime commercial city. The shops belonging to the Bohras and Khojas, the two most peaceful Muslim communities, who hardly ever take part in any political controversy, were not spared. Hundreds of Bohras and Khojas lost everything and many of them had to leave the city for other places.

Also it was for the first time that people fled in large numbers from the



city. Bombay never sends people back. It only attracts. It was only during these riots that the exodus began and it is said that more than 2,00,000 people left the city, both Hindus and Muslims. Special trains had to be run for this purpose. Many may never return now. Non-Maharashtrian Hindus also left for fear of being attacked by the Shiv Sena. And some left because they were attacked by the Muslims.

Despite all this, Mr Sudhakar Rao Naik maintained that he had not failed in his duty. He said, "I have taken the maximum possible measures to bring the situation to normal. I have not failed in my responsibility and left no stone unturned to tackle this abnormal situation. There was no lapse on the part of the State Administration. On the contrary, it worked round the clock." He also added that he did not resign owing moral responsibility for the violence, because, "as the head of the state, I must tackle the situation firmly, come what may and must not run away from the situation." How he tackled the situation is now a history. In fact, he failed and failed miserably. He was totally ineffective, perhaps helpless. To the impartial observers, it appeared as if the Sena Chief Bal Thackeray was in command. He was not able to get the Bombay police to put down the communal violence with determination. Some newspapers even linked him with Nero who was fiddling when Rome was burning.

The police was totally communalised with very few exceptions. There was overwhelming evidence that the police was siding with the Sena. The policemen even used filthy language for the Muslim police officers in their wireless message which are always taped. Some messages were recorded in which the policemen on duty sends a message to make fire brigade available as the miscreants had set fire to some houses. The police officer in police control room then inquired about the community of those whose houses were set ablaze and on being told that they were Muslims, the officer concerned said that let them die and if anyone comes out alive shoot him. The committee for protection of Democratic Rights filed a suit, requesting the court to take possession of the cassettes on which the conversation has been recorded.

People from various areas, like Behrampada, Bandra, complained to us that "the Shiv Sena goondas set fire to our houses by throwing petrol bombs and when we came out to douse the fire, the police fired upon us". Some even alleged that the policemen were leading some miscreants. It was also alleged - though difficult to verify - that some policemen gave their uniforms to Shiv Sainiks. This may be true or not, but there is no doubt that the Bombay police was showing open sympathy with the Sena men. Despite such overwhelming evidence, nothing was done to checkmate it. Mr. Bapat, the police commissioner of Bombay, never admitted failure on the part of his men, he on the other hand, kept on defending them. However, he paid for his negligence when he was removed from his post and made Member of Public Service Commission. But even this action was taken too late, when the miscreants did what they wanted and that too unchallenged. The army was totally dependent on the police and hence, could not be as effective as it ought to have been. It can be exemplified by an incident at Behrampada.

The local Shiv Sena MLA, Shri Sarpotdar was alleged to have played a vital role in attacks in Behrampada. He was found in possession of a revolver and a gupti and the army arrested him. But the police released him after



Maharashtrian women demonstrated outside the police station and Bal Thackeray said that the police had done the 'right thing'. This clearly shows that the police was taking very lenient view of the activities of Shiv Sainiks. Bal Thackeray was writing highly provocative editorials in Samna, the Sena mouthpiece and yet no action was taken by the Naik administration. On the other hand, Mr. Naik phoned Mr. Thackeray not to write such provocative editorials and articles. This also shows how weak the Naik administration was.

The Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao was equally ineffective. He did not stir out of Delhi when Bombay was aflame. When some film artists who met him in Delhi, and requested him to go to Bombay, he said he can do so only after Makar Sankranti on 14th January. What could be expected of a Prime Minister, who gave more importance to his religious beliefs than to the bloodshed in Bombay? When he finally visited Bombay, riots were already over. He came not to stop the riots but only to pay a formal visit. It was a short visit and he merely passed through riot affected areas without as much as getting down from his car and wiping the tears of those whose near and dear ones were killed. The reason given by him for not coming out of his car was that the security officers did not allow him.

Just to contrast this with the conduct in 1947 bloodbath, when Jawaharlal Nehru who was the then Prime Minister of India. When Zakir Hussain who was the then Vice Chancellor of Jamia Millia and was surrounded alongwith his students by the miscreants, phoned him, requesting him to send the police help, Nehru himself rushed in a car to Jamia, got down and chased away the mob. In Bombay, as pointed out above, even riots had stopped by the time the Prime Minister visited, yet he could not get down from his car though many victims of the riot who had lost everything, were waiting for hours to talk to him.

Prime Minister was content to send Shri Sharad Pawar, the then Defence Minister at the Centre, when the riots were raging in Bombay. Sharad Pawar appeared on the TV and made an appeal for peace but it was hardly effective. Though the intensity of rioting decreased in city, it spread to other areas in suburbs.

One can not say whether Mr. Sharad Pawar tried really hard to stop riots or not. Many people, as pointed out above made allegations that riots were engineered to throw out Mr. Naik and it is also true that when riots were raging in Bombay, dissension was raging in the Congress. Even Mr. Sunil Dutt, a noted film artist and an MP from Bombay, tendered his resignation from parliament to the Prime Minister, out of his sheer disgust. In his statement to the press, after resigning, he said that many riot victims approached him but he found himself helpless. He heard their cries but could not do anything and so he resigned.

The internecine fight within the Congress in Maharashtra had assumed such serious proportions that the leading newspaper The Times of India wrote an editorial on 15th January entitled "Tell more, Mr. Naik". It said, "In the eyes of growing number of people, a suspicion is fast turning into an appalling certainty" that the internecine warfare within the Congress is responsible to a large extent for the continuing trouble in Bombay. Some in fact go so far as to allege that the rivalry between the Defence Minister Mr. Sharad Pawar and the Chief Minister Mr. Sudhakar Rao Naik may be at the very root of those troubles. Mr. Naik himself appeared to hint as much when he all but threatened to expose elements that

have engineered the disturbances. The Chief Minister argued that in substance that various lobbies and mafias with connections in high places (read Mr. Sharad Pawar), had provoked the violence in Bombay because he had dared to take them on. If what Mr. Naik says is even partly true, then it is of the utmost importance that he should be asked to divulge forthwith the details of this diabolical act of vengeance against him."

The BJP leader, Shri L.K. Advani too visited Bombay on 16th January. His first half was at Jogeshwari, where four members of a Hindu family were burnt alive by the Muslim miscreants. He too attributed the communal violence to "foreign hand", without of course substantiating it or specifying which country had a hand in inciting the riots. He visits mostly the Hindu areas though he did talk to some Muslim victims also. He also maintained that the riots in Bombay were intensified only after the incident at Radhabai Chawl in Jogeshwari. However, he desisted from saying that the reaction was out of all proportions as more than 600 persons were killed in retaliation.

What was worrying most was cruelties with which many people were killed in Bombay riots. Most of the bodies were beyond recognition as they were highly mutilated. Many persons were chopped off into pieces, in certain instances, even heads were severed from the body. In some cases, a person was stabbed and then set ablaze after sprinkling petrol while still alive to make his death more painful and agonising. In KEM Hospital, a most shocking incident occurred. The miscreants stabbed an injured person just outside the operation theatre before he was taken in for operation in a critical condition. The miscreants thought he might survive if the operation was successful. In fact, it was a case of mistaken identity as the person concerned was a Hindu and the miscreants thought he was a Muslim on account of his beard.

Apart from the fact that how miscreants could come right up to the operation theatre with arms, it shows the extent of dehumanisation of the killers and insensitivity of the Indians to such brutal killings. It is not only the question of killing the other, it is also the question of dehumanisation and desensitisation not only of the killers but also of the community to which they belong. Our survey also points out that there was, in general, acceptability of what was happening. There was no protest against it in any form. The middle class Maharashtrians had sympathy with the Shiv Sena and their killers. It is only very conscious and committed people who protested or took out peace marches. The workers were also divided along communal lines. The trade unions could not intervene at all and this included Left Trade Unions too, as the workers were not with them. The workers were by and large, sympathetic to the Sena. Thus, the situation of the left trade unionists was pathetic. They themselves would have liked to effectively intervene but their workers were not with them. Mr. Sharad Rao, President of the Municipal Mazdoor Union, had to explain to his workers about his condemnation of the Maha Artis and their adverse impact on the communal situation.

One must understand that in such communally surcharged situations, the emotional appeal of religion is far more powerful than that of workers unity etc. It is also partly the result of lack of efforts on the part of trade union leaders to politically educate their workers. Trade union activities have been confined, by and large, to economic demands for higher wages, dearness allowance, bonus etc. In some places, Shiv Sena successfully tried to prevent the Muslim workers

from rejoining their duties after the riots. It happened even in Mazgaon Docks which is owned by the Central Government.

In 1984 riots too the Shiv Sainiks had tried to stop Muslim workers from resuming the work, but not on such scale. Moreover, this time, it was only restricted to the workers, they even tried to prevent Muslim children from going to schools. They threatened principals of schools not to let the Muslim children come to their schools. Even Lijjat Papads - purely a woman's organisation - also tried to prevent their Muslim women from coming to work. It is this wide ranging communalisation which poses a great danger to our national integrity. The Hindu nationalism is having more appeal than the composit secular nationalism. So far, our dominant cultural ethos had been more pluralist and respectful of other cultural traditions. Because of sustained propaganda for Ramjanambhoomi for more than 5 years now Hindu intolerance has grown and pluralist tradition devalued. All Muslims are seen as children of Babar (Babar ki santan) and Islam as not only an alien religion but also aggressive, violent and fanatical too. Composit nationalism is being replaced by the Hindu Rashtra. It appears, due to powerful propaganda of the BJP-VHP-RSS the consensus on composit culture is breaking down. The Sufi-Bhakti syncretism is giving way to the Hindu monolity. It is being assumed as if Hindu monolity confronting the Islamic monolity though neither is really monolithic. The politicians can benefit immensely if such artificial monoliths are created and confrontationist attitude promoted. After all religion has great emotional impact which could not be undermined.

The BJP propaganda has terrible impact on the minds of Hindus, particularly Maharashtrians. The Shiv Sena is much more cruder in its propaganda and is able to influence the lower class Hindus. And it is this class of people who mostly participate in arson, loot and murder. No wonder then that the riots in Bombay were very widespread indeed. Almost whole of Bombay was engulfed in it. Only southern tip of Bombay was an exception. The areas most affected were Dongri, Bombay Central, Tulsiwadi (Tardeo), Girgaum, Jacob Circle, Byculla, Ray Road, Cotton Green, Wadala, Antop Hill, Mahim, Dharavi, Behrampada (Bandra East), Kherwadi, Nirmal Nagar, Vakola, Andheri East, Jogeshwari East, Goregaon, Malad (East and West), Malavni, Borivali, Dahisar, Ghatkopar, Asalfa Village, Vikhroli, Bhandup, Mulund, Pratiksha Nagar etc.

In these riots some journalists were specially targeted. Those Hindi, Marathi and Urdu papers who wrote against the BJP-Shiv Sena faced the wrath of the Sainiks. Two journalists belonging to Mahanagar, were manhandled in the Mahanagar office and some Urdu journalists like Harun Rashid escaped in time from their house. But their house was razed to the ground and everything looted. Journalists were never so systematically attacked before. But it must be said to the credit of these journalists that they stood their ground and never gave in to such terror tactics.

The death toll in the rioting in second phase was quite high. The Times of India sources placed it at 557 on 22 January, 1993. They added 99 to the official sources which put the death toll at 458 only as the hospital sources were yet to report 99 more deaths to the Coroner's Court from where the police compiles its figures. According to the police commissioner Shri Bapat out of 458 killed, 288 were Muslims and 170 Hindus. Out of all those killed, 133 died in police firing (75 Muslims and 50 Hindus, eight unknown), 259 in mob violence

(186 Muslims, 73 Hindus) and 66 in arson (39 Hindus and 27 Muslims) About 99 it is difficult to say which community they belonged to but most probably majority of them Muslim.

However, figure of 557 is also certainly an underestimate. The death toll in all probability will exceed 600 as many bodies are still being discovered from various places like nullahs etc. Also, field investigations show that many families reported their men missing and they are hoping against hope that they might be in jail or somewhere from where they will return one day. But these are mere hopes. Probably they may never return.

Sources at the coroner's courts said that the number of stabbing cases this time is far higher than what the figures show. Several victims were stabbed seriously and then burned or thrown into gutters. Their postmortems would indicate that they died of asphyxiation or drowning, even though the stab injuries alone would have proved fatal. Interestingly the number of victims of police firing, 133, is almost the same as those killed in the December riots. According to the police, 132 people died when they opened fire last month (i.e. in December, 1992). This does not bear out the criticism in some papers that the police was not opening fire due to heavy criticism of its indiscriminate firing during the December riots. The fact that more Muslims were killed in police firing during the second phase too shows the partial behaviour of the police (as most of the mob attacks in January were led by the Shiv Sainiks).

The economic loss too was staggering this time. It was not only due to looting and burning of properties. It was only one aspect of it. It was more due to stoppage of production and movements of goods. Nearly 10,000 houses were demolished or burnt and more than 1,00,000 had to live in refugee camps for various periods of time. Many are still living in relief camps even two months after the event. Government has sanctioned only Rs. 5,000 for those whose shops and homes were looted. It is a pittance. This pittance also has not been received by all, so lethargic is bureaucracy. The values of homes lost range from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 10 lakhs. Mr. Amina Taj had a two storied home and a rickshaw, both were burnt. One Jogeshwari family lost Rs. 12000 worth of sarees alone. Many people are unable to return to their homes even now not just for imaginary fear. When they returned to get the "panchnamas" made, or just to survey their lost homes, they found their neighbours uncommunicative. In some cases, walls have been erected and boards put up saying, "Minorities not wanted." Ms. Taj saw the leader of the attackers sipping tea with the police at the local police station.

All of them want to sell their rooms and "live with members of their community, if possible". Even if it means, as Mr. Shahabuddin of Pratiksha Nagar said, "living in third-class surroundings compared with my A class area". Shahabuddin is not alone in his sentiments. He is representative of many others. There has been distress sell of properties on both sides i.e. Muslims selling of properties in the Hindu area and vice versa. If one wants to go in the areas of one's own community, one has to pay 15 to 20% extra and people are willing to do so for their future safety and security. Thus in a way communal divide is complete.

Many have already left Bombay, finding no other alternative. This has also brought to our knowledge the inter-dependence of the two communities in

certain areas of economic activities'. The garment exports received serious set-back as most of the tailors are Muslims. Export worth crores of rupees has been affected as the Muslim tailors have fled to their native places and one doesn't know whether they will return at all and if so, when. Similarly many other industries specially the ones on small scale and with export orders.

Also due to frequently imposed curfew workers could not report to duty and in many cases the industries and business establishments themselves were located in the curfew bound areas and there was tremendous loss of production. Also the goods did not move from one place to another as truckers were not prepared to take risk of attack on their vehicles. Though it is difficult to estimate total economic loss, a rough estimate puts it above 10,000 crores. It is no insignificant loss for a poor country like India. It is also feared that many foreign investors may also feel shy and may not like to invest in India. But it is very difficult to say whether it would be so. Anyway such fears have been expressed by some knowledgeable economists.

Tata Services drew up a tentative estimate of the total loss due to the January riots. According to this estimate, the loss of gross value of output of goods and services comes to Rs. 1,250 crores, the loss of trading business Rs. 1,000 crores, the loss of exports Rs. 2,000 crores, the loss of tax revenue for the Government Rs. 150 crores and loss of properties worth about Rs. 4,000 crores. Thus according to this estimate the total losses come nearly to Rs. 9,000 crores. Also, add to this the compensation etc. the Government will have to pay to the riot victims and destruction of their properties. It would be a staggering sum.

Those who think that they are "teaching a lesson to Muslims" are doing no less disservice to the Indian economy as a whole and hence their claim of being 'true patriots' is thoroughly baseless. In fact their objective behaviour is anti-patriotic. No patriot will act against the interests of the country. Also, such prolonged lawlessness has brought disgrace to the fair name of our country. The interview which Shri Bal Thackeray gave to the "Times" magazine "kick out the Muslims" is not only rash but portrays India and its government in a very poor light. We have been justly proud of India being the largest viable democracy in the entire third world. We can hardly sustain such claims any more. What was allowed to happen was really disgraceful for the country. Both the Central and the State Governments are responsible for such sad state of affairs. They have given an impression to the world that the minorities are not safe in India and that its Constitutional provisions are no longer honoured.

Still the Central and State Governments have done nothing to inspire confidence among the minorities. At best they are making run of the mill statements. One can hardly be sure that such violence along communal lines will not repeat in future. There are no plans to overhaul the police force and thoroughly reorient it in secular values. Also, many key persons who bear direct responsibility for planning and organising the January riots have not been touched. And it is unlikely that they will be prosecuted, let alone punished. Also, no steps are being contemplated to make communal propaganda a punishable offence. Whatever law exists, is hardly ever applied. The coming elections can once again prove disastrous if the BJP fights elections on the Ramjanambhoomi issue. As pointed out by some, a law is urgently needed to make communal or sectarian propaganda a serious criminal offence and the candidate should

automatically stand disqualified from contesting elections.

Also, in order to prevent occurrence of violence on such a scale it is for the secular forces to start the mass contact programme and intensify it wherever started as in West Bengal and Bihar. The BJP has been isolated among the political parties but not among the masses. On the other hand it is hoping to get majority in parliament in the next elections (though it is unlikely to get absolute majority). Thus it is highly necessary for the secular and democratic forces to start a massive mass contact programme.

The Muslims will also have to be serious rethinking about their behaviour. Secularism cannot be saved from the BJP-VHP onslaughts if Muslims too, do not reorient their behaviour. Their leaders have been simple reckless and have never acted out of sense of responsibility. Their aggressive movement on the Shah Bano Judgement and Babri Masjid controversy has only harmed the cause of minorities. Minority communalism is not the best way to fight majority communalism. Majority communalism can be challenged only by secular forces.

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## **TULSIWADI, TARDEO**

- Composition :** Kathiawaris (delits), Muslims, middle- class Hindu (Shiv Sena supporters)
- Events :** Jan. 9th: Maha aarti held near Tardeo circle. Bottle bombs thrown at Tulsiwadi. 5 p.m.: stoning of Bani compound, directed at Block F, a predominantly Muslim compound. 9 p.m. : Taxis set on fire behind chawl no. 8. People returning from Maha aarti started throwing bombs and looting. Police firing took place.
- Jan 11: Shiv Sena members from Arya Nagar were fighting with Muslims from Tulsiwadi. Street lights were being destroyed. Shanti Baria, RPI councillor, shot dead in police firing.
- Police :** Police firing extensively on Jan. 10th and 11th. One havaladar (Richard) was seen smashing street lights with his danda, and when questioned explained that this was for the residents' safety.
- Inspector Vijay Kadam was given a lot of praise for his role. Also praised were the members of the Railway Protection Force.
- Injuries :** Several, Hindus and Muslim in police firing. Several in rioting. (See copies of statements)
- Deaths:** Several, including Shanti Baria.
- See attached "An Overview of the Violence at Tulsiwadi" for more details, along with statistics of deaths, injuries and property damage.

## **Pratiksha Nagar, Antop Hill**

- Composition :** Primarily Hindu, also Muslim, Christian
- Events :** Jan 3 - 500 staff of "Mumbai Griha Nirman Grihastava" conducted a survey in colony, asking religion, work timings and other details.
- Jan. 9 - Some Muslim shops & vehicles destroyed. Shiv Sena leader Milan Singapori heard on loudspeaker informing rioters of police whereabouts and where to continue looting etc. Bus burnt near Rupam Talkies.
- Jan. 10 - Man and nephew burned to death.
- Jan. 11 - Systematic violence and destruction of Muslim



homes and shops began. Mobs were heard shouting "Jai Sia Ram" and "Har har Mahadev".

Shiv Sena mob gathered outside police station demanding that they hand over Mukharam Khan of Aman Committee. Khan had come to aid riot victims, having taken police permission to do so. (See report on this incident).

Jan. 13: 3 people in Maruti burned to death.

Deaths : At least 5.

Injuries : Several.

### **Pratiksha Nagar**

Composition : Mixed.

Events : Jan. 7: Two Hindu boys stripped and stabbed by Muslim mob.

Jan. 14: 6 a.m. Muslim owned taxi and bakery destroyed and burned. 3 Muslims stoned and hacked to death. Lorry burned.

Military trucks came to evacuate residents. These were attacked by Shiv Sainiks.

Police : Unknown. Military evacuated residents. Reports that police are "scared" of the Shiv Sena.

Deaths : 4(3Muslims)

Injuries : 2 known

### **An Overview of the Violence at Tulsiwadi, Tardeo, Bombay - 400034. From 9.1.93 to 12.1.93.**

The predominantly Muslim basti at Tulsiwadi, Tardeo is physically sandwiched between the high stone walls of the Wellington Golf Course on the West and the Western Railway Yard on the East. Its strategic location on one of the metropolitan's prime land sites - a stone's throw away from the main Western Railway Terminus at Bombay Central - consists mainly of jhopdas having ground floor (approximately 10' x 10' area) plus a loft or upper storey. The going price of a jhopdi in this basti, before the riots was over Rs. 1 lakh.

On the North it is bounded by a colony of mainly Kathiawadis - Dalits who hail from Gujarat. The Shiv Sena middle class colony of Arya Nagar marks the North boundary and extends into the Muslim basti which houses approximately 30,000 people.

B.A. Desai is the Congress (I) MLA representative from the area, the late

Shanti Baria being the Congress (I) Municipal Corporator. (She was from the RPI, which had made an electoral adjustment with the Congress (I) who controlled the Muslim vote bank in the area). According to many residents, the party workers and elected representatives were concerned primarily in 'regularising' new or extended illegal encroachments - a booming and lucrative business for all concerned. Newly authorised tenements swelled the vote bank and was a source of income.

For the residents, many being domiciled for over 25 years - Muslims and Kathiawadis - communal discord was unheard of, even after the demolition of the Babri Masjid on December 6, 1992. The events that overtook the city in the aftermath of December - especially the Shiv Sena sponsored Maha Aartis - did inject a modicum of nervousness, especially the Maha Aarti scheduled by the Shiv Sena for 9.1.93 at the Tardeo Circle.

Alert residents took concrete steps to negate lawlessness that could creep in the wake of the metropolitan's general uneasiness. The area was lit up at nights and meetings involving all sections of the community took place where it was resolved that no matter what the provocation be outside, they would remain united and co-operate with the police.

Peace lasted for about a month. The tempo of nervousness appears orchestrated in the build up to the Maha Aarti of 9.1.93. The burning of a Muslim taxi, bakery and chappal shop, and the beating up of a Muslim boy on the Bombay Central bridge, followed by his being bodily thrown from the bridge accelerated the anxiety. Wild rumours stroked the fires of restlessness, resulting in masses of people streaming in one direction or the other before being calmed down by social workers in the area. The most chilling rumour for the Kathiawadis was that at Dongri many Kathiawadis were killed and burnt. Even before the Maha Aarti, the Muslim exodus from Tulsiwadi had begun.

Attempts at Muslim retaliation were firmly dealt with by the community's elders, though they could not prevent them from abandoning their talwars, choppers of bamboos for self-defence.

The Kathiawadis were also victims of rumours. Initially, they armed themselves with stones, bricks, bottles, petrol, kerosene and acid bombs, presumably for self-defence from armed 'outsiders' - information gleaned from baseless rumours that nevertheless had concrete effects in precipitating tension. Minor provocations, reactions, counter posturing with inflammatory slogan shouting set the stage for 3 days of burning, looting, violence, police firing (resulting in deaths and injuries) and a mass exodus of traumatised Muslims.

The political leaders neither guided nor helped to defuse the tension. There is strong evidence to indicate that in fact they precipitated the anarchy. Except for a few notable and worthy exceptions - eg. Inspector Vijay Kadam - the police were not only partisan spectators, but active accomplices in bringing the Muslim community to its heels. However, The Railway Protection Force (directly under the Central Government & independent of the Railway Police) are to be commended in preventing a major massacre, when they escorted and gave safe and orderly passage to the mass exodus that took place on 11.1.93.

### **Losses of Life and Properties**

Vehicles Burnt :

9 Taxis, 2 Scooters, 1 Maruti Van

Muslims Shot & injured : 5  
 2 dead  
 3 injured  
 1 burnt by acid

Kathiawadis Shot : 7  
 5 injured  
 2 dead

Hindus from Arya Nagar: 3 injured from police firing

### **Tulsiwadi Vikas Samiti**

Reelabai Kataria - a social worker.

Ekta fact finding

350 Houses burnt in Tulsiwadi approx & looted:

50 Hindus  
 300 Muslims

320 Houses looted :

300 Muslims  
 20 Hindus

### **Pratikaha Nagar, Antop Hill, Bombay - 400 037.**

Pratiksha Nagar is essentially a transit camp for displaced people, sandwiched between Sion-Koliwada, Antop Hill & Wadala. The residences are row-houses of brick & cement, with iron grills. The residents are in the middle income group, comprising primarily of Hindus, Muslims & Christians being the other communities. Statistical details are attached.

An overview of the events that took place here have been pieced together by evidences collected (details attached). The sources are first hand reports from Hindu residents, displaced Muslims (located at present at the Mahatma Phule Market Musafirkhana) and police officials.

According to the Muslims interviewed, on 3.1.1993, people posing as staff of 'Mumbai Griha Nirman Grihastava' conducted a survey in the colony. Inquiries were made and recorded in triplicate, regarding personal details of residents, viz. : work timings, religion, number of children, sex etc.

On Saturday, 9.1.1993, some Muslim shops & vehicles were destroyed.

On 10.1.1993, some people started gathering outside Sunder Vihar - some having been sent there by the police, when they went to report violence in the area.

However, systematic violence destruction looting began on Monday, 11.1.1993, when mobs gathered shouting slogans of "Jai Sia Ram" and "Har Har Mahadev." Muslims were asked to come out of their homes and all their possessions were taken out on to the streets and either looted or burnt. Taxis, rickshaws and scooters were also burnt.

The Muslims gathered outside Sunder Vihar Restaurant, (and some who went to the police station for protection were kept there,) while their houses were systematically looted and smashed. They remained outside for 3 days (from 10.1.93 to 12.1.93) until they were evacuated by the army on 14.1.1993. During this period they lacked all facilities, including food & water. However, some Hindu neighbours sneaked in food packets to their besieged Muslim neighbours at great risk to their own lives. A few including one Christian family, even hid some Muslims in their homes.

During this period, the Raza Masjid in the colony was destroyed and the Bangi Sahib was killed. His young nephew, who witnessed the incident, escaped.

Rumours were rife that after the Muslims were evacuated, Kashmiri militants, armed with AK 47 rifles would enter, that the water would be poisoned etc.

On 14.1.1993, when 3 Muslims driving a Maruti car came to the colony to visit, they were burnt alive in the car, supposedly because they were bringing in arms.

While the army evacuated the Muslims there was a rasta roko by the Hindu women who lay on the road. There was firing, resulting in one death and 2 injuries. 175 people were rounded up by the police.

Victims of mob violence at Pratiksha Nagar include:

1. Zubair Mohammad
2. Iyaz
3. Shakil Ahmed Qureshi of Chawl C. No. 107. (H)

**Mona, Rajan & Leslie's Report**  
**on**  
**Pratiksha Nagar, Antop Hill, Bombay - 400 037.**  
**of**  
**Investigations conducted from 19.1.1993**

The following are extracts of interviews conducted:

1. At Antop Hill police station: Interviews conducted:

- 168 strong police force.
- Can not state exactly which date this all started.
- About 3000 Muslims gathered for 2 to 3 days in the open near Sunder Vihar.
- After the Maruti car with 3 persons was burnt, the army moved in and rescued the Muslims. The 3 victims were from Mahim: Azim Jallaluddin Motekar, Khurshid Ahmed Mohammad Khan and Liaqat Kanekar. The accused are P.V. Joshi and Anu Tukaram Mahadik.

The following information was gleaned from displaced Muslims of Pratiksha Nagar, now sheltered at the Mahatma Phule Muzafirkhana:

#### 4. Shernaz Begum

Irfan Garments, Pratiksha Nagar, Camp No 2, Chawl No. 161, R. No. 1594.

- Her residence is in view of the police station.
- Claims the fights in the camp began on 9.1.93. She had withdrawn Rs. 17,000 from the bank.
- On 11.1.93, at 9.30 a.m. mobs looted her home, at the point of a talwar at her neck. All other family members were standing outside. Having seen the looting, they fled and hid. While the men were looting her home, she was beaten up by the women in the mob.
- Along with sister, Shezadi Begum, she went to the police station. They were told by a "3 star, fair - skinned and big" police officer that until the military arrived, they could not be helped. They were busy phoning and receiving calls. They were told that the Shiv Sena was preventing the army from rescuing the Muslims.
- She learnt from the police that 3 persons had been sent by the Aman Committee to rescue the Muslims. They had come to the camp in a Maruti car. They were killed at approximately 3 p.m. on 13.1.93
- Along with her sister, she was locked up along with about 70 other Muslims - at the police station till the night of 13.1.93, after which she was taken out by the Military. Altogether 11 army trucks from the Bombay Aman Committee conveyed them to the Muzafirkhana.
- While at the police station, she could hear Milan Singapori - a Sena social worker - informing over the loudspeaker the whereabouts of the police, and what areas to concentrate on. At night, they signaled with the use of red and green lights.
- Pramod Thakur and Ravi Sawant Datta are the other Shiv Sena leaders. She believes that they work hand in glove with the congress leaders.
- Ramesh and Shanker, two Telugu boys living near her, directed the Shiv Sainiks to loot her home.

#### 5. Noor Ali Siddiqui, wife Tarun and 3 children.

Chawl No. 99, R.NO 786

- On Sunday, 3.1.93 about 500 people fanned out in the area with forms, asking for ration cards, rent receipts, and noting if the occupants were Muslims/Hindus, Maharashtrians etc.
- 9.1.93: After night Aarti, a bus was burnt near Rupam Talkies. They also witnessed the burning of 4 taxis and 6 shops belonging to Muslims. The taxis were parked in front of the police station for safety. There was

signaling with red and green lights.

- 10.1.93: the Bangi Sahib and his nephew were wrapped up in a chatai and burnt alive. A few houses were also burnt. At about 11 a.m. 2biscuit shops were burnt. At 2 p.m. at the sight of the flames, and Shiv Sainik shouting: "go back to Pakistan," they got frightened, and took shelter at the police station along with about 70 others. At 8 p.m. they were taken to an open spot near Sunder Hotel, where about 1000 Muslims had gathered. This number gradually swelled to about 2500. They neither had food or water, nor were others allowed to minister to them. At night a few loaves of bread were given to them. They were threatened with talwars, but the police shooed them off. They were guarded by 3 policemen with lathis and one with a gun.

- Later they were informed that their houses were looted.

- 12.1.93: at night, they were brought to the Muzafirkhana by the Military.
- A Duty Officer Patil, who stays behind Sunder Hotel, has a son who was arrested while brandishing a sword, about 15 days by a (2 star) Inspector Paul - who was then transferred.

(She claims that a Ms. Khan of Chawl No. 191, R. No. 2104 knows all.)

- On 9.1.93, Inspector Patil made out a report from about 10 havaldars.
- Inspector Paul told the Shiv Sainik Pramukhs to move the people. These Pramukhs removed about 100 people. But their top leaders instructed them not to move them. On the second day the police removed a few more people.
- On the last day, 14.1.93, Mukkaran Khan from the Bombay Aman Committee came in a jeep with a lorry of food. The lorry, however was sent back, and the jeep stopped near the police station. Mukkaran Khan then alerted the Military. While this happened, Inspector Patil was in complete charge.

6. Sheikh Intekhab, aged 18 years.

Camp No.2, A 18, Room No.346

- Attached copy of his complaint to the police.
- Claims that Beat officer Patil in Pratiksha Nagar is an unjust police officer. His son was caught breaking glasses of taxis around December 7 in Camp No 1 by Inspector Paul and arrested. Patil got him transferred to Nirmal Nagar.
- Prakash Wagdare, the Shiv Sena shakha pramukh of ward No 60 was also warned not to cause trouble at Pratiksha Nagar.

**Antop Hill, Bombay - 400 037.**  
**Investigations conducted from 19.1.1993**

The following are extracts of interviews conducted:

**1. Joseph Anthony Sagayan:**

- Narrates that on 15.1.93, super stores (Pradeep Guharati) was broken into at 10 a.m. by some Bangla Deshis. On intervening, (with his group) a fight followed, and he was beaten up at 2 p.m. His head was injured, went to Antop Hill Hospital.
- On 16.1.93, claims to have shown the police the Bangla Deshis' houses, that led to 20 arrests. However, on 17.1.93 at 7 p.m. along with Ashok Ganpat Mahadik, he was summoned to the Antop Hill police station by Inspectors Sawant & Pavaskar, and arrested. He was released on 19.1.93 having been beaten up in custody.

**2. B.M. Gogri - Owner of super stores, Indira Seva Mandal.**

Near Sanmukhananda Hall, CGS Quarters Road, Sion (East), Bombay-400037.

- On Monday, 11.1.93, at 2.30 a.m., lock broken shop looted. Nearly Rs. 3500 cash, rice & dal sacks, oil, soap, aftershave, eatables and cash counter was stolen.
- Nirmala and Ashok Ganpat Mahadik & Anthony Sagayan brought back the sacks of grain and the damaged cash counter from the Bangla Deshis' house.
- Nirmala claims that this was witnessed by Raju, the shopkeeper's assistant. Further states that the trouble got worse at 10 a.m. Fatima & Munira, Bangla Deshi women who resided here for 6 to 7 years, torched houses. The situation progressively worsened on 11.1.93 and 12.1.93. houses looted.
- Sohan Singh Koli, the Janta Dal Municipal Corporator has not come here, nor can he do anything.
- Kasam is the leader of the Bangla Deshis. During this investigation he was present with police protection. - Vasha has been helping from 11.1.93.
- 175 persons from the majority community have been arrested.

**3. At Antop Hill police station: 168 strong police force.**

- Cannot state exactly which date this all started.



- Police report of Bengalipura in Antop Hill.
  - About 3000 Muslims gathered for 2 to 3 days in the open near Sunder Vihar.
  - After the Maruti car with 3 persons was burnt, the army moved in and rescued the Muslims. The 3 victims were from Mahim: Azim Jallaluddin Motekar, Khurshid Ahmed Mohammad Khan and Liaqat Kanekar. The accused are P.V. Joshi and Anu Tukaram Mahadik.
- The following information was gleaned from displaced Muslim of Pratiksha Nagar, now sheltered at the Mahatma Phule Muzafarkhana:

4. Shernaz Begum (Pratiksha Nagar) Mostly repeated.

Irfan Garments, Pratiksha Nagar, Camp No 2, Chawl No.161, R.No.1594

- Her residence is in view of the police station.
- Claims the fights in the camp began on 9.1.93 she had withdrawn Rs.17,000 from the bank.
- On 11.1.93, at 9.30 a.m., mobs looted her home, at the point of a talwar at her neck. All other family members were standing outside. Having seen the looting, they fled and hid. While the men were looting her home, she was beaten up by the women in the mob.
- Along with sister, Shezadi Begum, she went to the police station. They were told by a "3 star, fair-skinned and big" police officer that until the military arrived, they could not be helped. They were busy phoning and receiving calls. They were told that the Shiv Sena was preventing the army from rescuing the Muslims.
- She learnt from the police that 3 persons had been sent by the Aman Committee to rescue the Muslims. They had come to the camp in a Maruti car. They were killed at approximately 3 p.m. on 13.1.93.
- Along with her sister, she was locked up - along with about 70 other Muslims - at the police station till the night of 13.1.93, after which she was taken out by the Military. Altogether 11 army trucks from the Aman Committee conveyed them to the Muzafirkhana.
- While at the police station, she could hear Milan Singaporai - a Shiv Sena leader - informing over the loudspeaker the whereabouts of the police, and what areas to concentrate on. At night, they signaled with the use of red and green lights.
- Pramod Thakur and Ravi Sawant Datta are the other Shiv Sena leaders. She believes that they work hand in glove with the congress leaders.
- Ramesh and Shanker, two Telegu boys living near her, directed the Shiv

Sainiks to loot her home.

5. Noor Ali Siddiqui, wife Tarun and 3 children.

Chawl No.99, R. No.786

- On Sunday, 3.1.93, about 500 people fanned out in the area with forms, using for ration cards, rent receipts, and nothing if the occupants were Muslims/Hindus, Maharashtrians etc.
- 9.1.93: After night Aarti a bus was burnt near Rupam Talkies. They also witnessed the burning of 4 taxis and 6 shops belonging to Muslims. The taxis were parked in front of the police station for safety. They were signaling with red and green lights.
- 10.1.93: the Bangi Sahib and his nephew were wrapped up in a chatai and burnt alive. A few houses were also burnt. At about 11 a.m. 2 biscuit shops were burnt. At 2 p.m. at the sight of the flames, and Shiv Sainiks shouting "Go back to Pakistan," they got frightened, and took shelter at the police station along with about 70 others. At 8 p.m. they were taken to an open spot near Sunder Hotel, where about 1000 Muslims had gathered. This number gradually swelled to about 2500. They neither had food or water, nor were others allowed to minister to them. At night a few loaves of bread were given to them. They were threatened with talwars, but the police shooed them off. They were guarded by 3 policemen with lathis and one with a gun.
- Later they were informed that their houses were looted.
- 12.1.93: at night, they were brought to the Muzafirkhana by the Military.
- An Inspector Patil, who stays behind Sunder Hotel, has a son who was arrested about 15 days by a (2 star) Inspector Paul.

Khan of Chawl No.191, R.No.2104 knows all.

On 9.1.93, Inspector Patil made out a report from about 10 havaldars.

- Inspector Paul told the Shiv Sainik Pramukhs to move the people. These pramukhs removed about 100 people. But their top leaders instructed them not to move them. On the 2nd day the police removed a few more people.
- On the last day Mukaram Khan from the Aman Committee came.

**Pratiksha Nagar :**

- About 7500 population in all 4 camps: a Housing Board man who seemed to be collecting statistics, says that only Muslim homes/shops have been attacked/looted.

A Tamil family on the outskirts of Pratiksha Nagar (Sardar Nagar) reported:

- Started from 14th Jan 93 11 a.m.
- 3 Muslims outside his house, stoned, chopped and burnt
- 6 a.m. burnt taxi, Muslim bakery, after first looting the same.
- 7 p.m. burnt lorry.
- Only after the 3 Muslims were killed, did the military come.
- The men were visitors (of Muslims). It was thought that they had brought bombs/arms, hence they were killed.
- 5 Military lorries, full of armed militia: 1 ambulance: 2 tempos: 1 medical van;
- 3 open lorries, full of people: children, women & men were taken away.
- Even while these people were being taken away, they were attacked by goondas (Shiv Sena).
- 3 days in the police station - no food given to them
- Then the military took them to the Musafirkhanna at Bhendi Bazaar.
- They are yet not back - still in Musafirkhanna.
- Police are scared of the people.
- Military came on the 16th.
- Ravi Gaikwad, 22 yrs. a Hindu delivery boy, working at Pydone, residing at Pratiksha Nagar: On 7 Jan. 1993, a Muslim group of 15 got hold of him & his friend, Ishwar Kishore at Pydone & stripped them. Ravi, being circumcised was spared, but Ishwar was stabbed in the neck. Police arrived & were rescued. Ishwar was taken to J J. Hospital. Ramesh also witnessed someone build at Pydone.
- Avinash Parab, No 4 Chawl - refused to give information, says outsiders only did the damage.
- A lorry of food arrived in our locality for relief and we were informed that a jeep also came.
- The lorry, however was sent back, and the jeep stopped near the police station. Mukarram Khan then alerted the Military. While this happened, Inspector Patil was in complete charge.

### **Missing Persons from Pratiksha Nagar**

- Hawabi Ebrahim Shab's 2 sons Rehman Shab, 30 yrs and Asiroj Shab, 27

yrs.

- Mushir Hussein Dabir Hussein Sayed's brother - Monomod Khan Sayed.
- 2 others-father and son (statement is recorded).  
Ilyas Mushir's father & brother.  
(in all 5 have been found out, there are probably many more missing )

### People being intimidated

Masnoor Hasan Shaikh of Pratiksha Nagar has given written complaint to Bapat, P.M. President, Packpute, and twice to Antop Hill police station. He is now at Qosliwara and has been sent a message by Vithal Lad (Chief of Jai Maharashtra H.M.) at his Qosliwara residence that he would be bailed along with his entire family.

(His complaint gives an entire list of people who have looted and caused trouble at Pratiksha Nagar and Vithal Lad's name tops the List).

Mukharam Khan of Aman Committee Phone:- (R) 5148428, (O) 6140913, 6132667.

On the 11th of January '93 Mr M Khan set off to resource people from Pratiksha Nagar. He had obtained permission from Mr Pasmiche - Traffic Additional Commissioner. He was told to go first to Antop Hill police station and take police protection from there and then only should he proceed to Pratiksha Nagar. He was promised 2 traffic jeeps along with police protection.

As he was proceeding towards Antop Hill at the Sion Koliwada bridge he asked people (Maharashtrians) on the road for the direction of Antop Hill police station. They directed him left and he drove as per their direction - right into Pratiksha Nagar instead of the police station. He then realised that he had been wrongly directed.

He was in a Jeep with 4 boys, he had also taken a lorry (that was following him) with a little food. The lorry was held up because there were burnt vehicles on the road which obstructed the way for this large vehicle. The boys from his jeep got off to clear the way for the Lorry. Just then one Hindu warned him that he should not go further. Then a mob armed with choppers approached him. The 4 boys jumped on and they drove on towards Pratiksha Nagar police station.

At the Pratiksha Nagar police station the officer there said "why have you come here to die?" The mob had by then arrived here. They threw acid bulbs on the Jeep and broke the head lights (The lorry was burnt the driver excepted).

A wireless message was received at this stage asking if Mr Khan was there. This helped to establish Mr. Khan's credibility and they took him more seriously. This also prevented the police from handing him over to the mob. They checked his jeep for arms and found none. The mob then demanded that the 4 boys accompanying Mr M Khan be handed over. They of course refused.

One Shiv Sainik (Shakha Pramukh) wearing a safari suit (may be thumre) asked why he (Mr Khan) had come. He brought 4-5 men in with him. They had vests with tiger faces, so he knew they were Shiv Sainiks. They assured Mr. Khan that they were that decent people and not rioters and he should come out. (Mr Khan feels that they had just come in to see the faces of his boys to punish them later).

Later the mob demanded that all the muslims hiding in the police station should be sent out or they would burn down the entire police station. Inspector Patil told Mr. Khan that he had made a mistake by coming here. This was also stated by the junior Patil. They said they were trying to rescue people by taking small groups of muslims away in police vans (but from the Muslims we learnt that they were asked to collect money and it was taken by the police & then they were taken in groups of 20-30 & left at Sion Station where other mobs attacked them. In fact a father & a son still missing after they were left at Sion Station that is where they were last seen) According to Mr. M.Khan one commando police told him that if you go we will teach these people a lesson.

Inspector Paul (who had been earlier very fair and was transferred to another area also arrived in the morning of the 12th).

Mr. Khan had by then spent the 11th night at the police station. In the morning Mr. Khan was taken to Sunder Vihar Hotel where the whole group of 1500-2000 Muslim men, women, children, infants (some newly born) were kept hostages for 2 nights without food or water out on the road. These reports are from interviews with Pratiksha Nagar residents and not statements of Mukharam Khan. Some Hindus who were sympathetic gave a little food & water to some people. But this was done in a clandestine manner by very few. Other Muslims report that they were begging for any left overs that people were going to throw away in the garbage bins. Still other Muslims report that when they asked for water, they were told to drink urine.

Later after much trouble they allowed the people to be taken away by the Army trucks to Musafir Khana.

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## TULSIWADI, TARDEO

**Location :** Off Race Course Road, at Mahalakshmi, starts from the lane next to Zenith Tins Ltd., and extends up to Tulsiwadi P. O. just outside the Bombay Central Station.

**Composition :** Towards the P. O. end of Tulsiwadi lies Arya Nagar, a colony of 17 buildings; residents are mainly Maharashtrian Hindus. Mahalakshmi end of Tulsiwadi has mainly Kathiawari Hindus. In between is a Muslim hutment colony with a few Hindu houses. Population is about 30% Muslim, 70% Hindu.

**Events :** **According to the Muslims :**

Jan 9 : there was Maha Aarti at Tardeo Circle. Around 7.30 p. m. one resident went for a walk up to Arya Nagar. He overheard Inspector VK Kadam asking his constables to keep ready "10 cartoons each". He returned and informed all the residents what he had overheard, asked everyone to stay indoors. From the upper floor of his house, he saw ladies of Arya Nagar collecting stones and wrapping cloth around sticks and bamboos.

In a few minutes, bottles and stones were thrown from Arya Nagar. People started running towards Arya Nagar. They also retaliated with stones.

The police arrived at 9 p. m. and fired on the Muslims, some from the terraces of Arya Nagar, insted of controlling the mob that had gathered there. There were injuries and deaths in the firing. Raju Driver, a Hindu, took the wounded Muslims to the hospital. Night was peaceful but tense.

Jan 10 : At 10 a.m., stones, burning cycle tyres, petrol bombs and cement slabs were thrown on the huts from the terraces of Arya Nagar. This despite uniformed police who were there. The police at Tulsiwadi PO were informed, but did not act.

By 3.30 p. m. this attack had subsided. Then the Kathiawari Hindus began attacking the Muslims. The Muslims called up 101 and other emergency numbers for help, but received none (they say that on hearing a Muslim name, the operator would put down the phone).

At 9 p. m. army commandos arrived and brought the

situation under control. By midnight, half the Muslims had fled with the help of Railway police. They headed towards different relief camps.

Jan 11 : More Muslims left on this day. Some huts were still burning when they left.

Those who left only began returning from Jan 10 onwards.

#### **According to the Hindus of Arya Nagar :**

Notably, none of the men in Arya Nagar were willing to talk, so this account is based on what the women said.

Jan 9 : The men had all gone to attend the Maha Aarti at Tardeo Circle. At this time, the Muslims from Tulsiwadi began attacking Arya Nagar. The women of Arya Nagar retaliated and defended themselves.

Jan 11 : The police, instead of searching the houses of the Muslims, made a search of Arya Nagar, arresting 9 people.

The residents heard that 3 taxis full of weapons reached the Muslims.

#### **According to the Kathiawari Hindus :**

The attack was started by the Muslims and the Kathiawaris only retaliated. Some Kathiawaris said that what happened to the Muslims was quite terrible, as they were surrounded by the Hindus on two sides, and inactive police on another. The police was very unfair, firing at the Kathiawaris without warning.

Police :

Inspector VK Kadam was seen holding a discussion with Muslims who had finished their prayers. The Muslims seem to have faith in him. He has been posted here since Dec 6th. He verified that some of the huts were burned on Jan 10 morning. He says the incidents took place because of the rumours that were floating around, including those about events in Jogeshwari and elsewhere.

While the Muslims appear to have confidence in Inspector Kadam, they also complained repeatedly of police inaction, and unresponsive people at the emergency numbers.

The Hindus on both sides complained of unfair police action in their areas.

Deaths :

4 (2 Hindus, 2 Muslims, all in police firing)



One of the deaths was Shantiben Baria, RPI Councillor.

This tally is according to the residents' accounts.

Injuries : 21 (5 Muslims, 16 Hindus, all in police firing)

This tally is according to the residents' accounts.

Property damage : Besides dozens of huts that were burned, 2 taxis, 2 scooters and 1 Maruti van were set on fire.

Other comments : People have been living in relative peace in Tulsiwadi and the surrounding areas for the past 25 years and more. There had never been any communal violence. Even after December 6, 1992, the area was peaceful.

People of both religions were asked what caused the violence and how it could be stopped in the future. Their replies are revealing.

The Hindus of Arya Nagar insisted that the hutment colony had to be completely cleared to prevent future riots. On being reminded that there were also Hindus in the huts, they said the Muslims should be driven away, and the Hindus allowed to stay back in the huts. Why were they against the Muslims ? The loudspeakers the Muslims use for their azan disturbed them till as late as 2 a. m. Each Muslim man had 10 wives and 100 children and thus their population was increasing. And the Muslims set off crackers when Pakistan won cricket matches. So they must be driven away.

Some Kathiawari Hindus said the Muslims were a "useless bunch of smugglers and drug traffickers". The way to stop future violence was to drive all Muslims away from India, send them to "their own country".

Only then could Indians, i. e. Hindus, live in peace.

The Muslims had these suggestions :

- (1) Set up an Aman Committee. Bring the elders of both communities together to discuss their problems.
- (2) Make the police of the locality responsible for safeguarding the lives and property of all the people in the area.
- (3) Government should provide land to them for constructing a large Masjid, so that they don't use the road for reading namaz. The present Masjid is only 20 x 20 feet which is very insufficient.
- (4) Keep an ambulance available at all times.

Following is a report on the violence against jhopadpattis on Reay Road in January 1993. All those mentioned are residents of these jhopadpattis. The timber marts were also burned.

Area : Reay Road, between Cotton Green and Reay Road Stations (CR)

Nature : This is the heart of Bombay's timber industry. Reay Road and the nearby lanes have several large timber marts, owned mainly by Hindus though a large number of Muslims are employed there. Both sides of Reay Road have a large number of jhopadpattis housing a mixed population - Hindus, Muslims, Tamils, Gujaratis, Maharashtrians and people from UP. They have lived on the same footpath for many years, some for as many as 40. They have never had any trouble among themselves before.

Events : On the afternoon of January 9th, a large mob of thugs (the size seems to have been about 500, though one resident says 1000) armed with lathis and swords attacked the area. They were all outsiders, though the residents recognized some faces as being people seen in the area from time to time. Most of the residents said the thugs were all Hindus, some mentioning the Shiv Sena, though some residents said they didn't know and thought the mob was not particularly Hindu or Muslim. The residents all ran away.

All the jhopadpattis on the east side of the road, except for one or two, were destroyed and burned by the mob. Vessels, clothes and money were looted.

Also burned were 14 small shops, 8 Hindu and 6 Muslim.

The residents began returning the next day, but were repeatedly attacked and warned by thugs who told them not to return. Some were threatened and robbed as late as February 8th.

On January 11th, the various timber marts were also set on fire. Reports say vaguely that a white Ambassador came at night and people from it threw chemicals and set the markets on fire.

Deaths : 5 in rioting (1 Muslim, 4 Hindu, all killed by rioters.)

Police : Most of the residents said the police did nothing at all. Appeals were made to the Kalachowkie police station but nothing resulted. Several residents said the police were standing and watching the destruction.

The fire brigade also does not seem to have come to put out the fires of the burning jhopadpattis.

On lodging complaints at the Kalachowkie Station, the residents of the 36 burned jhopadpattis have all been given copies of :

(1) Statement about the riots by Kalachowkie police station Sub Inspector Atmaram Mane.

(2) Panchnama in the name of Vasant Raghunath Rohide and Sunil Balu Dongre, common to all families.

All the people mentioned below were affected in the events above.

Name : Dhanpal Ramdeo Yadav, 40 years old

Occupation : Dealer old newspapers, bottles etc.

Yadav is from UP, but has lived in Bombay for 11 years.

Yadav's jhopadpatti and handcart have both been burned. Various vessels in his shop have been stolen. He estimates his losses at Rs. 10,000. He visits the Collector's office daily, but has not got any compensation yet.

Name : Subhash Singh, 35

Occupation : Milk Seller

Subhash is from UP, has lived on Reay Road for 13 years.

He has been robbed of all the clothes and vessels in his house. His damages are about Rs. 20,000. 1 person from the Collector's office has come to visit his house to assess damage, but some 2-3 weeks later, he had heard nothing more.

As late as February 8th, thugs came to Subhash and beat him, telling him to leave the area.

Name : Radha, 45 (Husband Gopal, 47)

Occupation : Scrap Metal Scavenging

Radha is from Tirupati in Tamil Nadu, from where she came to Bombay over 35 years ago. She has lived on the street on Reay Road since then.

All her belongings were either burned or looted in the riots. She has visited the police station and the Collector's office several times, lodging her complaint and trying to get compensation.

10 Hindu thugs visited her on February 8th, and threatened her.

Name : Hasina Mehboob Mulla, 44

Occupation : None

Hasina has lived in Bombay since birth. Her husband works in FCI.

While she was away washing her clothes on January 9th, a mob burned her hut and stole all her clothes, pans, boxes etc. The mob returned later in the day, she says, and beat her nephew. She has lost between Rs. 10,000 and Rs.

20,000, she estimates.

Name : Abdul Hassan, 36

Occupation : Handcart puller

Abdul is from UP and has lived in Bombay for 15 years.

When the mob came, he ran away and did not return to Reay Road for 4 days. On his return, he found his handcart burned completely. He is now unable to earn a living and is trying to get a loan to buy a new handcart.

Name : Roop Singh, 18

Occupation : Waste Paper business

Roop Singh has lived on Reay Road since he was 7 years old. He is from Udaipur, Rajasthan. His wife and a child live there. He lives on Reay Road with his younger brother.

On January 9th, the mob broke his shop (Gamra Metal and Paper Mart) open, and stole several hundred rupees. They beat his brother, who was trying to protect the shop. He opened the shop again, but on January 27th, several people he remembers from the mob returned and warned him never to open his shop again. He is now scared to start operating again.

Name : Subi Shinde, 47 years old

Occupation : None

Subi Shinde is from Taluka Indrapur near Pune. She, her husband, her three daughters, one son and his wife all live in a small hut right next to Navyug Wood Works, a timber business that was destroyed. They have lived there for many years.

On the night of January 11th, Navyug Wood works was set on fire. Subi Shinde's hut also burned as a result. But while this happened, vessels and clothes were also looted from her hut. The thieves also bent open a box in which she was collecting money for her daughter's marriage, and stole the money, about Rs. 5000.

## **Bombay Central/Dalal Estate/Kailash Apartments**

Composition : Mixed. Dalal Estate has Parsi, Muslim and a few Hindu residents. Kailash Apartments is primarily Muslim (10-15 non-Muslim families out of 150)

Events : Friday 8 Jan. 7 p.m. 200-300 strong mob attacked Kailash Apartments. Residents claim it was Shiv Sena, joined by BIT Chawl residents (next door). Mosque within Kailash compound broken.

Sat 9 Jan. Laundry inside Dalal Estate set on fire.

Sunday 10 Jan. 10 a.m. 25-30 people entered Dalal Estate, broke into the flat of a Muslim resident who had fled some

days before, and looted it. Private firing from adjacent building scared them away.

12.30 p.m. 200-250 people, Hindus, returned. They were armed with knives and choppers. Claimed Muslims on the terrace were attacking them. Locked all doors from outside and set fire to building.

7 p.m. 80 people, Hindus, burned down 8 small shops belonging to Muslims on the pavement in the S. T. Stand.

**Police :** Police arrived responding to complaints from Kailash Apts. residents on Sat 9 Jan. They blamed Kailash residents for the trouble.

No police action in Dalal Estate.

They were in area of S. T. Stand and did nothing.

**Injuries / Deaths :** Dalal Estate - 2 (elderly Parsi couple)

2 injured (1 Hindu) in private firing.

Here is a more detailed account of what happened in these areas.

### **Dalal Estate**

Dalal Estate is a complex housing blocks A to H. G block houses 10 tenants, 7 Parsi, 2 Muslim and 1 Hindu. On Sun 10 Jan, a mob entered the compound and went to the 1st floor house of Mr. Angoothiwala, a Muslim resident. He and his family had fled some 3 days earlier, fearing attacks on them. They ransacked the premises. Firing and bottle throwing from an adjacent building dispersed this mob.

Around 12.30, a larger mob (all Hindus) returned, carrying choppers and other weapons. They knocked on the doors, and claimed there were Muslims on the terrace who were attacking them. None opened their door to the mob. The mob then locked all the doors from the outside and set fire to the building. Most of the residents were able to escape one way or another, leaving all their possessions behind. However, Phiroze and Menoo Medhora, 4th floor residents, were trapped in their flat and died.

### **S. T. Stand**

On January 10th, about 7 p.m. 8 small Muslim owned shops on the pavement were burned down by a Hindu mob of about 80. This was during curfew, and in spite of a police presence, no action was taken. The fire brigade arrived after the shops were totally destroyed. The shop owners who tried to salvage whatever they could were hit and beaten by the police. The shop owners feel the mob was Shiv Sena, and were armed with choppers, stones, bottles and knives. They also said the mob was from the adjoining BIT Chawl. Some Rs. 8 lakh worth of property was destroyed.

## Kailash Apartments

There are about 10-15 non-Muslim families in Kailash Apartments, out of the 150 total. They have always lived in peace. On Friday 8th, after the evening namaz at about 7 p.m., 200-300 people attacked them from the main road, using stones and petrol bombs. The residents claim it was a Shiv Sena mob, and was joined by people from the BIT Chawl, with whom they share a wall. The mosque within the Kailash premises was broken. Kailash residents chose not to retaliate.

The next day, police arrived in response to complaints. They then put the blame on the Kailash residents, accusing them of starting the trouble.

## BIT Chawls

There are 3 Muslim shops in the lane that comprises BIT Chawl, one of which has been burned down and the other 2 extensively damaged. Residents say that Kailash Apts. residents fired on them and threw petrol bombs on them on Sun Jan. 10, and this caused the fire that destroyed the Muslim shops. None was hurt.

However, extensive damage was obvious in Kailash Apts. especially the rear, that faces BIT Chawls, and the mosque. Broken glass and shattered window panes in Kailash are visible from the BIT lane. On the other hand, no damage is evident in BIT Chawls except for the three shops mentioned above.

## Khetwadi / Parsiwada (Girgaum)

- Composition : Primarily Hindu, some Muslim businesses scattered in the area.
- Events : Jan. 6 : Muslim owned mattress shop burned on VP Road  
Jan. 7, 8 : Police firing on Muslim crowds (closer to Bhendi Bazar area).  
Jan 9 : Wire shop in Parsiwada broken into and destroyed in fire. Irani restaurant, electrical goods store damaged (Girgaum, VP Road).
- Police : Role unknown. Several accounts of rounding up of male Muslims in Bhendi Bazar Null Bazar areas ; this was followed by gathering of the women who were fired upon. Several injuries (see JJ Hospital accounts) can be traced back to this.
- Deaths : 2, both Muslim, police firing, Bhendi Bazar area.
- Injuries : Several Muslim injuries in police firing (see JJ Hospital accounts).
- Name : M. Tarwalla & Co, owned by Mohammed Husain  
Address : Parsiwada  
Business : Steel Wires

Mohammed Husain, a Muslim from Gujarat, has lived in Bombay for at least 25 years.

On Saturday January 9th, when the area was under curfew, the shop was broken into and set fire to. The two buildings neighbouring this shop are within a couple of feet of the shop. Residents of these buildings saw what was happening and pleaded with the miscreants not to set fire to the shop, as they were afraid of the fire spreading to their buildings. The rioters set fire to Tarwalla and Co. nevertheless. The neighbours tried to douse the fire by throwing water from their windows. The fire brigade arrived within half an hour.

Losses incurred by M. Husain total at least Rs. 8-10 lakhs. All his records and accounts have been burned.

The adjoining shop, Girish Embroidery Works, belongs to a Hindu Gujarati: it was spared being burned, but was extensively damaged by water from the Fire Brigade.

Perhaps significant was the Shiv Sena board displayed prominently at the entrance to Parsiwada, which among other things, urged the public to hand over "Bangladeshi haramkhors" to the police.

Name : Good Luck Mattress Works, owner muslim, name unknown

Address : VP Road, corner of Khetwadi Street.

Occupation : Mattress manufacturer

On January 6th, Good Luck was ransacked and all the property inside was burned. The neighbouring shop owners and workers flatly denied knowing anything about it beyond this much. They said the area was closed and that they had run away.

Name : Globe Restaurant, Shah Cold Drink House, Muslim owned

Address : VP Road (near Alankar Cinema)

Occupation : Dealer, Restaurant and Cold Drinks.

Facades of both establishments damaged by soda bottle and stone throwing. They had both been previously damaged inside during the December riots.

Besides these incidents, one electrical goods shop on Shankarseth Road, an Irani Restaurant and another electrical goods shop in Girgaum and a polish shop in Khetwadi were also burned and destroyed between Jan. 6th and Jan. 9th. All were Muslim owned. None of the owners were available to talk.

Opposite Charni Road Station, Good Luck Motor Training School was burned on Saturday Jan 9, the afternoon. As the area was under curfew and the office was closed, the exact time is unknown. All the records and furniture were burned. Though the property is owned by a Hindu, it is run by a Muslim, one Ismail Kapadia.

Nearby is a small coconut vendor's stall, owned by a Muslim. This was also burned.



## Diamond Jubilee Compound, Thakurdwar

Composition : Muslim, surrounded by Hindu dominated buildings. Haroon Rashid, Urdu Blitz Editor, lives here.

Events : Jan. 8, 11.30 p.m. : 1000 strong mob attacked. Bottles and stones were thrown from outside. The mob had brought a cart piled with these. attack lasted for 30 minutes. About 25-30 residents of the compound, men and boys, retaliated.

Jan. 9, 3.30 p.m. : Another attack, with bombs, from the surrounding buildings, especially Hemraj Wadi Building. Some 500 people were in the mob this time.

Jan. 9, night, bombs thrown again. Houses and businesses set on fire. Residents had left earlier to go to different parts of Bombay.

Police : Two policemen on duty at the time of the first attack ran away. SRP came during the second attack, but took no action. Other police were seen munching sandwiches during the attacks. None came to the aid of the residents.

The DCP, a Parsi, came to see what was going on. He claimed that no harm was being done, since the mob was throwing only "firecrackers". In any case, he said, the police had no ammunition in the police station.

The residents say 2 or 3 police trucks were stationed outside, but no action took place. The police stationed at the gate refused to take action, saying that their post was till the gate, not beyond.

Finally, there are two reports of calls to the police control room. In one case, the caller was told to "hit back", and to let the police know when someone died.

In another case, the caller was told to "go back to Pakistan".

Injuries : 2 or 3 Muslim residents injured.

## ELPHINSTONE TO MAHALAKSHMI

**Areas covered :** Elphinstone, New Prabhadevi Road, Bomay Dyeing Mill, Satyam Theatre, Worli Passport Office, Adarsh Nagar, Worli Naka, Gandhi Nagar (Lower Parel), Mahalakshmi Station.

On the way from Elphinstone Station to New Prabhadevi Road, shops were damaged and looted. Elphinstone Restaurant was looted ; at Shivshakti Rahwasi Sangh, a mutton shop and at N. M. Joshi Marg, D. K. Dryfruit & General Stores, Anwar Suleman Cycle Shop and Raja Society Store all owned by Muslims were looted. At Kamgar Nagar No. 2, some Muslim houses were burnt after the residents had fled from their homes. In Sahjeevan building at N. M. Joshi Marg, a tailor shop and a jewellery shop were looted. Both belonged to Muslims though there was no board to indicate the owners. The neighbours in the building gave the team names of shops. They thought it was the work of outsiders. They helped 12 people, women and children, to escape to a safer place when the mob came from the outside. But they said they would not help again because they did not want to invite enmity from others of their own community.

At Senapati Bapat Marg, a kabadiwala shop of a Muslim was broken into and looted. On the way to Doordarshan Kendra from N. M. Joshi Marg, in every row of shops, some were looted and damaged. At Daruwala Patra Chawl opposite Bombay Dyeing & Mfg. Co. Ltd. a tailor's shop was looted ; while some machines were taken away, others along with the personal belongings of the owner, were set on fire outside the shop. It happened in broad day light on 9th or 10 Jan. 1993, neighbours were not sure of the date but they blamed outsiders for it.

In front of Asst. Collector of Central Excise, Bombay Office, 2 taxis (No. MRO 4555 and MMO 288) were burnt. At P.B. Marg, 3 saloons in a row and a T. V. repair shop, all belonging to Muslims were completely destroyed. Similarly, opposite Satyam Theatre, 3 juice stalls were damaged. The owner of one stall blamed hooligans and said with anguish : where could we go ; we have been born and brought up here. It is a question of our survival. He also said that Hindu shops in Muslim areas were not damaged at all. On Annie Besant Road, a Bata shop was completely looted ; near BDD Chawl a taxi (No. MRK 2384) was burnt ; near Gandhi Nagar (Worli), 3 trucks (GRY 3194, MTT #026, MMM 4297) and a tempo (No. MH-04 0774) were completely burnt. Further down the road, 2 trucks (No. MTT 9050 D/C and MHO 1055 (E)) carrying the signboard 'On Municipal Duty' parked outside a garage, owned by a Muslim, were burnt. According to an old woman at Gandhi Nagar, 17 people were stabbed to death. Here, Muslim population is about 15% of the entire population. Another woman told the team that a pear factory, a cork company, a patra karkhana, all owned by Muslims, were destroyed and in one company, 9 Muslim workers were killed. Some Muslims, who had fled the area, had come back but were unwilling to talk.

## M. G. Nagar, Antop Hill

On 10 Jan. 1993, at around 11.30 p.m. a mob came and started beating up people, set 5 huts on fire and left the area around 3.30 a.m. On the morning of 11 Jan. 1993, the residents were threatened and asked to leave their homes. Around 4 p.m., Mr. Naseeruddin, President, Sanjivani Seva Sangh, went to the Antop Hill police station and asked for help. The Inspector on duty asked him to

fight their own battles. At around 10 p.m. a police Inspector from Wadala police station came with a handful of policemen and on seeing a mob, who threw stones at the police, fired a few rounds. Then the police withdrew. The mob announced that they would burn the area the next day around 9 a.m.

On 12 Jan. 1993, no incident took place till 11.30 a.m. Then a mob gathered in a nearby multi-storey building and started throwing acid bulbs and petrol bombs. The frightened people, both Hindu and Muslim, ran away. On 13 and 14 Jan. 1993, the mob broke into huts, looted and burnt them. The mob was 2,000 strong and prevented any victim from going to the police station.

On 11 Jan. 1993, Mr. Naseeruddin gave a written complaint to the police. From 12 Jan. onwards, the police arrested anyone approaching them. A number of Muslim boys were first forced to carry goods, sticks, knives etc. to the police station and then accused of looting as well as for violence and were locked up by the police.

The Hindu residents have gone to Hindu areas; the Muslim are scattered.

### **BIT Chawls, Agripada**

There are 25 buildings, each with 80 houses. The composition of building, involved or witness to the rioting is as follows :

B. No. 10 has Christian majority ; B. No. 12 has 70 Muslim and 10 Christian families (gates were installed on both sides of the building after 1987 riots); B. Nos. 6 & 8 have Muslim, Hindu and Christian families ; B. Nos. 9 & 11 have Hindu majority with only 3-5 Muslim families.

In 1987, there were major riots in this area but there has been peace and amity since then. Muslim participated in Diwali celebrations, donated for Ganeshutsav and celebrated Id without any hindrance.

On 7 December 1993, Shiv Sainiks had a meeting and the Muslim residents feel that the subsequent were planned. However, the attacks, when they came were, totally unexpected.

The attack started at around 7.30 p.m. on 8 Jan. 1993 and continued for an hour. When the police was called the stone-throwing stopped immediately, only to begin again as soon as the police left. It was quiet between 8.30 p.m. and 11.30 p.m. At 11.30 p.m., a number of things happened simultaneously. 2 taxis and 2 scooters were set on fire in front of building no 8. When a fire engine was called in, the mob did not let it reach the site. Some of Muslim flats in B Nos 8,9 and 11 were broken into, the residents beaten up, contents looted and a couple of gas cylinders were brought out, ignited and flung at B No. 12. Acid bottles were also thrown. At around 11.15 p.m., a police van with 2 havaldars came to B No. 12 and asked the residents to open the gates. The residents could see a mob behind the police, thought that the police was fake and refused to open the gates. The attack continued till 1.30 a.m. There was no police around. The fire brigade came in after things had quietened but it did not completely extinguish the fire from burnt vehicles. The owners were too scared to come out. The mob was about 1,500-2,000 strong and came from all sides: an indication that the attack was preplanned. At 1.30 a.m., Inspector Daljit Singh Parmar from Agripada police station arrived here and immediately the rioters withdrew. The children neighbours helped the Muslims in B NO 10 to escape to B No. 12 safely.

On 9 Jan. 1993, sometime between 9.30 and 10.30 a.m. telephone lines

and water supply were cut off and stone-throwing started and stopped soon after. Around 2.30 p.m., a Hindu boy came and picked up 2 hens from outside B No. 12. As he picked up the third one, the Muslim residents began to shout and the stone-throwing began again.

Around 9 a.m., 2 Muslim boys, who were sleeping in their block in B.No.12, were woken up by 2 policemen and taken to the police station. These policemen were different from the ones protecting the area. When some of the residents went to the police station to find out why the boys had been arrested, they saw Hindus standing there with naked swords. They returned. Later, the boys were released on bail.

There was no food on 10 & 11 Jan.1993. On 12 Jan.1993, relief committees from Madanpura (Ansari Road) and Mominpura (Maulana Azad School) brought food and clothes. In B No.24, all Muslim houses were looted and the rioters put their own locks on the doors. When the owners, who had fled out of fear, returned, they were asked to pay Rs. 25,000 in cash and take possession after a week. None paid because they could not afford to.

After a few days, a ball, probably of cotton, soaked in petrol, was thrown into B.No.12. It was noticed by a woman in B.No.10. The police was called and the ball was taken under custody. If it had been ignited, the entire building would have been on fire. The men were still unable to go to work, ten days after the riots.

The Christian residents confirmed that: relations between Hindu and Muslim were friendly till 8 Jan.1993; the Hindus suddenly started the attacks; all the attackers were residents of BIT chawls; the attacks came from all sides. When they tried to contact the police for help on 8 Jan. they were informed that there were not enough policemen. On 9 Jan. the police came and provided protection. Christian families gave protection to their Muslim neighbours. Though they are friendly with Muslim, they are afraid to try to bring Hindu and Muslim together for fear of attack.

The Hindu residents were initially reluctant about to talk to the team. When they did, they implied that Muslim got what they deserved. Some of them asked the team to talk to the local Shiv Sena Shakra pramukh.

Inspector Daljit Singh Parmar denied that any Hindu had been attacked. One Muslim, who was passing by was beaten up by Hindu boys. Inspector saved him by telling the boys that he was a Hindu.

## **Dharavi Riots: Second Phase**

Rioting had begun on 8 January, 1993 and continued till 12 January, 1993. The report concentrates on Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar, which has 7% to 8% Muslim population, adjacent to it is Kumbharwada which is predominantly Gujarati Hindus. This area witnessed extensive damage to Muslim property. The people are mainly Congress voters.

## **Events**

On the 8 January, 1993, Bhagat Singh Nagar, Friday noon, some Maharashtrian and Malayalee boys started fooling around with a bat and ball. This was happening when the Namaz was on. The boys began to dirty the clothes of some Muslim boys and soon fighting broke out. After sometime it seemed

apparent that the outsiders had begun the fight, and were mainly Hindus from Kumbharwada got into homes and looted possessions. Since then for a few days regular attacks took place in the nights. One Gujarati shop owned by Muqsood Ali and Sohaib Ali was burnt and a loss of 5 lakhs is estimated. Some Hindu shops were looted; one belonging to Saikumar and another to Tirupati. At the Talimul Quran Madrasa, religious books were burnt and things damaged. About a thousand homes have been burnt in this area out of which only five homes and three shops belong to Hindus. Many people have fled, their homes still remain as mute witnesses.

A big shop owned by Zahid Ali near Dharavi Cross Road was completely burnt down (7/8 January, 93). The shop had been partially burnt in the first phase (December, 1992.)

At Koliwada, a number of Muslims have fled to Agripada and Musafarkhana and as yet have not returned (until the time of investigation).

At Chamada Bazaar some Maharashtrians dealing in raw leather are facing serious problems. One Mr. Sonewane had piles of raw hide stacked up. He says the Muslims with whom he conducted business had fled during the riots. Probably some are missing. His turn over was about Rs.1,500/-per day. Now with no work he is incurring huge losses.

## Deaths/Injuries

Police Report, January 1993, Riots:

People dead in police firing 10

People injured 27

Stabbing Cases 17

### Hearsay Report

Killed 12 (6 Hindus, 4 Muslims)

Injured 54  
(16 Hindus, 8 Muslims 30 others)

### Casualties

Hindus 39

Muslims 49

### Arrested

Hindus 125

Muslims 54

## Comments

Sanjay Pandey DSP Dharavi gave some details. According to him a lot of action was started and continued by the local Malayalee settlers who had a

long standing fight with their neighbours. He continues that police is helping in coaxing the people to return to their homes. Banners have been put up at all places offering help. Police excesses are being looked into.

Nearly 500 people had come daily with complaints. A special cell was set to look into these complaints. Since 28 January, 1993, about 70 to 80 complaints are coming in every day.

### **Behrampada, 5 February**

It's not possible to describe the condition in which thousands of people live in Behrampada and do a good job. The lanes are narrow, sometimes perhaps a foot wide. Open drains filled with either a grey or a black liquid are everywhere. Garbage lies around. Electricity wires snake past at low level. The houses seem made of cards, right up against each other. Some are two or three storeys tall, but I have to bend over to make my way past (under) a balcony on which a man stands, stringing clothes up to dry. He's on his first floor balcony, and his feet are at my eye level.

15 or 20 minutes walking through this squalid maze and we are suddenly in an open space, where you can see the sky and the buildings around. A simple reason for this open space the huts in this area are burned to the ground. The area is bounded on one side by a low wall; on the other side of this is a road and several buildings beyond the road. One is called "Vivek". The heads of a few policemen are visible, standing on the road. Police and military trucks and jeeps can be seen from time to time, moving up and down the road.

A small knot of Behrampada residents gather around us and tell us what happened, on Monday 1 February. People had gathered on the terraces of all the surrounding four, five and six storey buildings. They seem to have been outsiders, but they could only have got to the top of the buildings with the cooperation of the residents of the buildings. They began firing at the huts in Behrampada. Several people showed me bullet holes : in their walls, their utensils, their water drums. I lined up two holes in one woman's hut and peered along the resulting line of sight : the gun that fired that particular bullet was indisputably in a green building adjoining the slum, and not even on the terrace, but in one of the windows.

At the same time, plastic bags filled with petrol began raining down on the huts, followed by bombs and torches to set them on fire. Behrampada residents spoke of seeing these people throwing these over in fistfuls, using both hands, dozens at a time. Shots were being fired, so as people tried to escape the flames, they had to dodge bullets. One resident got to a phone and called the police, who told him "Go back to Pakistan" and hung up. The police stationed around Behrampada were watching all this happening without taking any action against the thugs on the terraces, and several residents said that they actually saw policemen also throwing bombs.

When the residents tried to ask the police to take action, they were fired upon. One Muslim boy, Abbas, climbed up onto the roof of a temple that had caught fire, and tried to douse the flames. He was shot dead by the police. Several people showed us bullets, both from police guns as well as others.

The notorious building no. 30 adjoins another end of Behrampada. There are powerful searchlights stationed at intervals all along the terrace of this

building aimed down at Behrampada. These were installed only a few days ago, say the residents, and serve to light up Behrampada at night so that objects may be thrown with greater facility ; and also so that the Behrampada residents cannot see who is up there in the glare. When they complained to the police about these lights, they were told to install lights of their own that pointed back up at building 30. While we were there, there were two visible policemen on that terrace, walking up and down.

There have been allegations that the Behrampada residents threw bombs and stones at these buildings surrounding the slum. I did not see a single sign of damage - cracked windows, broken plaster, broke pipes, nothing - on any of these buildings. The damage and destruction in Behrampada, on the other hand, is obvious and widespread.

One whole area, right below two buildings, has been evacuated by the residents. The roofs of these empty houses tell why. They have been shattered by bombs, even thrown onto the community toilet in the area. These houses were also fired upon ; the residents have marked the holes that resulted with chalk. One first floor wall has about a dozen of these chalk circles. They have been fired on at almost point blank range from the surrounding buildings.

Everywhere, the people talked to us in anguish and anger. The young men were mostly quietly angry. Some said they had no choice but to become "mujahideen" themselves and defend themselves, cause riots themselves. For two months they have been subject to attacks and there is no sign that there is to be any let up. They cannot go out of Behrampada because they are attacked and their women raped. The children have not been allowed to go to school for two months now. Several men have not been allowed to go to work because of threats for two months. They are having a hard time getting food to eat because the markets they used to go to are now out of bounds, for fear of attacks. Women wept, saying they had been here for generations, felt as Indian as anyone else, and were now being attacked simply for being Muslim. And with the police taking part in the destruction too, who would be able to protect them ? Where were they to go ?

I mentioned that some of the younger men said they were faced with no choice but to defend themselves. But they emphasized that contrary to what has been reported in the press about Behrampada, they had no arms, and in order to defend themselves, would have to find ways to get some. In fact this was a constant refrain all over the slum, that the press had badly misreported the events of these last few weeks. Behrampada has been portrayed as a den of vice and arms, a haven for Bangladeshi "infiltrators". This could not be farther from the truth, say the people who live there. They have been attacked and they have nothing to fight back with. I certainly saw or talked to no Bangladeshis in the time I spent in the slum.

Who is responsible for these attacks ? The residents all are very clear about this, unlike in other parts of the city I have visited, here they firmly and repeatedly blame the Shiv Sena.

### **MIG/LIG Flats, Bandra (E), 6-7 February**

Ekta members visited the MIG/LIG flats bordering Behrampada on February 6th and 7th, and talked to several residents.



Vivek Building directly overlooks the area of Behrampada which has been most severely burned and damaged, in the violence on February 1st. We met Mr. Joshi there, the Secretary of the society, who said the residents had taken a collective decision not to talk to anyone. Thus he would not tell us anything at all.

(Vivek is the building from which, say Behrampada residents, most of the attacks originated. Various bullet holes in the huts of Behrampada show very definitely that shots were fired from Vivek).

Parag Building is at the northeast corner of Behrampada. We had a long conversation with Mr. Kulkarni and his son, who live on the 6th floor (the top floor). Mr. Kulkarni firmly and repeatedly assured us that none had used their terrace for any attacks on Behrampada. He said that had their terrace been in fact used for attacks, there would have been far greater damage than actually occurred, since they have an unrestricted view of Behrampada. On the other hand, he said, bombs and stones and other missiles had been thrown at Parag Building frequently. We asked if there was any damage as a result, and he could not say, he did say that one bomb had rolled under a car and was doused before it went off. We did not see this car or the bomb.

Parag directly overlooks a section of Behrampada that has been evacuated by the residents. They say bombs were thrown on to their roofs - including that of the communal toilet - and the people who lived in those houses have moved out. We had been shown the holes in these roofs as a result of the bombs on our visit to Behrampada. From Parag, these holes are clearly visible, on the roofs immediately adjoining the compound wall. If they were caused by some objects, those objects must have come from Parag, either from the terrace or from one of the flats.

Another Parag resident also informed us that most of Behrampada was illegal, and had come up only in the past two or three years. All Parag residents were unanimous in their belief that the press had completely distorted the true picture and were thus biased against them (MIG residents).

Building 30 is the LIG building that has floodlights on the terrace aimed down at Behrampada. Here most of the residents were reluctant to talk to us, but a few did talk. They all said they were living in fear of attacks from Behrampada, which, they said, had been frequent in recent weeks. They said bombs had been thrown at them, and shots fired at them. One resident took us through his flat to the back, where he has boarded up two of his windows permanently, to protect against attacks. They, like the Parag residents, were convinced that the press was biased against them.

We asked to see evidence of these attacks from Behrampada on Building 30. We were taken to the back of the building, through a gate that had to be unlocked. There is a courtyard there, bounded by a wall, beyond which is a ditch and huts of Behrampada, including a badly burned one immediately above a shed for cattle. As we stepped out into this courtyard, the Building 30 residents warned us to be careful, saying that beyond the wall was "Pakistan". One boy picked up a lump of blackened rags to show us, saying that was an unexploded bomb. They showed us the wall of the building, saying there were marks on it from bombs. There were two white stains and a large hole. I asked specifically if they meant the hole. They said no, that hole had been there before. There was

also such a white stain next to a ground floor window on the adjacent wall.

The residents also showed us stains on the floor immediately inside from the locked gate (thus just inside the building). These, they said, were from the acid bombs that were thrown at them.

We asked them how they accounted for the burned huts that were across the wall, perhaps 40 feet away in Behrampada. They laughed that off; that was done by the Behrampada residents themselves, who frequently "burn and damage" their own huts, they (Building 30 residents) said.

Also notable here was that the Building 30 residents were all extremely appreciative of Madhukar Sarpotdar, their M.L.A. who, they said, was the only one who had given them any kind of protection. They also said that the police had asked them to install the floodlights, for their "own protection".

We also talked briefly to residents of Gulmohar Building, adjacent to Parag. Here a Mrs. Subramaniam also repeated that bombs had been thrown at them and that lots of arms were removed from Behrampada. However, she could not tell us where there might be signs from these bombs, and she also admitted that she had not seen these arms but had heard that they had been brought out.

Mr. Bhanot from his building pointed out the floodlights on top of Building 30, and claimed that Behrampada residents had their own lights also, shining up at Building 30. This was contrary to what we had ourselves seen, that there were no such lights on the Behrampada side. He also took us past what he called a "bunker" and a "firing range" that was in Behrampada, just across the wall from the road. This was perhaps three sandbags lying on top of a broken roof of one of the abandoned huts in Behrampada.

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## JOGESHWARI (East)

Jogeshwari has for long been a sensitive, trouble-prone area. The incident in Radhabai Chawl where 4 people including three children, were locked in a room and set on fire on 8 January 1993, led to the recent disturbances in the area. The place is actually Gandhi Chawl at Radhabai Chowk. About 25 people in masks and black clothes are said to have appeared on the night of 7 Jan. 1993 around 00.30 am. The neighbours, a mixture of Hindu and Muslim couldn't say exactly what happened. They stayed inside their houses out of fright. Apparently, the police were a witness to the incident but the fire-brigade came only around 4.30 am. One room with 4 people inside was completely burnt down. Apparently, a hole was dug in the wall to get people out but the attempt failed. Residents of the chawl didn't know who was responsible for the incident. The police have arrested two people: Fatima and Gullu in this connection.

Koliwada and Ramgarh adjoining the church and the municipal schools are Muslim-majority bastis.

According to Father Juze D'souza Parish Priest at the Infant Jesus Church, on Friday, 8 Jan 1993, a mob of about 100 masked people in white shorts and shirts, approached Koliwada from the direction of P D Dias compound and Shankar Wadi. They did not attack the church but they targeted the Muslim houses though some Hindu houses also got damaged in the attack. The mob tried to approach the new Shia mosque, but people blocked the path. The Muslim of the basti did not retaliate.

At the time of the attack, the police van, which was usually parked in front of the church, was nowhere to be seen. Instead, the police were seen a furlong away on the south of the Highway warming themselves. Some people claimed that the police repeatedly came towards north of the Highway and turned back during the attack. Two small bakeries, about 100 metres away from the Janashakti police chowky were also burnt by the mob.

The mob came back again and again and attacked the basti. They used petrol bombs. Four people were killed on the night of 8 Jan. in the attack. These are: Mohammed Rafiq (alias Babu), Raju, Nissar and Yasin. During the mob attack, loudspeakers were played to request the people to stay inside their houses as it was quiet outside. In connection with events of 8 Jan 1993, the name of Mr. Purushottam Solanki was frequently mentioned. He is a big builder who managed to acquire a large plot of land in Koliwada and somehow got it vacated. The attack seemed to be pre-planned because Mr Shankar Solanki (not related to the builder), who is close to the local police, had evacuated his place before the day of the attack.

On 11 Jan 1993, two people were stabbed on the highway. The army was posted in Jogeshwari the same day. This was a source of great relief for the Muslims in the area who have completely lost their faith in the police. They only praised Mr. Altaf A. Khan, additional police commissioner, who was seen as fair and firm.

According to the Hindu of the Shankar Wadi basti, located on the south of Koliwada on the same side of the Highway, Hindu were harassed in the Muslim bastis of Jogeshwari and were threatened. They had to flee from the area out of fear. They repeatedly claimed that the Hindu staying in the border area between

two bastis were attacked by the Muslim. Stones were thrown at children going to school, which is situated next to the Muslim basti. Hindus from the Gandhi Chawl at Radhabai Chowk fled their houses after the incident on the night of the 7 Jan. They were shifted to a relief camp at Sarvodaya Nagar.

When the team visited the area, Muslim complained that they could not buy food from local shops because the shopkeepers had been warned against selling things to Muslim. A truck carrying kerosene oil was not allowed in the Muslim area and the people were forced to use firewood for cooking.

Chacha Nagar is a Hindu-dominated basti on the west side of the Western Express highway. Here on the night of 8 Jan. 1993, around 8.30 p.m., a mob attacked the basti. An electric shop at the entrance of the basti, owned by a Muslim, was set on fire. Muslim houses were attacked, looted by the mob and damaged including the masjid, near these houses. People fled the area. Muslim residents, who tried to come back later, were warned.

In Shivaji Nagar and Hari Nagar, Hindu-dominated bastis on the east side of the Highway in Jogeshwari, many houses were damaged.

In Asapha Village, on 11 Jan 1993, at around 6 pm, a big timber godown was burnt down by a mob. The estimated loss is about Rs.20 lacs. A mosque, next to the godown, was also burnt. A truck was also burnt, opposite the godown. On the road towards the mosque, Muslim shops were singled out and damaged. The team saw Shiv Sena flags mounted on poles in the charred debris of the godown. There had been looting in the area, two days before. The Muslim had already fled from here.

### **Itbhatti Goregaon (East)**

In this area, Muslim population is around 8-10%. Small scale units are located here in the midst of residential houses. On 11 Jan. 1993, around 9 pm, a maha aarti was being performed at the Shivmandir, near the highway, adjacent to the area. Mrs. Sudha Churi, the local councillor, was also present at the maha aarti. Around 10.30 pm, after the aarti was over, a mob of about 100 people rushed into the area shouting slogans like Jai Shri Ram and began to set on fire units belonging to Muslim. Mr. Desai, the local Shakhya pramukh of Shiv Sena, was leading the mob. 7/8 units were completely burnt. Of these, 2 factories belonged to Hindu but the land owners are Muslim.

### **Some information regarding burnt factories:**

	Factory	Owned by	Area (sq ft)	Estimated loss (Rs)
1.	Sai Packaging	Mohd. Farookh	5,000	15.17 lacs
2.	Sainath Engg.	Iqbal Ansari	3,000	5 lacs
3.	L K Paper Box	K. Pillai (land owner: Muslim)	5,000	5.75 lacs
4.	Jyoti Paper Box	Hindu (land owner: Muslim)	1,000	1.84 lacs

## Malad (East)

### Kurar Village

It is a Hindu dominated area where Muslim constitute about 5-7% of population. From 9 Jan 1993, there was tension in the area. On 11 Jan 1993, a Hindu mob started attacking Muslim shops when they found out that there was no one in either Muslim shops or houses. The mob set a timber mart and one DCM Toyota on fire, both owned by Muslim.

At around 11 pm, this mob attacked fish market of Kurar village and damaged around 12 shops of mutton, chicken, cutlery and so on, all owned by Muslim. Two Hindu houses as well as 60 Muslim houses were also looted and damaged by the mob. Mrs. Anwar bi Nadam was beaten up, near Dominic Chawl, around 2 pm, her house was also damaged and looted.

### Squatters' Colony

In this Muslim majority area, in the first week of Jan 1993, a peace committee was formed with 52 people belonging to all communities. Mr. Ibrahim Sheikh, Salim Bhai and Rashid Bhai were members of the committee. On 9 Jan 1993, around 7.30 pm, one Mumtaz was stabbed by a Hindu goonda from Dhobi ghat. This led to increased tension in the area. On 10 Jan 1993, at about 8 pm, stone throwing took place between residents of Squatters Colony and the nearby Hindu dominated Govind Nagar. Some members of the peace committee sat in the area adjoining these two colonies to restore peace. However, after some time, Satish, Dhana and Sandeep came and told Muslim members of the committee that their houses would be set on fire. As a result, out of fear, all the members of the peace committee dispersed.

On 11 Jan 1993, curfew was clamped here after 8 pm. But a Hindu mob entered the Squatters Colony and burnt 5 Muslim houses. These belonged to Ismailbhai, Israr, Meheraz and Salim.

### Pathanwadi Relief Camp

This Muslim dominated area (about 85% people are Muslim), was not affected by the Jan riots. Around 2500 people, from Goregaon to Dahisar, took shelter in the Relief Camp in the area. Some of these had been attacked by Hindu mobs in their areas. Jumman Miyan (65) was stabbed when he was sitting in his house in Shriram Nagar, Kandivli. A group of 8 Hindu entered his house and stabbed him with choppers. On 13 Jan 1993, Mrs. Shamim Mohammed Khan's husband went back to their house in Azad Nagar, Goregaon, at around 3 pm, from the Relief camp. When he reached home, a group of Hindu equipped with iron rods and swords entered his house and stabbed him to death. The police fired at Sharafat Ali (20) and Mumtaz Ali (32) when they were sitting outside their house in Azad Nagar, Goregaon (East). On 11 Jan 1993, Tabshir Ahmed's house was set on fire by a Hindu mob. He was stabbed and his sister, Sama Praveen was beaten up by the mob. They tried to burn her alive but she managed to escape.

According to Mr Patil (PRO at Dindoshi police station), On 13 Jan 1993, 3 burnt bodies - 2 Muslim, one unidentified, were recovered by the police from Appapada. 6 Muslim were burnt to death by Hindu mobs; a Hindu was injured in

violence; a Hindu died in police firing and 2 Muslims were injured in police firing.

### **Hanuman Nagar, Kandivli (East)**

It is a slum colony with about 8-10% Muslim residents. Mr. Rushdie Ahmed left his house and timbermart after he was threatened by the local Shiv Sena boys. On 11 Jan. 1993 his shop was burnt and his house was looted. He was refused protection by the police. During 11-13 Jan. 1993, about 9/10 shops in the area were damaged and about 100 houses were looted. Alibhai and his son were also stabbed to death by the mob because they protested against the attack.

### **Borivli (East)**

#### **Kajupada**

On 11 Jan. 1993, a Hindu mob destroyed about 10 Muslim houses and burnt one shop, owned by a Muslim. One boy, named Dilip Shantaram Kadam (20), who sported beard, was picked up by the police when he was returning from the toilet, taken to the Main Road and shot dead. According to his sister, Mrs. Vasanti Pawar, he was shot dead by the police because he looked like a Muslim.

#### **Rajendra Nagar**

At midnight of 11 Jan. 1993, a Hindu mob of about 500 people entered the area and started looting Muslim houses. Most of the rioters were equipped with lathis, swords and choppers. 3 Muslims were stabbed by the mob. The Muslim tried to retaliate but had to run away after some time. The police was nowhere to be seen. A mosque in the area was destroyed. The mob also burnt and looted around 150 Muslim houses. Karimbhai's rickshaw was also set on fire.

#### **Kulupwadi**

On 10 Jan. 1993, around 11.30 pm, a Hindu mob of 500 people from Devipada and other adjacent areas attacked Kulupwadi. Initially, Muslims retaliated, then they ran away. The mob attacked Madrasa Mushkil Khusha Talimul Kuran and destroyed it. It also looted Mr. Nadir Khan's shop and set it on fire. Around 125 Muslim houses were first looted, then burnt or damaged by the mob. According to Mr. Nadir Khan, they left the area under police protection. A local peace committee meeting had been held on the same day between 7 and 9.30 pm, where members of both communities were present but the rioters were outsiders.

#### **Devipada**

On 11 Jan. 1993, at around 11.30 pm, a Hindu mob of around 300 people attacked Muslim houses and shops. The mob destroyed around 75 houses and 25 shops of Muslim. Chawdhari Timber Mart owned by a Muslim, Mr. Chawdhari, was set on fire by the mob. Mr. Shamsuddin's Chawl containing 10 rooms was destroyed. One Hindu family also stayed in the chawl but this did not help. On 13 Jan. 1993, Shakila Banoo (19) and her mother came to visit their house in Devipada. They were tenants of one Mrs. Lakshmi. They reached the house around 11.30 am. A Shiv Sena activist, Mr. Chandrakant Mahadik and others stopped them, abused them and stripped both the women. Some boys from the

group raped Shakila Banoo and then burnt her alive. Her mother, who was naked, went to Daulat Nagar to inform her son Altaf about the incident. After some time, when Altaf went to the place of incident, he was also stabbed to death. The police arrested 10 Hindus under TADA.

According to Mr. Subhash Sanghai, API of Kasturba police station: 5 Muslim, including one girl, were stabbed to death; 1 Muslim was burnt alive and one Hindu was stabbed to death on account of mistaken identity. 2 Hindu were injured in police firing; one of them later died.

## **Dahisar**

### **Navagaon**

In this pre-dominantly Hindu area, 5 Timber Marts - 4 owned by muslim., one by a Hindu, were set on fire on the midnight of 10 Jan. 1993.

### **Rawalpada**

On 9 Jan. 1993, at around 11 pm. a Hindu mob gathered at the junction of Rawalpada. Most of them were equipped with weapons. They burnt S. Khan's office. They also damaged 3 houses and 4 shops, all owned by Muslims. Mr. Rampalt Prajapati, who was trying to enter his house after having participated in the rioting died in police firing. His wife Kamari received Rs. 30,000 from the Government as compensation.

### **Konknipada**

On 10 Jan. 1993, at around 2 pm. one girl and a boy, both Muslim, were coming from Sambhaji Nagar. The boy was carrying a bag. Around 10/15 Hindu gathered and beat them on the pretext that the boy was carrying a bomb in the bag. The boy ran away. The mob, then burnt the girl (20) alive to death. The police arrested 6 people, 4 men and 2 women. Mrs Sawant, who has liquor business, was also arrested as she was part of the mob.

## **Bhandup(West)**

### **Sonapur**

Sonapur is a slum like basti, where Muslim constitute about 80% of population. CPI(M) has good hold in the area with around 2,500 members. According to Mr. Subhash Suvarna, an activist of DYFI, this area was not affected during the riots because of the role played by Mr Aadinath Tiwari of CPI(M) and other activists of DYFI.

### **Gamdevi**

It is the worst affected area in Bhandup. On 8 Jan. 1993, around 8 pm. a Hindu mob of 200 people gathered and looted and burnt around 56 Muslim houses. They also attacked Madina Masjid in Gamdevi but the police did nothing. Five shops were also looted and then burnt by the mob.

In another incident on 8 Jan. 1993, Mr. Ali Mohammed was travelling in a bus from Ray Road to Bhandup (Route no 30). Near Bhandup station, maha aarti was being performed. When the bus stopped at the station, some Hindu from the Maha aarti came and dragged him from the bus. They asked him to say ; Jai

Shri Ram. When he refused, he was stabbed to death, according to Mr. Mohd Ayub, a friend of Mr. Ali Mohammed, in Konkan Nagar, a hindu mob stabbed Abbas Fakhruddin to death. Similarly, on Tank Road, Gaffar Ismail (35) was stabbed to death by a Hindu mob.

On 13 Jan 1993, at around 9 pm, a Hindu mob damaged Mr. Bashir Ahmed's house. It broke open the lock, looted the house, destroyed all the furniture inside the house and set it on fire. Mr. Ahmed's estimated loss is around Rs. 4 lacs.

Other affected areas are Jamil Nagar, Pathan Colony, Nardas Nagar and Sarvodaya Nagar.

According to Mr. Kondalkar, API of Bhandup police station, the riots were widespread; therefore, the police could not control the situation. In Bhandup, 4 Muslim were stabbed to death and about 20 people were injured in the riots; 17 Muslim, 1 Hindu were injured in mob violence. Two people were injured in police firing. The police arrested 16 people for rioting: 13 Hindu and 3 Muslim.

### **Teli Galli, Andheri (East)**

On 10 Jan. 1993, at 10 p.m., Safi Ahmed, Abdul, Aameer and Babu were gathered in a house. A group of Hindu, consisting of Babu, Nitin, Bala and Pradeep entered the house and stabbed them to death. At around 11 p.m. a mob of about 100 Hindus attacked Mr. Mohammed Raza's lime depot. The mob first looted it and then set it on fire. Sheikh Mansoor was staying in Madanpura, Andheri (East) as a tenant in a house, owned by a Hindu. His house was looted and burnt. 16 Muslim houses were burnt and looted by a Hindu mob in madanpura. Mr. Ajay Sawant and Chandrakant were shot dead by the police as they were trying to create trouble in the area. On 14 Jan. 1993 at midnight, Mr. Salim Khan was stabbed to death.

In another incident on 19 Jan. 1993, at 6 am, in Tiwari Chawl, the house of Mr. Shivappa M. Bangera was set on fire by some unknown people. He, his wife and their 6-year-old daughter were burnt to death.

### **Sambhaji Nagar**

On 9 Jan. 1993, a Hindu mob attacked the area and around 50 houses of Muslim were looted and damaged.

### **Saiwadi**

Around 25 houses of Muslim were looted and burnt by a Hindu mob on 9-10 Jan. 1993. Mrs Rabiya Ahesan Ilahi's house was looted and burnt. Her estimated loss is Rs 35,000.

### **Gamdevi Gavthan**

It was badly affected by the riots. According to Mr Yusuf Abdul Rehman Sheikh, a resident and social worker in the area, around 240 Muslim houses and shops were looted and damaged when a Hindu mob attacked them on 10 Jan. 1993. His house was also looted and damaged. Mrs Jamila Musa Sheikh's three wheeler was set on fire and her house was damaged as well by the Hindu rioters. A mosque was also damaged by the mob. Mr. Iqbal Sheikh (carpenter) and Mr. Ibrahim Kasam Sheikh were stabbed. Mr. Azmat Khan was burnt alive



near the municipal school, Nagardas Road on the midnight of 10 Jan. 1993.

### **Col-Dongri**

On 10 Jan 1993, at 8 pm, Hindu rioters burnt 3 timber marts, namely, Reheman Timber, Rizwi Timber and Noor Flush door. Mr. Mond, Habib Abdul Razak Khan's house was also looted and damaged on the same day.

### **Mahatma Gandhi Nagar, Wadala**

It is a slum along the Harbour branch railway tracks of Central Railway near Wadala and Antop Hill. It falls within the jurisdiction of Antop Hill.

The riots in this area erupted on 11 Jan 1993. According to Mr. Abdul Kassim Sardar, a self-acclaimed social worker and Chairman of Sanjiwani Sewa Sangh, the disturbance began on 11 Jan 1993 when a hut of Punno Swami was set on fire by a mob around 3 pm. This was followed by burning of other hutments. Some Hindu leaders had earlier warned him of impending violence. Mr. Sardar approached the police for help but Mr. Kenke, In-charge of Antop Hill police station, expressed total helplessness because the entire police force had been sent to Dadar. Instead, he asked Mr. Sardar to take whatever measures were possible for defending the people, including possible counter-attack.

On 12 Jan 1993, around 10.30 am, the violence erupted again. The police stationed there opened fire to control the situation. However, on 13 Jan 1993, rioting again broke out when Mr. Ali Hasan's house near Islami masjid, was set on fire. Hutments belonging to Manora Begum, Jannah Alam, N Ali Sardar, Mushtaq Ahmed, Nawab Ali, Sultan Qureshi, Anwar Hussain and Mrs Bashirun Khan were also burnt. Later in the night, 30 more hutments of both Hindu and Muslim were looted and then burnt. The Islami masjid was also looted. Iman Maulana Abu Tahir lost Rs. 3,000 and the speakers of the masjid for Azan were stolen. A BEST meter cabin as well as a number of shops, including a grocery shop owned by Mr. Abdul Gani, an embroidery shop of S. K. Jani Alam and Dr. Kadri's dispensary, were also burnt. Most of the Muslim residents of the area fled to the nearby Sheikh Misri Dargah at Antop Hill, to Kismatpura and Bengalipura. The army arrived here on 13 Jan 1993. Mr. Divan Oberoi, a coal BJP leader is reported to have instigated riots in this area. Mr. Sardar is also accused of exploiting the riot victims and a number of complaints have been made against him, according to Inspector Patil.

### **Antop Hill**

Riots erupted here on 6 Jan 1993, at night and continued till early morning of 7 Jan 1993. Muslim in the area, apprehending more rioting, began taking precautionary measures. On 10 Jan 1993, around 2.30 pm, a huge mob of thousands of Hindu, began to burn shops and establishments owned by Muslim. Altogether, 10 establishments were gutted : 7 Timber Marts, 2 brick storerooms and a coal shop along with 2 hutments. These were all located near at Kalimata Mandir and the Government hospital at Antop Hill. The Mandir also caught fire and its roof was burnt. However, according to the manager of the Mandir, some people who had come there to help put out the fire, stole money and property worth Rs. 25,000 from inside the Manir. This included Rs. 5,000 cash and temple ornaments, jewellery and clothes. Despite their efforts, the police failed to turn

up and the water tanker arrived only at 3.30 pm. Owners of the burnt timber marts are :

Ali Hussain Habibullah, Samiullah, Nizamuddin, Mohd Riaz, Insan Ali, Mohd Ismail and Mohd Salim ; Brick storerooms were owned by Mohd Hadiz and Wali Ahmed ; the coal shop was owned by Abdul Wahid.

### **Malwani, Malad (West)**

On 11 Jan 1993, around midnight, stone throwing began from both sides of block No. 6 of B M C Colony. It was a fight between block No. 6 of B M C Colony and plot No. 25 of Old Collector's compound. According to Mr. Vijay Pandurang Khot, an employee of BEST and a resident of block No. 6, B M C Colony, in this Hindu-dominated area, most of 55 Hindu houses had their roofs damaged on account of stonning from the Hindu houses as these damaged houses divide the Hindu area from the Muslim area.

Around the same time, 25 Muslim men entered the block No. 6 and damaged windows and doors of 6 Hindu houses. These men were armed with choppers, iron rods and guptis. One Muslim woman, who stays in the B M C Colony, was pointing out Hindu houses to them. On the other side, Mr. Ganibhai and his wife of the colony saved one Hindu chawl from being damaged. 25 Hindu were injured : 6 were badly injured and one, Mr. Ashok Pandurang (31) died. He was first shot by one Mr. Khan and then stabbed by others. He died on the spot.

In another incident, on 11 Jan 1993 at 12.00 am when 7 boys (5 Hindu, 1 Buddhist and 1 Christian) of block No. 4 and 5 of B M C Colony, went to another area to get some weapons, 3 of them were stabbed by Rizwan, a notorious local goonda, in Crystal building.

Stone-throwing took place between block No. 3 (Muslim dominated) and block No. 2 (Hindu dominated) at around 9 am on 11 Jan 1993. Mobs on both sides gathered, the police opened fire in which Farookh Fakruddin (14-year-old) was injured. Pradeep Kharat, Suresh Bansode and Shridhar B. Kshirsagar of Rashtra Seva Dal took him to Bhagwati hospital at Borivali.

On 29 Jan 1993, at around 9.30 am, 3 crude bombs were thrown from plot No. 25 (Muslim populated) on B M C Colony block No. 6 (Hindu populated). No damage was reported but the locality became tense as a result of this. At around midnight, around 10 young boys (3 Hindu, 7 Muslim) were coming to Malwani from Malad station. They did not know about the situation here. When they reached near block 6 of B M C Colony, the police beat them and they ran away. One boy Imtiaz Sheikh (17) entered block 6 ; he was stabbed to death by some Hindu goondas. The police recovered his body on 24 February 1993 from the drainage tank of block 6 of B M C Colony.

In all, 51 shops, including 7 of Hindus, were burnt by Hindu mobs in Malad (West).

### **Kandivli**

#### **Gandhi Nagar**

#### **Islam Compound**

Includes K D compound, Dinesh compound, Bhandari compound, Azad

compound, Laljipada, Indira Nagar., Sanjay Nagar.

Population : about 40,000/45,000

These are Muslim majority areas with a large number of Muslims from Bihar, Bengal and UP. There are about 18/20 temples and 13/14 masjids in these areas. The people here have been living in harmony all these years and during recent years help one another against attacks by outsiders.

During the second phase of rioting, on 10 and 11 Jan. 1993, a mob from Shankar Pada, Yadav Nagar would come at night, throw bottles, stones, make noise and shout inflammatory anti-Muslim slogans till early hours of the morning. They did not come inside the colony but the people had to keep awake the whole nights to protect themselves from possible attack.

The real attack began on 12 Jan. 1993 morning after the azan. A mob of about 500 people armed with choppers, knives, bottles and stones attacked the colony and the people had to come out to protect themselves. The police also came in and fired. 15 rioters were injured, 1 person died ; Yadav Sharma and Mania Surve, brother of Shiv Sena shakha pramukh Sudhakar Surve, died in police firing. Non-Muslim in the colony were victimised by the outsiders and beaten up for helping the Muslim residents of these areas.

### **Dahanukar Wadi**

In this Hindu majority area, a mob of about 500 people broke into the Muslim shops on the night of 12 Jan. 1993 and burnt them. In Bobby Shopping Centre, some Muslim shops were burnt along with all the material inside but all Hindu shops remained safe. Tanaka saloon (Bismil Bhai), U.P Metal Corp. (Mohd Bismil), Abdur Rehman scrap shop : these were totally burnt. A cement shop opposite Kandivli bus station was looted. Another bulb chandelier shop and the house behind it and Star saloon, all owned by Muslim, were burnt ; 2 Muslim were stabbed. Nobody died.

### **Charkop MHB Colony**

It has 546 building societies. Each society has about 35/40 houses and there are 3/4 Muslim houses in each society. All the houses burnt and looted here belonged to Muslim. 5 Muslims died. Some Hindu families protected their Muslim neighbours while others turned hostile to them. When the police was asked to help the Muslim, they were told by the police that they were already busy in other areas.

A group of people would first come in, stab the inmates and loot the house. Some Muslim families left their houses ; some helplessly watched their houses being looted and others locked themselves inside till they could leave safely. Some of these families have not yet returned. Some families with Hindu husband and Muslim wife were helped by their neighbours. Here, one Muslim boy was burnt after being tied in a gunny bag. In a building Anjumane Hushame Manzil where mostly Bohri Muslim families stay, only stoning took place ; no other damage was done. One person was stabbed across the road on 11 Jan. 1993.

According to Mr. Bhimrao Kamble, PRO at Kandivli Police Station also, no Hindu in the area was attacked or looted.

### **Vikroli-Parksite**

Parksite, a lower middle class colony with municipal councillor Mr. Shantaram Chavan of Shiv Sena.

MLA :- Ramakant Mayekar Shiv Sena.

MP :- Gurudas Kamath Cong (I).

Muslims contribute to around 25% of the total population.

As told by Mr. Abdul Moied, a member of relief committee, all rioters were of Gurudatta Mandal (Group). Founder of this group is Mr. Shantaram Chavan of S. S.

From 7th of January full area was tense. Near Municipal School some antisocial elements of Muslim community threw some stones at one temple. After this incident Danul Aman Mosque was partly damaged by Hindus.

From 7th to 13th January, around 500 houses of Muslim community were first looted and then damaged or burnt by a Hindu mob of 50 people.

Mr. Rusuf (Babu Chakkiwala) was stabbed to death in his flour mill on 10th Jan. by a mob of around 40-50 people of Hindu community at Hanuman Nagar. Another two persons were injured in stabbing. (Mr. Abdul Moied was helping one Mr. Mumtaz Ahmed who was injured in stabbing in Dec. 92. Instead of helping the police started beating him. Abdul gave bad words to police and then police started beating all the people of Sattar Khan Chawl. Police also threw soda water bottles at them. Muslims also took part in stone throwing at police).

Another 4 persons, all Hindu died in police firing in which a woman also died who was inside her house.

As told by Mr. K. S. J. Kini, social worker of Vikroli, Mr. Gosavi (Senior Inspector of Police) played biased role and was supporting Shiv Sainiks, on the other side Mr. Chavan (P. S. I.) played unbiased role.

Mr. Nandu Ambekar (Shakha Pramukh of S. S.) and Chinkya of Ramnagar were leading Hindu mob in looting.

### **Ghatkopar**

In Ghatkopar, Asalfa Village was badly affected. Major arson took place in this area.

Asalfa is semi-slum area where Muslims are around 7% of the total population of the area.

Municipal Councillor :-

(1) Mrs. Shila More of S. S.

(2) Sahebrao Bhintade of S. S.

MLA :- Mr. Ramakanth Mayekar (S. S.)

MP :- Gurudas Kamath Cong (I)

On 8th Jan. 93 a Hindu mob of around 200 people from Subhash Nagar, Bhattwadi and other adjacent areas came and started brickbattling at Muslims shops and then started burning their shops. This carried out from 8th Jan. to 13th Jan. Around 200 shops and houses of Muslim community were burnt during these days. All timber marts of Muslims were set on fire by Hindu rioters.

Mr. Abdul Salam's shoe mart was burnt by them and one muslim

chickenshop owner was burnt alive by Hindu mob at Market near Asalfa Village. Khairunisa Abdul Majid's house was first looted and burnt by Hindu mob on 10/01/93 at Jambli Pada.

Mr. Mohammed Ali Abdul Majid's Timber mart was set on fire on 08/01/93. Ali's loss was of 1.5 lacs but he received only 5,000 rupees from Government.

Mr. Salim Shaikh was stabbed to death by Hindu mob at Subhash Nagar on 12th Jan. 93.

Another 6 persons of Muslim community were injured in stabbing. Jagdish Patel was injured in police firing.

2 Mosques were damaged by Hindu rioters.

Mr. Ram Achal (His Timber Mart was set on fire by Hindu rioters) told me that "Muze Mere Bajuwalen Musalmaan se Dar Nahin Hai, Lekin Muze Hindu Dangaiyon per Zara Bhi Bharosa Nahin Hai". "Muze Mere Bajuwalen Ne Kabhi-Bhi Taklif Nahin Di, Lekin Aaj Hinduone Hi Mera Jivan Barbad Kar Diya Hai".

Mr. Mohammed Abdul Masjid of 60 years of age who earned his living by selling fish at Ghatkopar Bhattwadi fishmarket was injured in stabbing on 13th Jan. Around 15 men of Hindu community armed with guptis and swords entered his home and attacked him and his two sons.

On Jan. 12 at around 11.30 pm around 250 people of majority community chanting "Jai Bhavani - Jai Shivaji" attacked Jamaluddin Khan's house at Gamdevi. They first tried to break open the steel door but they could not. Then around 30 Youths climbed on the rooftop and destroyed the cement asbestos sheet and entered his house. They first beat him and then destroyed his house. Jamal was in Indian Army. His certificates were burnt in fire.

Mulund was also affected in these riots. Some houses (around 20) of Muslim community were burnt and looted by Hindu rioters. Another 15 vehicles were damaged but no death is reported from this area.

## ANNEXURE - 1

### Riot Victims In JJ Hospital, January 1993.

The Ekta Team visited riot victims in JJ Hospital on Wednesday January 20 and Thursday January 21 1993. This is a summary of the interviews held with various victims.

Name : Abdul Kadir, 43 years old

Address : Lives on footpath

Occupation : Taxi driver

Abdul Kadir had lived in Bombay since he was born. He has driven a taxi for 15 years. Till he was 21, he lived with his sister. In 1973, they were driven from their Andheri jhopdi by the Shiv Sena in the riots. When she died a few years later, he began living on the footpath.

On January 10th, 1993 Kadir was in the Grant Road area, and was walking towards the CP Tank area because of rumours of trouble in Grant Road. He was stopped by the police near the Grant Road bridge and told to leave. He entered Sutar Gully. He was surrounded by about 15 boys there. They asked him his name, and then stoned him and stabbed him. The police came to his rescue and took him to the VP Road Police Station. Later that day, they brought him to JJ Hospital.

Name : Abdul Jabbar, 60 years old

Address : Dakia Road Masjid, Mazagaon

Occupation : Sweeper

Abdul Jabbar has lived in Bombay for 1 year. Before that, he lived most of his life in Girafat, Uttar Pradesh. He cleans the masjid for a living.

On January 10th, at about 10 a.m., Jabbar was in the masjid sweeping. There were disturbances around, but he stayed inside. 15 or 20 policemen entered, claiming there were weapons in the masjid. They searched for these weapons. Not finding any, they began beating Jabbar and the other sweepers. 3 policemen hit Jabbar with lathis and rifle butts on his arm and his chest. Later in the day, the same policemen brought him to JJ Hospital.

Name : Pappu, 22 years old

Address : Francis Buidling, Girgaum

Occupation : Cable TV operator

Pappu is from Azamgarh in UP. In October 1992, he came to Bombay (his aunt lives in Dahisar) to look for work. He has been working for a cable TV firm since then installing cables in buildings. He is Hindu.

On January 10th, at 8 a. m., Pappu went to Kamatipura to buy some cigarettes. About 12 Hindu boys surrounded him and asked him his name. When he told them, they began to assault him with knives and choppers. Pappu ran to

a private car and asked the driver for help ; the driver took him to JJ Hospital. He says several policemen watched him being attacked but took no action.

Pappu plans to return to Azamgarh as he is too scared to continue living in Bombay.

Name : Sheikh Ishaq Babulal, 35 years old

Address : Jhopadpatti, near Andheri Railway Station.

Occupation : Auto-rickshaw driver

Sheikh Babulal has always lived in Bombay. Along with his wife and 2 children and a sister, he lives in Andheri.

On January 8th, he had to visit his brother in Dongri. He took a train to Sandhurst Road station where he alighted at about 10:30 p.m. 10 or 12 Hindus, after asking his name, assaulted him with knives and choppers. He ran to a building in the area and hid there. Later he began asking the residents of the building for water, but no one obliged. He saw army and police personnel in the area, but was too frightened to approach them. He was wounded on his head, arm, chest and back. A taxi brought him to JJ Hospital.

Name : Suraj Kumar, 20 years old

Address : New Delhi

Occupation : Runs canteen in Payal Theatre in New Delhi.

Suraj Kumar came to Bombay with 2 friends as a tourist. This was his first visit to the city. He and his friends made a short trip to Pune too.

They returned to Bombay V. T. from Pune on January 8th at about noon. Since they wanted to return to Delhi that evening, they needed to get to Bombay Central. They met policemen who said they were in a curfew zone, but since curfew had been lifted from 12 to 2 pm, they could walk to Bombay Central. At Null Bazaar, 4 boys, about 20 years old, dragged him into a gully and attacked him with swords. He was wounded on his arm and back, and his right thigh was cut very deeply. He became unconscious. Thinking he was dead, the boys stole the Rs. 2000 he had on him and threw him out into the road. His friends, meanwhile, had run away. When he regained consciousness, he walked to the police station and was brought to the Hospital.

Name : Tahera Kamal, 29 years old. Zehrab Kamal, 10 years old

Address : Bhendi Bazaar

Occupation : Housewife

Tahera Kamal helps run the family business, an optician shop in Bhendi Bazaar. Her family is from Nagpur, though she has lived in Bombay all her life.

On January 10th, at about 3pm, she and her 10 year old daughter Zehrab went out into the gully outside her house to throw out the garbage. As they turned to cross the gully back into their house, they were both hit by police bullets. There was curfew, in force in the area and there had been firing in the area earlier ; but

as the garbage had been piling up for several days, it had to be disposed of. Tahera was hit in the lower back and Zenab in the head.

Name : Mohammed Yakub, 52 years old

Address : Saki Naka

Occupation : Fish seller

Mohammed Yakub is from Bijnor village in UP, where his wife is. He has lived in Bombay for about a year now.

On January 8th, in the evening, he was walking from Byculla to Mazagaon. 4 young men began stoning him and knifing him. Bleeding profusely, he ran to some police nearby and asked them to take him to the hospital. They refused, saying they did not have enough men to do so, and advised him to go on his own. He ran to another group of policemen who repeated the same thing. At this point, he fainted due to the loss of blood. On recovering a while later, he took a taxi. The taxi was stopped near JJ Hospital by the police, who said they could not allow it to go there. It was only after the driver insisted that he be allowed to take Yakub there as he would otherwise die, that they were allowed to go to JJ, where he was then admitted.

Name : Zarina Khan, 20 years old

Address : Nagpada

Occupation : Student (TYBcom, Akbar Peerbhoy College)

Zarina Khan has lived in Nagpada all her life. Her 17 year old brother was killed in police firing on December 7th, in the post Ayodhya riots.

On January 9th, hundreds of Muslim men from her area were rounded up by the police and taken to the police station. A call went out to the women to come out and protest this action. These women went to the police station to release the men. The police began firing to disperse the crowd. Zarina was hit in the head by a bullet. The police would not allow an ambulance into the area to take the injured women to the hospital, so eventually another woman brought her to JJ.

Name : Taher Ismail, 21

Address : Bhendi Bazar

Occupation : Service

Taher Ismail is a Bohri. He has lived in Bhendi Bazar all his life. He has studied till the 8th standard and began working after that.

On January 9th, he went to buy provisions. While on the street, he heard people of the area asking the ladies to come down from their houses onto the street, because the men had been arrested. He was watching the happenings and was caught in the firing. Hit by a police bullet in the stomach, he was handcuffed to JJ by a lady. His family did not know his whereabouts for 3 days.



Name : Iqbal Abdul Karim, 33  
Address : 170, Bada Imam Road, near Null Bazar  
Occupation : Electronic spare parts supplier

On Jan 9th, around 8 am, in a gully near "Do Tanki", SRP entered the buildings and ordered all the men onto the street. They then severely thrashed them with lathis. People watching from their houses managed to get a loudspeaker from a nearby mosque and appealed to all ladies to go down and reason with the SRP to stop. Iqbal's mother was one of the women who responded to this appeal. Shortly after she went down, he heard firing and ran out to get her. While he was standing there, trying to spot her, a SRP man came up behind him, put a rifle on the right side of his waist and fired at point blank range. A few ladies managed to drag him to a handcart to take him to JJ. Later his brother and some friends managed to get in ambulance and put him into it.

On the way to JJ, a police picket stopped the ambulance. An Inspector hauled out the ambulance driver for questioning. The driver and stretcher bearer were then thrashed, as were his brother and the 3 others. In spite of getting beaten, they later managed to get Iqbal Karim to JJ.

Iqbal Karim's right side is now paralyzed.

Name : Kewal Ram Trilok Ram, 25  
Address : Nagor Dist, Rajasthan  
Occupation : Unknown

Kewal Ram has been in Bombay on work for the last 6 or 7 months and had planned to return soon.

On January 9th, he had gone near Chor Bazar to do some shopping and meet some friends. He was caught in Chor Bazar by 7 or 8 youths who asked him his name. He could not say anything out of fright. They stabbed him in the stomach 6 or 7 times and left him for dead.

After a while, he managed to get up and run to the police and collapsed there.

Some time later, the police put him in a vehicle and took him to JJ. Trilok Ram says the youths were Hindus.

Name : Tukaram Gangaram Gurav, 40  
Address : Kalachowkie  
Occupation : House servant

Gurav is from Punakavan Village in Ratnagiri district. He is uneducated, and works as a servant in his uncle's house in Kalachowkie.

On January 9th, he set out to buy vegetables in the Char Nal area at 5 am. The police saw him and told him to take another road as there was firing on that road, and curfew was on. He took a deserted road.

He was surrounded by 12 or 15 people who asked him his name in Hindi and Marathi. When he gave his name, he was stabbed in his head, stomach and back. They then put him on a cart, took him to a garbage dump and threw him

onto it. Later, the Army brought him to JJ.

Name : Manulal Mahavir, 35

Address : Sion Koliwada

Occupation : Goldsmith in Parel

Mahavir has lived in Bombay for 18 years. He has a wife and 2 small children. He is originally from Varanasi.

On January 7th, he had come to Mumbadevi in search of work. At about 7.30 pm, he was walking towards Sandhurst Road station along with two Muslim friends. They were surrounded by 5 or 6 people who asked them their names. As soon as his two friends said their names, the group attacked them with knives and iron rods, assuming that Mahavir was also Muslim (he is Hindu). Mahavir was stabbed thrice, and beaten with iron rods. His friends managed to escape. He was left for dead, and the police later brought him to JJ. His two Muslim friends later visited him and informed him that the people who attacked them were Shiv Sainiks.

Name : Ramesh Jaisingh Sonar, 19

Address : Under Mahalakshmi bridge, Outside Race course Gate no. 4

Occupation : Works with home guards in JJ Hospital.

On January 7th, around 4.45 am. Sonar and three others were on their way to JJ, in Nagpada, a young Muslim boy walked up to them and asked them if they were Hindu or Muslim. They asked him why he was questioning them. Suddenly, a mob of about 150 Muslims came up behind them and hit them on their heads with stones. They were also armed with swords, knives and axes. Sonar and his friends were then dragged into a gully, stripped. One managed to escape and ran to the police. Sonar was stabbed in the stomach, right knee and neck, and hit badly on the head. Stripped naked, Sonar and his two friends tried to run and were pelted with stones and bottles. They got to the main road where they collapsed. Their friend had reached the police who came up in a van; seeing the van, the mob vanished.

One of Sonar's friends, Atul Pateria, died there.

Name : Bipin Vasanji Patel, 35

Address : 36, Jan Mohammed Devji Chawl, Umerkhadi

Occupation : Gambler, Reay Road

Patel has lived in Bombay for 23 years. He is originally from Billimora in Gujarat.

On Friday Jan 8th at 2 pm, he went downstairs to observe a mob that had gathered on the road. Hindus on one side and Muslims on the other. Trouble erupted. There was brickbattling and bottle throwing. There was also firing. Patel was hit by a bullet in the lower abdomen. He was brought to JJ by local boys.

Name : Abdul Gadir Abdul Rehman, 39  
Address : 23, Dondar Cross Lane, Near Zakaria Masjid  
Occupation : Driver

Rehman is the sole breadwinner for his family of 2 children, mother and a pregnant wife.

On Friday Jan 8th, at 7.30 pm. Rehman was passing Pala Gully, Dongri. Ahead of him, he saw a mob of 50 or 60 who had set fire to something (he couldn't tell what). There was then police firing, and he caught one bullet in the back and one in his left leg. He emphasizes that the locality he lives in has people of all communities and has always been peaceful.

Name : Krishna Ganpat Gowli, 30  
Address : Reay Road Darukhana  
Occupation : Hand cart driver

Gowli has been in Bombay for 20 years. He is illiterate.

He was returning from Dongri on Thursday 7th at 10.15 pm. He was accosted by two men who asked him his name. They then started beating him. He tried to run, but he was stabbed in the stomach and his assailants escaped. He managed to reach the Dongri fire station, and was brought to JJ by the police.

He has put his thumb impression on some papers to receive compensation (since he is illiterate). However, no money has been given to him yet. This is in contrast to most of the other patients in JJ, who have all received Rs. 5000 from the Government as compensation.

Name : Abdul Aziz, 50  
Address : Alishan Bldg., 10th gully, Kamatipura  
Occupation : Cinema operator, Moti Talkies.

Aziz has lived in Bombay for 40 years. His family consists of a wife, three daughters and a son.

On Thursday Jan 7, he left his theatre at about 7.30 pm. There was a maha-aarti in progress at Gol-deval. Seeing this, he took a back road. There he was surrounded by about 20 people who asked his name and where he came from. He says they were Shiv Sainiks and Hindus. They told him to strip and began to beat him. His stomach was ripped open by a thin sharp instrument and his watch and cycle were stolen from him. He managed to get up and run to a military picket. In his delirium (he had lost a lot of blood), he kept asking the military to save his cycle. The SRP took him back to Moti Talkies, where the manager called up the VP Road Police. They brought him to JJ.

Name : Venkat Subbu Iyer, 49  
Address : Shivaji Nagar, 'O' Line.  
Occupation : Government Service, Madras

On Friday Jan 8 at 8 am, Iyer and his son were walking toward Bombay

Central from Nagpada. A mob of 15 to 20 men armed with sticks, swords and knives, surrounded then and asked whether they were Hindu. They said yes. Iyer was stabbed in the stomach and his right hand was hit with a sword. His son was stabbed in the chest with a sword. They were brought to JJ by the police. He has been given compensation by the Government, but nothing was given to his son.

Name : Mohammed Jaffar, 30  
Address : Vapi Road  
Occupation : Unknown

Jaffar has lived in Bombay since 1975.

On Friday Jan 8, he was on Tardeo Bridge at about 6.30 pm. Three or four youths came up to him, seized him and threw him over the bridge. They did not ask him any questions or say anything to him. He guesses they thought he looked like a Muslim and that was reason enough to throw him over the bridge. The fall resulted in a broken right hand. Some Hindus took him to Vapi Road, from where some friends brought him to JJ.

Name : Hassan Mohammed Suleiman, 34  
Address : Basar Manzil, Ismail Karte Road,  
Bhendi Bazar  
Occupation : "Pheriya"

On Sunday Jan 10th, he was in Masjid Bunder at 10.30 am. Curfew was on. He was surrounded by 5 people that he claims were Maharashtrians. They were armed with guptis and iron bars. He was hit on the head with guptis, and they tried to stab him in the chest. This they did not succeed in as he warded off the blows by shielding his chest with his arms. He was thus wounded on his arm, and they broke his leg with an iron bar. His money was stolen from him.

His screams for help were heard by a SRP man, who shouted at the attackers not to touch him. Suleiman asked the SRP man help him, but the man refused, telling Suleiman to walk. Since his leg was broken, he could not walk. Despite this, he dragged himself to the main road, where a police van finally took him to JJ.

Name : Shahid Ali, 24  
Address : Dharavi  
Occupation : Sells old plastic

Shahid Ali is from Pratapgarh and has been in Bombay only for 1-1/2 months.

On Wednesday Jan 20th, while returning from the railway station, he was stopped on the highway by a gang of 5 or 6 people. They asked him his name in Marathi. He immediately gave a Hindu name. They dragged him into a building, stripped him to see if he was circumcised, and then set upon him with iron rods. He fell unconscious. When he recovered consciousness, he found himself in JJ, with burns on his face, an eye injury, severe burns on his legs and right arm, the toes of both feet fractured, and his left hand amputated. He says that after he fainted, his attackers threw a bomb at him, which resulted in these injuries. He has received no aid from the Government.

## ANNEXURE - 2

### Lamington Road

1. Saturday, 9 January, 1993

Shop : Kurrimbhoy Noorbhoy

Mobs broke open back door and took away half his stock. The fans and geysers were also taken. The shop was not burnt down because residents in buildings above were all Hindus.

The owner lives at Mahim. He was able to come to area only on Tuesday the 13th; since curfew was on, he was given time between 7 to 8 am. to survey damage. He filed a complaint at 1.30 pm., police took down statement and address but refused to take it down as opposite the police station.

Total loss : Rs. 2 lacs. Owner has insurance coverage.

2. Lamington Road, 11 January 1993.

Shop : Nayab

Owner : Nayab Gulam Hussain

Mobs broke all glass display windows, boxes and threw stock out. Shop assistants locked shop. On the 12th they tried to collect scattered stock but had to stop when stone-throwing started. Police were on the spot when stone-throwing started. Police were on the spot, watching and laughing. The shop is located directly across the police station. The owner has worked here from 1973, he bought the shop in 1977.

Total loss : Rs. 12,000. Police report filed.

3. Off Lamington Road. Saturday 9 January, 9.30 - 10 pm.

Shop : Advanced Micro Devices

Owner : Sohail

Locks were broken and entire stock of computer devices looted or burnt. All documents, account/bill books and counters thrown on the road and burnt. All bulbs and fans were also taken. Interior of shop completely destroyed.

Police complaint lodged on 15 January, since area was under curfew.

Total Loss : Rs. 5 Lacs, Shop insured with New India Insurance Co.; however the company insists that they provide all documents, bills, account order books etc. all of which were burnt.

4. Lamington Road. 9 January  
Jasmine Art Centre  
Owner : Ahmedbhai  
No one available to talk to. Store completely burnt.
5. Lamington Road, 9 January  
King Hotel  
Owner : Mohd. Hussain Mojisnama  
Signboard broken. All glass display cases, counters smashed. Everything looted, including vessels and Rs. 25,000. Mob was about to set the hotel on fire, but fled when a police van was seen approaching.
5. Lamington Road  
Saturday, 9 January, 7 pm.  
Shop : Video Track  
Owner : Yusuf  
40 year-old family business. Broke locks and shutters and took away all stock including electronic goods, such as videos, etc. Videos, TV sets also taken from godown a few shops away.  
Total Loss : Rs. 10 lacs.  
Police complaint filed on 18 Jan.
6. Lamington Road, 9 January  
Shop : Noor Electric Stores  
Mob broke shutteres but could not enter.  
Total Loss : Rs. 6,000
7. Lamington Road, 9 or 10 January  
Kiosk : New Saifee Electrics  
Owner : Shabbir Kaizad  
Mob broke kiosk and looted all goods, such as bulbs, holders, etc. An electric drill machine, other tools and instruments of trade also taken.  
Total Loss : Rs. 50,000  
Police complaint made on Tuesday (uncertain of date), police complaint number : 2593

Lamington Road, 9 January

Kiosk : Fazal Electricals, 406 Lamington Road

25-year-old business. Kiosk broken and goods taken, including five fans kept at neighbouring shop.

Total loss : Rs. 30,000

Lamington Road, 9 January

Kiosk : Saifee Cloth Store

Owner : Saifeebani

Entire stock of pant pieces, shirting and suiting stolen. Kiosk set on fire after looting. Owner met Shiv Sena shakha people with whom he had been on good terms. They said it was the work of outsiders.

Total Loss : Rs. 90,000

Chira Bazaar, 7 January

Shop : Bharat Motors

Owner : Parikh, run by Muslim youth called Raju Painter.

Garage emptied and contents burnt on road. Two cars and some scooters and motorbikes also burnt. No one available to talk to.

Chira Bazaar, 7 January

General Store, Jasmine Oil Centre

Owner : Ahmedbhai, Worker : Mohd. Salim

Completely burnt. No one present to talk to.

Chira Bazaar, Shankarsheth Road, 9 January

Shop : F. M. Hussain

Owner : Juzerbhai

Cutlery business, stock looted. Furniture taken out and burnt on road.

Loss : Rs. 2 lacs

13. Chira Bazaar, 9 January  
Kiosk  
Owner : Abid Najmuddin Khambati  
Kiosk destroyed and entire stock of leather chappals looted.  
Loss : Rs. 30,000
14. Shrikant Palekar Road, Off Chira Bazaar, 9 January  
Shop : Daria Oil Depot  
20 year old business, settled in Bombay from Gujarat 20 years ago. Entire stock looted.  
Loss : Rs. 15,000
15. Shrikant Palekar Road, off Chira Bazaar Road, 9 January  
Naaz Laundry  
Owner/Manager : Irfaan  
Completely burnt down
16. Shrikant Palekar Road, 9 January  
Bharat Hair Cutting Saloon  
All furniture taken out and burnt. All mirrors and cases smashed. Police stood by and watched. According to a resident, the mob was 30 to 40 strong and composed of mainly local Shiv Sena workers, but he was afraid to say so openly. The assailants warned residents that a mob of Muslim was going to attack them shortly. Both this saloon and Naaz laundry belong to the same person.
17. Bada Kabristan, Bada Sonapur huts, 9 January, 7 pm.  
2 Houses belonging to Afzal and Sakina & Abu and Mumtaz  
200 to 300 strong mob, later reinforced with more men armed with swords and petrol bombs, put all lights off and attacked from two sides. Four policemen present merely looked on. They refused even to close one gate through which mob was entering. Locals came to their aid and tried to stop mob, but gave up when the armed mobs arrived.



All household goods looted or burnt. A refrigerator, TV, cupboard with clothes inside, utensils were all burned.

Filed complaint with police, but no panchnama was made at the time. Police asked them to come later.

The mob returned later at night and stoned the remaining huts.

All residents hid in the graveyard.

18. Chira Bazar, Shankarshet Road, 9 January

Shop : Shah and Sons

Owner : Mansukhbhai Nalwala Akbar

Opened shutter, broke display windows, counters, chairs. Took everything, including stock of sanitary-ware, pipes, etc. out on road and burnt it. Took away tubelight, telephone and other fittings.

Loss : Rs. 80,000

19. Chira Bazaar, 9 January

Shop : Bharat Oil Depot

All furniture, stock taken out and burnt on road. (Wherever goods are burnt on road it is because neighbouring shops or residents above shops are Hindus).

20. Chira Bazaar, 9 January

Deep freeze and other furniture burnt on road. Inside of shop completely stripped and washbasins, switchboards, display shelves smashed. No one available to talk to.

21. Chira Bazaar, 9 January

Shop : Deluxe Cutlery Store

Owner : Moinuddin

22-year-old business. Stock looted. Stocks kept in a Hindu friend's godown close by also looted, though the friends were untouched.

Loss : Rs. 1. 5. Lacs

22. Chira Bazaar, 9 January

Shop : Columba Stores

Owner : Nandkishore Thorat

Though it belonged to a Hindu, shop was attacked because it was run by a Muslim, Sadiq Sheikh. Entire stock of children's clothes and shoes as well as all furniture taken out and burnt on road.

Loss : Rs. 80,000

23. Chira Bazaar, 9 January

Kiosk : Lucky Frame Works

Owner : Yusuf Halawadwala

No one available to talk to. Neighbouring Hindu cloth store owner said that around 10.30 all shops closed down. From 12.30 onwards, all Muslim owned or run shops and kiosks were looted, burnt or completely destroyed. The kiosk belonged to the Hindu shopowner, but his shop was not touched.

Loss : Rs. 25,000, as estimated by Hindu shopowner who letted him the kiosk.

**Lokmanya Tilak Market, Off Maulana Shaukat Ali Marg**

Sunday, 10 January, 12 noon.

All shops in this market are wholesale poultry or dressed/cut broiler suppliers. None of them were burnt, but all were looted, especially of choppers and knives. Police were present but merely watched or joined in the looting.

1. Shop No. 49, Arshian Chicken Centre

Owner : Mohd. Salim

Looted : Cash Rs. 80,000, 915 chickens worth Rs. 34,000, chicken crates worth Rs. 1,200, electronic weighing machine worth Rs. 35,000, one Godrej Cupboard worth Rs. 4,200

Total Loss : Rs. 1,55,000

2. Shop No 50/51, A-1 Trading Company

Owner : Ali Hasan

Looted : 400 chickens, cash Rs. 13,000, electronic scale, hand weighing scale, two telephones. Furniture and counters broken.

3. Shop No : 52

Owner : Naushad Mullah

Looted : Cash worth Rs. 2,500. Weighing scale worth Rs. 2,000, 400 chickens, fan, small cupboard.

4. Shop No. 53  
Looted 100 Chickens, counter broken
5. Shop No 12/13, poultry cutting shop  
Owner : Quereshi Mohd. Salim  
Looted : Stools, fan, cash Rs. 1,000, drums, 12 choppers Total Loss : Rs. 5,000.
6. Shop 55  
Looted : Electronic weighing machine worth Rs. 30,000, chickens worth Rs. 12,000  
Total loss : Rs. 45,000
7. Shop No 56  
Owner : Munirbhai  
Chickens, scales. Switchboards broken.  
Total Loss : Rs. 40,000
8. Shop No 11  
Owner : Abdul Hassan  
Looted : 50 litres kerosene, one stove, 3 choppers  
Loss : Rs. 10,000
9. Shop No 10  
Owner : Javed Baba Mian  
Looted : 1 weighing scale, 25 chickens, 4 choppers, 3 knives, 1 stove, 2 buckets, 5 litres kerosene.
10. Shop No 87/88  
Owner : Ibrahim Usman and Sons  
Looted : Chickens, cash Rs. 17,000  
Total Loss : Rs. 35,000
11. Shop 7,8,9  
Rs. 18,000 cash, Personal cash of about 35 workers living on premises Rs. 50,000 to 60,000. 7 stoves, 25 knives, 800 cut chickens, personal clothes. Drums and cupboards broken.

12. Shop No. 5  
Owner : Abdul Rehman  
Looted : One stove, one drum
13. Shop No. 3  
Owner : Bilal Chowdhury  
Looted : Telephone, clock, stove, two or three choppers.
14. Shop No. 6  
Owner : Ismail Bhai  
Looted : Stove, tubelight, 5 choppers and knives, bedding and clothes.
15. Shop No. 4  
Owner : Ahmedbhai  
Looted : 3 stoves, four knives and choppers, 1 bucket, 25 litres kerosene, 1 fan, 1 tubelight
16. Shop No. 2  
Owner : Abdul Majid  
Looted : 3 choppers, 2 tubelights, 1 stove.
17. Mutton shops in two facing rows. Still closed at time of survey but some owners were able to give details.  
One shop lost weighing scales. choppers, 2 telephones, clothes.  
Loss : Rs. 18,000  
In all shops, locks were broken open, electronic scales, 2 telephones clothes.  
Loss : Rs. 18,000
18. Shop No 89  
Owner : Abarul Haq Kazi  
Looted : Cash Rs. 20,000, counters, doors, glass broken.  
Total Loss : Rs. 25,000
19. Shop No. 25  
Owner : Zubair and Brothers  
Looted : Rs. 15,000 cash, chickens worth Rs. 12,000,

In egg shop : Cash Rs. 1,000, 1 fan, grain for feeding chickens.

Counters and cages destroyed.

20. Shop No. 23 and 391/G (godown)

Akbar Trading Company

Looted : 9,000 chickens, Cash Rs. 40,000, electronic scales worth Rs. 20,000, telephone, fan, mercury lamp worth Rs. 250, Avery scales, counters.

Total loss : Rs. 4 lacs

No photographs taken since order had been restored.

## Parel

Haji Mansion, Near Shirodkar Market

Photographs No. 18 to 24 are of Haji Mansion

Saturday 9 January

Around 300 strong mob attacked the chawl and some shops belonging to Muslims on the main road leading from Elphinstone Road Station to Tata Hospital.

12 houses, 7 ground and 5 first floor burnt. Four sheds also burnt. More than 200 people were living here at the time.

1. Rooms 9 and 10, Abdul Qadir Ibrahim, 32 member family

6 cupboards with clothes belonging to 6 families, ornaments, luggage burnt down along with house of approx. 1,000 sq. ft. divided into 10 x 40 rooms.

Loss : Rs. 3,00,000

2. Shed, Adam Kasim

Silver smelting business in the shed. Loss : Rs. 43,000 worth silver, 200 metres cloth, 30 gm gold, vessels, telephone. Shed destroyed.

3. Room 5A, Aziz Haashim, seven member family.

TV, clothes, cupboards, gold ornaments, vessels all lost.

Clothes worth Rs. 20,000 made for the weddings of two children, lost. All stock of clothes pavement selling business lost.

Loss : Rs. 60,000

4. Room 4, Zubeida, Ibrahim, 8 member family

House completely burnt. Loss approx. Rs. 28,000. Family had moved to Bandra at time of survey.

5. Shed 6/7, Mohd. Jamaluddin Mistry, 12 member family  
Plumber. Lost 3 cutting machines, 1 Hitachi grinder, 1 drill, 5 tile cutters, cash Rs. 35,000, 2 beds, 1 large fringe, 3 cupboards, tables, chairs, 100 kg wheat, 50 kg rice, 5 tolas gold ornaments, 2 ceiling and 2 table fans, clothes of all family members.  
Loss : Rs. 3,00,000
6. Shed 6/7 (rear), Farookh Mohd. 7 member family  
TV, gas cylinder, cement cheets. doors, ceiling, personal clothes, business stock of ladies underwear and gents socks, 1 steel tank, vessels.  
Loss:Rs. 13,290
7. Shed 6/7(front), Abul Bakr Memon, Farzana, 12 member family.  
Lost business and personal effects  
Sari stock worth Rs.50,000  
Coconuts Rs.8,000  
Cash Rs.5,000  
7 tolas gold, 5 tolas silver ornaments, furniture, TV, vessels, clothes, everything taken, including taps.  
Loss:Rs. 1,75,000
8. Room 8, Atmabhai Ahmed Chaven, 7 member family  
Lost colour TV, clothes, cupboard, vessels, radio, tape recorder, imported clock.  
Loss:Rs.20,500
9. Shed 25F, Baburao Maruti Deokar, 8 member family  
Silver smelting factory and house completely burnt with all possessions.  
Loss:Rs.80,000
10. Agarbatti Business  
Owner:Babu Ismail Agarbattiwala  
The Kiosk was closed. Mobs took all furniture and stock out and burnt them on the road. Police and Municipal officials were present; they watched for some time and then left.  
Loss:Rs.50,000

11. Room 6/7  
Owner: Mariambai Chauhan, 20 member family  
All clothes, gold ornaments, household goods looted or burnt  
Loss: Rs. 42,000
12. Tailoring Shop  
Owner: Qasim Jamal  
Interior of shop burnt. 2 sewing machines taken.  
Loss: Rs. 14,200
13. Room 4/5 1st floor, Noor Mohd. Isa Khatri  
Doors, windows, bathroom, showcases, ventilators all broken or burnt.  
Loss: Rs. 13,900
14. Shop 5B  
Owner: Abdul Qadri Ibrahim  
Stove repairing business. Entire kiosk ripped out, repairing kit, stock taken out and burnt.  
Loss: Rs. 31,000
15. Shop 5A, stall completely broken
16. Shop No. 3 Mohd. Malabari Hotel and No. 4, Chakki  
Owner: Mohd. Seth  
Chakki destroyed and shop completely burnt.
17. Shop No. 10  
Owner: Wali Mohd. Ibrahim Patel  
Photo frame shop. The owner was beaten.  
All his frames and glass were smashed
18. Shop No 2  
Owner: Kamlabai Kanti Kumbhar

8. Babubhai & Co. Shop No.96, Grant Road Market  
Shop and godown looted.  
Loss from shop: Rs.12,911; from godown:Rs.2.81 lacs (details attached).

### **Elphinstone Road**

- Haji Mansion, Elphinstone Road Market
9. House No.5A, Aziz Hasham Memon  
Children's clothes, cupboard, television set, utensils, jewellery for a family wedding either looted or destroyed.  
Estimated Loss:Rs.60,000  
Owner had a clothes shop in the vicinity, which was also looted and stocks worth Rs.4000 lost.  
Seven members in the family.
10. House No.4, Zubeda Ibrahim was not present, had gone to Bandra, but the neighbours said that she had stated losses of Rs.27,200 to the police panchnama.  
Eight members in the family.
11. Frontal part of Shed numbers 6 & 7, Mohammed Jamaluddin Mistry.  
Loss totals Rs.2.06 lacs including the looting or destruction of the tools of his trade including a grinder and a drill machine besides Rs.35,000 in cash, and household items like two beds, a refrigerator, three cupboards, utensils, five tolas gold Jewellery, two ceiling fans, two table fans, colour television, clothes, a steel table, five tile cutters, three wall watches, two cycles,. Since part of the place was used as a mill, stocks such as 100 kg wheat and 50 kg rice were also lost.  
Twelve members in the family.
12. Rear part of Shed numbers 6 & 7, Farrokh Mohammad  
Door burnt, television, gas cylinder, cement sheet roofing and hosiery stocks (he's a hawker) destroyed, utensils stolen.  
Estimated loss:Rs.13,290  
Seven members in the family.
13. Another frontal section of Shed numbers 6 & 7, Farzana Abubakar Memon  
Sari stocks worth Rs.50,000, coconut stocks worth Rs.8000 and jewellery



worth Rs.5000 besides five tolas of silver, a cupboard, bed, colour television set, tap and utensils, looted or destroyed.

Estimated loss:Rs.1.75 lacs

Twelve members in the family.

14. Room No.8, Atmaram Ahmad Chauhan

Colour television set, clothes, cupboards, radio, tape recorder and watches.

Estimated loss:Rs.20,000

15. Room No.25F, Anil Baburao Devkar

Equipment in this small factory where melting and cleaning of old silver is undertaken.

Estimated loss:Rs.80,000

16. Agarbatti shop near the Lalbaug flyover

Owner:Iqbal Babu Memon

Stock looted and burnt.

Estimated loss:Rs.50,000

17. Room numbers 6 & 7, Mariambai Chauhan

Clothes and household items looted or destroyed.

Estimated loss:Rs.42,000

Twenty members in the family

**Shirodkar market, Elphinstone Road**

18. Tailoring shop number 9, section 9.

Owner:Qasim Jamal

Two sewing machines, counter, door, woodwork, destroyed or looted.

Loss:Rs.14,200.

19. Shop numbers 4 & 5

Owner Noormohammed Issa Khatri

Sliding windows, showcase, ventilator, broken from stone throwing.

Loss:Rs.13,900

20. Stall No.2  
Owner:Kamlabai Kanti Kumbhar  
Clay pot maker had the roofing and side of the shop broken and pots smashed.  
Loss.Rs.15,000.
21. Shop No.2  
Owner:M. Jaferali  
Three dozen jars broken, furniture destroyed.  
Loss.Rs.50,000-60,000.
22. IHA Oil Centre Haji Mansions.  
Owner:Arif Chauhan  
Loss of furniture and stocks amounted to Rs.3.5 lacs. Has lodged a complaint with the police (No.15616 BD).
23. Pan Stall near Sailor Restaurant on Nagaum Road  
Owner: Sitlaprasad Ramchandra Dube  
Loss of stock and structure totals Rs.25,000.
-

worth Rs.5000 besides five tolas of silver, a cupboard, bed, colour television set, tap and utensils, looted or destroyed.

Estimated loss:Rs.1.75 lacs

Twelve members in the family.

14. Room No.8, Atmaram Ahmad Chauhan

Colour television set, clothes, cupboards, radio, tape recorder and watches.

Estimated loss:Rs.20,000

15. Room No.25F, Anil Baburao Devkar

Equipment in this small factory where melting and cleaning of old silver is undertaken.

Estimated loss:Rs.80,000

16. Agarbatti shop near the Lalbaug flyover

Owner:Iqbal Babu Memon

Stock looted and burnt.

Estimated loss:Rs.50,000

17. Room numbers 6 & 7, Mariambai Chauhan

Clothes and household items looted or destroyed.

Estimated loss:Rs.42,000

Twenty members in the family

**Shirodkar market, Elphinstone Road**

18. Tailoring shop number 9, section 9.

Owner:Qasim Jamal

Two sewing machines, counter, door, woodwork, destroyed or looted.

Loss:Rs.14,200.

19. Shop numbers 4 & 5

Owner:Noormohammed Issa Khatri

Sliding windows, showcase, ventilator, broken from stone throwing.

Loss:Rs.13,900

20. Stall No.2  
Owner:Kamlabai Kanti Kumbhar  
Clay pot maker had the roofing and side of the shop broken and pots smashed.  
Loss.Rs.15,000.
21. Shop No.2  
Owner:M. Jaferali  
Three dozen jars broken, furniture destroyed.  
Loss.Rs.50,000-60,000.
22. IHA Oil Centre Haji Mansions.  
Owner:Arif Chauhan  
Loss of furniture and stocks amounted to Rs.3.5 lacs. Has lodged a complaint with the police (No.15616 BD).
23. Pan Stall near Sailor Restaurant on Naigaum Road  
Owner: Sitlaprasad Ramchandra Dube  
Loss of stock and structure totals Rs.25,000.
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This is the big fight, King Ram.  
Let anyone settle it who can.  
Is Brahma bigger or where he came from ?  
Is the Veda bigger or where it was born from ?  
Is the mind bigger or what it believes in ?  
Is Ram bigger or the knower of Ram ?

Kabir turns round, it's hard to see—  
Is the holy place bigger, or the devotee ?

**Kabir**  
*(from The Bijak)*

But these are tainted years, ours; the blood of men far away  
tumbles again in the foam,  
the waves stain us, the moon is spattered.  
These faraway agonies are our agonies  
and the struggle for the oppressed is a hard vein in my nature.

Perhaps this war will pass like the others which divided us,  
leaving us dead, killing us along with the killers  
but the shame of this time puts its burning fingers to our faces.  
Who will erase the ruthlessness hidden in innocent blood ?

**Pablo Neruda**

(from: *The Water Song Ends*)