COMMUNALISM DNBAT

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HATE HURTS, HARMONY WORKS



A watchman burned alive at Kabaadi Market, Behrampura; Ahmedabad

GENOCIDE

GUJARAT 2002

Catching Up with the Nation in Literacy

- While in three decades between 1961 and 1991, literacy level increased by 24 percent in Madhya Pradesh, in the last one decade alone it has increased by 20 percent — bringing literacy level in Madhya Pradesh on par with the national average.
- With this leap M.P. has crossed the National average of male literacy. Male literacy (76.80 percent) in Madhya Pradesh is higher than the male literacy in Karnataka (76.29) and Andhra Pradesh (70.85)
- The increase in female literacy is even more striking. In the last decade, there was an increase of 20.98 percent in female literacy, which is more than the increase registered in three decades before 1991. The rate of growth in female literacy in Madhya Pradesh is six percent higher than the national average. Narrowing of gap between male and female literacy levels is another significant trend of the decade.





Capturing New Heights In Literacy

Madhya Pradesh

For the people who died in the attack on the Sabarmati Express at Godhra on February 27, 2002.

In memory of all those who have been killed in the genocide in Gujarat, which began on February 28, 2002.

Genocide

The torching of bogey S-6 of the Ahmedabad bound Sabarmati Express at Godhra on February 27, in which 58 passengers, including 26 women and 12 children, were burnt to death, is an unpardonable act. The perpetrators of this grossly inhuman crime must be tried swiftly and given the most stringent punishment. But, for the burned corpses of the ill-fated passengers to become the justification for armed squads of the ruling BJP and its 'brother' organisations — RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal — to launch a pogrom that sits well with what the UN defines as genocide against the innocent Muslims of Gujarat?

Even during the unspeakable horrors that communities inflicted on each other in 1946 and 1947, all organs of the state had not been directly involved in stoking the fires. Not so in Gujarat, 2002. The chief minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi, called the targetted attacks in 16 of Gujarat's 24 districts, a 'natural reaction'. Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee is guilty of worse: "If there was no Godhra, there would have been no Gujarat," he said, at the meeting of the national executive of his party in Goa in mid-April. Both the CM and PM have opened themselves to the charge of complicity in 'crimes against humanity'.

The BJP, flanked by the RSS, VHP and BD combine in Gujarat had laid their grounds well. Both the Modi, and his predecessor, Keshubhai Patel had systematically implanted, through insidious hate propaganda and school textbooks, the mindset to justify such a pogrom. They had their men in key jobs to prevent any hindrance to their plan. They used threat and intimidation to numb conscience-keepers. And they trained their cadres well. They bestialised the 'art of killing'.

Dead bodies no longer resembled human beings: they were reduced — whenever they had not been burned to ashes — to a grotesque and pathetic sight that were a haunting reminder of the depth of hatred and the intense dehumanisation that the politics of inherent superiority and exclusiveness generates. Nowhere did eyewitnesses and victims, survivors and observers, put the crowds who terrorised them at less than 2,000; most often, even in far-flung villages, they were closer to 10-15,000-strong mobs, armed with deadly agricultural implements. Key men carried guns and rifles. (The number of cases of private firing has astounded the state police). A few in the crowd even carried mobile phones to enable military co-ordination in the attacks.

Rape was used as an instrument for the subjugation and humiliation of a community. A chilling and hitherto absent technique was the deliberate destruction of evidence — barring a few cases, women who were gang raped were thereafter hacked and burned.

Twenty-fix hours after the Godhra tragedy, 58 bodies were brought to the Sola Civil Hospital for the *arthi*, vengeful slogans were raised. Thereafter, from February 28 to March 6, the raging fires of hatred and venom consumed 16 of Gujarat's 24 districts.

Many ministers in the Gujarat cabinet are members of the RSS, VHP and BD. It is, therefore, not surprising that survivors have named many key leaders of these outfits, even cabinet ministers, as mob leaders. Modi and his mobs have brazenly flaunted the CrPC, the Arms Act and the Indian Constitution itself. Should they be allowed to go scot-free, the very future of Indian democracy would be in peril.

Even as we go to press, violence continues in Gujarat. The police shot dead two persons on April 16; another met a similar fate on April 18. Twelve and 13-year-old girls were terrorised by mobs as they appeared for their eighth and ninth standard examinations.

In the last four years, CC has put Gujarat on the cover five times and published several special reports, drawing attention to the ominous signs of the build-up in the state. Hence, for Teesta Setalvad to travel through Gujarat, to record the accounts of traumatised victims and survivors to put this fact-finding report together was both painful and heart-rending.

We gratefully acknowledge the unstinted support extended to us in this effort by numerous survivors presently in the relief camps and those managing them in Gujarat — in particular Rais, Ilyas and Mahir whose full names are being withheld for obvious reasons—; father Cedric Prakash and Prashant, the management and staff of Gujarat Today, friends and colleagues like Batuk Vora, Indubhai Jani, Hanif Lakdawala, Gautam Thaker, Sophia Khan, Uves Sareshwala, Sheba George, among many others in Gujarat; SAHMAT (Delhi), and Dr Uma Seth, Sufiya Pathan, Rashmi Gera and Gitanjali Dang, Najeeb Khan. And the entire Sabrang team in Mumbai. But we alone assume full responsibility for the contents of this report.

Gujarat has thrown an unprecedented challenge for all individuals and groups working for the restitution of sanity, humane principles, representative democracy and the rule of law in this country. Do we have it in us to challenge the fascist onslaught on the Indian Constitution?

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EDITORS: Javed Anand and Teesta Setalvad ROVING CORRESPONDENT : John Dayal ILLUSTRATOR: Amili Setalvad DESIGN CONSULTANT: M. Khan. SABRANG TEAM: Santosh Keer, Irfan Khan, Mehul Mehta, Chhaya Pawar, Iqbal Khan, Dhyan Singh Negi, Benet Pinto, Alice Fernandes, Hasina Khan; Tel: 660 22 88/660 39 27 Fax: 660 22 88 e-mail:sabrang@vsnl.com web: http://www.sabrang.com CORRESPONDENCE: Post Box No. 28253, Juhu Post Office, Juhu, Mumbai - 400 049, India.

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Build-up



February 7: "The speedy construction of the Ram temple is the only befitting reply to Islamic terrorism which has shaken the pillars of even the Indian Parliament," he said. Togadia said it was high time the government banned the madrassas in the country as they had been converted into factories manufacturing Islamic militants."

 Pravin Togadia, VHP international general secretary, in The Times of India

February 7: "I told you, we have had an overdose of these pseudos whom you so fondly call secularists. These self-appointed secularists can no longer fool the Hindus who are aware of the elaborate plan to damage our religion and religious beliefs. Take it from me that our level of tolerance can be stretched no more. And those who come in our way will be pulverised."

— Acharya Giriraj Kishore, VHP senior vice-president, in an interview to rediff.com

February 7: "We wouldn't want to sacrifice the present BJP-led Centre that is sympathetic to our cause. But if it has to go at some stage in the cause of Ram temple construction, we can't help it."

— Ashok Singhal, VHP international president, The Indian Express.

February 7: "It will either have to be Pakistan or the mandir. The mosque constructed by Babur at Ayodhya 450 years ago by destroying the Ram temple and the September 11 attack on the World Trade Centre are symbols of Islamic *jihad*. It is necessary for India, Jews and the Western world to come together and fight Islamic militants."

— Pravin Togadia, VHP, at a press conference in Mumbai, The Asian Age. February 7: "If our government is ready to finish Pakistan, we are ready to wait. However, our two demands are, take over Pakistan and allow the temple construction. If one is not happening, the other will. Therefore, we have given time to the government till March 12."

— Pravin Togadia, VHP, at a press conference in Mumbai, The Times of India.

February 11: "Solution to the Kashmir problem lies through Avodhva.... The *jehadi* mindset has to be defeated at all costs."

— Pravin Togadia, VHP, at a news conference in Bhubaneshwar, PTI.

February 11: "Besides contesting the legal action, VHP can go to the people and say that matters of faith cannot be decided by court. They can cite a precedent. The Muslims did not accept the Supreme Court verdict in Shah Bano case and at that time, Congress had brought in a legislation to change that verdict."

 Jana Krishnamurthy, BJP president, in an interview in the latest issue of the RSS mouthpiece Panchajanya, quoted in The Times of India.

<u>February 11:</u> "We are ready to face anything and even to face the bullets when it's a question of faith."

— Acharya Giriraj Kishore, VHP, at a press conference in Coimbatore, PTI.

<u>February 12:</u> "We are everything. BJP, VHP, RSS. So where is the question of a fight?"

— Ambika Nishad, a BJP member of the nagar panchayat, Ayodhya, in The Times of India.

February 14: "We cannot wait for the judiciary to decide the faith of a particular community."

— Pravin Togadia, VHP, at a press conference in Vijaywada, Newstime. February 14: "Today a situation has come when no railway station or bus station is safe from the threat of attack from Islamic terrorists. The only option left before the country is to declare a full-fledged war against Islamic militants and defeat it, roundly and squarely."

 Pravin Togadia, VHP, at a press conference in Vijaywada, Deccan Herald.

February 17: "The statements of sants and sadhus never hurt me."

— Atal Behari Vajpayee, on the VHP castigating his government's stand on Ayodhya, at a poll campaign press conference in Lucknow, in The Times of India.

February 19: "The jehadi mentality that led Babar to destroy the Ram temple at Ayodhya more than 400 years ago was the same mentality that led to partition of the country in 1947, attack on the World Trade Center at New York on September 11 last year and attack on Parliament on December 13, 2001."

- Pravin Togadia, at a press conference in Bhopal, PTI.

February 19: "No court in the world has the right, moral or legal, to adjudicate on a matter of faith. The birthplace of Lord Ram is a matter of faith just as Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus Christ was of great significance to the Christians. There is no question of shifting the location of the temple, no matter who had ownership rights to the land."

— Pravin Togadia, at a press conference in Bhopal, The Times of India.

February 21: NEW DELHI: The Vishwa Hindu Parishad today warned of a "Hindu backlash" against those daring to oppose the construction of a Ram temple in Ayodhya on March 15, even as it made it clear that nothing would now delay the project even for a day. Several VHP leaders spoke simultaneously from different parts of the country — Ashok Singhal and Acharya Giriraj Kishore here, Pravin Togadia from Jaipur and Sadanand Kakade from Kochi - as if to hammer home the point that they are determined to start gathering the crowds of kar sevaks (voluntary workers) at Ayodhya from this weekend to get a 10 lakh strong crowd by March 15 when construction would begin at the pravesh dwar (entrance of the temple), where shilanyas was performed in the late Eighties.

- Ashok Singhal, VHP, in The Hindu.

<u>February 21:</u> "If a masjid has to be constructed, it should be done outside the 84 acre area and at a distance which would not lead to any confrontation."

— Ashok Singhal, poohpoohing an RSS suggestion that a mosque be constructed on the Saryu river banks in Ayodhya, in an interview to a private TV channel, quoted in The Times of India.

February 21: "When we say clearly there was a temple and it is the birth place of Ram, the Muslims refuse to discuss the matter."

 Ashok Singhal, VHP, responding to the suggestion of a negotiated settlement over Avodhva, The Times of India. February 22: The sant who has been the spearhead of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement and a major Hindutva protagonist has given a call for arming all Hindus "if India was to be saved from disintegration." Ramchandra Paramhans, who heads the powerful Digamabar Akhara in Ayodhya, feels it was high time India discarded the 'Soft State' tag.

In an exclusive interview to *The Pioneer*, Paramhans argued that the Ram Janmabhoomi movement was also aimed at elimination of terror and in these disquiet times, all Hindus should be given arms. He asserted, "Even we are ready to suspend the temple movement and engage ourselves in the protection of our borders."

— Ramchandra Paramhans, chairman, Digamabar Akhara in Avodhva, The Pioneer.

February 22: "BJP does not need Muslims to form government in UP."

— Atal Behari Vajpayee, PM, at an election rally in Varanasi, The Asian Age.

February 23: (Bajrang Dal national convenor) SK Jain said 20 lakh Dal activists carrying the "trishul" would march to Ayodhya, adding, "they are ready to face any situation." The Dal leader said: "If any Muslim organisation makes an attempt to rebuild the Babri masjid at Ayodhya, the Bajrang Dal would chant Hanuman Chalisa at Delhi's Jama Masjid."

The Dal had drawn up a list of 3,000 mosques across the country that were built after demolishing temples, Jain said. If Muslims did not respect the sentiments of millions of Hindus, the Dal would not be able to stop a "massive upsurge" against these mosques, he said at the VHP office.

- SK Jain, Bajrang Dal national convenor, The Telegraph.

February 23: VADODARA: An altercation between people and VHP supporters in Tankaria village, Bharuch, over an alleged incident of cow slaughter turned violent when a man died in police firing. Trouble started when some VHP men, led by Vadodara-based advocate Jatin Vyas, went to Tankaria around 12 noon to record on camera what he said was large-scale cow slaughter. "Last year, too, our men with the help of the police seized some cow-laden trucks near the village. Along with some VHP men, I went to the village to film the slaughter," Vyas said. He sought police intervention to stop the alleged slaughter.

- Jatin Vyas, VHP leader.

February 26: NEW DELHI: A defiant VHP on Tuesday night said it was determined to go ahead with the construction of the Ram temple in Ayodhya from March 15 "at all costs"... "We will go ahead with the process of construction from March 15 as announced earlier. We are ready to face bullets or go to jail."

- Acharva Giriraj Kishore, VHP, PTT.

February 27: 57 killed as mob torches train in Gujarat

COMMUNALISM COMBAT . MARCH-APRIL, 2002

Godhra



On February 27, late by over four hours, the Ahmedabad-bound Sabarmati Express pulled into Godhra station. After a 25-minute halt, against the scheduled 5 minute stoppage, the train pulled out of the platform. Even before it could gather speed, the pulling of the alarm chain brought the train to a halt near the Muslim-inhabited Signal Falia locality, less than a km. from the station. Twenty minutes later, compartment S-6 was on fire, as a result of which 58 passengers, including 26 women and 12 children were either choked or burnt to death.

Nothing, absolutely nothing can justify the killing of innocent people, whatever the provocation. But for Gujarat's chief minister, Narendra Modi, and many leading lights of the *sangh parivar*, this heinous crime became the justification for the 'natural reaction' against Muslims across the state.

Even 50 days later, it is evident that only a full-fledged inquiry will be able to finally settle the issue of who was, and the motive behind, the torching of a few compartments of the Sabarmati Express. That such an inquiry must be conducted and the guilty punished is without question. Meanwhile, taken together, the comments of Ahmedabad's former commissioner of police, MM Singh ("Godhra has a history of communal riots. It was known that kar setaks were coming by that route. This fact necessitated preventive deployment. That was, apparently, not done;") and those of Major General (retired) Eustace De'Souza, who on more then one occasion has been involved in dousing the fire in communally-sensitive Godhra ("I see a fiendish plan;") demand immediate attention. (See box, page 14.)

In a report published on February 25, the Jan Moreha, a Hindidaily published from Faizabad, detailed instances of provocative behaviour by kar seraks, who allegedly beat and threatened Muslim passengers, insisting that they chant 'Jai Shree Ram'. They even unveiled Muslim women. (See box, page 12).

The Jan Morcha report published two days before the incident

at Godhra, reports the conduct of *kar sevaks* from Gujarat headed for Ayodhya. But by several accounts, the conduct of *kar sevaks* returning to Ahmedabad by the ill-fated Sabarmati Express on February 27 was no better:

The Hindu reported on February 28: "Eyewitnesses said that about 1,200 'Ram sevaks' were travelling in the train. The local people in the Muslim-dominated Godhra town had been 'irritated' by the 'abusive language' used by the 'Ram sevaks' while they were going to Ayodhya by the same train a few days ago. They had reportedly raised slogans as the train approached Godhra on the return journey this morning."

A report in *The Times of India*, on February 28 stated: "Officials said a mob, enraged by the provocative slogan shouting by the VHP activists, attacked the train just after it left Godhra railway station at 6.30 a.m... Officials said it was possible that some passengers from Godhra travelling by the train had been harassed along the way by the VHP activists returning from Ayodhya and they had incited the mob to attack the passengers after getting off the train... However, other accounts say that the mob was waiting to pounce on the train because they knew the VHP and Bajrang Dal activists were returning from Ayodhya."

And on March 7, Akbarbaig Sirajuddin Shah, a Muslim passenger who was returning to Ahmedabad with his family, in an interview with the Gujarati daily, Gujarat Today, recounted the misbehaviour of the kar seraks throughout the journey. (See bax.)

As stated earlier, no provocation whatsoever can justify a heinous crime like burning people to death. But the misconduct of kar setaks is nonetheless important to record for two reasons: One, given such persistent hooliganism, where was the intelligence machinery of the law enforcement authorities? Why was no preventive measure taken by the police? Two, if the attack on kar setaks was pre-planned, as chief minister Modi and Union home minister LK Advani have maintained, was the outrageous conduct of kar setaks a part of the pre-planning?

The former Ahmedabad CP, MM Singh's has observed:

"Burning nearly 60 passengers alive at a district headquarters railway station is unprecedented. Godhra has a history of communal riots. It was known that kar sevaks were coming by that route. This fact necessitated preventive deployment. That was, apparently, not done. With modern means of communication it should be unlikely that the multifarious safety and security installations at Godhra itself were not informed on the first sign of trouble, Even one determined man in khaki firing a few effective shots could have checked the worst, as witnessed in Parliament.

"Godhra railway station has RPF. Godhra has a railway police station, too. A district headquarters with police HQ, armed police, control room, town police station with eight chowkies, all equipped with telephones and a taluka police station. It is the HQ of SRP Bn, too and has a municipal Fire Brigade. These are the points one has to ponder instead of a routine probe, whose report gathers dust". (Letter to the editor, The Times of India, 1 March 2002.)

Godhra is a small town with a roughly equal population of Muslims and Hindus and a long and bloody history of communal tension and violence. The Muslims living at the Signal Falia area near the railway station, who allegedly attacked the Sabarmati Express with tragic consequences, are 'Ghanchis,' a largely uneducated and poor community, reportedly conservative and prone to react quickly; records and accounts also say that they have been quick to assemble and participate in earlier rounds of communal violence. Godhra has had tensions (that were incidentally quickly controlled by a quick recall of the army in 1948, in 1953-55, and again in 1985). This time this did not happen.

Local accounts say that stories of the behaviour of kar seraks (believed to be as many as 1,200 or so on board) had preceded the train's arrival. Dahod, an-hour-and-a-half before Godhra, had seen the eruption of tension and the news had already travelled. As the train pulled in and stopped at Godhra railway station, locals who live just outside the station recounted (see box on testimonies of witnesses) that they heard abusive shouts and sounds of stone throwing from the station. Vendors near the station recounted that tea stall owners at the station (who incidentally hail from the same Ghanchi Muslim community) had an altercation with the kar seraks who refused to pay. One elderly vendor on the platform was threatened by the kar sevaks and asked to shout slogans; they pulled his beard and assaulted him when he refused.

At this point, according to some locals who spoke to this writer on March 22, a local Muslim woman, Jaitunbibi was waiting for the train to Vadodara scheduled to arrive at around 8 a.m., with her two young daughters, Sophiya and Shahidi. On observing the altercations, they tried to flee the station. Suddenly, a kar sevak obstructed their departure, grabbed Sophiya and tried to drag her inside the compartment. He did not succeed in doing so.

(By the time this writer reached Godhra, on March 22, e-mails were in circulation, claiming that she had been dragged inside and the attempt to rescue her was the trigger that culminated in the torching of bogey S-6. Later, this family

left for Vadodara. When this reporter spoke to Sophiya's kin in Godhra, where she had come with her family for Id, she confirmed that Sophia did not get dragged into the train.) The train was stationed at the Godhra railway station for 20-23 minutes before it began to move away.

By now tempers ran high and stone pelting had begun from both sides. As the train began to pull out, the emergency chain was pulled in one of the three general compartments in the front of the 16-bogey train, (bogeys S5 and S6 were eleventh and twelfth respectively in this chain). The train halted briefly. In a few minutes, the train reached Signal Falia, about a kilometre away from the station. Here, it was stopped again when the emergency chain was pulled. Who pulled the chain? In which compartment was the chain pulled?

Reports of misbehaviour, repeated provocation, the rumour of abduction of a young Muslim girl, allegedly incited a 2,000 strong mob of Ghanchi Muslims from Signal Falia to attack the train with stones and fire bombs. The kar setaks also resorted to stone throwing. The main target of the Ghanchi mob appears to have been coach S6, which was badly burnt. It was in this coach that 58 passengers, including 26 women and 12 children were killed. In comparison, the adjoining coach, S5 was not badly damaged, with only a few windows broken.

That day, there were only 3 SRP men on duty; of the 111 GRP (Government Railway Police) officers stationed at Godhra, only 2 or 3 were on duty; though the Fire Brigade station is only 5 minutes away from the railway station, it took a while for the fire brigade to reach the torched coach. Two GRP jawans reached the spot within minutes; it is a matter of serious conjecture why they did not fire shots to disperse the mob. The arrival of fire-fighters was delayed allegedly by Bilal, a local leader according to one version; a second version says he was helping the victims.

Was the attack pre-planned? A senior police official in charge of investigating the Godhra incident, while requesting anonymity, gave the gist of his findings as follows:

- Chaiwallas in the train come from the same community (Ghanchis). On the Dahod-Godhra sector there was an altercation between the kar seraks and the chaiwallahs on the train. They reached Godhra.
- ➤ Tea Vendors at Godhra station collected, as again there was an exchange of words about payments. The vendors from the station got on to the train and at Signal Falia they were the ones who pulled the chain. Other Muslims collected from the *basti*. Many local Muslims got into the train.
- ➤ They procured diesel from the garages near the tracks. That diesel was thrown, using cloth balls dipped in diesel. Stones were also pelted.

Criminologically speaking, in the assessment of this officer, the fire was not intended. It 'caught more than they expected.' 'There was no pre-planning.'

Interestingly, the following report published by *The Times of India* March 29, quotes the inspector general of police, PP Agia as stating that there is no evidence at all that the attack was pre-planned:

COMMUNALISM COMBAT • MARCH-APRIL, 2002

Victims' voices

After pelting stones they started pouring kerosene in our compartments and set them afire. Only a few of us managed to come out of the broken windows. The adults and the old people were stuck inside. The old women were pleading, 'don't kill us' but they just didn't listen," says Gayatri Panchal (16), who says 3-4 people ran after her as soon as she jumped off the train.

(The Indian Express, 28 February 2002)

Sixty-five-year-old Devika Luhana was trembling with anger as she alighted from the ill-fated train. "It was vandalism at its worst. They did not even spare old people like me and pelted stones indiscriminately. They will all go to hell for this act of malice," said Devika, who could not even retrieve her bag as she ran for her life.

"They stormed inside the women's bogey, and before we could react they set the entire bogic on fire. Some of us managed to escape, but a number of our sisters got trapped... it was horrifying," said Hetal Patel, a member of Durga Vahini.

Terror still haunts 13-year-old Gyanprakash as he bursts into tears from time to time. "I cannot forget the sight of people burning in front of me," he says while recuperating at the Ahmedabad city hospital.

Gyanprakash was on the S2 coach of the Sabarmati Express when it was set ablaze in Godhra on Wednesday. His family was returning to Ahmedabad after attending a relative's funeral. They had boarded the train at Kanpur. Gyanprakash recalls the horror: "The train had just left Godhra but stopped a little way away from the station. Suddenly, stones were being thrown at the train. The pelting continued for almost an hour. Then something was hurled into our coach and there was smoke everywhere.

"It was so suffocating I could hardly breathe. I heard my father telling me to get off the train. I went to the door but saw that people trying to get off were being stabbed. I went to the other side and jumped off."

(Mid-day, 6 March, 2002)

Bhattacharya, probably one of the few survivors of coach S-6, recalls how he had to virtually choose the "manner of his impending death," which he thought had become certain then — whether to stay back in the compartment and get burnt alive or crawl out of the coach through a broken window and face the stone-pelting, weapon-wielding mob. Bhattacharya, a retired employee of a private sector firm in Lucknow, knew the journey wasn't going to be a comfortable one, what with a large number of Ram sevaks boarding the train at the Lucknow station.

"In Rudiyali, close to Lucknow, we had our first brush

with stone-pelting," says Bhattacharya. Luck ran out for the Sabarmati Express at Godhra station. "Like at every other station, the Ram senaks had got down on the platform on Wednesday morning, shouting Jai Shri Ram slogans, even breaking into an impromptu dance." But, Bhattacharya realised that all was not well at Godhra when we saw the Ram sevaks scurrying in and barking at fellow passengers to pull the shutters down as the train pulled out of the station.

"I saw a broken window. Its bars had also been twisted apart." He had not missed the irony. "The attack itself had actually opened up a way for me," Bhattacharya said. "At that moment, it was a choice between the devil and the deep sea. The flames were leaping up close to me. I would have been engulfed in them or asphyxiated if I stayed back. The other choice was to climb out of the window and face the rampaging mob. I chose the latter," he said.

(The Times of India, 28 February 2002)

I am extremely disturbed over what is happening in our area. I had pleaded with folded hands to all who came to my son's cremation to please restrain themselves and maintain peace," Govind Makwana told Times News Network on the day of besna of his only son Umakant, 22, who was burnt alive on board the Sabarmati Express. "Killing other people is not the solution. Losing a son is shattering, and I want no father or mother to suffer from this feeling," pleaded Govindbhai.

Rajendra Singh Thakur and his father were among the few who managed to escape death at Godhra railway station. They had miraculously crawled out alive from the blazing S6 compartment of the ill-fated Sabarmati Express, and would like to put the gory incident behind them. Vengeance is not on their agenda and with good reason too.

(The Times of India, 3 March 2002)

RATLAM (MP): Many lives could have been saved yesterday when the Sabarmati Express was set ablaze by arsonists at Godhra, if the Railway Protection Force(RPF) jawans had not left the spot following the stone-pelting by the miscreants, according to an eyewitness.

Travelling Ticket Examiner (TTE) Sajjanlal Raniwal, who was in charge of S-3 and S-4 three-tier coaches yesterday, told UNI here today that an armed RPF party had reached the spot soon after getting information. Despite being armed with rifles, they fled in panic as soon as miscreants started throwing stones on them.

After that, he said, the miscreants, equipped with sharpedged weapons, virtually brought about a reign of terror for more than an hour and finally set ablaze S-6 sleeper coach which had nearly 125 passengers, he added.

(UNI, 1 March 2002)

"The case is still being investigated and if there was some deep conspiracy, then we are yet to find it," said inspector general of police (railways) PP Agja. Agja, who for the better part of the last one month has been camping at Godhra, spoke with *The Times of India* standing in front of the railway police station on the platform where trouble began.

"According to the sequence of events as found by the police, all was not well in coach S-6 of the Ahmedabad-bound Sabarmati Express on that day. A group of unruly Ram setuks had boarded the train at Lucknow without reservations and had put to discomfort the 66 genuine passengers of the coach. Some of the ticket-paying passengers had to sleep on the floor, so overcrowded had the compartment become that the ticket collector who came aboard the train at Ratlam (two stations before Godhra) was not allowed to enter the coach.

"At Godhra station, the hawkers on the platform started stoning the train after an unsavoury incident, especially targeting coach S-6, because some occupants of the coach had given offence. At any point of time, there are some 250 hawkers on the station. Some of them carry stoves with kerosene in them. All of them live in the slum called Signal Falia next to the station," said Agja.

He added: "This means it is not surprising that a crowd could collect at the station so fast. The people who live cheek by jowl in the slums next to the station include a fair share of criminals indulging in railway crimes like looting, pickpocketing and stealing of goods of passengers and also railway property. All of them are Ghanchi Muslims and they are uneducated, without any jobs and poor."

From 8.30 a.m. when the Godhra attack on the Sabarmati Express took place until 7.30 p.m. that evening, repeated statements by the Godhra district collector, Jayanthi Ravi relayed on Doordarshan and Akashwani (radio) stated that "the incident was not pre-planned, it was an accident." It was only after 7-7.30 p.m., when CM Narendra Modi spoke and called it a 'pre-planned, violent act of terrorism' that the official version changed.

As we have seen above, investigating officials have yet to find any proof of the Godhra atrocity being pre-planned. Nonetheless, Modi, Union home minister LK Advani and others continue to reiterate the distorted version of the motive behind the incident at Godhra. When and why the government's version changed needs serious investigation because it is widely believed that it is the 'pre-planned, violent act of terrorism' theory, pronounced by politicians and given a huge splash by much of the Gujarati press, which provided the lethal charge to the 'backlash'.

Signal Falia, where the Godhra Railway Station is located, is home to auto-repair workers, rickshaw-pullers, auto-rickshaw

Bajrang Dal activists on Sabarmati Express beat up Muslims, force them to shout, 'Jai Shree Ram!'

(Jan Morcha, edited by Sheetla Prasad, is a Hindi daily published from Ayodhya. The paper carried the following story on 25 Feb. 2002. This is an English translation of the text)

Bhelsar (Faizabad), 24 February: Trishuldhari Bajrang Dal workers, travelling to Ayodhya on board the Sabarmati Express this morning, let loose a reign of terror upon dozens of helpless Muslim passengers, burqa clad women and innocent children. They also targeted the people waiting at the platform, forcing them to shout the slogan, 'Jai Shree Ram!' A few even declared themselves to be Hindus in order to escape their wrath.

According to eyewitnesses, close to 2000 trishul carrying Bajrang Dal workers, on board the Sabarmati Express coming from the direction of Lucknow, began indulging in these activities from the Daryabad Station. Anyone identified as a Muslim on the train was mercilessly attacked with trishuls and beaten with iron rods. Even women and innocent children were not spared. Burgas were pulled off, women were beaten with iron rods and dragged, people waiting at the platform were also similarly targetted.

This continued between the Daryabad and Rudauli Stations. According to an eyewitness, a youth who protested against this barbarism was thrown off the train between the Patranga and Rojagaon stations. Several women, badly wounded and covered in blood, jumped off the train as it pulled into Rudauli around 8 a.m. The Bajrang Dal activists also got off the train and started attacking those whom they identified as Muslims from among those present on the platform.

Ata Mohammad, from Takia Khairanpur, waiting to catch a train to Allahabad, was badly beaten, some others were forced to shout, "Jai Shree Ram!" Some escaped by declaring that they were Hindus. 50-year-old Mohd. Absar who lives near the station was grabbed as he stepped out of his house. His long beard was rudely pulled before he was repeatedly stabbed with trishuls. Another man from the Rudauli police station area who happened to be at the station was badly beaten with iron rods. Local residents rang up the police.

By the time the police chowki-in-charge, Bhelsar, arrived at the station, the train had left and the injured were being rushed to the hospital. No report was registered at the police station since the officer-in-charge was unavailable. The injured have no idea why they were attacked. Rumours are rife. The people are petrified; respected Hindus and Muslims of the area have condemned the shameful attack, Muslim religious leaders have appealed for peace and requested that there be no retaliation.

drivers, small time wagon-breakers and criminal elements reportedly living in the slum. As such, the gathering of a large mob at a short notice and the availability of improvised petrol bombs and other weapons and implements, do not by themselves support the theory of any deep-rooted conspiracy, with or without the support of the foreign agencies.

(This reporter has been told about a confidential meeting between the top brass of the BJP cabinet, the VHP, the RSS and the Bajrang Dal on the evening of February 27, allegedly to plan details of the carnage that was to follow. (See Police' section.) If true, this might offer some clue as to why the official version underwent a dramatic shift).

News of the deaths enraged the *kar setaks* who then tried to attack a nearby mosque at Signal Falia. The police fired 30 tear gas shells and fourteen rounds of live bullets to disperse them. The damaged coaches S5 and S6 were detached, and the train departed with the rest of the passengers at 12.40 p.m. On the way to Ahmedabad, some *kar setaks* reportedly stabbed 2-3 people at the Vadodara railway station, giving a clear warning of things to come. The inquest and post-mortem of all the recovered bodies was undertaken by 4.30 p.m. Under instructions from the administration in Ahmedabad, all the bodies, excluding those of the five passengers from the Godhra region, were dispatched to the Civil Hospital, at Sola, Ahmedabad.

By the evening of February 27, a well-hatched scheme to make maximum political capital out of Godhra had been launched. As part of this scheme, around 2.30 a.m., bodies of the kar setaks were brought to Ahmedabad. Around 500 people were waiting outside Sola Civil Hospital in Ahmedabad for the charred bodies to arrive from Godhra. By 3.35 a.m., a convoy of five trucks led by a pilot Gypsy entered the hospital compound.

Sloganeering started: 'Kar sevak, amar rabo!' and 'Hindu ekta zindabad' as small bundles carrying the victims' remains were off-loaded on to waiting stretchers. The mood was morose but tears were few. Anger welled in the eyes of bereaved relatives as each bundle – the remains of the Godhra massacre victims – was placed on ice slabs. Vows for vengeance and shouts of 'Jai Shri Ram' resounded throughout the hospital compound as a martyrs' honour was accorded to the Godhra victims.

"For the nine from Amraiwadi who laid their lives for the country, there will be 90 more to replace. We had gone there for 'Yagna' only, yet the *kafirs* (read Muslims) butchered the devotees. This time we will go and construct the Ram temple," says a waiting VHP man outside the hospital. The corpses of the unfortunate victims of the Godhra arson were used to launch a statewide pogrom of decimation that has not entirely stopped to date.

Gujarat and the whole country were on a red alert due to the aggressive mobilisation by the VHP for rebuilding the

'Sir, we are in great trouble'

Sir, we are in great trouble. We started from Faizabad and from there to here we had a lot of problems. We have come in fear and we are afraid here also. Please get us to Ahmedabad, we want to go to Ahmedabad," pleads Akbarbaig Sirajuddin Shah.

A witness to the harassment and bullying kar sevaks from Faizabad to Godhra, 18- year-old Shah was travelling on the Sabarmati Express train on the night of February 26 with his father-in-law, Fateh Mohammed and his wife. They are originally from Kadhra village in Basti zilla of Uttar Pradesh. All three of them live in Gulamnabi Sheth's Chawl, which is in Shah Alam, Ahmedabad. They earn their living by making and selling brooms.

Akbarbaig related the story of his trip to Gandhi, a correspondent of Gujarat Today. He related the bullying ways of the kar sevaks, saying that from the time these people got in the train, they were brazenly bullying and shouting slogans against Muslims.

"They were hitting them, not paying for tea and snacks and hurling filthy abuses and raising obscene slogans. Every time the kar sevaks saw any Muslim on the train or on any station, they would force him to put a red tilak on his forehead and shout, 'Jai Shree Ram!'

The injustice shown to a Muslim family has been narrated by this 18-year-old married lad, Akbarbaig. He stated that at night, while the train was moving, the kar sevaks tried to force a Muslim woman to say 'Jai Shree Ram!' The woman fearlessly refused and her husband also joined her in protesting against the acts of the kar sevaks. On this they mercilessly beat up the couple. Not only that, in the middle of the night they pulled the chain and pushed the family, including children, out of the train.

"In the darkness we could not find out which station or town it was and we did not even try to find out. The kar senaks were wreaking such terror that we could only see our deaths before us.' But one TT was kind enough to put the Muslim family in the last coach. This is only one incident — there were innumerable such incidents. While this family (mentioned above) was pushed out after stopping the train, one or two Muslims were pushed out of the moving train.

"Even at night, at every station, the kar sevaks would chant hymns to Ram and start dancing on the platform. But they behaved like Ravana, which would not only shame a true Hindu and hurt his feelings but also shame Lord Ram."

(Interviewed by Gujarat Today correspondent, Yunus Gandhi, in Godbra on March 7).

The fallout in Godhra

(In Godbra, among others, CC spoke to two women whose homes are situated just outside the Godbra railway station)

Khairunnisa

When I rushed out of my house on hearing the shouting and screaming, I could not make out what was happening. I saw stones coming from the train and stones being thrown back. Later, we heard that Muslims had set fire to the bogey. Still later, we heard that the kar sevaks had ordered chai, puri from the vendors and refused to pay. At that time there were only 5-10 Muslims on the platform.

We also heard later that the kar sevaks tried to pull a Muslim girl from Baroda, who was waiting to catch the 8 a.m. mail train, inside their compartment. It was then that Muslims came out in large numbers. But I want to ask you, what were the RPF and the station master doing?

Since then, our whole basti has had to suffer for the tragedy that took place on the train. Every night there is combing and our young men are threatened and arrested.

Sahiliya

When the shouting and stone throwing started, we women also came out. We were shocked at what we saw. About 20-30 kar sevaks in bhagua dress were making obscene gestures at us. Some of them stripped and started showing their private parts while the police were standing and laughing. For 20-25 minutes this went on. What was the police doing at this time? I saw with my own eyes that the police were passing stones to the kar sevaks to throw on us. Their behaviour was one-sided.

It is now nearly 25 days (interviewed on March 23) since the train tragedy but the whole basti continues to be treated as if we are all criminals. Every night the police come, force open our cupboards, threaten us, and behave badly. We feel terrorised. "Ham Muslimon ki sumuai na pardes mein hai, na des mai." ("We Muslims have no justice, in India or abroad.")

For 12 hours every day our electric connection is put off. When we call up the Vidyut Board to complain, we are told, "Kya aup log light ke layak ho kya?" "Do you people deserve to be provided with electricity?") Our water supply has been reduced to one hour a day; it is clear that we are being harassed. The irony is that the sarkari godown for grains is located in our area. Government servants come here happily and there is no danger to them. Only we are being harassed. We know that Muslims won't ever be employed in the Home Guards.

Godhra's communal history

(Godbra has had a long history of inter-community tensions. But over the past 60 years or so, the conflicts have been quickly contained because of sensible and responsible governance. CC spoke to retired major general Eustace De'Souza of the Indian army who thrice during his military career was called upon to quell riots in Godhra and who succeeded in controlling the situation within hours each time. The first time was in 1948 when he was a captain with the Maratha regiment (Adjunct One). Except from his conversation with CC:

"We had just returned after seven years from Italy and Japan. Our first peace station was at Ahmedabad, in 1948, when the tensions in Godhra first broke out. Two flying columns of the (Hindu) Marattha regiment were immediately sent out. We were given full powers and within hours we did our job to the joy of the locals. Why did this happen? Simply because the authorities could anticipate that the police may not/or could not control the tensions that had erupted and we were called in.

'The next time was in 1953-55. Again, it was the Marattha Regiment, the Fourth Battalion located at Baroda. We were called out because the situation became tense and we did the same thing.

"And in 1985, when I was general of the 5th Battalion of the Marattha Regiment, we were summoned to Godhra and within hours peace reigned.

"Why were a few columns of the army not kept on alert, summoned back from the border where there are tensions and kept on standby and given full powers to intervene in a critical situation?

"I see a fiendish plan concocted at the beginning of 2002, knowing that all troops had been pulled to the border. The government did not keep even a few columns on alert that could have done the job effectively. It functioned on the assumption that even after violence was unleashed, it would take the columns of the army stationed at the border at least 72 hours before they could arrive. Even then they were not given full powers."

Ayodhya movement. In Mumbai, the police made as many as 8,000 preventive arrests in the first week of March, to keep the situation under strict control; In contrast, even after Godhra happened, the Gujarat police arrested only two persons in Ahmedabad. And both were Muslims.

On February 27, after the Godhra tragedy, though the RAF was called in, no adequate powers were given to the forces. Though curfew was declared in Godhra, the RAF men were made to sit in the officers' mess, helpless, unable to do anything.

On the afternoon of February 28, while Godhra was entirely under curfew, 200-300 cabins (shops) that line the railway station selling their wares and belong to Muslims, were demolished, using a bulldozer belonging to the Godhra municipality, under police protection. The economic loss of this destruction is Rs. 3-4 crores. The Muslim owners of these shops see nothing but a "teach them a lesson" motive behind this act.

An investigation into the background of Godhra shows that when disturbances erupted in 1965, the then collector promptly arrested both Muslims and Hindus whose names appeared in FIRs and within a couple of days, the disturbance was curbed. Even after the October 1980 disturbances, the then collector Smt. SK Verma, had immediately put the miscreants behind bars.

If a similar, no-nonsense and non-partisan approach had followed the Godhra incident on February 27, by promptly apprehending the suspected criminals, tension would have been contained. And the chances of a vengeful and a highly-organised spree of retaliatory killings that demonstrate every element of ethnic cleansing and genocide, would have been pre-empted. That this did not happen suggests a lack of intent on the part of those in government to take prompt preventive measures in order to de-escalate the situation.

Though all accounts suggest that there was provocation enough by the *kar seraks*, little can justify the crime that burned 58 persons alive. The guilty need to be brought to book and punished. The tragedy and crime simply need to be placed in the charged and venomous atmosphere that our country and our polity has been held victim to, where sane, rational impulses are being overwhelmed by rage, revenge and violence.

The immediate uproar that this ghastly attack led to, the subsequent police action and political manipulation of the motives has caused many witnesses to simply dither from giving evidence. The day I visited Godhra, the area around the station and Signal Falia was eerily quiet. It was also the day the NHRC was visiting. Twice, the vehicle we were moving around in was attacked. Curfew was imposed and even as we were driving through the city, tense as it was, two persons were shot at in police firing.

Among those arrested for the Godhra tragedy (first under POTA; later charges under this law were removed) are municipal councillors, Abdul Dhantiya and Salim Shaikh. Shaikh Abdul Hamid Gaffar who was also arrested, is a brother of Salim Shaikh. Godhra nagarpalika president Mohhamad Hussain Kalota and another councillor Haji Bilal, who have also been accused of violence, are absconding.

Some locals point out the local politics of the Godhra municipality which, in their opinion, has also contributed to the schisms. In April 2001, the BJP party was ruling the

municipality but failed in a 'no confidence motion' through which a Muslim was elected president. For the first time in its history, Muslims dominated the Godhra municipality.

While one section of those interviewed clearly blames Bilal for attempting to disrupt the fire department workers, another version says that Bilal and Abdul Rehman were actually getting ready to go for a hearing (scheduled at Gandhinagar that day) on the disqualification case. Suddenly, they got a call from workers of the municipality informing them that the train had caught fire. At that stage, according to the second version, Bilal rushed there and actually helped control the angry Muslims and assisted in putting out the fire. The persons who gave this information said that the DSP of Panchmahal district, Raju Bhargaya, knows these facts about Bilal's conduct but is quiet because of pressure from the government.

Epilogue

After the Godhra tragedy the Gujarat police arrested 62 persons including at least seven boys, all said to be under the age of 16. They were booked under the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance by the government railway police (GRP) for the February 27 attack on the Sabarmati Express in Godhra. Following a report in *The Indian Express* on the biased manner in which POTO was used, the government withdrew the ordinance against the 62, all Muslims, in mid-March. But the accused, including the seven boys, still face charges of murder, attempt to murder, criminal conspiracy, arson, rioting and damaging public property. All are in the GRP lockup here since February 27.

In violation of the orders of the Supreme Court in the Joginder Singh case, which held that family members of arrested persons should be informed within 24 hours, the parents of these boys were never informed, say their lawyers. The boys are: Haroon Iqbal, Farooq Kharadi, Firozkhan Pathan (residents of Signal Falia); Asif Kader, Altaf Diwan and Naseer Pathan (residents of Vejalpur Road); and Hasankhan Pathan of Dahod.

The inspector of Godhra Town police station K Trivedi said it was not possible to check their age at the time of arrest. "They were seen near the site of the incident, so we arrested them. The rest will be taken care of by the judiciary," he said. Hasankhan Pathan, who is a Class IX student in Dahod in the Panchmahals district, 150 km. away, had come to Godhra to meet his aunt and uncle on February 26. His date of birth according to school records is October 31, 1986.

His relative Hussain Khan Pathan said: "In the morning, he was playing with some other local boys, including Firoz and Mustaq, when they heard of something going on near the railway track. They got scared and came inside their houses. After a few hours, the police came and picked Hasan near Ali masjid on charges of mass murder."

Under the Juvenile Justice Act, minors below 16 have to be sent to a juvenile home, not to a police lock-up. "But they have been kept in police custody along with other accused in this case. We showed the age-proof documents of these minors to police, but they did not listen to us," said Soukat I Samor, a senior advocate, who represents some of the accused.

Here is one more instance of police misconduct in the context of the Godhra tragedy and the genocide that followed.

Call to arms

AHMEDABAD: Terming the attack on Sabarmati Express at Godhra in Panchamahal district of Gujarat as a "pre-planned, violent act of terrorism", chief minister Narendra Modi said the state government was

viewing the incident "very seriously".

- (PII, 28 Februar, 28, 1:02:51 a.m.)

'As soon the train left the platform and moved a bit further, about half-a-kilometre or so, it was stoned. After the stoning, inflammable materials like diesel, petrol etc. were thrown in – looks like a pre-planned incident – and immediately the S6 coach was set on fire... This is not a riot. In a riot there is a confrontation, in a communal riot there is retaliation. This is just pre-planned, organised and as though all things have been prepared in advance. And for the situation to develop in a matter of minutes – it looks like an organised sort of crime...'

— (Gordhan Zadaphiya, minister of state for home, Gugarat (Aaj Tak, 27 February 2002.)

Union home minister L K Advani on Monday said the Godhra mayhem was a "pre-meditated attack" and described the arson that followed as "nothing but communal violence." Mr Advani told a crowded press conference here that while the Godhra incident was the result of a "pre-meditated" plan, the subsequent killing spree "was nothing but communal violence."

- (Daily Pioneer, 4 March 2002.)

'This has never happened in the history of independent India. Hindu society will avenge the Godhra killings. Muslim should accept the fact that Hindus are not wearing bangles. We will respond vigorously to all such incidents.'

Pravin Togadia, international general secretary, VHP; in an interview to Hotline in Ayodhya).

LUCKNOW: Chairman of the Ram Janmabhoomi Nyas Ram Chandra Paramhans has warned of a possible Hindu backlash. "These unarmed kar sevaks, who were merely chanting Ram naam, were peacefully going back to their homes," Paramhans said, adding that a reaction to this attack by "Islamic jihadis" could not be ruled out.

-(The Telegraph, 28 February 2002.)

'The violence during the bandh was a result of natural outpouring of anger and grief over the Godhra massacre.'

— (I HP vice-president, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, on the morning of 28 February 2002; in The Times of India.)

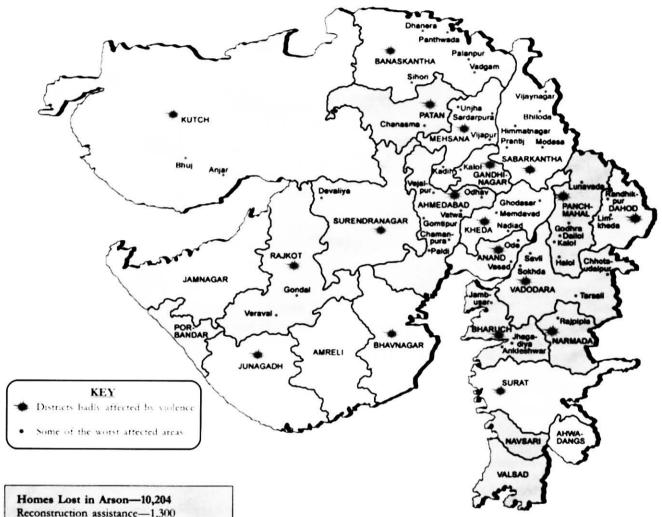
'Whoever stays with us will benefit. You can see the results in UP. In this country whoever stays with the Hindu community and Hindutva, will benefit, or they will suffer.'

— Jaideep Patel, joint secretary, 1 HP Gujarat and an accused in the Naroda Patiya massacre in Ahmedahad; Newshour, Star News, 27 February 2002.)

'Incidents like this (Godhra) show the psyche of a community. What was the reason for the pilgrims who were attacked when they came from Amarnath? What was the reason? That is the psyche, I say...communal violence can be checked only (when we understand) why this incident happened, who did it, what is the psyche behind it? This should be studied.'

— (Acharya Giriraj Kishore; Newshour, Star News, 27 February 2002).

GUJARAT



Reconstruction assistance-1.300 Shops Burnt-10,429 Shops Ransacked-1,278 (Few if any have recd. compensation) Larri-galas lost due to arson-2,623 Rs 10,000 paid to start livelihood-1,022 (Officials Figures and Claims)

Statistics on Relief Camps

Number of People officially declared taking shelter 103 Relief Camps: Number of Persons-1,13,697.

District-wise break-up:

Ahmedabad — 66,292 in 44 camps, Vadodara —12,753, Sabarkantha-8,547, Panchmahal-8,271, Anand-5,200,

Dahod-4,536, in Mehsana -2,637, Kheda-1,267

(These are figures given to the Gujarat governor, Sundersinh Bhandari by the governor-headed all-party committee on relief camps.

A week ago the figure was 1,09,503 in 102 relief camps.

Within three days, the number went up by more than 4,000.) On March 21, 97,517 persons were taking shelter in 98 relief camps. The numbers went up on March 26 to 97,998 in 101 relief camps. Several new camps came up in Ahmedabad and Sabarkantha districts, officials said.

Relief and Rehabilitation figures Official Number of Deaths -762 (including Godhra 822) Unofficial Estimates of Deaths-2,000 Unofficial Figures of Missing Persons-2,500 Compensation Paid-439 cases Cash Doles-7,428 families (Official claims)

Insurance Claims-4,564 applications Total Amount Claimed-Rs. 158.57 crores Only three cases worth Rs. 21,000 cleared (one for a small industrial unit, the second for a vehicle and the third of an engineering establishment.)

Mapping the violence

Sixteen of Gujarat's 24 districts were engulfed in the most organised armed mob attacks between February 28 and March 1/2, 02, when most of the attacks were concentrated. Rampaging mobs were at it until mid March. In some parts of Ahmedabad and Mehsana they are still on the loose./Another three districts had sporadic bouts). Nowhere were the mobs less that 2-3,000 most often they were more than 5/10,000. This and the fact that they were armed with swords, trishuls and agricultural instruments that could kill; the fact that the manner of arson, hacking and killing was chillingly similar; all suggest a carefully laid out plan behind the attack. It is only trained cadres who can spill out in such an organised fashion, in the thousands across the state of Gujarat within the '72 hours it took Chief Minister Modi to bring things to normal.'

February 27, 2002

58 persons torched alive in bogey at Sabarmati express (stray stabbings at Ahmedabad and Anand)

February 28

- Ahmedabad: Civil Hospital, Sola Bodies are brought, angry slogans raised
- * Naroda Gaon Naroda Pattiya: Armed mobs of 15,000 attack and kill women, children and men –over 200 lost lives; Ample evidence of private firing with rifles by the mobs also armed with trishuls, dharias, spears and other weapons. (Police watched)

* Naroda Fruit Market attacked

Armed mobs of 10,000 attack the Muslim wholesalers selectively in the market

- * Odhav, Gomtipur and Amraiwadi. Mobs attacks
- * Meghaninagar, Chamanpura:Armed mob of 20 22,000 holds the whole Gulberg society to ransom for over seven hours, hacks and burns alive 70 persons (10-12 women and girls were raped) Commissioner Pandey failed to save the victims
 - *Paldi attacked by huge mob: Judges / Police Quarters attacked.
- Kabadi Market: attacked by mob of 7-10,000; destruction carries on for four days
 - * Vatwa: attacked by mob of 10 20,000

Restaurants and housing societies within minority areas are selectively targeted.

1,100 hotels in Ahmedabad, Baroda and on the Highways torched with special chemical between Feb 28 and March 1.

A mob first ransacked a Honda City car showroom on the Sarkhei-Gandhinagar highway

- *Vadodara: At least seven persons have been killed and 30 injured in mob attacks on the localities of Fatchpura, Chhipwad and Makarpura on February 28
- * Varodara Rural: Savli, Chhota Udepur, Desar, Sokhda (Vadodara), Laxmipura village, Padra, Vadu, Karjan, Vaghodiya, Udalpur, Tarsali. (Violence in Chota Udaipur contd until March 12)

* Gandhinagar

A mob entters the Old Secretariat building in the high-security zone and burns down the offices of the Wakf Board and the state Minority Finance Corporation.

*Sabarkantha

*Near Prantij - three British Nationals are attacked travelling in a local taxi; one survives; the driver is killed, two are still missing Villages across this district are brutally targeted for four five days.

Meghra; Bavad, Dhansura, Vadali, Prantij, Vijaynagar, Dolapur, Fazalpur, Madhavkampa, Talod, Modasa, Malpur, Sardoi, Himmatnagar, Idar, Khedbrahma, Bhiloda, Tintoi, Gajra, Jadar, Zaledar, Faredi, Pandarwada, Kavath, Unjha, Derol(Dailol), Meghdharol, Sathamba, shamlaji, Himmatnagar, Demai, Lamkheda, Halol The Highway from Sabarkantha, was targeted by rampaging mobs. '65 persons burned alive in a tempo travelling down from Kadyad in Sabarkantha; at Khanpur Chowky Panchmahal)

Mobs in the above mentioned areas led by local leaders of the VHP and BD encircled and cordoned of the roads and stopped all vehicles carrying milk, vegetables and other basic food items.

- *Himmatnagar: It is reported through our sources that one young Muslim boy was allegedly shot to death at point blank range by the Superintendent of Police in Himmatnagar.
 - * Ahmedabad Rural: Dholka, Jetalpur, Ramol, Mandal.

Targeted by mobs of not less that 3,000, armed with trishuls, swords and agricultural instruments.

March 1

- *Panchmahal:
- *Pandharvada: 70 people were burnt alive Pandharvada village in Khanpur taluka of Pachmahal

Six persons were burnt alive by large mobs near Delol (Dailol) railway station located between Kalol and Halol, about 50 km from Godhra. The victims were walking on the highway when a mob of more than 200 people caught up with them, doused them in kerosene and burnt them alive. Of the victims, four were women.

Other towns and villages brutally attacked—Godhra, Kadadara, Aanjanya, Santrampur, affected, Limkheda, Dailol, Mora.

*Mehsana

Sardarpura village 28 farm labourers belonging to the minority community burnt alive

*Mehsana (other towns and villages brutally attacked)

Pansar, Visnagar, Uniha, Umta, Becharaji

*Kheda: Villages badly affected: Memdavad, Jinger, Ghodasar, Kheda: Nadiad, Rural: Ode, Vasad, Petlad, Khambhat, Sojitra, Dharmaj, Borsad, Mahemdabad, Kathlal, Virsad, Balasinor, Pij, Sarsa, Chikhodara, Jinjar, Dakor, Ghodasar, Nilampura, Pahad, Thasara, Sevaliya, Ratanpur, Haldasvar, Timba and Khalsar are similar two in Kheda district that have been wiped clean like Jinger. Chaklasi, Peej, Piplak and Dumral are villages in Nadiad that have been severely affected.

*Ahmedabad

Gomtipur, Vatwa -large bastis gutted and property looted

*Gandhinagar: Curfew in Gandhinagar for first time in 30 yrs on March 1. Mobs moved freely in the capital targeting specific residences and establishments of the minority community. Superintendent of police E Radhakrishna said that the curfew had been imposed as a precautionary measure. The incidents took

place in Sector 21, Gha. 2, Gha. 6, Sector 25, Sector 26 and Sector 27. Houses were set on fire in Sector 27 while commercial establishments were vandalised in the other areas. Residents of Sector 29, which has a sizeable number of minority members, including businessmen and government servants, said that the violence was unthinkable and they were afraid for the first time.

- *Junagadh: Junagadh a haven of communal harmony saw some tension crupt with a stabbing on March 1; fortunately matters were handled swittly by the local police
- *Banaskantha:Mankdi, Thalwad, Jitpur in Danta taluka entire villages have been burnt for Four Bora Muslims were burnt alive/Villages badly attected: Decsa, Sesanava, Danta, Dhanera, Thara, Tharad, Bhildi, Sihori, Bhabhar, Hadad, Mankdi, Panthawada, Malotra, Palanpur, Vijaynagar, Vadgam, Sirohi, Lakhani all villages were brutally targeted
 - *Patan

Chanasma.

*Varodara Rural

Rahupura, Tulsiwadi

- *Anand: Villages badly targeted :Mogar, Sarsa, Chikodra, Bedwa, Samarkha and Odh, Vasad
 - *Narmada: Rajpardi, Rajpipla, Devaliva,

March 2

*Bharuch

Bharuch city, Ankleshwar

Rural: Bhimpura, Amod, Valiva, Netrang, Jambusar, Nandod, Jhagadiya, Aandada, Diya,

*Halol: Factories trucks set on fire; 63 Opel Astras go up in smoke; Five units in Halol Industrial Belt set on fire; Nine trucks carrying 63 Opel astras from the General Motors factory in Halol are burned. Lucky A studio, owned by film producer. Sand Nadiadwala, was also gutted.

Of the 5 unites that were set on fire, four were plastic factories and one engineering unit. The industrial town of Halol remained tense as only 17 policemen were on duty in the town limits and they are unable to stop the rampaging the mobs from targeting the factories.

*Rajkot: Rajkot inever experienced communal violence before this) saw violence spread in industrial areas of Ajit, Shapar Veraval and GIDC estate. 25 small and medium industrial units were set ablaze the Ajit industrial area alone. In the Shapar Veraval aea units like Suraj Industrial Nazeen Industries, Polymer Packaging and Antech Television were damaged by the mobs.

Rajkot: City, and village Gondal. Are targeted

*Latipot: About 15 units with stocks of wooden logs, were set on fire, causing a loss of about Rs 5 crore. In the Kevdawadi and Gundawadi areas, units like Bazuki Industries and Kirti packaging which had large stocks of packaging material and cardboard, were torched. Eye—witnesses say that the police deployment was inadequate in these areas.

Violence crupts in Mehsana, Godhra, Surat, Vadodara and Anand. Even as chief minister Modi boasted about how "peace had returned" and made tall claims of "90 per cent violence ebbing down," as many as 29 Muslims were torched to death at Sardarpara village in Mehsana and over 39 people were killed in separate incidents in Surat, Bhaynagar, Sabarkantha and Varodara.

March 2

Families from far-flung areas in districts of of Sabarkantha, Mchsana, Banaskantha, Panchmahal, Ahmedabad, Kheda, Baroda, Broach, Surat and Bhavnagar fled to safer places as their houses and business centres had been destroyed in violence by unruly mobs since February 28. The worst hit districts were Ahmedabad, Mehsana, Sabarkantha and Panchmahal where a large number of houses and shops belonging to minority community were set after after ransacking and looting of houses and shops and family members were killed during the orgy of violence in the past five days.

March 3

* Gandhinagar: A large number of shops, showrooms, lamgallas and even houses belonging to Muslims have been set on fire in all parts of the city on Feb 28, March 1 and 2.

March 4

*Surat, Bhavnagar, Ahmedabad, Morbi in Rajkot district. Violence spreads to the streets in several areas, including Surat, Bhavnagar and Ahmedabad on Sunday. Police opened fire on mobs setting fire to property and looting goods in Bhavnagar and Surat. Morbi in Rajkot district is also engulfed in violence.

*Surat

Surat City

March 4

Police firing on rioting mobs claimed two lives in Sabarkanta and one in Kheda while six people were killed in other incidents of violence in Baroda, Mehsana and Dahood on Monday.

Varodara Rural: Savli, Chhota Udepur, Desar, Sokhda (Vadodara), Laxmipura village, Padra, Vadu, Karjan, Vaghodiya, Udalpur; (Violence in Chota Udaipur continued until March 12)

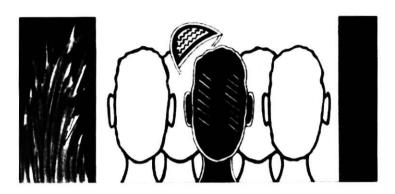
March 6

Mass burials sans relatives for Naroda, Gulbarg victims

As many as 96 bodies of genocide victims were buried in a mass grave in the Dudheshwar gravevard this evening; another mass grave for about 200 victims was being readied in Sarkhej, on the outskirts of the city, for a burial tomorrow.

A big grave was dug and the bodies, brought from the Civil Hospital morgue, lowered into it one by one. They were victims of the Naroda Patiya and the Gulberg Society carnages. Among them were five children, including a six-month-old baby; 46 women, including one who was pregnant, and a handicapped man whose crutches lay by the side. 500 persons silently watched and prayed. CM Narendra Modi driving less than a kilometre away did not visit the graveyard.

Ahmedabad



Naroda Gaon and Naroda Patiya

Background

About 15 kms from Ahmedahad city, Naroda Gaon and Naroda Patiya have been home to around 1,000 daily wage earning Muslims. Many of the residents here are migrants from Karnataka and Maharashtra. The area lies on a stretch of the outer city, situated along a deserted highway road. The Gopinath and Gangotri housing societies situated nearby are home, the survivors allege, to many of the attackers. The government's ST warehouse is located across the wide road.

Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon have a long history of VHP provocation. Police sources revealed to CC that in 1999, a dargah was broken down and an idol installed in its place. At the time, the local police repaired the dargah and arrested 10-15 persons, including Dr. Jaideep Patel, Maya Kotdani and Amrish Pandey. Pressure was mounted by the then home minister, Haren Pandya, but the police stood their ground and the law-breakers backed down.

Place: Noorani Masjid, Naroda Patiya

Witness: Nasir Khan Rahim Khan Pathan, Principal, Sunflower School

(Interviewed at Shah Alam Relief Camp on March 22)

I teach English and Maths to students of Std. IX & X. In our school, Hindu and Muslim students share the same bench and study. On Feb. 28, the day Gujarat bandh was declared, a large mob of 5-10,000, dressed in khaki half-pants or chaddis, saffron banians, and a black hair bands set upon us. They had spears, swords, acid bombs and petrol bombs. They used gas cylinders, too, for their work.

(Gas cylinders belonging to Indian Gas, manufactured by IPCL Baroda, were used and supplied, it is alleged, by one of the accused, the owner of Uday Gas Agency).

First, around 10-10.30 a.m., the minaret of the Noorani Masjid was destroyed. Next, the family of Shabir Ahmed Khurshid Ahmed and Mehmood Ahmed Khurshid Ahmed was mercilessly burnt alive. The mobs were attacking Hussain Nagar and Jawarhar Nagar.

I was an eyewitness to the shameful rape of Khairunnisa, daughter of Mahrukh Bano. It was an animal-like mob of 11 who gang raped her. I was hiding in the toilet of my house at that time. After this, they burnt the entire family alive, one by one. The head of Khairunnisa's mother was cut off. I saw them mixing some solvent in the petrol. The bodies found later were in a horrifying condition.

I saw with my own eyes, petrol being poured into the mouth of 6-year-old Imran. A lit matchstick was then thrown into his mouth and he just blasted apart.

At least 80 people were burnt alive and thrown into the well, Tisra Kuan, near Gangotri and Gopi Park, behind ST workshop. Even a 70-year-old woman, Tarkash Bibi Abdul Ghani, was burnt alive. The message was, "Mussalmanon ko zinda jalao" ("Burn the Muslims alive!"). The police was completely inactive and this provided inspiration to the mob. The shocking thing was that the SRP also supported the mob.

Tear gas was being flung at the Muslim *moballa*, which was already the target of attack. Diesel and petrol was used from the ST warehouse — are the ST *karmacharis* not government servants of Gujarat?

Jaideep Patel, second in rank to PravinTogadia of the VHP, was the leader of the mob. Gudda, son of Mukesh Jiwanlal Banya, Ratilal, son of Bhavani Singh, a driver of the AMTS (Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service), Mungna Chara, owner of Manoi Video, Murli Naran Sindhi, Satish Mahadik, Bipin Panchal (he is a dangerous person who owns a lethal gun, also owns Uday Gas Agency) are the main accused. Ratilal, AMTS driver, Mungna Chara and owner of Manoi Video were the rapists.

(Bipin Panchal, also known as Bipin Sindhi, is believed to have had 4-500 gas cylinders in stock. Many of them were used to explode homes and other buildings. It is believed that trucks from the Shola Satellite area were commissioned for the huge, murderous mob to move freely from place to place.)

I saw as many as 120 persons burnt alive and had the

misfortune of witnessing four rapes. Besides, 5-10 young girls were whisked away to God knows where.

I was helpless, hiding in the toilet, many of us trying to save our own lives as we witnessed these horrible tragedies.

The accused: Jaideep Patel, second in rank to PravinTogadia of the VHP, was the leader of the mob. Gudda, son of Mukesh Jiwanlal Banya, Ratilal, son of Bhavani Singh, a driver of the AMTS, Mungna Chara, owner of Manoj Video, Murli Naran Sindhi, Satish Mahadik, Bipin Panchal are the main accused. Ratilal, AMTS driver, Mungna Chara and owner of Manoj Video were the rapists.

Place: Hussain Nagar, Naroda Patiya

Witness: Amina Aapa

(Interviewed at Relief Camp on March 4 and March 22)

It was between 9-10 a.m. on Thursday, Feb. 28. I was busy making tea at home. Suddenly, I heard girls from the *mohalla* abandon their housework and run frantically outside. They were shouting that Bajrang Dal men were coming. I too ran out of my house.

Between Kalupur station and Naroda Patiya, I could see a crowd stretching endlessly. All I could see were heads and more heads everywhere. They seemed to be countless in number, maybe about 15,000. I could identify them as Bajrang Dalis, members of Vishwa Hindu Parishad, because of their leaders who are known members of these organisations and their saffron headbands. And local people belonging to the Chara community.

There were thousands from Krishna Nagar, the rest were workers from the Central Government Workshop. That day, even the Central Government Workshop was used for torching and killing. Muslims from the staff were given leave, while Hindus were kept on duty. Diesel for burning our people and our homes was provided by the Central Government Workshop. One Solanki, a watchman on duty at the gate of the workshop, helped the mob get fuel from inside.

First, the Noorani Masjid, which is behind the *basti* along the road, was targetted by a mob of about 50-100 persons. Then, Shafiq, an 18-year-old boy ,was critically injured in firing. He bled to death.

This, despite the fact that we made several hundred calls to the commissioner of police, the IGP and the Naroda police station between 9 a.m. and 9 p.m. that day. The PI, KK Mysorewala is responsible for the massacre. He burst tear gas shells at us when

we were running towards him for protection. When approached for help, he replied: "Jao, mera to upar se order hain" ("Go away, I have orders from above.")

All these three (the IGP, the CP and Mysorewala) are killers of our people. Mujhe Salam ki kasam, maine aakhon say dekha hai ki hamari khoobsurat ladkiyon ka

balatkar kiya gaya, unke tukde tukde kar ke unkho jayala. (I swear, I have seen with my own eyes, our beautiful daughters being raped, cut to pieces and then torched.)

We saw three Maruti cars, all white in colour. Their numbers are GJ-61418, GJ-1-B-1593 and GJ-1-3631. (Since the cynically planned massacre went on for hours, neo-literate victims had got youngsters to record these numbers on scraps of paper.) Their occupants were the ones who led and directed the mob.)

That terrible day, I was hiding with some others on the roof of my house. From there, I saw my dearest friend Kauser Bano (resident of Pirojnagar, opposite Noorani Masjid, Kumbhajini Chawl, Naroda Patiya) raped, her unborn baby slashed out from her womb before being tossed into the fire to be roasted alive. Thereafter, she too was brutally cut up and torched. She was 9 months pregnant. Kauser had a slight deformity on her upper lip, which I had helped her rectify at the Civil Hospital. It was her dream to get married and have a baby.

There is not a single woman resident of Hussain Nagar whose dignity was left intact. They were all raped, cut to pieces and burnt. Hamaree aurton aur bachchon ko antim sanskar ke kabil bhi na rakha. Mai aap ko puchti hun, ye zameen kiske liye hai. Kya Musalamanon ka haath Hindustan ki azadi ki ladai mein nahin tha? (Our women and children were denied even the possibility of a decent burial. Tell me, to whom does this land belong? Have Muslims not played a part in the freedom struggle?)

In seconds, using our own gas cylinders, they blasted apart our lives. Hamare log jal kar kabaab ban gaye. Chat se sab kaam bua. (Our people were reduced to grilled meat in seconds. It was all over in a flash.)

The only thing that saved some of us was that they did not come to the terrace where we were hiding.

The accused: Bajrang Dal/VHP activists.

Policemen indicted: The IGP, CP Pandey, and PI KK Mysorewala.

Place: Naroda Patiya

Witness: Aarif Khan

(Interviewed at Shah Alam Relief Camp on March 4)

Three of my children are still missing from that day. My wife, who had also been lost somewhere else because she was in the house and I was in my shop, joined me in the Shah Alam Camp only yesterday (March 3). Our three children who are missing are Ruksana (10), Kaneez (8), Nazneen (4).

After what I saw happen to other women and girls, I shudder to think of what may have happened to them. They were in the *madrassa*, studying when the attack came. I personally appealed to PI Mysorewala for proper bandobast. But he refused to help. Instead he said, "Baith kar dekho, kya hona hai." ("Sit and watch whatever happens happens.")

There were about 15-20,000 people here... the mob was such that it could not be controlled by anyone. It was such a big mob.

KKMysorewala, Police Inspector, Naroda;

(Aaj Tak, March 2, 2002)

Suddenly, in the morning, the phone lines were cut so we could not appeal for help from outside. The police did not help; the irony is that the SRP quarters are just next door to Naroda Patiya. No one helped us, over 300 lives from Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon were lost because of the deliberate absence of the police.

After I came to the Shah Alam Camp, one PSI from Naroda who visited the camp yesterday (March 4) looked at me in surprise and said, "Arre tu abhi bhi zinda hai kya?" ("Oh! You are still alive?")

The accused: I personally saw and recognised Vasant Rathod, Solanki, Dr. Jaideep Patel, Ashok (MI.C), Vallabh (MI.C), Mayabehn Kotdani, PravinModi, Langda Chara, Guddu Chara, Natarajwala Sindhi, Sangeet Furniturewala Sindhi. The crowds were shouting, 'Jai Bharani.' I saw Langda Chara and Guddu Chara leading the gang rape of women.

Policemen indicted: PLKK Mysorewala

Place: Dariakhan Ghumbat Relief Camp

Witness: Dawood Bhai Ghadiali, Camp volunteer

(Interviewed at Dariakhanni Ghumbat Relief Camp on March 20)

After the gruesome incident of Feb. 28, it was only on March 3 that we were contacted by the Civil Hospital RMO. He said he wanted to hand over the dead bodies so that we could 'carry out the last rites as per Muslim custom'.

I went there under police protection and was totally horrified on seeing the condition of the dead bodies. The corpses were not even distinguishable as male or female. They were so badly mutilated that there was no way anyone could make out even the gender.

I had the unhappy task of organising the digging of huge pits and arranging a mass burial. I still cannot sleep because of the condition of the bodies that I saw. In many cases, the skull was just not there. The charred bodies were lying in a heap at the Civil Hospital. I can swear that I saw 3-400 bodies lying there. Unfortunately, we could bury only 192 of them over a period of 16 days. The volunteers who did this work had to steel their hearts, wear gloves, sprinkle dettol, use attar.

I keep wondering what happened to the rest of the bodies. Were they given some dignity at least in death?

(The evening Narendra Modi became chief minister, he said, "I have come to play a one-day match." Survivors at many camps in Gujarat recalled Modi's comment to this correspondent, adding, "He has played more than a one-day match with the blood of Muslims.")

Place: Shahibag Relief Camp

Witness: Raja Bundubhai (11-years-old)

(Interviewed at Shahihag Relief Camp on March 20)

I have only a brother, a sister and my father, who is quite old, left now. My mother Jerina and my other sister Nasreen were stabbed, burnt and killed. I saw it all happening. My sister does not stop crying, my father does not speak. I only know

that those Hindus were attacking Muslims. I saw it all happen.

The previous day we were told that some trouble might happen. When nothing happened at night, we thought it was just a rumour and went back thinking that nothing would happen. In the morning, a crowd started pelting stones. We ran towards Gangotri and Gopinath society but it was residents from these societies who got the *tolas* (crowds) together.

While I stood on a wall, I saw my mother and sister being stabbed. Then they sprinkled kerosene on both and burned them alive. I was so shocked I fell down. When I got up, a man hit me on the chest and on the abdomen.

They even said, "Chop his head off." But an elderly person in the group said, "Do not kill the child." Though others argued, he told me to run away. He said, "Bhag ja beta" ("Run away, son.") I ran. I still remember the face of the old man.

I had to stay inside a small shed with another woman and through a tiny entrance, we watched these people kill. Later, I crawled quietly into one of the SRP quarters and found my aunt there. I lived there for three days. My whole family had been separated.

Then I was taken to the Shahibag Relief Camp where my sister, who is here with me now, had come looking for me from the Shah Alam Camp.

The accused: Residents of Gangotri and Gopinath housing societies.

Place: Hussain Nagar, Naroda Patiya

Witness: Mariambi Hasan Bai Sayed

(Interviewed at Relief Camp on March 20)

Mera apang, palnevala baccha tha voh (He was a handicapped son whom I had brought up with so much care). His name was Moinuddin. He was 18 years old. Though disabled, he had passed his GSC exams from Nasir Sir's School in 1999.

What could they gain by killing a boy like that? I am the unfortunate mother who saw it with my own eyes. I was in the kitchen. They made him drink kerosene, tied him to the bed and torched him. I was trying to save a young girl from the neighbour's family. In trying to save her, I lost my own son. We were living at Hussain Nagar in Naroda Patiya. We saw many bodies burnt and dumped into a well.

Place: Naroda Patiya

Witness: Akhtarbi Ayub

(Interviewed at Relief Camp on March 20)

I was right there when it happened. My 40-year-old son, Mohammed Ayub and his wife, Zulekha Begum, were burnt to death after she was sexually abused. My son was a tailor. Ever since my husband died three years ago, he was the only earning member. Now, there are my son's six children and his two small brothers left behind. We come from Karnataka and have been living there(Naroda) for 40 years.

When I tried to scream and stop them from humiliating my daughter in-law, they said, "Shut up, or we'll kill you as well." Apart from killing, they destroyed every thing we had in the house, 5-6 sewing machines and a rickshaw. Among the killers, I saw Chara goonda and Suresh from the locality, with my own eyes.

The accused: Chara goonda and Suresh.

Place: Naroda Pativa

Witness: Reshma

(Interviewed at Relief Camp on March 20)

From Thursday to Monday (February 28 March 4), I remained hidden in the locality. I hid inside the SRP quarters along with seven children of the locality. My whole family was scattered here and there. My two year-old son was with my mother-in-law and I found them later.

Before escaping to the SRP quarters, I witnessed Kausar Bano being brutally raped in the Javar Nagar Maidan. Her stomach was carved opened, her baby flung into the fire before she was sexually abused, cut up and burnt.

The attack was spearheaded from Gopinath society and Gangotri society. Mumtaz Bano was another victim. Other women who were similarly brutalised and killed were Ayesha Bibi, Shaheen Bano, Noorjahan, Najma Begum, Hasan Ali, Zainab Bano, Noorjahan Alori and Sufia Bano. I also saw Sadiq Salim Sheikh being killed brutally, his head smashed with an iron pipe.

The accused: Residents of Gangotri and Gopinath housing societies.

Place: Naroda Patiya

Witness: Mansoor Yusuf

(Interviewed at Shah Alam Relief Camp on March 20)

I was behind the Bank of India Bldg, when I saw a 5,000 strong mob, carrying guns and accompanied by the police. The mob burnt down Mayur Hotel, the masjid and the dargab.

After we were all ruined, we came to the Shah Alam Relief Camp. The police was pushing us around instead of protecting us. The tear gas was being flung at us, the victims, not at the mob that was attacking us. At Naroda Gaon, four girls were burnt to death just outside the

police station, with the PSI present.

The camp at Shah Alam was set up on the night of February 28 itself and all of us came here from Bapu Nagar, Saijpur Patiya and Saijpur Gaon, Kumbhar Chali and Pirana Road and Meghani Nagar. There are as many as 8,000 people here, there is no access to a hospital, no

When I reached Godhra and realised the seriousness of the incident... On the spot, I issued shoot-at-sight orders, as soon as you see them, shoot them

Narendra Modi (Star News, March 8, 2002)

access to medical help. At least 7-800 people are injured due to private firings, and burns, apart from many victims of trauma.

Policemen indicted: PSI on duty

Place: Noorani Masjid, Naroda Patiya

Witness: Abdus Salaam Shamshuddin Shaikh, Pesh Imam

(Interviewed at Shah Alam Relief Camp on March 4)

"O mullah! Bol, Jai Shri Ram! Otherwise you all be massacred." This was Narendra Modi's sponsored terrorism wreaked upon the minority community of Gujarat. I am the Pesh Imam of Noorani Masjid. It was around 9.15 a.m. on February 28, when a large crowd of miscreants with saffron headbands arrived in trucks and other vehicles and made the masjid a target of their attack.

I pleaded with the crowd to spare the mosque. But, shouting "Jai Shri Ram." they entered the masjid. They set the prayer carpets on fire and threw in a gas cylinder which burst after some time. The holy Quran was kicked around and then set on fire. We escaped from the scene with great difficulty.

When we came on to the highway, we saw shameful scenes in a locality inhabited by Muslims. The custodians of Indian culture and parampara were openly raping young girls and then throwing them into fire. This was all in the name of Ram, the Maryada Purushottam. Will the conscience of India wake up? Will Muslims who were equal partners in the struggle for freedom bear the brunt of Hindu fundamentalism and fanaticism for all time to come?

Place: Naroda Pativa

Witness: Sharif Bhai, member, Management Committee, Shah Alam Relief Camp

(Interviewed at Shah Alam Relief Camp on March 4)

On Feb. 28, despite over 50 calls to the CP and the control room, there was just no response. I myself spoke to the commissioner two or three times. His response was: "Main kya kar sakta hoon? Police law and order nahin sambhal sakti" ("What can I do? The police is not in a position to restore law and order.)

The total population of this area is about 12-15000, of

which there are 4,000 voters on the electoral rolls. Presently, there are 6-700 people missing. A mass burial of 134 persons was held on March 4.

At Naroda, many of the victims tried to seek shelter inside the SRP headquarters in a desperate bid to save their lives. Some officials allowed them in, but others did not. If all seeking refuge were allowed in, many more lives would have been saved.

It was after midnight on Friday (March 1) that we managed to reach the SRP headquarters with the help of ACP Tandon and brought back four busloads of people under police protection. I cannot describe the condition of the victims when we brought them. They were terrorised and traumatised - many women did not have any clothes on their body. We made ten rounds in these four buses, from 12 midnight to 3 a.m., to shift 3,000 persons from Naroda to the Shah Alam Dargah.

On Friday, the camp was filled with people from Hinday, Sundaramnagar and Ramol Gaon. Totally there are 7,000 persons at the Dargah at present.

(When this correspondent visited Naroda Patiya and the burnt down Noorani Masjid, the tanker which, according to the survivors, had carried the inflammable fuel and gas cylinders to explode and burn homes and people, was still parked there. The vehicle carried the number plate, GJIT 7384.

While I was standing just outside the destroyed Noorani Masjid, I saw signs of habitation inside a home that carried a nameplate which read, Rashmi Parmar, advocate Rashmi, who responded to my call ,said she had returned for the first time that day to check out the condition of her house.

"Where were you for so many days?" I asked.

"I ran away to the home of relatives when I saw what was happening to the neighbours."

"What was happening?"

"In the name of Hindus, they were slaughtering the whole basti," she replied.)

Place: Naroda Patiya, Ahmedabad

Witness: Yakub Bhai A Vora Junior assistant, ST workshop, Naroda Patiya)

(Interviewed at Kheda on March 9)

I here are four of us (Muslims) living in Kheda, who work at the ST workshop in Naroda Patiya. That day (February 28), we escaped in an ST Bus up to Narol and then had to walk 12 kilometres before we reached home. I saw huge attacks with gas cylinder on the chawl behind the ST workshop at Naroda. I saw how Noorani Masjid at Naroda was reduced to nothing. Through the day, the situation had became impossible and very dangerous.

At about 4 p.m., the ST management made arrangements for us to leave by bus. We drove from Naroda to Narol. Just as we came out of the ST workshop at Naroda, a 2,000 strong mob stopped the bus and asked, "Are there any Muslims inside?" The staff was supportive and said there were no Muslims. That is how the four of us got saved. The bus took us to Nabha from where we had to take a tempo to Narol.

On the way, I saw 20-25 trucks and tempos burnt down. I had to walk over 10 kilometres, tense and worried, all the way back home to Kheda. I saw burning trucks and vehicles along the way. It was eerie.

Names of those who were killed and whose bodies could be identified on February 28 between Noorani Masud and Naroda Patia

- Inavathussain Rahimbhai Savved
- Sufiyaappa Inavathussain Sayved 2. (wife of Inavathussain)
- Shabana Hassan Savved 3.
- Salman Inavat Hussain Savved 4.
- Abidmiya Hamiedmiya Pathan 5.
- Moinuddin Hassanbhai Savved 6. (invalid, burnt after being tied to bed)
- Safibhai-mother's name Salmabivi Shaikh
- Mohammed Avvub Ilabakhsh Shaikh 8.
- Nasirkhan Chhotekhan Pathan 9.
- Kanijabivi Chhotekhan Pathan 10. (invalid, died in the fire)
- M. Yunus Mohammed Rajak Ansari (Cut to pieces) 11.
- 12. Ibrahimbhai Bapu
- Nacembhai Ibrahimbhai Bapu 13.
- Abeda Ibrahimbhai Bapu 14.
- Sajadaben Ibrahimbhai Bapu 15.
- Nagmaben Ibrahimbhai Bapu (The Bapu family were locked up in the house which was then set on fire)
- Saberabiyi Ajujbhai Agbanwala 17.
- Mohammed Faud A. Kader Syved (Foreman) 18.
- Hussainmiya Golewala 19.
- Hajrabivi Rahimbhai Syved 20.
- Jalaluddin Alibakhsh Khan Rangrej 21.
- Asif Sharmuddin Shaikh (Burnt with acid) 22.
- Kausarapa Samruddin Shaikh 23. (Pregnant, thrown into the fire)
- Rafik Samruddin Shaikh 24.
- lavedhussain Ismailhussain Shaikh 25.
- Begum Javedhussain Shaikh 26.
- Khudratbegum Khursheedbhai Shaikh 27.
- Shabbir Ahmed Khursheedbhai Shaikh 28.
- Jubeda Shabbir Ahmed Shaikh 29.
- Shabbir Khursheedbhai Shaikh 30
- Shabbir Khursheedbhai's three children 31.
- A. Kadar A. Rashid Anori 32.
- Mohammedhasan A. Kader Qureshi 33.
- Salimbegum Sardarbivi Shaikh 34.
- Asrabanu Kabirali Shaikh 35
- Mohammed Avyub Baseer Ahmed Shaikh (Family) 36
- Mohammed Avyub Baseer Ahmed Shaikh 37
- Anishhai Naseerkhan Mansuri 38
- Ruksana Anishhai Mansuri 30
- 40 Anis Naseerkhan's wife (together with her 4 children)
- Parvinbivi Gulamhussain Shaikh 41
- Samruddin Shaikh 42
- Sufiyabegum Ismail Shaikh 43
- A. Karim A. Rasul Radal 44
- Chandmiya A. Rasul Radal 45
- Sadiq Salim Shaikh 46
- 47 Mehboob Babubhai Shaikh
- Sabiyabanu Jainanabuddin Shaikh 48 (together with two children)

- 49 Mumtaj Ali Mansha Ali Ansari
- 50 Amtaj Mumtajali Ansari
- 51 Samruddin Khasim Sa'ab Chaudhapsar
- 52 Abdul Wahab A. Shabbir Gujali
- 53 Sarmuddin Mohammed Munavar Lambu
- 54 Shermabanu Iqbal Ahmed Shaikh

(The list of those dead and who died under suspicious circumstances were made as witnessed by me or by those who had witnessed it also, This is absolutely true.

Altafbhai Iqbalbhai Gandhi

SRP Road, next to Dhanushdhari temple,

Behind Noorani Masjid, Vativ, Phone: 2819307)

No.	CN	Complainant	Accused
1	812	Jamaluddin Abdulbhai Qureshi	Dr. Jaideep Patel (VHP joint secretary chief), Ashok Saheb (corporator), Parikh Patel (Pavna Ice-cream Parlour) Vallabh Patel (corporator), Padyuman Mistry Balbhai Patel (BD)
2	832	Pathan Nascerkhan Jafferkhan	Jaideep Patel, Prakashbhai, Sunil Jaratha, Sunil Patel, Pochia Dada
3	834	Rafik Kallubhai Shaikh	Navani Singh, Gudu Chhara, Suresh aka Sarezad
4	845	Yassienkhan Anwarkhan Pathan	Jaideep Patel (VHP leader), Pachund da, Manilal Thakore, Padumal Patel
5	1314	Yunusbhai Rahemanbhai Mansuri	Bipinbhai Patel (Bipin Auto Centre), Manoj Sindhi (Manoj Audio Cassette), Shureshbhai Chhara
6	1331	Qayyumkhan Rasidkhan	Uddehhara Mekda
7	1337	Mariamben Mohammedbhai Mansuri	Vijay Harijan, Jay Harijan, Ravi bhaiyya, Marathi people opposite our house, Harijans on the floor below, All the neighbours
8	1366	Amimbanu A. Gani Shaikh	Ashok
9	1504	Faridkhan Muslimkhan Pathan	Babuben Rambhai Thakore, Khegar Bharvad, All the villagers
10	1508	Habibkhan Bhikhankhan Pathan	Harish Lakshmanbhai Koshti (Shiv Sena leader), Manoj Lakshmanbhai Koshti (Shiv Sena leader), Bhav Daruwala (Sarpanch), Vijay Dada (Shiv Sena leader)
11	1510	Abdul Ibrahim Lakha Harish Lakshmanbhai Koshti (Shiv Sena leader) Manoj Lakshmanbhai Koshti (Shiv Sena leader) Bharatbhai Rabati (Shiv Sena leader) Vijay Dada (Shiv Sena leader)	
12	1517	Ferozekhan Babukhan Pathan	Bipinbhai
13	1518	Salimbhai Munnabhai Shaikh	Manoj Koshti
14	1532	Anwar Shahbuddin Taibee	Arvind C. Mali, Anil Madrasi, Popat Vaghri, Raju Ambetwala, Babu Kerosenewala
15	1535	Samsuddin Shahbudding Taibee	Anil Madrasi, Arvind C. Mali, Popat Vaghri
16	1541	A. Khaliq A. Karim Shaikh	Bipin, Manoj, Guddu, Haria, Suresh Langda
17	1542	Salimkhan Sarifkhan Baloch	Bipin, Guddu Chhara, Suresh Langda, Manoj Dariya
18	1556	Jahangirkhan Rahimkhan Pathan	Paresh, Shankar
19	1559	Abidali Shaizan	Navnit, Manisha Chanalal, Naresh
20	1569	Raheemabibi Ahmedkhan Pathan	Paresh
21	1575	Kalim Akhtar Sagufta Tailor	Pankajbhai STDwala, Dineshbhai Cyclewala, Parmar Dr.
22			P S I Parikh, SR P G II Saijpur bough, Police Head Quarters.

Table prepared by the Shah Alam Relief Camp. The crime number (CN) in column two is as per the register of Naroda police station.



Mass destruction at Naroda Patiya



Amina Appa, Friend of Kauser Bano, Naroda Patiya



Mother and child, survivors, Naroda Patiya

Chamanpura

Incident:

From 7.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. on Thursday, February 28, a 20-25,000 strong mob surrounded the Chamanpura area in the heart of Ahmedabad city. The FIR lodged by KG Erda of the Meghani Nagar police station (Communalism Combat has a copy) gives a blow-by-blow account of the utter failure of the police to put off the assailants and protect the residents.

The FIR admits that the arson and destruction began from that morning itself. What is not contained in the FIR, but is a fact to which an eyewitness survivor and two Yuva Congress members were witness, is that the commissioner of police, Ahmedabad, PC Pandey, visited Ehsan Jaffri at 10.30 a.m. sharp, and assured him of police reinforcements.

The CP stands directly indicted as he did not keep his promise of sending police help. The few men who were deputed from the Meghani Nagar *chowley,* merely watched as 70 persons were butchered and burned. The 10-12 women among the victims were brutally gang raped. The centre of an Indian commercial city saw a medieval and macabre dance of death, humiliation and revenge heaped on women, children and men.

Chronology:

February 28:

10.30 a.m.: Police commissioner Pandey, Ambalal Nadia, the Congress *mahamantri*, Ward No. 19 and Kannulal Solanki from Ward No. 20 visit Jaffri and give him an assurance that they would send reinforcements and he would be fully protected.

10.35 a.m.: The Zahir Bakery and an auto-rickshaw are burnt.

11.15-11.30 a.m.: Beginning of stone throwing at Gulberg Society.

12.15-12.30 p.m.: Stones, acid bulbs, bottles, petrol bombs are thrown at Gulberg Society from the rear side of the complex of buildings and bungalows.

12.30-12.45 p.m.: From the terrace of an adjacent bungalow belonging to a non-Muslim, there is heavy stone throwing, including big boulders. This caused the biggest damage because without this attack the residents might have been able to protect themselves.

1-1.15 p.m.: The volley of huge stones, plus acid bulbs and burning cloth balls continues. At 1 p.m., one Yusuf is caught, cut up and torched.

2.30-2.45 p.m.: Amid shouts of "Ghusiyao," suddenly the gate at the rear end of the Society, near the railway tracks is broken down.

2.45 p.m.: Anwar is killed. The accused bring in logs from

the nearby Sansar Bakery, prepare 4 pyres; Anwar is cut up in pieces and burnt.

3.3.0 p.m.: Ehsan Jaffri is pulled out of his house, brutally treated for 45 minutes, stripped, paraded naked, and asked to say, "Vande Manatram!" and "Jai Shri Ram!" He refuses. His fingers are chopped off, he is paraded around in the locality, badly injured. Next, his hands and feet are chopped off. He is then dragged, a fork-like instrument clutching his neck, down the road before being thrown into the fire. After this, Shafi Mohammed Munawar Sheikh is also cut into three pieces and burnt alive. Jaffri was killed along with his three brothers and two nephews.

3.30-4.30 p.m.: 10-12 women are first raped, then cut into pieces with *guptis* and then thrown into the fire. There is one survivor.

4.30-5.00 p.m.: The police finally arrives.

5.20 p.m.: The police party trying to rescue the people is stoned.

7.00 p.m.: The survivors are taken out of the place under police escort.

Ten to twelve gas cylinders were exploded that day. According to eyewitness accounts and the full list of dead and missing persons attached to the FIR, in all 60-70 persons have died — 49 from the society and 10-12 from outside who had come to seek shelter at Jaffri's place. This is not the figure mentioned officially. (59, is what the official figure released.)

Exclusive documents obtained by CC give minute details of the addresses of the accused. So far, only 19 out of the 25 persons named by eye witnesses have been arrested.

"We will not rest till we have justice," a survivor told the author of this report. "If there is to be any hope or will left in this country and its people, we will get justice. Or else there is no hope," another added.

Manoj Kumar, a Hindu neighbour, said: "They pulled the babies out with the men, then poured petrol over them and burnt them. Police stood back." PC Pandey, Ahmedabad's police commissioner, shrugged and said: "We were outnumbered." (The Times of India, March 2).

There are 25-30 accused identified by eyewitnesses and survivors. As against this only 19 persons were arrested.

The First Information Report in the Chamanpura Mass Arson Case:

The first FIR filed by KG Erda, senior inspector of the Meghani Nagar police station names 10 persons and a mob of 20-25,000 as the accused. On Feb. 28, the incident carried on from 10.30 a.m.-7 p.m. Complaint was filed at 8.45 p.m. the same day.

The sections applied in the FIR are: IPC 143, 141, 148, 149, 302, 332, 323, 336, 337, 435, 436, 427, 186, 188, 120(b),

Bombay Police Act (1). Also, sections 25(1) (a) and (b) of the Arms Act. All relevant sections have been applied except section 376 (rape). Eighteen persons from the mob which attacked, were injured in police firing. But this has not been recorded by the police.

On March 2, a new section was added. The first FIR number 61/2002 was filed, identifying crimes under sections 395, 396, 397 (loot) of the IPC. On 12/3/02,other sections added that are: sections 398, 295(a), 153(a)(1), 153(a)(2)(b), and 188 of the IPC and section 37(1) of the Bombay Police Act.

Erda says: "On the day VHP has organised a Gujarat bandh" that eyewitnesses saw Girish, Ramesh Dhulchand (fake jewellery), Mangalal Dhulchand Jain (Adinath Kirana Store), Asish Chunawala's son, Ramesh (Sadhna Store), Mukesh Mochi, Gabbar, Alpesh, a man with ghungroowala (curly) hair who has a daroo dhanda, Deepak alias Pradeep (BJP worker).

"Accused of Unlawful Arm Assembly, the maal milkat (property and earnings) of Muslims was burnt with kerosene, 18 Muslims were cut and burnt, 24 were burnt alive. Both the police and Muslims were attacked with stones, petrol bombs, acid bombs and vehicles were burnt by the mob."

In the second FIR filed by KG Erda, senior inspector, police station no. 4/5/200, the officer says:

"Under Meghani Nagar, there is an inspector in charge, two police inspectors, two sub-inspectors, 42 head constables and 80 police constables and 3 women police constables. On that day, there were 2 police inspectors, 6 sub-inspectors, 55 head constables, 62 police constables, 3 women, 1 police inspector, 1 sub-inspector on duty. 6 head constables, 6 police constables and 3 women constables were on duty. On the patrol there was one police inspector, 5 head constables, 34 police constables and 1 woman constable.

"On 27th February, when VHP kar seraks were martyred, the whole state was tense and since 27th February, special bandobast was undertaken at different points in the city.

"At 7 a.m. on 28" February, the Meghani Police Station got an order from the CP for all of us "to stand to." We organised bandobast in the Meghani area, Chamanpura Chakla, Gulberg Society, Dhupsingh Chali, Ratnanagar char rasta, Ramannagar new crossing, Meghani Nagar bus stand, New Menta Bari, Meena Bazaar and Rashmi nagar society.

"On duty were mobile police sub-inspector, BC Dabhi, Requisite Crime No. Ramesh Bhai, head constable, Nathabhai, police constable Sureshbhai and Narjibhai, head constables Bhupendra and Shailesh Singh.

"The police contingent was as needed and armed with tear gas shells. There was enough bandobast at Meghani Nagar.

"At 7 a.m. on 28th February, the mob started attacking the mattress shop, the bakery and the cycle shop. They were breaking all the shops and destroying things and burning them. At this stage, police dispersed the crowd.

"The patrolling was carrying on when at 13.30 p.m. a huge crowd came from all directions — Om Nagar Chakala Road and Meghani Nagar. I called the police on the mobile. The mob had talwars, lakdis, pipes and kerosene and they were shouting, 'Jai Shri Ram!'

"The mob was 20-25,000 strong. We policemen were shouting, trying to disperse the mob. We were using the mobile announcement and saying that 'you are an unlawful assembly.' The mob paid no attention to the warnings. They turned more violent by this time. The bakeries, the cycle shop, the electric shops, the mattress shops, the furniture shops and vehicles were completely destroyed.

"The mobs had put obstruction on the roads and were looting the shops. We let off tear gas and warnings, we even lathi-charged but the crowd was "possessed" and shouting, "Jai Shri Ram." At this stage, the police did let off the tear gas – four shells were let off. The mob turned even more violent and started throwing stones on the police. The police took all lawful steps. I fired one round with my revolver. I tried to take effective steps.

"But the crowd did not disperse. It became violent. Around this time, the Gulberg Society which has mainly Muslims living there, was attacked by a mob from behind where the railway station was. There was stone throwing and burning and the huge mob even broke the railway track. I could hear shouts of "Ghusijao" and from the direction of Om Nagar and Chakla road, the mob tore down the gates, started burning property and people and throwing stones.

"At this stage there was private firing by Muslims. The DCP Zone 4 and additional CP sector 2 were there. One person, Dinesh, died as a result of police firing. By this time women and men from the Gulberg society, bodies were lying dead. The Gulberg society contains 19 blocks and 8 buildings. Women and children were hiding themselves to save their lives on the lofts. From all four sides they were attacked by mobs: 'Finish off all Muslims; our people were not spared by them, don't have mercy.' These were the shouts.

"We kept issuing warnings to disperse the mob, we even opened fire. Shravanji Lathoji Vanjara and one more was injured in private firing."

In one of it's most controversial decisions, the Narendra Modi government has handed over investigation to PN Barot, assistant police commissioner, a man with connections to the VHP.

Mohammmed Shareifbhai Nasiruddin Sheikh,

Chamanpura

Place: Chamanpura, Ahmedabad

Witness: Mohammmed Shareifbhai Nasiruddin Sheikh

(Interviewed on March 23)

Sharief Bhai is a survivor of the Chamanpura mass arson. He lost his wife, Nasreen and two daughters. The owner of a prosperous electronic business, he could have escaped with his family but he was at the forefront, along with young men, warding off the murderous attack.

Today, he and his son Sahil (10) are the sole survivors of his family. When I met him on March 24, he told me that he

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had not cried so far. Justice, even if it is a long and arduous fight, is what he seeks and is willing to fight for.

Place: Gulberg Society, Chamanpura, Ahmedabad

Witness: Sirajbhai Hanifbhai, a volunteer with the Nobel Ambulance service

(Interviewed at Behrampura, Ahmedahad on March 9)

I rescued one year old Afrin who is now with her grandmother Shahdab. Her family members who lived next to Ehsan Jaffri at Gulberg Society, were hacked, brutalised and killed on February 28. Their names are Anwar Khan, Zaitun Bibi, Akhtar Khan and Saiida Bano. It took me four days to reunite Afrin with her grandmother. The Madaypura police station simply refused to co-operate.

MC Shaikh

Chamanpura

Advocate and brother-in law of Shariethhai. He shared with Communalism Combat a confidential list of all the eventnesses who saw the entire scene:

- I. Ayub Habib Khan Pathan: (Lives opp. Gulberg society): At 10.30 a.m. on February 28, he saw and recognised accused 1) Bharat Rajput 2) Girish Prabhude Sharma 3) A man wearing spees and with a half-sleeve T-shirt; about 5 feet 5 inches, of medium build, with a thin beard. He is the main witness to all that happened on that day.
- II. Altaf Gulabkhan Pathan: At 10.35 a.m., a rickshaw (No. GJ9Y786) and a Luna were burnt. The Luna belongs to him. He saw and recognised 1) Bharat Raiput; 2) Girish Prabhude Sharma; 3) A man wearing spees, wearing a half sleeve T shirt, about 5 feet 5 inches, of medium build, with a thin beard 4; Kapil, son of Munnabhai (a good friend of Mohammed Sharief; 5) Dharmesh Prahladbhai; 6) Lala Mohan Singh Darbar 7; Amlesh (he broke the lock of a tailor's shop, took out all the clothes that were there and burnt them). Accused Nos. 5, 6 and 7 are accused of the same offense.

Accused Nos. 1 to 4 are 1at 8.45 p.m.mplicated in the burning of the Luna and a rickshaw. This witness also saw the following: between 11.30 a.m. and 12 noon: 8) the deputy mayor of Ahmedabad, Lagrupsinh Raiput (former BJP person,

today with the Congress) 9) Chunilal Prajapati (ex municipal corporator, former BJP, today independent) and 10) Meghsingh Guptsinh Chaudhary (ex corporator who belongs to the Congress (1).)

III. Habib Khan Bhumekhan (father of Ayub, witness I):

At 10.30 a.m., he saw with his own eyes, the attack on his other son, Yusuf. The attack was carried out by Dinesh Prabhudas Sharma who killed Yusuf with a sword. (The other witness to this incident was Saced Khan Ahmed Khan Pathan).

Today's papers have quoted previous incidents, Gujarati papers, that how there have been earlier incidents of private firing there too... this time also, there was private firing at the Gulbarga Society, after the private

firing, things went out of control.

Narendra Modi; in a statement; (March 1, 2002)

- IV. Saeed Khan Ahmed Khan Pathan (Lives at 18, Gulberg Society): From his terrace he saw Accused No. 1-3 and Accused Nos. 4-7 brandishing *guptis*. He saw his own brother and Ehsan Jaffris brother killed at 2.45 p.m. Kailash Dhobi plus two '*Bharyyajis*' killed Anwar Khan Pathan (elder brother of Saeed Khan) with *talivar* (swords). They also killed Aslam, Ehsan Jaffris brother; and when his son (Jaffris nephew) tried to save his father, his two fingers were cut off.
- V.—Saced Khan Ahmed Khan Pathan saw Ehsan Jaffri being pulled out of his house by 1) Mahesh Prabhudas Jain (owner of Kirana Provision Store in the neighbourhood); 2) Narayan Kabra Channelwala; 3) Krishna (son of Champabehn); 4) Ramesh alias Chou; 5) Dinesh Prabhude Sharma. Ehsan Jaffri was paraded naked, humiliated, fingers cut off, body cut into three pieces and burnt. All the assailants had made a huge funeral pyre with logs of wood in front of Gulberg Society and were throwing the cut up bodies into the flames.
- VI. Saced is also an eyewitness to rapes conducted by Accuse Nos. 6 & 7, Lakia and Lala Mohanji Darbar.
- VII. Aslam Anwar Khan Pathan saw his father being burnt by three Accused 1. Kailash Dhobi and 2.) two 'Bharyyajis'.
- VIII. Aslam Anwar Khan Pathan also saw his brother Akhtar Anwar Khan Pathan being killed by Kailash Dhobi and two 'Bhaiyyajis' (Aslam and Saced are residents of 18, Gulberg Society).
- IX. Aslam Kasambhai Mansuri. He is a resident of Bungalow No. 2, Gulberg Society and is also an eyewitness. He is undergoing treatment at V S Hospital (Case No 851) since February 28.
- X. Firoz Mohammed Gulzar Mohammed Pathan (Resident of 15, Gulberg Society. He is an eyewitness who has lost 5 family members): He saw 1) Kapil, son of Munnabhai, 2) Chunnilal Prajapati, 3) Narayan Channelwala and 4) Ambesh Kantilal gathering logs of wood and tyres and throwing bodies of the persons killed into the fire. Firoz saw "pol" gate of the society near the railway track being broken, those responsible for bringing it down were Girish Prabhudas Sharma, Ramesh Choti, JT Paanwala (living in P. Bhatirani Chawl). Firoz also saw killing and looting by Mahendra Pukhraj Marwadi and Mukesh Pukhraj Marwadi living in Chandulal Samardas Chawl in Chamanpura).

Firoz saw his own mother and father being killed. His mother was raped in front of his eyes before being killed. Totally, Firoz has lost 5 family m c m b e r s — G u l z a r Mohammed Noor Mohammed Pathan (55), Mariambi Gulzar Mohammed Pathan, Firdosh Bano Gulzar Mohammed Pathan (sister), Irfan Mohammed Gulzar Mohammed Pathan (brother) and Imran Mohammed Gulzar Mohammed Pathan (brother).

- XI. Salim Abdulbhai Mansuri saw 1) Mangilal Dhulchand Jain 2) Naginbhai Patni and 3) Kiranawala Mangilal burning and attacking the society. Bungalow No. 1 of Gulberg Society had been sold to one Dayaram Mochi. He was the only non-Muslim in the society and he allowed his home to be used on February 28th to attack his neighbours. This, for the survivors was the biggest form of treachery.
- XII. Imtiaz saw Bharat Rajput, Girish Prabhudas Sharma, the man in a half-sleeve, white T-shirt, Gabbar, Mahendra Pukhraj Marwadi, Mukesh Pukhraj Marwadi, Mangilal Dhulchand Jain and Nagin Patni along with many other people in Dayaram Mochi's house, preparing to attack.
- XIII. Zaiki, wife of Mohammed Rafiq living in Bungalow No. 11, who was also injured seriously, is also an eyewitness. She is under going treatment in hospital.
- XIV. Firozbhai Bandeali Sheikh (Flat No. 13 Gulberg Apts.): Saw Chunnilal Prajapati and Kapil, son of Munna (living in Babusangh Madesinh chali) leading attacks.
- XV. Dilawar Sikandar Sheikh (he had come for shelter from Chandulal Shameldas Chali, Chamanpura), saw Dharmesh, Kapil, son of Munnabhai, Kali Daya Bhai and Boba Patni.
- XVI. Shairabehn Salimbhai Sandhi (Bungalow No. 6, Gulberg): She saw Kailash Dhobi pull out Jaffri, along with Narayan Channnelwala, Rajput, Nelson Chaudhary.
- XVII. Salimbhai Noor Mohammed saw Champabehn's son (Krishna), Manish Prabhudas Jain (owner of Raja's Kirana Store). He also saw Dayaram Mochi's son and Dayaram Kirana.
- XVIII. Ashrafbhai Sikandarbhai Sandhi saw Gabbar throwing stones from Bungalow No. 1. He also saw Kapil, son of Munnabhai, Ambesh, Manish and Dharmesh attacking the Gulberg Society furiously.
- XIX. Rashida Dilawar (resident of Chandulal Chali who had come for Gulberg Society for shelter): She saw Dharmesh (in Bungalow No. 1), Kapil, Ambesh, Bhupesh, Gabbar and Narayan Kabra leading attacks.
- XX. Himmatbhai Ghulambhai (also from Chandulal Chali), saw the same 6 persons leading the attacks.
- XXI. Babu Khan Ishaq Khan Pathan (Janakbehn Chali), saw Mangelal Patni carrying out arson and looting.

Addresses of the accused

- Girish Prabhudas Sharma (26); In the truck body business;
 Patni Society, Chamanpura.
 - Supplied 5 litre kerosene drums for arson.
 - 2) Dinesh Prabhudas Sharma (23); Patni Society, Chamanpura.

Supplied 5 litre kerosene drums for arson; supplied petrol drums for burning people.

- Ramesh Choti (30); son of Panditji; Bangle-seller with a shop next to Asha Trading, Patni Nagar Society, Chamanpura.
- 4) Kapil (22); son of Ram Narain (Munna); works in a petrol pump near Swami Narayan Mandir, Babusingh Madhesinh Society, opp. Gulberg Society, Chamanpura.

Supplied trishuls and petrol, belongs to the Bajrang Dal.

- 5) Suresh Alias Kali Dhobi (22); he is a washerman; Babusingh Madhesinh Society, Opp. Gulberg Society, Chamanpura.
- 6) Narayan Tonk alias Kabra Channelwala (40); Gheewali Chali, Chamanpura.

Stone throwing and stabbing.

- 7) Bharat Lakshman Raiput, he lives behind Ramji Mandir and works behind Dr. Sultan's Dispensary, Chamanpura.
- 8) Surendra (22); son of Champabehn; His father-in-law owns Asha Trading Company, his mother works in Shevan Clinic as a compounder, Dr. Gandhi Chawl, Chamanpura.
- 9) Krishna (son of Champabehn); Dr. Gandhi Chali, Chamanpura.
- Lala Mohanji Darbar; involved in illegal liquor business; Dr. Gandhi Chali, Chamanpura.
 - He has been seen by eyeurtnesses actually committing rape.
- 11) Sushil Brij Mohan Sharma (26); works in the Home Guards; Resident of Ramchandra Colony, Takri, Chamanpura.
- 12) Poona Sinh Raiput (40-42); works in Arvind Mills; a Congress (I) activist; Resident of Opp. Gheewali Chawl, above Ramlal Uttamchand, Chamanpura.

He was seen with a knife in hand.

- 13) Manish Prabhudas Jain (25); Owner Raja Kirana Store, Resident of Dr. Gandhi Chali, Chamanpura.
- 14) Dharmesh (20); son of Ram Achal Pathak; involved in illegal liquor business, Resident of Chandulal Chali, Chamanpura.
- 15) Gabbar; son of Mandan Jhingar; (Thin and short, has an uncle in the police. The uncle's name is Ashok Jhingar). He makes chappals; Resident of Babusingh Madhesinh Chali, Opp. Gulberg Society, Chamanpura.

He was in Bungalow No. 1 leading the assault on Gulberg Society.

16) Chunnilal Prajapati (55); ex-municipal corporator, from BJP. Resident of Mohanlal Wadi, Chamanpura.

Was seen inciting the mob.

- 17) Mehsingh Dudhsinh Chaudhary (45); an advocate and exmunicipal corporator of the Congress. Jaffri, a senior member of the party, had not chosen him for the ticket this time; Chamanpura.
- 18) Jagrup Sinh Rajput (48); an advocate and ex-deputy mayor of Ahmedabad, Navi Chali, Om Nagar Road, Chamanpura.
- 19) Davaram Mochi; living in Bungalow No. 1 and Ashok alias Jhingar; Resident of Bungalow No. 1, Gulberg Society, Chamanpura.

Mochi allowed his home to be used as a place of attack.

20) Mangelal Jain (32); owns the Adhinath Kirana Store, Opposite Chamanpura Pumping Station.

He led the attack on laffery's house.

- 21) Dilip Suraj Bali; Ramchandra Colony, Near Water Tanker, Chamanpura.
- 22) Naresh Krishnadas Brahmania, In the illegal liquor business. Talati Nagar,

What happened is secular violence which happens during communal violence.

Narendra Modi, referring to the post-Godhra violence. (The Indian Express, Ahmedabad; March 6, 2002) Near Rohidas Bus Station, Block No. 32, Talati Nagar.

23) Lakhia (27); lives in Block 55, Talati Nagar. (He is 5 feet 5 inches tall. Has long hair which is red in colour.)

He was responsible for the rapes.

24] Girish Alias Kalia (25); Lives near Robidas bus stop.

25) Others have given the name of Dhobi Kailash, living at Gopal Nagar. They said he is dark complexioned, was carrying a mobile phone, was wearing an earning and was seen by many persons with a taluar. Madan Mochi's son, Gabbar was also seen.

The deceased in the Chamanpura killings

Name		Age		
1	Ehsan Jaffri(Ex MP, Lok Sabha)		Dead	
2	Anvarkhan Ahmedkhan Pathan	64	Dead	
3	Khairumiya Ahmedkhan Pathan	A Shark and	Dead	
4	Joharuniya Saidkhan Pathan	53	Dead	
5	Jamilabanu Rashid Khan Pathan	38	Dead	
6	Akhatrkhan Anvarkhan Pathan	30	Dead	
7	Sajida Akhirkhan Pathan	25	Dead	
8	Sadabkhan Akhirkhan Pathan	04	Dead	
9	Nasrinbanu Md.Sharif Sheikh	36	Dead	
10	Nilofar Md. Sharif Sheikh	17	Dead	
11	Farah Md. Sharif Sheikh	15	Dead	
12	Attarvahikhan Pathan	55	Dead	
13	Gulzar Md. Nur Md. Pathan	58	Dead	
14	Mariyambibi Gulzar Md.Pathan	48	Dead	
15	Firdosbanu Gulzar Md.Pathan	25	Dead	
16	Irfan Mo.Gulzar Md.Pathan	22	Dead	
17	Imran Md.Gulzar Md. Pathan	19	Dead	
18	Salma Ayubkar Pathan	3.4	Dead	
19	Shamsad Ayubkar Pathan	28	Dead	
20	Shamim Ayubkar Pathan	26	Dead	
21	Sonaben Allanurbhai Mansukh		Dead	
22	Hanisha Mehboobbhai	32	Dead	
23	Asmatben Abdulbhai	45	Dead	
24	Mohsin Mehmoodbhai	09	Dead	
25	Vasim Mehmoodbhai	05	Dead	
26	Sahil Salimbhai	0.4	Dead	
27	Samim Kalimbhai	20	Dead	
28	Jahangirbhai Sindhi	43	Dead	
29	Mohammad Salimbhai Sindhi	23	Dead	
30	Farinaben Jahangirbhai Sindhi	35'	Dead	
31	Mumtajben Sikandarbhai Sindhi	35	Dead	
32	Jebunben Kasambhat Mansuri	50	Dead	
33	Mehmoodben Aslambhai	3.2	Dead	
34	Yasmin Rafiq	27	Dead	
35	Farida Shakil Mansuri	25	Dead	
36	Najman Kasam Mansuri	18	Dead	
37	Shabnam Aslambhai Mansuri	12	Dead	
38	Asha Aslambhai Mansuri	10	Dead	
39	Irfan Aslambhai Mansuri		Dead	
40	Irfan Aslambhai Mansuri	2.5	Dead	
41	Shahina Aslambhai Mansuri	01	Dead	
42	Mukesh Aslambhai Mansuri	5 Months	Dead	
43	Faizal Rafiqbhai	v	Dead	
44	Shahzadali Faquirmohhamad	45	Dead	
45	Zubedaben Yusufbhai	39	Dead	



Carnage at Kabadi Market, Behrampura, Ahmedabad



Carnage at Kabadi Market, Behrampura, Ahmedabad

Naroda Fruit Market, Kabadi Market

Of the 200 wholesale fruit businesses with galas in Naroda Fruit Market, all 17 owned by the Memon community were selectively and completely gutted, money from the safes stolen and all business records destroyed. The agricultural produce committee chairman, Laxman D. told CC that despite repeated calls, the police had not responded. These 17 wholesale businesses were destroyed in broad daylight on February 28, even as the attack on the lives and dignity of the residents of Naroda Pativa was in full swing.

Place: Naroda Fruit Market, Swami Narayan Road, Naroda

Witness: Ramanlal

(Interviewed at the Naroda Fruit Market on March 8)

I brahim Ramanlal is a three generations old story of Hindu-Muslim partnership. Ibrahim Ramanlal is a fruit commission agent on the Swami Narayan Chawl Road. This traditional intra-community partnership was not spared by the mobs who had obviously done their research well. The lost incurred was Rs 2.5 lakh. This will not make a difference to us, however. We will make sure that this relationship, which is much more than a business one, as it spans generations, will be rebuilt and flourish.

On March 6, the day this correspondent visited the area, I found the Bahanshah Mosque, Swami Narayan Chanl, behind the fruit market reduced to rubble. As we climbed up the broken stones, we saw not just torn pages of the Quran strewn all over the floor; the vandals had even had time to defecate on it.

The framed photograph of a Hindu idol was planted at the very spot where the imam stands to lead the namaaz. There were telltale signs of a piya having been performed at the place. And the slogan "Jai Shri Ram" scranled in red on the walls were clear evidence of what exactly the hate-mongers had in mind when they held a whole population to ransom.

New Gujarat (National) Kabadi Market Corporation, near Bhulabhai Park, Behrampura, Ahmedabad

Place: The New Gujarat (National) Kabadi Market Corporation, Behrampura, Ahmedabad

Witness: Sirajbhai Hanifbhai Qureshi, Kabadi Market

(Interviewed at the Kabadi Market on March 9)

The New Gujarat Kabadi Market Corporation, near Bhulabhai Park, Behrampura, was attacked, vandalised for three full days. The two watchmen on duty were maimed and butchered before being torched. The Kagdapeth police station located nearby just allowed it to happen.

The Mohamadiya Ahle Hadis Masjid and 225 shops in the Kabadi Market (160 inside and 65 outside) were completely destroyed on February 28 itself. The attack went on for three full days to make sure that the area was destroyed completely.

Two watchmen, Ahmed Mohammed Arab and Yusuf Abdul Gafur Sheikh, were found dead — cut up and charred — just outside the shop of one Harun Yusuf.

Two other watchmen who survived and are eyewitnesses are Gani Bhai Jamal Bhai and Abdul Shakur Abdul Jabbar. They have named Ashok Bhai Sindhi as one of the main accused in leading the attack. The police station under which the Kabadi Market falls, is the Kagdapeth police station, whose policemen were blind to the systematic damage for three days.

We must have made hundreds of calls to them. The total loss to materials is about Rs 4 crore and to the buildings, another Rs 1.5 crore.

Place: The New Gujarat Kabadi Market Corporation, Kabadi Market, Ahmedabad

Witness: Secretary, Kabadi Market

Written memorandum submitted to CC by the secretary, The New Gujarat Kabadi Market Corporation, Kabadi Market Number: 2, Bhulabhai Park, Behrampura, Ahmedabad - 22; to the NHRC:

On February 28, during the communal riots in Ahmedabad, the troublemakers broke down the gates of Kabadi Market, looted and burnt down all the shops, and destroyed the entire Kabadi Market. During the looting and the burning, we called the fire brigade several times but there was no satisfactory response from them, nor was a fire engine sent. In spite of informing the police station, the police, too, remained inactive. What's more they encouraged the looters and the arsonists.

After all this, two of the watchmen of our market, Ahmedbhai Mohammedbhai Arab and Yusufbhai A. Gafurbhai Shaikh were killed with sharp instruments. The panchnama has since been made and post mortem carried out in the Civil Hospital.

By this heartless act, our entire Kabadi Market has been destroyed and our place of worship has been burnt, our holy books damaged. The estimated damage to the Kabadi Market is about Rs. 4 crore.

Place: Jamalpur, Ahmedabad

Witness: Liagat Bhai

(Interviewed at the residence of a local at Jamalpur on March 5)

The 100-year old dargab opposite the Jagannath Mandir has been broken down and for days, Ram Dhun was heard

playing there every night. On the night of February 27 28, the elephants that are kept inside the temple premises were made to drink liquor. The screams and yells that followed caused terror in the entire locality. On the night of February 27, ST services were suspended. Why? So that people from the villages could not escape?

During the last election, Haren Pandya, who won from the Paldi area, had openly proclaimed during his campaign, "Baandyo nahin bachwo joyiye" (Not a single baandyo, abusive term for a Muslim/circumcised person must be spared.)

Near the Kanch ka Masjid, there is the shop of one Syed Paanwala, Bashir Bhai. He feeds masala paan to the police because he has no choice. On February 28, his paan ka gala was destroyed. PSI Yadav who stood near the destroyed gala the whole day, asked Bashir Bhai to come to the Haveli police station to register his case.

But once at the police station, he was thrashed by PSI Yadav and PSI Chavda. Both used to eat free *paan* from him.

The worst conduct was at VS hospital. Here, Bharti behn and Anita behn, both BJP corporators (Bharti behn is from Mani Nagar) were actually instructing doctors on which patients to treat and which not to treat. At the VS hospital, treatment was being denied to Muslims when pressure from BJP MLAs and corporators was put on the local administration.

Revenue Minister Haren Pandya was seen by us opposite the VS Hospital setting fire to the Apna Bazaar Medical. "Yeh Miyane Aag Lagaye" ("Let us burn these Muslims"), he was shouting, after he burnt it down himself. The Ellis Bridge

Police Station is close by but they did nothing.

The fire brigade was called and they tried desperately to put out the fire. But Haren Pandya, leading the mob, prevented them. An FIR has been launched against Haren Pandya and MLA Ashok Bhatt. Just outside the Ellis police station, Haren Pandya was over heard telling the PI even as Hotel Ellis was aflame: "Aah samay kayi nathi kartoo" ("This community does nothing".) The PI concerned had a special room permanently booked for him at Hotel Ellis.

Opposite Jamalpur Darwaza, the Jagannath Mandir was under police protection!

The local PI Jadeja fired at Muslims and watched with glee as fireballs (aag ke gole) reduced some 10 jhopadas and 2-3 cabins to ashes near Jamalpur Darwaza. Jadeja then filed an FIR against Muslims claiming that a 2,000 strong mob had attacked. This was reported by Star News and the Gugarat Samachar on its front page. But not one Hindu hut has been burnt in the area. I know because I am an eyewitness.

The dead body of Yusuf bhai Allabux bhai, a night watchman at Kabadi Market, No 2, Behrampura, was found with his legs severed. An FIR has been filed against PI Barot for this murder by the Kabadi Market Association.

Assailants identified: Revenue Minister Haren Pandya, BJP MLA Ashok Bhatt, Bharti behn and Anita behn (both BJP corporators).

Policemen indicted: PSI Yadav and PSI Chavda, PI Jadeja, PI Barot.

<u>Vatwa</u>

Vatwa, an area located on the outskirts of Ahmedabad, saw repeated and prolonged bouts of violence, often led by the residents of nearby housing colonies like Murlidhar Society, Mani Society, Asapalav Society, Picnic Park and Manav Nagar. The attacks were allegedly led by a resident of Vatwa who is also a Bajrang Dal leader – Haresh Patel. Patel was ably supported by the police.

At Nawapura-Kabrastan, a basti of 300 houses, was completely gutted by mobs that attacked all day and night. The attack came from the residents of Asapalay, Picnic Park, and Manay Nagar housing colonies.

There were many persons from the Waghari community involved in the attacks.

All Muslim homes were burnt down in the following localites: Bachubhai Kua (70-80 houses), Bismillah Nagar (60 houses), Darbar Khetar (70-80 houses), Syedwadi (150 houses), Azim Park (100 houses); Muchadipir (9 houses); Roshni Raos (105 houses).

Place: Vatwa

Witness: Rizwana, Advocate

(Interviewed at Vatura Relief Camp on March 4)

The tola (mob) was 20,000 strong. Bachubhai Kua, Bismillah Nagar and Nawapura were burnt on February 28. Roshni Raos and others were burnt down the next day. All we could see were heads, heads and more heads (mundi, mundi, mundi). Mahesh Patel of the Bajrang Dal, Girish Pandya and Amita Patel (municipal councillors belonging to the BJP) were leading the crowd. They were even arrested yesterday (March 3) but by evening they were released on bail.

PI Singh and PI Damod were openly helping them. Every nook and corner of the Murlidhar Society and Manav Nagar is filled with VHP and Bajrang Dal supporters. The crowd was carrying talwar, pawda, chara; some even had guns. Apart from torching all the homes, 7-8 persons have been killed in firing and another 7-8 are missing. The residents of Nawapura are mainly involved in the bhangar (recycling) business.

When Syedwadi and Nawapura were being gutted on Thursday by mobs from the 'border' areas, the SP was himself standing there; he was also spotted at Waghnivas Kabrastan, standing and enjoying the destruction. (I cannot recall his name at the moment, but he is the SP of the area.) The entire police department watched as large parts of Vatwa were destroyed.

Three days later (March 3), no complaints have been entertained, no FIR registered. One Vilayat Hussain whose farmhouse was burnt down suffered a loss of Rs. 3-4 lakh as even the wheat crop was burnt and the bore well destroyed. The complaint was filed on March 1.

Assailants identified: Mahesh Patel (Bajrang Dal), Girish Pandya and Amita Patel (BJP corporators).

Policemen indicted: Superintendent of police, PI Singh, PI Damod, entire police department.

Place: Syedwadi, Azim Nagar

Witness: Salma Aapa

(Interviewed at Vatwa Relief Camp on March 4)

The worst behaviour in the middle of the mob attacks was that of second PI Damod. He openly threatened that if anyone complained, "We will take away Muslim children and women."

Many of the residents of Nawapura are in the Bhangar ka dhanda, all the residents of these basts are daily wager earners. Even today, four days later (March 4), we are terrified at night as a cassette is played on the loud speakers with voices shouting, "Kato! Maro!" ("Chop them! Kill them!"). They want us to come out of our homes in panic so they can attack us again. Today, when we went to the other side of the 'border' to buy vegetables, vendors were threatened: "Do not sell vegetables to Muslim women, nor milk for Muslim children."

Policemen indicted: Pl Damod.

Place: Nawapura

Witness: Abeida

(Interviewed at Vatua Relief Camp on March 4)

My house is the first house at Nawapura and it suffered the worst destruction. (Abeida cries uncontrollably as she narrates her story). I recall the men who entered my house. One wore jeans and had spees on. They kept on shouting some Bajrang Dal slogans; they destroyed everything.

I had collected so many things for the weddings of my children, but now all is gone. I am sure that I will be able to recognise many of them. They were totally 3-4,000 people, so we had to run away. My own wedding jewels, all that I had carefully accumulated for my daughters — Tees saal mai maine jo bi basaya unhone tees ghante mein saf kar diya. (What I had painstakingly

collected over 30 years, they destroyed in 30 hours). For the last six days, I cannot sleep.

Place: Vatwa

Witness: Hafiz Khan Bhatti, Contractor

(Interviewed at Vatua Relief Camp on March 4)

For 48 hours on Thursday and Friday (February 28 and March 1) there was complete havoc. At the CTM Char Rasta, Salim Khan, a Muslim driver, was burnt alive after a message was passed on the police wireless that a Muslim driver was coming that way.

My office (transport business), my hotel Gurukrupa, Seema Auto and Gurukrupa Restaurant were all attacked. We must have called the police control room dozens of times but got no response. The Muslim basti within Vatwa has 121 houses and we are surrounded by tens of thousands of residents of the other community. Our tragedy was that human beings living in the surrounding areas did not even glance at us when we were being attacked. Four Hindu boys looted and stole vessels from our home.

I also run the Bhatti Education Trust which owns one ambulance that I have donated. During those days, *jaan ki hifazat bhulkar hum ne hospital ki seva ki*. But what was the reward? At Sayedwadi Tol Naka, the police took my ambulance into custody and seized it for three days. When I went to collect it, I was shocked to find that there were 5 to 10 punctures in each tyre. It took me three hours to bring it back to Vatwa.

On the night of February 28, when we were attacked, all we could see was heads and more heads. Swords were being waved in the air, shots were fired by privately owned guns. Tab hame malum pada ki hamara Allah ke seva koi nahin (Then we realised that none but Allah is on our side.) The crowd had only one intention: "Musalmanon ko khatam karo!" ("Finish off the Muslims!") And throughout, innocent people were killed.

Out of sheer fright, the residents of Roshni Park, Raunak Park, Tufel Park, Siraj Park, Nawapura, Vandervad Talao, Jasodanagar Pate, Burhani Society and Bismillah Nagar just moved in here and are now in the relief camps.

The behaviour of PI Damod was criminal. When some persons spoke to him near Taslim Society about the scale

of violence, these were his words: "Jo huva kam huva; itna maar khaya kam hai ki aur mar khana hai?" ("What happened is not enough. Are you satisfied with the beating that you have received, or do you want more?")

Policemen indicted: PI Damod.

I have brought peace to the state in 72 hours. (The violence has continued for over a month.)

(The Indian Express, Ahmedabad; March 6, 2002)

Saifee Society/Burhani Society:

Sixty-five solidly built bungalows were destroyed here by huge mobs on February 28. They used some acid and explosive chemicals while setting fire to homes. A timer device, black in colour, was attached to the mains and some solvent poured into it, enabling a quick short-circuit in seconds.

Samples of the chemicals they used to ensure that the fire raged on for hours has been procured by this correspondent and given for analysis. Chemicals were also discovered from four other locations within Ahmedabad. As elsewhere, in Vatwa, too, gas cylinders had been used to explode homes, a school and a mosque.

Place: Vatwa

Witness: Rasool Khan, Principal, Asmi High School

(Interviewed at Saifee Society Relief Camp on March 4)

I am principal of the government recognised Asmi High School, where 500 students used to study, from KG to 10th standard. My wife is the principal of another school, the Friends High School, which has nearly a thousand students. My school was completely burnt down and so was my bungalow, situated just behind the school.

The worst part is that I saw with my own eyes, my compatriot, Navneet Patel, principal of two municipal schools situated in the Hindu side of the area — who is also the owner of Patel Pan House, apart from being principal of Tajgi School. Along

with Keshubhai Sabziwala and Babulal Patel, he led the threesided attack on our school and the entire Burhani society.

Nothing can be more painful for a teacher and a principal than to see his school being burnt, the entire records torn and destroyed and even the children's work and charts defected upon. And when the attack is led by an educationist, a human being who is supposed to impart values and a strength of purpose to the young, despair fills the heart.

There appears a clear target in the overall destruction — lives maimed and brutally snuffed out, the community crippled economically, religious and cultural symbols debased, and all signs of modernity and growth erased.

Assailants identified: Navneet Patel (school principal), Keshubhai Sabziwala, Babulal Patel.

Indicted

Vatwa Violence/Ellis Bridge

Leaders/politicians:

Vatwa – Principal Navneet Patel, Keshubhai Sabziwala, Babubhai Patel, Mahesh Patel (Bajrang Dal) Girish Pandya (BJP corporator) Amita Patel (BJP corporator) Policemen indicted:

SP KC Patel, PI Singh PI Damod (Vatwa),

PSI Yaday,

PSI Chavda, PI Jadeja (Ellis Bridge).

Paldi

Background

Formed in 1932. During the 1969 riots, there was no problem in this area. In 1990, there was some disturbance, one member from a family living in Delite Apartments was burnt alive. "Wahi log aaj bhi kam kar rahe hain" ("The same people are up to similar deeds now."

Haren Pandya is elected from this constituency (Ellis Bridge). During his campaign for the last elections, he was openly campaigning saying, "Paldi se musalman ka naam aur nishan mita denge" ("We'll wipe out any trace of Muslim presence from the Paldi area.")

This writer spoke to two couples from the Paldi area — Aftab Bhai and Ghizala Kadri (the latter works at the Oriental Insurance near Lal Darwaza, Ahmedabad) and Ayaz and Wasim Aslam (employed by the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service) on March 9.

Both couples are residents of Kazmi Apartments, Paldi, Flat No. 3 and 4 respectively. Justice AN Divecha (retired judge of the Gujarat High Court) lives in Flat 1 & 2 of the same building and is a neighbour. Besides being victims themselves, they are eyewitnesses to what happened to Justice Divecha.

Place: Kazmi Apartments, Paldi, Ahmedabad

Witness: Aftab Kadri and Ghizala Kadri

(Interviewed at Jamalpur on March 9)

On the night of February 28, some 25-30 petrol bombs were thrown inside our flats from outside. When we looked out to see who the assailants were, we recognised them as VHP people from the area. We rang up 100 (Police Control) and spoke to DCP Parghi who sent a PI and PSI to check on the damage. We were asking for protection because though only the walls were damaged, the intention of the attackers was clear.

PSI Birja, who inspected the damage, said it was not enough to warrant any police protection. The next morning, at about 11.30 a.m., a mob of 50-60 persons hurled stones and broke the window panes of flat number 3. We called Police Control again. In the mob, we could spot some of the known faces we had seen the day before. We wondered what to do but I (Aftab Kadri) felt leaving our home may not be a good idea.

In our building, Kazmi Apartments, there are 12 flats, all belonging to Muslims. By the morning of the 28th there were only 10-12 of us around. Some were out of town and others had left. We sent off our families elsewhere and I spent the whole of 28" watching a 2,500-3,000 strong mob wreak havoc in the area.

They first attacked Tarana Apartments. They were armed with baseball bats, hockey sticks and cricket bats. They used the force of 3,000 persons to break down a strong gate. They were travelling in Sumo vans. They broke the locks of 12 flats at Tarana Apartments, looted and burnt them.

The second building to be attacked was Delite Apartments. They used Pepsi bottles to create the impact of home bombs. They used chemical solvents to ensure that once a fire starts it does not stop.

The third building to be attacked was Elite Apartments where mostly advocates live. The fourth building was our building, Kazmi Apartments, Justice Divecha left in the dead of night, at 12 p.m. My family had left the day before. In my case, I suffered a loss of Rs 4-5 lakh.

Assailants identified: VHP leaders and activists from Paldi. **Policemen indicted:** DCP Parghi, PSI Biria.

Place: Paldi, Ahmedabad

Witness: Justice Ravani, retired judge, Gujarat High Court, former chief justice, Rajasthan High Court

(Memorandum submitted to the NHRC)

Justice Ravani, who also spoke to the writer on March 4 and gave an oral testimony, submitted a written memorandum to the NHRC. The text of his memorandum to the NHRC:

As suggested by the Hon, Chairman (NHRC), that I should submit in writing regarding the incidents of shifting of the official residence of justice MH Kadri, a sitting judge of Gujarat High Court and other related matters, I am submitting as follows:

That at about 3 p.m. on February 28, I started receiving telephones about the violence having crupted in the city. Some advocates phoned me that in front of the high court, trucks were burnt and judges had left the high court. I was shocked to hear this, particularly for the reason that I knew that in the high court premises a police company is stationed and even on the opposite side of the high court a few policemen used to remain standing.

I telephoned some of my friends belonging to the minority

community. At about 4 p.m. I could contact justice Kadri. He informed me that the situation was very tense near about his bungalow. Incidents of looting and arson had started taking place. I asked him about the policemen that had been placed at his residence. He told me that two illequipped police constables are there.

I told him that I was requesting

my sources for providing further adequate protection at his bungalow. I contacted a retired DSP and requested him to speak to someone in Ellis Bridge police station and visit justice Kadri's residence. One PI (probably Mr. Vachhani) visited justice Kadri's house. He told him that he had no extra police force but he himself would be taking rounds and keeping watch.

After an hour or so, I again contacted justice Kadri. He informed me that in nearby Dhuliakot area (where the high court judges' bungalows are located) further incidents of looting and arson had taken place. Even near Gujarat College and near Nagari Hospital, garages belonging to minority communities were damaged or burnt.

Thereupon, I requested a friend staying in Muslim Society opposite Navrangpura police station. In that locality high police officers and high government officers were staying. The friend told me that the SRP are placed here but its not safe to keep them outside. Justice Kadri's house is very near from here. If arrangement could be made to give intimation to him about any urgent need, he would see to it that SRP people may rush there.

But then he asked me, 'Will the mob give him time (justice Kadri) to telephone either to you or anyone in Muslim society?' Hearing this I felt exasperated but continued to remain in touch with justice Kadri. I remained in touch with him till about 10.30 p.m. to 11.00 p.m.

The next day, i.e. 1° March 2002, around 8.30, I tried to contact justice Kadri, but on telephone there was no response. Therefore I got worried and contacted protocol officer of Gujarat High Court. He told me that late at night justice Kadri along with his family members had shifted to the nearby bungalow of justice Vaghela. I requested the protocol officer to convey to justice Kadri that I was worried and he may contact me as soon as possible.

At about 11.30 a.m., justice Kadri telephoned me and told that pursuant to the suggestion of chief justice and brother judges, he had shifted along with his family members to the bungalow of brother justice Vaghela. He further told me that he was being asked to shift to Judges Bungalow in Vastrapur.

On telephone instantly I told him that tell anyone who is suggesting you to shift, that for a sitting judge to shift from his official residence for the reason that he is not given full protection would amount to insult to the independence of judiciary and also an insult to the secular philosophy of the Constitution. In reply he requested me whether I could come down to his residence. I told that as soon as practicable I would reach

there.

Before proceeding to justice Kadri's place, I tried to contact justice RA Mehta, director, judicial academy. He was not available at his residence but I came to know from his residence that justice Divecha, retired high court judge and former chairman MRTP was

Every Action has an equal and opposite reaction.

Narendra Modi, on the violence after Godhra; (The Times of India, Delhi; March 2, 2002.)

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forced to shift from his residence and his house was ransacked.

I contacted justice Divecha at his friend's residence. I saw to it that my message is conveyed to justice Mehta that he should reach justice Kadri's residence as soon as possible and that I was going there. At about 1.15 p.m. or 1.30 p.m., I reached residence of justice Kadri. After some time justice Mehta also reached.

From the talk that we had with justice Kadri, I gathered that:

- Chief Justice Dharmadhikari was worried about the safety of justice Kadri and his family members and was requesting him to shift to Judges Bungalow in Vastrapur or to his own residence which is near Judges Bungalows.
- Military intelligence people had told justice Kadri that it would be proper to shift from that bungalow as police force kept at his residence was not sufficient to protect against the mob violence and that he should not rely for his safety on local police.

The military people had offered that they can ensure his safety in military guesthouse in cantonment area.

Justice Kadri asked for our opinion and at that time justice Mehta received telephone on his mobile from the registrar of the high court who was speaking from the residence of the chief justice. The registrar informed that two bungalows, i.e. Bungalow No. 14 and Bungalow No. 26, were ready and any of them could be occupied by justice Kadri.

Justice Mehta handed over the phone to justice Kadri. After finishing talk with the registrar, justice Kadri asked us as to what do we feel now and what should he do.

I told justice Kadri that, "Brother, I am withdrawing my philosophical assertions on telephone. Ground reality is that the Constitutional philosophy is now in the book only. We may be courageous but we are not soldiers fighting on the border where to move backward even an inch would be an act of cowardice. In the situation now in which you are placed it would be unwise not to shift to a safer place."

I further told him that he should not go anywhere else except with his kith and kin: ailing mother aged about 85 suffering from cardiac disease and two college going girls, he and his wife being in family and there being no other male member, what he and his family now required was the warmth and support from his kith and kin. Military people may protect him physically but they will not be able to give psychological warmth and support. The same was the opinion of justice Mehta.

During the talk with justice Kadri, we came to know that since yesterday night he had not taken food at all. It was around 2.30 p.m. I told him unless he takes food in our presence we will not leave his house. In our presence he gulped down two-three chapattis and some vegetable.

After he finished his lunch he received a phone from

military people or someone connected with military. In our presence he told on phone that he was ready to shift to his sister in-law's flat situated behind VS Hospital, Near Tagore Hall. Thereafter, when we felt assured that he would be shifted under military escort, we left his premises.

At about 5.00 o'clock I contacted justice Kadri and learnt that at about 4.00 o'clock, under military escort he and his family members had shifted to his sister-in law's place and that his mother's health was quite stable.

On that day evening at about 6.00 p.m., I received phone from advocate Mr. AA Memon. He requested me to tell someone in police if his residence near Shah-Alam Khadaki can be protected during nighttime. Exasperated as I was, I expressed my helplessness but told him I was requesting justice Mehta to do something, if he could help.

One correspondent had taken my interview. It has appeared in www.rediff.com. For your ready reference it has been enclosed. There are some inaccuracies with regard to dates, timings and certain names. But as far as the views and general details contained therein, I stand by the same.

Place: Faiz Mohammed Society, Paldi, Ahmedabad

Witness: Uves Sareshwala

(Interviewed at Palds on March 5)

Thanks to the madness that gripped Paldi from the night of February 27, none of us were safe. Not even Dr. Vyas, Dr. Pragnesh Shah and Dr. Ramesh Parikh. The Shahmar building which houses a prestigious polyclinic of doctors who happen to be Hindus, on the first and second floor, was also burnt down, using gas cylinders because it is a building dominated by Muslims. The attacks took place from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. and some stray incidents took place on the morning of the next day.

There were attacks on six housing societies in Paldi where about 1,000 Muslim live. Totally there are about 5 6,000 Hindus living in this area. Kazmi Apartments, Elite, Delite, Corner 2, Tarana and Bungalows No. 16 and 24, where the family that owns Motimahal lives, were burnt completely.

In Bungalows No. 16 and 24, three elderly family members, Zafar Sheikh, Abdullah Motimahalwala, Nizamuddin Memon and Iqbal Hasmani were badly bruised and injured before some people rescued them.

A family from Tarana Apartments paid Rs. 50,000 to the police for protection. In Ahmedabad there is the Disturbed Areas Act, because of which Muslims and Hindus can't buy property from each other. In Tulsi Apartments, many Muslims who had earlier bought flats can't sell now; so they feel cornered from all sides.

"We have paid the prize for living decently," is the refrain that could be heard from many of the residents of Paldi.

Gomtipur

(Salatnagar in Gomtipur had approximately 260 hutments, in which about 1,500 inhabitants resided. On March 1, about 2,000 miscreants came and reduced these hutments together with the household belongings to ash. The leaders of this crowd wore saffron headbands and saffron belts with trishuls tucked in them. Many among them wielded swords.

This mob was allegedly assisted by the PSI of 'D' staff of Gomtipur, Modi, in setting fire to the hutments. Modi arrived in his own jeep (registration number GJ 1 AR-5342) and stopped opposite Ambika Mill No.1 at about 12 o'clock in the afternoon.

A resident and eyewitness to the police complicity, Mohan Bundela, who is part of a housing rights organisation, Jansangharsh Manch, has filed an FIR against the police addressed to the DvSP of the Gomtipur Police Station.)

Place: Salatnagar hutments, Gomtipur, Ahmedabad Witness: Mohan Bundela, member, Jansangharsh Manch

(FIR lodged with DySP, Gomtipur Police Station)

I, Mohanbhai Banarsidas Bundela (convenor of Jansangharsh Manch) wish to inform you with sorrow that opposite Ambika Mill gate no.1, near Khokhra over-bridge, Gomtipur, about 2,000 troublemakers came and set fire to the Salatnagar hutments (about 260 in number with 1,500 residents), together with all the household things in them on March 1, Friday.

The leaders of this crowd had tied headbands of saffron colour and worn saffron belts with *trishuls* on them and many of them had swords also. This crowd of troublemakers was assisted by the PSI, 'D' staff of Gomtipur, Mr. Modi, in setting fire to the hutments. Mr. Modi stopped his own jeep GJ-1-AR-5342 opposite Ambika Mill No.1 at about 12 o'clock in the afternoon.

From a crowd that was standing in the lane opposite, twofour people came with empty Bisleri bottles and after filling them with petrol/diesel from the PSI's car, they mingled with the crowd once again. At about 12:30 p.m., they attacked the roofs opposite Ambikanagar, splashed petrol/diesel on them and set fire to them. At that time, some of the poor people of these hutments took their children and ran towards Kalupur station and some ran towards the railway colony.

Before this attack, I myself, Mohanbhai Bundela, had asked for protection from PI of Gomtipur police station continuously for 24 hours. However, no help was given to these poor hutment dwellers from the Gomtipur police station. On (telephone) number 100, several times a complaint was lodged with the control room. In spite of this, no protection was

given to the roofs opposite the Ambika Mills and no bandobast was made.

The attackers were from the Amraiwadi police precinct and we called Amraiwadi police station several times and we also complained to PI Patel personally that from your Amraiwadi precinct a big crowd is trying to set fire to the hutments repeatedly. So please make some extensive arrangements. But in spite of our verbal complaint and several complaints on the phone, the responsible people of the police station did not provide protection to the hutment dwellers.

As a result, these hutments were burnt down by more than 200 anti-social elements with the help of the police. And all these hutments of Ambika mills were razed to the ground. And these troublemakers looted the 8-10 huts that were saved from the fire. In addition to these troublemakers, the PSI, 'D' staff of Gomtipur, Mr. Modi, gave petrol/diesel in front of our eyes and it appeared that these troublemakers had made some prior arrangements with Mr. Modi. We inform you with regret that not only the police arrested none of the troublemakers.

Mr. Modi knows the troublemakers who harmed the poor people because he himself did not perform his duty but helped them to set fire to the roofs of the poor people and put the police force in to disrepute. So please, sir, arrest these criminals immediately and taking appropriate legal steps, arrest them and put them in jail. Also, make arrangement so that these hutment dwellers get immediate protection in future. I, myself, Mohanbhai Bundela, went to lodge the complaint of the hutment dwellers in Gomtipur police station in the evening of 02-03-2002, but they refused to lodge the complaint that is why we are sending this complaint by Registered AD.

Policemen indicted: PSI Modi (Gomtipur police station), Gomtipur police station, Amraiwadi police station, PI Patel (Amraiwadi police station).

Ramol Khanwadi Relief Camp

There were around 2,500 refugees from the Khokhra Housing Society (200 homes burnt), Soneni Chawl, Janata Nagar, Gafoor Basti (200 homes gutted), Ansar Nagar (200 homes gone), when I visited the camp on March 6.

The government has given shoot at sight order. Anybody who tries to take the law into their own hands will be shot at sight.

Narendra Modi; (Is Waqt: March 1, 2002)

Until that day, no FIR had been recorded by the police, nothing by way of relief had been received from the collector. Residents of the camp recalled how 12-15 rickshaws had also been burnt on February 28. On March 6, in anticipation of the visit of former prime minister, VP Singh, the collector had sent some dal, some rice and some oil, which arrived in our presence.



Hospitals and hate

Scenes at some public hospitals in Mumbai (the KEM hospital in Lower Parel was one such) during the bleak days of December 1992 and January 1993 were symptoms of the blind hatred that led to the macabre dances of deaths on the streets. Some medical practitioners simply refused to treat the critically injured from the 'wrong community' saying, "Let them be. It is 1,000 years of hatred finally coming out."

Ahmedabad's civil hospital (Sola Civil Hospital) received the bodies of the 'martyred' *kar setaks* at 8 a.m. on February 28. The venue became the scene for sharp and focussed anger that quickly progressed into the raising of hate-filled slogans. The VHP organised a religious ceremony where its vice-president, Acharya Giriraj Kishore said that the day's violence was 'a natural outburst'. He also said that 'Islamic terrorism was responsible for the Godhra incident and that Hindus had acted with restraint.' (*The Times of India*, March 1).

Soon after the bodies of the *kar seraks* had been cremated, from the evening of the same day, the bodies of another set of victims came pouring in, this time bearing another identity. They were Muslims from Chamanpura, Rakhial, Bapunagar, Behrampura, and late, at night, Naroda Gaon and Naroda Patiya.

The borders drawn within Ahmedabad have ensured a severely ghettoised existence. This has been an unfortunate fact for the past three decades and it has had serious implications for inter-community interaction and relations. In the recent state-sponsored genocide, it was used cleverly by large, well-organised and well-armed mobs numbering several thousand, through bloodshed, violence and intimidation, to restrict the passage of ambulances from the inner, old city into either the Vadilal Sarabhai Hospital or the Sola Civil Hospital. This was another cruel method of preventing victims from receiving urgent medical attention.

At least six injured persons rescued from Chamanpura (Gulberg Society, where Ehsan Jaffri was cut to pieces and burnt), told this writer that the VS hospital had refused them treatment, demanding that a police statement be obtained first. This, from a group of persons who had been brutalised and traumatised, having been witness to 60-70 of their close relations or neighbours stripped, raped, cut into pieces, and burned alive!

An eyewitness living at Jamalpur told this writer, "the worst conduct was at the Sola Civil Hospital. Here Bharti behn and Anita behn, both BJP corporators (Bharti behn is from Mani Nagar), were actually telling doctors whom to treat or not to treat." At the VS hospital, which gave more access to the minorities initially (due to the presence of Congress corporators on the controlling board), treatment was gradually denied to Muslims due to intimidation by mobs".

Even in the second week of April, while violence in the city of Ahmedabad has trickled down to stray incidents, fear

stalks public spaces and hospitals, schools, government offices and even the Gujarat High Court. They all remain venues for overt expressions of religious hatred. On April 11, eyewitness accounts told *CC* that 15-20 strong menacing groups, armed with unsheathed swords, stalk the corridors of the VS Hospital each night. No one challenges them. They do not directly harm or kill. But the message goes out through nurses and class IV staff that this area is out of bounds for the marked. And in Gujarat today it is clear who the marked men, women and children are.

Interestingly, both Pravin Togadia, the international general secretary of the VHP and his second-in-command, Dr Jaideep Patel, are doctors by profession.

Place: Ahmedabad

Witness: Sharief Khan, Noble Ambulance Trust

(Interviewed at Jamalpur, Ahmedahad on March 5)

We own two ambulances and work for any injured person, regardless of community. At Dani Limda (Ali Shaan), Char Rasta, the police was harassing us right from February 28 and until today (March 5) the harassment has not stopped.

Till yesterday we were recovering burnt and mutilated corpses, reduced to bare bones; four people were burnt alive in Behrampura. At the Civil Hospital, we were retreated very badly and many bodies of victims were disposed off within 24 hours without waiting for records to be completed.

One PSI, Pathan, stopped us from visiting the affected areas. Near Calico Mill, there is a place called Bawa Lababi, a historical place. At this spot, we were actually prevented from visiting Dani Limda Char Rasta, Sardarbridge and Calico.

We are a registered trust, we have a curfew pass; we told the police that we have our own ambulance, but it made no difference.

In August 2001, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal had organized a I HP Bharti (Join VHP) programme. Nearly one lakh people marched through the streets of Ahmedabad even though curfew was declared. This went on until September. One of the main programmes was held at the VHP's Vanikar Bhavan, Paldi. Their main arahan (call) was, "Muslim ko nasht kar do." ("Destroy the Muslims!"). Ads were also released, asking for membership. How come they can violate the law and storm the streets even when there is curfew? And we cannot even help the injured? Do the minorities have no right to a life of dignity and good health in India any more?

On Feb. 28, we must have received some 2,000-2,500, calls between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. Each time, we called up the Police Control. Kumkum Hotel was surrounded by a mob; we kept petitioning different sections but nobody listened.

The police turned a deaf car to all our pleas. Wherever I went in my ambulance, for some 24-48 hours, I saw the same kind of mob in different localities in Ahmedabad.

It was *not* the usual mob that Ahmedabad has seen during riots; it was a full-fledged deployment of a highly organised mob. The numbers were large and the actions were coordinated.

I even saw women members of the Durga Vahini at CG Road and Ashram Road. Out of the mob of 4-5000 here, 60 per cent were women and they were looting and burning shops.

Naroda, Meghani Nagar, Saraspur, Bapunagar, Sundaramnagar, Vatwa and Isanpur: I personally saw 10-12 masjids broken down and 12-15 magaars damaged. I saw the 75-year-old masjid (Madni Masjid, Vasna Road, Paldi) over which there is a court case pending, also broken down.

Not only that, bulldozers have removed the debris and a pueca road has been paved in its place. Other people, who are eyewitnesses, say that the Revenue Minister Haren Pandya directed this act. In a city where garbage is accumulating for 10 days because of the violence, how come the AMC authorities have the time to collect debris, tar the road with such efficiency?

(It is alleged that the Municipal Commissioner Panneer Velam, an IAS officer, and the deputy Municipal Commissioner (west zone) Hingradia who are public servants, were ordered to do this act.)

Assailants identified: Member of the Durga Vahini,

Police/officials indicted: Haren Pandya (Revenue Minister), Panneer Velam (Municipal Commissioner, an IAS officer), deputy municipal commissioner (west zone) Hingradia, PSI Pathan, Police Control Room.

Place: Gomtipur, Ahmedabad

Witness: Dr Ishaq Sheikh, Vice-president, Al Ameen Garib Niwas General Hospital

(Interviewed at Jamalpur and then from Mumbai on March 7 and 14)

On February 28, I was in our 40-bed hospital. Right from 12.30 p.m. there was a flood of patients – virtually a patient per minute. No one, not even those seriously injured and in need of better treatment than we could provide, could risk going beyond us. Bloody-minded and bloodthirsty mobs kept stopping them and threatening them with dire consequences.

Twice on the 28th I tried to drive a serious patient to the Vadilal Sarabhai hospital in my ambulance. At Raipur we were attacked. This was between 4 and 5 p.m. On a second occasion on the same day, we met the mayor, Himmat Singh, at Vadilal. He then called for an ambulance of the corporation to help us. We had made repeated pleas to the mayor, since twelve persons had already died. An ambulance is designed to carry one person but we were forced to carry even four.

Our doctors were utterly and completely over-stretched but they worked tirelessly. At times, 4-7 seriously injured

patients were in one operation theatre at the same time! Ambulances were not enough. We had to galvanise *dudh ka vans* (milk vans) and carry 4-5 patients in each one of them.

Haroon, a young boy who was shot, lived near Usha Talkies. We used a milk van belonging to a Hindu to take him to hospital. The fire brigade Gomtipur, and the Home Guard, had to break through the mob that had shot him. The mob would keep stopping us saying, "Isko maro, isko jalao" ("Get him, burn him!.") PI Jadhav of Gomtipur was hardly up to his job. After this incident, when we could barely reach our patients to VS or Civil hospitals.

A 14 year old boy, Nascer, was cut to pieces when he was caught between stone throwing mobs of Muslims and Hindus. They simply killed him and burned him. In all, on the first day, 22 persons died between Chartola kabrastan and Paravistar alone. Over 45 died in police firing and over 30 through private firing from the mob on the first day alone in Ahmedabad. We have had to remove bullets fired from privately owned guns.

It was the injustice of the police that caused the worst damage. If the police were to act fairly and take stringent measures, matters could be controlled within minutes. But that did not happen, the police are responsible for the greatest injustice.

Today, the health services face another problem. There is a severe problem of poor nutrition and poor water supply. Children are suffering from jaundice, a water-borne disease, dehydration and diarrhea. One child died in a camp recently. Our monthly expenditure has increased from Rs 2.5 lakh to 4 lakh. But we have not taken even a rupee, this is *insaam khidmat*. We feel that because we are the one hospital that is doing good work, even though small, we are being targetted so that victims of violence suffer and die.

My plea is both to Allah and Bhagwan: Yeh Hindustan nahin hain (This is not India). What has happened? I feel that once and for all we Muslims should be asked to join the army and fight Pakistan. One crore Muslims will join the army so that once and for all the allegation that we are traitors, anti-national etc. is put behind us.

On February 28, we started receiving desperate calls from Naroda. They were frantic. One call was from one Nissarbhai. "If we are not saved today before nightfall, 2-2,500 will be slaughtered." A Hindu *bhai* from the area, Veer Singh, told me later that 100-150 persons had been burnt alive and thrown into the well which was then closed up. The Naroda victims are at Shah Alam, Dariakhan ki Ghumat, and Bhaiyal.

So many unknown persons, like one Rajendrabhai Trivedi, living near our hospital, helped us tremendously. Since the 28th we have maintained peace; we tell our people, bear the suffering, do not retaliate. This time will pass. And yes, we must fight for truth and justice.

Many FIRs have been filed to my knowledge, with leaders like Rana Telecom, Mayaben Kotdani, Gordhan Zhadepia (Home Minister), Babu Zhadepia and PravinTogadia being named. These are the persons who were seen organising and

leading the mobs, paying the cadres, training them to fight meanly and kill brutally. These are not Hindus. Saat suthre Hindu nahin kar sakte aise zulm.

PravinTogadia owns the Togadia Dhanavantri hospital at India Colony. On the 28th, I saw an ad. slide of his shown on Citicable asking all doctors and nurses to report to his hospital. Was this part of a plan? Why did he want more doctors and nurses? Or did he want them to stay away from our hospitals?

We have, in normal times, 21 doctors who consult and treat on different days of the week. Now, in the last eight days — except Nalin Shah and Gaurang Patel (radiologist) — no Hindu doctor has come here. They are either unable to or terrified or fear reprisal from these lawless leaders.

Mera imaan yeh kahta hai ki aaj nahi to kal/aise Hindustani saamne ayenge/aur woh munh toda jawaab woh Hindustani denge/zabardast jawaab denge ham sab milkar/phir unko hi Hindustan chodna padega (I earnestly believe a day will come/there will emerge Indians in our midst to give them a fitting rejoinder/we all shall give such a fitting rejoinder/that 'They' will then have to flee from the country).

(Second interview with Dr Ishaq Sheikh, on April 3—the eve of PM Atal Behari Vajpayee's highly publicised visit, when he was beaten by the Ahmedabad police while was trying to ferry victims of police firing to hospital).

I received a phone call at about 2.45 p.m. At 3.05 p.m. I took the first ambulance to Shamser Bag (Gomtipur). Two persons had been shot in the leg and I brought them to the hospital. By the time I returned, four had been shot, one of whom died in police firing. This was zabardasti. I saw it with my own eyes. I saw advocate Nizam shot dead in his house. I tried to take one of the victims, who is a heart patient, in my ambulance, when the SRP and police started beating me. The SRP man who was firing started abusing me. He claimed I must have arms hidden in the ambulance. They searched it. Then pulled me out, dragged me out with my hair. Hit me on the head with the rifle butt.

Inspector Modi and Inspector Parmar were there. This happened in the presence of the RAE. They kept saying I was doing something wrong. They had a video camera with them. Is rescuing the injured wrong? Is taking the dead for a dignified burial wrong? Finally, an Army Major rescued me and told me to go.

Today, in one day, the police shot at 29 persons. In my

hospital, we have 11. Shifted them to VS, where one died. Yeh ek limit ho gaya, logon ka phaayda liya ja raha hai. Iska ant kya hoga? (Things are have gone beyond the limit. How will all this end?). How could advocate Nizam have been shot dead in his house unless it was a calculated act of the police? There was no mob when the police fired.

What is happening in Gujarat is not communal riots but people's answer to Islamic Jihad.

Pravin Togadia; VHP International General Secretary; (The Asian Age, Delhi; April 2, 2002)

There was firing and we were rescuing. I told the police when they were abusing me, Aap ka kaam goli maarna, Mera farz hai insaanon ka jaan hachana (Your job is to kill, mine is to save lives).

Assailants identified: PravinTogadia

Policemen indicted: SRP jawan, Inspector Modi Inspector Parmar, RAF (all while on duty at Shamser Bag, Gomtipur, April 3.)

Place: Farmhouse, Kamol-Pirana road, Daskroi taluka, Ahmedabad district

Witness: Syedbhai Salimbhai Jumakhan Pathan

(Interviewed at the farmhouse on Kamol-Pirana road on March 8).

My farmhouse at Kamol-Pirana Road, taluka Daskroi, Ahmedabad district, has been completely burnt down. I phoned the PSI RH Sharma of Aslali Div. several times but he openly said that only if the farmhouse is burnt will he get money! My phone lines were cut and all the destruction took place despite my assuring one Kantibhai Bharwad (who lives at the corner of Kamod) that I would pay him one lakh rupees to protect my farms.

He had phoned me on February 28, saying that my farmhouse is under threat but if I was willing to pay Rs 2 lakh he will protect it. I am a businessman and my attitude was that it's worth paying if I could thus cut my losses. But despite Bharwad's assurance, others called me up urging me to visit my farm. The destruction had already been carried out for over two days; my labourers Ramesh and Chagan were terrified witnesses of the same.

When I went to the farm on March 2, my farmhouse, I found I had already suffered a loss of about Rs 30-35 lakh. Over 12,500 poultry birds were taken away, my godown full with tons of *dhani* (poultry feed) had been torched. I went back a second time with my brother and wiremen. Loot chalu thi (Loot was going on) and as we entered the farmhouse driveway, I suddenly heard shouts, 'Seth aya, mardalo!' ('Seth has come, kill him!'). I reacted fast, reversed my car at full speed and escaped narrowly. I saw that there was a 150 strong mob all carrying axes, sickle and *dhanas*.

Of the 45,000 poultry birds I had, 12,500 have been stolen. The destruction was premeditated and thorough. Every source of water and electricity supply to the farm had been cut. Today, ten days after the incident, my birds are thirsty and the fire in the grain godown is still burning. The farm used to be like a paradise;

fifty fountains keeping it cool even in summer. To rebuild everything will require resolve. The total loss that I have suffered touches Rs 60 lakh.

Property looted/destroyed: Rs. 60 lakh

The accused: Kantibhai Bharwad.

Policemen indicted: PSI RH Sharma of Aslali Div.

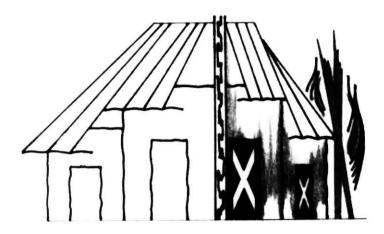


Victim-survivors from Naroda Pativa and Naroda Gaon; Shah Alam Relief Camp



Victim-survivors from Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon; Shah Alam Relief Camp

Panchmahal



Place: Dairol kasha, Kalol taluka, Panchmahal district Witness: Bhalabhai

(CC has a copy of this heart-wrenching account of the survivors entitled: Facts About Corpses Found Near The Canal Beyond Dairol Town — An Irreligious Act — A Heinous, Terrifying, Mind Boggling Incident'.

'The heart-rending story, which would put even the devil to shame, of the fate which befell, near Dairol, a family of labourers who escaped from Limkheda town to save their lives and take the shelter of humanity.'

On Friday, March 1, realising that Limkheda was not safe, 17 of us left our house surreptitiously and took the train to Pandu, a town in Kalol taluka near Dairol station. From Dairol, one has to take a rickshaw or bus to go to Pandu.

As soon as we got off at Dairol station, we saw there was no security here also. Even as we wondered what to do, we saw a murderous crowd coming towards us. So we started running to save our lives. One of us, Anwar Khan Walimohammed Khan Pathan, aged about 50 years, was caught, sprayed with kerosene and burnt alive.

On the way, just outside Dairol town, as we passed the houses of the harijans, we saw a crowd bearing swords, bamboos, daggers, sticks and sharp instruments and carrying in their hands petrol and diesel-kerosene tins, rushing towards us. Then, they started beating and herding us towards the canal. Once there, they first committed base acts with our mothers and sisters and then killed them by cutting them up in pieces.

Boys aged 7 to 12, escaped from their clutches and hid in the maize farms of the Kanatias, near the canal. Bhalabhai, who lives near the Kanatia road heard our cries and he sheltered us in his house for six days.

On March 7, he brought police inspector Kotwal to his house and Bhalabhai handed over to him the six children whom he had sheltered. The PI took the children safely to

their relative, Ganimiyan Ibrahim Mithi Malek.

The boys who were saved by Bhalabhai narrated these facts. The latter recorded them.

The names of the children who were abused but who survived:

- 1. Mohsin Khan Majid Khan Pathan (10)
- 2. Shahrukh Yasin Khan Pathan (7)
- 3. Avvub Khan Yasin Khan Pathan (12)
- 4. Farzana bibi Yasin Khan Pathan (11)
- 5. Mustafa Khan Yusuf Khan Pathan (12)
- 6. Sirai Khan Hussein Khan Pathan (8)

The deceased: 11 from a family of 17 killed.

- 1. Khatoonbibi Hussainkhan Pathan (40)
- Akbarkhan Hussainkhan Pathan (25)
- Laibunnisha Akbarkhan Pathan (18)
- 4. Yusufkhan Avyubkhan Pathan (14)
- Rihanaben Akbarkhan Pathan (50)
- Anwarkhan Walimohammed Pathan (20)
- Sitara Majidkhan Pathan (12)
- 8. Noorjehan Majitkhan Pathan (14)
- 9. Imrankhan Majitkhan Pathan (15)
- 10. Afsanaben Yasınkhan Pathan (20)
- 11. Jariefkhan Yasinkhan Pathan (18)

Place: Dairol kasba, Kalol taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Maulana Ilyasbhai

(Interviewed at Jambusar Relief Camp on March 22)

A total of 368 Muslims were residents of the village. On March 1, we were attacked by a 5-6,000 strong mob. I managed to hide in the nearby jungle from where I saw all the gruesome killings. A total of 38 persons were burned alive. There is no Muslim living in the village now, so it is very difficult to get full details on this incident.

The deceased: 38 persons burnt to death.

Place: Dairol kasba, Kalol taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Anwar Wali Mohammed Sheikh

(Interviewed at Godbra Relief Camp on March 22)

We were trying to escape on foot when we were attacked at Dairol station. I lost most of my family, I was 1. ½ kms. behind the rest. They beat me up and left me. My family, which was ahead, tried to take refuge in the house of a harijan. But they were chased by the mob along the Nehr Narmada Canal with guptus and dhariyas and 14 persons were brutally killed.

I was at the rail phatak, I could hear screams. I was attacked twice. Malik uparwala janata hai ki hamare pariwar ke char chote, chote bacchiyon ke sath kya suluk kiya. (God knows the treatment they gave to four small girl children from my family). They first killed and then burnt them. I stayed in Dahod for one whole week. Of my joint family of 20 members, one person is with me here and five are in Halol. The other 14 have been killed.

The deceased: 14 members of a family of 20 wiped out.

Place: Pandharwada village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Habib Rasool

(Interviewed at Godbra Relief Camp on March 22)

Nearly 60-70 Muslims were butchered on March 1, after a mob of local Patels, Panchals and Harijans (2-2,500) and some 3-4,000 tribal *bhai bandh* attacked our village. We were completely taken aback. One Patel told us to go to his farm where, he promised, we would be safe. But once we were there, he got our people attacked from all sides in the farm. Eight of my children were trapped there and I lost all of them. The *sarpanch*, Anil Modi was with the mob. They hit us, chased us, threw acid and burnt us. I somehow got saved. There are 13 families from Pandharwada in the relief camp. Ten persons who were burnt badly in acid attacks are in a serious condition in the Godhra Civil Hospital.

The deceased: 60-70 Muslims, including 8 children of witness Habib Rasool, killed.

The accused: Sarpanch Anil Modi and Patel.

Place: Pandharwada village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Umar Bhai Ashraf Bhai

(Interviewed at Godhra Relief Camp on March 22)

I am also from Pandharwada village. Another Patel, Mahindra Vakil, betrayed us by taking us to his farm and getting us killed. He told some of us in the village when the attack was imminent, "Come to my house, I will save you. My house has a 10 foot high boundary wall and you will be safe." So, 60-70 people, especially women and children, went there. The moment we got inside, he locked us from outside and blocked the entrance door with timber logs.

After some time we heard shouts and screams. The attacks began, in which many people succumbed. A two-year-old girl was burnt alive. If some of our young men had not worked

very hard to get us out of the trap, it would have been an even bigger tragedy.

What was the administration doing? There are about 1,200 villages in Panchmahal district and in about 400 of them there was similar violence.

The deceased: 'Many people' died a gruesome death. A two-year-old girl was burnt alive.

The accused: Mahendra Vakil

Place: Pandharwada village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Mariam Aapa

(Interviewed at Godbra Relief Camp on March 22)

I was inside Mahendra Vakil's house when I saw him calling a mob of 25-30 persons to attack us with acid. This, after he had told us he will keep us safely in his house. I was hiding in the bathroom but my sister Zora was the victim of bad acid burning and now she is in the Lunavada camp.

For three days no policemen came. Jaswant Patel, who owns the farm, should have been arrested immediately. By the way, in our village, on Thursday day itself, telephone wires were cut and in Mora village, STD lines were cut. At 9 p.m. in Mora village, the lights were also put out. The day before, some persons had warned us that electricity will go and the phones will be cut, so beware. Therefore, all the attacks must have been planned.

I think about 100 people were killed from our village alone. All the families have been separated. Many young men were killed and only women are left now.

The deceased: 'I think about 100 people were killed from our village alone'.

The accused: Mahendra Vakil and Jaswant Patel.

Place: Pandharwada village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Yusufbhai Abdulbhai Saiyed

(Interviewed at Lunavada Relief Camp at Kalol on March 22)

I lost my father in the incident at Pandharwada where nearly 30-40 persons were killed inside Mahendra Vakil's house. My father was killed with a sword slashing his head. My brother was also murdered. (During his interview, Yusufbhai showed a huge gash on his back; some of his teeth were broken and his jaw was fractured). Though 30-40 persons were murdered, police say only 12 people are killed.

The deceased: Father and brother of Yusufbhai Abdulbhai Saived among 30-40 others killed.

The accused: Mahendra Vakil.

Place: Pandharwada village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Akhtar Hussain Najeem Khan

(Interviewed at Godhra Relief Camp on March 22)

It was 12 in the afternoon and I was with about 200 people, mostly women, inside. I could see from the grill

outside, how he was summoning the crowd to attack us. Broken glass pieces, acid, kerosene was flung at the victims before setting them on fire. For 3-4 hours, I saw everything.

My wife and two children are here with me but 11 of my family members are missing. I cannot bear the thought, but I even saw dogs eating the copses. The *taluka panchayat pramukh* of Khanpur, Jaswant Manilal Patel (BJP), took away 25 corpses and burnt them.

The deceased: 25 corpses burnt; 11 members of a single family missing.

The accused: Jaswant Manilal Patel (BJP), taluka panchayat pramukh, Khanpur.

Place: Pandharwada village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Noor-un-Nissa (12 years old)

(Interviewed at Godhra Relief Camp on March 22)

We were in the farm when lots of people came shouting and started attacking us. My chacha (uncle) fell down and some men placed a sword on my father's neck. We were trying to run up the hill to save our lives. Allah saved us. I remember seeing a woman crying because her baby was thirsty. I did not see them after that. My mother was with me and so was my khala (aunt). My father is alive but my uncle was killed in front of us.

I was begging everybody, "Please don't kill my father, please don't kill my mother!" One Fakirbhai, who is a flourmill worker had his head chopped off. I almost fainted out of exhaustion when one Bhil told me to run away fast. Two adivasis took me into their house. They changed my dress and made me put on a lengha. The crowd came and started shouting, "Nikalo, nikalo!". But they said there is no Muslim in the house. Then the police arrived and I got saved.

The deceased: Fakirbhai and chacha of Noor un Nisa beheaded.

Place: Pandharwada village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Akeela, Halima, Sheikh Faiz Mohammedbhai Ahmedbhai.

(Interviewed at Kalol Relief Camp on March 22)

Akeela: My husband Yasinbhai, was killed; they sliced his head off with a sword. He was a daily wage earner. I have two small daughters and one son – Anisa (7), Nilofer (6) and Waris (5). After killing my husband, they tried to rape me.

They threw me on top of my husband and my three children were flung in the gutter. I managed to run up the hill with my three children who are now in the camp with me.

Halima Aapa: The persons responsible for the murder of so many of our people in the farm are Pramilal, Jaswant Manilal Patel, Arvind Patel, Mansukh Bhai Chamunda and Sanjay. Their betrayal of all of us was amazing. They called us, promised to save us and then organised the attack

Akeela's husband had been working for 15 years in Mansukh Chamunda's house in Rajkot but was not paid any money. Apart from me, the other eyewitnesses to the whole massacre in the farmland are: Yakubbhai Gulambhai Saiyed, Yusufbhai Abdulbhai Saiyed and Sheikh Faiz Mohammedbhai Ahmedbhai.

Sheikh Faiz Mohammedbhai Ahmedbhai saw with his own eyes, his uncle and aunt — Sheikh Habibbhai Ashrafbhai Bismillah Habibbhai and Dulanbibi Ashrafbhai – chopped to pieces and then burnt. They were surrounded by a gang of 5.7,000 people who killed mercilessly; even our animals were not spared in our homes.

I was in the farm when men carrying danyas and swords attacked my son, Jabbirbhai Ghanibhai, father of 5 children. They killed my son and I ran. I have nobody but Allah left now. My brother in-law was also killed in the farm and so were Abdul Karim chacha and Sadiq Khan. My daughter-in-law, Jamila is missing. I have no family member left with me. We got no help from the police that day. There is a police outpost at Pandharwada with two policemen who did nothing. When I went to the Khanpur police station, I was simply told, "Tum tumhari jaan bachhao" ("You save your own skin.")

Sheikh Faiz Mohammedhhai Ahmedhhai: My wife was burnt with a solvent. Jabbir Kalos, a one-and-a-half-month old baby was also thrown into the fire but I pulled her out and handed her back to her mother, Madina. Another small girl, Nafisa, was also thrown out in the fire; I pulled her out too.

The VHP district president hails from Bakor, 3 km from Pandharwada. He is, today a resident of Godhra. He is responsible for much of the havoc caused in the villages.

Similar tragedies have taken place in Vispur, Umet, Modasa, Lunavada, Kapadwani, Malpur and Khanpur. Four persons who had gone for a wedding to Vispur are missing. The Godhra-Modasa highway which branches off into two roads that go to Rajasthan (at Balaliya and Ratanpur), saw complete destruction, as mobs targetted trucks. Other transport vehicles were also targetted and burnt, with their Muslim drivers inside them. On this road, there is heavy traffic and the destruction of life, goods and vehicles was massive.

The deceased: Yasınbhai beheaded. Sheikh Habibbhai Ashrafbhai Bismillah Habibbhai and Dulanbibi Ashrafbhai chopped to pieces and then burnt. Jabbirbhai Ghanibhai, killed

with dariyas and swords. Wife of Sheikh Faiz Mohammedbhai Ahmedbhai burnt with a solvent.

Jabbirbhai Ghanibhai's wife Jamila, missing.

The accused: Pramilal, Jaswant Manilal Patel, Arvind Patel, Mansukh Bhai, Chamunda, Sanjay, the VHP district president, Godhra.

Today 15 zillas were completely incident free. In 16-17 places curfew is being lifted. Ahmedabad after last night has been in a way incident free.

Narendra Modi, (Is Waqt; March 02, 2002)

Place: Randhikpur, Panchmahal district

Witness: Bilkees (19-year-old). Rabia, her neighbour and relative, was with her at the time of the interview.

(Interviewed at Godhra Relief Camp on March 22)

On the highway just outside the village we were set upon by a mob and 14 persons from my family were butchered and killed — 7 from my father's family and 7 from my inlaws' side. All the women and young girls, including my 3 1 2 -year-old baby, were raped before being killed. They did the same thing to me, and if I am alive, it is only because after attacking me, they left me, thinking I was dead.

My aunt, my mother, my three sisters all met with the same fate. I am 5-6 months pregnant. My husband and inlaws were away for Id. My husband came to meet me yesterday. All the other villagers, including Rabia's family, had fled the day before, but we stayed behind because my aunt's daughter was about to deliver. That delay has cost us everything. I have filed a complaint with the police but I don't know whether I will get justice.

Bilkees' FIR, addressed to the DSP, Dahod, reads:

"I, the complainant, am married to Yakub Rasul Patel, resident of Kapdi *falia*, Baria. We had a daughter named Saleha who was aged 3 ½ years. My mother's home is in Randhikpur *taluka*, Dahod.

"On February 23, it being Id, I had gone with my little girl to my mother's home. On February 27, because of the incident at Godhra Railway station, there was tension and violence in the surrounding villages. In order to save our lives, at about 10 o'clock in the morning on February 28, a total of 16 people from our house — I, my two sisters and two brothers, our mother, my little girl, my maternal uncle, my paternal aunt and her husband and their daughters — left Randhikpur for Baria on foot. As we came to know that there was violence everywhere on the way, we stopped at Bijal Damor in Chuddi village. Around midnight, we went and hid in Kuvajar mosque.

"The daughter of my paternal aunt who was pregnant, gave birth to a girl. Around 10 o'clock the next morning, we went to Khudra and stayed with adivasis for two days. After two days, early in the morning, we came to Chhaparwad. We were walking down a kutcha road to save our lives.

While passing between two hills, two vehicles came in the direction of Chhaparwad and Randhikpur, with 30-40 people in them. This included Shailesh Bhat, Raju Soni, Lala doctor, Govind Nana, Jaswant Navi, Lalo Vakil, who is the son of Bhagu Kuverji and Kesar Khima, Baka Khima Vasava. All of them are from Randhikpur so we recognised them. The others were from Chhaparwad, whose names we did not know, but whom I would recognise if I see them.

"All had lethal weapons in their hands — swords, spears, scythes, sticks, daggers, bows and arrows. They started screaming, "Kill them, Cut them up." They raped my two

sisters and me and behaved in an inhuman way with my uncle and aunt's daughters. They tore our clothes and raped eight of us. Before my very eyes they killed my 3 ½ year-old daughter.

"The people who raped me are Shailesh Bhatt, Lala doctor, Lala Vakil and Govind Navi, all of whom I know very well. After raping me, they beat me up. Having been injured in the head, I fainted. They left, assuming I was dead.

"After two to three hours, when I regained consciousness, on seeing the corpses of my family members, I was terrified. I climbed up the hill and stayed there the whole night.

"In the morning, when the police came to know about this attack, they came to take the corpses and found me alive. As all my clothes were torn, they brought me some clothes from the house of an adivasi staying at the foot of the hill. Then they brought me to Limkheda and from there I was brought to the relief camp at Godhra.

"The above mentioned people raped my deceased sisters and me, as well as the daughters of my maternal uncle and my paternal aunt. They killed all the people except myself. For which reason I say that legal action should be taken against the above mentioned people."

The deceased: 15 of a family butchered. All women victims, including a 3 1/2 -year-old baby, raped before being killed.

The accused: Shailesh Bhat, Raju Soni, Lala doctor, Govind Nana, Jaswant Navi, Lalo Vakil, who is the son of Bhagu Kuverji and Kesar Khima, Baka Khima Vasava (all from Randhikpur).

Place: Eral Gaon, Kalol taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Mustafa Ismailbhai

(Interviewed at Kalol Relief Camp on March 22)

Seven persons from my family have been killed. Shabana, my 18 year-old daughter, was raped in front of my wife, Madinabibi Mustafa, before being killed. Two of my sons and my wife survived. I am a driver by profession and was out when the incident happened.

My daughter Shabana, Ismail Master, Uribibi, Adambhai Ibrahimbhai (my brother-in-law), Rukaiya Adambhai (my sister), Tajoobibi and Suhanabibi were all killed. Tajoobibi's four-year-old son's finger was cut off. I filed an FIR at Kalol taluka police station but even after 22 days there has been no arrest.

My wife who is an eyewitness has named the following accused:

The deceased: Seven members of a family killed, including Shabana (18) who was raped in front of her mother, then killed.

The accused: Rajubhai Vithalbhai Talati, Purshottambhai Gordhanbhai Parmar, Ganabhai Chandubhai Parmar, Bhailalbhai Maganbhai and Narendra Singh Chandulal. Place: Sanjeli, Kalol Taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Sharief Khan Pathan

(Interviewed at Godbra Relief Camp on March 22)

Sanjeli has a population of around 550 Hindus and the same number of Muslims. For two full days on March Land 2, a 10-12,000 strong mob armed with swords and guns wreaked havoc in the village. 13-14 people were killed. The police did nothing. We have faith only in Allah.

Whatever happened in Godhra, we did not want that. All of us from Sanjeli, about 550 Muslims, are in Dahod camp. Sanjeli was cordoned off for two whole days, it was the Dahod DSP who took us to the camp in his car. The destruction of the homes in Sanjeli is the worst. In the villages of Dahod taluka too, or Kalol in which Sanjeli, Piplot, Bandibad, Vasia, Garbada are, 2,500-3,000 strong mobs have gone on the rampage in these villages.

In Vasta village, there are only 12 Muslim homes amidst 2-300 adivasis. On March 2, between 8 a.m. and 10 a.m., a crowd of 3-5,000 attacked us and started looting. Somehow, the 12 Muslim families escaped but the Dahod police station has not registered an FIR.

The deceased: 13/14 people killed.

Policemen indicted: Sanjeli and Dahod police.

Place: Malay Gaon, Kalol taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Mustafa Abdul Sheikh

(Interviewed at Kalol Relief Camp on March 22)

On March 1, 35 homes were burnt. We escaped to Kalol where the police refused to register FIR. Dilip Babu Shah and Ulhas Dava Patel were arrested and let off.

Property looted/destroyed: 35 homes burnt.

The accused: Dilip Babu Shah and Ulhas Dava Patel.

Policemen indicted: Kalol police station.

Place: Mora village, Morvad Hadap, Panchmahal district

Witness: Sulemanbhai Yusuf

(Interviewed at Godhra Relief Camp on March 22)

The village has 35 houses and one *mastid*. When the attack took place, the collector, Jayanthi Ravi, managed to save the *mastid* and 2-3 houses. There were big mobs indulging in violence.

Property looted/destroyed: Over 30 houses destroyed.

Place: Mora village, Morvad Hadap, Panchmahal district

Witness: Salauddin Gurji

(Interviewed at Godbra Relief Camp on March 22)

I personally saw Amrishbhai Panchal (BJP *mahamantri*), Bipinbhai Bhoi (BJP), Kantilal Rana (BJP), Vinod Ambalal Bhoi (Bajrang Dal, president) and Vikrambhai Dindod (BJP delegate from Rajasthan). They were the main perpetrators of the violence. On Thursday (February 28) night, they left Godhra with two jeeps full of people and carried the Sandesh article and pamphlets with them. SI Mora and SI Damod along with two constables, Nawat Singh and Mafatlal, were the ones who were their open supporters.

The accused: Amrishbhai Panchal (BJP mahamantri), Bipinbhai Bhoi (BJP), Kantilal Rana (BJP), Vinod Ambalal Bhoi (Bajrang Dal, president) and Vikrambhai Dindod (BJP, Rajasthan).

Policemen indicted: 81 Mora, 81 Damod, constable Nawat Singh, constable Matatlal.

Place: Mora village, Morvad Hadap, Panchmahal district

Witness: Moinuddin

(Interviewed at Godbra Relief Camp on March 22)

On the day of the Gujarat bandh people in motorcycles were moving around the whole district with xerox copies of the *Vandesh* (Gujarati daily) banner headlines and stories provoking people because of the attack on the train. They were selling these copies for Rs 2. In our village, 117 houses were looted and then burnt.

We took shelter in the local *masjul*; they tried to attack us with burning tyres but somehow we got saved. The SRP and police, which have posts in every village, did nothing to protect us.

The crowd that attacked us came from outside but they were lead by the *sarpanches* from five tribal villages: Veramya village *sarpanch* (Congress); Suliyat village *sarpanch* (Congress); the Mora village *sarpanch* (Independent); Deloch village *sarpanch* (BIP); and Rajaita village *sarpanch* (BIP).

Property looted/destroyed: 117 houses were looted and then burnt.

The accused: Sarpanches from the tribal villages of Veramya, Sulivat, Mora, Deloch and Rajaita.

Policemen indicted: 'The SRP and police, which have posts in every village, did nothing to protect us.'

Place: Bagliwada, Vejalpur, Kalol, Panchmahal district

Witness: Haji Abdullah Bagli, an elderly trader

(This FIR has been sent by Registered AD to Kalol taluka PSI, Kalol post, Kalol; Home Minister, GS, New Sachwalaya, Gandhinagar; Panchmahak zilla collector, Godhra and the Chairman, National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi, CC has a copy).

FIR: We complainants live in the area around the big mosque. Other Muslim families, too, live and work in the same area. Hindu organisations had called a bandh on February 28, to protest against the Sabarmati Express killings in Godhra. In the communal violence that engulfed Gujarat from February 27 itself, in every city and village, various groups killed members of the minority community, looted and burnt their properties. Vejalpur village, too, suffered.

On the afternoon of March 1, the below-mentioned

accused, leading a violent crowd armed with lethal weapons, tins of petrol, diesel and kerosene, attacked the complainant's neighbourhood. They were screaming: "Kill Muslims, loot their property and burn it."

The accused incited the crowd and they attacked us. As a result, a total of 80 buildings in Bagliwada *falia* and the *falia* near the big mosque were burned down, causing damage of more than one crore. Please take necessary steps against these accused.

The accused formed a group and schemed and we stand as witnesses to the looting and arson in our respective areas and we can question all the people and get the exact extent of the damages. Because of the prevailing state of unease and fear since February 27, we could not lodge a complaint personally; witnesses to the looting and burning are as follows: Ishaq Mohammed Badna, Iqbal master, Firojbhai Gada and M. Majid Ibrahim Padwa.

Property looted/destroyed: Estimated at Rs. 1 crore.

The accused: 1) Vinu Budha Patel, next to Shreeji Tiles Factory, Vejalpur, taluka Kalol, zilla paneh; 2) Amarsinh Budhabhai Patel, Next to Shreeji Tiles Factory, Vejalpur, taluka Kalol, zilla paneh; 3) Santosh Rama Vaghri, Vaghriwad, Tejalpur, taluka Kalol; 4) Anand Rama Vaaghri, Vaghriwad, Tejalpur, taluka Kalol; 5) Girish Varia Kanti Kantawala, Kheda falia, Vejalpur; taluka Kalol; 6) Dharmendra Jadav, Godhra Highway Road, Vejalpur, taluka Kalol; 7) Holo Barot (Garagewala); 8) Bahar faliyu, Vejalpur, taluka Kalol.

Place: Kuvajar, Morva (Hadap) taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Abdul Sattar Mohammed Hathila

(Has filed an FIR on March 7; CC has a copy. Presently at Iqual Pr. School Relief Camp Godhra).

FIR: We complainants were living at the above address and plying our tailors' trade and other miscellaneous business and living in the same village. On March 1, at about 9:30-10 p.m. at night, we heard shouts from the road: "Maro, kato, jalao, looto."

When we rushed out of the house, we saw a big crowd charging towards our house. On seeing this, we were taken aback and hid near our house. From there, we saw people from our own village, whom we well recognise, looting our house. After that, they sprayed petrol, kerosene and similar substances all over the house and torched it.

The accused: 1) Saratsingh Daulat (Kuvajar); 2) Rana Balwant (Kuvajar); 3) Arjan Bharat (Kuvajar); 4) Jaswant Singh Ramsingh (Chaupur); 5) Shauka Hira Parmar (Chaupur); 6) Babu Bhavsingh Vanjara (Khudra); 7) Amarsingh Patel (Khudra).

Place: Kuvajar, Morvad (Hadap) taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Ancesbhai Majidbhai Hathila

(Has filed an FIR with the DSP, Panchmahal, Registered AD on March 7; CC has a copy. Presently at Iqbal Pr. School Relief Camp, Godhra).

FIR: Please record our written complaint informing you that on March 1 around 12 midnight, we were in our house when

a large crowd of people arrived, screaming and shouting. They robbed the goods, gold and silver jewellery, household things and then set fire to the house. I know some of them whose names are as under. They were accompanied by many others whom we did not recognise. Please investigate the complaint and punish.

The accused: 1) Dayabhai Gangabhai (Khudra); 2) Chandubhai Sohanbhai (Chandpur); 3) Vinodbhai Chandubhai (Chandpur); 4) Jaswantsingh Jagalbhai (Chandpur); 5) Manglabhai Parsingbhai (Chandpur).

Place: Mora, Morvad (Hadap) taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Rukaiyya Bibi Ismail (45), farmer

(Has filed an FIR with the DSP, Panchmahal, Registered, AD. CC has a copy).

FIR: We complainants complain to you that we reside in Mora, taluka Morvad (Hadap), zilla Panchmahal. We are doing farming and business from the time of our forefathers.

On March 2, there was devastation in Mora village. The total damage due to the loot and destruction of our house and shop is around Rs. 1,50,000.

The persons named below incited the adivasis of the surrounding villages to loot our property and the goods in our shops and damaged our property. They were shouting that Muslims and Bohras should be burned alive and their property and shops should be looted. We saw and heard all this. The inciters were also telling the adivasis that the BJP is in power so 'nothing is going to happen to you all.' Such persons should be arrested and legal steps should be taken against them under POTO and PASA. When the army arrived from Godhra, we went from Mora to Godhra under their protection. The police did not give us any protection.

Government of India wants to stamp out terrorism whereas Gujarat government and BJP workers want to kill Muslims and Bohras and damage their properties... We are citizens of Bharat and we are loyal and we will remain loyal.

Property looted/destroyed: House and shop estimated at Rs. 1,50,000.

The accused: Prajapati Dineshbhai Ranchhod, Bhavsar Hiteshbhai Ambalal, Harijan Kanji Mansukh, Nigora Lakshman Abhesingh.

Place: Piplod Road, Randhikpur; Limkheda (Singvad) taluka

Witness: Ganibhai Majidbhai Ghanchi

(Has filed an FIR on March 10, 2002 with the police chief of Dahod. Presently at the Godhra Relief Camp; CC has a copy).

FIR: We respectfully inform you that we complainants live in Randhikpur (Singvad) post and do business. In our village, there are 71 houses belonging to the Muslim community, besides which there are 14 grocery shops, paan and various other businesses. There is a mosque and a madrassa in the village.

When on February 27, the train incident occurred in Godhra, communal tension spread all over Gujarat and the property of

the minority community was looted and burned. And the innocent people of the minority community were being killed.

We complainants, as also the people of our Muslim community, were at home on the night of February 27. Around 2 a.m. on February 28, a mob of around 400 500 people, led by the names mentioned below, targetted us with cans of petrol, diesel.

They first looted and then burned four houses of our community. The mob returned around 8 a.m. the next morning, with lethal weapons and material to loot and then burn down more Muslim houses and shops. In addition, they also torched our mosque and our madrassa.

Led by the accused we have named, the crowd returned on March 1, about 10 or 110'clock in the morning and looted and torched the remaining 10 houses. In addition, about 200 cows, goats, bullocks etc. were stolen.

We are lodging this complaint against them. These incidents were witnessed by the entire Muslim community in the village.

We should lodge this complaint in Limkheda police station but because of the tense conditions prevailing, we were unable to lodge it in person. We have, therefore, faxed this complaint which please accept and take further action.

Property looted/destroyed: 71 houses, 14 grocery shops, paan and various other businesses, a mosque and a madrassa. Livestock stolen.

The accused: Rameshkumar R. Chandana (sarpanch); Shailesh C. Bhatt; Mitish C. Bhatt; Pradip Ramanbhai Modhia; Naresh Ramanbhai Modhia; Govind Hukam Rawal; Jaswant Rawal; Gopaldas Babulal Shah; Shreepal Ajablal Jain; Vikas Subhash Jain; Gopal Dama Rawal; Govind Varsing Bilwad; Radheshyam B. Shah (lawyer); Ashish B. Shah; Bhagubhai Kuyar Shah; Kesar Khima Vahomia; Rajukant Modhia 'came with jeep no. 3605); Mukesh Pawar Vanjara; Umeshkumar Shah (doctor); Maukabhai Mansingh Guniji; Raju Chhagan Harijan; Shankar Chhagan Harijan; Mafat Moghilal Prajapat; Harshad Kantilal Patanwadia; Natu Dala Parmar; Bharat Rayal; Dave Raju Magan Maharaj, Khicha Vahomia, Pankajkumar Naran Luhar, Ashok Naran Luhar; Raju Karan Vanjhara; Mangalbhai Mogilal Prajapati; Pradvumbhai Majisaivik (came in car no. GJ-17-7 5728); Gopal Prakash Modhia; Jignesh Prakash Modhia; Dilip Manalal Darji; Vijaykumar Ramanlal Modhia; Harish B. Shah; Manish B. Shah; Kambhai Lalit Bairyawala (tailor); Dilip K. Chandana; Kanti Kadakia Shilot; Lakshman Bhabor (Dasana); Natu Dhirsingh Sangada; Bharat Dhirsingh Sangada; Kambhai Master (Dasa); Padamsingh Labana Bandibarwala;

Kamleshkumar Manharlal Dave; Pramukhkumar Bhagabhai Dabgar; Rajubhai Babulal Soni; Mahesh Suvalal Shah; Budhabhai Shamabahi Bilwad; Umeshkumar Gopikrishan Shah; Nileshkumar Anadilal Shah (teacher); Rajeshkumar Anandilal Shah.

(All the above 54 are residents of Randhikpur)

Jaswantbhai Patel (Chhapan Road, taluka Limkheda came in his car:

Mahendra Driver Chhaparwad came in car, car No. GJ-17-C-2853); Narsingh, sarpanch Dhamanbhai.

Place: Kuvajar, Morvad (Hadap) taluka, Panchmahal district

Witness: Idrisbhai Mohammed Bhai Dudila

(The FIR has been lodged with the DSP, Panchmahal, Registered AD. CC has a copy Presently at Godhra Relief Camp.)

FIR: Jai Bharat. We complainants write to inform you that on March 1, at about 11 p.m., when we had finished our dinner and preparing to sleep we heard screams form all four directions. We had to vacate our houses and as we watched, the persons mentioned below and the huge crowd with them attacked our homes.

After they looted the things in my house, the below mentioned persons sprinkled kerosene from the can they were carrying all over my home, torched it at several points. We ran from there to save our lives. Please investigate the above, take our reports.

The accused: 1) Jaswant Ramsingh Patel (Chandpur); 2) Prabhat Ramsingh Patel (Chandpur); 3) Himmatbhai Ramsingh Patel; 4) Himmatsingh Navalbhai Navak (Khudra);. 5) Rajesinghbhai Kanjibhai; 6) Sesingh Sardarbhai; 7) Dashratbhai Rawesingh; 8) Samatsingh Amarsingh Patel; 9) Kiran Abhesingh; 10) Samatsingh Manji; 11) Narsingh Khatra (the latter named all from Kuvajar, taluka Morwa (Hadap).

Place: Vejalpur, taluka Kalol, Panchmahal district.

Witness: Irfan Yusuf Mansuri

(The FIR has been lodged with the DSP, Panchmahal, Registered .4D. CC has a copy.)

FIR: We, complainants, live in Diwan *falia*, near Vejalpur out police station and we work and support ourselves and our family in Vejalpur village. In the falia next to our falia, such as the falia outside the gate of the police station, the post office falia and in the surrounding areas, other Muslims have their houses and live there. And all the families were doing their business and supporting the people in the families.

1. During the Gujarat bandh called on February 28 in response to the Godhra killings on February 27, communal riots broke out all over Gujarat state in which the minority shops and houses in every village were looted, vandalised and torched. Vejalpur village also became prey to the right wing, fanatical Hindus.

> 2. On March 1, between 11 and 12 o'clock, the accused, together with a large crowd carrying lethal weapons and inflammatory materials assembled to burn houses and shops. All these accused instigated the crowd who attacked our house as well as those of other Muslims and caused damage of about Rs 35 lakh by looting and torching them. The

people of our falia as well as those

I'm absolutely satisfied with how the police and the government has handled the backlash. I'm happy the violence has been largely contained.

> Narendra Modi: (The Times of India, Delhi; March 1, 2002)

of adjoining *falias* have suffered extensive damage by arson and looting and we have witnesses who will ascertain the exact amount of the damage.

3. Right now, since the incident of February 27, in all of Gujarat including Panchmahal zilla, there is an atmosphere of unease and fear, so we were unable to lodge this complaint immediately.

Witnesses are as under:

1) Ilyas Yusuf Mansuri; 2) Sikander Ismail Mansuri; 3) Maulvi Abdul Rehman; 4) A. Majid A. Gani Mansuri; 5) Farukh A. Majid Khadkhad

FIRs have been lodged with 1) Kalol *taluka* PSI, police station, Kalol; 2) Home minister, GS, New Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar; 3) Chairman, NHRC, New Delhi, with a request to enter our complaints, start legal proceeding and for information.

Property looted/torched: Losses estimated at Rs 35 lakh.

The accused: 1 Mukesh Devidas Jaswani, aka Gungo, Sindhi Bazar (Vejalpur); 2) Rajeshbhai Vensimal Jaswani, aka Sindhi, Sindhi Bazar (Vejalpur); 3) Rajesh Ballu Jaswani, aka Sindhi, Sindhi Bazar (Vejalpur); 4) Rakesh Nagindas Soni, aka Sindhi, Sindhi Bazar (Vejalpur); 5) Bharat Vensimal Jaswani, aka Sindhi, Sindhi Bazar (Vejalpur); 6) Prakash Urshandas Aswani; 7) Amit Sheth aka Rana, panchayat member.

Place: Dalal, taluka Kalol, Panchmahal district.

Witness: Siraj Nasiruddin Kansara (45); Business: Cycle Store

(The FIR has been lodged with the SP, Panchmahal, Registered AD. CC has a copy.)

FIR: We, complainants, inform you that in connection with the incident that occurred in Godhra, communal violence erupted in Gujarat and in every village of Panchmahal zilla. A plot was hatched, Muslim people were targetted; their lives endangered, their property destroyed. Muslims were attacked everywhere.

On February 28, a crowd of 150 to 200 people looted our property and torched the remaining as a result of which we were very frightened. The next morning, around 9-10 o'clock, the same crowd returned shouting, "Chop and kill the Muslims!" We ran into the fields to save our lives.

As we passed Ushalni Muwadi, a crowd from Nesda village came from the opposite direction too. These people had lethal weapons and to save our lives we ran helter skelter. They chased the fleeing Muslims and the six who got separated from us were cut to pieces and killed. They disposed off the corpses also. We recognised the leader of the crowd from Nesda village whose name is given below.

Those among us who succeeded in saving our lives, are as follows: 1) Umerbhai Adambhai Shaikh; 2) Samirbhai Yunusbhai Shaikh; 3) Tuvab Ismailbhai Shaikh; 4) Naseem Naseeruddin Kansara.

The deceased: 1) Fatmabi Ibrahim Kotdawala; 2) Allarakha Ibrahim Kotdawala; 3) Ismail Moosa Tailor; 4) Bibiben Ismail Tailor; 5) Rahimuddin Rafiuddin Kansara; 6) Imam Aslam Kansara.

The accused: Vikram Nagar Solanki and a crowd of more than 100 people, Nesda village, taluka Kalol.

Place: Babaliya village, Panchmahal district

Witness: Jabbir Mohammed Abdul Razzak Shaikh

(Has filed an FIR with the Khanpur Police Station by Registered AD from Lunavada dated March, 23. Copies have been sent to the Chief Secretary, Gujarat, the Chief Justice, Gujarat High Court and the Chairperson, NHRC. CC has a copy.)

FIR: I the under signed complainant have to inform your honour that our family has been established at Babaliya for many years. We were running a grocery, a grain shop and a small flour-mill. We also handled small, transport business with jeep and tempo.

On Friday March 1, my father Abdul Rajakbhai, my mother Hajrabibi and my sister Jaybunnisa and I were sitting in the open space outside our shop that was closed because of 'Gujarat Bandh'. Meanwhile, a crowd under the leadership of the belowmentioned arrived there, shouting and threatening: "Kill the Muslims', "Cut them up', "Rape their women", "Rob their property", "Burn their property', 'Burn them."

I and my sister, Jaybunnisa ran some distance and hid behind a tree on the nearby hill. Some in the crowd began to beat my father and mother while others broke the door of the house, shop and flour-mill and looted grain, grocery, TV set, gold ornaments and cash. Then they blasted the entire structure using some inflammable liquid. The accused then went away on the Naroda road dragging with them my father and mother. They also took away our Suzuki motor-bike.

Our lives were in danger so we hid ourselves for two to three days in the farms and the forest to save our lives. Due to pregnancy, my sister was in a bad state, somehow we managed to find her shelter in Bakor and I, carefully hiding myself, reached Lunavada with much difficulty. I am mentally disturbed and mentally broken.

I have complained and requested the police station Khanpur, mamlatdar Bakor, mamlatdar Lunavada, collector of Godhra and SP of Godhra to take legal action against the culprits I have named. But despite frequent complaints no action is taken against them though the crowd has killed my father and mother and destroyed their dead bodies.

I request your honour to initiate due procedure and take steps against the accused persons so they are punished.

The deceased: Abdul Rajakbhai Shaikh and Hajrabibi Rajakbhai Shaikh.

The accused: 1) Arvind Singh Ranjit Singh Thakore (owner, tempo, no. KJ17 X 5838); 2) Mehta Hitesh Kumar Jayantilal (owner, Mehta photo studio at Bakor); 3) Jayantilal Parma Bhai Patel (Gangta); 4) Panchal Mohan Bhai Soma Bhai (Naroda, runs hotel); 5) Bharat Singh Ranjit Singh Thakore (Tarakdi, his tempo no. GJ17 T 7121); 6) Bhagvan Bhai Sabur Bhai (sarpanch, Koyla village); 7) Babubhai Patel (Yoka); 8) Nareshbhai Patel (His commander jeep no: GJ17R92); 9) Kanku Bahen Dalabhai (Gangta, runs hotel at

bus stand); 10) Maliyad Nanabhai Bhurabhai (runs hotel near Ganga petrol pump); 11) Patel Rameshbhai Bhaga Bhai (driver of private vehicle); and a crowd of 250 under the leadership of above-mentioned accused.

Policemen/officials indicted: Police station Khanpur, mamlatdar Bakor, mamlatdar Lunavada, collector of Godhra and SP of Godhra

CC has received this complaint directly from some of the residents of Panchmahal district:

We humbly draw your attention to the most important points relating to these communal riots. Please take serious note of this; our feelings and demands should reach those at the highest level.

- 1. These riots are unprecedented for our district.
- 2. The style of terror and modus operandi are the same all over Gujarat.
- 3. Lunawada (Pin Code 389230) and surroundings areas are the worst affected part of the entire state.
- 4. A horrible incident has taken place near Limadia Chokdi (20 kms from Lunavada). The terrorists burnt alive nearly 65 Muslims who were fleeing to save their lives in two tempos from their village Kediagaon. The horrible incident has not yet come to the notice of the media and the country. We could not even get the dead bodies of any one of these 65
- 5. Nearly fifteen (15) mosques have been demolished in and around Lunavada.
- 6. Most of those killed were burnt to ashes to hide the crimes and to make it impossible for these deaths to be entered in the official register. Only 13 bodies have been handed over to us by the local police.
- 7. As you know Pandharwada is the most affected village in our district, where a minimum of 40 Muslims were burnt alive; we could not get their dead bodies till today. Lots of persons are missing and we are unable to get any information on whether they are alive or dead.
- 8. No action has been taken against the chief criminals of these riots by the police department, they have shown no interest in taking strict action against the chief criminals. The police department is also not interested in combing operations to search the looted wealth.
- 9. In these riots, all shops and residences of Muslims were destroyed totally, specially in villages surrounding Lunavada.
- 10. Nearly 1,200 refugees are in our relief camp at Lunawada. Most of them are from villages and they have totally lost their houses and shops. Immediate action should be taken to rebuild their houses and to rehabilitate them. Apart from those at the relief camp, many other victims have taken shelter at their relatives' houses.
- 11. The relatives of every deceased person must be paid Rs. 2 lakh compensation immediately.

We request that these incidents be investigated by the CBI.

List of dead persons buried at Lunavada gravey	yard
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Sr. No. Name of the person	Age	Village Date
I Sheikh Husenbhai Valibhai	62	Khanpur 2/3/02
2 Sheikh Munafbhai Adambhaui	45	Vridara 5/3/02
3 Sheikh Rukaiyabibi A. Gafur	40	Anjanya 6/3/02
4 Sheikh Taiyababibi Shabbirbhai	25	Anjanya 6/3/02
5 Sheikh Abbasbhai Gulabbhai	60	Anjanya 6/3/02
6 Sheikh Umarbhai Gulabbhai	70	Anjanya 6/3/02
7 Sheikh Adnan Farooqbhai	02	Anjanya 6/3/02
8 Sheikh Hafizarrahman Hanifbhai	02	Anjanya 6/3/02
9 Sheikh Raziyabanu Shabbirbhai	2 1/2	Anjanya 6/3/02
10 Sheikh Sumaiyabibi Aiyubbhai	2 1/2	Anjanya 6/3/02
11 Sheikh Sacedabibi Hanifbhai	28	Anjanya 7/3/02
12 Sheikh Raziyabibi Mo. Hanif	30	Anjanya 7/3/02
13 Sheikh Jubeda (Munni) Farooq	14	Anjanya 7/3/02
14 Sheikh Arab Saeedbhai	38	Lunavada 7/3/02

List of dead persons, Pandharwada

Sr. No. Name	Village
1 Sheikh Abbasbhai Nathubhai	Pandharwada
2 Saiyad Yasinbhai Shebabhai	Pandharwada
3 Saiyad Aiyubbhai Habibbhai	Pandharwada
4 Sheikh Fakirbhai Mohammedbhai	Pandharwada
5 Sheikh Salimbhai Abbasbhai	Pandharwada
6 Sheikh Muradbhai Mehmoodbhai	Pandharwada
7 Sheikh Adam Abdul	Pandharwada
8 Kharadi Jabirbhai Ganibhai	Pandharwada
9 Divan Jabirbhai Aiyubsha	Pandharwada
10 Multani Maanubhai Shenkha	Pandharwada
11 Sheikh Kalubhai Gulabbhai	Anjanya (Santrumpur)

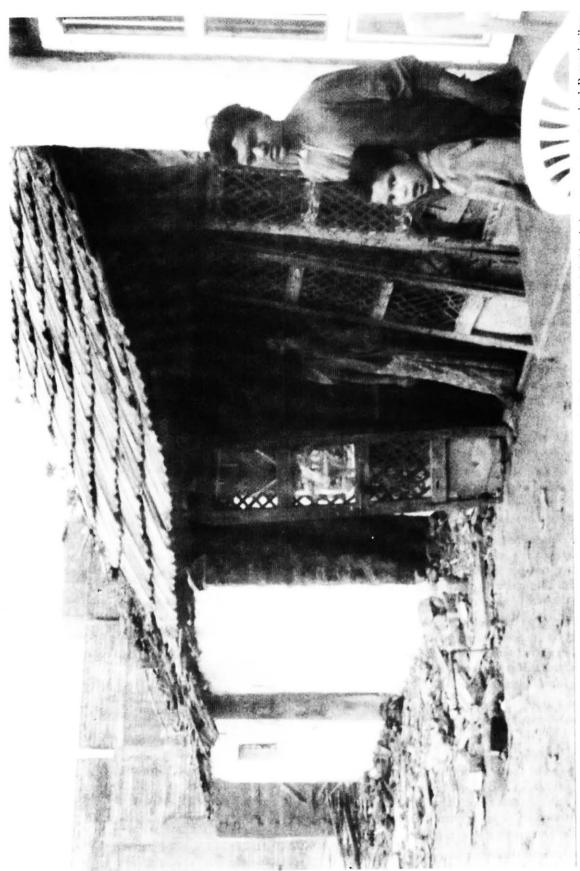
26 Muthiya A. Vahid Mo. Iyas

27 Patel Mo. Hanif A. Masjid

List of missing persons	
Sr. No. Name of the Person	L'illage
1 Sheikh Habib Ashrafbhai	Pandharwada
2 Sheikh Bismillah Habib	Pandharwada
3 Sheikh Dulhanbibi	Pandharwada
4 Sheikh Niyaz Nabibhai	Pandharwada
5 Sheikh Harun Bhikhabhai	Pandharwada
6 Sheikh Majid Abdulbhai	Pandharwada
7 Saiyad Aminaben Imambhai	Pandharwada
8 Saiyad Iqbal Imambhai	Pandharwada
9 Saiyad Joharbhai Imambhai	Pandharwada
10 Saiyad Ruksana Joharbhai	Pandarawada
11 Saiyad Sohel Joharbhai	Pandharwada
12 Kharadi Yusufbhai Ganibhai	Pandharwada
13 Rafiqbhai Karigar	Kapadyani
14 Shahinabanu Rafiqbhai	Kapadyani
15 Sheikh Rajakbhai Umarbhai	Virpur
16 Sheikh Yusufbhai Ahmedbhai	Virpur
17 Sheikh Tejobanu Yusufbhai	Virpur
18 Daughter of Sheikh Yusufbhai Ahmedbhai	
19 Daughter of Sheikh Yusufbhai Ahmedbhai	
20 Daughter of Sheikh Yusufbhai Ahmedbhai	
21 Sheikh Jakirbhai Dashodbhai	Virpur
22 Sheikh Mustakbhai Fakir Mohammed	Virpur
23 Sheikh Javedbhai Mustakbhai	Virpur
24 Bakrawala Mo. Yusuf A. Salam	Rath (ta. Kadana)
25 Kabri Md. Shafi Gulamnabi	Rath (ta. Kadana)

Rath (ta. Kadana)

Bhandara (Fatepura)



Muslim homes ransacked, while Hindu homes remain untouched; Panvad village

Sabarkantha



Place: Kediagaon, Sabarkantha district

Witness: Arjubehn Ayubbhai Sindhi (30), lone survivor from a truckload of fleeing Muslims, most of whom were burnt alive.

(Arjubehn's complaint to the police was recounted to CC by Ahmeed Hussain Raliya during an interview at Ighal Primary Vehool Relief Camp, Godhra, on March 22. Raliya is part of the managing committee of this relief camp.)

After the burning of the train bogey on the 2⁻⁻⁻, hell broke loose in the district. From that evening itself the first victims from different parts of Panchmahal district started arriving at this camp — Iqbal Primary School. Some have been accommodated in the *madrassa*. On March 20, 80 more persons have come from Baria.

The systematic attacks in Panchmahal district began after Friday namaaz on February 28, the day of Gujarat bandh. The villages that were affected are Sanjeli [500 houses burnt], Randhikpur (70 houses burnt], Piplod, Latchpura, Pandharwada, Salia, Narapur, Mora, Khanpur, Anjanwa, Chatkabeli, Kothamba, Sargava Mohali, Gangadra.

In all, 94 villages are affected; in many, the minority population has simply been wiped out. Fifteen manuals were destroyed in Lunavada, Khanpur and Santrampur. There are relief camps running at Kalol, Baria, Lunavada, Shehra and Halol.

Motiraanth on the Rajasthan border, Karvai, Dithraj and Manirath are all towns where Muslims had reasonably prosperous businesses. These were all targetted and destroyed.

We have a 30-year old woman, Arjubehn Ayubbhai Sindhi, who survived and is staying in the Modassa Camp. She is the lone survivor and eyewitness to this terrible incident. In Kediagaon of Sabarkantha district, after the Godhra tragedy in Gujarat on February 27, the Muslim

population from the village fled in two tempos after their neighbours created a huge threatening atmosphere in the night. On the Lunavada Modasa highway, at Babalia, a village just on the border of Panchmahal district, two motorcycles with three persons each, with guns in their hands, started chasing the two vehicles.

The road had also been blocked with large stones. One tempo broke down at the junction of Limbadya Chowki, Karanda and Lunavada. The passengers were surrounded by 1,000-2,000 strong mobs. It was a brutal attack. They ripped the tyres and attacked the occupants with *dhariyas*. Yusutbhai Bakrawala from Motiraanth, along with two boys from Lunavada, was trying to escape from the mobs when they were attacked. They ran till the mobs caught up with them, beat them merculessly and killed them.

Later, 60 65 persons were burnt alive. Arjubehn, the evewitness who is presently at Modassa Camp has made a complaint to the police. She has stated all the facts. In all, 67 persons are missing but only 8 bodies were recovered for post mortem. The complaint for the deaths caused to persons travelling in only one of the trucks had been recorded. The police have not recorded any further evidence. This eyewitness can identify the culprits. One is the taluka panchayat pramakh, Kalubhai Malwad, who belongs to the BIP. He has been arrested.

On the highway, there were Tata Sumos moving around tracking persons who were trying to flee. Refugees from the other villages on the Gujarat side of the Rajasthan border have crossed over and are in the Pithgaon Camp. The army found two bodies of the three, who were caught when the fisherfolk handed them over ten days later. There was no trace of Yusutbhai's body – only bones were found.

On March ", in the same area, one Muslim, Arab Saivedbhai, was killed in police firing. The police never killed anyone from the mobs.

This is one of the most horrendous incidents to have happened in Gujarat.

The deceased: Some 65 persons from Kediagaon (Sabarkantha district) burnt alive.

The accused: Kalubhai Malwad (BJP), taluka panchayat pramukh.

Place: Prantij, near Himmatnagar, Sabarkantha

Witness: Bilal Dawood, brother of Saeed Dawood and cousin of Shakeel Dawood, UK

(Interviewed by CC in Mumbai on March 14)

On February 21, my mother, cousin, friend and cousin's son arrived in Mumbai from Australia. I reached the next day. On the 24th my brother Saeed Dawood, my cousin Shakeel Dawood, my friend from the UK, Mohammed Aswat, my nephew, Imran Dawood and Yusuf, a driver from our village Laipur near Surat, took a jeep tour to Jaipur. After visiting Jaipur, they were returning to Ahmedabad via Himmatnagar on February 28.

At Prantij, they were stopped by a mob of 15-20 persons. In no time, another mob of 40-100 arrived, circled the jeep and demanded to know from the occupants, "Are you Muslim or Hindu?" The answer, that they were British citizens, was not enough for the mob. "What about the driver?" they asked. Without waiting for an answer, Yusuf was dragged out and the moment they had established his religious identity, he was attacked with sticks and dharryas (a sharp agricultural implement) and killed on the spot.

Imran, Mohammed, Saeed and Shakeel, who ran towards a farmhouse to save their lives, were chased by the mob. When I met and spoke to the woman owner of the farmhouse some days later, obviously scared for her own life, she spoke to us sparingly.

The fact remains that around 6.30 p.m. that fateful evening, a police team found Mohammed, who was near dead, and Imran, who was unconscious, on a dirt track that runs along the canal. At the Prantij clinic to which the police took them, Dr. Dongri pronounced Mohammed dead while Imran was in such a state of shock, even after regaining consciousness, that he could not talk.

My brother Saced and Shakeel were last seen by the woman from the farmhouse, running to save their lives. Since then there is no trace of them.

Ever since the ghastly incident, we have been in touch with the British Foreign office, the British House of Parliament and the British Home Secretary, Jack Straw.

The British Consul General, Ian Reeds, and I visited the site of the killings, along with the Gujarat DGP and the Ahmedabad CP on March 8. The lady at the farmhouse was not very cooperative but Dr. Dongri was very forthcoming.

During our visit, we found a totally burnt down factory about 100-200 yards away from where Mohammed and Imran had been picked up by the police. Behind the factory structure, we came across a spot where it looked like a fire had been built possibly to burn dead bodies. A little distance away, we found some teeth and bones which we have sent for DNA sampling.

Dr. Gandhi, the forensics expert from Hyderabad, is looking at the whole issue after taking the blood samples of my aunt and uncle in Lajpur. We expect the report in a few weeks.

The police have given us a copy of the FIR lodged by them and said they have arrested 17 people. My nephew Imran, the only one to have miraculously escaped, is presently back in our native village. He is still in shock and therefore not always very coherent. But he seems to recall that while they were being set upon, a police jeep was driving past but they did not stop to help.

We have written to the MEA (Ministry of External Affairs, India) and the FCO is also following up with the MEA. As far as the murder investigation is concerned, Salman Kazi (related to Mohammed Aswat) has written a note to the Home Department in Britain. And we are actively pursuing the case to find out what exactly happened in Mohammed's and Yusuf's case.

As far as my brother Saeed and cousin Shakeel are concerned, they have been put in the 'missing' category. They have young families back home in Britain and it is traumatic to think of how we will deal with the tragedy. One part of us is convinced that they will simply reappear one day, while another part awaits the test results with dread.

For both the investigations, we have obtained the FIRs and the post-mortem reports. We were very impressed by Dr. Dongri's professionalism and desire to help. We worry about his safety.

The whole saga has been reported on BBC, Star Television and even the Gujarati papers. We are talking to Group 4 and we have written to Indian authorities to carry out a proper search of the area; to speak to the family at the farmhouse, to even offer them a reward because we know she spoke to both Saced and Shakeel. The Group 4 secretariat has contacted my mother and other persons in the village.

James Watt from the chamber of FCO, had a meeting with Salman Kazi, Ahmed Aswat and Salim Dawood in UK. We have also taken a delegation to the Indian High Commissioner in UK, PC Haldar.

pressure was put on the Surat police.

My relatives were carrying an expensive Camcorder. What happened to it? Who were the policemen who passed by but did not help? Police Inspector DK Vankar from the Prantij police station could be an important witness because he picked up Imran and Mohammed that evening.

The deceased: Two persons killed, two missing.

We want to know what kind of

The Government has decided that families of those killed in the Godhra attack will be paid Rs. 2 lakh while relatives of those killed in the violence following Godhra will get Rs. 1 lakh per victim.

Nerendra Modi;(The Times of India, Delhi)

COMMUNALISM COMBAT • MARCH-APRIL, 2002

Kheda district



Memdavad

Attacks in this part of Gujarat took place on March 1, 2002. They were widespread and organised. Villagers that CC spoke to from Memdavad and Jinger said that the crowds were 5-7,000 strong and attacked from three sides; three-four leaders had mobile phones; saffron headbands and abusive slogans are the lasting impressions that a shattered rural and small-town community has about the attacks.

It was only on March 5 that the massacre carried out on the hapless residents of Godasar was made public. Their maimed and gorged bodies were found in the fields outside Jinger. No less than 13 persons met their end this way. The survivors are in the camps at Kheda.

Memdavad, a Muslim majority township, held out bravely under the attack that carried on through the day.

Place: Memdavad, Kheda district

Witness: Karim Bhai Mallick

(Interviewed at Memdavad on March 8)

On March 1, the day after Gujarat Bandh, Memdavad, which is a village with a history of communal harmony, saw violence and hatred for the first time. Sarvar Khan, a *kangar* who carved *mandirs* from wood, was brutally slaughtered by a mob that even tried to attack us.

Nearby villages like Ghodasar and Jinger, which have 50 or 100 houses belonging to Muslims, saw brutal murders and homes being burnt. In Ghodasar, 14 persons were hacked to death and there was nobody left to pick up the dead bodies. In Jinger, 13 persons were buried.

We found that in Jinger, which has a population of 14-

1500, 80 per cent of the Muslims have disappeared. Mobs as large as 5,000, surrounded all our villages and attacked us relentlessly. The DIG of Memdavad range, Kuldip Sharma, reached within an hour of the incidents. For one to two hours, they had surrounded the whole village and we were in danger.

In Ghotas village, Hindus and Muslims are together even today. Haldasvar village, which had around a hundred Muslim homes, faced a violent attack from the Bajrang Dal and the VHP. We managed to save Memdavad kasha but the farms on the outskirts were vulnerable and we lost three lives. Three persons were killed in their homes. Two were Sayeds from the Bori Roji Vista and one was Sarvar Khan Pathan.

The deceased: Sarvar Khan, killed in Memdavad; 14 hacked to death in Ghodasar; 13 persons buried in Jinger. Three killed in Memdavad & kasha.

The accused: Bajrang Dal and VHP activists.

Place: Memdavad, Kheda district

Witness: Shafi Bhai Mansuri, ex-President of the municipal corporation

(Interviewed at Memdavad on March 8)

Memdavad faced an attack from three sides. We were completely taken aback. The mobs were carrying weapons like swords, trishuls and guptis. Twenty shops were looted and destroyed; mine was one of them. There are nine villages in the Memdavad area, where unfortunately, all the Muslim homes and shops were attacked. The shops and businesses belonging to Muslims in Ghotas village and Khatrad Chowki were destroyed completely, reducing people to abject poverty.

The terrorist violence that the Bajrang Dal and the VHP unleashed, leaves the ordinary person terrified. Their attack is both physical and mental. It is meant to crush the victims.

The accused: Bajrang Dal and the VHP.

Place: Memdavad, Kheda district

Witness: Shafi Mohammed Mansuri

(Interviewed at Memdavad on March 8)

Even after Godhra, there was complete peace in Memdavad. We even had a meeting of the Shanti Samiti on Friday, March 1. And then, as if from nowhere, we don't know what happened, a mob of 7-8000 attacked us. There are 40 policemen in all, available for Memdavad range and they were not enough. The idea behind the attack was clear: destroy businesses, burn the shops and wherever there are Muslim peasants, kill them. 14 bodies have been found and buried but 15 to 20 persons are today missing.

There was tremendous pressure put on the police and the Revenue Department to let the mobs do their work unhampered. But here we must praise DIG Kuldip Sharma, who resisted the pressure.

The real question now is going to be the question of rehabilitation. When villages are being wiped out and entire businesses targetted, how do we deal with this question? In Kani gaon, even the fields and crops belonging to Muslims were burnt.

My son lives in Vasad Gao village in Anand district. The village is dominated by Patels and the 50 businesses belonging to Muslims there were targetted. Dinshabhai Patel, the *sarpanch*, was leading the attack. My son Mehmood, his wife and four children, were attacked by the mobs carrying revolvers. They were lucky, they escaped because the mob that arrived was more interested in looting. The mob took away 15-20 tolas of gold. The *masjid* and *dargah* at Vasad was destroyed using a bulldozer. The Darbar *sarpanch* of Ghodasar, Gansham Singh, saved the lives of 13-14 Muslims who were in danger. But in Sardarpura village in Mehsana district, 28 persons were burnt to death and in Ode village, 40 persons were similarly killed.

Today, even as you are talking to us, the Sandesh newspaper has published a story saying that arms were found inside the Memdavad magid. They also reported that in Daudpura area, externee criminals are to be found. This is a blatant lie. We ourselves got the police to check the masid, but we know such news is used to generate more hatred and violence. There are Hindus living all round us in Memdavad – Lohars, Thakurs and Parmars. We do not let anything happen to them.

The violence continued on March 1 between 11.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.

I am a teacher in Memdavad and for 25 years I have performed the *Dhway Vandan* (Flag Hoisting) on 15th August and 26th January. Last year, when the local RSS *shakha* tried to unfurl the national flag, they did not know how to do it. They had to call me to teach them the proper way. Who are the nationalists and who are the patriots?

Towards the end of the interview, Mansuri recites a poem:

Kisne banayee mandir

Aur kisne banayee masjid

Mander masjid banakar adam jaat ko juda kar liya

Humse vah bezuban parinda acheba

Kabhi mandir par baitha kabhi masjid par

Who built the temple

Who constructed the mosque

Temples and mosques have split up Adam's children

Better than us are those birds

Who perch themselves on a temple sometimes,

sometimes on a mosque)

Place: Memdavad, Kheda district

Witness: Amar Singh Parmar

(Interviewed at Memdavad on March 8)

We were awake, along with everyone in Memdavad, battling the mobs that were trying to attack us. There has never been any disharmony in the city. The news of the kind that Sandesh has published, lying about arms inside the mosque and of the externee, are meant to generate more hatred and lead to violence against innocents.

Place: Memdavad, Kheda district

Witness: Yusuf Sheikh, film distributor, living in Mumbai.

(Interviewed at Kheda on March 9)

The Asha Cinema in Memdavad, which I own, was completely destroyed causing me a loss of around Rs. 20 lakh. It was thoroughly burnt from inside and the equipment and machinery totally destroyed. In Kheda town, I was witness to the destruction of shops and businesses. What was most disappointing was the utter lack of response from the police to our pleas.

Property lost/destroyed: Rs. 20 lakhs.

Policemen indicted: 'Utter lack of response from police to our pleas.'

Place: Kheda town

Witness: Yasin Bhai Mohammed Bhai Vora, ex-president, Kheda Municipal Corporation.

(Interviewed in Kheda town on March 9)

Kheda had not seen violence in the past 60 years. At 12.30 p.m. on March 1, shops in the bazaar near Jama Masjid were destroyed and a rickshaw burnt. A rice mill, two kirana shops (Lucky trading and Ismail and Co.) belonging to Mehta Bhai Gafur Bhai were burnt. One bakery (Gujarat Bakery), two shops belonging to Noor Mohammed and five cars belonging to Zubeidabehn were also destroyed. About 150 local Hindus, living near the Hanuman Mandir, Balapir and Baghod areas, were the one's who led the attack.

In Kheda town, the *dargahs* of Baban Shah Pir, Dawood Shah, Shikaru Pir and Utavla Pir were destroyed and the *sarpanch* and Inspector of police must be blamed. The Kheda Relief Camp has about 2,000 people who have taken shelter from the villages and towns around.

Of the total population of 32,000, there are 10,000 Muslims in Kheda. However, business is totally in the hands of Muslims and the total damage to us is Rs. 70-80 lakh. For the past two years, the RSS, VHP and the Bajrang Dal have repeatedly sought to provoke the population. Sentiments are kept on the boil. At least 3-4 times a year, provocative pamphlets are circulated. In fact, the last such pamphlet was circulated a month before the Godhra incident. The purpose is to create hatred against Muslims. Published anonymously, the pamphlets ask every Hindu who receives it to make at least 10 copies so as to keep the circulation chain expanding.

In Nadiad city, where three people died in police firing, there is not a single Muslim shop left. 15-20 shops selling TVs and other electronic goods, watch shops, Diwan Bakery, a kerosene dealer and timber mart right next to the police station and the bus stand, were destroyed on February 28. At

the same time, the 25 shops selling vegetables in Santram market, belonging to Hindus, were left untouched.

The two persons who died were Hafiz Zuber Memon, a maultr (25) and Yakub Bhai Indori (22). Pankaj Bhai, Vinod Bhai Patel (known as Gotya and belonging to the BJP) was accompanying the police as they carried out their destructive act. Mogar, Sarsa, Chikodra, Bedwa, Samarkha and Ode in Anand district are villages with 100-500 Muslims in each. These have been wiped clean of the Muslim population. Timba and Khalsar are similar two in Kheda district, which have been wiped clean like Jinger. Chaklasi, Peej, Piplak and Dumral are villages in Nadiad that have been severely affected.

The deceased: Muslims have been wiped clean wherever they were in small numbers in villages, in Kheda, Anand and Nadiad districts; Hafiz Zuber Memon and Yakub Bhai Indori (Nadiad).

The accused: RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal, Pankaj Bhai, Vinod Bhai Patel (BJP), Sarpanch of Kheda town.

Policemen indicted: Acting at the behest of the BJP's Pankaj Bhai, Vinod Bhai Patel (BJP) in Nadiad, IP of Kheda town.

Financial decimation of the Muslim community of Memdavad city and taluka

City/village	Killings	Property looted/ destroyed	Houses	Remarks
Memdavad	3	35 shops, 1 petrol pump, 1 rice mill 2 saw mills, 1 theatre, 2 hotels, 5 dargabs	80	Looted / destroyed
Haldharwas	1500	30 shops (all the shops of the village and a mosque)	50	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Ghodasar	16	15 shops (all the shops of the village) 1 dargab ,1 mosque	100	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Kanıı	2	10 shops (all the village shops) 1 dargah, 1 mosque	100	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Vathvali		5 shops, 2 dargahs, 1 mosque	50	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Gothaj		5 shops	100	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Kesara ni nani Muwadi		~	30	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Pahaad		3 shops	30	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Jinger		11 wells, Farm produce	30	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Saraswani	-	1 dargab (shrine)	9	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Chhapara	-	-	30	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Katakpura	-	2 shops	45	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps
Aron		5 shops, 1 hotel	10	All Muslims have sought refuge in the relief camps

Karim A. Malik, Chairman, Chirag-e-Alam Muslim Education, Memdavad 387130

Patan



Place: Ghasiavas, Radhanpur, Patan district

Witness: Nanabhai Pyarmohammed G. Shaikh, tailor

(Has lodged an FIR with the officer in-charge, Radhanpur, via Registered AD. CC has a copy.)

FIR: We complainants truthfully complain that we are residents of Ghasiawas in Radhanpur and earn our living by tailoring. Accused no. 1 from the below-mentioned accused is the MLA from Santalpur division of Radhanpur. Accused no. 2 is the chief of the Radhanpur taluka BJP unit. Accused no. 3 and others are members of Bajrang Dal, RSS and Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

On March 1, when the VHP declared Bharat bandh, all these accused came by tractors to close down Radhanpur and to spread terrorism. They started burning shops with petrol and diesel, which they had brought in cans. From Lalbaug to Patni Gate, they were looting and burning only those shops which belonged to the minority community. The mob then pulled down and set fire to a religious place of the minority community, which is known as Gol Otla.

At that time my nephew, Ghulam Jelani Ghulam Rasul Shaikh, was standing at Patni Gate with other boys from our locality (of whom one was Ghulam Nabi Kalubhai Shaikh) and watching the frenzied mob. Accused no. 1, Shankarbhai Lakhdhirbhai Chaudhri, shot first my nephew, Ghulam Jelani, in the chest without any provocation, and then Ghulam Nabi Kalubhai Shaikh. As the bullets hit both in the chest, they were injured and fell down. The other people of our locality, who were also standing there, tried to take the injured boys in the jeep to the Referal Hospital. The driver of the jeep was Yakubbhai Nabibhai Chauhan.

As the jeep left Patni Gate and passed Gol Otla, the mob standing there tried to stop the jeep. The driver got scared and he raced the jeep. When the jeep reached Lohanawadi, an electric pole was lying across the road blocking it. The driver was forced to stop the jeep. The mob that was standing around started throwing stones at the driver who got injured and being frightened, he ran to the police station to save his life.

When the above-mentioned jeep stopped on the road, there were two wounded persons in it, including Ghulam Nabi Kalubhai Shaikh. When he came out, he was attacked on the head with scythes and the above-mentioned Ghulam Nabi Kalubhai Shaikh was then taken to the hospital by the police. The other person who was in the jeep was burned alive together with the jeep.

Although we were very keen on informing the police about the above-mentioned incident, we were unable to reach the police station because of the mob standing outside Patni Gate. Subsequently, we called the police station several times but no one paid attention to what we said. As curfew was later clamped down on the town, we could not come to lodge the complaint. Now that the curfew is partially lifted, we have come personally to the police station to lodge the complaint. There has been a delay in lodging the complaint due to the above mentioned reasons.

Another FIR was sent by Registered AD to the Radhanpur police station.

The deceased: Ghulam Jelani Ghulam Rasul Shaikh, first shot at, subsequently burnt inside a jeep while being taken to hospital.

The accused:

- 1. Shankarbhai Lakdhirbhai Chaudhri (Arbuda Society; MLA Santalpur,Radhanpur)
- Pravinbhai Thakkar Mahalakshmi, whose father's name I do not know (Radhanpur; chief of the Radhanpur taluka BJP).
- Prakash Keshavlal Thakkar, who is known as Prakash Dakshini and whom I would recognise.
- Doctor Rawal, whose hospital is in Lalbaug and whom I would recognise.

- Kanubhai Deri, whose father's name I do not know but whom I would recognise.
 - 6. Vinod Kumar Goklani, whose father's name I do not know.
- Satishbhai Thakkar sells dish antennae and whom I would recognise.
 - 8. Thakore Ajmalbhai Abhabhai (Chalwada, taluka Radhanpur).
- 9. Bharatkumar Kalyanji Thakkar (Dandia suburb, Radhanpur; business: Ambika Electronics, Lalbaug, Radhanpur)
- 10. Ratilal Vyas, whose father's name I do not know. He is the vice-chief of Santalpur taluka panchayat. (Varahi). Also other residents of Radhanpur city and taluka, a mob of more than 700 Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal, and RSS.
 - 11. Sukhadia Bakulkumar Pannalal (Gogasheri, Radhanpur)

The accused have been accused under IPC, sections 147, 148, 149, 307, 427, 436.

Policemen indicted: Ghasiawas police post, Radhanpur taluka, Patan

Place: Ghasiavas, Radhanpur, Patan district

Witness: Ibrahim Miyabhai Shaikh, driver

(Has lodged an FIR with the officer in-charge, Radhanpur, via Registered AD. CC has a copy.)

FIR: We, complainants, truthfully complain that we are residents of Ghasiawas in Radhanpur and earn our living by driving. Accused no. 1 from the above-mentioned accused is the MLA from Santalpur division of Radhanpur. Accused no. 2 is the chief of the Radhanpur Taluka BJP unit. Accused no. 3 is a BJP worker. Accused no. 4 has a dispensary in Lalbaug. Accused no. 5, Kanubhai Deri, is ex-member of the corporation. In addition there was a crowd of about 600 to 700 persons.

On March 1, when the VHP had declared Bharat bandh, all the accused came by tractor and Mahindra utility van, with cans of diesel and petrol, to Radhanpur town to spread terrorism and started burning and looting shops. They came up to highway cross roads and started looting, destroying and burning shops belonging to the minority community. The mob was attacking a shed on the Round Otla outside Patni Gate and set fire to the *neem* tree on the *otla*.

At that time, I and others from my locality were standing within Patni Gate and watching the vandalising mob. Ghulam Jelani Ghulam Rasool Shaikh from my locality and my nephew, Ghulam Nabi Kalubhai Shaikh, were standing a little distance away from me, outside the Patni Gate. Suddenly Shankarbhai Lakdhirbhai Chaudhri, who was amongst the mob, aimed his

gun and fired. The bullets hit my nephew, Ghulam Nabi Kalubhai Shaikh and Ghulam Jelani Ghulam Rasul Shaikh, felling both to the ground. They were carried by others from our locality and brought in.

At that time, a resident of Radhanpur, Noormohammed Vora, had come to our locality by jeep. He put both the boys in his jeep and the driver, Yakubbhai, was taking them to the hospital. The mob was still standing outside Patni Gate and as he approached them, several people from amongst the mob tried to stop the jeep. Realising the seriousness of the situation, the driver Yakubbhai did not stop the jeep, at which the mob started chasing it. The driver Yakubbhai thought it was dangerous to take the wounded to the hospital so in order to save their lives and his own, he raced the jeep.

When the jeep reached Lohanawadi, there was an electric pole placed across the road, blocking it, and a mob was present there also. The mob started stoning the driver of the jeep Yakubbhai, who was injured in the head. Realising that his life was in danger, the driver Yakubbhai left the jeep and the injured in it and ran away to the police station. Thereupon, one of the injured, Ghulam Nabi Kalubhai Shaikh came out of the jeep, when he was attacked in the head with a scythe. The same Kalubhai was thought to be alive and admitted by the police to the hospital.

The other wounded, Ghulam Jelani Ghulam Rasool Shaikh being more seriously injured, was lying in the jeep and the mob burned him to death along with the jeep. We were unable to inform the police about the abovementioned incident immediately as we were afraid of the mob. When we tried to complain over the telephone, no one paid attention to us. As there was a curfew in the town, we were unable to come to the police station to lodge our complaint, that is why we are sending this complaint by Registered AD. I request you to arrest the accused mentioned in this complaint at an early date and give me justice.

The deceased: Ghulam Jelani Ghulam Rasul Shaikh, first shot at, subsequently burnt inside a jeep while being taken to hospital.

The accused: Shankarbhai Lakdhirbhai Chaudhri (Arbuda Society); Pravinbhai Thakkar Mahalakshmi, whose father's name I do not know (Radhanpur); Prakash Keshavlal Thakkar, who is known as Prakash Dakshini; Doctor Rawal, whose hopital is in Lalbaug and whose father's name I do not know; Kanubhai Deri, who is a former corporator and whose father's name I do not know.

The accused have been accused under IPC sections 147, 148, 149, 307, 427, 436.



Victim survivors, Tulsiwadi, Vadodara



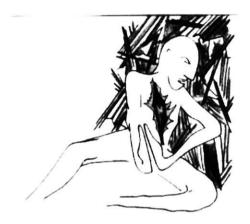
Shops and homes broken in Panyad nr. Chhotaudaipur



Zahira Sheikh, survivor of Best Bakery arson, Vadodara

COMMUNALISM COMBAT • MARCH-APRIL, 2002

Mehsana



Place: Sardarpur village, Mehsana district

Witness: Hamid Khan I. Pathan, Johapura (Ahmedabad)

(Interviewed in Abmedabad on March 9)

I have my relations in 12 villages in different districts of Gujarat. Sardarpur village in Mehsana district, where 29 persons were cut up and then burnt, is among them. Of these, 11 were from a single faimly. Besides, 65 homes were burnt down.

My sister lives in Matopur village. She and other Muslims from the village fled after 18-20 houses were attacked. In Umta village, Visnagar taluka, two persons — Yusuf Bhai Pathan and Faiyaz Khan — were burnt alive. Nearly 20-25 homes, a Muslim owned hostel and around a hundred shops were gutted right behind the police station.

My own truck driver, Khwaja Garib Nawas from Vasad Gaon in Kheda district, was attacked by a 3-4,000 strong mob on March 5. There was one Hindu and one Muslim inside the truck cabin. Khwaja Garib Nawas hid his license while the Thakur with him showed his. Luckily they escaped but the truck returned empty yesterday (March 8) as it had been looted on the way.

The victims, including my sister and other relatives, are presently staying in different relief camps. There is a camp at Savala village, where there are 1,000-1,200 persons; at Lunva village, there is a camp with 4-500 persons and there is a camp at Kesinpa, where nearly 6-700 persons from Umta have taken shelter. The situation in Mehsana city, too, is very serious.

The deceased: Yusuf Bhai Pathan and Faiyaz Khan of Umta village, Visnagar taluka.

Ode village, Anand district

Place: Ode village, Khambolaj police station, Anand

Witness: Rafiq Mohammed Abdulbhai Khalifa and Rehanaben Yusufbhai Vohra.

(Two FIRs lodged with Khambolai police station, CC has copies of FIR.)

Narrative

Twenty-six persons were burnt alive here on March 1. The complainants say that only four deaths are confirmed and the bodies of the other victims have been disposed of at some unknown location. Two FIRs have been lodged at the Khambolaj police station. The first is C.R.No.23 / 2002. U/s. 302, 148, 149 etc. and the name of the complainant is Rafiq Mohammed Abdulbhai Khalifa. The second FIR lodged with the Khambolaj police station is C.R.No.27 / 2002. The complainant's name is Rehanaben Yusufbhai Vohra. 22 accused were arrested in both cases. Two bail applications have been filed on behalf of the accused before the sessions court.

The remand application was rejected by the judicial magistrate, first class, Umreth, though the crime has been classified as not just grave but hemous. A revision for remand has been made by the police before the sessions court, Anand, in both the cases. The presiding judge is NM Thakore. During the pendency of the remand revision application, 18 accused were released on interim-bail for 8 days to celebrate the festival of Shivratri! Finally, 16 accused who were members of the unlawful assembly which committed this heinous crime of burning alive 26 persons were released on regular bail by the sessions court, Anand. This action of the lower judiciary has generated a sense of injustice and outrage.

The deceased: 26 persons were burnt alive on March 1. The complainants say that only four deaths are confirmed and the remains of the other victims have been disposed of at some unknown location.

Vadodara



Chhotaudaipur

The area around Vadodara city that falls under the Vadodara rural district saw unfortunate attacks by the instigated adivasi section of the population, who have been influenced by the BJP and VHP systematically over the past years. Kanwat, Tejgadh, Panvat and other villages in this region have been virtually wiped clean of any minority population. Shops and homes have been looted and destroyed and then burned, often in the presence of the police.

Place: Tejgadh, taluka Chhotaudaipur, Vadodara district Witness: Khatri Abdulkader Nishar Ahmed and others.

(Have lodged an FIR against DySP, Chhotaudaipur, collector, Vadodara, Police chief, Vadodara. CC received a copy of the same on March 20.)

FIR: The complainants are Khatri Abdulkader Nishar Ahmed, Khatri Usmangani Daudji, Khatri Daudji, Massombhai V., Khatri Mahmedji Umerji, Khatri MY Khatri Ahmed Ahmedji, Fakirmohammed, Khatri Yusuf Umerji, Kuresi Amjadali Ali, Khatri Abdul Majid A Kadar, Khatri Shabbirbhai M, Khatri Abdul Kader Mahmoodji Syyed Mahboobali Husseinmiya, Khatri Daudji, Khatri Suleimanji Usmanji, Khatri Abdul Karim Usmanji, Khatri Ahmedji Usmanji.

With this, we the undersigned, belonging to the minority community and inhabitants of Chhotaudaipur, Vadodara district, are lodging our complaint as follows, and in this connection, we request you, from the humanitarian viewpoint, to carry out the necessary investigations and take the necessary actions as per the basic rights given to the minorities by the Constitution.

On the day of the Godhra train killings, there was complete peace in our village. The next day, the traders of the majority community, including the *sarpanch* and the deputy *sarpanch*, had requested us to shut our shops in response to the call of Gujarat bandh. To show their opposition to the inhuman

killings on the train, the minorities had closed their shops all over. Next day, on hearing about Bharat bandh, the minorities again kept their shops closed to show their opposition to the train killings. On the third day, all the shops in the village had opened as usual.

After that, due to the uneasy peace prevailing, in order to protect our area and our lives and property, we minorities started staying awake. On March 2, the village *sarpanch* came to our area. While he was there, a person from the minority community, Khatri Yusufii Daudji informed the *sarpanch* that in order to maintain peace in the village, we should call a meeting of the Peace Committee so that through an exchange of confidence in each other, we can maintain peace. The *sarpanch* informed us that there was no need to call a meeting of the Peace Committee and do not be worried about it.

But we suspected that there was some scheme being evolved in the village and four families of the minority community living in the Limdi market came to live in the village on March 1. But on March 2, when the atmosphere worsened, the four families took their household belongings and came to live in the area where the minority community lived. On March 3, around 10 o'clock at night, the *sarpanch* came to our area and told us that we should not sit around in groups but stay in our houses, otherwise he will invoke section 144 and arrest us under it.

We told him that if we stay awake to protect our property, that cannot be a crime and no law can prevent us from protecting our property because at that time there was only one *jamadar* and three police constables at the village outpost, who were not enough to protect the village property. And that, keeping this in mind, the minority community had identified four points in our area and had arranged to stay awake all night. In this way, we spent the night of March 3 with an uneasy peace.

On March 4, through an inhabitant of the village, Abdul Latif Rehmanji Khatri, we had informed the leader of the BJP, Ashwinbhai Rawal (village Chichod) that as the condition of the village was not good, he should use his position to contact the zilla police chief and get more police. To this he replied that he was going to Chhotaudaipur right then to make appropriate arrangement.

But up to the evening of March 4, no additional police was seen. Around 11.05 that night, minority community farmer, Yakubji Daudji's shop was set on fire. Fifteen minutes later, the shops and buildings of the minority community situated in Limdi market were also set on fire, even as eight persons of the minority community were present at that spot. They saw with their own eyes that a crowd of 150 to 200 people was screaming and howling and making the atmosphere frightening.

People of the minority community who were present told the *jamadar* on duty to stop the crowd from arson. He replied that as the place had already been set on fire, he was going to the police station to call the fire brigade on the wireless. Saying this, he left the place with his staff. But on the spot was Home Guard commandant, Arvindbhai Desaibhai Patel, who was performing his duty.

Meanwhile, on noticing the minority community members, the crowd rushed towards them. The latter ran into their area to save their lives. Just then, the telephone and electricity connections in the minority community area went off. Half an hour later, the water tanker of the fire brigade arrived but the unruly crowd did not allow the brigade to do its job because of which the fire continued raging.

In the meantime, more police arrived from Chhotaudaipur, who started firing teargas shells. As this was having no effect, they started firing in the air. When even that was not effective, they thought it their duty to fire into the crowd. Meanwhile, the houses and shops of the minority community in the Limdi market continued to burn. Then, from a rear approach road to the market, on Kikawala Road, there came another mob, screaming and howling, to set fire to the houses of the minority community. They were also shooting arrows.

In Limdi market, PSI Pandya who was performing his duty started firing tear gas shells. This had no effect on the crowd and a cabin which was near the bus stand was set on fire. As the violence continued, the police had no alternative but to start firing in which, as per our knowledge, 4 to 5 persons were injured. The crowd took the injured people and ran away with them.

At that time, the *mamlatdar* of Chhotaudaipur and the DySP arrived on the spot. The whole night was spent in great

anxiety. In the morning, members of the minority community went to meet the PSI on duty, Pandya. The PSI informed them that the previous night, he was given orders to fire on the crowd but now he had instructions from above not to fire and so he will act accordingly. He added that one person had been injured in the firing the previous night and his condition was serious. If he dies, the police was apprehensive that the adivasis of the surrounding villages will attack Muslims during the funeral procession. He, therefore, advised the minority community to leave the village in order to save their lives.

In view of this, 210 people left Tejgadh village, to save their lives for Bodeli, where they took shelter with their relatives, and acquaintances. The report of these 210 people was given to the Bodeli police station. Right now, we are still sheltered in Bodeli. After we moved out, till today, the shops and houses of the minority community are continuously being first looted and then set on fire. And the people in power have not even taken the trouble to call the fire brigade. In addition, though more than 15 days have passed, to our knowledge the police have not performed a combing operation or made arrests to locate the stolen goods.

In the above-mentioned incidents, at least 65 properties (40 houses and 25 shops) were looted and burnt down. The estimate of this damage is about Rs. 1.5 crore. We went to talk to those in power about the incident in Tejgadh. But they have not accepted our complaints or application. We have right now taken shelter in Bodeli and are living here in very bad conditions.

Afterwards, we went to Tejgadh to get our belongings and the goods in the shops, but whatever little was saved was also looted and burned in the following days. We went there, to get whatever that was saved, at great risk to our lives. We humbly request you to make arrangements for our rehabilitation and make sure that our above-mentioned complaints are noted and appropriate steps are taken against those responsible for this.

Property looted/destroyed: At least 65 properties, 40 houses and 25 shops which were looted and burnt down. Losses estimated at about Rs. 1.5 crore.

The accused: Sarpanch and adivasis from villages nearby.

Policemen indicted: PSI Pandya, senior police officials and district collector.

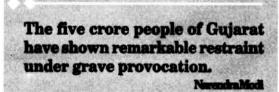
Place: Kanwat, taluka Chhotaudaipur, Vadodara district Witness: Rajesh Mishra, social activist working with Arch Vahini

(Has filed an FIR. CC has a copy.)

FIR: I the undersigned Rajesh Mishra, son of Shri Jagdambaprasad A. Mishra, presently residing and working with non-governmental organization (NGO), Arch Vahini, at village Mangrol, taluka Rajpipla, dist. Narmada affirm on oath that:

I was present at my native village Kanwat, taluka Kanwat, district Vadodara of Gujarat state between March 10 and

March 18, 2002. On March 12 and 13, in Kanwat, more than 250 houses and shop establishments of Muslims, including Bohra community, were looted and then set on fire by mobs of tribals of surrounding villages. Most of the houses belonging to Muslims have been totally destroyed and their



business is completely ruined. There were 185 Muslim and 52 Bohra households living and conducting their business in Kanwat. Even elders cannot recall when and from where the Muslims came and settled into this interior village Kanwat.

Some of them had their traditional businesses like cycle selling and repairing, automobile garages, fruit vending, grocery shops, poultry and goat farming etc. Some of the Muslims were also engaged in services in shops and business of other trading communities of the village. For the last few years, some of them were diversifying into new enterprises like building construction, contractors, building material supplier, rural transport business with tempos and jeeps, second hand vehicles trading etc.

All the 185 Muslim households have lost all of their belongings. Their houses and business premises have been looted, burnt and destroyed. Out of 185 households, 38 had pucca RCC structures and the rest were kutcha structures. They have lost property worth Rs 3.50 crore approximately, in their shops, garages, cabins and lorries and vehicles. They are homeless and have become paupers, taking shelter in Vadodara and Chhotaudaipur with relatives and Muslim jamaatkhanas.

Fifty-two Bohra community households were well-to-do traders of Kanwat. They were settled in Kanwat for more than 100 years and had developed business in varied spheres and on a big scale. Besides their traditional business of wholesale grain trade and grocery shops, bakery, printing press, soft drink manufacturing, rural transport business were some of the new areas where the enterprising Bohra had stepped in for the last 2-3 years. Even by very conservative estimate, they have lost property worth Rs. 7 to 8 crore.

From March 1 onwards, Muslims were receiving threats and threatening calls from various sources, which had made them tense and anxious. They were constantly requesting the local administration, the *mamlatdar* and police authority to provide protection. As the tension mounted, they also demanded deployment of Border Security Force (BSF), or Rapid Action Force (RAF), or State Reserve Police (SRP) in adequate numbers.

Their fears were not unfounded, for the *sarpanch* and other village leaders had cancelled the traditional weekly market (*haat*) scheduled for March 4 and March 11. Cancelling of the *haat* was most unusual and extraordinary decision because *haats* are almost never cancelled. This indicated the gravity of the situation and the danger loomed large over the law and order situation. The target was obviously the Muslim community.

The local MLA of Chhotaudaipur personally confided to me that for that whole week, he was pressurising and persuading the district administration to employ BSF/RAF or SRP personnel, minimum 40-50 in number, at Kanwat. He even informed the Home Secretary and the DIG of the state of the looming threat. But the administration did not respond to the requests.

On March 10, in a nearby village Panwad, 12 kms. from Kanwat, the houses, shops and cabins of Muslims were looted and set on fire by mobs from the surrounding villages. Prior to looting and setting fire to the houses and other establishments, the mobs had set on fire the tempo trucks that were parked inside the Police Station compound for safety and security. The incident took place on the very day on which the SRP and the BSF forces were withdrawn from Panwad.

As the report of incidents in Panwad reached Kanwat, the Muslims desperately urged the local administration to provide them security or else they would be ruined and their life was in grave danger. The Muslims in Kanwat panicked because they knew that it was their turn next, for the stories were constantly pouring in from all the sides during the past ten days that the mobs would first target Panwad, then it will be the turn of Kanwat.

I phoned the district collector the same day and informed him that prior to the attack on Panwad, the tribals were constantly threatening that Panwad would be the first, followed by Kanwat. The local BJP leader, who was trying to keep peace in Kanwat, had also sensed the impending trouble. He was also constantly imploring the district collector and the police authority to provide adequate police, BSF protection to Kanwat to avoid the great tragedy that could overtake Kanwat.

In the next two days, I made several calls to the collector and the DSP and pleaded with them to provide security to Muslims and Bohras of Kanwat. I constantly argued with them to deploy BSF/RAF/SRP in Kanwat. All that the district administration had done before this was to organize a Flag March of the security forces in Kanwat. I argued out of desperation that this was no use. Kanwat is an interior village. The Hindu community of Kanwat was not threatening the Muslims. In fact, the Hindus also wanted security forces because they, too, feared the mobs from the surrounding villages.

But the administration claimed that they had limited army personnel. I was informed that there were only 106 jawans at their disposal for the area. If so, I argued, that they should be divided in three parts and take positions in three sensitive localities, Chhotaudaipur, Panwad and Kanwat. I even argued that since Chhotaudaipur was a bigger town, may be Kanwat and Panwad may be assigned 20-24 jawans along with thirty SRP. A Flag March lasting for 10-30 minutes, without a constant presence of the jawans, would serve no purpose, I kept on arguing. My pleadings, along with the pleadings of the other leaders, fell on deaf ears.

I made representations to the NHRC in Ahmedabad, local activists and many senior citizens about the situation in Kanwat.

The army unit did not arrive till the night of March 11. In the early morning of March 12, at 3.30 a.m., 135 households, consisting of 990 people of Muslim community, were shifted under police protection. On the same day, Bohra Muslim families took shelter in the Kanwat police station in the after- noon. Later on in the night, these families,

There is a conspiracy going on to bring disrepute to the good name of Gujarat.

Narendra Modi on the continuing violence reported by the press; (The Indian Express, Ahmedabad; March 14, 2002) The streets are screaming tonight.
An agony of flame is visible from my window
Black and yellow
An echo of the cries that surround me.

Until I draw the curtains and bolt the door To shut out a world that has lost touch with humanity.

In its way the silence is sometimes more ominous than the sound.

I am safe now but for the images that have been burned into my brain.

I am safe now but for the anguish that has been ringing in my ears.

I am safe now but I rest uneasily doused in painful technicolour.

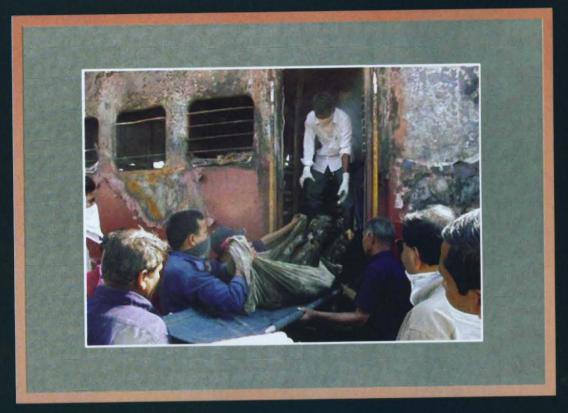
I am safe now I am safe but I am remembering...

This selection of photographs is dedicated to all those who have been victims of the violence that has consumed Gujarat since February this year. We need to face up to the horror that has been inflicted on our people.

For the people who died in the attack on the Sabarmati Express at Godhra on February 27, 2002. In memory of all those who have been killed in the genocide in Gujarat, which began on February 28, 2002.

We list the names of those victims that were available to us, as a reminder that the unrecognisable figures we see are men, women and children who were born to live but made to die.

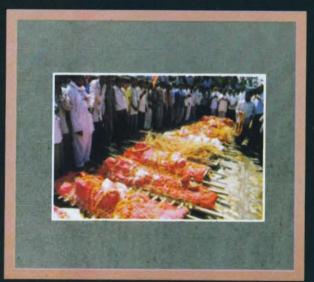
- * Jagerbhai Prajapati
- * Kailash Soni
- * Mansukbhai Soni
- * Lakhu Patel
- Sudha Rawal
- Panchal family
- * Several others who remain unidentified











- Inayathussain Rahimbhai Syed
- Sufiyaappa Inayathussain Syed
- Shabana Hassan Syed
- Salman Inayat Hussain Syyed
- Abidmiya Hamiedmiya Pathan
- Moinuddin
 Hassanbhai Syyed
- Shafibhai Mohammed Ayyub
- * Allabakhash Shaikh
- Nasirkhan
 Chhotekhan Pathan
- Kanijabivi
 Chhotekhan Pathan
- M. Yunus Mohammed Rajak Ansari
- * Ibrahimbhai Bapu
- Naeembhai
 Ibrahimbhai Bapu
- * Abeda Ibrahimbhai Bapu
- Sajadaben
 Ibrahimbhai Bapu
- Nagmaben
 Ibrahimbhai Bapu
- Saberabivi
 Ajujbhai Agbanwala
- Mohammed Faud A. Kader Syyed
- Hussainmiya Golewala
- Hajrabivi Rahimbhai Syyed
- Jalaluddin Alibakhsh Khan Rangrej
- Asif Sharmuddin Shaikh Kausarapa







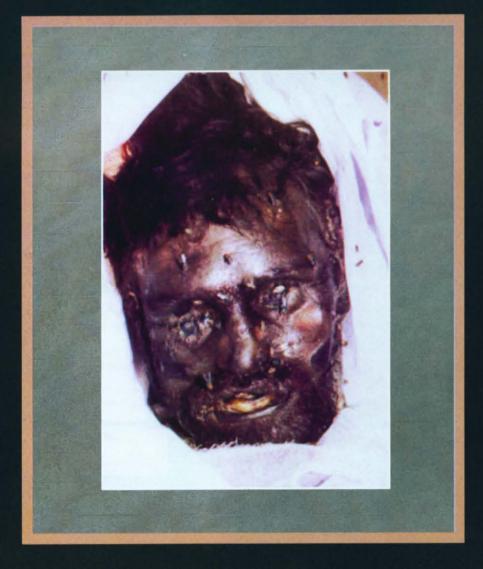


- * Samruddin Shaikh
- * Rafik Samruddin Shaikh
- * Javedhussain Ismailhussain Shaikh
- * Begum Javedhussain Shaikh
- Kudratbegum
 Khursheedbhai Shaikh
- Shabbir Ahmed
 Khursheedbhai Shaikh
- * Jubeda Shabbir Ahmed Shaikh
- Shabbir Khursheedbhai Shaikh
- * Shabbir Khursheedbhai's three children
- * A. Kadar A. Rashid Anori
- Mohammedhasan A. Kader Qureshi
- Salimabegum
 Sardarbivi Shaikh
- * Asrabanu Kabirali Shaikh
- Mohammed Ayyub Baseer Ahmed
- Mohammed Ayyub Baseer Ahmed Shaikh
- Anisbhai
 Naseerkhan Mansuri
- * Ruksana Anisbhai Mansuri
- Anis Naseerkhan's 4 children
- * Parvinbivi Gulamhussain Shaikh
- Samiuddin Shaikh
- Sufiyabegum Ismail Shaikh
- * A. Karim A. Rasul Radal
- * Chandmiya A. Rasul Radal





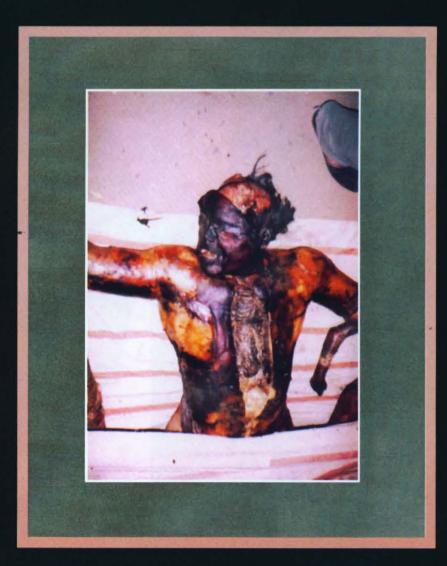




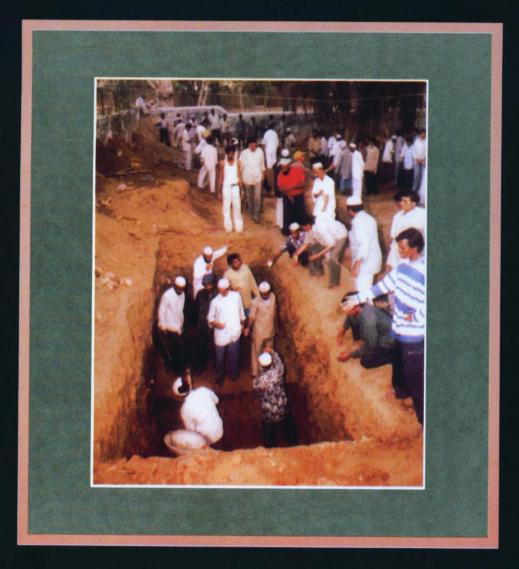
COMMUNALISM COMBAT • MARCH-APRIL, 2002

- Sadiq Salim Shaikh
- Mehboob Babubhai Shaikh
- Sabiyabanu
 Jainabuddin Shaikh
 (together with two children)
- Mumtaj Ali Mansha Ali Ansari
- Amtaj Mumtazali Ansari
- Samruddin Kasim Sa'ab Chaudhapsar
- Abdul Wahab A. Shabbir Gujali
- Samruddin Mohammed Munavvar Lambu
- Shermabanu Iqbal Ahmed Shaikh
- Ehsan Jafri (Ex-MP Lok Sabha)
- Anwarkhan
 Ahmedkhan Pathan
- Khairumiya
 Ahmedkhan Pathan
- Joharuniya
 Saidkhan Pathan
- Jamilabanu Rashid
 Khan Pathan
- Akhtarkhan
 Anwarkhan Pathan
- Sajida Akhirkhan Pathan
- Sadabkhan
 Akhirkhan Pathan
- Nasrinbanu
 Md.Sharif Sheikh
- Nilofar Md. Sharif Sheikh
- Farah Md. Sharif Sheikh
- Attarvahikhan Pathan
- Gulzar Mohammed.
 Nur Md. Pathan

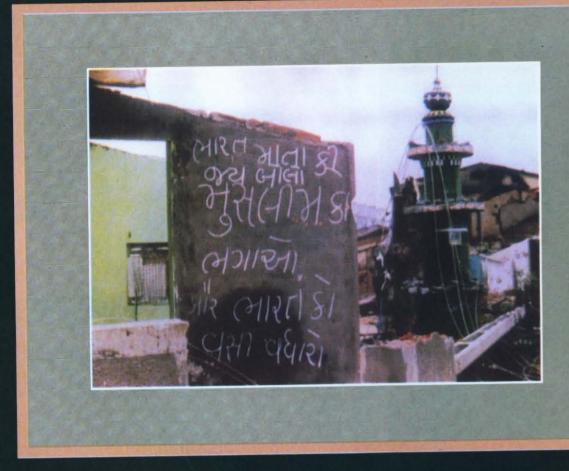


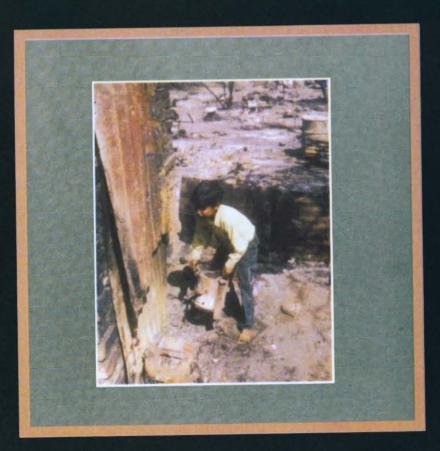


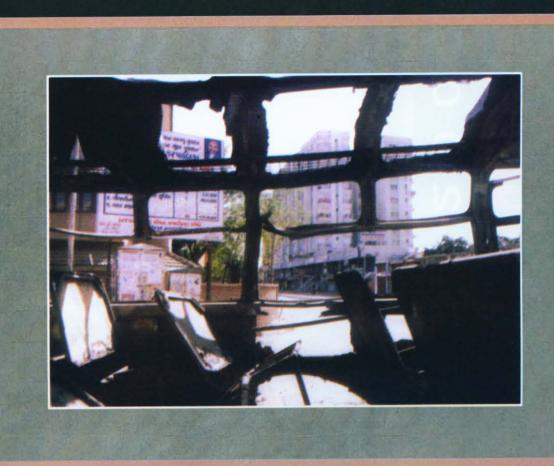




- Mariyambibi Gulzar Md.Pathan
- Firdosbanu Gulzar
 Md.Pathan
- Irfan Md.Gulzar Md.Pathan
- Imran Md.Gulzar Md. Pathan
- Salim Ayubkar Pathan
- Salma Ayubkar Pathan
- Shamsad Ayubkar Pathan
- Shamim Ayubkar Pathan
- Sonaben Allanurbhai
 Mansukh
- Hanisha Mehboobbhai
- Asmatben Abdulbhai
- Mohsin Mehmoodbhai
- Wasim Mehmoodbhai
- Sahil Salimbhai
- Shamim Kalimbhai
- Jahangirbhai Sindhi
- Mohammad
 Salimbhai Sindhi
- Farinaben Jahangirbhai Sindhi
- Mumtajben
 Sikandarbhai Sindhi
- Tasdurbhai Suros
- * Anisha Tasdurbhai Suros
- Nadim Tasdurbhai Suros
- Farhin Tasdurbhai Suros
- Nasir Tasdurbhai Suros
- Kasambhai
 Allanurbhai Mansukh
- Rafiqbhai
 Kasambhai Mansukh

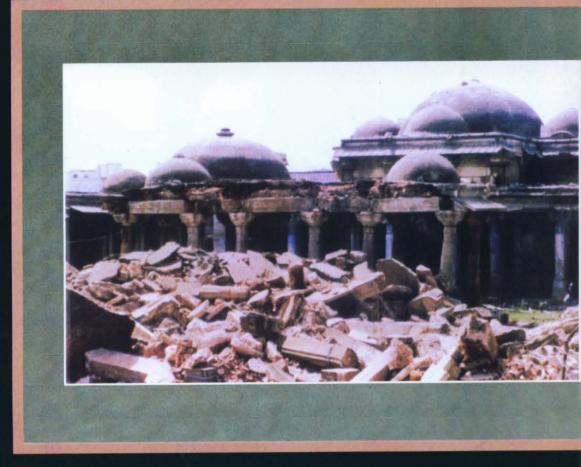


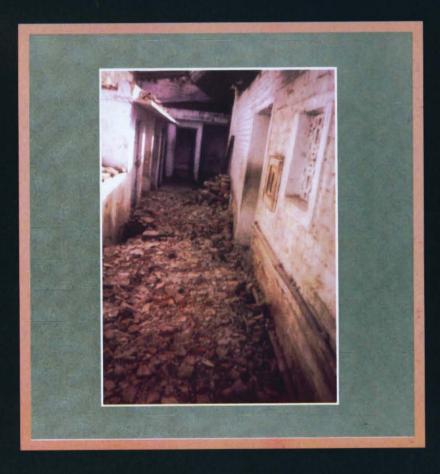


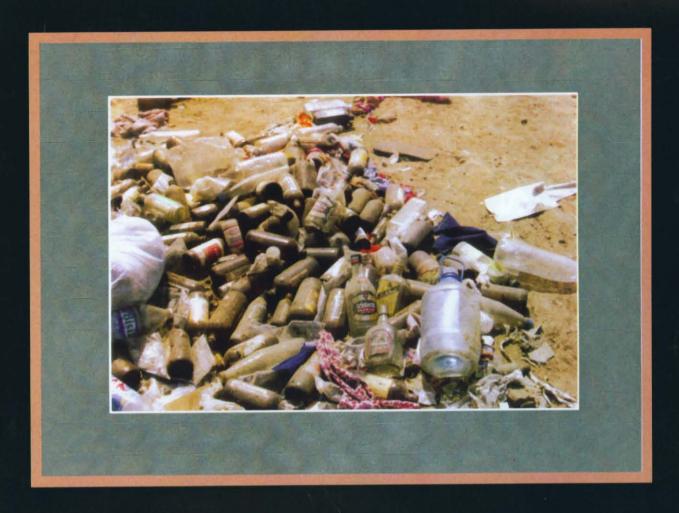


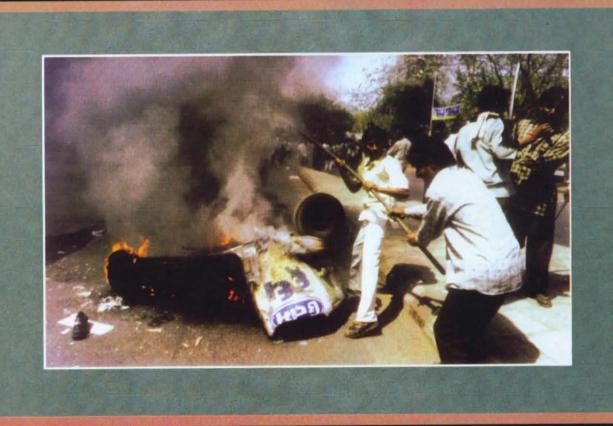


- Aslambhai Kasambhai
- Shakilbhai
- Jebunben
 Kasambhai Mans
- Mehmoodben Aslambhai
- Yasmin Rafiq
- Farida Shakil Mansuri
- Najman Kasam Mansuri
- Shabnam
 Aslambhai Mansuri
- Asha Aslambhai
 Mansuri
- Irfan Aslambhai Mansuri
- Shahina
 Aslambhai Mansuri
- Mukesh
 Aslambhai Mansuri
- Faizal Rafiqbhai
- Shahzadali
 Faquirmohhamad
- Zubedaben Yusufbhai
- Khatoonbibi
 Hussainkhan Pathan
- Akbarkhan
 Hussainkhan Pathan
- Jaibunnisha
 Akbarkhan Pathan
- Yusufkhan
 Ayyubkhan Pathan
- Rihanaben
 Akbarkhan Pathan
- Anwarkhan
 Walimohammed Pathan
- Sitara Majidkhan Pathan
- Noorjehan
 Majitkhan Pathan



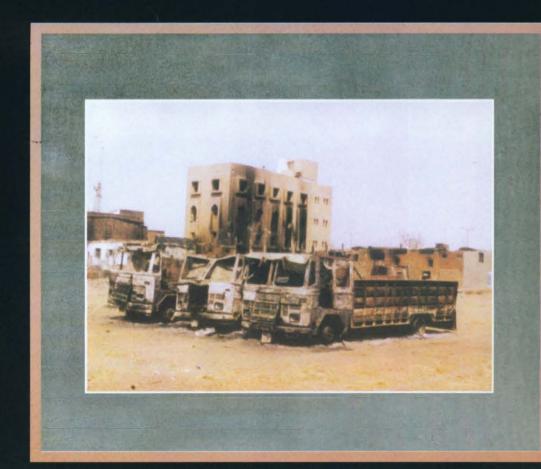


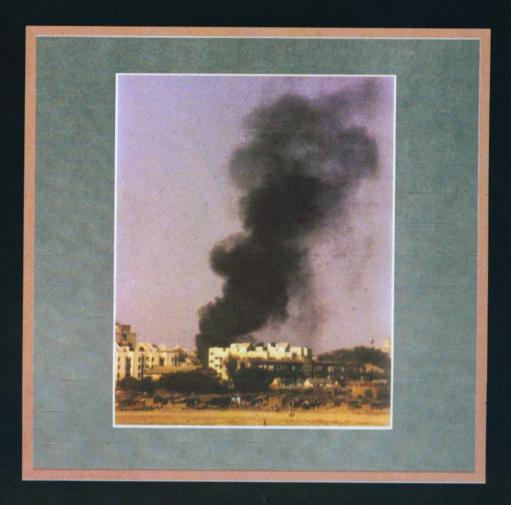


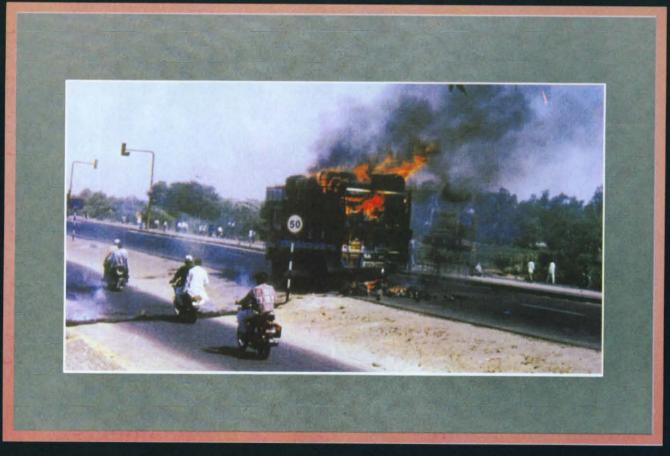


- Imrankhan
 Majitkhan Pathan
- Afsanaben
 Yasinkhan Pathan
- Jariefkhan
 Yasinkhan Pathan
- Sheikh Husenbhai Valibhai
- Sheikh Munafbhai
 Adambhai
- Sheikh Rukaiyabibi A. Gafur
- Sheikh Taiyababibi Shabbirbhai
- Sheikh Abbasbhai Gulabbhai
- Sheikh Umarbhai
 Gulabbhai
- Sheikh Adnan
 Faroogbhai
- Sheikh Hafizarrahman Hanifbhai
- Sheikh Raziyabanu Shabbirbhai
- Sheikh Sumaiyabibi Ayyubbhai
- Sheikh Saeedabibi Hanifbhai
- Sheikh Raziyabibi Md. Hanif
- Sheikh Jubeda (Munni)
 Farooq
- Sheikh Arab Saeedbhai
- Sheikh Habib Ashrafbhai
- Sheikh Bismillah Habib
- Sheikh Dulhanbibi
- Sheikh Niyaz Nabibhai
- Sheikh Harun Bhikhabhai

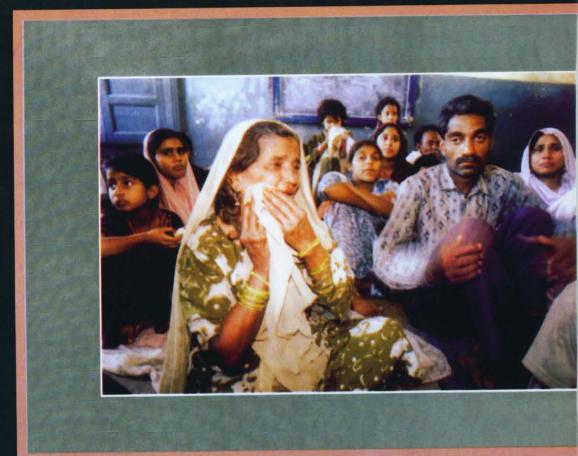


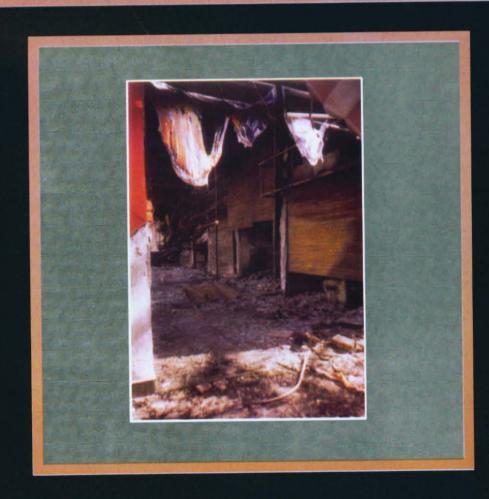


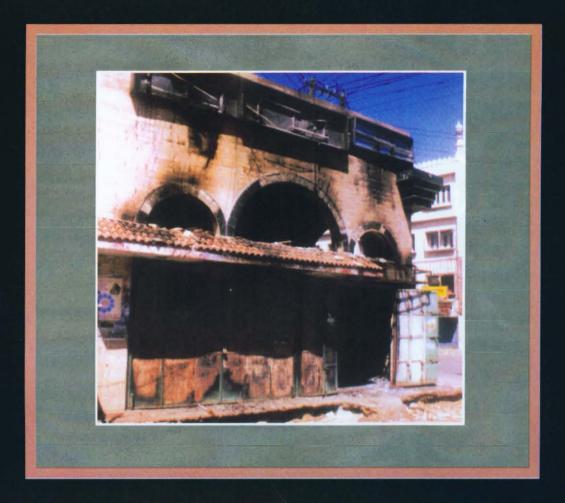


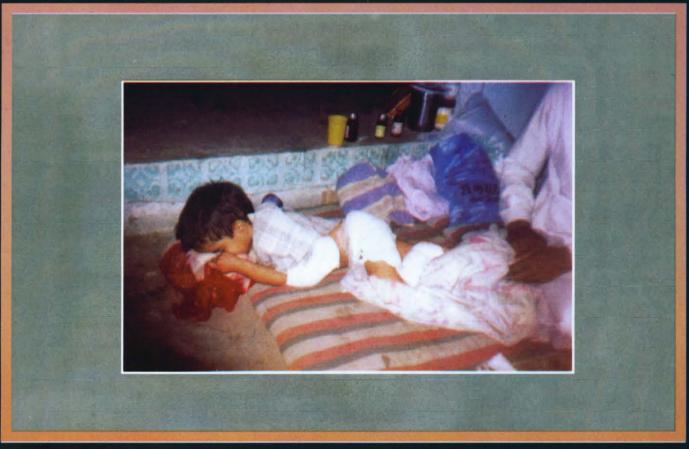


- Sheikh Majid Abdulbhai
- Saiyad Aminaben Imambhai
- Saiyad Iqbal Imambhai
- Saiyad Joharbhai Imambhai
- Saiyad Ruksana Joharbhai
- Saiyad Sohel Joharbhai
- * Kharadi Yusufbhai Ganibhai
- * Rafiqbhai Karigaruri
- * Shahinabanu Rafiqbhai
- Sheikh Rajakbhai Umarbhai
- Sheikh Yusufbhai Ahmedbhai
- Sheikh Tejobanu Yusufbhai
- D/o Sheikh Yusufbhai Ahmedbhai
- * D/o Sheikh Yusufbhai Ahmedbhai
- D/o Sheikh Yusufbhai
 Ahmedbhai
- Sheikh Jakirbhai
 Dashodbhai
- Sheikh Mustakbhai
 Fakir Mohammed
- Sheikh Javedbhai
 Mustakbhai
- Bakrawala Md. Yusuf A. Salam
- Kabri Md. Shafi Gulamnabi
- Muthiya A. Vahid Mo. Iyas
- Patel Md. Hanif A. Masjid
- Sheikh Abbasbhai Nathubhai





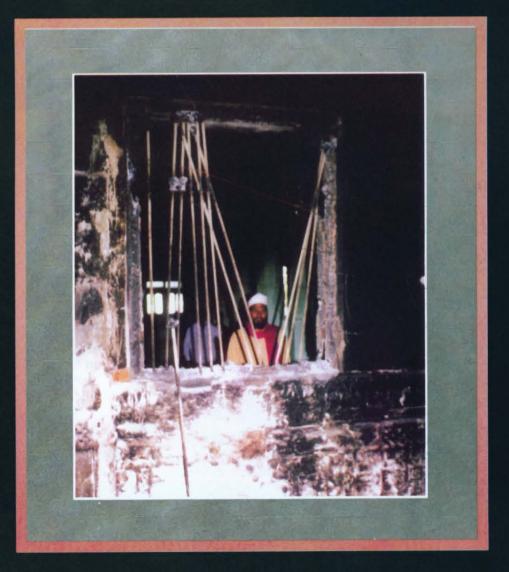


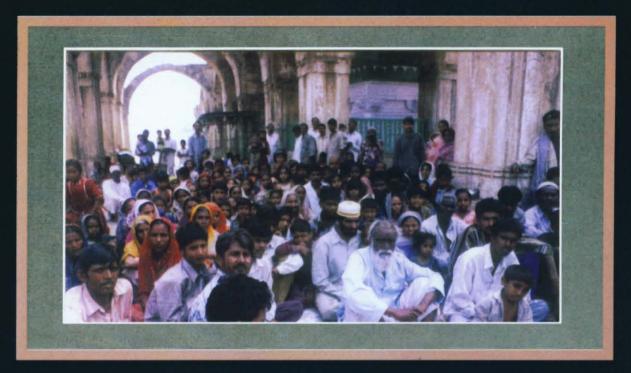


GWARATE 2 0 0 2

- Saiyad YasinbhaiShebabhai
- Saiyad Ayyubbhai
 Habibbhai
- Sheikh Fakirbhai
 Mohammedbhai
- Sheikh Salimbhai
 Abbasbhai
- Sheikh Muradbhai Mehmoodbhai
- Sheikh Adam Abdul
- * Kharadi Jabirbhai Ganibhai
- Divan Jabirbhai Aiyubsha
- Multani Maanubhai
 Shenkha
- Sheikh Kalubhai
 Gulabbhai
- Kausar Ali
- Sheikh Sabira
- Shabnam Aslam Sheikh
- Babli
- Sipli
- Pathan Firoze
- Zainab
- Baby boy child of Feroze and Zainab
- Baby girl child of Feroze and Zainab
- Baliram
- Prakash
- Rajesh
- Nasroo
- Several others who remain unidentified







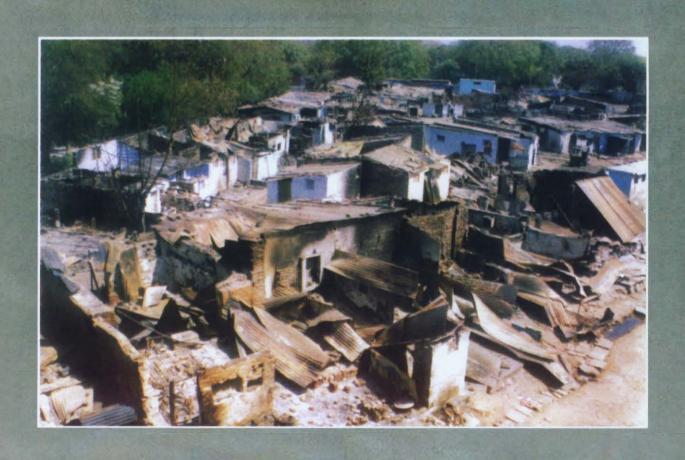


Photo Credits:

Amateur Photographer, Dariakhan Ghumbat Relief Camp Vijay Soneji Kalpit Bhachech Sam Nariman Panthaky Rais Khan Teesta Setalvad too, were shifted under police protection from Kanwat to Dahod town of Gujarat. They left their houses and property

On the morning of March 12, I was informed by some activists that an army platoon had left for Kanwat and would reach Kanwat anytime and that it would stay put up to March 16. The army unit did arrive on March 12 in the morning, staged a Flag March and left in about 30 minutes. While the army was conducting Flag March, I was told by one of the traders that soon after the march was over, the unit would leave. I panicked and called the district collector and informed him about this. He seemed surprised and said, "This should not happen, I will call the DSP."

It is a fact that the unit did leave. Later, I also sent a fax message to the collector and the DSP that the army had left and the people and property were left exposed. The property of Muslims and Bohras was looted in the daylight of March 12 and 13. The police was merely a spectator. It was not that the mob was violent, it was unarmed and consisted of young children and women, but the fact was that the police had not taken any action to prevent the mob from looting and the administration had not deployed enough force.

Even simple measures like tear gas or firing in the air were not resorted to by the police, to prevent the mob from looting and setting fire to Muslim and Bohra property. On March 13, the looting and burning spree started from early morning and went on till late afternoon. Suddenly at about

3.15 p.m., police imposed curfew and within minutes it drove away the looting mobs. I was wondering why the police did not act in this manner the previous day and earlier that day. Within an hour, the mystery was solved and we came to know that the collector and the DSP were visiting Kanwat, I was asked to see the collector. I went and told him that if the administration was willing to bring the situation under control and protect the Muslims and Bohras of Kanwat, it could have easily done so.

Given the circumstances under which the Muslims and Bohras had to flee and their properties were looted and burnt, the panicked communities are not likely to return to Kanwat for a considerable time. And when they return, it is imperative that a sizeable SRP force be stationed in Kanwat for a fairly long period. It is also imperative that the communities which lost all its properties should be appropriately compensated so that they can restart their lives.

Arch L'ahini, At & Post Mangrol, taluka Rajpipla, 393150,

Property looted/destroyed: More than 250 houses and shops looted and then set on fire. All the 185 Muslim and 52 Bohra households have lost all of their belongings. Estimated property losses are Rs 3.50 crore and between 7 and Rs 8 crore respectively.

The accused: Adivasis from neighbouring villages.

Policemen indicted: District collector and Police chief, Vadodara district.

Best Bakery, Hanuman Tekri

A bakery was burnt in the Hanuman Tekri area of Vadodara on March 1, 2002 and along with that, a number of persons were killed or injured. Hanuman Tekri is located on Dabhoi Road on the outskirts of Vadodara. It is a lower middle class and poor neighbourhood. Most of the residents are Hindus; very few Muslim families live there. The basti consists of small houses and very narrow lanes. The houses mostly have tin roofs and very few are more than single storey structures.

The Best Bakery was one of the few structures, which had more than one storey. The Muslim family owning the bakery had shifted to this area only six months prior to this incident. All other Muslims staying in the area had already left their houses on February 27. Only this family stayed on because Javantibhai Chaiwala, who is an influential person in the area, assured them safety.

Place: Best Bakery, Hanuman Tekri, Vadodara

Witness: Sheikh Zahira Habibullah

(Interviewed at Vadodara on March 21)

ayanti Chaiwala, Mahesh Munna painter, Thakkar ke do ladke, all led a mob of about 500-700 people that attacked our bakery on March 1 at 8 p.m. They were flinging petrol bombs on us and were shouting that they will loot and burn us. Three trucks full of timber were burnt and destroyed.

We phoned 100 (Control room) and even contacted the policemen at Panigate police station. They kept saying, "Hum aa rabe bain" ("We are coming.") An hour and a half later, around 9.30 p.m., a police vehicle passed by the bakery, stopped briefly and then drove away without doing anything to stop the mob.

It was after the police had come and gone that the mob started its destruction. There were shouts, filthy abuse and threats to rape us. The entire mob had surrounded us. They looted and torched the ground floor store room and workers' room.

Twenty of us, along with our mother, remained trapped and terrified on the terrace, as they burnt eight people to death. My mama, my sister, Shabira and my mama's children, Zainab and Shabnam (twins) were burnt alive along with the workers in the bakery. Out of the 18 of us present, 10 members, including 3 women and 4 children, were killed in the night itself.

My mother kept begging that she had no support except for her sons. Our three Hindu servants' stomachs were slit open. Two of my brothers were burnt alive; two others were tied up and torched. They are struggling for their lives in the hospital. My mother, Zairunissa and two brothers, Nafiullah and Nasiullah, are very serious; my sister is also serious.

In all, 14 persons were burnt and killed, including my two sisters and my bhabi. My chacha's entire family and one sister were burnt alive. Even our domestic animals, like goats, were not spared. All the attackers were from the *mohalla*.

I filed a complaint naming all the accused but the police have refused to give me a copy of the complaint. I want justice, that is all. I want all the accused to be punished. If the police had done its job, this tragedy would not have occurred.

All the 14 people killed were thrown into the fire. This included four children, three women (my sister Shabira and two *chachis*). Kausar *mama* was cut into pieces and flung into the fire. Two bodies we could not find. Jayanti Batija is the main culprit. He told us that afternoon that we should not worry, he was there, nothing would happen to us and then in the night they attacked. Two young men, Firoz and Nasru, were also killed.

From 8 p.m. in the night to 10 a.m. the next morning, their dance of death continued. The main culprits are the policemen in the police van from Panigate police station who passed by our bakery and our house at around 9.30 p.m., stopped briefly and then drove away.

A Hindu, who owns the Phoolchand bakery, was part of the attackers and he took away the ample stock of flour, ghee and other things. I am very lucky to have survived. The next morning, three of them dragged me far from the house, near a small thicket. One man, pointing a *talwar* at me, told the others to rape me. Just then the police came.

The next day, March 2, I went to the police station and found out that the first FIR registered by the police was false. It said that the victims were sleeping when they were burnt. I had witnessed what happened to my sister Shabira and Mama Kausar. Yet they have not given me a copy of FIR.

(Because of her complaint that the FIR lodged by the police is false, we have with us a written copy of Sheikh Zahira Habibullah's testimony. A copy of the complaint has been submitted to the National Human Rights Commission and other Human Rights organisations, besides the Collector and Police Commissioner, Vadodara.)

The deceased: 14 persons, including 3 women and 4 children, killed; most of them burnt to death.

The accused: Jayantilal Chaiwala and his sons, Mafat, Mahesh, Munna, Sanjay Thakkar, Santosh Thakkar, Jagdish Rattiwala, Dinesh Bakeriwala, Painter.

Policemen indicted: Panigate police station

Machchipith

(Extract from the PUCL fact-finding report on Vadodara)

The importance of the Machchipith event lies in the fact that by March 14, 2002, Vadodara was limping back to normaley. There were a significant number of areas where no untoward incident had taken place till then. The event at Machchipith was used and reported by the media as an unprovoked attack by Muslims on peacefully passing 'rambbakts', almost on the lines of the Godhra event, to trigger the second round of violence in Vadodara.

Machchipith, in the old city area, is inhabited by middle and lower middle. Hindus and Muslims. Many of them run businesses and some are in the service sector. About 40 Hindu families and 400 Muslim families reside in the area. Although Machchipith is regarded as a communally sensitive area in local memory, even in 1985 and 1990-92, no significant instances of 'rioting' occurred here, though there are reports of minor scuffles during these periods. The claim is substantiated by the fact that no instances were reported in this area after the December 6, 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid.

One of the major factors in maintaining communal harmony in the area in the past have been the police initiatives of holding peace meetings during religious festivals or when rallies were planned by either of the communities. For example, at the last peace meeting held before Bakri-Id (February 23), Muzzafar Khan Pathan (Mojubhai), social worker and vice-president of Tazia Committee of Vadodara, represented the Muslim community and took measures to ensure that no untoward event took place. It is significant

that no such peace meetings were initiated by the police before the March 15 rally or thereafter.

In the aftermath of Godhra, too, harmony had prevailed in Machchipith, despite instances of 'rioting' in the immediate vicinity. For example, between February 28 and March 1, a mosque and madrassa were burnt in Tulsibhai ki chawl; 14 houses and 4 shops were burnt and a mosque blasted by means of a gas cylinder in Salatwada; 12 houses and several larri gallas were burnt in Haribhakti ki chawl; and 2 lorries were burnt just outside Machchipith on the main road. Though these events took place within walking distance of Machchipith, the area itself remained calm till March 15.

On March 15, the VHP and Bajrang Dal gave an all India level call for prayer and 'Ram dhun'. In view of the prevailing tension, Tuteja, the Commissioner of Police, Vadodara, imposed section 144 in the city. In contravention of the above order, a 500-strong rally, comprising totally of outsiders, reached Machchipith naka at around 3.10 p.m. About 6-7 police personnel also accompanied the rally, on the left flank, on foot, with a police van bringing up the rear. The rally was quite unruly in that many Muslim-owned shops (including Indian Boot House and Tower Shoes) en route were burnt and looted.

On reaching Machchipith, some of the rallyists rushed into residential lanes with trishuls and swords. All were shouting provocative slogans ("Bandiao, go away to Pakistan," "Bahar ki aulado, Hindustan chhod do," and the like.) Some even took off their pants and danced around in the lanes. Such was the scene that confronted resident Muslims coming out of the mosque after Friday namaaz. The situation worsened with

COMMUNALISM COMBAT . MARCH-APRIL, 2002

stones and bottles being thrown by residents and the rally people. Shortly, while the pelting of stones and soda bottles was going on, police reinforcements arrived in about four jeeps. They immediately began firing with service revolvers and sten-guns. The police fire, which lasted about 25 minutes, was exclusively directed at the residents of Machchipith only. Some tear gas shells were also lobbed into Machchipith.

Army personnel reached the spot after about 15 minutes of police firing and the situation was brought under control. While the residents took shelter in houses, the rallyists disappeared. Thereafter, till about 4 p.m., the police conducted 'combing operation' in Machchipith. Abusing the residents, they barged into various houses and indiscriminately arrested 34 Muslims. 23 of those arrested were from Machchipith, 11 from Rain Basera. Three 15-year old boys (2 of them were to appear in the forthcoming SSC examinations), and a 68-year-old TB patient were among the people arrested and manhandled by the police. There was relative calm between 4.00 p.m. and 7.30 p.m. in the area.

During the evening namaaz at the mosque, small crowds chanting VHP and Bajrang Dal slogans gathered on the terraces in Mama m Pole. About 15 persons were on RK Roadlines' terrace, about 20 on the terrace of Kalyan building and about 30 on the Uday Apartments' terrace. Ajay Dave, the municipal councillor of Manjalpur, NK Rathod, Pl of the Ecocell and Niraj Jain, president of the Vadodara chapter of Bajrang Dal, were present on the RK Roadlines' terrace. Stones were pelted at the Muzzafar Khana mosque from the RK Roadlines' terrace at about 7.30 p.m.

About 20 rounds were fired from the RK Roadlines' terrace towards the mosque and in the general direction of Machchipith. Bullet marks are evident on the structure of the mosque, and not on any other structures in the vicinity. Police combed the Machchipith area after this and rounded up 12 Muslims from Bagh e Habib Apartments. Of the 12, Sajid Khatri, an advocate, was released immediately. The others were released on bail only on March 21, along with the 34 Muslims arrested earlier. The 45 arrested, all Muslims, have been charged under section 307.

Though the area was still under curfew, on the evening of March 24, SRP personnel had to lob tear gas shells in order to curb the belligerence of the crowds gathering on the terraces mentioned above.

March 15 rally

The rally of March 15, which began at Amba Mata ki Mandir, Mandvi at approximately 2 p.m., reportedly, split into two. Many of the rallyists of the group that moved towards Machchipith (significantly no local residents took part), wore saffron bands; several carried saffron flags borne on sticks and rods. Ajay Dave, the municipal councillor of Manjalpur, Baka Brahmbhatt, factory owner in GIDC, Makarpura and Milind Ambegaonkar, of Shikshan Samiti, VMC, were leading the rally. A video clip of the news broadcast by Siti News (in their evening bulletin on the same day), substantiates the above. Milind Ambegaonkar is seen to direct the police to fire upon the Machchipith area, and Ajay Dave is an active presence during the rally as well as during most of the combing operations that took place that day.

Property looted/destroyed: A mosque and madrassa burnt in Tulsibhai ki chawk, 14 houses and 4 shops burnt and a mosque blasted in Salatwada; 12 houses and several larri gallas were burnt in Haribhakti ki chawk, 2 lorries were burnt just outside Machchipith on the main road. Muslim owned shops including Indian Boot House and Tower Shoes burned and looted on March 15.

Policemen indicted: Despite section 144 being in force, the police, apart from an overall intelligence failure, made no attempts to control or disperse the rally of March 15 before it reached Machchipith, covering a distance of nearly one km. Apart from the municipal councillors and other local leaders involved (see above for details), various police personnel were explicitly named. They are 1) MS Patel of Raopura police station; 2) Bhagirathsinh Jadeja, PI of Goonda squad; 3) PI Rao of Karelibaug police station; 4) Kanu Patel of Karelibaug police station; and 5) Fatehsinh Patel of Karelibaug police station. No action has been taken against them.

The accused: The police, VHP and Bajrang Dal, Milind Ambegaonkar (Shikshan

Samiti, VMC), Baka Brahmbhatt (factory owner in GIDC, Makarpura), Ajay Dave (Municipal councillor of Manjalpur), NK Rathod (PI of the Ecocell) and Niraj Jain (President of the Vadodara chapter of Bajrang Dal).

Tarsali

Raghovpura village, Tarsali

(Extract from the PUCL fact-finding report on Vadodara)

Incident:

Raghopura is a village of about 100 families (both Hindu and Muslim) about 12 kms. from Tarsali, off the Vadodara Bombay Highway (NH 8). There are an almost equal number of Muslim and Hindu families living here. The families whose houses have been destroyed, are well-off agriculturists, growing jowar and cotton and are mostly related to one another.

Out of a total of 41 houses belonging to Muslims, 36 houses and the *masjid*, along with two buildings belonging to the *masjid*, were burnt by a 500 strong armed mob late night on March 1. A local Bajrang Dal leader had held a meeting in the neighbouring village the same afternoon. The approximate loss of property is estimated at Rs. 80 lakh.

Chronology:

Tension started here only the day after the incident at Tarsali. Till then, there was no problem either on February 27 or 28. On March 1, Subhashbhai Mafatbhai Chota, the local Bajrang Dal leader, came in the afternoon to the neighbouring village, Patarveni. He is from that village. A meeting was held near the well, which is between Patarveni and Salaad villages, in which a large number of people participated. A few people from Raghopura, too, had gone for the meeting. Two of them were Hindu friends of the local Muslim boys; they returned and told Mubarak Bhai that plans were being made to burn these houses.

Anticipating trouble, all the women and children were shifted to Dhaniyari from Raghovpura village. About 15-20 men remained in the village. Only PSI Vadalia from Varnama police station and two constables from Kelanpur were present in the village. They had been there since morning. The police were told that they had got news of trouble and therefore, they should ask for more police, but Vadalia said "Don't worry, we are here."

They could hear a mob approaching the village at about 9.30–10 p.m. When the PSI was told of the noise, he said that it must be the jackals from the jungle. The residents then ran and hid in the last house in the lane. Mubarak Bhai was on the first floor and he saw everything from there.

A mob of about 400-500 people entered the lane of the masjid around 10-10.15 p.m. Mubarakbhai recognised Shantilal Bhai, the sarpanch of the village, who is from the BJP, Nattu Bhai, Subhash Bhai Mafatchota (Bajrang Dal), his father, brother and brother in law, Bipin Bhai, Natwar Narang, Mahendra Patel. They were carrying weapons, swords (dhariyas), lathis and tin cans of kerosene; some were also carrying bottles. Subhash Bhai Mafatchota was carrying a dhariya.

The mob first went to the *masjid* and destroyed the railings. They ransacked the *masjid*, pulled out all the utensils and the Quran Sharief and started to burn it. People had climbed onto the *masjid* and were destroying its railings. They threw down the speakers mounted on top of the towers. Then they threw kerosene from the tin cans and lit fire to all the utensils and the Quran Sharief. Some sort of inflammable chemical was used to burn. They also burnt the *masjid* and the two buildings opposite the *masjid* which belong to it; the fire caught on and started to burn all the adjoining houses.

The PSI and the two constables were with the mob. There were shouting slogans like "Miya ne kato!" ("Kill the Muslims!"); "Miya ne jalao" ("Torch the Muslims!"); "Unka auraton ni iyat luto" ("Rape their women!")

When the fire started spreading, the fire brigade was called, but said they couldn't come as they had too many places which were burning. The rest of the people who were hiding, escaped from behind and went near the lake and from there went to Dhaniyari. They reached Dhaniyari around 4.30 a.m.

Mubarak Bhai who was on the first floor, could not escape. The mobs started to enter the houses. There were also people surrounding the village. They did not burn Rafiq Bhai's house because the Hindu houses are adjoining. A three wheeler tempo, Trax, belonging to Ashwin Bhagubhai Patel of the village, was used to cart all the things they looted from the houses. The Fiat car of Rafiq Patel, parked in front of his house, was also burnt and two tractors belonging to Javed Bhai were also burnt. Mubarak ran and hid in a house near the masjid at this time. After about two hours, someone shouted that the police was coming and the mob dispersed.

By this time, the room belonging to the temple which is near the *masjid* (the temple is close to the *masjid*) caught fire and someone had called the fire brigade from Dandia Bazar. They had come and were putting the fire out with the water hose. When Mubarak went to them and told them to put out the fire in the *masjid* and the houses, the fire brigade personnel said they wouldn't do it. The PSI told him to run, or else he would book him under \$.186. The PSI told Mubarak that if his people hadn't burnt the train, this would not have happened. Using the water in the *masjid's* tank, Mubarak put out the fire. The houses were still burning, as all the water was over and so, he couldn't put the fire out completely. The houses were smouldering for two whole days.

PSI Vadalia, who was at the village, said he would register FIRs and complaints only if no names were mentioned.

Property looted/destroyed: Out of a total of 41 houses belonging to Muslims, 36 houses and the *masjid* along with two buildings belonging to the *masjid* burnt. Property damage is estimated at Rs. 80 lakh.

The accused: Mubarak identified the following persons: Subhashbhai of Bajrang Dal, Rabhipura village sarpanch Deepabhai Patel, Raghopura sarpanch Shantilal Patel, Natwarbhai Naranbhai Patel, Mahendrabhai Patel, Bipinbhai Bhailalbhai Patel, Amitbhai Jashbhai Patel,

Motibhai Gordhanbhai Patel, sarpanch of Megakui, Satishbhai Thakor, his brother Chandresh Thakor, and many others.

Policemen indicted: PSI Vadalia from Varnama Police Station and two constables from Kelanpur.

Tulsiwadi

Place: Mansuri Kabrastan, Roshannagar, Tulsiwadi, Vadodara

Witnesses: Mumtaz Bano Iqbal Bhai Gandharva

(Interviewed at Vadodara on March 1)

On Friday March 1, police from the Karelibagh police station broke down the doors of my home, arrested my husband and thrashed me mercilessly. My husband is not well, I am very worried about him. He is in central jail. Totally, 58 men from our *basti* were arrested. We have a cycle shop; everything from our shop and house was looted and burnt. For the last 21 days, my husband is in jail for no mistake of his. I have small children, how do we feed ourselves? My neighbour's 20 year-old son, Siraj, has also been arrested.

Policemen indicted: Karelibagh police station.

Place: Mansuri Kabrastan, Roshannagar, Tulsiwadi, Vadodara

Witnesses: Husnabano Kadarbhai Mansuri

(Interviewed at Vadodara on March 21)

My elder son, Sameer, has been arrested for no rhyme or reason. "Woh saah ka order hai pakadne ka" ("Saheh's orders are to arrest him"), is all that they said. There were four policemen and one woman, me, in the house. "Yeh police ka kaam hai kya lathi marneka? Hum jhagade mein na jasad mein" ("Is this what the police are meant to do: beating up people who have done nothing wrong?")

Policemen indicted: Four police constables from the Karelibagh police station..

Place: Mansuri Kabrastan, Roshannagar, Tulsiwadi, Vadodara

Witness: Racesa Sheikh Mansuri

(Interviewed at Vadodara on March 21)

My younger brother Sarfaraz was taken away with the others. There are 40 hutments in our area. We are all daily wage earners and we are falsely accused of demolishing a temple in Tulsiwadi. Why are we held responsible for what we did not do? It was a Friday, we were sitting in our houses, busy with *Quran Khani* (recitation of the Quran) when the attack happened. We want our men back. Whom can we trust? Aren't the policemen there to protect our lives?

They came with iron pipes and *lathis*. They started shouting, "Take out the weapons." And they beat our boys and men mercilessly. Then they started lathi-charging and beating us up. When we women went in front to save our men they threatened, "We will shoot you." Which law says a 16-year-old boy can be arrested? For what? *Kal hamara bacheha kharah hokar bigad jayega to aap kis ko zimadar thahraoge* (If our son takes to the wrong path because of this treatment, who will you blame?) We have been living here for 20 years, we have our faith and our work. Please release our children.

Policemen indicted: Police contingent on duty at the Karelibagh Police Station, Vadodara on March 1.

Audhootnagar Makkarpura

Place: Audhootnagar Makkarpura, Vadodara

Witnesses: Mohammed Shakoor, Taj Mohammed Races, Anwar Namdar Khan, Mehmood Alam, Shafqat Khan Pathan, Shakir Bhai Jabbar Bhai Pathan, Naushad Khan Pathan

Interviewed by CC at Vadodara on March 21)

During the attacks in Vadodara, our homes in Audhootnagar had been burnt. We had taken refuge in a camp. Between 2-2.30 p.m. on March 17, we took police protection and went to check out the status of our house. PSI Varecha, two junior officers and four constables accompanied us. We went to our houses, and were trying to retrieve some of our belongings, when a mob of 5-6,000 set upon us. They placed

pipes across the road to prevent the jeep from leaving.

The police just sat there instead of defending us. PSI Varecha actually said to the mob, "Dus minute mein sab patado" ("You have 10 minutes to do your job.") He did not use any tear gas or fire to disperse the mob. The mob attacked us with pipes, swords and dharryas and we received no protection from the police. We recognised Raju and some others from the locality. In the violence, Munna Bhai (25-year-old) and Mushtaq Ahmed Nisar Ahmed (45-year-old) were killed.

The accused: Niraj Jain (1 HP mahamantn); Kaushik Shah, Shailesh Sota (deputy mayor), Jatin Vyas (Bajrang Dal), Nagarjuna (from Ajwa Road), Jayesh Bhatt, Ajay Dave, Raju.

Policemen indicted: PSI Varecha, two junior officers and four constables.

Violence unending

The period between mid-March and April 16, when we go to press, saw continued violence in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat. More and more instances of indiscriminate police firing have been reported where victims are mainly, the minority. It is imperative that the Gujarat police regularly makes available statistics to members of the public. This is one way there will be accountability.

Large mobs still assemble and the police watches them. Nothing short of a complete hand-over of law and order to the armed forces, after President's Rule is declared for an extended period, can stem the tide in Gujarat. We are otherwise likely to see an even further deterioration of security conditions in that state.

16 April 2002: Large parts of Ahmedabad still remained under curfew. It is unheard of that 48 days after communal incidents, this level of violence and terror stalk a region.

15 April 2002: Two persons were shot dead by the police at Dariapur on Sunday evening. The police of the Dariapur Police Station assisted a mob pelting stones at minority pockets in the area. A local resident, Ayub Khan Pathan, had his head blown off when he simply stepped out to take a snapshot and get photographic evidence of police misdemeanours. The violence continued on the morning of April 15 between Delhi Darwaza and Shahibag (where incidentally the Commissioner of Police's headquarters are located) and the targets were – Kanikhad Muslim Mohalla (where 80 households live) and Sajjan Jamadar Mohalla (where 200-250 families live).

Two terror attacks, by mobs of 15-20 and 100 200 respectively, on std VIII and IX standard students belonging to the minority community, giving examinations in two separate examination centres at Delhi Darwaza on April 15. (see Section on State Complicity) This writer spoke to three students from schools Jyot Kanya Vidyalaya and KG Desai High School, who gave her this testimony. There are at least 15 other witnesses to the same incident. The names of the students have been withheld to protect their identity.

Witness One: "My school is the Jyot Kanya Vidyalaya. I was giving my Std IX terminal examination in a room on the ground floor of the building around 10.30 a.m. Suddenly we heard shouts from outside. We asked our teacher, 'What is the noise?' "Kuchh nahin," said the teacher. Suddenly, a group of 10-15 persons stormed into the school grounds and stood in the compound, just outside the class. We were terrified. "Maro, kato;" "Mussalmanon ko nikalon;" "Idhar aa jaao," (pointing to Hindu areas), were the cries we heard. We turned to our teacher who did nothing. Then she said, "you better go." We started running frantically."

Witness: Two: "I was giving my class VIII terminal examination on the ground floor but in another class at the far end of the corridor at the Jyot Kanya Vidyalaya. Suddenly we heard ominous shouts. I turned to the Sir who was the supervisor. "What is the noise, Sir?" "Looks like a fight. You better not go anywhere," he said. (The girl was stammering with fright as she recounted the frightening incident.) Suddenly the shouts grew louder. We just ran out of our class and the school. Six to seven of us ran towards the Kanichad mohalla where residents had blocked the entrance for fear of attacks from Hindus. We were banging on the blockade frantically. They would not open. We were screaming, in tears, "We are Muslims, we are Muslims, please save....... We are so frightened."

Witness Three: "I am studying in the Std IX class at the KG Desai High school between Delhi Darwaza and Shahpur Darwaza. After the examinations when three of us were trying to leave the school to go home a lamba tola (buge mob) came running towards the school. We turned to the Principal's room and the Principal, Ramanbhai Patel for help. He simply pushed us away. It was the Hindus from the back who had attacked us. Luckily, we were finally saved by an old lady, a Muslim lady. I just cannot think of going back to school and giving my examinations tomorrow."

5 April 2002: In a shocking incident, which showed how Modi's armed men still roam the streets, a convoy of five vehicles carrying families from Chota Udaipur to Vadodara under police escort was attacked by a mob en route, which set all the vehicles on fire. At least three persons received serious burn injuries and a policeman, who was attacked with sharp weapons, was also grievously hurt. The families, who were stuck in an unsafe area for the past six days, were being shifted to Vadodara by the police in three trucks, a tempo and a rickshaw:

4 April 2002: Umreth, Anand district: Two persons were killed and two injured in police firing in Umreth town of Anand district, where rioting mobs burnt down about 10 shops. Police fired 20 rounds and imposed indefinite curfew in the afternoon. Kutch, which had been peaceful so far, also witnessed violence on Tuesday. Indefinite curfew was clamped in Anjar after mobs damaged three places of worship.

3 April 2002: Police, under PI SD Sharma, in the presence of Mr Parmar of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, led a violent attack on the 750 refugees of the Suleiman Roza Relief Camp (behind Nutan Mills), Saraspur and actually shot two persons, Pirujbhai Mohammad Sheikh(30) and Khatoonbi Sharfuddin Saiyed (45). The camp, which has been home to 750 displaced persons over the past 40 days, was thus forcibly wound up.

29 innocents were shot at by the RAF and SRP forces on April 3. One innocent, Advocate Nizam was shot dead by the police inside his home on April 3. On the same day, on the eve of the PM's visit, Dr Ishaq Sheikh, Vice President of the Al Ameen Garib Niwas Hospital, was pulled out of his ambulance by the Ahmedabad police, SRP and RAF personnel and brutally beaten up. Police Inspectors Modi and Parmar were present while this happened and did nothing to stop the assault. The second person shot dead in police firing halfs from Sakhar Ghanchi ki charl — (Mohammad Yunus Akbarbhai). The Policemen named by eyewitnesses are NA Modi (PSI D Staff), NR Jadhay, senior Police Inspector and Mr Sawani, DCP.

3 April 2002: Abasana, Ahmedabad: Late on the night of April 3, five members of a Muslim family were burnt to death at Abasana village, 70 km. from here. Three houses were burnt down and five members of the same family, including a baby girl, were hacked to death and then set ablaze by an unruly mob of around 15-20 persons at about 12.30 am. The Kadih police reached the spot at 2.30 am. On the evening of April 3, in another incident, in broad daylight and in the heart of this city, 34-year old Muhammad Riyaz Qureshi was hacked to death near the Shahpur police post, apparently because he was married to a Hindu. There is heavy police deployment in the area but the policemen saw nothing, heard nothing and did nothing.

2 April 2002: In one week, mobs set fire to over 50 Ahmedabad houses whose residents wait in relief camps. The police in the city of Ahmedabad just did not stop them. They say that fire spreads too fast and that they are short of staff.

Fifty houses were set on fire at Behrampura in the Dani Limda area; they had been vacated by fleeing residents on February 28. About 500 yards away are the Behrampura police outpost and an additional police picket but that didn't help much when the mob got to work. Homes in Rajpur, Gomtipur, Ramol, Syedwadi, Vatwa and Madhavpura were gutted. A mob set on fire at least eight houses at Adundara village near Kadih in Mehsana district even as curfew continued in Kadih town. A mob of not less than 10-15,000 attacked homes at Vejalpur and Johapura. Police fired about 31 rounds and 156 tear gas shells in the area on Sunday night to control the situation.

Three persons were killed in police firing all over Gujarat. At least one person was killed in Cambay and Petlad towns in Kaira district in police firing and one was stabbed to death in Kadih town in Mehsana district as violence re-erupted in the curfew-bound towns late at night. At least three persons were killed in Cambay and Petlad in police firing earlier in the day to control mob violence.

Disturbances spread to newer areas such as Narsanda, Boriyavi, Chaklasi and other small towns and villages in central and north Gujarat where mobs set fire to houses and shops belonging to a minority community and tried to damage some places of worship.

- 31 March 2002: About 60 houses in two chawls on Dani Limda Road in Behrampura—were gutted following arson resorted to by residents of Pathani Ni Chali and Ghasiram Chali after a minor incident of stone-throwing between two groups on Sunday afternoon.
- 30 March 2002: A 25,000 strong mob gathered at CTM Amraiwadi at the junction of Vatwa and Jantanagar Ramol and Ansaribagh and tried to attack Gomtipur, Jhumli Chawl, Najor Road, Vora Chal and Sukhram Road. For residents, the terror continued late into the night.
- 29 March 2002: Two Kashmiris were allegedly burnt alive by rioters during communal clashes at Ahmedabad in Gujarat. They have been identified as Sareer Ahmad of Gohan-Kokernag and Isfaq Ahmad of Vesu-Qazigund. Reports said the former was a truck driver while the latter a cleaner. They were on their way from Kashmir to Ahmedabad in their vehicle, loaded with Kashmiri apples. As the truck entered Ahmedabad, a mob stopped it. When the miscreants discovered that the driver and the cleaner were Kashmiris, they severely thrashed the duo. Their truck was set ablaze and subsequently the two were burnt alive.
- 29 March 2002: The 200 residents at the Kadih Relief camp near Kalol were attacked by a large mob at midnight.
- 26 March 2002: Even one month after the Godhra carnage, things have not returned to normal in the city. Every day, violence breaks out in new areas. While there was trouble in Khadia and Ramol areas on Tuesday, two incidents of stabbing were reported from Ranip and Shaherkotda areas on March 26.
- 24 March 2002: A 30-year-old woman was stripped in public and stabbed to death in the Vejalpur area of Ahmedabad on Sunday as violence continued unabated in Gujarat. Fresh violence has erupted in Bhavnagar, Jambusar (Bharuch district) and Prantij (Sabarkantha district) towns and indefinite curfew has been imposed there 30-year-old Mumtazbano, whose maiden name was Geeta before she married a Muslim, was stopped by miscreants at Vejalpur when she was going out with her husband on a scooter. She was stripped and stabbed to death. Her husband has been admitted to the VS Hospital with serious knife injuries.

24 March 2002: An 18-year-old student, who was on his way to write his HSC examination, was stabbed by two unidentified assailants on Wednesday afternoon, leading to tension in the communally sensitive Dhoraji area. The student, Ashok Lakhabhai Ahir, was first taken to Junagadh and was shifted to Rajkot on Thursday. Doctors said his condition was serious.

- 24 March 2002: The Revdi Bazaar in Panchkuva area of Ahmedabad was transformed into a raging inferno when manic rioters set shops afire. The market place, which houses wholesale cloth shops, soon erupted into flames which took the Ahmedabad Fire Brigade more than five hours to control. Though no casualties were reported, the damage, say local shopkeepers, could well cross Rs 15 crore.
- 22 March 2002: At least four persons were killed, three of them in Vadodara, as violence flared up in the central Gujarat city where curfew was again imposed in six police station areas. In Ahmedabad, one person was killed and three others injured in stabbing incidents in the Kagdapith and Gomtipur areas while incidents of violence and arson were reported from some areas of north Gujarat. A 35-year-old man, reportedly a tailor, was found with his throat slit near the Lal Akhada in the Fatehpura area of Vadodara. The second case of stabbing was reported in the Dandia Bazar area of the city. The person, who ran an English class at Apsara Apartments, was attacked at his office in the afternoon. In Ahmedabad, Ghanibhai, who cooked food for the 7,000 residents of the Shah Alam Relief Camp, was brutally killed by youth from just outside the ghetto area, where he had gone to buy a basket used to clean rice.
- 21 March 2002: Six persons were killed in renewed violence in Ahmedabad. Five persons were killed in police firing at Kalupur, (Usman Ghani Memon, Arif Mansoori, Fakir Aakha Ali Shaikh, Mohammad Aslam, Mani), while one person was stabbed to death in sporadic incidents of violence in the Dariapur, Karanj and Shahpur areas.

At Himmatnagar town, one shop was set ablaze in the Motipura area when curfew was relaxed for women and children between noon and 6 p.m. Vatwa continued to remain under the grip of tension after the arson at Nava Chunaravas on Wednesday, when two persons were killed in police firing.

- 19 March 2002: At least two people have been killed in police firing in the Vatwa area of Ahmedabad on Wednesday afternoon and indefinite curfew has been clamped in Himmatnagar town in Sabarkantha district. Mobs went on the rampage in Vatwa, torching several hutments and cabins by firing petrol bombs before the police moved in and restored order. Violence spread in Himmatnagar town in Sabarkantha district, after the disappearance of a boy sparked violence.
- 18 March 2002: Four persons, including two belonging to the minority community, were killed when police opened fire to disperse mobs in Bharuch and Sabarkantha districts as fresh bouts of communal violence hit parts of Gujarat, police sources said. Two persons were killed and as many seriously injured when police fired on a stone-pelting mob in the sensitive Undai-Hajikhana locality of Bharuch, which has been rocked by a fresh spell of violence since yesterday. With this, the death toll in the latest spell of violence in the town, went up to four. Two persons were stabbed to death yesterday.
- 17 March 2002: Even 17 days after the Godhra carnage, Ahmedabad has not calmed down. Incidents of arson, rioting and loot were reported from the Dani Limda and Dudheshwar areas. One person died in police firing while three others, including a Home Guard of State Civil Defence, sustained serious stab wounds in Dani Limda. Around 2 pm, a 1,000-strong mob went on the rampage and set fire to two textile-dye manufacturing units in Dani Limda. Prior to this, the mob also damaged three shops and set ablaze four vehicles.

Religious and cultural desecration



By 4 p.m. on March 8, 02, a tarred road replaced the shrine of the grandfather of Urdu poetry, Wali Gujarati, located not more than 10 metres from the Ahmedabad Commissioner of Police PC Pandey's headquarters. The shrine was torn down by marauding mobs allegedly under the directions of Gujarat revenue minister Haren Pandya on the night of March 1. That day, a saffron flag was embedded into the site where the shrine once stood. This flag was removed on the night of March 2. However, a callous government and an unprincipled administration participated in the utter obliteration of this cultural monument uben they allowed a tarred road to be constructed over it. On the night of March 3, the 400-year-old mosque owned by the Wakf board and located at Anjali Cinema, was broken down in the presence of state ministers Haren Pandya and Amit Shah. With delibrate cynicism, in many such locations, the Hulladiya Hanuman (riot Hanuman) idol has been installed there; darshans and artis have also been held.

The mosque of Malik Asin (Asas, Imadul Mulk) at Ahmedabad, built in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada (1458-1511) has been destroyed. A protected monument built in stone, this structure was destroyed within hours and with military precision, in an operation involving the use of a crane and bulldozers. At around the same time, the mosque of Muhafiz Khan at Ahmedabad was also badly damaged.

The Hague Convention of 1954 (or the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict) recognised that the preservation of "cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world" and that "damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind." India is a signatory to this convention.

In 1972, a protocol to this Convention was adopted, which identified "cultural heritage" as, among other things, "monuments, architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science". Every State that had acceded to the Hague Convention, it held, recognised that "the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State."

At its General Conference meeting in 2001, UNESCO adopted a resolution that sought to define the circumstances under which an act could be construed as a "crime against the common heritage of humanity." It reiterated the need for all member states to accede to and observe the various conventions it had evolved over the years. And it authorised the Director-General of the organisation to formulate for the next session of the General Conference, a "Draft Declaration" which would define the circumstances under which the "Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage" could be deemed to have taken place.

The BJP-led government at the Centre is in flagrant default of these conventions and norms of international conduct. The Chief Minister of Gujarat is not simply guilty of crimes against humanity; his men have led assaults (to which the police have turned a blind eye) against the common bentage of humanity.

CC. has through a wide network of activists and writers all over Gujarat, accessed a comprehensive list of no less than 230 shrines—Dargahs and Masjids that were destroyed using buildozers and cranes in just 72 hours—hours that CM Narendra Modi-spent in getting the state 'under control.' Born in Aurangabad in 1667, Wali Gujarati is regarded as the founder of the modern Urdu poem. He travelled widely and was also known as Wali Aurangabadi or Wali Dakhani. Ironically, he was a frequent traveller to Gujarat and wrote lovingly of its centres, especially Surat. He died in Ahmedabad in 1707, on one of numerous visits to the city. Then, the people of this region, Gujarat, subscribing to a richer and inclusive worldview, built a tomb for him in Ahmedabad and proudly laid claim to his legacy by bestowing upon him the title of Wali Gujarati. Trom the Sahmat statement released on April 8.)

Among the other shrines destroyed is the tomb of Ustad Faiyaz Khan in Vadodara, which was attacked and wreathed in burning tyres in early March. Extensive damage has been inflicted on the façade of the structure commemorating a man who the erstwhile ruling dynasty of Varodara declared in 1912, was the greatest singer in the realm.

Apart from the scale and brutality of the destruction itself, the publicised reactions of members of the saffron brigade reveal a trained cadre and a deeply entrenched hate-driven mindset. One such Paresh Patel told the media, "Our Hanuman cannot be kept here without sanctifying the atmosphere. So puja is a must." "We razed the masjid day before yesterday and today we are here to 'purify' the place so that *Hulladrya Hanuman* can bless his devotees here peacefully." Boasting that he was part of the mob that razed Noorani Masjid, high school dropout Patel says that he wasn't a staunch Hindu till the Babri Masjid aftermath. "I stayed in Naroda and there we had to go without milk and food for three days. It's easier to talk of communal harmony sitting in air-conditioned offices but if you experience the Muslim tyranny, you will realise how unsafe they are," Patel, a father of two, said. Patel said that his children went without milk and kept on crying for food. "I was jobless for days together and it was only Hindus who helped my family out. Now, it becomes my moral duty to do anything and everything for the Hindu cause," he added. (The Asian Age, March 3, 02.)

District wise Detail of Damage to mosques and dargahs in Gujarat during communal violence which erupted on 28th Feb 2002

Ahmedabad Town and Ahmedabad District

- 1. Idgah Masjid, Idgah Chowki, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 2. Mosque, Mai Fatesha Dargah Ourside Shahpur Gate, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 3. MariyamBibi Historical Mosque, Vatwa, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 4. Dargah, LO.C. Rd Chandkheda, Razed to ground
- 5. Noorani Masjid, Naroda Patia, Loot, Damage and arson
- 6. Religious place, Chamanpura, Loot, Damage and arson
- 7. Bandarvad Talav Masjid, Vandarvadi Talav, Vatwa, Razed to Ground
- 8. Saived Sabirali Dargah, Parasnagar, Razed to Ground
- 9. Hasan Shaheed Masjid, Vatwa, Razed to Ground
- 10. Isan Malik Shahi Masjid, Isanpur, Razed to Ground
- 11. Tomb of Renowned Urdu poet Vali, Nr. Shahibaug, Police Commissioner's Office, Razed to Ground
- 12. Madina Masud, Bhatta-Paldi, Razed to Ground
- 13. Datar Bawa Chillo, Inside Masjid, Outside Shahpur Gate, Razed to Ground
- 14, 400 years old Mosque, Mehndikuva Dudheshwar, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 15, 400 years old (Langar) Religious Place, Mehndikuva Dudheshwar Razed to Ground
- 16. Peer Hazrat Samsuddin Bawa (R.A) Dargah, Peer Hazrat
- Gebanshah Bawa (R.A), Vataman Road, Dholka, Razed to Ground
- 17. One Dargah, Nr Madhiya Dholka, Razed to Ground
- 18. Bhola Shaheed Mosque, New Cloth Market Sarangpur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 19. Raniwali Mosque, Raypur Chakla, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 20. Mosque, Gandhi Road, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 21. Gebanshah Peer Mosque, Kalvan Mill Road, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 22. Akhlaki Mosque, Bawla Road, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 23. Allama takiya Dargah, Asarva Bridge, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 24. Mast Masjid, Saraspur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 25. Allama takiya Dargah, Asarva Bridge Damage, Loot and Arson
- 26. Mariyam Mosque, Rajpur-Gomtipur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 27. Saras Peer Mazar, Bhatta Paldi, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 28. Chalte Peer Dargah, Shahibaugh, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 29. Dili Ghoomta Kabarastan, Shahibaugh, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 30. Dargah, Ghandhi Chali, Meghaninagar, Razed to Ground
- 31. Haji Peer Masjid, Astodia, Rangati Bazar, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 32. Futi Masiid, Danapur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 33. Peer Kamal Dargah, Khadiya, Raipur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 34. Mosque, Nr. N.C. Bodiwala College, Ahmd, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 35. Mosque, Opp. Tankshal Pole, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 36. Mosque, B/h Tankshal Pole, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 37. Mazar Bibi Firdous Dargah, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 38 Zafar Row House Masjid, Varwa, Ahmedabad, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 39. Isanpur Pattarvali Masjid, Isanpur. Vatwa, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 40. Dada Tekra Masjid, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, Damage, Loot and Asson
- 41. Nayapur Mosque, B/h Dargah, Vatwa, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 42. Sabarmati Highway Mosque, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 43. Sabarmati Highway Kureshi Masjid, Sabarmati Highway, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 44. Shah Mehfuzkhan Masjid, Nr. Madhuram Cinema, Ghee Kanta, Damage, Loot and Arson

- 45. Idgah, Kankaria, Ahmedabad, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 46. Madina Mosque, Ansar Nagar, Rehmat, Nagar, Rakhial, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 47. Naroda Mosque, Naroda, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 48. Jamia Kansul Ulum Madrassa, Opp. Guari Cinema, Ansar Nagar, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 49. Gebanshah Mehmoodshah Dargah, Bapunagar, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 50. Hasan Shaheed Masjid, Bapunagar, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 51. Malik Saban Dargah, Nr. Navlakha Bunglow Bapunagar , Damage, Loot and Arson
- 52. Kabarstan Mosque, Amdupura, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 53. Bibima Kabarstan, Dargah, Asarva Yard Dargah, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 54. Badima Dargah, Asarva Railway Crossing, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 55. Dai Halima Mosque, Asarva, Damage, Loot and Arson

Amreli and Amreli District

1. Mosque—Dargah, Lathi Village, Amreli, Damage, Loot and Arson

Bharuch Town and Bharuch District

- 1. Religious Place, Fanta Talay, Bharuch, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 2. Religious Place, Lathi, Bharuch, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 3. Religious Place, Mahiyad, Vagra, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 4. Mosque, Rahiyad, Vagra, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 5 Mosque, Uday, Bharuch ,Threw bomb in mosque and caused damage
- 6. Dargah, Kanchli peeth, (kabutarkhana), Bharuch, Damage and arson
- 7. Mosque, Nr. Bank of Baroda, Damage to Minarets
- 8. Mosque, Rajparpadi Ta. Jhagadiya, Carpets burnt, Holybook desecrated
 - 9. Mosque, Ananda Ta. Ankleshwar, Carpets burnt, Holybook desecrated
- 10. Dargah, Kavitha Village, Ta. Bharuch, Damage and loot

Bhavnagar Town and Bhavnagar District

- 1. Memon Masjid, In Kapra, Bhavnagar, Razed to Ground
- 2. Darul Ulum Madrassa, Akwada, Bhavnagar, Damage, Loot and Arson

Dahod town and Dahod District

- 1. Religious Place, Dahod, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 2. Religious Place, Santrampur, Dahod, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 3. Religious Place, Kotil Village Santrampur, Damage, Loot & Arson
- 4. Mosque, Two Dargahs, Sant Village, Santrampur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 5. Sahid Sadla Baiwa and Kul, Sahid Bawa Mazar-e-Sharif,
- Santrampur, Lunawada Road, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 6. Mosque, Mota Sarnaiya, Village Santrampur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- Mosque, Fatehpura, Sukhsar, Sanjeli Village, Razed to Ground
- 8 Makhdum Gyasuddin Vali, Navgaja Peer Dargah, Gothil Village, Santrampur, Razed to Ground
- 9. Shahid Vali Dargah, Bhameta Village, Santrampur, Razed to Ground
- 10. Hatim Shah Bawa Dargah, Sarsan Village, Santrampur, Razed to Ground
- 11. Madrassa, Navi Vasahat Sant Village Santrampur, Damage and Loot
- 12. Dargah, Lunawada, Razed to Ground
- 13. Dargahs, Madrassa, Mosques, Dahod, Santrampur, Damage, Loot and arson

Gandhinagar Town and Gandhinagar District

- 1. Gebanshah Peer Dargah, Razed to Ground
- 2. Mosque, Adalaj, Gandhinagar, Razed to Ground
- 3. Two Dargahs, Pansar, Gandhinagar, Razed to Ground
- 4. Hazrat Saived Bawa (R.A) Noorani Masjid, Saath Shahid Bawa

Dargah, Nandol Road, Dahegam, Damage, Loot and Razed to Ground 5. Gebanshah Peer Dargah Mosque, S.T. Station Nandol Road, Dahegam, Damage, Loot and Razed to Ground

Godhra Town and Panchalmahal District

- 1. Huseni Masjid, Jumma Masjid, Giuya Masjid, Nariyeli Masjid, Khadi Falia, Godhra,Damage By Police
- 2. Zakariya Masjid. Timba Road, Godhra, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 3. Mosque, Madrassa, Pandarvada, Khanpur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 4. Mosque, Madrassa, Khanpur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 5. Two Dargahs, Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- Mosque, Madrassa, Sargava, Mahudi, Ta. Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 7. Mosque, Madrassa, Hadmatiya, Ta. Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 8. Mosque, Madrassa, Kothamba Ta. Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 9. Mosque, Madrassa, Kounchiya Ta. Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 10. Mosque, Madrassa, Bediya Ta. Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 11. Mosque, Madrassa, Napaniya Ta. Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 12. Dargah, Kharol Ta. Lunawada, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 13. Mosque, Madrassa, Mor Undhara Ta. Sahera, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 14. Mosque, Madrassa, Kavali Ta. Saheri, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 15. Mosque, Madrassa, Narsana Ta. Saheri, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 16. Mosque, Madrassa, Khatakpura Ta. Sahen, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 17. Mosque, Madrassa, Buchavatra Ta, Kadana, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 18. Ibadatgah, Malvan Ta. Kadana, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 19. Mosque, Madrassa Aajkav Ta. Santrampur, Damage, Loot and Arson

Kheda Town and Kheda District

- 1. Hazrat Utavalshah Peer(R.A) Hazrat Shikaru Peerbava Mazar, Matar Road, Kheda, Razed to Ground
- 2. Gebanshah Peervali Mazar Daudshah Peer Mazar, Kheda, Razed to Ground
- 3. Hazrat Aala Saiyed Bawa(R.A), Ambay, Thasra Galteshwar Road, Razed to Ground
- 4. Hazrat Kadarshah Bawa Dargah, Vadad Chowkadi, Kheda, Razed to Ground
- 5. Jumma Masjid, Nr. Tower, Thasra, Damaged by Stone throwing & throwing of burning rags
- 6. Religious Place, Dakor, Kalsar, Vanakbon, Damaged, Loot and Arson
- 7. Mosque, Madrassa Mambu-ul- Ulum, Kheda, Bawla Highway, Damaged, Loot and Arson
- 8. Hazrat Panchpeer Bawa (R.A) Dargah Sarif, Dakor Railway Station, Razed to Ground
- 9. Dargah Mosque, Inside Bazar, Dakor, Damaged, Loot and Arson 10. Madrassa Mansurul Ulum, Hazrat Taz Badshah, Dargah Hazrat Memoodshah Peer, (Peer Lambdo), Apadwanj, Damaged, Loot and Razed to Ground
- 11. Hazrat Bal Shaheed Peer Dargah Dasalwada, Balapeer, Gebanshah peer Dargah Kapadwani, Damaged, Loot Razed to Ground
- 12. Dargah, Kathal Kapadwani cross roads, Kapadwani, Razed to Ground
- 13. Madrassa and Mosque, In Ukardi Muvada, Kapadwanj, Damage, Loot and arson
- 14. Mosque and Dargah, Dasalwada Kapadwan, Damage, Loot and Arson

Junagadh Town and Junagadh District

- 1. Gebanshah Dargah, Nr. Bus Station, Junagadh, Razed to Ground
- 2. Madrassa, Dodasa, Kodinar, Damage

Mehsana Town and Mehsana District

- 1. Hazrat Mamusab(R.A), Unava, Mehsana, Razed to Ground
- 2. Ma Palli Dargah, Unava, Mehsana, Razed to Ground
- 3. Mosque, Maktupur, Mehsana, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 4. Dargah Uniha, Razed to Ground
- 5. Madrassa, Becharji, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 6. Bazarwali Masjid Tree Gatewali Masjid, Patan Damage, Loot and Arson
- 7. Masjid, Three Dargahs, Idgah, Kabarstan Unjha, Loot and Arson
- 8. Noormanpeer's Dargah, Mahervada Village, Razed to Ground

- 9. Hazrat Balapeer Dargah Manekji Saived Dargah, Kadi, Razed to Ground
- 10. Rajivapeer Dargah, Vidaj, Kadi, Razed to Ground
- 11. Bhaktadwadi Masjid, Bhaktadwad, Kadi, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 12. Hazrat Moniapeer Dargah, Mehsana, Razed to Ground
- 13. Hazrat Balu Daraj(R.A)'s Dargah, Hazrat Aliyapeer (R.A)'s Dargah, Vijapur, Razed to Ground
- 14.Hazrat Panchpeer Dargah, Hazrat Davalshahpeer Dargah, Ladol, Mahsana, Razed to Ground
- 15.Hazrat Davalshahpeer no Chillo, Sunderpur, Mehsana, Razed to Ground
- 16.Moja peer's Dargah, Bhagvati Nagar Soc., Razed to Ground
- 17. Mosque, Unjha, Loot and Arson
- 18.Mamusab, Unjha, Loot and Arson

Narmada District

1. Keyadiya Colony Masjid, Keyadiya Colony, Damage, Loot and Arson

Palanpur Town and Banaskantha District

- 1.Dargah Chilla, Outside Patni Darwaja Radhanpur, Damage, Loot and Arson
- 2.Madrassa, Danta, Damage, Loot and Arson

Raikot Town and Raikot District

- 1. Bapu Bawapeer Dargah, Jangaleshwar, Rajkot, Razed to Ground
- 2. Dargah, Nr. University Campus, Gandhidham, Rajkot, Razed to Ground
- 3. Madhapar Dargah, Rajkot, Madhapar, Razed to Ground

Surat Town and Surat District

- 1. Religious Places, Rander Pandsera, Udhna, Damage, Loot and arson
- 2. Religious Places, Limbavat, Surat Damage, Loot and arson
- 3. Religious Places, Bardoli, Station Road, Damage, Loot and arson

Sabarkantha District

- 1. Kabarstan Masjid, Prantji, Damage and Loot
- 2. Religious Places, Himmatnagar, Damage and Loot
- 3. Nagina Masjid, Hazrat Balapeer Mazar, Champagali, Idar, Damage and Loot
- 4. Hazrat Gebanshah Peer Dargah, Mathasur, Idar, Razed to Ground
- 5. Mosque, Dargah, B/hTown Hall, Modasa, Damage and Loot
- 6. Musafir Peer(R.A) Dargah, Meghraj Road, Modasa, Razed to Ground
- 7. Hazrat Gazi Gadgad Shah(R.A), Hazrat Makki (R.A) and Hazrat Ganeshpur, Madni Bawa (R.A) Dargah, Alishan Madni Masjid, Modasa, Damage, Loot and arson
- 8. Mosque, Dargah, Harsol Village, Talod, Damage and loot
- 9. Joravar Shah(R.A) Dargah, Garden Area, Himmatnagar, Razed to Ground
- 10. Mosque, Epioda, Meghraj, Razed to Ground
- 11. Hazrat Aliji Hajrat Valigi Dargah, Meghraj, Modasa Road, Razed to Ground
- 12. Mosque, Dhansara, Damage and Loot
- 13. Mosque, Kidiyar, Malpur, Damage and Loot

Vadodara Town and Vadodara District

- 1. Two Religious Places, Bhadra, Damage, Loot and arson
- 2. Mir Bakar Ali Mosque, On Pratap Road, Damage, Loot and arson
- 3. Shahi Alef Mosque, Makarpura Cross Road, Razed to Ground
- -(Near Police Parade Ground) 4. Chotti Khas Paga Mosque, Under Pratap Nagar Bridge, Razed to
- (within 100 m. from the Pratap Nagar Police Training college)
- 5. Dargah, Near Bakaravadi, Razed to Ground
- 6. Sahenshah Bawa Dargah, B/h Ayurvedit, Dispensari, Panigate, Razed to Ground
- (Less than 200 m. from the police station)
- 7. Hazrat Peer Dargah, Nr. Small Vegetable Market , Vadi, Razed to Ground

- 8. Badi Hazrat Shah Dargah, Mental Hospital, Darwaja, Kareli Baugh, Razed to Ground
- (About 1km from Bahucharaji police chowki, Navi Dharti)
- 9 Gaben Shaheed Dargah, Nr Sayagi Hospital Darwaja, Razed to Ground
- 10. Meer Bakarvali Mosque, In Meerwada, Roapura, Damage, Loot and arson
- -(Within 250 mts. from two police chowkies [Shiyapura and Dandia Bazar])
- 11. Salatwada Mosque, In Salatwada Road Mohalla, Damage, Loot and arson
- (Less than 150 meters from the police station)
- 12. Madina Mosque, B/h NagarwadaDamage, Loot and arson
- 13. Kishan Vadi Mosque, Panigate, Damage, Loot and arson (Within 1 km. from the police station)
- 14. Misrykui Kabarstan Mosque, B/h Mo.Talav, Vadi, Razed to Ground
- 15. Tatgira Kabrastan, B/h Nagarwada, Damage, Loot
- (About 300 m. from Kareli Baug chowky, Navi Dharti)
- 16. Village Mosque, Randhavpura Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 17. Dargah, Nr. Shihora Bhagol Savli, Razed to Ground
- 18. Dargah, Nr. Pani Tanki, Savlí, Razed to Ground
- 19. Religious Places, Desar, Santha Saal, Damage, Loot and arson
- 20. Religious Places, Desar, Santha Saal, Akkaliya, Champaner,
- Sopda, Savli, Damage, Loot, arson and Razed to Ground 21. Mosques, Madrassa, Kapoori Chowkdi, and surrounding Villages,
- Razed to Ground 22. Mosque, Panvad, Chota Udepur, Razed to Ground

Anand Town and Anand District

- 1. Dargah, Anand, Razed to Ground
- 2. Mosque, Dargah, Mogri Village, Damage, Loot and Razed to Ground
- 3. Mosque, Navli Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 4. Mosque, Dargah, Chikhodra Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 5. Mosque, Bedva Village, Damage, Loot arson
- 6. 2 Madrassa, Dargah, Kabrastan, Sarsa Village, Damage, Loot and arson,
- 7. 2 Masjid, Dargah Khambolage Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 8. Oliya Peer Mazar, Saif Ali Bawa, Mazar, Hazi Gazi, Bawa Mazar, Mosque and Madrassa, Aod Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 9. Mosque, Mogar Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 10. Mosque, Kunjarav Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 11. Masjid, Dargah, Kabrastan, Sandeshar Village, Damage, Loot Damage by bulldozer
- 12. Dargah, Anand Dist., Dantali, Nadiad, Razed to Ground , Damage by bulldozer
- 13. Jebanshah Peer Dargah, In Uttarsanda, Nadiad Road, Razed to Ground
- 14. Masjid, Saiyed, Jafarali Samsuddin, Bapu Dargah, Chaklasi, Nadiad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 15. Mosque, Limbasi Matar, Ta., Damage, Loot and arson
- 16. Dargah, Mosque, Narol Village, Borsad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 17. Mosque, Madrassa, Kavitha Village, Borsad, Damage, Loot and arson

- 18. Nagina Masjid, Fatema Masjid, Nadiad, Damage, Loot and arson Installed Hanuman idol
- 19. Masjid, Santaram Market, Nadiad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 20. Religion Place, Chadvdi Bazar, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 21. Religion Place, Borsad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 22. Religion Place, Bochasan, Borsad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 23. Religion Place, Bandhani, Borsad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 24. Voharwad Masjid, Madrassa, Nr. Town Hall, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 25. Mosque, Religious Place, Pandoli, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 26. Mosque, Sunav Village, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 27. Two religious Place, Nargam, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 28. Balamshah Peer Dargah, Shahpur, Petlad, Razed to Ground
- 29. Masjid, Dargah, Madrassa, Kabrastan, Sarsa Village, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 30. Mosque, Dargah Bochasan, Petlad Damage, Loot and arson
- 31. Mosque, Kansari, Petlad, Installed idol
- 32. Talpasha Vali dada, Dargah, Masjid, Pandoli Village, In Khandan, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 33. Mosque, Padgol, Petlad
- 34. Mosque, Dargah Jharola Village, Borsad, Razed to Ground
- 35. Balapeer and Gebanshah Peer Dargah, Gana Village, Anand, Razed to Ground
- 36. Masjid, Kabrastan, Gebanshah Peer Dargah, Vasad Village, Anand, Razed to Ground
- 37. Idgah, Kabrastan, Hugaro, Bhetansi Vanta, Aanklav, Damage, Loot and arson
- 38. Gebanshah Bawa Fensingvad Dargah, Mosque, Aanklav, Damage, Loot and arson
- 39. Mosque, Bharel Village, Petlad, Razed to Ground
- 40. Davalshah Peer, Dariyasaab Chillo, Kabrastan Varando, Masjid, Bharel Village, Petlad, Damage, Loot and arson
- 41. Mosque, Sisva Village, Borsad, Razed to Ground
- 42. Kabrastan, Idgah, Imanshahpeer, Dargah, Dharisa, Peer Baba Dargah, Vadod Viilage, Nr. Anand, Damage, Loot and arson
- 43. Masiid, Idgah, Balapeer Dargah, Rasnol Village, Anand, Damage, Loot and arson
- 44. Mosque, Bandhani Village, Petlad, Razed to Ground
- 45. Mosque, Mahelav Village, Petlad, Razed to Ground
- 46. Mosque, Jhalundh Village, Khambhat, Razed to Ground
- 47. Religious Place, Peeplag Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 48. Religious Place, Navapura Village, Damage, Loot and arson
- 49. Religious Place, Bhumel Village Damage, Loot and arson,
- 50. Idgah, V.V. Nagar, Anand, Razed to Ground
- 51. Religious Place, Parage, Petlad, Razed to Ground
- 52. Religious Place, Kaniya, Petlad, Razed to Ground
- 53. Mosque, Vallabhnagar, Nadiad, Razed to Ground

Economic decimation



Wahan factory mein aag lagi hai, GIDC mein... hain....aag lagi hai...factory hindu-muslim mix thi, is mein ek partner muslim tha, haks ke sah partners hindu the. An GIDC, a factory is on fire... yes... it is on fire... the factory was jointly owned by Hindus and Muslims, in this factory, one partner was a Muslim and the rest were Hindus.)

 A policeman interviewed on Reality bytes, Star News, March 9, 2002.

The sheer brutality of the loss of life and the indignity with which the killings have been orchestrated cloud a major motive behind the genocidal attacks on the Muslim minority in Gujarat: economic decimation. The Muslim community in Gujarat is one of the most prosperous in the country and it's contribution to the economy of the state is pivotal. The fact that the economy of this section of the population has been made a direct target suggests a deeper and long-term motive behind the destruction.

Soon after the attacks were launched, after the ceremonial anger displayed at the Civil hospital, Sola, mobs ranging from 5-20,000 in urban and rural areas alike and following the same broad methods, reduced to ashes large factories, farm houses, farm lands, paper mills, kabadi markets, hotels, restaurants, shops and any other business enterprises owned by Muslims. A primary estimate of economic losses suffered by the Muslim minority is put at Rs. 3,800 crores.

Solvent and chemical powders were used to ensure that the job was done thoroughly. In more than five locations, from private factories to GIDC areas across six districts that this writer travelled, traces of these packets of powder were found: Lak Jel, Spice Filling Compound, CACT TAC NO 1063 DT 1702-99 manufactured by Lakshmi Telecom product, Shed number 68/A, IDA Mallapur, Hyderabad; SEA GEL Spice Filling compound manufactured at SCS PERU products Plot 12, IDA, Hyderabad. In each place, three chemicals appear to have been used to ensure a degree of heat that is so high as to guarantee complete destruction.

Primary claims of economic loss by Muslims

Total Estimated financial loss: Rs. 3,800 crores.

I. On February 28, 02 large mobs identified by witnesses as wearing saffron bands and often led by some known leaders of the BJP, VHP and Bajrang Dal, started gathering from 10 a.m. to 12 noon and planning selective attacks on minority owned

establishments. In Ahmedabad, this selective destruction has been widely documented. This list of some prominent ones illustrates the point:

- Moti Mahal, a three star hotel, situated not far for the Commissioner of Police's Office, Shahibag, Ahmedabad
- 2. Alfa Restaurant, opposite Gauri Cinema, Odhav, Ahmedabad
- 3. Ashish Restaurant, opp Gauri cinema, Odhav, Ahmedabad
- 4. Tulsi Restaurant, Gulbai Tekra, Ahmedabad
- 5. Hotel Signor, Sarkhej, Gandhinagar Highway, Ahmedabad
- Tasty Restaurant, near Judges Bungalow, Bodakev, Ahmedabad
- 7. Kabir restaurant, Opp Doordarshan, Thaltej, Ahmedabad
- 8. Metro shop, CG Road, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad
- Cona Shoe Shop, Sardar Patel Municipal Market, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad
- Navrang Restaurant, Drive In Road, Near Vijay Cross Road, Ahmedabad

The destruction of two establishments at CG Road, a posh area in Ahmedabad are illuminating. Both the Pantaloon Showroom and the Hero Honda Shop were targetted. The Pantaloon Showroom is a partnership of Hindus and Muslims, with a Muslim owning only a ten per cent share. The Copper Chimney restaurant is owned by a Hindu Punjabi. It was targetted. The intelligence wings behind the attackers had found out that the owner had recently signed a deal with a Shaikh in the Gulf.

While electoral rolls have been used during the anti-Sikh pogrom in Delhi in 1984 and the anti-Muslim pogrom in Bombay in December 1992-January 1993, the depth of information which the attacking mobs in Gujarat had about businesses, involved the Registrar of Companies, the Revenue and the Sales Tax departments. This is a severe indictment of these wings of the State, which were used to gather intelligence for criminal activity.

II. Similarly, CC has collected extensive reports of selective damage to other businesses and properties in other cities like Rajkot, Vadodara, Surat, Bhavnagar, Junagadh, Palanpur, Nadiad,

Himmatnagar, Mehsana, Visnagar and Uniha. The extent and scope of this misuse can only be gauged after an inquiry is undertaken, through an Independent Commission appointed by a Court.

It is feared that the widespread violence and destruction will also scare away both internal and foreign investors from the state. Even the cars of the General Motors unit in Halol (60 kms. from Godhra) have not been spared. Several process houses and small factories located in the industrial areas of Narol Vatwa and Naroda on the outskirts of Ahmedabad city had suffered heavy losses on the day of the Gujarat bandh, as the finished goods lying in godowns were set on fire.

(In this connection, a First Information Report has been filed naming BJP MLA Mrs. Maya Kotdani, VHP Vice President of Gujarat unit, Dr. Jaideep Patel and several others.)

III The industries in the GIDC estates at Godhra, Kalol near Ahmedabad, Halol in Panchmahal and in the adjoining Vadodara district bore the brunt of this destruction. Similarly, textile units in Ankleshwar and other industrial units in Bharuch district suffered huge losses. According to Narendra Brahmbutt, president of the Ahmedabad Hotel and Residents Association, that the Hotel sector alone, has suffered a staggering loss of Rs. 260 crores. Losses of Rs. 60 crore were suffered by suppliers to the hotel industry. As many as 6,700 workers belonging to the majority community have been rendered jobless due to the burning and arson by fanatic armed militias.

Details of Losses Suffered:

*A Rs. 3,000 crore loss due to the close down of shops, industries and commerce.

(*The Gujarat Chambers of Commerce and Industry puts the figure at Rs. 2,000 crores.)

Hotel Industry

Approximately 1,150 hotels have been burnt or looted on the National Highway from Vapi to Vadodara and on to Palanpur. The total estimated loss to property and investment is Rs. 260 crores.

- *A Rs. 600 crore loss for the Hotel Industry at Ahmedabad
- *A Rs. 500 crore property loss due to hotels and resturants being burnt down in Bhavnagar, Ahmedabad, etc.

At least 20,000 workers in the Hotel Industry have been rendered jobless and many are missing.

(7-8000 Rabari boys are jobless because of Muslim hotels being burnt and destroyed, according to Tejabhai, a Rabari leader)

Transport

The transport godowns on the National Highway have suffered damages to the tune of Rs. 12 crores.

Transport operators belonging to Ahmedabad, Surat, Vadodara Godhra and Himmatnagar, whose trucks were burnt on the National Highway, have suffered a loss of about Rs 60 crores. Estimates say that over 1,000 trucks were burnt.

The truck operators' Insurance Claims amount to Rs. 830 crores.

*More than Rs. 10 crore lost due to the burning down of 60 Opel Astras parked outside the GM Motors Unit at Halol.

*Rs. 4 crore lost due to the burnt Honda City and Accord fleet of cars at the Landmark Honda showroom at Thaltej, Gandhinagar.

*20,000 two wheelers and 4,000 cars were burnt.

Insurance Claims to the tune of approximately Rs. 8,000 crores have been lodged by the owners of two, three and four wheelers.

*The Gujarat State Road Transport Corporation estimated a loss of Rs. 12.50 crores and Transport companies have lost business amounting to Rs. 70 crores.

Industry

Halol:17-18 factories destroyed

Vatwa: All Muslim-owned factories in GIDC area destroyed Mehsana: All Muslim-owned factories destroyed

Dahod-Godhra: Large factories destroyed

Naroda Fruit Market: Muslim-owned Fruit Markets destroyed Kabadi Market, Ahmedabad: destroyed

The factories which have suffered extensive damage and who are in the insured factories list have booked claims worth Rs. 400 crores.

Agriculture

On National Highway No. 8, about 90 per cent of the commercial establishments, including small shops, godowns and factories have been completely wiped out.

Standing crops in the districts of Panchmahal, Mehsana and elsewhere, have been burnt by the miscreants.

The motors installed in their fields for drawing water have been stolen.

Textile

*Rs.1,000 crore lost in Surat due to the damage to textile and handloom mills.

Miscellaneous

- *More than Rs. 2 crores lost in the damage to the Lucky Film Studio.
- *Hundreds of crores lost due to the arson of thousands of houses and buildings.
- * A Handloom Expo was on in Ahmedabad when the Godhra tragedy took place. All the Muslim artisans from Kashmir and West Bengal were attacked and their displays destroyed.

Who will pay for this wanton destruction?

Demands from the State:

Interest free loans should be provided to the traders and businessmen who have lost all their property.

Disbursal should be a top priority

(These figures were computed by the writer after detailed claims were heard from different relief camps in Ahmedabad.)

IV. Now that the overt physical violence has had to stop (though Ahmedabad continues to simmer), a systematic economic boycott has been launched against Muslims in many parts of Gujarat. In Mehsana and Sabarkantha districts, truck and auto drivers are facing a severe economic boycott thanks to the machinations of politicians like Nitin Pandya (from Kadih) who are also state cabinet ministers. In Vadodara, there have been over two dozen instances of Muslims being told by Hindu owners not to come to work the next day. The issue of ethnic cleansing remains a live one, though the overt violence appears to have ceased. It continues in many different forms, economic decimation, threat to life and economic boycott—all elements that continue to be a crippling reality for the minority in Gujarat today.

(See Pampblet Poison' section on economic boycott).

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25.	Valsad	•	•	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	-	•	2
56.	Surendranagar	•	•	0	0	0	0	•	-	S.	0	0	0	6	45	2	\$	92	•	•	
27.	Bhavnagar	•	-	8	-	-	2	2	7	32	•	0	0	113	103	105	\$	=	•	•	•
28	Rajkot Rural	0	•	0	0	0	0	-	7	2	•	0	0	0	0	e	5	Ξ	0	•	•
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· Six Muslims died due to asphyxia/crush injuries while being shifted in matadors from their village to safer place in Gandhinagar district.

In Ahmadabad city, two out of fourty died due to tear gas shell

· In Anand district six Hindus died while setting fire to Muslim houses

Who does Gujarat belong to?

Your famous poet and social historian Narmadashankar Lalshankar (who died in 1886) is remembered for his great poem 'Jay Jay Garri Gujarat', in which he celebrated all those cultural icons which provided a sense of identity to all who lived in Gujarat. In asking "who does Gujarat belong to?" he listed all the castes, communities, religions, sects; then says, not just these, because Gujarat does not belong to any particular group; he continues, that Gujarat belongs to all those who speak Gujarati; and then, not satisfied, goes on to say that Gujarat also belongs to non–Hindus, the Parsis, Muslims and the non "sa-varna" communities. Narmad believed passionately that, around such a cultural imagination – truly secular in spirit – a sense of belonging could be forged for the Gujarati people. Narmad followed a great Jain tradition of compassion and tolerance; and Gandhi followed Narmad, converting a whole nation to espouse the idea of "ahimsa." So what has brought this great tradition, in this great State, to a point where a recent documentary title sums up the present situation; "Genocide in the land of Gandhi?" It may be best, though distasteful, to confront certain facts directly. The more openly we speak about these, the more likely we are to be able to deal with them:

- > The horrific incident at Godhra was a crime against humanity and it is to be utterly condemned. Its culprits need to be found, tried and dealt with in the most severe way that our laws provide, including if necessary with the death penalty. In the words of Professor Bandukwala "whoever committed that crime was surely one of the worst enemies of the Muslims."
- The civil disorder in Ahmedabad, as it escalated into a combination of looting, arson and attacks on people, quickly revealed one clear pattern: that the maximum number of atrocities were committed against Muslims and Dalits.
- > The vernacular press in Gujarat played a highly regrettable role in the run up to, and during, the disturbances. Many Muslim establishments bearing non-Muslim names, were specifically listed by these papers; and all of these were subsequently torched to cinders.
- An amazing de-humanisation could be seen in the behaviour of those on the streets. Most were young in age in their twenties or less. To hear 12 and 15 year old boys screaming for rape and murder, reflects a brutalisation that is difficult to comprehend in a land that was the breeding ground of "ahimsa." A new and disturbing trend is now to hear women also expressing themselves in support of brutal retribution.
- As the genocide spread from Ahmedabad to other cities and the countryside, a systematic attempt could be seen to target and destroy the economic base of the Muslim community."
 - Cyrus Guzder, CMD Air Freight, Is Secularism Good for Business? Speaking at CII, Ahmedabad.

What is a government elected for? If they can't protect innocent lives... then they should go. Which kind of government allows the killing of women and children? With due respect, I think the home minister and even the Prime Minister should take their share of blame. It's a national failure. Riots have damaged India's reputation more in the international forum than what is happening in Pakistan. Do we need to always sabotage our own chances of growth and international goodwill?

Indian corporates must come out in re-building Gujarat. The way we have done after the Bhuj earthquake. We can open community centres, (re)build burnt-down houses and educate children who have been orphaned. We at HDFC will certainly do our bit."

- Deepak Parekh, chairman, HDFC.

Gujarat's image as a progressive state has taken a beating because of the recent communal riots. Don't underestimate the homework that multination companies (MNCs) do on their potential investment destinations, especially in terms of the city risk. They will not set up operations in Ahmedabad or Gujarat because the risk is too high."

- Azim Premji, WIPRO chief, at IIM Ahmedabad.

Are we ostriches burying our heads in the sand? We frown upon inter-religious marriages but rape women; talk of vegetarianism and don't even spare children. Such barbaric acts by a few destroy the country's image. What's more frightening is educated people justifying violence."

- Anu Aga, chairperson, Thermax Ltd. and chairperson, CII, Western Region .

Attacks on the Media

"...I would also appeal to the media to do their bit. The media is supposed to give subdued coverage to such volatile situations.... If you show dead bodies and then identify which community the bodies belong to then instead of playing the role of reducing tensions you are actually provoking people."

Arun Jaitley (Telephonic conversation in *Is Waqt*, March 1, 02.)

(Note: This appeal from a central government minister is ironic, given the fact that the dead bodies of murdered kar sevaks were brought to the Civil Hospital, Sola, Ahmedabad on the morning of February 28, by his own partymen in the state, led by CM Narendra Modi — who declared this intention on Akashwani radio — precisely to generate tensions and provoke the people.)

Journalists covering communal riots in the country over past decades have noticed a sea change in conditions of work and the risks they run over the past decade and a half. Prior to 1992, when communal violence did not involve the mobilisation of large mobs/cadres, a reporter doing his/her duty could move around with the expectation of reasonable impunity.

The street vandalism visible in the Ayodhya movement, where bands of unruly cadres ruled the streets, unchecked by the long arm of the law, changed all that. In 1992, as the Babri Masjid was demolished, several reporters, correspondents and mediapersons were brutally attacked. The motive: to destroy their attempt at documenting the whodunnit story.

Gujarat 2002 saw some of these tendencies being directed at the media. CM Narendra Modi himself made repeated and veiled threats about the television coverage by national channels like NDTV (Star News) and Aaj Tak. He even attempted a ban on the channel which did not quite work. The correspondents of the television channels worked against great odds. For over four years now, sections of the Gujarati language press and the English language newspapers have been their profession proud. During the genocide that ripped through Gujarat, one ray of hope was the consistency with which reporters and correspondents have stood by their metier: in the context of the erosion of all other democratic institutions within Gujarat, the part played by large sections of the media shines like a beacon of hope.

On February 28, Bhargava Parikh of ZEE TV along with his cameraman, was attacked because the attackers thought that he was documenting proof of individuals who led the mobs. Dibang from Aaj Tak was attacked near the Kabadi Market on March 2. Rajdeep Sardesai and Star TV were threatened and attacked. ANS staff was attacked. Two correspondents of NDTV, Sanjay Singh and Sanjay Rokhade were held at Bhavnagar for five hours. They were terrorised and traumatised by a band of Bajrang Dalis who kept taunting them, asking, should we kill you, should we not?

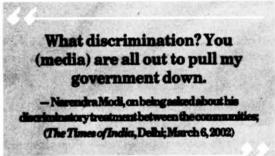
On April 3, 02, the Asian Age crime reporter in Ahmedabad, Ms. Sonal Kellogg, along with the reporter of a Surat-based daily, was beaten up by the police in the Mariam Bibi Ni Chawli area in Gomtipur. When she complained to the deputy commissioner of Police [Zone V] RJ Savani, whom she knew quite well, all he said was that "it might have been a mistake." When she protested to the Police Commissioner PC Pandey in his office, he was dismissive, "Don't bother me...I don't have time...file a complaint if you want." As the journalist herself puts it, "If policemen can be so brutal towards journalists on duty,

their behaviour with ordinary citizens could be so much more atrocious. It is a pity that the police in Gujarat is either a mute spectator or it harasses and tortures innocent people."

Five days later, on April 8, 02, the Ahmedabad police, which had failed to control mob violence over the past 33 days, severely assaulted about two dozen reporters and photographers at the historic Gandhi Ashram. The

journalists, who had assembled to cover two peace meetings, including one attended by Medha Patkar, were beaten up ruthlessly. Leading his men was Deputy Commissioner of Police VM Parghi.

Three of the mediapersons, including *The Indian Express* photographer Harsh Shah, NDTV cameraman Pranav Joshi and E-TV reporter Harshal Pandya were seriously injured. Pranav had to be admitted to the ICU at a private hospital and his condition is now stable. Aaj Tak correspondent Dhimant Purohit, who suffered a fracture in his hand, NDTV reporter Sanjeev Singh, *Jansatta* photographer Amit Dave, *Gujarat Samachar* reporter Ketan Trivedi, a photographer of the same newspaper Gautam Mehta and reporter Ashish Amin were amongst the other victims.



Dateline Gujarat

Inside Hindutva's laboratory

The following brutal and violent actions on the ground, backed by state level policy decisions reveal how in fact the current political dispensation has been running in direct violation of the principals of equity as enshrined in the Indian Constitution and in fact like a laboratory of *Hindutra*. It proves the anti-democratic thrust of *Hindutra*'s project.

Communalism Combat has been tracking the slow erosion of Constitutional principles within government, the administration, the law and order machinery and, worst of all, the ground level feeling of insecurity among different sections of the population, since the BJP began ruling there in early 1998. The track record has been ominous, leading up in a sense, to the current explosion. Gujarat, the laboratory of a hate-filled politics was crying to happen.

Serious dilemma for law and order machinery in Gujarat

Gujarat 1998-2002 presents a genuine conflict between the rule of law as specified in the egalitarian principles enshrined in the Indian Constitution and the existence of a political dispensation, the BJP, backed by it's hit squads like the VHP, the Bajrang Dal, the Hindu Jagran Manch and now even the Shiv Sena (September 2000 took the Mumbai-based Shiv Sena to Ahmedabad for the first time!) whose worldview and style of functioning are partisan and inegalitarian.

November 13, 1997 - August 16, 1998

There were over 40 recorded incidents of assaults on prayer halls and churches belonging to Christians in the state. (The worst incidents were

the attacks on century old educational institutions in Naroda and Rajkot (the St. Mary's and IP Mission School, where copies of the Bible were also burnt) and violent attacks against religious assemblies, as well as four major incidents against Muslims in Randikpur and Sanjeli that even involved Muslims being forcibly evacuated from their villages and their transport businesses being usurped by sections of the assailants

Another extremely offensive incident was the forcible exhuming of the body of Samuel Christian, a Methodist Christian, by the VHP (ably assisted by BJP corporators – *Indian Express* dated July 27, 1998) simply because he was buried in a burial ground over which the local VHP-BJP leadership had only recently begun a dispute.

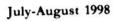
April - July 1998

The state of Gujarat witnessed a spate of pamphlets authored by the VHP, Gujarat, Hindu Jagran Manch, Gujarat or simply anonymously, which systematically justified and provoked inflammatory feelings and violence against Christians and Muslims. One such was titled "Baroda:Strong protests and agitation by Hindu youth against 'Christianisation and Blind Faith' and appeared in the Vishwa Hindu Parishad News, April 1998, in Gujarati, published from Baroda. "Onwards Sanjeli -Let's unite to put an end to these unholy incidents of Hindu women being sold in Muslim countries-Let's respond to bricks with stones" dated July 7, 1998 was published by VHP-Bajrang Dal, Sanjeli (Communalism Combat, October 1998, Welcome to Hindu Rashtra). Keshubhai Patel's stint in power has been marked by a plethora of such pamphlets, often reproduced in full by mainstream Gujarati papers. Neither the publishers of these incendiary pamphlets nor the Gujarati papers have

attracted section 153a and 153b of the Indian Penal Code, a section of law meant to guard against provoking of violence against members of a particular community.



The Gujarat government ruled by the BJP, set up a Police Cell for Monitoring Inter-Religious Marriages, another step that is in clear violation of the Indian Constitution. An announcement to this end was made by the minister of state for home, Haren Pandya in the state assembly, and also justified by him on the grounds that such marriages were not made of free choice but were forced on Hindu women for ulterior motives.



The same state government disbanded another police cell set up by a previous government to investigate atrocities against women.

December 1998

Dangs district in southern Gujarat saw Christmas time being reduced to a time of fear for the minority Christian community, which was systematically terrorised by the BJP-VHP hit squads. On December 25, 1998 churches and prayer halls were attacked at Gadvi village, Nadagkhadi village, Jamlapada village, Padalkhadi village and Dewan Tembrun village.

The next day, attacks continued at Karadiamba village and Vaki village. On December 27, 1998, prayer halls and churches



were destroyed at Bordeli village, Bhondvihir village, Saverpada village, Gougen village, Mulchond village, Lahankhadmal village, Bharipada village, Raochand village, Pipaldhad village and Karenipada village. Undeterred by the law and order machinery, attacks continued into the fourth, fifth and sixth days on December 29, 30 and January 3, 1999 respectively when prayer halls and churches at Mathalbari village, Jhalsod village and Kasadbari and Natyanuvat village were destroyed by goon squads led by Janubhai Pawar of the VHP. (CC, Conversions! January 1999)

Incidentally, due to a public outery, prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee had then visited Dangs, after which, instead of commenting on the failure of the rule of law, he called for a national debate on conversions! (Conversions, Communalism Combat, January 2000)

February 2, 1999

A circular was sent out by the Director General of Police(Intelligence) Gujarat State, showing a blatantly partisan attitude by the state. —: DSPs and Police Commissioners of Gujarat State to collect selective information about Christians and Muslims—From: Director of Police (Intelligence), Gujarat State, Ahmedabad Ref: No.:D.2: Hindu – Christi/83/99 Date 02.02.1999. Issued by P.B. Upadhyaya. This circular (Communalism Combat has a copy) was later issued for Muslims. Following protests by groups, the circular and the census was not carried out but it declared the intent of the Gujarat government against the minorities — it violated Article 14 and 15 of the Constitution.

February 16, 1999

Within days of the first circular, another (D:2/2: Com/Muslim Activity/84/99 dated 1/2-02-99) was also circulated, containing similarly offensive questions about the Muslim minority community, that was also in violation of the Indian Constitution.

Organisations immediately approached the Gujarat High Court following which the circular was withdrawn from circulation. However it has still not been cancelled.

July 1999

On July 21-22, there was an outburst of communal frenzy provoked by blatant communalisation of the Kargil conflict. For two weeks before that, from July 7 and 11, 1999 the war at the border was cynically used by state and central BJP functionaries who needed to win an election in the state the following month. The death in Kargil of an army man, Mukesh Rathod from Meghaninagar, was used by the BJP MLA from the city Harin Pathak and union minister L.K. Advani to lead rallies through the city accompanied by Rathod's body, to generate anti-Muslim venom on the ground. Slogans like 'Ab to nagara baj chukka hai sarhad pe shaitan ka, Nakshe par se nam mita do, papi Pakistan ka;' and 'Khoon se tilak karo, goliyon se aarti; Pukarti hai yeh zameen, pukarti Ma Bharati,' proudly wall-written by BJP's Yuva Morcha,

contributed their mite to the already tense situation.

On July 21-22, 1999, two Bajrang Dal activists including one Harshad Gillatwalla who was accused in the murder of a Muslim boy the previous year (1998), took the lead in the acts of provocation by setting fire to the Muslim owned Bhagyodaya restaurant in the Hindu dominated Memnagar area.

The flare-up, literally begging to happen, finally took place on July 20, 1999. Constantly abused for weeks, Muslims were agitated by the teasing of a mentally challenged boy by Hindus and demanded that an FIR be lodged by the police. Instead of leaving the matter to be settled between the police and Muslims, the BJP-VHP brought in their own mob which led to a full-fledged riot at Dariapur, Dabgarwad, Vadigam, Kallupur etc.

The second phase of this violence began on July 22, with a Muslim boy being stabbed and more stabbings of minority community members by leaders of the BJP and VHP near Dariapur gate, Gheekanta and Gomtipur areas. The names of senior functionaries of the BJP and VHP (city convenor of the BJP, Parabatbhai) were lodged as the accused in the FIRs of the time.

(Communalism Combat, April 2000, Face to Face with Fascism)

December 1999-January 2000

A bill against religious conversions, directly counter to Article 25 of the Indian Constitution, sought to be moved in the Gujarat state assembly, was moved, and thereafter put on hold after it generated a nation-wide controversy. The Bill is termed the "Gujarat Freedom of Religion Bill."

July 1999

Through a campaign launched by Khoj education for a plural India programme, the social studies texts of Gujarat State were examined and shocking propositions that reveal the sectarian ideology of the centre were identified. This became the subject matter of a nationwide campaign that led to a Parliamentary Committee ratifying the problematic sections and asking the Gujarat government to make adequate changes. This has still not happened. "Muslims Christians and Parsees are foreigners;" "the Varna system is the best gift to mankind;" and the glorification of Fascism and Nazism are only some of the problematic sections. (See Communalism Combat, October 1999)

January 1 - July 2000

A spate of six more attacks on Christian schools took place all over Gujarat an individual prayer meetings of Christians were disrupted. Most Christians now aver that their prayers at churches in towns like Ahmedabad, Vadodara, Rajkot and Surat have to be conducted with doors and windows closed, so as not to 'upset and provoke Hindu organisations.'

(Communalism Combat, July 2000)

January 3, 2000

The Gujarat CM lifted the ban on government servants joining the RSS – a decision he was compelled to revoke a month later after the hue and cry that it generated.

February 2000

The RSS held it's massive sankalp shibir on the outskirts of Ahmedabad in which 30,000 persons participated. The entire state machinery was put at their disposal: trucks, municipal services, and ground taxes were waived. Keshubhai Patel was seen flanked by union home minister LK Advani on the occasion and eight state cabinet ministers participated. The 5-acre plot was provided free with water and electricity costs on the house (!) for the occasion.

February 2000

Secret Hindutva Document:

Communalism Combat accessed this secret document from Gujarat which is a step by step guide for sanghis on how and why to break the law. It has been translated from Gujarati:

Aum

'Now that we have our own government we should take proper advantage of it and should get our work done by it.'

'We should arrange to have our men as witnesses. Often a real witness might also give answers anyhow when crossexamined and, as a result, the reliability of the witness suffers. So when we give the name of a witness in court, we first have to make sure that he will remain firm in court and also whether he is otherwise reliable.'

'A recent state home ministry circular directs the executive magistrate (mamlatdar) to register a crime if the police is not ready to do so; we believe that such complaints can be made to the sub-divisional magistrate (deputy collector) and district magistrate (collector) also'

'The main attack on Hindu Samaj is that our sisters of tender age are being abducted by offering them inducements and allurements and then they are made to sign the marriage register after getting converted by force. Hundreds of Hindu girls are being (converted to Islam) made Muslims like this in Gujarat state.'

'It is not wrong if we can pick up the woman and keep her under our custody. But the girl's people should take the initiative.'

Often, the girl does not agree and if a habeas corpus petition is filed in court, and there, if the girl changes her mind, we will be let down. As I mentioned earlier, these problems are not going to be solved by Law under the protection of the Police or the Court. Hindu Samaj needs to resort to social opposition to find a solution to this and even resort to violent attacks if necessary.

February 5, 2000

Recent bomb attacks on homes of Muslim families in the Paldi area of Ahmedabad, led by BIP corporators and motivated by the singular idea not to allow Muslims to move into the Paldi area took place at the recently constructed Tulsi Apartments within the Vishwakunj Society. A writ petition filed on behalf of the PUCL by senior advocate Haroobhai Mehta sought the intervention of the Court in protecting the fundamental rights of the individual Indian citizen that include the right to settle and reside anywhere in India (Article 19(1)(d)) was, unfortunately, not entertained by the Court. Naved Siddique, the builder involved in a partnership in the transaction is being threatened and told to evacuate and sell off those and remaining flats at a huge loss of Rs. 50 lakhs. Needless to say, no protection from the police or no redressal from the state government has been provided.

(Asian Age, Feb 16, 2000)

February 19, 2000

Thirty hit men of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad vandalised the office of the mayor of the Ahmedabad municipal corporation, a BJP corporator, Malini Atit, demanding the immediate reconstruction of a temple near Uttamnagar garden, which had been demolished by the AMC. Despite the fact that public property had been destroyed, the mayor refused to lodge a complaint saying "This was our internal matter, we do not need the police."

(Indian Express, February 20, 2000)

March 17, 2000

Bakri Id. The occasion was used this year, as in years previously, by the BJP-RSS-VHP combine, to provoke the Muslim minority by deliberate emphasis on the Cow Protection Act. Both the municipal commissioner and the police commissioner issued an appeal to citizens to be mindful of the act and members of the VHP and Bajrang Dal decided, suo motu to act as informants of the police despite repeated announcements that matters of law should be left to the police. Violence and tension resulted as well as an unnecessary death of a young Muslim.

(Communalism Combat, April 2000, Face to Face with Fascism)

Aug 1-10, 2000

State-wide violence directed selectively against Muslim property in Surat, Ahmedabad. Khed Brahma, Lambadiya, Rajkot and Modasa caused destruction to the tune of Rs. 15 crores (Saffron On the Rampage, Nov. 2000). The provocation? After Lashkar-e-Toiba militants gunned down 33 Hindu yatris on a pilgrimage to Amarnath, and the cross-fire that followed led to a total of 100 deaths, Pravin Togadia, directly indicted in the current round of violence, declared "Vahan ka jawaah

yahan denge" (Aug. 1, 2000, Ahmedabad.) What followed was a ten day long, systematic destruction of minority property, damages for which have just not been paid. We reproduce excerpts of the collective fact-finding report published at the time:

As many as 85 criminal incidents have been recorded from all over the state in connection with the Gujarat Bandh related violence that began on August 3, 2000 (the day of the bandh) and continued until August 9, 2000.

An FIR lodged in Rajkot city at 3.30 p.m. on August 2, 2000 under 153a of the IPC (about the time that the international general secretary of the VHP was giving his bandh call in Ahmedabad) is against an accused who "tried to create tension with (by) giving a speech in a newspaper to damage and destroyed the Muslim religious places."

Another two FIRs lodged at Ahmedabad concern mobs led by Kamlesh Bhavarilal in the destruction of a dargah and the looting and destruction of the Famous Shoe Shop on August 3, 2000.

FIRs lodged in the Kheda Brahma village accuse Bajrang Dal president Jagdish Tarar of attacking Muslim establishments and homes with sharp weapons, an attack during which a police constable was also injured (on August 3, 2000).

In yet another FIR filed at Mahuva on August 6, 2000, a violent mob led by Shailesh Barot assaulted the complainant who is a constable and another SRP constable who were injured by pelting stones when they stopped a violent mob heading ominously towards the local *masjid*.

In Surat city, two BJP corporators, Ganesh Prajapati and Suresh Varodia have been accused of forming unlawful assemblies and carrying lethal weapons in their vehicles. The CP, Surat has stated, in an interview to members of the investigating team, that all those accused in FIRs during the bandh-related violence will be charge-sheeted.

The editor of *Dhapkar*, Mayur Pathak, was arrested by the Surat police under section 153 a of the IPC for fomenting violence between communities in the second week of August 2000. He was thereafter released by the Court.

Were the guilty punished?"

(Saffron on the Rampage, A Fact-finding report of several human rights groups)

December 2000

Christian Schools singled out

Christian schools in Gujarat and Goa (both states then ruled by the BJP) were being singled out for inquiries on their sources of funding and details about the origins of their establishments. Many schools in both states have received a circular from the District Education Officer (DEO) seeking to know "which countries they belong to" and also the "amount received by them in aid from abroad and from State and Union Governments." These inquiries were not made in isolation; they were in the midst of a sustained hate

campaign and propaganda against Christians which is also being recycled now.

January 2001

After the devastating earthquake that shook Kutch in Gujarat and even Ahmedabad city, studied discrimination in handling relief and rehabilitation was evident; displaying the inherently sectarian character of the party in power. Discrimination was so apparent that, when Fakirbhai Vaghela toured his constituency in Surendranagar district, he not only ignored the Muslim areas, he let off his ire at locals who, cutting across community lines, had begun organising relief. The writ of hard-line, unconstitutional groups like the RSS, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal was evident at the time, when they managed to exert pressure on Gujarat Governor Sundersinh Bhandari not to visit Surendranagar where there was discrimination.

January 2001

The Gujarat state education department issued a circular directing that every school subscribes to *Sadhana*, a weekly published by the sectarian outfit, RSS After this caused an uproar, it was not seriously implemented.

November 2001

Around 550 Muslims from Chanasma in Patan district were forced to migrate and move to Patan with only the sky as shelter. "Dead bodies of Muslims have been dug out and the land well-surfaced with saffron flags flying high over it." (Fact-finding report prepared by Indukumar Jani, Valjibhai Parmar and Raju Solanki.) "Chanasma's age-old Dargah land owned by Muslims, called Navgajapur, has been forcibly taken over by saffron-wielding men." In this period, the Christian minority was not spared either. In Dahod district, on September 19, Christians were forcibly prevented from watching a film on Christ. Earlier, on August 25, women and childen from the IP Mission Orphanage at Jobat village in MP were attacked while on a picnic to the Kali Dam in Dahod.

January 2002

On the occasion of the anniversary of the earthquake, the state government issued a circular to all schools directing them to perform a dharti poojan on the first anniversary of the quake, also stating that Govt. recognition of the school depends upon this. The State Government, through its circular of January 21 - directing all the schools to line up their students to appease mother earth by lighting at least 101 lamps using pure "ghee," and chanting Sanskrit "slokas" - was not only spreading obscurantism and superstition but also trying to misguide the people as to the nature and real causes of the earthquake. The circular, issued despite a High Court order that the schools could not be compelled to hold 'pujas' according to Hindu rites, gave the institutions no option in the matter. On the contrary, it warned them of action if the instructions were not followed. And it asked the schools to send at least five photographs each of the 'puja,' along with a report which was to reach the office of the District Education Officer within two days of the event having taken place.

The Indictment

Government of Gujarat



The history of Gujarat state under the rule of the Bharatiya Janata Party is a study in the systematic and steady erosion of basic Constitutional principles and the Rule of Law (see Section Dateline Gujarat). For the past four years since it has tasted undiluted power in the western state, and in line with it's ideological fountainhead, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)'s open proclamation that Gujarat 'is the laboratory for a Hindu rashtra,' the ruling BJP under both former CM Keshubhai Patel and CM Narendra Modi has performed the function of eroding the neutrality of the state executive.

This erosion has been taking place steadily over four years. It was glaringly obvious following the Godhra tragedy, in the statements and actions of the state executive led by CM Modi. Our investigations have shown how, more than anything else, the wings of government have been systematically infiltrated.

I. On February 27, after the Godhra tragedy took place, CM Modi was at the helm in pushing the "incident was preplanned" theory (see section on 'Godhra'). This action was itself both premature and partisan, given the fact that state investigating agencies had not reached this conclusion. Modi's cabinet, but notably minister for home, Gordhan Zadaphiya, who reiterated strongly that Pakistani hands lay behind the Godhra act. These statements were irresponsible given the sensitivity of the situation and the anger that they generated. One, they generated a climate ripe for apportioning blame: for the acts of a few criminals, the entire Ghanchi Muslim community of Godhra was branded; and two, laid grounds for justifying the systematic massacre, plunder, loot

and cultural decimation of the whole Muslim community in Gujarat thereafter.

II. Soon after the attack on the train took place on February 27, the VHP called, first for a Gujarat Bandh on February 28 and then again, a Bharat Bandh on March 1. The Gujarat BJP president Rajendrasinh Rana was quick to announce the state BJP's support for the bandh, giving clear signals to the administration that it need not take a hard line against those who enforce the bandh. Over the past four years, on three occasions at least, a bandh call has been used by the rabid forces of the RSS/BJP/VHP and Bajrang Dal to challenge the law and wreak havoc on the lives and properties of citizens. Given this background, the wholehearted support extended by the Modi government and the ruling BJP to the bandh, makes it culpable for the damages that were inflicted. It needs to accept the consequences of this support.

It is the responsibility of the state to compensate the damages suffered in loss of life, property and businesses from the persons calling for the bandh. Since the Gujarat state government had openly announced its support to the bandh, should not the state be held directly culpable for the loss of property deliberately destroyed in the violence? The responsibility for the loss of innocent citizens' lives and property caused due to the murderous activities indulged in during a bandh, must rest with the VHP, RSS and the Bayrang Dal as well as the BJP, which supported it and was in power and failed to prevent the destruction. Even if the police fails to (for deliberate reasons) pinpoint the offenders, the organisations must be made to compensate for the damages.

Moreover, it should be incumbent on the state government to recover the entire loss in monetary terms caused to private and public property by violent and coercive activities during the bandh. Under section 7(a) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, violent and coercive activities are culpable in law. (The Gujarat government must, following a recent judgement of the Supreme Court — Bharat Kumar versus the State of Kerala, 1997 — recover all the losses suffered by the government, people and minorities from the VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal and the BJP, which supported it and whose members led the violence.

III. The conduct of the chief executive of the state of Gujarat, Modi, was more like a partisan pracharak of the RSS than a constitutionally elected chief minister "Har krija ka pratikriya hoti hai," he had first said, justifying the premeditated carnage that followed Godhra. "Every action has an equal and opposite reaction." He simply failed to reassure five crore people in the state that he is a guardian of their lives and property. Instead of responding with responsibility, he kept making callous assurances that everything was normal.

The conduct of CM Modi is violative both the principle and form of representative democracy that the Indian Constitution is based on. The idelogical proclamations of the BJP have always been sectarian, appealing to one section of the people and their interests above all or others; they have been at the forefront of misusing religion for political ends that too is in violation of the principle of the Representation of people Act. Whatever the ideology of a party, once in power using democratic means, and holding the reins of government, it is constitutionally bound to represent all sections. Over the past four years (see section, Dateline Gujarat) every move of the BIP government has been non-representative and sectaman, and hence non-constitutional. This has reached monumental and critical levels in Gujarat 2002. The government allowed the violence to spread (its ministers led the carnage and rapes, allegedly in many cases), did not take adequate preventive measures, did not keep the army on stand-by, and once carnage had been unleashed, revealed it's non-representative character farther. The discrimination in compensation amounts, the failure to even visit relief camps by the CM or the state cabinet; the refusal to postpone examinations; the selective cancellation of examination centres; the mere contemplation of elections all are clear manifestations of a non-representative, therefore un constitutional form of government.

Narendra Modi (Newshour, Star News, 2, 03, 2002): "Gujarat mein bahut teji se shanti prasthapit bo rahi bai, normaky aa rahi bai... Ahmedabad ek prakar se kal raat ke baad, puri taraha inadent free raha bai." ("Gujarat is well on the road to peace and normalcy is slowly returning here... Ahmedabad too has been largely peaceful since last night.") This is while the attacks in Panchmahal district, Mehsana, Kheda, Nadiad, Bhavnagar – which include hacking, lynching and burning alive continued(see 'Testimony' section.)

Narendra Modi (Talking Heads, Star News, 3/03/2002): "On 27th the incident at Godhra happened, till the afternoon of 28th, there was no incident anywhere. Tension increased on 28th and I talked to the Central Government that afternoon. At 4:30 on 28th, I announced at a press conference that I have asked for military help. On the night of 28th, the Army

was brought in planes from the border to the land of Gujarat. They joined duty from the morning of 1" March. Where do you think was the delay, you should know about it?"

(Though 12 columns of the Army (approximately 600 troops) had reached Ahmedabad and other sensitive areas on March 1, they were kept on standby. Military intelligence puts the blame on the state government. Reports submitted say the initial delay was due to the absence of clear instructions from the Gujarat government. (*The Times of India*, Ahmedabad, March 11, Pg. 7; See section on 'Godhra').

Worst of all was CM Modi's response to the worst incidents of carnage, such as the one that took place at Chamanpura, where former Congress MP, Ehsan Jaffri was lynched, hacked and killed. He had no words of condemnation for the way Jaffri was attacked, for the failure of his own government and the police. Modi forgot to tell us what a citizen is expected to do when a menacing mob, which has already slaughtered many, approaches him and the police has deliberately not responded to his pleas.

Narendra Modi's statement on 01/03/2002: "There have been earlier incidents of private firing there too. And how, an effort was made from this society, in the past, to spread terror among the people... But this time also, there was private firing at the Gulbarga Society, after the private firing, things went out of control."

Thirty-eight villagers were hacked and torched at Sardarpura village in Mehsana district. This is what Modi had to say to the killings—Narendra Modi, CM, 1/03/02: "In some villages, especially in one village of Mehsana district, due to rumours, due to suspicion, due to mistrust, due to tension on both sides, there was an incident in the Sardarpura village."

IV. Other ministers in the state cabinet displayed the same attitude. Constituencies of the state cabinet were more prone to violence; ministers were also leading the mobs: It may not be a mere coincidence that Bapunagar, home constituency of the minister of state for home, Gordhan Zadaphiya, witnessed one of the worst communal scenes since the 1969 riots, when the area was the hardest hit. Some of the senior BJP leaders and ministers in the Modi cabinet were also alleged to have participated in the destruction of minority places of worship. Minister for revenue Haren Pandya and health minister Ashok Bhatt led the mobs enthusiastically in Ahmedabad. Bharat Barot, a sitting MLA, was also at the forefront. Residents of Paldi, where Haren Pandya is elected from, actually saw him lead arson attacks. Pandya's election promise the last time was "to wipe any trace of Muslims out of Paldi." Maya Kotdani, an MLA, has also been named by a few dozen witnesses as an active participant in the violence.

Gujarat ministers Nitin Patel and Narav Laloo Patel allegedly led violence, arson and even sexual violence against women in Kadih and Unja in Mehsana respectively.

V. The utter disregard for the loss of life, property and the anguish that a section of the citizenry suffered due to perpetrated violence could be seen in the fact that until Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee flew into Ahmedabad to give his speech at Shah Alam Camp, Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi had not visited a single one. There are as many as 66,000 persons, according to collector's figures in the camps in Ahmedabad. Instead of succour and assistance, in keeping with the fundamental duty of a government towards its citizens, terror tactics through lathi-wielding policemen have been employed with residents of camps. In the areas of Gujarat outside Ahmedabad too, there are as many as 60,000 persons internally displaced living in terrible conditions. There is little save for the basics forthcoming from the government; this too has been obtained after petitions and public outery.

VI. The state government stands indicted in its careless disregard for the life, well being and future of students from the minority community. Traumatised and distressed students had requested a postponement of the annual examinations. The state government and later even the Gujarat High Court rejected their plea. On April 10, the Gujarat government took a decision to shift out all centres located in the minority dominated areas out of concern for the lives of the students belonging to the majority. However, minority children were still expected to travel to majority dominated areas! This is just one more example of sectarian and partisan response on the part of the Gujarat the Government which is in violation of the Indian Constitution.

On April 15, young girls and boys studying at two schools at Delhi darwaza were attacked by mobs as they sat for their terminal examinations there. Even then, the Gujarat High Court chose not to intervene, choosing to believe the claims of the government that 'it had made special arrangements for special buses for transportation of Muslim children into centres located in majority dominated areas.' This, from a government that has failed for over six weeks to provide even basic protection to its citizens. As we go to press, there has been a near-unanimous decision by Muslim parents and students in Guiarat

to boycott the examinations. The state government's response: Muslim teachers and supervisors are being threatened; make sure that the children come out or else we will book you under PASA!

VII. CCs figures show that apart from 2,000 lives lost and Rs. 3,500 crores in economic losses (primary assessment) for the minority community in Gujarat, at least 270 masjids and dargahs — religious and cultural monuments, have been destroyed completely or damaged. This, in utter violation of both the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Indian Constitution and international standards. There has not been one word of apology or regret from chief minister Modi or his government on the brutal message sent out through this desecration of masjids and dargahs to a section of the Gujarati population.

VIII. The CM announced Rs. 2 lakhs as compensation for the victims/survivors of the Godhra tragedy. Within 26 hours of the Godhra tragedy, widespread targetted attacks by huge mobs in Ahmedabad, Gandhinagar, Kheda, Mehsana, Vadodara, Anand, Bharuch, Rajkot, Sabarkantha, Panchmahal, Patan and several others had taken place, hacking and burning children, women and men. The compensation declared by the CM for the survivors was Rs. 1 lakh. (When widespread criticism was made about the discriminatory stand of the state, the amount was equalised by reduction rather than by increasing the amount.)

The government has also decided to pay a compensation from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 50,000 to the injured, depending on the type of injury one has suffered. The compensation has been decided in accordance with the norms fixed for the state earthquake victims of January 26, 2001, a government notification said. Despite the fact that there was premeditated and systematic destruction of homes, properties and businesses, the state government has been perfunctory and callous in announcing compensation. The same is evident from the following example: The state government has declared a paltry sum of Rs. 10,000 to 50,000 for the loss of property. The loss incurred runs into lakhs and lakhs of rupees, where only 30-40 per cent of those affected have insurance coverage. For the rest, the only source of rehabilitation is a aid from the state govt. The state government has refused to

discharge its responsibilities, duties and liabilities.

IX. On March 1, the CM announced a judicial commission of inquiry into the Godhra tragedy alone, appointing retired judge, KG Shah at it's head. Again, only after widespread protests, did he announce the inclusion, in the terms of reference of inquiry of the judicial commission, to cover the post Godhra carnage. (March 5) . The appointment of the KG Shah Commission is the subject matter of serious controversy given not merely the conduct of this particular judge in an earlier

matter but on the simple grounds that the situation in Gujarat, where judges, academics, professionals and others live under threat of fanatic groups who have become a law unto themselves, the criteria of a free, fair and independent inquiry demands the appointment of a senior judge (preferably judges) from outside the state. The appointment of KG Shah has been challenged in the Supreme Court and the SC has served notice to the Gujarat government on April 15.

Justice Shah's judicial record, especially while delivering the judgement when presiding over the TADA court in the matter of the Dabgarwad, Laliwala case must to be recalled. He convicted persons from the minority community under TADA (they were given the death penalty), a judgement that was completely overruled by the Supreme Court. In its verdict, the SC acquitted all the accused and also questioned the reasoning of the TADA Court. The said decision is reported under Dilawar Hussain, s/o Mohammed Laliwala etc. vs stat. of Gujarat, reported in A I R 1991 SC 56.

The terms of reference of the KG Shah Commission are

also controversial. They are:

To ascertain

- The facts, circumstances and the course of events of the incidents that led to setting on fire of some coaches of the Sabarmati Express train on February 27, 2002 near Godhra railway station.
- ➤ The facts, circumstances and course of events of the subsequent incidents of violence in the State in the aftermath of the Godhra incident.
- ➤ The adequacy of administrative measures taken to prevent and deal with the disturbances in Godhra and subsequent disturbances in the State.
- ➤ To ascertain as to whether the incident at Godhra was pre-planned and whether information was available with the agencies, which could have been used to prevent the incident.
- ➤ To recommend suitable measures to prevent recurrence of such incidents in future.

The terms of reference of the KG Shah Commission have been strongly criticised. There is no reference in the terms of reference, to the need to look into the *causes* of the disturbances/events/killings as also the need to *pinpoint* the groups, individuals and organisations behind the violent provocation.

X. To date, the state government has made no announcements about the number of missing persons or the extent of damage to property and has not computed the vast economic devastation suffered by the minority community. Estimates show that there are as many as 2000-2,500 persons missing. Gujarat has seen a style of killing that leaves behind no traces. How will the survivors be compensated?

XI. The RSS and VHP also control key functionaries in the State. Chief minister Modi is an RSS pracharak. Minister of state for home, Zadaphiya is a VHP activist. SS Bhandari, the governor of Gujarat, who has not seen fit to send a report on what is happening in the state to the Centre, is also an RSS leader. Such examples can be multiplied, but these will suffice to indicate the penetration of the state apparatus and government machinery by the Sangh Parivar. All governments are political, but the penetration by the RSS, a shadowy and publicly unaccountable organisation, is a specific phenomenon that requires careful and painstaking investigation, which is however, outside the scope of this report.

XII. As a consequence of all these factors, the Gujarat government has functioned not as a constitutionally bound, non-partisan and independent body, but one controlled by, and answerable to, the Sangh Parivar. The role and functioning of the Gujarat government, therefore, is directly determined by its penetration by the Sangh Parivar including its most extreme elements, the VHP and Bajrang Dal. This fact underlies the conduct of the Gujarat government before, during and after, the peak period of communal violence in the state during February-March 2002. Take for example the minister of state for home, Gordhan Zadaphiya, who has risen from the ranks of the VHP.

Zadaphiya is a supporter of the international general secretary of the VHP, Pravin Togadia, at whose insistence the home portfolio

was given to Zadaphiya when Modi became chief minister.

The moral commitment and connection of the Gujarat government to extra constitutional outfits like the RSS/VHP and the Bajrang Dal is obvious from the fact that though 2,500 arrests have been made in past weeks, no arrests of Bajrang Dal/1/HP and BJP workers have been undertaken. At least 150 such accused, whose names figure in FIRs are being avoided by the state government. (See section on 'Testimony').

Chief Minister Modi, while denying the allegations, has refused to give the exact number of the BJP, VHP or Bajrang Dal activists arrested. He said he would do it "at a proper time."

Six BJP workers are named in the Naroda carnage. These include Raju Sharma, Kishan Kurani, PJ Rajput, Harish Rohara, Bapu Bajrang, and Raju Chaubal, all identified as BJP and VHP activists who slaughtered Muslims and led mobs. FIRs have been booked against these six Sangh brigade activists under IPC 302, 395 and 143, 149 and 148 for slaughtering and rioting. No arrests have been made. In the Gulberg Society, Chamanpura mass arson case, too, while 19 persons have been arrested, key persons are free.

In Bhavnagar, FIRs have been filed against Om Trivedi, the city VHP president, and Mansukh Panjwani, a city BJP office bearer and ex-municipal councillor. Both Trivedi and Panjwani are alleged to have led mobs which set fire to over 80 Muslimowned business establishments. Neither have been arrested.

At Surendranagar too, CR No. 54/2002 names six persons, who are primary members of the BJP and VHP, for instigating riots and indulging in mayhem. They have been charged under IPC 395, 436, 147, 148 and 149 but have not been arrested. These include district VHP in-charge Raju Vaishnay, BJP councillor Narottam Satwara, VHP joint secretary Dhiren Shukla and Tulsibhai, Ranchhod Bharwad and Devji Bharwad, all active BJP workers. There have been no arrests yet.

XII. Not overly concerned with criticisms that he acted in a partisan manner, in violation of the Indian Constitution, the Gujarat CM Narendra Modi is alleged to have issued instructions to the bureaucracy to prepare a list of those judges that have given anti-government verdicts in the past. Instructions to this effect have already been issued. In a uniquely Hitlerian move to shadow an independent institution like the judiciary, CM Modi is undeterred by nationwide criticism. The RSS/ VHP/Bajrang Dal, whose methods are clearly unconstitutional, rule, and work, in Gujarat. The move to put pressure on and track the judiciary appears to have been successful, if two recent decisions of the Gujarat High Court, on humanitarian pleas made by students from the minority community, are anything to go by. The judges chose to believe a much-indicted state government rather than assure students of a postponement in the examinations and safe examination centres.

XIII. Between late 1999 and early 2000, the RSS compelled the Gujarat government to appoint a government pleader with an RSS background, despite strong protests from within the BJP itself. Arun Oza, at present the senior government pleader in the Ahmedabad High Court, was appointed after hard lobbying by the Sangh and despite stiff opposition from even

the ruling party. Government pleaders, who represent the government in all legal matters, have always been persons of high legal standing and merit. Oza has been actively associated with the RSS since the mid-seventies; and though he is a man of no particular standing, it was simply the persistence of the RSS that earned him this post. His case was actively pursued by RSS leaders Damleji and Pravin Maniar. Oza's appointment to the PP's post was a major victory since it established the supremac, of the sangh over attains in Gujarat. Just before Oza's appointment, the RSS had succeeded in installing its men as Lokayukta, the chairman of the state public service commission and also as vice Chancellor of the Gujarat university.

XIV. Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi is likely to use elections to reap electoral benefits from the carnage in Gujarat. This, despite the fact that he had assured members of the Gujarat Assembly on March 19 that his party was not using communal riots for political gain. "I do not believe in playing politics of vote-bank," Mr Modi had said in the Assembly. However, exposures by the media reveal how the government is actively pursuing the call for an election (see accompanying form on polls.) There is every indication that elections will be announced in late April, if the Collectors' behaviour in many rural camps is anything to go by Many camps located in far off Kadih, Kalol and other areas have

been told by their respective Collectors to wind up the camps by April 21, since elections are being called.

XV. 'There is no civil service left in Gujarat,' said the former Indian cabinet secretary TSR Subramnian (*The Indian Express, April 10*). 'What has happened is something much more fundamental than Gujarat: The civil service is gone. There is no such thing left. Over the years, the civil service has turned from a steelframe to non-existent. And that is the shattering thought.

"When the government wants something done it has the ability, it has the *takat* (strength). It can do it in village after village, town after town. That it has not done so in Gujarat is a telling indictment not only of the way of the present government, but also the collapse of the police and civil magistracy," he says.

The systematic crosion of neutrality and Constitutional principles and values, so visible in the Police, has not left the Civil Service alone either. The government machinery in Gujarat is watched closely by the RSS/VHP and Bajrang Dal, aided by the ruling BJP in power; appointments and decisions are not made as per constitutional norms; they follow ideological principles. Hence, whether it is the matter of school

admissions, decisions by the Collectorate or the awarding of city and road contracts, a partisan approach has crept in, affecting the quality of decisions made. Senior bureaucrats are held accountable to extra Constitutional outfits and this is enough to send the message down the line. It is well known in Ahmedabad city that the AUDA (Ahmedabad Urban development Authority) has not constructed good, decent cheap housing in minority dominated areas for some years now. Slowly and steadily, the minorities in Gujarat have been taught their place. Gujarat 2002 just brought the message home more violently.

XVI. One of the consequences of this violence is the insecurity experienced by Muslim government servants who are all thinking of seeking transfers out of Gujarat....Most of the 20 Muslim officers in ONGC from outside Gujarat have not returned after the riots...In banks, the departments of posts and telecommunications and in organisations such as Indian Oil Corporation — anywhere that any Muslims from outside Gujarat work. A senior officer with the Controller and Auditor General's office in Ahmedabad first went on leave and has now sought a transfer. Nishar Ansari, an All-India Radio officer recently transferred from Uttar Pradesh to Ahmedabad, is pleading with authorities to cancel the order. (The Times of India, 6 March 2002.)

FORM IV (See Rule 8)

Statement about ownership and other particulars of the newspaper entitled 'Communalism Combat'

- 1. Place of Publication
- 2. Periodicity of publication
- 3. Printer's name

Whether citizen of India Address

- 4. Publisher's name Whether citizen of India Address
- 5. Editors name Whether citizen of India Address
- Names and address of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital

- : Mumbai (Maharashtra)
- Monthly.
- : Javed Anand
- Yes
- : Nirant, Juhu Tara Road, Juhu, Mumbai- 400 049
- Javed Anand
- : Yes
 - Nirant, Juhu Tara Road, Juhu, Mumbai- 400 049
- : Javed Anand
- : Yes
- : Nirant, Juhu Tara Road, Juhu, Mumbai- 400 049
- : Javed Anand
- Nirant, Juhu Tara Road, Juhu, Mumbai- 400 049

Teesta Setalvad

Nirant, Juhu Tara Road, Juhu, Mumbai - 400 049

P.G. Mohammed,

Ruturaj Apartments, 5th Floor, Flat 26, Juhu Road,

Santacruz, Mumbai- 400 054

I hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Bombay March 1, 2002 Javed Anand Publisher In response to questions raised, on March 19, CM Narendra Modi denied in the Gujarat Assembly that he had any intention of turning a communal carnage into an electoral campaign. However, it turned out later, that he had lied in the House. Here is the form – arculated among BJP workers to assess the party's prospects if it opted for a mid-term poll – that nails Modi's lies.

BHARTIYA JANATA PARTY — GUJARAT STATE Dt. 17 MARCH 2002 SUNDAY

Main discussions in zilla meetings (bring written notes on the main discussions in the meeting)

(A) The points on which information is to be obtained:

- Expected number in the meeting
- Number actually present
- How many corporations/borough muni. held memorial services?
- How many remaining?
- What was the people's response?
- After the incident of 27 February for how many days did the assembly legislators keep in touch with the people?
- What is the total number of affected villages?
- Of these how many were visited?
- Which of the affected places did the zilla officers visit?
- What is the total number of affected places?
- What is the total death toll in riots in the zillas?
- How many ramsevaks died?
- Did the zilla team go to the houses of the dead to console them?
- Against how many workers were legal proceedings instituted?
- Was the zilla lawyer helpful?
- Is any action taken by the party to obtain release of the arrested?
- In the various parts of zillas did your party workers hold joint meetings with the zilla workers?
- Have you decided the in-charge of the parliament constituency from your zilla?
 (this responsibility is to be given to those workers who will not be taking part in the elections)
- Name of parliament constituency
- Has the in charge of assembly constituency been decided? Give names
- Have you contacted the editors of newspapers published in the zilla and the print media and electronic media persons? How was their attitude?
- How many Hindu refugee camps are there?
- How many Muslim refugee camps are there?
- What is the total number?
- Has the party visited them? What did you think of the arrangements?
- Were any attempts made to save the Hindus and Muslims with the help of the government? Which places? How many were saved?

(B) Opinion poll

- How was the bandh in the zillas? What role did the Congress play during the bandh?
- After the Godhra incident what is the popular opinion about the party and the government?
- What is the feeling of the workers towards the party?
- Have there been any incidents of the social activity that the Congress advocated? Are there any means of upsetting this and creating problems for the Congress? Has the Congress initiated any disturbances, or encouraged looting?
- Is the present government liked by the various castes (such as Dalits, Adivasis, Thakores, Kolis) in the zillas?
- If we call for elections now will be benefit? In short, can we change popular opinion in our favor?
- What would be the immediate effect on the electorate if the central government changes its stance on the Avodhva issue?
- What is the extent of the effect of the arrests in the zillas on the workers? What would be the effect on elections?
- If we call for elections shortly what effect would the recent tax increase in the budget have on the electorate? To what extent are the people against the government?
- What is the reaction of the farmers after the budget? What is the state of the support now? In how many circles is there no support?
- What do the Buddhists think of the party?
- Has this been demonstrated on any specific occasion?
- If the Human Rights Commission comes then people of which areas affected by the troublemakers can be presented?
- Which villages are affected by the troublemakers?
 How many people?

(C) Topics for planning

- In the coming days, which programmes should the party carry out? Ask for suggestions.
- In the coming days in how many places will the zilla hold memorial services? After the meeting of the state officers, what steps will the zilla take to fulfill the plans?
- If the plan is not carried out as decided make plans for this also.
- (D) At the end of the meeting the state officers should address public meetings.

Police



Criminals in uniform

Yeh andar ki baat hai, Police hamare saath hai! (Its an inside story, The police is with us!)

— Open boast of the Sangh Parivar cadre in Gujarat today.

FROM February 27 until today (mid-April), the utter failure of large sections of the Gujarat police to fulfil their constitutional duty and prevent large-scale massacre, rape and arson — in short, to maintain law and order — has been the subject of extensive reportage in the print media. Gujarat 2002 provides gory proof, if any were still needed, of the large-scale infiltration of hate politics in the minds of senior police officials who are now wedded to principles that are hostile to the Constitution and the rule of law. Paralysis and inaction at best, and active connivance and brutality (shooting dead young men and even minors) at worst, were in full public view in Gujarat. The civil service was paralysed as was the police machinery, which was influenced, manipulated and bullied into singing to Hindutva's murderous tune.

In the past year or so, neighbouring states — Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan — have been pressing for a ban on the VHP and the Bajrang Dal on the ground that they are arming themselves and generating terror among sections of the population. But Gujarat defies all constitutional norms, opening up institutions of the State to well-planned infiltration by the ideologues of hate. This has not happened overnight: CC has sent out repeated signals about ominous developments in the 'laboratory of Hindutva' since the BJP grabbed power four years ago. (See sections, 'Dateline Gujarat' and 'The Case for a Ban').

Reprehensible police conduct

I. Intelligence failure on the potential threat to peace despite provocative behaviour by kar setuks in their journeys to and from Gujarat in the past. Just before December 6, 1992 – the day the Babri Masjid was demolished — tension had erupted between Shiv Sainik 'kar setuks' and local residents at the Palej railway station near Vadodara as the former provoked the local population. Similar incidents were also reported from Dahod (near Godhra) soon after the Babri Masjid demolition. Strict and prompt action by the police then had arrested the situation locally. With this history, should not the police have kept strict watch and vigil over the departure and return of kar setuks, especially when the climate in the country was tense and belligerent?

It is alleged that on February 14, former Gujarat CM, Keshubhai Patel's son, was observed giving a speech on Platform No. 1 of Ahmedabad railway station. The train was late. He was exhorting kar sevaks "not to waste this opportunity and to return successful from Ayodhya." The station master is reported to have recorded a complaint with the railway police in this regard. Yet another witness told CC that on Wednesday, February 20, again on Platform No. 1, Keshubhai's son Bharat Bhai K Patel was provoking kar sevaks leaving for Ayodhya from Gujarat, "to do their jobs well." Both these

incidents need serious investigation for their veracity

Although police had known of tension between kar seraks and residents of Singal falia in Godhra, the crucial intelligence failure was in not knowing that kar seraks were returning by the Sabarmati Expresson February 2⁻⁷. Police had already received warning signs of tension. Information about the kar seraks return was not pursued. Local policemen requesting anonymity said, "We had no information about the locals returning that day. If we had known we would have deployed more men."

Sources said that the police only had information that kar seraks were returning from March I onwards, not earlier. Hence they were completely unprepared. (The Jan Morcha, a Hindi daily published from Faizabad, UP had, in it's February 25 edition, i.e., two days before the Godhra tragedy, carried a story detailing the threatening and riotous behaviour of the kar setaks, especially those arriving from Gujarat. (See 'Godhra' section').

Since there is a history of altercations between the kar setaks and the tea and food vendors at Godhra (who hail from the local Muslim Ghanchi community), the intelligence and police should have been more alert, expecting provocation and trouble. (See 'Godhra' section and refer to the letter by former police commissioner, Ahmedabad, MM Singh).

In the circumstances, one may well ask whether this was a case of intelligence failure on part of the police force, or a deliberate absence of preemptive action?

II. No preventive arrests worth the name were made after the Godhra tragedy. (See 'Police statistics' section). The only two arrests made on February 27 were those of Mohammed Ismail Jalaluddin and Fatch Mohammed, who were picked up at Astodia in the night, for shouting slogans.

By the evening of February 27, the VHP made its intentions apparent with its belligerent call for a 'Gujarat Bandh' the next day. It saw the Godhra incident as a 'manifestation of Islamic fundamentalism' and gave a 24 hour ultimatum to the state government to bring the culprits involved in the incident to book. (Two years ago, in response to a similar bandh call in

Gujarat on August 1, 2000, the VHP and the BJP had gone on the rampage, destroying Rs 15 crores worth of Muslim property. (See 'Dateline Gujarat' section). Yet the police made no preventive arrests.

The Gujarat government and the police have enough evidence of incendiary and provocative pamphlets circulated in large numbers in the state in the name of various Hindu Outfits (Dharam Raksha Samitis, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal), exhorting cadres to rape, humiliate, destroy and kill. Nationally, a spokesperson of the VHP had said at Ayodhya, "We will not remain silent." On March 12, rediff.com put out an interview by the Gujarat VHP chief, KK Shastri. He revealed that on February 28, "In the morning we sat down and prepared the list. We were not prepared in advance." The writing was etched on the wall but the police buried its face, ostrichlike, in the sand.

III. This reporter has received information from a credible source, of an alleged secret meeting, held on the late evening of February 27, at some person's home in Lunavada village of Sabarkantha district. The meeting, it is learnt, took place after a call was made, between 3 and 6 p.m., from the house of Dr. Yogesh Ramanlal

These people also, they somehow get carried away by the overall general sentiment. That's the whole trouble. The police is equally influenced by the overall general sentiments.

PC Pandey; Police commissioner,
 Ahmedabad; (Star News, March 10, 2002)

Pandya, in Godhra to Dr. Anil Patel (a member of the Gujarat Doctor's Cell), intimating him of the meet. A call was also made to the Police Housing Corporation chairman, Dr. Chandrakanth Pandya (from Kalol). Ashok Bhatt, the state health minister was sitting in the Godhra collectorate; he was also intimated about the meeting. Minister Prabhat Singh Chauhan from Lunavada was reportedly also called to attend. One AP Pandya was also present at the meeting.

The phone call was to invite 50 top people of the BJP/RSS/Bajrang Dal/VHP and the plan was to assemble them at someone's house in Lunavada (Sabarkantha). Fifty top people, it is claimed, met at this undisclosed destination and detailed plans were made on the use of kerosene, petrol and other methods of killing. The state intelligence did not or could not track such meets and this marks a serious intelligence failure. The CBI must be asked to investigate the details of this reported meeting.

Finally, on the night of February 27, some companies of the State Reserve Police (SRP) were rustled into action: one was sent to Godhra from SRP Group-III Naroda, and another to Ahmedabad rural. Some more companies from Ghodasar were moved into parts of Ahmedabad by early morning. But they were split into groups of four or five jawans each, which rendered them largely ineffective against the rampaging mobs on the prowl on February 28.

IV. The supposed inadequacy of forces is often touted by serving police officers who fail in their primary duty. However, on more than one occasion, where good officers held out against the pressure, the same small deployment was enough to act decisively and to control the situation. In the vast majority of cases, however, the police either did not act or acted on behalf of the mob. "The police tried their best, but they couldn't stop the mobs. They were grossly outnumbered when the mobs grew," claimed Ahmedabad's police commissioner PC Pandey. (The Times of India).

DGP Gujarat, K Chakravarty's comments telecast on DD news, 27/02/2002: "As a precautionary measure, since there was a possibility of a flare-up, the district authorities have imposed curfew in Godhra town and in all other sensitive towns in

Gujarat; especially the towns and cities which are coming on the train route, maximum alert was kept... The entire state police machinery has been put on red alert. The state reserve battalions have been positioned in all the communally sensitive areas and instructions have been given to all the SPs and the commissioners to take strict action against all anti–social elements and such action is already is in progress... since the incident took place all of a sudden, there was no possibility of that being prevented." These comments are farcical given the sheer inadequacy and complicity of the police the very next day.

V. On February 28, of the 40 persons shot dead by the police in Ahmedabad city, 36 were Muslims. This despite the fact that it was the minority community that was being targetted by huge and well-armed mobs. (See Police Statistics' section). In the unending saga of the police making victims the target, on April 15, two more persons belonging to the minority community, Ayub Khan Pathan being one of them, were shot dead at Danapur, Ahmedabad. The police was effectively aiding an attacking mob that was pelting stones on the hapless Muslim residents in the area. Even minors were shot at, a few fatally, by the police. Why?

VI. Ahmedabad's commissioner of police, PC Pandey comments on Neushour (Star Neus), on February 28 were telecast again on March 10: "These people also, they somehow get carried away by the overall general sentiment. That's the whole trouble. The police is equally influenced by the overall general sentiments." That is the police chief in person. It gave sanction to the policemen to act according to 'sentiment' rather than stringently enforce 'the rule of law.'

Pandey pronounced on Newshour (Star News), on March 2: "The situation is well within control. In fact, it is fast returning back to normal. So we hope that within the next maybe 12-24 hours, we would have complete peace." The people of Ahmedabad know better.

VII. The police did not conduct the mandatory police drill.

VIII. It did not contact religious and community leaders to make appeals for peace.

IX. On February 28, as carefully planned mass killings were engineered in 30 different locations all over the state, two senior cabinet ministers sat in the police control room in Ahmedabad and the state control room in Gandhinagar and directly influenced the police not to act.

Gujarat state health minister Ashok Bhatt – who, incidentally, faces a criminal charge of murdering a police head constable Desai on April 22, 1985 at Khadia in Ahmedabad – was in the police control room (PCR) at the Ahmedabad police commissionerate in Shahibaug for more than three hours on February 28. And the Gujarat urban development minister, I K Jadeja, considered Modi's right-hand man, had parked himself in the state police control room at Gandhinagar for four hours from 11 a.m. onwards.

Commissioner Pandey's untenable explanation is that the arrangement was simply to facilitate easy flow of government directions as Union defence minister George Fernandes was also visiting on March 1. In a situation of crisis, the control room is a critical area of operation since this is one location where all the detailed information sent to and from various locations is received and responded to. The officer-in-charge of the control room is always kept informed on wireless about what is happening. Top police officials that CC spoke to countrywide, said it was 'shocking' and 'unheard of' that politicians sit in and try to influence the independent functioning of the police. The Commissioners of Police (CPs) of Ahmedabad, Baroda, Rajkot, Mehsana and Nadiad are personally culpable for allowing the violence to not just carry on but reach unprecedented proportions. The SPs of 16 out of Gujarat's 24 total districts are also directly culpable.

Given the BJP's track record and at a time when communal polarisation ran deep, 'instructions' from politicians could only be detrimental rather than aimed at conserving law and order. In the case of Gujarat, when the ruling party and members in responsible positions in government actually espouse an anti-Constitutional and divisive ideology, such interference in the police control room assumes criminal proportions. Given the conduct of the police in Ahmedabad city and the state wide massacres recorded in detail in the 'Testimony' section, it is easy to guess what these ministers were up to. In the case of many victums who this reporter spoke to, mobile phones of the senior policemen they were trying to contact had just been switched off.

X. The general message sent out to the police was that minimum response and action to panic calls should be allowed, that armed crowds of 5-15,000 should be left to do their business and complaints should not be registered or should be doctored.

The section titled 'Testimony', details the depth of police criminality and complicity. To recall a few:

- A few hundred calls from Naroda Gaon and Naroda Patiya were made to CP Pandey and even DGP, Gandhinagar.
- There were several calls made from the Gulberg Society where former Congress MP Ehsan Jaffri was pleading for help in the face of a mob, which in Inspector Erda's own words was "20-22,000 strong" (See 'Testimony' section). He kept calling the control room until he was charred to death along with 65 of his relatives and neighbours. Police officials, speaking anonymously, confirmed that Jaffri had made frantic telephone calls to the director general of police, the police commissioner, the chief secretary, the additional chief secretary (Home) and others. Three mobile vans of the city police were on hand around Jaffri's house but did not intervene. Sources within the police confirmed that the MP fired in the air, in a desperate last-ditch attempt at self-defence when he had utterly failed to get police assistance. At that point, the marauders broke into his house, and among other inhuman deeds, stripped and raped his daughters and then burnt them alive along with their father. It was only the Rapid

Action Force (RAF) of the central government that intervened when it was far too late, around 5 p.m.

- * KK Mysorewala, police inspector, Naroda police station, who is indicted by several eyewitness accounts (See Testimony' section) told the Aaj Tak, TV channel on March 2: "Subab ko 11 baje se le kar shaam ke 7-8 baje tak poora danga raha. 15-20,000 tak ki tadat mein yeh aadmi log yahan par aaye the. ... police was here, police bhi yahan thi. Firing bhi kiya hua hai, tear gas bhi chode hain. Mob aisa tha ki noh control kisi se na ho paya. Aisa hada mob tha." ("The rioting continued from 11 in the morning to 7-8 in the evening. There were about 15-20,000 people here... police was here, the police was also here. Firing was done and tear gas shells were also exploded the mob was such that it could not be controlled by anyone. It was such a big mob.")
- This was also the time the Naroda Patiya massacre began, in which, by the end of the day, over 91 Muslims had been torched. Over two dozen survivors from Naroda Gaon and Naroda Patiya confirmed that they had made over a hundred distress calls to Pandey. They say his mobile was permanently switched off. There was a similarly callous response from most of the DCPs and additional CPs except Tandon, who finally helped the rest of the Naroda survivors to safety in the dead of night. Had he not done so, the massacre would have continued and the numbers lost would have been much higher.
- The police could not or did not respond to pleas to protect a retired and a sitting judge of the Ahmedabad high court (Justice Akbar Divecha ad Justice Kadri) compelling them to seek army protection for their safety. None less than the chief justice of the Gujarat High Court told the judges not to rely on the police (See Testimony' section).
- The state police allowed large, several thousand strong mobs on the Ahmedabad-Modasa Highway; the Baroda-Godhra route (where over 25 large factories and farm lands were burnt in broad daylight). Havoc was wreaked by organised mobs and their motorcycle pilots armed with mobile phones for coordination. These motorcycles (especially on the Godhra-Modasa route through Panchmahal district) would first track fleeing families and villagers, after which a mob would descend

upon them, rape, brutalise, hack and kill. There was no patrolling of the highways in Gujarat, which displays, on the part of the state police, an utter ignorance of, if not indifference to, the activities of the BJP, RSS, VHP and the Bajrang Dal, who have mocked the law and order machinery consistently over the past two years. The police had obviously learnt nothing from its own station records and FIRs filed in August 1998 when a social and economic boycott was unleashed in Randhikpur Sanjeli, following incendiary pamphlets that were used to mobilise large sections of the population.

In the Baroda BEST Bakery Case, policemen from the Panigate police station simply drove past the road on which the bakery is located, totally unmindful of the huge mob that had encircled the bakery. Fourteen persons were burned alive there.

When the Baroda Coomissioner of Police, Tuteja was contacted by concerned citizens and traumatised survivors about the overall failure of the Baroda police to respond to compalints he is alleged to have remarked, "Aapka naukar kiska kaam karega?" (Who's work will your servant do?)—implying that the police is subservient to the ruling party in power.

The Panchmahal police (See Testimony' section) were party and privy to the burning alive and hacking of villagers. The police post at Pandharwada village did

nothing to stop the killings. The Dailol and the Mehsana police were also guilty of the same misconduct when they failed to prevent massacres like the one at Sardarpur; similarly, in Anand district and Kheda district (where massacres have taken place), the police presence was no help.

Significantly, one of the messages that the Ahmedabad control room received while minister Ashok Bhatt was there, was that his son, Bhushan, a local BJP councillor, had been mobbed by a group at Bhandari Ni Pol in Gaekwad Haveli area. Bhatt is reported to have instructed the staff to send forces there immediately to rescue his son. That was the first instruction he gave, CC has learnt.

XI. Since February 1998, a large number of incendiary pamphlets instigating violence against the state's minorities have been widely circulated. Media reports have frequently drawn attention to these obnoxious publications (See 'Dateline Gujarat' section). Even before the Godhra incident, since early-February, a highly provocative pamphlet exhorting cadres to economically boycott Muslims, was in circulation across the state. VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal and BJP have made 'good use' of hate speech and hate writing earlier, too, to create a 'suitable' social climate. The Gujarat police is guilty of not initiating or pursuing criminal action against them. To argue that this targeted hate speech is not related to the engineered violence would be puerile. In august 1998, the VHP's "Onward To Sanjeli" pamhlet (see CC, October 1998) led to the targeted violence in both Sanjeli and Randikpur. In December 1999, before Dangs in South Gujarat was terrorised by the BJP/VHP, hate driven anti-Christian pamphlets were distributed in lakhs (see CC, January 2000). As can be seen from the Pamphlet Poison section in this report, whether it is the fomenting of general hatred against Muslims; or specifically detailing gory and chilling caranges against women (as happened in Naroda, Naroda Pattiya, Chamanpura, and the Mehsana and Panchmahals district—cadres were filled with the venom contained in these examples of hate writing and they chillingly, acted upon them.

The people came spontaneously (on the roads) and there were 15-20,000 of them. So let the police arrest 15-20,000 people. Everywhere, at every police station, let the police arrest 10-15,000 people each.

— Dr. Jaideep Patel, J. Sec., VHP, Gujarat; (Star News, March 10, 2002) The manner in which the BJP government has encouraged VHP and RSS workers, has given them the gumption to rule the State. At a public meeting held at Law Garden in September 2001 (details obtained from the police), highly provocative speeches were made in gross violation of section 153C. No action was taken. One of the comments made at this public meeting: "There are 36 ayats of the Quran that should be removed because they perpetrate violence; and, to make Islam less violent, these 36 ayats should be removed."

XII. The constituencies of some sitting MLAs and ministers have been the venues of the worst incidents of carnage this time. Bapunagar in Ahmedabad, one of the worst affected areas, is the home constituency of the minister of state for home, Gordhan Zadaphiya. Paldi, Ahmedabad—is the constituency of Haren Pandya, former state home minister and currently revenue minister. Nitin Patel, a state cabinet minister allegedly led the violence (including sexual assault of a woman) in Kadih Mehsana district. Naray Laloo Patel—is another minister in Modi's cabinet from Unia in Mehsana district who allegedly inspired and led bouts of violence, including sexual assault and arson.. Rajkot, from where Modi recently won an election, has never before witnessed a riot. Ashok Bhatt, health minister, Gujarat is also directly named in the evidence of victims.

XIII. Police response to rumours, which act as agent provocateurs in a communal riot situation, is critical. In Gujarat, from February 27-April 10, 02 the police failed miserably to act decisively and reassuringly to control violence in the wake of rumours. The daily newspaper Sandesh was used to actively promote fear and insecurity in the majority when the minority was being targetted and the police did precious little to diffuse the situation.

XIV. Indian Law, be it the Arms Act, the Unlawful Practices Act, the Police Act or the Constitution is clear on the issue of organisations that strike terror among people and those that are armed. Carrying of swords "capable of being used for carrying out physical violence is prohibited under section 37 of the Bombay police Act. (conviction can be from four months to a year). Yet the police has allowed this arming and fatal use of swords to go unchecked. The VHP and BD, through trishal dikhsa samaroh's have been distributing small sharp knives that can be disguised as a trishul. They proudly announce to the press that they conduct arms training for young children and women. (see C.C. Campaign July 2001 and CC. Nov 01). CC has accessed confidential information, that needs to be investigated to show that one of the camps that the RSS/VHP/BD combine allegedly usefor training in violence and techniques of kiing is located at Kathwada near Memdavad in Kheda district.

In Gujarat, this arms distribution has assumed astronomical proportions. Distribution of tribuls, taluars and other arms continued until March 31. Police officers made the seizures in Bejalpur, Shahpur, Maninagar, Vatwa and Kalupur compulsory only after the Gujarat genocide. The police made seizures only in mid-April whereas state intelligence ought to have been informed of them and acted on this earlier. VHP joint sec. Jaideep Patel has publicly admitted that swords and trishuls are regularly distributed. "We have been distributing these weapons since 1985, — Trishul Diksha Samarohs and Bharatiya Abhiyans have been held. Nobody has objected not even the police." Information available suggests that Dudheshwar in Ahmedabad

Police-parivar nexus

All vital and sensitive postings in the Gujarat police were systematically politicised and saffronised by the BJP immediately after coming to power. Several months ago, the then home minister, Haren Pandya, widely reported to have personally led the marauding mobs against Muslims last month, completely reshuffled the police inspectors and sub-inspectors in Ahmedabad and Vadodara, sidelining the police commissioners and the DGP.

Here are some examples of the police-parivar nexus:

Ahmedabad

- 1. Police Inspector VB Raval, (PCB, Ahmedabad City) Crime Branch: He participated in the demolition of the Babri Masjid as a kar sevak and proudly displays a photograph thereof as a trophy. This deed of his is said to have fetched him such a plum post.
 - 2. RD Makadia, DCP Zone IV: Very close to VHP leader Pravin Togadia; works as his agent.
 - 3. Savani, DCP Zone V: A close ally of Togadia.
- 4. RB Jebalia, DCP Zone VI: Hails from Amreli district, as does Togadia. He is said to be under a personal obligation to Togadia, though he may not be outright communal.
- 5. PB Gondia (IPS) DCP, Zone III: His father is an ex-MLA (Congress.) He was offered a BJP ticket from Panchmahal dist. during the last Assembly elections. He was ready to contest but his father persuaded him not to.
- 6.Parghi (IPS) DCP Zone I: Brother-in-law of Gondia. He was seen moving in his official vehicle along with Haren Pandya during the riots.
 - 7. DJ Patel, DCP, Zone II: Also very close to Togadia.

Himmatnagar (Sabarkantha)

8. ND Solanki, SP Himmatnagar: His father is an active office-bearer in the VHP.

and a district in Rajasthan are where the swords are acquired from. (Recently, the Rajasthan government seized a jeep carrying swords trying to cross over into Gujarat at Sirohi in Rajasthan.)

XV. The Police is also guilty, post Gujarat carnage, of bullying victims/survivors into filing FIRS where the accused are only identified as mobs rather than naming y the individual leaders of parties that victims/survivors identify relating to each incident.

XVI. Continuing Violence: The role of the Police in Gujarat, especially Ahmedabad city, has failed to inspire confidence among the affected, even after the first round of brutalities. It has been responsible for highly dubious conduct from mid-March to mid-April as well. On the eve of PM Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Ahmedabad, on April 3, the police were at the forefront of an assault against minority sections of the population in the curfew-ridden parts of Gomtipur, Ahmedabad. The Police, led by PI SD Sharma, in the presence of Mr. Parmar of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, led a violent attack on the 750 refugees of the Suleiman Roza Relief Camp (behind Nutan Mills), Saraspur and actually shot two persons, Pirujbhai Mohammad Sheikh(30) and Khatoonbi Sharfuddin Saived (45).

As a result, the 750 strong camp was violently, wound up. Advocate Nizam was shot dead by the police inside his home on April 3 and Dr. Ishaq Sheikh, Vice President, of the Al Ameen Garib Niwas Hospital, was brutally assaulted by the police. (See section on Continuing Violence.) On April 14, two more persons were shot dead by the police at Dariapur when, in fact, they were being attacked by a violent mob. The number of lives lost due to deliberate police criminality will be astronomically high. (These figures are being witheld by the government.)

BJP and the police in Gujarat

After February 1998, when Keshubhai Patel came to power, a calculated displacement of Muslim began. All Muslim officers began to be given executive posts (they were assigned to Law and Order-Crime Investigation). Eight of the 141 IPS officers in the state who are Muslims, were deliberately keep away from decision making posts.

As a result of this well-known and blatantly unconstitutional policy of the Gujarat government, the younger batch of Muslim IPS officers who passed out in '92-'93 have never exercised their executive capabilities; they have never seen executive policing. Gujarat is the only state in the country where IPS officers who are Muslim have never been assigned the post of deputy SP of police. At present, two Muslim officers who are qualified to be given the post of a DySP, which would put them in direct charge of maintaining law and order in half or one third of a district, have been deliberately denied the opportunity. For an IPS officer, the charge of SP, or DySP is a critical training opportunity to gain experience in execution and supervision.

Senior police officers
haven't been victimised
by transfers. They have
just been promoted.

—Narendra Mod
(The Times of India, Deht; March 27, 2002)

Every police chowki has a constable with a head constable who could be in-charge of a beat, out post, or a chowki. Since the BJP assumed power in Gujarat, it has ensured that were a head constable to be a Muslim, he would not be in-charge of the beats/outposts under the chowki. While addressing a meeting of Baroda range officers in 1999, a minister from the state cabinet did a shocking thing. He demanded that the names of all head constables and officers above that grade be read out to him publicly. The signal was that the charge of an outpost should not be given to a Muslim.

In 1999, Mahen Trivedi, the minister of state for home, stated publicly at a police function: "We have told you that we don't want Muslims in controlling posts. Why is he posted there?" At the DySP and Inspector level, there are 65 Muslims in the service all over Gujarat. With the exception of one who has a close relationship with a minister, all others have been shunted to CID Crime, training computers, civil defence and railways.

In the three critical government departments concerned with recruitment — the Gujarat Public Service Commission, (GPSC), the Panchayat Service Selection Board and the C-ram Seva Samiti — there is not a single member from any minority community. In the vital departments of government — establishment, recruitment, law and order, finance and loans department, there are no minority persons at all. This is blatantly anti-constitutional as it violates the principles of non-discrimination and equal opportunity.

Some examples of open discrimination:

In late 1999, when a Patel was murdered in Rajkot, the then CM (Keshubhai Patel) went there on a personal visit; a few days later some 8-10 Muslims died in an incident but neither the CM nor any minister visited the city!

Transfer and punishment posting are very common in Gujarat. For example, DYSP Parmar, Viramgam who arrested 5 VHP workers was shifted over night. *Punish the good and reward the guilty*, is the policy followed consistently by the Modi regime as also by his predecessors in Gujarat.

Subsequent to the ethnic cleansing in March, after a secret meeting of political bigwigs and favourite bureaucrats in Gandhinagar, punishment postings were dished out to 'disobedient' policemen. Their crime? They had disobeyed orders, which allowed Hindu mobs free rein and thus managed to contain or prevent loot, arson and killings.

1. Vivek Srivastava, SP, Kutch: The young officer arrested a Home Guard commandant after he assaulted a Muslim woman.

The commandant is a known VHP worker. Srivastava has been shunted to the post of SP (Prohibition). A local Gujarat officer has taken his place. Kutch was peaceful when Gujarat was trapped by the fires of hatred: not one death reported, no case of arson or damage to property. Srivastava moved swiftly to control the post-Godhra damage: on March 1, he ordered the arrests of Nakhtarana taluka VHP president, Vasant Patel and Home Guard commandant, Akshay Thakkar, who wore his VHP links on his uniform sleeve. Thakkar had helped a mob lock up six persons inside a dargab in Nakhtarana.

"They were about to be attacked with swords and set on fire, but they managed to break open the door and flee. We had information on who was behind the attack, and we picked up the commandant and a Shiv Sena leader," police sources told the media. After a shop was burnt down and a dargah damaged, Srivastava identified the culprits and made them pay for the reconstruction. "The police also foiled the attempts of a mob which tried to stir up things in Angia village. The police stepped in again when VHP activists attacked a dargah in Bhimsar village a few days ago."

Srivastava stood firm in the face of a flurry of phone calls from minister of state for home, Gordhan Zadaphiya and other ministers, police sources in Nakhtarana said. "There were two calls from the CM's office too," they added. Though Srivastava refused to, comment, Zadaphiya admitted that he had called up Srivastava twice. "I thought the leaders who were arrested were innocent and had been picked up by mistake," said the minister. "I did my job. As a police officer, I did whatever was required of me to keep law and order," shrugged the 1988 batch officer.

- 2. Praveen Gondia, DCP Zone IV, Ahmedabad City: Gondia registered FIRs against prominent BJP and VHP leaders for their role in the rioting. He has been transferred to Civil Defence.
- 3. Himanshu Bhatt, SP, Banaskantha: He suspended a sub-inspector who had let a Hindu mob plunder a village in the district. The PSI is close to several BJP and VHP leaders. Bhatt has been transferred to the Intelligence Bureau.
- 4. Manoj Antane, SP, Bharuch: He came down fast and hard on rioters all across the communally sensitive district. He has been transferred as SP, Narmada, a less important, smaller district.

The motive, apart from vendetta? One, to make sure Modi has his key police officials in positions of command in case he goes through with his cynical plan for elections. Two, in case there is President's rule, the move can be effectively subverted with soft saffron elements in key places in the police and the bureaucracy.

5. Rahul Sharma, SP, Bhavnagar: The riots erupted when he had been in charge for only 25 days. Sharma fired on a mob that was trying to set a madrassa on fire, and put all its leaders behind bars. By his firm act, 400 young lives were saved. A local BJP leader wanted them released. Sharma told him to get lost. The officer is now DCP (Control Room). On March 1, the

The testimonies from the numerous survivors of the genocide in Gujarat, which form a major part of this report, provide abundant evidence of dereliction of duty and in many cases even complicity of sections of the police force in the ethnic cleansing of Muslims.

Numerous reports published in the national dailies since March 1, too, record several instances of brazen anti-Muslim bias, evident in the acts of commission and omission by policemen - from constables to top officials - SRP jawans and even Fire Brigade personnel. We reproduce below excerpts from some of them:

Minors shot by police

Vadodara: An 11-year-old girl in Dudhia village was hit on the head by bullet in police firing and is now recuperating at the SSG hospital, Vadodara. A 14-year-old was killed in police firing at Kisanwadi. The bullet went through his chest. In Halol, a bullet ricocheted from a wall on a veranda of a one-storied-house, injuring a two-and-a-half-year old. At a time when the state police are accused of "inaction" as mobs went around looting and killing during the recent riots, records at the SSG Hospital here, which is treating numerous riot victims, are pointing at another "folly" – police forgot the rule book during the riots and shot many above the waist while controlling the mobs.

(The Times of India, 1 March 2002)

Police chief vanishes as Rajkot burns

Rajkot: While Rajkot burned on Thursday, its police commissioner did a vanishing act. As mobs rampaged through the city and curfew had to be clamped after a gap of 17 years, Upendra Singh switched his mobile phone off and was nowhere to be found. And, with their chief not in sight, the inefficiency of the local police came to the fore as mobs attacked marked targets at will.

(The Times of India, 1 March 2002)

'The Police watched as we were attacked'

Vadodara: "We were surrounded on all sides by police vans but had to contend with stones from the mob. The police did nothing to stop the attack. On the contrary, an ex-corporator instructed them on how they should ensure that we have no way to escape," said a resident of Memon colony. "The police looked on as mob attacked and destroyed homes of an ex-judge and retired army colonel," said Iqbal Memon, who also added to the complaints of police inaction.

(The Times of India, 2 March 2002).

RAF accused of atrocities in Surat

Surat: Rapid Action Force (RAF) jawans are alleged to have beaten up and misbehaved with Muslim women and an elderly maulvi in Surat. The jawans reportedly went on the rampage on March 3, a day after residents of the predominantly Muslim suburb of Rander faxed a message to President KR Narayanan and Congress chief Sonia Gandhi, seeking protection from Hindu mobs. They now plan to move court and complain to the human rights commission against the RAF and police.

(The Hindustan Times, 5 March 2000).

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1992-batch officer broke up a rally led by a Shiv Sena leader and VHP activists. For 25 days, he held his ground, resisting pressure from BJP MLAs, minister of state for home, Gordhan Zadaphiya and others. When leaders in the rally including SS leader, Kishore Bhatt and 21 VHP activists raised inflammatory slogans, the SP issued instructions for their immediate arrest. This brought the situation under immediate control.

On the evening of March 1, when mobs were prowling the streets, the Bhavnagar police, who had never faced a riot before, momentarily seemed to lose confidence. "Sensing that my men were hesitating, I got out and fired the first round and they immediately joined me. We managed to disperse the mob and did not allow them to regroup," Sharma told the media. For this, Sharma had to face heat from political 'bosses.' The BJP MLA, Sunil Oza, called up Sharma, accusing him of stirring up trouble by arresting Sena and VHP leaders. The MLA, in fact, threatened the police saying that if they were not released, it would cause a serious law and order problem. But the police stuck to their principles.

Oza then reportedly exerted pressure on the director general of police's office, but after considering the case, the DGP office did not pressurise Sharma. Then they tried to instigate riots to get Sharma into trouble. Suddenly 22 incidents were reported. That is when the police decided to use force. The Bhavnagar police were on their toes, opening fire wherever and whenever necessary. By March 2, the number of incidents had trickled down to 30; by March 3, there was nothing to report. When the Army eventually reached Bhavnagar, it had little to do. The interference did not stop here. The minister of state for home, Zadaphiya called up Bhavnagar city police and told them not to register cases against those injured in police firing. The police refused to oblige. Sharma paid the price for his uprightness.

The IPS officers' association has decided to meet for discussions, and the state's top policeman has lodged a protest. To preempt any challenge to the abrupt transfer orders, the Gujarat government was quick to file an application with the Central Administrative Tribunal, pleading that it should, before taking action on appeals against transfers, allow the state government to have its say. "This is the first time that the police in any part of the country have been taught inaction," said a senior officer. "The fallout of this would be disastrous. The next time we have a riot and a constable sees a senior officer being assaulted by a mob, he'll probably just stand back and watch."

Shivanand Jha and VM Parghi, additional police commissioner and deputy police commissioner of Ahmedabad, were transferred on April 8 and appointed as DIG, Armed Unit, Rajkot and commandant of SRP, Group Eight, Gondal, respectively. Parghi was the officer who actually beat up journalists while Jha had pulled him up and tried to do his duty. Keshav Kumar, additional police commissioner (administration), Vadodara, replaces Jha in Ahmedabad while SM Katara, additional SP of Kutch takes the place of Parghi. Rakesh Asthana, who was on deputation, is DIG (crime) in state police,

6 deaths after mob attack, police call it 'asphyxiation'

Por (Gandhinagar dist.): ... Police say all mohalla residents were evacuated; the villagers say some had already been killed before the evacuation began. Irfan Ali Shaikh, a survivor who lost his wife, says women and children were soft targets for the mob. "They killed them pressing their fingers on their throats and police also forced us to bury the bodies in a hurry to kill any proof of murder."

(The Indian Express, 5 March 2002).

Police fails to provide security to activist

Ahmedabad: Well-known social activist and state vice-president of the People's Union for Civil Liberties J.S. Bandukwala, a personal friend of defence minister George Fernandes, has been forced to go into hiding following an attack on his residence at Sama, Baroda. The police has failed to provide adequate security to him despite several requests. This is not the first time that the Bandukwalas have been targeted during communal riots.

(The Asian Age, 6 March 2002).

Failing the people

Sabarkantha: 137 petitioners from the district have moved the Gujarat High Court to have their voices heard. They claimed that the police had not recorded their individual FIRs. The role of the police in Sabarkantha district, as a case in point, has only recently become the subject of debate, from the Lok Sabha to the Police Bhavan in Gandhinagar. The main allegation against the Sabarkantha police is that they did not do enough to protect the

innocent and were now preventing the registration of FIRs against the individuals who led the mobs.

(The Indian Express, 13 March 2002).

'We were just watching, why did they fire at us?'

Ahmedabad: "All the women had gathered for majlis - a ceremony before Muharram which is attended by women only. We were returning home when we saw smoke around Navapura area... the women came outside to check what was happening when suddenly, police personnel barged inside our homes and started firing directly at the women," alleges Mumtaz. (The 18-year-old Mumtaz Bano Darbar, a physically challenged girl, escaped death, though she was hurt by a police bullet)...

"They didn't even throw tear-gas shells or lathi charge first," claims Sherbano Abbas Bukhari, an 18-year-old girl who was shot in the chest. "The policewala was only five metres away when he fired directly at me," sobs Sherbano, who is in a very critical condition.

(The Indian Express, 22 March 2002).

FIR says Muslim MLA led riot mob

Ahmedabad: In a glaring example of what appears to be police connivance with the ruling BJP government in Gujarat, the Ahmedabad police put the name of a Muslim MLA in a FIR for instigating mobs to burn Hindu establishments when he was actually in the Gujarat Assembly attending the session discussing the law and order situation in the state.

(The Asian Age, 23 March 2002).

according to an official release. PC Valera would replace Keshav Kumar as deputy police commissioner (administration). The post has been downgraded.

PB Upadhaya, superintendent intelligence, Gandhinagar, has been posted as district superintendent of Police, Amreli. PN Patel, commandant, SRP, Group Eight, Gondal, would hold the post previously held by PB Upadhaya as SP, Intelligence. DS Bhatt has been appointed SP, vigilance squad, DGP's office, Gandhinagar.

The Gujarat government under the BJP has used the IB (intelligence bureau) for its political programme, targetting the minority community. Earlier, details of places of residence and business of members from the minority community were maintained to ensure protection to them when needed. The present government has completely misused the IB machinery to find out who lives where and make their cadre's job easy.

The manner in which the selective attacks took place after Feb. 28 suggests a sinister link; information collected by departments like revenue, sales tax, the registrar of companies, the factory inspectors records, and shops and establishments records were passed on to the mob leaders who used this information to direct their killer squads on cellular phones to the next address for mutilation, rape, murder, loot and arson. Pantaloon, on CG road in Ahmedabad has a 10 per cent Muslim partnership. Similarly, a Muslim holds a minor partnership in the city's Honda showroom. Rajesh Mehta, a Punjabi Hindu who owns Copper Chimney had entered into a business tie-up with a *sheakh* from the Middle East. Who and how did the mobs and their leaders, who were also in government, get access to this information before they acted with such military precision? Leaders of the mobs were seen with computer printouts that had all these details.

The present government had already tried using the police for a selective census of Christians and Muslims, which they were compelled to withdraw after a nationwide protest. (See 'Dateline Guarat' section').

The Gujarat police, under instructions from the government instituted a 'Cell to Monitor Inter-Community Marriages', a step that is a gross violation of the Indian Constitution.

The general secretary of the district Home Guard command is a VHP man. There is a policy decision under the Home Guards scheme to create a post like a 'shikshak sahay called suraksha sahay'; under this scheme, policemen are hired at 2,500 rupees for 4 years. Their recruitment procedure is ad hoc. It does not follow the normal rules, the intention is obviously to make them permanent after four years. The present government has already created health, education 'sahays'; now there is a strong move to follow the same pattern for the police force.

At present, there are 4,000 vacancies for policemen in Gujarat. Recruitment through the normal route, like GPSC, is a procedure not easily prone to manipulation since there are arduous tests and other procedures to be followed. However, now this novel idea is being pushed through to introduce the police sabayak at Rs 1,500 to 2,000 per month. After 6 months of this induction in an ad hoc way, and through which active infiltration has been attempted, political bosses have been pushing to regularise their employment under the permanent category. Through the backdoor, then, cadres are being recruited. After four years of ad hoc service,

Yesterday they (the police)
arrested 700 people. In
Ahmedabad alone they fired
300 rounds... Therefore to
say they were spectators is
simplistic... If somewhere
there has been dereliction of
duty by particular officers
then I'm sure we'll take all
measures against them...

-Arm Jaitley, Union minister,
(Is Wagt, March 1, 2002)

they are inducted directly into the force. The recruitment procedure for the police *sahayaks* is deliberately lax. CC learns that nearly 4,000 from the VHP, Bajrang Dal and RSS cadres have already been inducted as police *sahayaks*. These are the persons that are creating havoc with the police system and have been used successfully in the recent genocide.

Over the last 5 years as many as 12,000 VHP workers have been inducted into the state Home Guards, with many district chiefs being VHP office bearers. Barring one or two, all the 25 Home Guard commandants in the state are primary members of the VHP and Bajrang Dal. The Home Guard's position is a critical one for the maintenance of law and order in rural areas. Through massive infiltration over the past four years, the BJP and its rabid wings have virtually taken control of the Home Guards machinery. It is an arrangement that has worked well for the Sangh Parivar in Guarat in recent weeks. In past weeks there have been reports that 6,000 Home Guards have been asked to go on leave by the chief minister because of their transparent and close associations with the cadres of the RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal.

There is a practice followed by the Gujarat police in rural areas with regard to the entries made and the questions asked for entries in the Village Crime Notebook. These questions are reserved exclusively for Muslims. Pakistan tarji valan dekhadiye che ke nayee? What was his position during Partition? Is he a known Gandhe vadi? (Does he show a leaning towards Pakistan? What was his position during Partition? Is he a known Gandhian?)

The intense insecurity felt by Muslims in Gujarat is borne out by the fact that even Muslim policemen are afraid to put name tags on their uniforms and have sought special permission to be on duty without their name tags. Special IG AI Saiyed, with over 25 years of service, was asked to help a group on his way to Karai. He stopped and tried to help out the hapless people. But he was assaulted when they saw his name. The level of anarchy is evident from the fact that many police officers posted in sensitive areas have simply stopped wearing their name tags, which is against the law. Many Muslim police personnel, including PSIs and PIs do not feel secure wearing their name tags while on duty in riot-affected areas.

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A call to conscience

(A senior serving officer of the IPS, Vibbuti Narain Rai, DIG, Lucknow, recently circulated this letter to all members of the Indian Police Service in mid-March. He has received some supportive responses but is making this public in the interests of furthuring a debate on issues of conscience within the forces):

Dear Colleague,

I am writing to you at a very difficult time as an Indian Police Service officer and with a sense of anguish. The recent events related to the communal holocaust in Gujarat are a matter of great concern for the country and should inspire serious introspection among all of us IPS officers. The terrible carnage that occurred at Godhra was an early warning of the fact that big events of communal destruction could occur the next day all over the State and the expectation from a professional police force was that it would oppose all actions of revenge and counter-violence with all the force that it could muster. But this did not happen. Not only was the police unsuccessful in containing the violence of the next few days but, it seemed, that in many places policemen were actively encouraging the rioters. The failure of the police should not be attributed to the lower ranks but must be seen as a failure of leadership, that is, a failure of the IPS.

The events that followed the beastly incident at Godhra did not surprise a person like myself who is not only a police officer but also a keen student of social behaviour. The same old story was repeated everywhere from Ahmedabad, the capital, to the rural areas. Since 1960, in almost all riots that have occurred, the same picture has been painted in the same colours, a picture of a helpless and often actively inactive police force that allowed wailing members of the minority community to be looted and killed in its presence, that remained a mute witness to some of their members being burnt alive.

Whatever may be my concerns as an ordinary citizen, as a police officer, my greatest concern is the preservation of the professional character of the police force. An insensitive chief minister can pat his incompetent police force on the back and the senior police leadership can also blame the 'misleading media' and the 'anti-national minorities' for any criticism made of its handling of the situation. But the truth is that after every riot the same criticism is made of the police, that of its not only having failed to protect the lives and property of the minorities but of siding with Hindu rioters and encouraging them. And after this recent rioting also the same criticism is being levelled against the Gujarat police.

For an average policeman, collection of intelligence is limited to gathering of information about the activities of communal Muslim organisations.

- Vibbuti Narain Rai

Whatever happened in Gujarat is not something new. It only once again underlines the fact that the senior leadership of the police will have to sit down and think as to why after every riot the same story is repeated; that of incompetence, inactivity and criminal negligence. Until we accept that all is not in order in our own house, nothing can be put right.

The first: institutionalised opposition to communal violence is initiated by the police. This occurs at several levels: collection of intelligence before the outbreak of violence, preventive measures while tension is escalating, use of force to stop violence and, after peace is restored, initiation of legal proceedings against the guilty. These are some of the steps taken by the police to combat communal riots. None of these steps can be taken effectively if we ourselves are infected with a communal bias.

For an average policeman, collection of intelligence is limited to gathering of information about the activities of communal Muslim organisations. It is not easy to make him realise that the activities of Hindu communal organisations also come under the purview of anti-national activities and, therefore, it is necessary to keep an eye on their activities also. It is a fact that very little input on the activities of communal Hindu organisations and their activists is to be found in the police station records.

Similarly, preventive arrests, even in riot situations in which Muslims are the worst sufferers, are restricted to members of the minority community. Further, even where Muslims are being attacked and the police resorts to firing, their main targets are Muslims. House-searches and arrests reveal the same bias.

What happened in Gujarat was a repetition of the above but on an unprecedented scale where the extent of violence and destruction was unparalleled and one-sided. The other difference was that for the first time the inaction, connivance and bias of the police were all on display on television screens in every Indian (and many foreign) homes. Now we have lost even the fig-leaf of alleged misrepresentation by the print-media.

It may be relevant to mention here that on many occassions when leadership was provided which was professionally sound and free from any communal bias, the same bunch of policemen have won confidence of various sections of society and made their organisations proud of them. The old truism is borne out that generals fail and not the troops. Very often the officers blame lower ranks of the force for their inability to control communal conflicts effectively. But we have seen even in the recent Gujarat happenings that in the midst of failures there were success stories in which upright IPS officers led their men from the front and ensured that there was no loss of life and property in their area of responsibility.

It is a sad fact that police-officers who have not just failed to control riot situations but who have actually given them their active support have not been punished in even one instance. The anti-Sikh riots of 1984, especially in the capital of the country, one of the best-policed cities, saw the killings of thousands of Sikhs that could not have taken place without the active connivance of police. Despite indictments not only by the press but by several inquiry commissions, in some of which distinguished IPS officers like Sri Padma Rosha were also involved, not one police officer was punished and none of their careers was adversely affected. The Madon Commission and Srikrishna Commissions have suffered the same fate.

It is very clear that no outside agency can reform us. This is a job we will have to do ourselves. If we have any sense of pride left in the service to which we belong which has had an illustrious past and has enjoyed great prestige in the country, the time has come for us to set about this task in right earnest. We must call a general house of the Central IPS Association and demand that the government take action against Gujarat officers who have failed in their primary duty to maintain law and order and prevent violence; and against all officers who have failed in similar situations since 1984. We should not treat the association as a trade union body to fight for better pay and service conditions but as a medium to improve the service itself. If the government does not take any action, the very least that we can do is remove such officers from the membership of the Association.

Hoping to hear from many of you shortly,

- Vibhuti Narain Rai, IPS (UP, RR, 1975).

Punish the partisan police!

In the 'All India Services (Discipline and Appeal) Rules, 1969, Part III – Penalties and Disciplinary Authorities' there already exist provisions for the sacking from service of IAS and IPS officials guilty of "any act or omission which renders him liable to any penalty specified in rule 6."

Since 1995, Communalism Combat has led a nationwide debate on the issue of deep-rooted bias among the echelons of the Indian Police Service and the lower constability. We have consistently analysed and exposed this disturbing trend evident in most situations of communal violence. Every judicial commission of inquiry — appointed by different governments in different states since Independence — has severely indicted the police for its blatantly partisan conduct. The failure of officers in uniform to follow the law — the Indian Constitution, and the IPC — have allowed some of post-independent India's worst massacres (Delhi 1984, Bhagalpur 1987, Meerut-Maliana 1989, Ayodhya 1992, Surat 1992, Bombay 1992-1993 among many others) to take place.

Through the pages of CC, highly respected retired IPS officers have made a number of suggestions to ensure a professional IPS and IAS cadre that remains wedded to constitutional principles of equity, fair play and non-discrimination. These have included,

- The district/city collector and the police chief must be held directly responsible if he is unable to control communal violence within 24 hours. In instances of major conflagrations, he/she/they must be suspended or dismissed from service.
- Men in uniform, particularly senior officers, guilty of dereliction of duty must be prosecuted and punished swiftly.
- The state must adequately compensate survivors of communal violence for failing in its primary duty to protect the life, liberty, property and dignity of citizens. Property loss must be compensated as if the entire property were fully insured.

"No riot can continue for more than 24 hours unless the state wants it to continue," a serving police officer, then DIG of the BSF, Vibhuti Narain Rai had told CC in the course of a major interview in 1995. Since then, Rai's bold remarks have been constantly referred to in national discourse on the issue.

If anything, the shocking conduct of the Gujarat police — not only since February 27, 2002 but ever since the BJP came to power in the state (1998) — brings the crying need for executive and legal initiatives into very sharp focus.

A serving IAS official has now drawn CCs attention to the fact that in the 'All India Services (Discipline and Appeal)

Rules, 1969, Part III – Penalties and Disciplinary Authorities', there *already exist* provisions for the sacking from service of IAS and IPS officials guilty of "any act or omission which renders him liable to any penalty specified in rule 6."

Sections 107-110 and sections 143-152 of the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) give adequate preventive and punitive powers and deem it the duty of district magistrates and police chiefs to prevent breach of peace and ensure the rule of law:

- Demand execution of bonds, with or without security, from persons likely to commit breach of peace (Sec 107);
- Demand security for good behaviour from any person who intentionally disseminates or attempts to disseminate or abets the dissemination of any material that is likely to incite communal passion or religious hatred (Sec 108);
- Demand security for good behaviour from suspected persons (Sec 109);
- Demand security for good behaviour from habitual offenders (Sec 110);
- Prohibit repetition or continuance of public nuisance (Sec 143);
- Issue order in urgent cause of nuisance or apprehended danger (Sec 144);
- Arrest without warrant (Sec 145-148);
- Prevent cognisable offences (Sec 149);
- Information (to immediate seniors) of design to commit cognisable offences (Sec 150);
- Arrest to prevent the commission of cognisable offences (Sec 151);
- Prevention of injury to public property (Sec 152)

If the above-mentioned provisions of the CrPC spell out the powers and duties of district magistrates and police chiefs to ensure the rule of law, the All India Service Rules (1969) carry the provisions for the punishment of errant IAS and IPS officials.

THE ALL INDIA SERVICES (DISCIPLINE AND APPEAL) RULES, 1969 PART III—PENALTIES AND DISCIPLINARY AUTHORITIES.

6. Penalties:

- (1) The following penalties may, for good and sufficient reasons and as hereinafter provided be imposed on a member of the Service, namely:
- (vii) Compulsory retirement: Provided that, if the circumstances of the case so warrant, the authority imposing the penalty may direct that the retirement benefits admissible to the member of the Service under the All India Services (Death-cum-Retirement Benefits) Rules, 1958, shall be paid at such reduced scale as may not be less than two-thirds of the appropriate scales indicated in Schedules 'A' and 'B' of the said rules;
 - (viii) Removal from Service which shall not be a disqualification for future employment under the Government;
 - (ix) Dismissal from Service which shall ordinarily be a disqualification for future employment under the Government.

7. Authority to institute proceedings and to impose penalty:

(Rules under 7(1) (a) and 7(1) (b) specify that, depending on where the person in Service is posted, the competent authority to institute disciplinary proceedings against him or her, to impose on him such penalty specified in rule 6 as it thinks fit, will be the state or the central government – editors.)

- 7(2) The penalty of dismissal, removal or compulsory retirement shall not be imposed on a member of the Service except by an order of the Central Government.
- 7(3) Where the punishing Government is not the Government on whose cadre the member is borne, the latter Government shall be consulted before any penalty specified in rule 6 is imposed:

Provided that in relation to the members of the Service borne on a Joint cadre, the punishing Government shall consult the Joint cadre Authority:

Provided further that where the Governments concerned are the Central Government and the State Government or two State Governments and there is a difference of opinion between the said Government in respect of any matter referred to in this rule, the matter shall be referred to the Central Government for its decisions, which shall be passed in consultation with the Commission.

In the context of Gujarat, it is apparent that the BJP government in the state and the BJP-led government at the Centre would be least inclined to invoke these Service rules to punish IAS and IPS officials, "Where a member of the Service has committed any act or omission which renders him liable to any penalty specified in rule 6." However, nothing prevents the survivors/victims of the ethnic cleansing or public-minded citizens from petitioning the courts in the interest of justice and upholding of the Constitution.

Statistics

CC has compiled this list of persons killed in police firing on Feb 28 and March 1, 2002

- 1. Akbarkhan Makrani
- 2. Zahiruddin Nasiruddin Ansari
- 3. Mohammed Idrio Mohd, Ismail
- 4. Tohkir Ahmed Munir Ahmed
- 5. Jamilmiya Kifayatumiya Mistri
- 6. Kadri Karnaludding Ahmed Ali
- Noorbanu Mohd Hakim Ansari
- 8. Abdul Rehman Abdul Razak Sheikh
- 9. Hamidbhai s/o Gulam Rasul Abdulbhai
- 10. Ansari Mohiuddin Jamadar
- 11. Sultanbhai Azizbhai Malek
- 12. Ansari Iliyasbhai Jumerati
- 13. Sabirhussain Fatehsad
- 14. Hanifbhai Ali Baks, Railwaywala
- 15. Mohd Hussain Allahrakha Sheikh
- 16. Abdul Karim Mehboobmiya Pathan
- 17. Zakirhussain Mehmoodhussain Arian
- 18. Ilias Ahmed Jumroti
- 19 Mohd. Ishak Abdul Azız
- 20. Mohd. Mubin Ali
- 21. Samir Ahmed Igbal Ahmed Arian
- 22 Jummadin M. Zakira
- 23. Mahmud Hanif Mahmud Sheikh
- 24. Gulam Rasool Gulamnabi (Age 22; 408 Noor Nagar, Rakhial. Shot in the head.)
- 25. Trohadali Haiderali
- Gabbarbhai (Wahid) (Age 25; private security guard, living in Mandu, Masterni Chali in Bapunagar. Shot between the eyes on February 28.)
- Istivak Khan Nizamuddin Khan (Age 24; Morarji Chowk, Bapunagar. Shot in the head.)

- Parwezbhai Gulamdastagir (Age 26; Residence on General Hospital Road, Bapunagar. Shot on the nose.)
- 29 Samir Iqbalbhai Mansuri
- 30 Kausharbhai Sobrati Ali
- 31. Nasirkhan Kayamkhan
- 32. Zakirbhai (Mahagujarat Bakery)
- 33. Samirbhai (Mahagujarat Bakery)
- 34. Azharuddin Sirajuddin
- 35 Ismailbhai Frywale
- 36 Anwar Hussain
- Nasirbhai Rajput
- 38 Akhtarbhai
- 39. Mohammed Naim Nasrullah
- 40. Mohammed Azim
- 41. Nisarahmed A. Hamid
- 42. Aslambhai
- 43. Imtiazkhan Nizamuddin Pathan, (Age 21; a resident of Morarii chowk. Shot in the head. "I could not recognise my own son, part of his head was blown off," his mother Ammiben said.)

(Source: Al Ameen Garib Niwas Hospital).

This is an additional list of persons shot dead by the police thereafter

- 5.3.02 Gullubhai Karimbhai Sheikh (42); Jamalpur
- 26.3.02 Sarfroz Takubbhai Baggiwala (23); Jamalpur
- 15.3.02 Mohd, Irfan Abdul Jabbar Ansari (Dodheshwar Masjid; 2 bullets chest)
- 15.3.02 Sikandar Khan Pathan (22); Vatwa (Siddique bhai Shaikh-Peace Corps)
- 15.3.02 Sved Farzana Bukhari (30); Vatwa
- Advocate Nizaam (shot dead)

(Information compiled by CC).

Preventive Arrests on February 27th after the Godhra Incident in Ahmedabad

Police Station	Arrests
Naroda	0
Gomtipur	0
Shaherkotda	0
Vejalpur	.0
Kalupur	0
Gaekwad Haveli	0
Ellis Bridge	0
Navrangpura	0
Naranpura	0
Ghatlodia	0
Astodia	2

(Official figures obtained by CC)

AL-AMIN GARIBNAWAZ HOSPITAL (POLICE FIRING)

Who fired at these minors?

1	Mohammed Hussain	- Injured (Minor)
2	Irshad Mirza	- Injured (Minor)
3	Aiyub Khan Yakub Khan	- Injured (Minor)
4	Iqbal Mirza Mohd, Khan	- Injured (Minor)
5	Hanif Mirza Rashid Mirza	- Injured (Minor)
6	Akbar Khan Afsar Khan	- Injured (Minor)
7	Saiyed Javed	- Injured (Minor)
8	Mushir Ahmed	- Injured (Minor)
9	Nizamuddin	- Injured (Minor)
10	Firoz Faqir	- Injured (Minor)

Statistics Obtained by Communalism Combat

Fanning the flames

 ${f T}$ he role of media, audio, visual and print is always a critical factor during times of internal conflict. Fanning flames of hatred through provocative headlines or relaying rumour and stereotype, these are the two main areas where the media has often faltered; becoming an agent, a participant in the conflict, not a rapporteur, an analyst, an observer.

So it was after the Godhra tragedy. The Gujarat government under Modi decided to undertake quick postmortems of the slain passengers in bogev S6 and take the bodies to the Civil Hospital, Sola where a crowd of bereaved family members and angry sanghis greeted them. There was a public display of the corpses before the cremation; the badly charred remains, especially of women and children, provoked anger and revenge.

The state-controlled media was used quite deliberately for this entire project. The time the corpses would arrive by train was broadcast on the radio, ensuring that a large and inflamed

crowd would gather Ahmedabad station. Such a crowd did gather; there was shouting of many provocative slogans like "khoon ka hadla khoon se lenge." We will avenge blood with blood.) This is when the post-Godhra plan was set into motion. The media too played a critical role in its effective implementation.

It was on Akashwani radio that CM Narendra Modi first stated

that the "ISI or a foreign hand was behind the Godhra tragedy," a version that soon became the much-touted semi-official and official version. (Recordings of the Akashwani broadcasts therefore need to be carefully examined.) The tragedy was that the State executive used this without any investigative proof and large sections of the media touted it as irresponsibly, asking no critical, indicting questions.

The English language newspapers, which in the past six weeks played a commendable role in tracking the violence and investigating various issues that lie behind its orchestration, faltered slightly on the whole question of Godhra and the ISI link. The same Times of India, which carried a report debunking the 'pre-planned theory' in the last week of March, had been completely uncritical of statements made by ministers saving that the 'Godhra attack could not have been spontaneous,' soon after the tragedy. (The Times Of India, March 6, 02.)

Sandesh and Gujarat Samachar went the whole hog.

As a result, the Ghanchi Muslims of Godhra were held responsible for the criminal actions of a few from the mob who had burned and killed and they are still being victimised today. (See Section on Godhra.) Moreover, they were dubbed Pakistani ISI agents by the executive-CM and State Home

Minister Modi and Zadaphiva and this line was passed on, without critical analysis, by most of the media to it's readers. It was only three or four weeks later, that alternate reports, exposing this theory gradually began to appear, by which time much of the damage had been done.

The display of the remains, the public grief and anger at the funerals, the organisation of Ram Dhuns in different parts of Ahmedabad in the early morning of February 28all served to fan an anger that created a fitting backdrop for the preplanned and well-coordinated massacre by armed militias in different locations all over the state.

Two major Gujarati dailies, Sandesh and Gujarat Samachar have been playing a blatantly provocative role for the past four years now, especially since the BJP came to power in the State in February 1998 (See CC, October 1998, Welcome to Hindu Rashtra.) In the recent genocide too, Sandesh played a proactive role which, in effect, aided the armed militias in

> galvanising support for violence, murder and loot. (Incidentally some smaller circulation newspapers like Gujarat Today, Sadhbhar and Gujarat Mitra have played responsible roles).

On February 28, Sandesh carried photographs of the burning coaches of the Sabarmati Express with the headline "Fifty Hindus burned alive" above its masthead, a gruesome colour

spread of photographs of the Godhra corpses was the first major breach of media ethic and law. On the front page on the same day, February 28, an entirely concocted news story read thus, "From among those abducted from the Sabarmati Express two dead bodies of Hindu girls found near Kalol in mutilated state" was an entirely fictitious report. The police investigated the story, searched the village and found the story baseless. "Vadodara, Thursday: The details of the information about the dead bodies of two girls abducted from the bogies, during the attack on the Sabarmati Express, vesterday, found in a mutilated and terribly disfigured form near a pond in Kalol, has added fuel to the already volatile situation of tension, not only in Panchmahal, but in the whole State. As part of a cruel inhuman act that would make even a devil weep, the breasts of both the dead bodies had been cut. Seeing the dead bodies one knows that the girls had been raped again and again, perhaps many times. There is a speculation that during this act itself the girls might have died.

The police, however, have kept quiet and have not spoken about this sensitive event. On account of that, various speculations during an already tense situation are like adding ghee to the fire

According to the talk heard during the night one more dead body of a girl, also in a terribly mutilated form, had been found. After being raped and mutilated, the body of the woman was set on fire with petrol. Is there no limit to the lust?"

Thereafter, several articles in Sandesh kept fuelling this



image of the non-trustworthy Muslims, traitorous to the country. This article that appeared on March 1, 02 titled,

"There was a call from the mosque: "Cut the non-believers—Islam is in trouble..." and a crowd attacked the ramsevaks reads thus: "On 27" February, at eleven thirty, a Masjid located along the railway line incited a crowd with the words "cut the non-believers....Islam is in danger," which then attacked the survivors of the torched train compartments who were sitting by the railway tracks. The divisional railway manager, B.B. Mohgile, informed journalists that a bigger carnage was prevented by the timely arrival of the police commissioner D.S.N. Pandey and his staff whom he ordered to shoot.

"While giving details of the Godhra incident, Mohgile further informed that the chain on the Sabarmati Express was pulled twice within a distance of one and a half kilometres and after the second time, the train was stopped and one compartment was torched immediately. While attempting to torch a second and third compartment, the miscreants were stopped when a unit of the RPE, which was patrolling there, started firing and the passengers were safely helped out of the compartments by off-duty RPE jawans who rushed to the spot.

"The survivors of the carnage were sitting by the railway line when they saw a few shops near the mosque go up in flames and by 11:30 a.m., the call from the mosque was heard and a crowd of about 3,000 to 4,000 rushed to attack the survivors. At that time, on the instructions of the Divisional Security Commissioner, the RPF jawans fired 12 rounds as a result of which the crowd dispersed and a worse carnage was averted. The ASI of the RPF saved the lives of at least eight people from the burning train and a jawan, Nawabsinh, who was off-duty and had rushed to the site and started helping in the rescue operations. The survivors including the injured were put on the Anand Passenger and the Sabarmati Express."

The government's calculated decision to make full capital from the Godhra murders was ably aided and abetted by these two newspapers which regularly fed stories questioning the integrity and loyalty of Muslims in general. The deliberate labelling of the miscreants responsible for the Godhra tragedy as 'anti-national Pakistanis' was led by Gujarat home minister's Gordhan Zadaphiya, a senior Vishwa Hindu Parishad activist. "The bogey burning is a terrorist act similar to the attack on the American Centre in Kolkata. The culprits in both cases are the same." Through the media, he delivered a dire threat: "We will teach a lesson to those who have done this. No one will be spared and we will make sure that the forces behind this act will never dare to repeat it."

On March 7, 02 the daily carried this report with a damaging headline that suggested that Indian Muslims returning from the Haj pilgrimage could be a potential 'terrorist' threat to Hindus. Titled, "Possibility of Attack with the Help and Abetment of Terrorists—Danger to Hindus'. Frightening Scheme of Attack by returning Hajis," it says:

"Various government agencies have received frightening information that, after the Godhra incident, the fear of terrorist attacks is looming. The terrorists will use RDX purchased with foreign funds, attack with bombs or hijack planes.

"Investigating agencies have confirmed that the ISI is responsible for the attack on karsevaks in Godhra. The antisocial elements have gone underground for the present and are waiting for an opportunity to attack. It is possible that the attack will take place after the international pilgrims return from Saudi Arabia after Haj. The attack is postponed so that the pilgrims can return safely. According to the SP of the Intelligence Burcau, Sanjeev Bhatt, the bombings will be as serious as those that took place in Mumbai in 1993. As if in support of this, the Chief Minister, Narendra Modi told the trading community that the Godhra incident was not communal. It was well planned and according to the facts being revealed, it indicates that we have to be more alert. Only Pakistan benefits from all this.

"That there are internal disturbances in India and the citizens are harassed appears to be in the interest of the perpetrators. The Chief Minister stated that the government is determined to get to the roots of the Godhra incident and destroy the elements that harmed the ordinary man.

"Similarly, the former chief minister, Chhabildas Mehta said that the government and the people should take adequate steps to ensure that Pakistan's secret service cannot do whatever it likes wherever it likes."

While the State government did ban some local TV channels, and also a National Channel which had exposed the government's role, it took no action against newspapers like Sandesh. Justice K. Jayachandra Reddy, Chairman of the Press Council, through a statement on April 3, 02 warned the media of action under section 295-A of the IPC and allied provisions. (Section 295-A deals with "Deliberate and malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings of any class. by insulting its religion or religious beliefs.")

Meanwhile, four young men belonging to the minority community (Memon Mohammed Samir B and Memon Ayub Abubakar from Johapura, Memon Gulam Mustafa J. and Mansuri Makbul I, both from Sarkhej Road) have filed an FIR under sections 153(A), 155, 295, 295(A) of the Indian Penal Code against both Sandesh and Guyarat Samachar.

The complaint has been sent by fax to the Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad, PC Pandey, on March 10, 02.

The complaint states that "after the incident of February 27, these two publications, instead of reporting news fairly, made baseless accusations against the Muslims and printed fallacious news and also spread the news in a provocative manner which is detrimental to the interest of the nation and as such caused provocation resulting in large-scale destruction.

"Due to the articles carried by the publication on February 28 which were inflammatory, not only was the integrity of the Muslim community questioned, but unspeakable atrocities were also inflicted on it.

"By way of carrying such provocative news articles, the accused displayed support to particular right-wing extremist organisations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal which has not only ruined the prestige of the state but brought national shame to India in the eyes of the international community.

"The rift caused between citizens on the grounds of religion and communal disharmony is becoming irrevocable and as such the accused, large circulating newspapers, have committed a heinous crime as contemplated by the sections above. They can also be booked under the POTO ordinance."

Sangh is their soul

In the language of the chairperson of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC): "It is the primary and inescapable responsibility of the State to protect the right to life, liberty, equality and dignity of all of those who constitute it. It is also the responsibility of the State to ensure that such rights are not violated either through overt acts, or through abetment or negligence. It is a clear and emerging principle of human rights jurisprudence that the State is responsible not only for the acts of its own agents, but also for the acts of non-State players acting within its jurisdiction. The State

is, in addition, responsible for any inaction that may cause or facilitate the violation of human rights."

Deepak Parekh, chairman of HDFC, has puts the same thing in the language of the common man: A government that cannot protect the life of citizens has no right to rule.

Tested against this elementary and primary criteria of a government's right to rule, it is evident that while armed mobs looted, torched and blasted Muslim homes, businesses, dargahs and masjids, gang-raped women, chopped men, women and children into pieces before flinging them into fire, in Ahmedabad city and numerous other parts of the state on February 28 and for days thereafter, Gujarat's chief minister, Narendra Modi, reminded most Indians of Slobodan Milosevic rather than a constitutional authority sworn to maintain law and order.

The Centre's role in ignoring the Gujarat carnage and concentrating on Gujarat is both apparent and condemnable. Early on February 27, the Centre had been informed about the Godhra incident. The PM cancelled his Gujarat visit but when on February 28, reports began pouring in of the orchestrated targeting of Muslims in 16 of the 25 districts of Gujarat neither the Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee nor the union home minister, L.K.Advani—in who's parliamentary constituency incidentally, one of the worst massacres took place (Gulmerg Society where ex-MP, Ehsan Jafri lived) even instructed their man, CM Narendra Modi to crack down.

Later that day, Vajpayee met RSS leaders to discuss not what VHP activists were doing in Gujarat but the Ayodhya issue; and finally, after some 70 people had been killed, the Cabinet Committee of Security met and decided only to place the Army on alert.

The attitude of both Vajpayee and Advani appeared to be to divert the issue of Gujarat from the nation's eye and replace it, deliberately with Ayodhya and the happenings there. In

this period, the visit of union defence minister George Fernandes visit stood out. When all Union ministers who represent the state at the Centre airdashed to Gujarat following the communal riots, now termed as the country's worst religious carnage since Partition, the absence of Union home minister L.K. Advani raised was noticeable. Mr Advani represents the Gandhinagar constituency in Parliament and there have been over 64 deaths in areas that fall under his constituency. The communally-sensitive Dariapur, Sarkhej, Asarwa and Shahpur areas, besides Gandhinagar and

Sabarmati, fall under his constituency, which has seen a lot of violence. In fact, for the first time in the history of Gujarat, state capital Gandhiangar had to be put under curfew after 12 deaths, which included three due to police firing.

For the rest, he did tell them he had come to share their sorrow but he said not a word about his constitutional obligation to ensure that the persons responsible for their acute trauma and grief would be subjected to the due process of law and punished. For public consumption, after his visit to the relief camps, Vajpayee advised Modi to follow his 'raj dharam'. Modi was quick to respond that that is precisely what he had been doing since February 28!

Barely a week later, he revealed his inner self when, from the comfort of his parivar ('The Sangh is my soul'), Vajpayee proclaimed at the meeting of the BJP's national council in Goa: Wherever there are Muslims, there is a problem.

Vaipayee's comments at the BJP National executive meet in Goa are telling and indictive. They have invited utter condemnation of India both within India and internationally. He said, "What happened in Gujarat? If the passengers of the Sabarmati express, innocent, unblameworthy had not been deliberately burnt alive, Gujarat ki trasadhi could have been avoided. But this did not happen. People were burnt alive. Who were they? Intelligence is investigating but we still need to ask, how did this all happen? The latter happenings should not be criticised till we understand who set Gujarat on fire? Who lit the fire? How did it spread?

Our country is multi-religious, multi-linguistic. We believe in cooperation, we believe in sarva dharma sambhav. We are proud of our secularism... From Goa to Guawahati, wherever I go, the Indian is not a kattarwadi. Yeh maati ek hai. But whenever I travel around the world, our officials in all the embassies tell me, "militant Islam raaste mein kaante bo raha hai. One Islam there is which is tolerant to all, that believes in truth samvedna aur daya sikhata hai. But the kind of Islam

being perpetrated in the world todat is a violent, intolerant Islam that has no room for tolerance." After killer squads from the very panuar of which he is the mukhota, had done their job, Vajpayee bemoaned the fact that the ugly incidents from his BJP-ruled state were a blot on the nation. Well over a month after the concentrated carnage, he finally decided to pay a visit to just a tiny number from among the over 1.13 lakh (official figures) traumatised, brutalised and economically crippled survivors and victims. His belated visit, he was honest to admit, was because he had to go abroad and it would have been most embarrassing for him to face the global community were anyone to ask a direct question.

The message in short is clear: from this Prime Minister of India, one can only expect poetry and shocking prejudice. His remarks could well be taken from any one of the hate pamphlets that people from his *parivar* circulate in lakhs all over Gujarat in order to create the appropriate social climate for violence. We can have no expectations that he holds himself, or Narendra Modi, or the police force at the latter's command, in anyway responsible for the fulfillment of their primary constitutional responsibility – protecting the life of citizens.

The home minister, of course, did no better. In the context of Godhra and the 'natural reaction' that followed in the rest of Gujarat, LK Advani has made three major contributions:

One. On March 1 itself, Advant announced that though there is no conclusive evidence as yet, preliminary investigations by the Central agencies suggest "pre-meditated" action and indicate that the "needle of suspicion" points towards some "outside elements."

As detailed elsewhere in this report, investigating officials directed to probe the Godhra tragedy have concluded that, heinous as the crime of people being trapped and burnt alive in a train compartment is, nothing in the evidence they have gathered suggests that it was pre-planned. Despite this, it is a proposition which for some reason, pleases both Modi and Advani greatly. Why?

Two: Advant would like everyone to appreciate that a distinction must be made between the Godhra tragedy, which was "an act of terrorism," and the subsequent carnage in Gujarat, which was something far less problematic – it was only a "communal riot" as in this there was no element of causing "terror" amongst people.

Three Advani will not accept that the Gujarat police played a passive role in quelling communal riots in the state. Addressing a news conference in Ahmedabad on March 1, he said, "So far, "—deaths due to police firing have been reported in the state." What Advani would not report was the fact that of the 40 persons killed in police firing in Ahmedabad in the first two days, 36 were Muslims! Did Modi mislead Advani, or did Advani choose to be sparing in his partial service to truth?

Four: When asked by journalists, Advani said he agreed with the PM in condemning the 'communal violence' in Gujarat: "It was definitely a blot on the nation." The communal flare-up in Gujarat spoilt the good track record of the coalition government at the Centre, he said.

Advani has consistently ridiculed the demand for Modi's dismissal. Clearly for Advani, and for Vajpayee, it is the 'Parirar' before constitutional principles. In early '99, Vajpayee visited Gujarat after the national press, the Christian community in India and Human Rights groups had been reporting and agitating for months about the growing attacks on Christians in the BJP ruled state. On his return from Gujarat, the Prime Minister said not a word on the numerous attacks on churches and church people, the burning of Bibles or the members of his parirar who continued to terrorise Christians. Instead, he demanded "a national debate on conversions."

Barely a few weeks later, Graham Staines was torched to death along with his two young sons inside a jeep in Orissa. When newspapers reported that the prime accused, Dara Singh belonged to the Bajrang Dal, Advant rushed to his *Partiar's* defense with the disclaimer: "I know these people (Bajrang Dal), they will never do such a thing."

Sangh loves Modi

Adept at its role behind the scenes, the fountainhead of Hindutva, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh gave a clean chit to the Narendra Modi administration after the Gujarat carnage. Describing the violence after the Godhra incident as a "natural reaction of Hindus," the RSS on Friday gave a clean chit to the Narendra Modi administration in Gujarat, saying that no government could have controlled the "upsurge." While expressing the view that the "natural reaction" (the violence) was unjustifiable, RSS spokesperson M G Vaidya said, "whole Hindu society irrespective of caste, creed and political affiliations, reacted violently against what had happened at Godhra." (The Times of India, March 16, 02.)

Two days after this declaration giving Modi and his men a clean chit, the Sangh adopted a resolution at its threeday conference of the Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha which concluded at Chennenahalli. The resolution read: "Let Muslims understand that their real safety lies in the goodwill of the majority." Although a few Muslim leaders interpreted 'yehad' as not supporting terrorism, they had not been able to influence the extremist elements, it said. "The Sabha wants to make it clear that it does no credit to the Muslim community to allow itself to be made pawns in the hands of extremist leaders," it added.

Describing the Godhra incident as "horrible and ghastly," the RSS delegates said it had become imperative to present it in the proper perspective. The reaction to the incident was spontaneous. The entire Hindu society had reacted. It was unfortunate that a number of people died in the violence.

"The Muslims would be safe in the country provided they won the goodwill of the majority community. They had to accept the law of the land which they are not doing now." "They should desist from provoking the Hindus." He regretted that the Hindu lives had no value in India.

Justifying the systematic post Godhra carnage, the RSS joint general secretary said that it had become imperative to present Godhra in the proper perspective. "The reaction to the incident was spontaneous. The entire Hindu society had reacted. It was unfortunate that a number of people died in the violence." (The quality of the 'reaction,' which includes rape, tearing apart a woman's womb, hacking to death and burning to cinders is conveniently glossed over in the term "Hindu society reacted".

The RSS did not stop there. Despite the outrage and condemnation that the Bangalore resolution had drawn, RSS spokesman MG Vaidva further elaborated on the RSS'

advice to Muslims saving, "Muslims must earn the goodwill of the Hindu majority for their safety, We also ask them to re-interpret some Islamic terms and condemn all violence being perpetrated against Hindus, rather than playing in the hands of Hindubaiters." MG Vaidya listed three words - kafir (infidels), kufr (the philosophy of infidels) and rehad (holy war against infidels) - and demanded that "Muslims re-interpret and define" them. When asked how, in his view, Muslims could earn the goodwill of Hindus, Vaidva said they had to condemn the activities of those who professed to carry out a "jehad"

against "idol-worshippers." He said the RSS did not consider all Muslims to be terrorists, but many terrorists happened to be Muslims and claimed that they were pursuing "jehad."

The RSS spoke its mind, making it clear that there were to be no regrets expressed for the genocide. The message to Muslims is clear. But there is in this also a message for all 'liberal' Hindus who see the RSS brand of faith as a travesty of their own religion and therefore oppose it.

The Sangh, through BJP president, Jana Krishnamurthy, managed to quash prime minister Vaipayee's plan to accept Modi's token resignation. In this and other moves, it is clear who pulls the punches in government even today.

Gujarat and what happened there is a flagrant violation of the Constitution; the fact that the RSS sees no particular reason to censure its cadres tells us what the RSS really thinks of the Indian Constitution. In 1948, after Gandhi's assassination, a ban had been imposed on the RSS They had done all they could to lift the ban. At the time, Sardar Patel wrote this to MS Golwalkar. In a letter to the RSS chief, Golwalkar, on the ban on the RSS following Gandhiji's assassination, Sardar Vallabhai Patel had written, "It was not necessary to spread poison in order to enthuse Hindus and organise for their self-protection. As a final result of their poison, the country had to suffer the sacrifice of the invaluable life of Gandhiji. The RSS man expressed joy and distributed sweets." (from a publication sympathetic to the Sangh Parivar; Truth Triumphs, distributor: Sahitya Niketan, Hyderabad – 57. Published in 1997; According to the book, the Letter was written by Sardar Vallabhai Patel on 11" September 1948.) The ban was finally lifted two years later.

The gory drama enacted in Gujarat from February 28 onwards had the tacit support and inspiration from the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. The sangh's approval of the actions of its cadres in Gujarat is significant. Let us not forget that it was M.S. Golwalkar, the Sarsanghehalak of the RSS, who wrote in 1939, "The foreign races in Hindustan (read all Muslims and Christian) must either adopt the Hindu culture and

language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence (sic) Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges far less any preferential treatment - not even citizen's rights. There is, at least should be, no other course for them to adopt." (9.)(We Or Our Nationhood Defined, 1939.) The echo that the Bangalore resolution finds in these words of Golwalkar is not insignificant.

The systematic violence unleashed in Gujarat has all the elements of genocide. Lives maimed, hacked, raped and brutally

destroyed, economic decimation and cultural and religious desecration. It is this element in the RSS worldview that envisages an India based on superiority and inferiority of race, that sanctions violence, threat and hatred to achieve its goals in the bargains that draw a chilling likeness between Hindutya and Facism.

Read a bit further into Golwalkar and the admiration for Hitler is written, in black and white.

"German race and pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the semitic Races — the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well-nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by" (10)—We and Our Nationbood Defined."

It is the politics of the sangh parivar that has made Gujarat a reality. In the violence, in the pogrom, in the genocide, this worldview has played a key and pivotal role.

Pamphlet Poison

One would imagine that in Gujarat, a state that is chronically starved of water, a state moreover that has been lashed by a devastating cyclone and ravaged by an earthquake in recent years, human compassion, would be the dominant human sentiment. Sadly, there's an abundance of hate. Since 1998, when the year the BJP rose to power in the land of Gandhi, the apostle of peace, when not engaged in practicing hate, the cadre of the sangh partrar are fully occupied in preaching it. When not busy burning the Bible, or a yet-to-be-born child sliced out of a mother's womb only to be consigned to flame, they distribute pamphlets, printed in lakhs, and intended to poison minds.

On more than one occasion in the last four years, CC has translated these originals in Gujarati into English to draw our readers attention towards this insidious design to keep sentiments perennially inflamed. We had published them in the hope that bringing this hate writing to wider public attention will shame the police and the government of Gujarat into putting a check on this constant flow of venom and in prosecuting its authors, publishers and printers under sections 153(A) and 153(B). While that did not happen, the motives of the masterminds behind this filth were met. Hate writing got translated into venomous, murderous action.

The past few weeks have seen Gujarat inundated with a fresh flood of hate literature, urging Hindus to think of nothing but murder and mayhem. Since March 1, CC has received no less than 15 such pamphlets. The least objectionable among them implore you to stick to a strict economic boycott of Muslims. Others instigate you to violence against India's religious minorities. Some are obnoxious in the extreme. We reproduce some here to share with our readers the depth that hate-bidden ideologies go to. Read together (translated from the original Gujarati into English), they reveal their common source.

We sincerely apologise to all Muslims, and to every one of our readers for reproducing the leaflet below titled 'Jehad'. We do so with pain. We are however concerned that the mindset that can produce filth such as this must be brought into public view. Read carefully, there is a direct link between the filth dished out in print and the dehumanising actions of the armed militias of the sangh paritar, as we remember both Naroda Patiya and Bhavnagar. It is also about time that the chief minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi, and the poet Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee face up squarely to the kind of company they keep. — Editors.

C. G. ROAD SHOP OWNERS' ASSOCIATION C. G. ROAD AHMEDABAD – 380009

This is to inform all the traders of the C.G. Road Shop Owners' Association that today, i.e., 4-4-2002 office bearers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the office bearers of the Bajrang Dal Mr. Chinubhai Patel and Harishbhai Bhatt with their members met us personally. During the visit, the current Gujarat situation was discussed. Since the visit was unexpected we listened patiently to the officers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal. After the discussions and before taking any decisions, we planned to hold a meeting with you. The meeting will be attended by the important traders of C.G. Road and the officers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal.

We hope that we will all combine our efforts and take an appropriate decision.

Place of meeting

Place: Hotel Nalanda, Mithakhali Chha (six) Roads

Time: 04.31 P.M. Date: 06-04-2002 (Saturday)

Your Well-wishers, For C.G. Road Shop Owners' Association,

Your life is in danger — you might be killed any time!

Lord Shree Krishna told Arjun: 'Lift your weapons and kill the non-religious.'

The lord wants to tell us something also....

Dearest soul brothers,

Namaste! I have come to meet you in solitude. I want to talk to you about something very important and serious. I expect that you will never forget this meeting. You are a very important and responsible person of this country and your life is valuable. There is a great danger to your life and that of your family. I have to come to warn you.

In the secure and safe Hindu localities in spite of security guards outside how safe are you in your bungalows? The traitorous, terrorist Muslims will come in truckloads, kill the guards and then enter the bungalows. They will kill you in your bedrooms and drawing rooms. Today lakhs of Hindus are afraid of this happening and those living in *mohallas* stay up all night in groups to guard us. How many people can the army and the police protect at a time?

I am not talking about thousands of years ago — just 53 years. In 1947, first in Sindh province, then in Punjab and Bengal, they attacked Hindu bungalows and killed about 15 lakh Hindus cruelly and without any pity. This is a historic fact and it can be repeated today. Then how safe are you and I in our own homes?

In 1947, the Muslims living in this country of Hindus said that Hindus and Muslims are different nationalities, different people. Their religions are different, their culture is different, they have different places of worship and pilgrimage, tradition, language, dress, festivals, diet, beliefs, etc. So we will not be able to live with you in one country, so cut up the country and give us Muslims a separate Islamic nation and we gave them a Muslim country, Pakistan.

In 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa. The whole country accepted his leadership. This man of international stature and the Congress tried very hard to unite the Hindus and the Muslims. What was the result of their efforts? Did the Hindus and Muslims unite? Certainly not, The Muslims responded by demanding a separate country and broke up India. Pakistan is a monster born out of the efforts of Gandhiji to unite Hindus and Muslims.

If a world leader like Gandhiji could not unite Hindus and Muslims then what can today's politicians do? Those who talk about Hindu-Muslim unity are deceiving themselves and are misguiding crores of Hindus. There is no similarity between Hindus and Muslims and they do not think of India as their country. It is not possible to unite with those who call India a witch and oppose Vande Matram. Hindu-Muslim unity and brotherhood are deceptions, hallucinations and this can be proved by the Muslim history of the last 1,400 years.

In 1947, the Muslims snatched away all of Sindh and half of Bengal to create Pakistan, a Muslim country. 20% Muslims took away 30% of the land, and chased out of the country 2 crore Hindus who owned about Rs. 80,000 crores of assets and business empty-handed.

Bell St. S. 33-3410 34 Stell Manuel used delle steller on the service of the serv At the time of partition, in towns like Lahore, Islamabad, Dhaka, Peshawar, Hyderabad and Karachi, BU CAN 3 REGION ENERGY BURNER BY BURNER ON BOTH ON BOT they went around shouting 'Allah o Akbar', 'Pakistan Zindahad' and 'Kill the non believers," while carrying sticks, swords, knives and lighted torches, raped lakhs of our Hindu mothers, sisters and daughters and then killed them. To preserve their virginity many women jumped into wells or into fires. About 15 lakh Hindus were killed cruelly and Hindus were wiped out in their own country. The land turned red with the blood of Hindus and rivers of blood were flowing.

How many Hindus know that of our land was taken away to create many know that 15 lakh of our predecessors were killed? If a nation forgets its history it is doomed to live it again. 'History repeats itself.'

After breaking up the nation and creating Pakistan, the Muslim population in the country has again reached 16 crores. They do not believe in family planning. They are permitted to have four wives by the Congress and the constitution. Their population is exploding and this is their one-point program. The day their number reaches 25% to 30%, the condition of the Hindus is going to be very bad.

In Pakistan the status of the Hindus is not just second class they are slaves there and that is going to happen to the Hindus in India. They will use their numbers and their weapons to create several Pakistans in India, proclaim India as a Muslim nation and hoist the green flag of Islam on Red Fort.

Laden alone gave America a taste of terrorism killing almost 5,000 Americans. All the Americans as well as the opposition supported Bush, while the politicians in the opposition in India are opposing POTO in the hopes of Muslim votes. From a distance of 8,000 miles, America attacked Afghanistan and killed 10,000 Afghan Muslims while India is fighting Muslim terrorism and harassment for the last 1,300 years.

America found Laden alone too much whereas we have in our lanes and by lanes thousands of Ladens, Dawoods, Latifs, Imam Bukharis, Syed Shahabuddins and two lakh mullab-maulits who poison one lakh madrassas and mosques day and night with terrorist activities. Organisations like SIMI, Lashkar-e toiba and ISI, with the support and help of Pakistan, are carrying on terrorist activities. They train lakhs of terrorists in thousands of institutions. They have formed an army of single, unemployed Muslim youth of India by paying high salaries.

The terrorist and traitorous Muslims of this country get weapons from more than 50 Muslim nations to carry out their religious wars. They are supplied with AK-56 and AK 47 rifles, automatic machine guns. canons, rocket launchers and several kilos of RDX.

> The entire country is sitting on a heap of weapons and heading towards civil war and internal strife. When Pakistan attacks India Muslims living here will revolt. In 1947, they only had sticks, swords and spears but now they have modern weapons. They are plotting to kill crores of Hindus and we will be fighting these traitorous Muslims in every lane and by-lane of the country. If the Parliament and the Kashmir assembly can be attacked then what safety is there for the citizens of the country?

When the National Human Rights Commission's chairman, Justice Mr. Verma saw the melted window bars of the coach in which the kar setaks returning from Ayodhya were burned alive, he wondered what the condition of the people inside must have been. The women and children clung to each other to save their lives and they must have cried piteously in the flaming coach. About 58 kar seraks were burned

One can understand if Muslims oppose construction of temples in Pakistan but how can one tolerate their opposition to the construction of Ram temple in Ram's own country? Do Hindus have to live at the mercy of Muslims in India also? Are Hindus still slaves of Muslims?

The Godhra incident is just one symptom of the cancer in this country. This cancer of terrorism has spread to the entire country. Godhra is only the trailer — the entire film is still to be seen. There is a plan to have several Godhra incidents.

To understand Muslims one must understand Islam. You will not understand it with just one or two instances - you will have to go deeper, to the roots. You will have to understand their history of the last 1,400 years. After the birth of Islam, in the last 1,400 years, the bigoted Arabs descended with a sword in one hand and the Quran in the other. They had only one condition - either accept Islam or die! About 10 crore people who did not accept Islam were killed and the inherent culture of the country was wiped

out. They were proclaimed Islamic countries and the flag of Islam was hoisted there.

In our country, Aurangzeb, Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Chengiz Khan, Mohammed Gazni, Mohammed Ghori, Shahjahan and other rabid, murderous and dictatorial Muslim invaders and emperors ruled over us and enslaved us. In the last thousand years of Muslim rule in India, two crore Hindus were murdered by the Muslims who fought 10,000 battles and caused communal nots against Hindus. They killed two lakh sadbus and sants. They pulled down five lakh Hindu temples like those of Shree Ramjanmabhoomi, Ayodhya, Shree Krishnajanmabhoomi, Mathura, Shree Kashivishwanath, Benares and Shree Bhagwan Somnath, Gujarat, and built mosques in their place. Crores of cows were slaughtered and lakhs of Hindu mothers, daughters and sisters were abused and raped. If we forget all this then even god will not be able to save us.

It is written in the holy book of Islam, the Quran, that those who are not Muslims, i.e., Parsis, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus and people of other religions of the world are katirs (non-believers). Those who accept Islam should not be harmed but those who do not should be killed and slaughtered. If you kill such people you will get the title of gazi and if you die fighting them, you will be called shaheed. All gazis and shaheeds will be taken by God to the seventh heaven and will be supplied with alcohol and fairies. This is their idea of heaven: alcohol and perversions.

The Quran exhorts all Muslims that if they are living in non-Islamic countries (*Dar-ul-harab*), they should fight religious crusades and make them Islamic countries (*Dar-ul-Islam*). "Fight the nonbelievers till the last drop of your blood because religious crusades are a Muslim's duty and their dream should be to establish Islam as the only religion worldwide flying the flag of Islam in all countries."

In the 1,400 year history of Islam, the behavior, thinking and language of Muslims has shown to all the people of the world that they have blind faith and are backward, violent, vicious, atrocious, unforgiving, uncompromising (inflexible), bigoted, vindictive and filled with hate. This is the real and naked face of Islam and the Muslims have been fighting Jews, Hindus, Parsis and the English for years.

As long as there is Islam in this world, there will be crusades—which means wars and killings, atrocities and genocide. Islam is not a religion, culture, tradition or a spiritual movement. There is no truth, non-violence, humanity, pity or love in Islam. It only preaches violence and atrocities. It is the plot of Arab Muslims to force itself on all the peoples of the world. To think of or call Islam as a religion is folly, a denial of facts. If you want to live then you have to assess their acts during 1,400 years of their history.

Hindus have now woken up, they are now one big family of crores of Hindus. Crores of Hindu hands have risen to combat the atrocities that the Muslims have handed down to us. The Hindu is not to be pitted any more or to be beaten up. If even one Hindu is bullied, crores of Hindus will react. They will come out and demand an eye for an eye. If we are attacked we will attack right back. The Iron Man, Sardar Patel, removed the mosque and graves built by Mohammed Ghazni after demolishing the Somnath temple and built a grand temple, which does the nation proud. In spite of Congressman Nehru's opposition, the then president, Rajendrababu, attended the ceremony for the construction of Somnath temple and gave it his full support. If Sardar Patel were alive he would erase the signs of slavery and build grand temples in Ayodhya, Mathura and Kashi. We must resolve to build these grand temples to make the wishes of crores of Hindus come true.

Even animals live for their young ones — we are born in India and it is our duty and responsibility to defend the country and religion and repay our debts to our motherland. If you want to live in peace and honour, unite! Every Muslim, no matter how poor, gives 5% of his earnings to the mosque for his religion. Hindu businessmen (industrialists) are kidnapped by Muslims, who demand lakhs and crores of rupees and many of us pay up the ransom out of fear. This money is used to buy weapons with which to kill Hindus. Every year, several Hindu girls are kidnapped by Muslim hoodlums and are married to them forcibly.

To solve these Islamic problems, each Hindu family will have to make sacrifices. A fixed part of his income will have to be given to Hindu groups — not just within your means but much more than that. We will not be able to survive if we do not unite. Only talking or wishing well or blessing will not be enough. Join up and give monetary donations. To give monetary help to Hindu groups is not donation or pity — it is an investment for our safety and security. Think only of the country and not of political party philosophies or traditional beliefs. Hindus will demand explanations from those who favour Muslims for political expediency. The Jaichands and Amichands will not be spared by Hindus.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad is the generally accepted powerful group of Hindus worldwide including those in our country. About 250 workers in Gujarat have left their jobs and businesses to work full time for it and it has a presence in 7,000 villages. They run 350 one-teacher schools in forest areas besides hospitals, dispensaries, refugee homes, ashram schools and thousands of centres for satisang. There are rifle training camps and the Bajrang Dal workers are given trishuls and taught to use them.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad is protecting and uniting the Hindus in an untiring effort to make the country strong and safe. We expect a lot of monetary support. After the Godhra killings, many young men who tried to protect Hindus were killed and others were jailed under clauses 302, 30° and the Riot Act, and this is still going on. Their number is in thousands and they will stay in jail for a long time to come. They had no personal enmity towards the Muslims — they have suffered for society, religion and the country and now that they are in prison, it is our (yours and mine) duty to feed their families.

It is not enough just to show lip sympathy — you will have to come forward to support them and do our duty otherwise our (yours and mine) conscience will not forgive us, nor will society. When Mohammed Ghazni attacked Somnath temple, the 10,000 Brahmins inside were saying their rosaries. Mohammed Ghazni slaughtered them and destroyed the idols — he did this 17 times and killed lakhs of Hindus. The Muslims could enslave us for 1,000 years because we were not united. In 1947, when the country was partitioned, Pakistan was formed and lakhs of Hindus were killed. In Kashmir, since the last 10 years, lakhs of Hindu pandits have been killed and forced to leave and if we still do not come to our senses, even god will not be able to save us. Hindus have no option but to unite—otherwise they will not survive and we will be killed in broad daylight.

I repeat my question — what sacrifice are you willing to make individually? Become a member of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and donate. Otherwise for a small section of society, the people will be tired of making sacrifices. We require strong support from you. Write a check in the name of Vishwa Hindu Parishad Gujarat right now, otherwise it might be too late. The Parishad is registered with income tax and charity commissioners so you can get 50% deduction under 80G. Vishwa Hindu Parishad is the group of crores of

COMMUNALISM COMBAT • MARCH-APRIL, 2002

Hindu families. It is the security force for our satety, protection and tradition. Only a united Hindu society can bring peace to the nation and the world. Hinduism is patriotism and Hinduism is universal brotherhood. Proclaim with pride, 'We are Hindus!'

Send this letter to your neighbors, relatives, friends and traders and become a member of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Come to the Parishad office and meet us personally. Please reply to this letter.

I am writing this historic letter to you. I am making you aware of what is happening in the country after analysing history and assessing historic truth as well as the current situation, and warning you. Every time you read this letter, you will discover something new — a new aspect. I have come to make you sleepless. I hope that your mind, senses and conscience will accept this truth. The country that learns its lessons from history and plans its future accordingly always survives, while others are destroyed — etch this truth in your heart.

The life subscription for the Parishad is Rs. 2,000. The life subscription for Vishwa Hindu Samachar is Rs. 600. Donate Rs. 15,000 (rupees fifteen thousand) for each family of those arrested.

Give the traitorous Muslims a taste of patriotism by boycotting them socially and economically.

The Hindu who sees god in every particle worships truth, non-violence, love and peace. Without complete peace, the economic, social and spiritual progress of the country will end, people will fall prey to mental illnesses and the entire country will be pushed towards death.

Peace cannot be attained by begging: crores of united and powerful Hindus will be able to establish peace and security in the country.

Yours truly,

Your well-wisher

Chinubhai N. Patel

Vishwa Hindu Parishad state leader

Vishwa Hindu Parishad Office

Vanikar Smarak Bhayan, 11, Mahalakshmi Society

Mahalakshmi Cross Roads, Paldi, Karnavati,

Tel. 6604015, 6631365 Tel. (res.) 7454699

THE ONLY SOLUTION IS FINANCIAL BOYCOTT

Anti-national elements that are using the money they earn with our cooperation to weaken us. They buy arms and molest our sisters and daughters. The answer to these elements lies in financial non-cooperation movement.

AWAKE HINDU BROTHERS

The time has come for the Hindu religion, which has been enslaved in spite of living in Hindustan. To date, all the governments have been supporting Muslims. These Muslims do not know that Hindu society has woken up and is in the process of sending all Muslims to Pakistan. Those Muslims who are against Hindus are all terrorists. Their chief bootlegger is Delhi's Shahi Imam Bukhari who is the main terrorist. Those Muslims who think VHP and Bajrang Dal are like mushrooms (cat's cap) should know that your Bukhari or Dawood Ibrahim or the Muslims of Pakistan or Bharat could never compare with Pravin Togadia or Bal Thackeray. All of you are like ants and insects in front of these two. The violence that erupted after the killings in Godhra is a warning to you Muslims that there is still time for you to go to Pakistan if you want to.

We do not want to leave a single Muslim alive in Guiarat. The people of villages as well as cities have now woken up and they are ready to take an eye for an eye {respond to stones with bricks}. To avenge murder {revenge for blood with blood} we will kill Muslims wherever we see them. Annihilate Muslims from Bharat. Muslims do not know that they are not fanatical Muslims. When there were kings, the Muslim kings forced our Hindu brethren to convert and then committed atroctics against them.

And this will continue to happen till Muslims are not exterminated. Therefore, it is necessary for our Hindu brethren to come forward. After the Godhra killings, only 10 per cent of Hindus have been enraged. Muslims should realise that only 10 per cent of Hindus have called for their annihilation. If the remaining 90 per cent also call for their annihilation then the name Muslim will not survive in Gujarat and the time has come to call for the annihilation of all Muslims. In many villages this has already been done. Now the Hindus of the villages should join the Hindus of the cities and complete the work of annihilation of Muslims. The Muslims who consider the architect of Bharat, Baba Ambedkar, to be an untouchable, do not know that they are not even fit to be his footwear.

If Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had been the Prime Minister of India then not a single Muslim would have been in India. So, let all Hindu brethren know that the time has come to eradicate the Muslim word from Gujarat. All Hindu brethren are requested to be ready to destroy Muslims without being afraid of any politician. Temples are searched to catch kar sevaks then why cannot the madrassas and mosques be searched for the arms of Muslims? People of villages and cities get ready and celebrate next Holi with the corpses of Muslims.

Let the supreme court say what it wants to

The temple will be constructed at that spot

Long live Hindu nation'

- Hindu Sevak

The only solution is financial boycott. Anti-national elements that are using the money they earn with our cooperation to weaken us. They buy arms and molest our sisters and daughters. The answer to these elements lies in

Financial Non-Cooperation Movement

Come! Let us resolve:

- (1) I will not buy any thing from any Muslim shopkeeper.
- I will not sell my goods to these elements.
- (3) Neither use these traitors' hotels or their garages.
- (4) I will give my car to Hindus' garages only. From a needle to gold, do not buy anything made by a Muslim nor sell anything made by us to them.
- (5) Boycott movies casting Muslim heroes-heroines. Banish films of traitorous producers.
 - (6) Never work in Muslims' offices and do not employ Muslims.

Such a stringent economic boycott will suffocate those elements and break their backs. Then it will be difficult for them to live in any corner of the country. Friends, start this boycott from today so that no Muslim will have the guts to lift his head before us and live. Have you read this newsletter? Then make 10 copies and distribute it amongst our brethren. He who does not follow this newsletter and does not distribute it to others—may he be cursed by Hanuman and Ramchandra. Jai Shree Ram!

- A true Hindu patriot

Wake up....

Get up....

Be united.....

Reply to bricks with stones

Today the minority community is trying to crush the majority community. The Muslims should be ashamed that even after 50 years of independence they have not become Hindustanis, but they have no idea of the strength of the majority community. Muslims are traitors as compared to Hindus — the Godhra killings and the razing of the Sindhi market have proved this. Till now, Muslims were showing their treachery only in Kashmir, then they extended their activities to the Parliament in Delhi and now they have made a great blunder by challenging Gujarat. Now the Muslims cannot be protected from the Hindus by either the police or the army — or the vote-seekers or the political parties who pamper them.

When India got her independence, there were 3 crores (30 million) Muslims in India. Now on the 50th anniversary, there are 35 crores (350 million). Understand... be warned... in five to ten years they will be as many as us. Nobody is preparing a cricket team here; an army is being prepared by Pakistan.

Police and army you also beware, you are also Hindus. You can also be attacked. You should also support Hindus. We Hindus support the police and the army fully.

My Hindu brethren, unite and form a Free Indian Army just like the one during the struggle for independence. Annihilate the enemy and lighten the burden of sin, which the country is carrying.

From Vatva to Naroda, Bapunagar to Kalupur, On 29th March there will be a call, take Ram's name and attack,

We will kill Muslims the way we destroyed Babri, We will burn Jamalpur and empty Dariyapur,

Whether it is an old chawl or miyas (Muslim), we will not leave you,

We Hindustanis swear we will seek you out and kill you, This is the tradition of Raghukul and we never foreswear, Let Sonia have dogs like Farroukh Shaikh or Haji Bilal, We will treat them like Aisan Jaffery,

Muslims have darkened the skies with the smoke from burned shops,

We will cut them and their blood will flow like rivers.

Free Indian Army is the union of Hinduism. Thousands of our brethren have joined it.

You also join and give your support to save Hindustan.

Thanks to Narendra Modi. We salute you! After Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, a hero is born!

Gujarat is proud and the glory of India is in your hands.

Every Hindu is requested not to stone the police or army. They are our brothers.

-- An Indian

(Received by CC on March 28, 2002)

Service

Security

Culture

Specially for Hindu Youth

Let Bajrang Dal ready its crossbow War is the only Salvation

50 years after independence it appears that Hindus are second citizens of this country. Religious conversions, infiltration, terrorism and bomb blasts have surrounded Hindustan. On the ostentatious stage of democracy, in films and in TV serials, Hindu philosophy and Hindu gods and goddesses are continuously being insulted. Not only in Kashmir, but all over Hindustan, it appears as if the Hindu is an outsider.

At present Hindustan is caught....

- ➤ 1 lakh Christian missionaries bring in crores of rupees from abroad and carry out conversions.
- The forefathers of 95% Christians and 90% Muslims were Hindus... because of conversions the Hindus are decreasing in number
- Because of conversions the Hindus of the border zillas are becoming minorities.
- Instead of 3,000 there are 35,000 slaughter houses in India. More than 50,000 cattle are being slaughtered every day.
- From the country of Buddha and Mahavir, flesh is being exported instead of non-violence.

All over the country, you see anarchy and aimlessness because Hindu, Hindu culture, Hinduism and Hindu religion are being continuously eroded.

Islamic jehad, of which the world is fed up, has also targetted Hindustan.

- Whenever Pakistan has lost a war it has started a proxy war with I.S.I. (its secret agency).
- "Jehad" is being carried out in order to establish an Islamic state in Hindustan.
- Fanatic organisations like Jamaat-e-islam, Tabligh movement, Student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), and Ahl-e-hadis under the guidance of LS.L., are carrying out anti-Hindu, anti-national activities on a war footing.
- Because of Islamic jehad, there isn't a single Hindu surviving in Kashmir.
 - ➤ Because of the LS.L, during the last several years....
 - 29151 citizens have been killed
 - 5101 security officers have been killed
 - 61900 automatics have been found
 - 51810 kgs, of explosives have been found
- There is a scheme of getting Hindu youth of Hindustan habituated to addictive substances.
- Counterfeit currency notes of Rs. 100 and Rs. 500 are brought into the country to destroy the economy of Hindustan.
- There is a scheme, openly carried out, to trap thousands of Hindu girls and put them in harems.
- Fanatical communal training is being given in nearly 80,000 madrassas against Hindus.

- ➢ Graves and dargahs are mushrooming on stations, dams, bridges and government land as well as in all important places.
- Nearly 300 Hindu temples have been pulled down even after independence.
 - Most of the gillas near the border are without Hindus

Islamic jehad means annihilation of all Hindus

Islamic jehad means pulling down all Hindu temples

Islamic jehad means destroying Hindu religion

Islamic jehad means dividing Hindustan

Islamic jehad means destroying Hindu culture

Every young man must join Bajrang Dal today because....

- In Hindu Hindustan the largest group of Hindu youth with lakhs of members is Bajrang Dal.
- ➤ It is Bajrang Dal's aim that Hinduism, Hindu religion and Hindustan can be victorious in protecting itself by fighting till mother Bharat is pleased.
- ➤ Bajrang Dal is the strength of the Hindus today. Since 1984, Bajrang Dal has been fighting on various fronts.
- ➤ Bajrang Dal saved more than one and a half lakh cows from the slaughter houses by celebrating cow protection year.
- Over the short period of eight months, Bajrang Dal has courageously saved more than 100 Hindu girls from the irreligious.
- ➤ In Gujarat's 3321 villages, Bajrang Dal is busily carrying on the good work of service, protection and unity.
 - Make an army of 20 young persons in every village.
- Give physical training to the youth for self protection and protection of Hindus.
 - > Run playgrounds, gyms. or exercise schools.
- Once a week, either on Tuesdays or Saturdays, arrange (offerings) to Hanuman or group worship.
 - Hanuman Javanti
 Valmiki Javanti
 - ➤ Martyr's Day on 2 November
 - > 14 August All India Memorial Day
 - ➤ 6th December National Glory Day

Hindu youth....

Reply in the same language that is used for jehad.

- the arms that have risen for jehad should become servile
- do unto others as they do unto you....Hindus should become one.

Reply to jehad with "crusades". For this, the young of every village will have to join Bajrang Dal. Arrange to donate *trishuls* in every village. Arrange seminars and public meetings explaining the terror of jehad.

Bajrang Dal is Hindu strength

Every youth should join Bajrang Dal immediately Carry the *trishul*.



વિક્રયા છે ગામડીયાપેલુ થયું વડોદરા ને ગાંડા થયા અમદાવાદી વાઢ ભાગ વાઢ નરેન્દ્રમોદી તમે તો મીચીઓની માં ચોદી

વર્ષોએ શાંત પહેતો ત્વાળામુખી જગ્યો છે આજ મીયાંઓ ની ગાંડ મારી નચાવ્યા છે નાગા નાચ

"JEHAD"

The people of Baroda and Ahmedabad have gone berserk Narendra Modi you have fucked the mother of miyas

The volcano which was inactive for years has erupted. It has burnt the arse of mivas and made them dance nude

We have untied the penises which were tied till now Without castor oil in the arse we have made them cry

Those who call religious war, violence, are all fuckers We have widened the tight vaginas of the "bibis"

Now even the adivasis have realised what Hinduism is They have shot their arrow in the arse of mullahs

Wake up Hindus there are still miyas left alive around you Learn from Panyad village where their mother was fucked

She was fucked standing while she kept shouting She enjoyed the uncircumcised penis

With a Hindu government the Hindus have the power to annihilate miyas

Kick them in the arse to drive them out of not only villages and cities but also the country

Let the fuckers know that

The fucking of fuckers will not work.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM LOCAL LEADERS TO RSS MEMBERS

- Go to the temple twice a day in the morning and evening
- (2) Keep yourself ready to respond to your leader when he needs your help
- (3) When the army marches past set off fire crackers
- (4) Dress in khaki pant white shirt and cap and tie a string on your hand(wrist?)
- (5) During meetings and various assemblies move around to help each other
- (6) If they dare get ready and shout
- (7) After every meeting shout shlokas at least three times
- (8) Hold one meeting per week
- (9) When fighting the Muslims change the appearance of your neighbourhood so you are not recognised
- (10) Don't mount a frontal attack—attack from the back
- (11) Fight more at night-time
- (12) Try to live close to Muslims
- (13) Don't give the police a chance to catch you with weapons
- (14) When you work for the Muslims don't accept labour compensation
- (15) If it is time for wages then collect people around you on the pretext of searching

- (16) If you purchase anything from a Muslim shop pay only the cost price, not the profit
- 17 Don't give correct testimony to the police
- 18) Guard your temple
- If you get any information let your leader know in writing immediately
- 20) Every member should be trained to fight against ten people at a time
- (21) During a battle use any weapon to fight
- 22) When you do ? in Muslim houses have irregular relations with Muslim women so that you have the opportunity to increase Hindu population.
- 23. Deform new born babies of Muslims This was the nation of heroes, now it is filled with frightened people.

They escape from our control and the poor innocent is sacrificed

If the Hindu youth is angered there will be a rain of shoes on their heads

Hindu wake up now and chase away the Muslims

Do you know that.....

- The terrorist activities all over India are conducted from a madrassa in Akwada, Bhavnagar called Dar ul-ulum, from where recently 12 truckloads of weapons have been found and the CBI has come from Delhi to investigate this
- All No. two business such as spare parts, oil, grease, bogus billing, scrap, money laundering, smuggling, kidnapping etc. is done only by Muslims. They do not pay any taxes and live at our expense in our country and with our money in style and arrogance
- They who used to buy goods from Hindus now prefer to buy from other Muslims even if it is expensive while the Hindu customer will buy from a Muslim for a small advantage

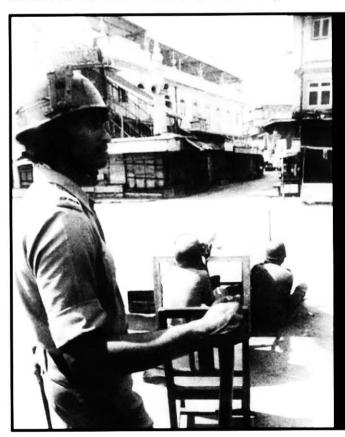
- At the time of independence the population of Hindus was 30° which has now gone down to 9° while the Muslim population has increased from 7 crores to 30 crores an increase from 7° to 32° a.
- From small villages to big cities all the mosques have been painted at the cost of several crores of rupces
 - In all the madrassas the children are taught to be fanatical Muslims
- Most of the politicians in the country are not concerned with the welfare of the Hindus. They are only interested in corruption and robbing the nation to fill their pockets, and play the politics of yote banks by favouring Muslims at the expense of Hindus
- Each Hai traveller is given Rs. 22,500 to go for Haj while Hindus get nothing

The best solution to the burning questions above is this

- ➤ Attack the Dar ul-ulum madrassa in Akwada and destroy it
- If you have any information about the No. 2 activities, immediately inform the sales tax, income tax, custom excise or collector's office or the nearest police station and get the goods confiscated.
- Deal only with Hindus whether it is a little cheaper or more expensive. Support only the Hindus in business and boycott the Muslims economically.
- ➤ Tell the children about the great people of our culture and create in them a sense of courage, heroism and enthusiasm; teach him to be a fanatical Hindu from childhood
- Oppose the subsidy given to Haj pilgrims and demand that it be stopped

Ask all politicians only what they are doing for Hindus. If he associates with Muslims boycott him and teach him a lesson. Explain calmly to those Hindu traders who maintain close relationships with Muslims in the hope of cheap goods that this is wrong—then warn them and if they still don't listen, cause them as much economic damage as possible

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To ban or not to ban?

For the past three years or so, both the VHP and the Bajrang Dal have been carrying out highly publicised programmes wherein their cadres were given arms training in different parts of the country. These camps have been held in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, MP, West Bengal and Maharashtra and probably elsewhere. The blatantly provocative and violent nature of the mobilisation by these outfits has pushed the governments of three states – Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra – into demanding that the Union government ban the Bajrang Dal. At a high level meet with the state DGPs in September 2001, Union home minister, LK Advani was shocked by the vehemence with which the DGPs of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra argued for such a ban.

Prior to this meeting, on 24 April 2001, in a letter to Advani, Madhya Pradesh CM Digvijay Singh had stated that 'along with SIMI, Bajrang Dal is responsible for communal mobilisation.' In his letter, Singh pointed out that the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, enacted by the Centre, empowers the central government to ban such organisations throughout the country. "I seek your indulgence and your active consideration that such organisations, like SIMI and Bajrang Dal, should be banned to enable us to curb their activities which are posing a great threat to communal harmony and to strengthen the hands of law enforcing agencies in maintaining communal harmony and peace."

The reply from the Union home minister was vague, and while SIMI was banned last September, the Bajrang Dal was

spared similar action. Through such discriminatory action, the central government revealed its own mind on the kind of unlawful activities it considered punishable under the act and those it was prepared to turn a blind eye to.

After the genocide in Gujarat, there has been a widespread demand for a ban on the Bajrang Dal and the VHP. For two days, February 28 and March I, with military precision, mobs of 5,000 and many more, targetted innocent civilians in different parts of Gujarat, armed with inflammable gas cylinders, petrol and kerosene cans. (Incidentally, the use of such inflammable materials for arson and murder attract the provisions of the Arms Act.) Muslims, men, women and children were hacked to pieces and burnt to death, their homes and businesses looted or torched. These attacks were preceded by the circulation, statewide, of highly obnoxious and



incendiary pamphlets which could attract the provisions of 153-A and 153-B of the IPC: this alone is sufficient ground for a ban under the provisions of the Unlawful Activities [Prevention] Act, 1967.

Is there a case for a ban against the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal, on the grounds that they are armed organisations, repeatedly inciting and resorting to violence and attracting 153-A and 153-B?

It is under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 (Act No. 37 of 1967) that the government is empowered to declare an association 'unlawful'.

Under the Act,

'unlawful activity' means "any action taken by such individual or association (whether by committing an act or by words, either spoken or written, or by the signs or by visible representation or otherwise):

- "which is intended, or supports any claim, to bring about, on any ground whatsoever, the cession of a part of the territory in India or the secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union, or which incites any individual or group of individuals to bring such cession or secession;
 - "which disclaims, questions, disrupts or is intended to disrupt the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India; and 'unlawful association' means -
- "Any association which has for its object any unlawful activity or which encourages or aids persons to undertake any unlawful activity, or of which the members undertake such activity, or
 - * "Which has for its object any activity which is punishable under section 153 (A) or 153 (B) of the Indian Penal Code

or which encourages or aids persons to undertake any such activity, or of which the members undertake any such activity."

CC has accessed the arguments which the state of Madhya Pradesh made to the Central government while pressing for a ban nearly a year ago, i.e. from July 2001.

In its arguments to the Union home minister arguing for a ban on the Bajrang Dal, the MP chief minister listed the activities of the outfit in Madhya Pradesh. These were:

"Bajrang Dal is very active in Harda, Indore, Sihor, Raysen, Jubbalpore, Gwalior, Bhopal, Thar, Hoshangabad, Khandwa, Khargone, Guna, Rajgadh, Narsinhpur, Sagar, Neemach, Ujjain and Vidisha *zillas*. Various movements in the country such as, construction of a Ram temple in Ayodhya, conversions, cow slaughter, terrorist attacks, cow-protection plan and opposition to Christian missionaries have been started by them.

"It should be noted that the activities carried out by them are aimed at inciting members of other communities, specially the Muslims and the Christians. Along with this, an atmosphere of communal animosity is created between the Hindus and the Muslims, sometimes causing law and order problems.

Bajrang Dal started in 1985 from Tanadia village in Shajapur zilla. At present it has established its branches in all the zillas of Madhya Pradesh. It is associated with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and its ladies' wing is known as Durga Vahini.

"Between 30" September 1989 and 7" October 1989, Bajrang Dal workers participated in the programme of *Shriram shila pooja* and the carrying of bricks to Ayodhya for the construction of a Ram temple, organised at Bhopal. Section 144 was clamped on the town. Old Bhopal remained tense during the period of the programme.

"On 16.6.90, Bajrang Dal workers participated in a rally organised by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad in support of the construction of the Ram temple. When this *rath-yatra* was stopped in Bihar, they played an active role in calling a Bhopal bandh.

"In May 1992, Bajrang Dal organised a rally in Bairasiya, Bhopal in which inflammatory slogans were shouted. Near Kalari mosque, a sword attack during an altercation between the Bajrang Dal members and Muslim shopkeepers of the area led to a fight. Bajrang Dal leader Rameshwar Sharma, raising objectionable slogans, spread the rumour that the Muslims had collected inside the Kalari mosque and that they had injured a shopkeeper named Chhaganlal. On hearing this, the Bajrang Dal crowd reached the Kalari mosque and started communal violence.

"Between 29.11.92 and 5.12.92, Vishwa Hindu Parishad observed a 'challenge week' in which the Bajrang Dal members played a major role. This created a tense situation in the city of Bhopal. This stressful situation led to communal riots breaking out in various parts of Bhopal on 7.12.92.

"On 28.1.95, a bandh was organised in Rajnathgaon and Ujjain. Similarly, on 7.3.95, in Bhojshala in Dhar, public prayers to Hanuman were organised and slogans of 'Jai Siyaram' were shouted.

"On 27.4.95, they went to Bhopal railway station to meet Sadhwi Ritambhara but when she did not turn up, they started breaking up things on the platform and outside the station and the police had to use tear gas to disperse them.

"Bhoj Smruti festival was celebrated in Bhoj between 11.2.97 and 15.2.97. The national leader of the Bajrang Dal, Mr. Jaibhansingh Pavaiyya, participated in this festival. Just before this, on 29.1.97 Mr. Jaibhansingh Pavaiyya had announced in Gwalior that during its recently held apex council meeting in Mathura, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad had included Bhojshala-Dhar in its national agenda. In the same meeting, Acharya Giriraj announced that an agitation will be launched to stop the namaaz being held in Bhojshala. If the administration does not stop the namaaz, we will do so.

"On 11.3.97, the district convenor of Bajrang Dal, Raja Bahu Madane handed over a memo to the additional district collector, Dhar, which was addressed to the Honourable President and which threatened an agitation from 8.4.97. Due to this threat, the minority community continuously opposed the activity of these Hindu groups and on 18.3.97 they handed a memorandum to the district collector of Dhar, stating that this kind of activity is banned in this complex under the Archaeological regulations and that only namaaz could be conducted.

"On 5.4.97, under the leadership of Jaibhansingh Pavaiyya of the Bajrang Dal, a 'cow protection' rally was taken out in Bhopal. Prior to this rally, huge posters were put up at different places in Bhopal in which the role of the Bajrang Dal was mentioned. The posters depicted slaughtered cows. In the rally, the jeeps carried several cut-outs. One of them showed a man carrying a naked sword and a butcher. Another showed a butcher in the act of killing a cow and a man standing between the cow and the butcher, trying to save it. The following slogans were raised: "This is not the nation of katuas (a derogatory word for Muslims) and kazis, it is the nation of Vir Shivaji'; 'Our weapons will be out wherever the blood of a cow falls'; 'Now that the conflict has started on the border wipe out the rest of Pakistan from the map'; 'Beat the cow-killers with shoes'; 'We will not allow cows to be slaughtered, nor our country to be broken up'; 'Katuas will be killed, they will call out to Ram'. During the rally it was announced that this country belongs to Hindus and that Bakri Id will be observed without cow slaughter. The fight which was started on 6th December will never end. What happened in Ayodhya on 6th December 92 is not the last verse of Uttarkand (the last section of Ramayan) but the verse of Balkand (the first section of Ramayan). The participants at the rally carried small trishuls.

"On 13.5.97, criticising the administration's biased policy on entry of ordinary citizens at Bhojshala in Dhar, regional convenor of Bajrang Dal, Prakash Ratnaparkhi and national convenor of Durga Vahini, Sadhvi Ritambhara protested and threatened to launch a nation-wide agitation on this issue. Bajrang Dal and other Hindu organisations demanded entry for Hindus at Bhojshala every Tuesday to conduct *Pooja*. At some places in Dhar, posters proclaiming, 'Arise, Proceed towards your goal, Let us dedicate ourselves to the Holy Feet of Ma Sharada at the Saraswati Temple, Bhojshala, every Tuesday at 9 PM' appeared.

"On 25.9.97, at Khandwa's LIG Colony, regional convenor of Bajrang Dal, Mr. Prakash Ratnaparkhi and other workers saw 4-5 butchers leading about 70 animals. The Bajrang Dal activists informed the Moghat road police station about it over the phone. In the meantime, the butcher community at Imlipura area got news of it and they also reached the site, leading to an altercation between them and the Bajrang Dal workers and a few injuries.

"On 1.7.97, a secret meeting was held at Indore which was attended by national chairman, Jaibhan Singh Pavaiyya, regional convenor Prakash Ratnaparkhi and Bajrang Dal workers from Dhar. At this meeting, a decision was taken regarding the Bajrang Dal workers reaching Bhojshala, Dhar on 15 August 1997 and it was announced that the national flag would be hoisted at Bhojshala on August 15, 1997.

"On 24.8.97, national chairman Jaibhan Singh Pavaiyya declared at a press conference that on any day in September, Bajrang Dal would launch a direct action operation called 'Operation Gau Hatyare' to stop cow slaughter. Under this operation, vehicles going to the slaughter-houses would be stopped on the highways. On 26.9.97, Jaibhan Singh Pavaiyya and Acharya Giriraj Kishor came to Bhopal. At a press conference, Mr. Pavaiyya stated that it is not correct to call Ram Janmabhoomi as Babri masjid. The court has allowed them to conduct poopa at the site and everyday poopa is being done there.

"On 14.9.97, the regional conference of Bajrang Dal, with national chairman Pavaiyya as the chief guest, concluded at Ujjain. On this occasion, Mr. Pavaiyya exhorted the workers to organise 'Trishul Distribution Ceremony' on a large scale.

"On 26.9.97, during a talk with newspersons at Shajapur, national chairman of Bajrang Dal, Jaibhan Singh Pavaiyya stated that if namaaz was conducted at the Ram Janamsthala at Ayodhya, then pooja will be conducted at the other disputed mosques.

"On 27.12.97, national chairman of Bajrang Dal, Jaibhan Singh Pavaiyya, addressing a rally at Devri in Sagar district, said that Muslims are unable to say Vande Mataram, and that Muslims are always trying to hurt the religious sentiments of Hindus. He addressed the MLA Sunil Jain as Sunil Mohammad Khan. He also said that if someone chops off a cow's head, then 100 Muslims' hands should be chopped off. If the roads to Amarnath are blocked then the intelligent Muslims should understand that no tazias will be allowed to be taken out anywhere in the country. If we attacked, then we will extract revenge from you in every street of the country. A Hindu does not provoke anyone, but if he is provoked then he does not spare him.

"Bajrang Dal ordered its primary training camps to call co-ordinators and co-co-ordinators from every district, who were instructed on how to conduct 'Operation Gau Hatyare' to stop cow slaughter and were ordered to train Hindu boys in conducting raids.

"On 14.2.98, Bajrang Dal, Khargaon organised a Ram Yagna and Trishul Distribution Ceremony at the community hall of Ram Krishna colony. About 80-90 trishuls were distributed. At the ceremony, the national convenor, Surendra Jain stated in his speech that in every age, the lord appeared in human form to protect the saints, destroy evil and establish the rule of dharma but in Kaliyug, the lord has handed over this work to Bajrang Dal. It is the duty of every worker to protect the cow. He told the Muslims that if they wanted to stay in this country, then they would have to accept Ram and Krishna as their ancestors, acknowledge the cow as their mother, respect the sentiments of the Hindus and disown Babar and Aurangzeb. Rajiv Gandhi was asked to sacrifice his life to save the Babri Masjid... rule according to the Bible in Nagaland. You consume the water and food of India, then raise slogans for this country, stop saying 'Pakistan zindabad', address the cow as Ammi, proclaim Ram and Krishna as your ancestors and the insults inflicted by your ancestors will be forgiven.

"On 16.2.98, Bajrang Dal, Harda organised a *Shri Ram Mahayagna* and Trishul Distribution Ceremony in the courtyard of Gupteshwar Mandir, Harda. At this ceremony, an appeal was issued for Hindutva and protection of the progeny of cows. After the ceremony, a procession was taken out on the main roads where the following slogans were raised: 'Beat the killers of cows with shoes'; 'Force of the country, Bajrang Dal'; 'Ban Cow Slaughter'; 'If the calves are taken to slaughter, Blood will flow on the streets'; 'Fold your hands and say *Vande Mataram*'; and 'He who works for the benefit of Hindus will rule the country'.

"On 25.3.98, under the stewardship of Gauraksha Andolan Samiti (Committee for the Campaign to Save the Cow), Bhopal, workers of Bajrang Dal, Arya Samaj and Hindu Utsav Samiti observed a 2-day Maun Dharana (Silent Protest) at Bhavani Chowk to press for a ban on cow slaughter.

"Bajrang Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad organised a regional conference from 10-12 April, 1998 at Diddayal

Complex, Bhopal. The main focus of the conference was to organise a *Bhojshala Mukti Andolan* ('Free Bhojshala Campaign') under which it was decided to present a memorandum to the Honourable Governor, mob him and hold demonstrations against him as also to mob and hold demonstrations outside the residence of the Chief Minister on December 6, '98.

"The regional convenor of Bajrang Dal ordered that August 14 should be observed as the 'Undivided India Day' and if the film 'Jinnah' was screened on August 15, it should be opposed. The cinema hall managers will be requested not to screen the film; if they refused to comply, direct action will be taken.

"On 17.1.99, a 2-day training programme was organised at Sarguja and Koriya districts under the joint aegis of Bajrang Dal and RSS where among other topics, defending Hindutya, religious conversions and cow slaughter were discussed.

"On 29.1.99, Father Joseph, principal of Saint Mary School, Vidisha filed a written complaint at the rural police station, Vidisha stating that at about 14.30 o'clock, two youths came to St. Mary School and asked him why he was called 'Father'. One of these youths, who introduced himself as the president of Bajrang Dal said that this is the land of Ram and here a 'Pita' is called father. Similarly, again on 29.1.99, Father Joseph again filed a written complaint stating that 3 youths abused his security guard and threatened to kill him. On the basis of the security guard's statement, the case was registered and on 31.1.99, the 3 men were arrested.

"On 14.3.99, at a press conference in Bhopal, Bajrang Dal's national organiser, Mr Rajendra Pankaj opposed any attempt by the administration to nationalise temples."

If for the chief minister of MP, the above record consituted adequate grounds for a ban to be slapped on the Bajrang Dal, after the genocide in Gujarat, the need for a ban on the Bajrang Dal and the VHP becomes compelling. (See 'Pamphlet poison' section)

Sections 3 and 4 of the Act elaborate the procedure by which an outfit may be declared unlawful. Section 7 details how the central government then has the power to prohibit the use of funds by such unlawful associations. Under Section 7(1), once an organisation has been declared unlawful, the central government may, by an order, seize assets and funds, freeze accounts and prohibit financial transactions. This section, which deals with the funding of such bodies, could help sever the critical link between ideology and paid cadre who, like mercenaries, transmit the hate ideology, carry arms, plunder, rape and kill.

Under the Act, an order freezing funds must be served in accordance with the Criminal Procedure Code and can be challenged within a fortnight before a district court.

Similarly, under section 8, the Act gives the central government the power to notify any place used for the purposes of this unlawful association — be it a house, building tent or vessel. Any articles used by the association for unlawful assembly may be prohibited from use by the district magistrate. Shakhas, secret camps and hideouts of the VHP and Bajrang Dal could, if included in the ban, be seriously affected.

Arms training camp for women, children in Gujarat

The 49th All India Summer Training Camp organised by Ritambhara Vishva Vidyapeeth will be held at Satapura, district, Dangs, Gujarat, from May 3 to May 22 for women and children. The camp will include lathi-training, rifleshooting, meditation, yogasana, prayers, discourses and discussions on cultural and spiritual subjects. Children between the age group 10 to 12 years can enrol. Call xxx xx xx (phone number withheld by us) for details.

(The Asian Age, 27 March 2002).

Killer 'trishuls' in hand, the sangh parivar tries...

- ✓ 40 lakh 'trisbuls' Rampuri knives that can kill, craftily disguised as a religious symbol. distributed by the Bajrang Dal countrywide (Rajasthan CM, Ashok Gehlot).
- ✓ A trishul, like the kirpan, is exempt from the provisions of the Indian Arms Act.
 - ✓ This factor is hampering the police administration

and governments from preventing the blatant arming of Indian civil society on religious lines.

- Rajasthan is, today, the location of a sinister replay – this time through the Bajrang Dal's *Trishul Diksha* Samarohs and the VHP's Jalabhishek programme – of the earlier bloodletting under the cover of Ram shila poojans and Advani's rathyatra.
- ✓ How will the Indian State and civil society respond?

(Communalism Combat, November 2001)

Desi Mossad is getting ready at Bajrang Dal's Ayodhya camp

"I, as a member of Bajrang Dal, swear in the name of Lord Hanuman to always remain prepared to protect my country, religion and culture," 150 young men, between 15 and 21 years of age, recite in unison. After practising target shooting with air guns at Karsevakpuram (in Ayodhya) for the past one week, the group is attending the convocation function presided over by the national co-convenor of the Dal, Prakash

Sharma. The training camp ended last evening amid loud chants of 'Jai Sriram' and 'Jai Bajrangbali'. Asked what he did at the camp, an activist whispers, "I am from the secret service of Bajrang Dal. Israel's Mossad is my inspiration. I can't tell you more."

Bajrang Dal officials take great pains to explain that their camp was more to impart physical fitness to the cadre than giving them shooting practice. Dal leaders claim this is not the first time that they were imparting arms training to their workers. "We are training them in handling firearms since 1996. Ayodhya is only one of the 25 such camps planned between May 10 (in Karnataka) and July 30 (at Guwahati)," Sharma says.

Dal office-bearers feel outraged on being asked about the reason for training their cadre in handling guns. "Have you ever put this question to the Scouts or National Cadet Corps officials? If they are preparing young generation for serving the country, so are we," Sharma says. "Arms training, in fact, bolsters their morale and self-esteem."

(The Indian Express, June 30, 2000)

Hindu groups organise arms training camps

Lucknow: Right-wing Hindu groups organised a 10-day camp in Ayodhya last week to train their cadres in marksmanship. At the camp, organised by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and its affiliate, the Bajrang Dal, cadres were being trained to shoot with air guns... "This is the induction stage. Later on, we will train our boys in shooting real guns and rifles. This is part of our drill to ensure the protection of Hindus," Ved Prakash Sachan, Bajrang Dal chief in Uttar Pradesh, said.

The camp at Karsevakpuram, which is being supervised by Sachan, is not the first to be conducted in Uttar Pradesh. "Similar camps have been held in Varanasi, Mathura and Meerut. Those who prove their shooting skills will be picked for advanced courses," Sachan said. Some residents of Ayodhya suspect that the groups are clandestinely training their cadres to fire more sophisticated weapons.

(India Abroad News Service, July 7, 2000)

Bajrang Dal held arms training camp in Bengal too

Kolkata: Two arms training camps were silently organised in West Bengal recently where 114 activists of the Bajrang Dal and the Durga Vahini were also trained in the use of guns. The first camp was held at the Kamalpur High School in Chakdah in Nadia between May 26 and June 9. Fifty-two young men, aged between 15 and 25, were imparted training there. Apart from yoga, nijukt (karate) and the use of lathis, the Dal activists were trained to use rifles. They were also taught the methods of crawling and jumping through fire in full military style. Most of those trained were freshers

and all the 10 instructors were from West Bengal.

The second camp, organised by the Durga Vahini, the women's wing of the VHP, was held at Kashimbazar in Murshidabad from May 30 to June 7. In all, 62 women participated in the camp where they obtained similar military training as their male counterparts.

Admitting that the camps were indeed held, state general secretary of the VHP, Ajoy Kumar Nandi, said on Monday that such training camps were being regularly held in the state for the last 10 years. "There is nothing secret about it. Every year, we organise such camps. The police know about this but they have not interfered so far," Nandi said. He did not say from where his organisation was collecting the rifles.

Nandi also said that the VHP had already raised a force of about 3,000 men and women belonging to the Bajrang Dal and the Durga Vahini in this state who had been imparted military training. "We will raise a 30,000-strong force in this state within this year, as part of our central programme to raise a 30 lakh strong force nation-wide," he added. So far, the trainees had mostly come from Malda, Hooghly and North 24 Parganas districts, Nandi said.

The VHP leader explained that the purpose of raising such a force was to "defend the society and the state." The Durga Vahini had been specifically instructed to intervene in incidents like kidnapping of women in the border areas. Only a select group from among the force would be imparted special training to combat the Pakistan-sponsored Inter-Services Intelligence, he said.

(The Times of India, June 2000)

Of guns and Hindu Rashtra

Lucknow: Rat-a-tat-tat. The deafening sound of gun shots disturbs the serene surroundings with uncanny regularity. Tracing the source through overgrown shrubs and grass, one comes across 15 men in the 22-30 age group lying on their stomachs with firearms in their hands. They are practising on different targets comprising chiefly glass bottles. Giving them training is an older man, who appears conversant with guns. The men listen to him intently and then begin their practice session like people possessed.

Their dictum is simple: tooth for a tooth and eye for an eye. 'Hindu' power flows from the barrel of the gun for them. They are members of the newly-floated Hindu Rashtriya Mukti Army, an offshoot of the Shiv Sena, and are attending an arms training camp over the past 15 days at a destination about 90 km. from the state capital.

(The Times of India, 29 September 2001)

National Human Rights Commission



(We reproduce below an excerpt from the preliminar, report of the National Human Rights Commission—NHRC):

Name of the complainant: Suo motu

18. A 'Preliminary Report' dated 8 March 2002 was received by the Commission from the government of Gujarat on 11 March 2002. However, it was perfunctory in character. In the meantime, the Commission had received a fairly detailed report on the situation from its Special Group in Gujarat, comprising its special representative, PGJ Nampoothri, former director general of police, Gujarat, Annie Prasad, IAS (Retd) and Gagan Sethi, director, Jan Vikas. With violence continuing, it was in such circumstances that the Commission decided that the chairperson should lead a team of the Commission on a mission to Gujarat between 19-22 March 2002. And it was pursuant to this that the detailed report of the state of Gujarat was received on 28 March 2002, in response to the Commission's notice of 1 March 2002 and the discussions held with the team.

19. There follow below certain preliminary comments and recommendations of the Commission on the situation in Gujarat. As indicated above, these will be followed, as required, by other proceedings, containing comments and recommendations, which will take into account the response that will be received from the central and state governments to the mission-report of the Commission's team, a further reading and analysis of the voluminous material that has been, and is being, submitted to the Commission, and the situation as it develops on the ground.

Preliminary Comments:

20. (i) The statute of the Commission, as contained in the

Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993, requires the Commission under the provisions of Section 12, to perform all or any of the following functions, namely:

- "(a) inquire, suo motu or on a petition presented to it by a victim or any person on his behalf, into complaint of
 - (i) violation of human rights or abetment thereof; or
- (ii) negligence in the prevention of such violation, by a public servant; ...
- (d) review the safeguards provided by or under the Constitution or any law for the time being in force for the protection of human rights and recommend measures for their effective implementation; ...
- (f) study treaties and other international instruments on human rights and make recommendations for their effective implementation; ...
- (j) such other functions as it may consider necessary for the promotion of human rights."

The term 'human rights' is defined to mean the right relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in the International Covenants and enforceable by courts in India (Section 2(1)(d)), and the International Covenants are defined as the 'International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 16th December 1966." (Section 2(1)(f)).

(ii) It is therefore in the light of this statute that the Commission must examine whether violations of human rights were committed, or were abetted, or resulted from negligence in the prevention of such violation. It must also examine whether the acts that occurred infringed the rights guaranteed by the Constitution or those that were embodied in the two great International Covenants cited above.

- (iii) The Commission would like to observe at this stage that it is the primary and inescapable responsibility of the State to protect the right to life, liberty, equality and dignity of all of those who constitute it. It is also the responsibility of the State to ensure that such rights are not violated either through overt acts, or through abetment or negligence. It is a clear and emerging principle of human rights jurisprudence that the State is responsible not only for the acts of its own agents, but also for the acts of non-State players acting within its jurisdiction. The State is, in addition, responsible for any inaction that may cause or facilitate the violation of human rights.
- (iv) The first question that arises therefore is whether the State has discharged its responsibilities appropriately in accordance with the above. It has been stated in the report of the state government that the attack on karsetaks in Godhra occurred in the absence of "specific information about the return of kar setaks from Ayodhya" (p. 12 of the Report). It is also asserted that while there were intelligence inputs pertaining to the movement of karsetaks to Ayodhya between 10-15 March 2002, there were no such inputs concerning their return either from the state intelligence branch or the central intelligence agencies (p. 5); and that the "only message" about the return of kar setaks, provided by the Uttar Pradesh police, was received in Gujarat on 28 February 2002, i.e., after the tragic incident of 27 February 2002 and even that did not relate to a possible attack on the Sabarmati Express.
- (y) The Commission is deeply concerned to be informed of this. It would appear to constitute an extraordinary lack of appreciation of the potential dangers of the situation, both by the central and state intelligence agencies. This is the more so given the history of communal violence in Gujarat. The report of the state government itself states:

"The state of Gujarat has a long history of communal riots. Major riots have been occurring periodically in the state since 1969. Two Commissions of Inquiry viz., the Jagmohan Reddy Commission of Inquiry, 1969, and the Dave Commission of Inquiry, 1985, were constituted to go into the widespread communal violence that erupted in the state from time to time. Subsequently, major communal incidents all over the state have taken place in 1990 and in 1992-93 following the Babri Masjid episode. In fact, between 1970 and 2002, Gujarat has witnessed 443 major communal incidents. Even minor altercations, over trivial matters like kite flying have led to communal violence." (p. 127).

The report adds that the Godhra incident occurred at a time when the environment was already surcharged due to developments in Ayodhya and related events (also p. 127).

Indeed, it has been reported to the Commission that, in intelligence parlance, several places of the state have been classified as communally sensitive or hyper-sensitive and that, in many cities of the state, including Ahmedabad, Vadodara and Godhra, members of both the majority and minority communities are constantly in a state of preparedness to

face the perceived danger of communal violence. In such circumstances, the police are reported to be normally well prepared to handle such dangers and it is reported to be standard practice to alert police stations down the line when sensitive situations are likely to develop.

(vi) Given the above, the Commission is constrained to observe that a serious failure of intelligence and action by the state government marked the events leading to the Godhra tragedy and the subsequent deaths and destruction that occurred. On the face of it, in the light of the history of communal violence in Gujarat, recalled in the report of the state government itself, the question must arise whether the principle of 'res ipsa loquitur' ('the affair speaking for itself') should not apply in this case in assessing the degree of state responsibility in the failure to protect the life, liberty, equality and dignity of the people of Gujarat.

The Commission accordingly requests the response of the central and state governments on this matter, it being the primary and inescapable responsibility of the State to protect such rights and to be responsible for the acts not only of its own agents, but also for the acts of non-State players within its jurisdiction and any inaction that may cause or facilitate the violation of human rights. Unless rebutted by the state government, the adverse inference arising against it would render it accountable. The burden is therefore now on the state government to rebut this presumption.

(vii) An ancillary question that arises is whether there was adequate anticipation in regard to the measures to be taken, and whether these measures were indeed taken, to ensure that the tragic events in Godhra would not occur and would not lead to serious repercussions elsewhere. The Commission has noted that many instances are recorded in the report of prompt and courageous action by district collectors, commissioners and superintendents of police and other officers to control the violence and to deal with its consequences through appropriate preventive measures and, thereafter, through rescue, relief and rehabilitation measures.

The Commission cannot but note, however, that the report itself reveals that while some communally-prone districts succeeded in controlling the violence, other districts – sometimes less prone to such violence – succumbed to it. In the same vein, the report further indicates that while the factors underlining the danger of communal violence spreading were common to all districts, and that, "in the wake of the call for the 'Gujarat Bandh' and the possible fall-out of the Godhra incident, the state government took all possible precautions" (p.128), some districts withstood the dangers far more firmly than did others.

Such a development clearly points to local factors and players overwhelming the district officers in certain instances, but not in others. Given the widespread reports and allegations of groups of well-organised persons, armed with mobile telephones and addresses, singling out certain homes and properties for death and destruction in certain districts – sometimes within view of police stations and personnel – the further question arises as to what the factors were, and who

the players were in the situations that went out of control. The Commission requests the comments of the state government on these matters.

(viii) The Commission has noted that while the report states that the Godhra incident was "premeditated" (p. 5), the report does not clarify as to who precisely was responsible for this incident. Considering its gruesome nature and catastrophic consequences, the team of the Commission that visited Godhra on 22 March 2002 was concerned to note from the comments of the special IGP, CID (crime) that while two cases had been registered, they were being investigated by an SDPO of the Western Railway and that no major progress had been made until then.

In the light of fact that numerous allegations have been made both in the media and to the team of the Commission to the effect that FIRs in various instances were being distorted or poorly recorded, and that senior political personalities were seeking to 'influence' the working of police stations by their presence within them, the Commission is constrained to observe that there is a widespread lack of faith in the integrity of the investigating process and the ability of those conducting investigations.

The Commission notes, for instance, that in Ahmedabad, in most cases, looting was "reported in well-to-do localities by relatively rich people" (p. 130). Yet the report does not identify who these persons were. The conclusion cannot but be drawn that there is need for greater transparency and integrity to investigate the instances of death and destruction appropriately and to instill confidence in the public mind.

- (ix) The report takes the view that "the major incidents of violence were contained within the first 72 hours." It asserts, however, that "on account of widespread reporting both in the visual as well as the electronic media, incidents of violence on a large-scale started occurring in Ahmedabad, Baroda cities and some towns of Panchmahals, Sabarkantha, Mehsana, etc" in spite of "all possible precautions having been taken" (p. 128-129). The report also adds that various comments attributed to the chief minister and commissioner of police, Ahmedabad, among others, were torn out of context by the media, or entirely without foundation.
- (x) As indicated earlier in these proceedings, the Commission considers it would be naïve for it to subscribe to the view that the situation was brought under control within the first 72 hours. Violence continues in Gujarat as of the time of writing these proceedings. There was a pervasive sense of insecurity prevailing in the state at the time of the team's visit to Gujarat. This was most acute among the victims of the successive tragedies, but it extended to all segments of society, including to two judges of the High Court of Gujarat, one sitting and the other retired, who were compelled to leave their own homes because of the vitiated atmosphere. There could be no clearer evidence of the failure to control the situation.
- (xi) The Commission has, however, taken note of the views of the state government in respect of the media. The Commission firmly believes that it is essential to uphold the Right to Freedom of Speech and Expression articulated in

Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution, which finds comparable provision in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 and Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966. It is therefore clearly in favour of a courageous and investigative role for the media. At the same time, the Commission is of the view that there is need for all concerned to reflect further on possible guidelines that the media should adopt, on a 'self-policing' basis, to govern its conduct in volatile situations, including those of inter-communal violence, with a view to ensuring that passions are not inflamed and further violence perpetrated. It has to be noted that the right under Article 19(1)(a) is subject to reasonable restrictions under Article 19(2) of the Constitution.

(xii) The Commission has noted the contents of the report on two matters that raised serious questions of discriminatory treatment and led to most adverse comment both within the country and abroad. The first related to the announcement of Rs. 2 lakh as compensation to the next-of-kin of those who perished in the attack on the Sabarmati Express, and of Rs. 1 lakh for those who died in the subsequent violence. The second related to the application of POTO to the first incident, but not to those involved in the subsequent violence.

On the question of compensation, the Commission has noted from the report that Rs. 1 lakh will be paid in all instances, "thus establishing parity." It has also noted that, according to the report, this decision was taken on 9 March 2002, after a letter was received by the chief minister, "on behalf of the *kar sevaks*," saying "that they would welcome the financial help of Rs. 1 lakh instead of Rs. 2 lakh to the bereaved families of Godhra massacre" (see p. 115).

This decision, in the view of the Commission, should have been taken on the initiative of the government itself, as the issue raised impinged seriously on the provisions of the Constitution contained in Articles 14 and 15, dealing respectively with equality before the law and equal protection of the laws within the territory of India, and the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

The Commission has also noted the contents of the report which state that "No guidelines were given by the home department regarding the type of cases in which POTO should or should not be used" and that, subsequent to the initial decision to apply POTO in respect of individual cases in Godhra, the government received legal advice to defer "the applicability of POTO till the investigation is completed" (pp. 66-67). The Commission intends to monitor this matter further, POTO having since been enacted as a law.

(xiii) The Commission has taken good note of the "Rescue, Relief and Rehabilitation Measures" undertaken by the state government. In many instances, strenuous efforts have been made by collectors and other district officers, often acting on their own initiative. The Commission was informed, however, during the course of its visit, that many of the largest camps, including Shah-e-Alam in Ahmedabad, had not received visits at a high political or administrative level till the visit of the chairperson of this Commission. This was viewed by the

inmates as being indicative of a deeper malaise that was discriminatory in origin and character. Unfortunately, too, numerous complaints were received by the team of the Commission regarding the lack of facilities in the camps.

The Commission has noted the range of activities and measures taken by the state government to pursue the relief and rehabilitation of those who have suffered. It appreciates the positive steps that have been taken and commends those officials and NGOs that have worked to ameliorate the suffering of the victims. The Commission, however, considers it essential to monitor the on-going implementation of the decisions taken since a great deal still needs to be done. The Commission has already indicated to the chief minister that a follow up mission will be made on behalf of the Commission at an appropriate time and it appreciates the response of the chief minister that such a visit will be welcome and that every effort will be made to restore complete normalcy expeditiously.

(xiv) In the light of the above, the Commission is duty bound to continue to follow developments in Gujarat consequent to the tragic incidents that occurred in Godhra and elsewhere. Under its statute, it is required to monitor the compliance of the State with the rule of law and its human rights obligations. This will be a continuing duty of the Commission which must be fulfilled, Parliament having established the Commission with the objective of ensuring the "better protection" of human rights in the country, expecting thereby that the efforts of the Commission would be additional to those of existing agencies and institutions. In this task, the Commission will continue to count on receiving the cooperation of the government of Gujarat, a cooperation of which the chief minister has stated that it can be assured.

Recommendations

The Commission now wishes to make a first set of recommendations for the immediate consideration of the central and state governments. As indicated earlier, once a response has been received from these governments on the report of the visit of the Commission's team to Gujarat, and a full analysis made of the numerous representations received by the Commission, additional proceedings will be recorded by the Commission on the situation in Gujarat, offering further comments and recommendations.

I. Law & Order

- (i) In view of the widespread allegations that FIRs have been poorly or wrongly recorded and that investigations are being 'influenced' by extraneous considerations or players, the Commission is of the view that the integrity of the process has to be restored. It therefore recommends the entrusting of certain critical cases to the CBI. These include the cases relating to the
- Godhra incident, which is at present being investigated by the GRP;
 - Chamanpura (Gulbarga Society) incident;
 - Naroda Pativa incident;

- Best Bakery case in Vadodara; and the
- > Sadarpura case in Mehsana district.
- (ii) The Commission recommends that special courts should try these cases on a day-to-day basis, the judges being handpicked by the chief justice of the high court of Gujarat. Special prosecutors should be appointed as needed. Procedures should be adopted for the conduct of the proceedings in such a manner that the traumatised condition of many of the victims, particularly women and children, is not aggravated and they are protected from further trauma or threat. A particular effort should be made to depute sensitive officers, particularly officers who are women, to assist in the handling of such cases.
- (iii) Special cells should be constituted under the concerned district magistrates to follow the progress of the investigation of cases not entrusted to the CBI; these should be monitored by the additional director-general (crime).
- (iv) Specific time-frames should be fixed for the thorough and expeditious completion of investigations.
- (v) Police desks should be set-up in the relief camps to receive complaints, record FIRs and forward them to police stations having jurisdiction.
- (vi) Material collected by NGOs such as Citizen's Initiative, PUCL and others should also be used.
- (vii) Provocative statements made by persons to the electronic or print media should be examined and acted upon, and the burden of proof shifted to such persons to explain or contradict their statements.
- (viii) Given the wide variation in the performance of public servants in the discharge of their statutory responsibilities, action should be initiated to identify and proceed against those who have failed to act appropriately to control the violence in its incipient stages, or to prevent its escalation thereafter. By the same token, officers who have performed their duties well, should be commended.

II. Camps

- (i) Visits to camps by senior political leaders and officers should be organised in a systematic way in order to restore confidence among those who have been victimised. NGOs should be involved in the process and the management and running of the camps should be marked by transparency and accountability.
- (ii) Senior officers of the rank of secretary and above should be given specific responsibility in respect of groups of camps.
- (iii) Special facilities/camps should be set up for the processing of insurance and compensation claims. The chief minister of the State had requested the Commission to issue an appropriate request to insurance companies for the expeditious settlement of claims of those who had suffered in the riots. The Commission will readily do so and recommends that the state government send to it the necessary details at an early date in order to facilitate such supportive action.

(iv) Inmates should not be asked to leave the camps until appropriate relief and rehabilitation measures are in place for them and they feel assured, on security grounds, that they can indeed leave the camps.

III. Rehabilitation

- (i) The Commission recommends that places of worship that have been destroyed be repaired expeditiously. Assistance should be provided, as appropriate, inter alia by the State.
- (ii) Adequate compensation should be provided to those who have suffered. This will require an augmentation of the funds allocated thus far, through cooperative arrangements involving both the State and Central Governments. Efforts should be made to involve HUDCO, HFDC and international financial and other agencies and programmes in this process.
- (iii) The private sector, including the pharmaceutical industry, should also be requested to participate in the relief and rehabilitation process and proper co-ordinating arrangements established.
- (iv) The role of NGOs should be encouraged and be an intrinsic part of the overall effort to restore normalcy, as was the case in the co-ordinated effort after the earthquake. The Gujarat Disaster Management Authority, which was also deeply engaged in the post-earthquake measures, should be requested to assist in the present circumstances as well.
- (v) Special efforts will need to be made to identify and assist destitute women and orphans, and those subjected to rape. The Women and Child Development Department,

Government of India and concerned international agencies/ programmes should be requested to help. Particular care will need to be taken to mobilise psychiatric and counselling services to help the traumatised victims. Special efforts will need to be made to identify and depute competent personnel for this purpose.

(vi) The media should be requested to cooperate fully in this endeavour, including radio, which is often under-utilised in such circumstances.

IV. Police Reform

(i) The Commission would like to draw attention to the deeper question of police reform, on which recommendations of the National Police Commission and of the National Human Rights Commission have been pending despite repeated efforts to have them acted upon. The Commission is of the view that recent events in Gujarat and, indeed, in other states of the country, underline the need to proceed without delay to implement the reforms that have already been recommended in order to preserve the integrity of the investigating process and to insulate it from extraneous influences.

Justice JS Verma (Chairperson)
Justice Sujata V Manohar (Member)
Virendra Dayal (Member)
1 April 2002

(http://nhrc.nic.in/whatsnew.htm#grl)

Great things are not done by impulse, but by a series of small things brought together.

- Vincent van Gogh



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UN convention on genocide

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: Approved and proposed for signature and ratification or accession by General Assembly resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948 entry into force 12 January 1951, in accordance with article XIII

The Contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world,

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required,

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

Article 1

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law, which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 3

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article 4

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article 5

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention, and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article 6

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article 7

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

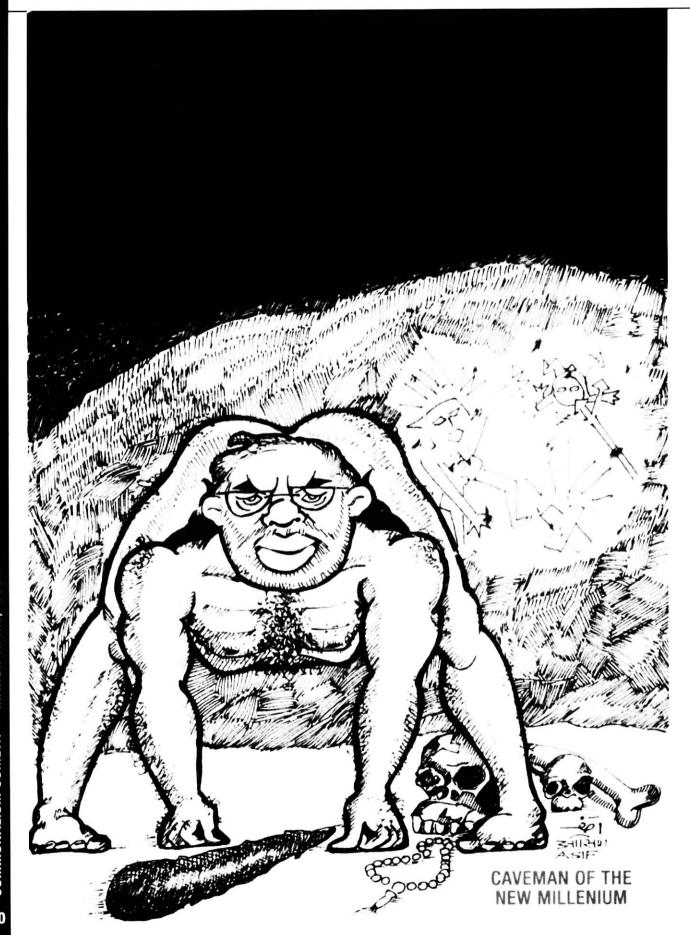
The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

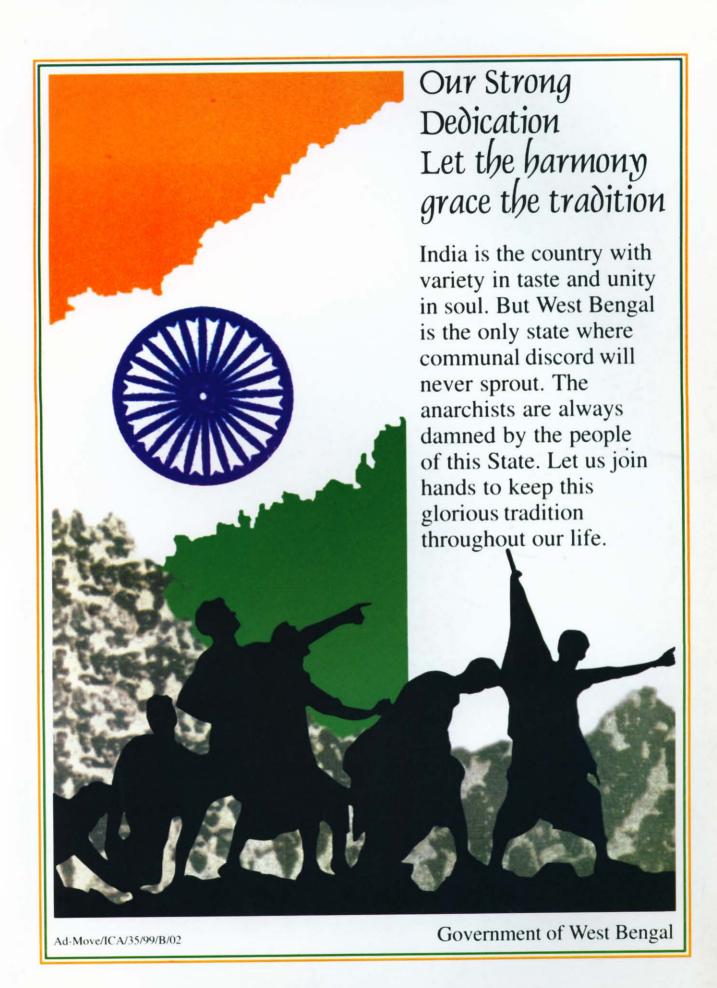
Article 8

Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article 9

Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.





"A democratic form of Government presupposes a democratic form of society. The formal framework of democracy is of no value and would indeed be a misfit if there was no social democracy."

Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, 1943

Remembering these words, 59 years later is





The Bhopal Document
Charting a New Course for Dalits for the 21st Century



Government of Madhya Pradesh