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***A FACT FINDING REPORT***

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**ON  
ARWAL MASSACRE**

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**Association For Protection Of  
Democratic Rights  
( A. P. D. R. )**

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# **The Arwal Massacre : A government conspiracy ?**

**( Report of the APDR Fact-Finding Team )**

The APDR fact-finding team which visited Arwal is of the opinion that the police firing which occurred there on April 19 and resulted in the death of a large number of people was the outcome of a high level conspiracy hatched at the ministerial and secretariat level of the Bihar government. It was only to terrorise and suppress the legal and democratic movement of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers and to silence the village poor that this massacre was staged without any provocation. The state government's allegation that the police fired in self-defence when an armed mob attacked the police station is utterly baseless.

In the course of our visit to this small town in Jahanabad subdivision of Bihar's Gaya district we met and talked with a cross-section of people. Among them were the O. C. of Arwal police station Mr. T. N. Ojha, the ex-Lohiaite Socialist leader and presently an anchal (block) pramukh and Majdoor Kisan Sangram Samiti ( MKSS ) leader Shri Jang Bahadur Singh along with some other activists of his organization, Raja Ram and other activists and supporters of the Indian People's Front ( IPF ), the general secretary of Bihar state P. U. C. L. Dr. Shashi Bhushan and also a number of journalists who had been to Arwal soon after the police firing. During our investigation we visited the houses of some of those who had

been killed in the police firing and talked with their family members. We went around the compound of the Gandhi Library where the firing occurred and the nearby plot of khas land around which the dispute has flared. We also spoke with some members of the Razak family of Wasilpur who have been the centre of controversy as allegedly they were instrumental in evicting the nine landless Harijan families from that small ( 26 decimals ) low-lying plot of land. Yet we could not meet Mr. Baijnath Razak, a superintendent engineer in the minor irrigation department of the state government, resentment against whom was evident among the local people ; he was not at home.

It is significant that only three days after Mr. Kasowan assumed the charge of the first police superintendent of Jahanabad subdivision the Arwal massacre took place. On April 1 Jahanabad subdivision was declared a police district. Hence while the SDO exercised administrative responsibility under the jurisdiction of the District Magistrate of Gaya the police superintendent of the subdivision under the new dispensation enjoyed powers equal to those of the SP of Gaya. The events before and after the declaration of Jahanabad as a police district show that the state government is no longer willing to tolerate the peasant movement that was developing on legitimate demands. It is determined to keep intact the feudal exploitation of the medieval days.

In Jahanabad we found two peasant organizations were active against landlords' oppression—the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha ( BPKS ) led by IPF and the MKSS. The latter's influence has also spread into the neighbouring Masaurhi block of Patna district. In recent times three

peasant organisations : BPKS, MKSS and the Krantikari Kisan Committee have been engaged in leading peasant movements in six districts of central Bihar, viz. Gaya, Patna, Aurangabad, Rohtas, Nalanda, and Bhojpur.

### **Socio-economic background :**

In this area, after the abolition of the old zamindari system there was a widespread eviction of sharecroppers and tenant cultivators who comprised the actual tillers of the land. A new class of landlords emerged from the ranks of the 'middle castes' ( clean Shudra ). But in most of the areas the situation of the Harijans remained unchanged as landless labourers. Meanwhile the new landlords consolidated their position through the use of modern inputs and technology in agricultural production. On the one hand they pressurised the Government for cheaper inputs and higher farm prices, on the other they exploited their hired labourers for more and more surplus. As a result a restructuring occurred in Bihar's caste-class structure. In some of the areas the 'forward castes' ( Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs and Kayasthas ) were displaced by the 'backward castes' ( Kurmis, Koeris and Yadavs ) who became economically dominant. The Harijans, however, remained at the bottom of the caste and class hierarchy.

Of the ten lakh people in Jahanabad subdivision around 40 per cent are landless labourers or poor peasants comprising mostly Harijans. The majority of the Yadavs are middle or poor peasants while the bulk of the Kurmis are middle peasants. A few among the Yadavs are better-off peasants and landlords. In this region the Kurmi landlords and prosperous peasants predominate over the Brahmin and Bhumihar landlords. Big landlords are absent in the

area though the middle peasants are about 40 per cent of the population. So the landless and poor peasants and the middle peasants are poised evenly.

Agriculture is the primary means of sustenance in Jahanabad and Masaurhi. Only less than a fourth of the arable land is irrigated, consequently mono crop cultivation provides employment opportunities to the agricultural labourers for only a few months every year. Wage rates are low, about 750 gms of makai or Khesari or marua. In places where the labourers have organized themselves the wage rate has improved to 2½ kgs to 3 kgs over the past five years. Wages are still paid in kind in this area and not in cash.

An aspect of the growing economic inequality is the practice of forcible occupation of government ( khas ) lands by the landlords. Under fictitious names the landlords maintain extended holdings. Bihar government's Land & Land Revenue Department though aware of these practices prefers to turn a blind eye to such irregularities. To safeguard their land holdings the landlords with the aid of the administration have formed private mercenary armies known as senas. They are organized along caste lines. In Bhojpur-Rohtas region the Rajputs have formed the Kunwar Sena while the Bhumihars of Gaya have constituted the Brahmarshi Sena. All over Bihar wherever the peasant struggles have taken root the landlords have formed 'senas' armed with modern weapons. The most well organized and notorious of the 'senas' is the Bhoomi Sena of the Kurmi landlords of Patna, Gaya and Nalanda districts. It was formed in the early 1970s in Poon Poon as the Kisan Suraksha Samiti to suppress the militant peasant movement

of the area. Since late last year the Bhoomi Sena has been forced to retreat before the militant peasant movement under MKSS leadership. Recently prosperous Yadav landlords of Nalanda district formed their own vigilante force called Lorrik Sena. It has received the aid and blessings of the administration and Congress (I) politicians. It is led by a C. P. I, M P Ramashray Singh Yadav. Although these 'senas' are illegal, the police have extended their cooperation to them. As has been admitted by Bihar's Director General of Police, Shashi Bhushan Sahay in a recent official note on extremist and sena activities in Bihar : 'there was a tendency among the police functionaries to encourage the defence groups ( the 'senas' ) to organize themselves in order to fight out the Naxalites' ( Times of India, Patna edition, May 2, 1986). These 'senas' are engaged in suppressing and terrorising the poor and landless peasants and their democratic movements by murdering their cadres and activists. They also lend support to the dacoit gangs operating in the countryside.

Educationally also Jahanabad is a backward area. Persons with degree education are engaged in politics to gain power or link-up with the local bureaucracy to promote their own interests. For the people economic exploitation is augmented by caste oppression of the most brutal kind.

### **Peasant Movements and Task Force :**

Five years ago the MKSS began mobilizing the peasants in this area against the landlords. They united the rural poor on 3 issues :-

- a) agricultural labourers must be paid the statutory minimum wage and illegally occupied khas lands must be redistributed among the landless.
- b) popular resistance to be built up against dacoities.
- c) protection of the honour and dignity of their women-folk.

In this along with MKSS, the BPKS has also been active organizing the poor peasants, landless agricultural labourers and the middle peasants in Jahanabad. From the beginning both the organizations had to face the hostility of the landlord 'senas'. Last year the state government mounted a massive counter-insurgency operation known as Operation Task Force to quell the tide of peasant unrest. This specially trained and armed force was deployed in six districts of central Bihar where the peasant organizations were active. Its impact was most severely felt in Nalanda district and the Jahanabad subdivision of Gaya district. To counter the Task Force's repression the peasant organizations held large public meetings to mobilize public opinion. Thus on October 4, 1985 about 40,000 ( the newspapers reported an attendance of 75,000 ) people gathered at a meeting in Jahanabad town organized by the Front Against Repression ( Daman Virodhi Morcha ). The programme of mass contact through public meetings to arouse public opinion against the activities of the Task Force gathered considerable momentum. Also as the MKSS was able to contain the dacoit menace with public support, this earned them the sympathy and goodwill of the traders and middle peasants. Hence these sections also joined the MKSS's public meetings and augmented the ranks of its supporters. Between March 5 and April 3 this year the MKSS organized



17 such public meetings with attendances varying from 4,000 to 20,000. Most of them passed off peacefully except three where the police and landlord 'senas' tried to disrupt the meetings.

On March 9, Rajput landlords attacked the landless Musahars of Kalpa village and fired on them at Senon during a meeting. The police arrived but could not stop the meeting.

Again on March 14 in Paliganj block of Patna district, the Lorrik Sena of Maharajganj fired upon a procession which was proceeding towards a meeting at the Muslim mohalla of Sigouri. In the clash two members of the Lorrik Sena were killed and their weapons seized by the demonstrators. Though the police came to the aid of Lorrik Sena yet the meeting was held.

On March 17 the police made a determined bid to foil a meeting at the Paliganj five-point crossing. This time the police contingent was accompanied by the DM and SP of Patna along with the Congress (I) M. P. Prakash Chandra Yadav, a prominent organizer of the Lorrik Sena and son of the well known Congress (I) legislator Ram Lakshman Singh Yadav ( Recently this Congress (I) M. P. was arrested by Calcutta Police during a raid in a red light area of the city ). Sec. 144 was declared over the meeting place and the Bihar Military Police ( BMP ) and CRP cordoned off the area. Yet 7,000--8,000 people gathered for the meeting and for two hours battled with the police. Finally with the women in the front they succeeded in pushing away the police barricade. However the meeting could not be held.

The IPF had also been prevented from holding a meeting at Telpa in March.

In other words even before Jahanabad was formally declared a police district, every effort was made by the police and district authorities to crush the democratic movement of the landless. At the same time the district authorities sided with the landlord senas. Finally on April 1 Jahanabad was declared a police district carrying state repression to a higher pitch.

The MKSS held a meeting in the Bhumihar-dominated village of Kansara ( P. S. Karpi ) on April 12 where the Brahmarshi Sena fired on the meeting. After the people scattered in confusion four bldi workers of Imamganj were killed by the Brahmarshi Sena on the suspicion that they were MKSS supporters. All those killed were from Amina-bandh ( see Appendix-I ).

The next day six people including two children were slaughtered while asleep by Lorrik Sena in Jinpura village ( see Appendix-I ).

Both these killings were in retaliation of MKSS's action of April 11. On that day 5000 people under the leadership of MKSS raided the house of a notorious dacoit Ramanand Yadav. They took away all his belongings. It is reported that Ramanand Yadav was involved in some 54 murders and many rapes and dacoities. In a public meeting on February 20 at Kinjar the MKSS had called for his surrender in the presence of the erstwhile SDO of Jahanabad Mr. Vyas and the SP of Gaya.

As preparatory to declaring Jahanabad a police district, the district authorities had been encouraging the private armies of the landlords. The formal declaration only enhanced the scale of feudal repression on the democratic peasant movement. Shri Kasowan joined as the first

superintendent of police of Jahanabad on April 16. The Arwal massacre followed three days later. It is evident that the massacre was the culmination of the repressive counter-offensive on the peasant movement. The local people believe that the previous SDO, Mr. Vays was transferred from his post as he did not support the landlords' actions.

### **The Incident of April 19**

Arwal is a small town on the Patna—Aurangabad highway. Beside it is the village of Wasilpur where along with a few Muslim households live a large number of Harijans. The Razak family is one of the most prosperous in the village. Even the family of the elder brother of Bharat Sahu who was killed by the police was not badly off.

Alongside the village is a canal beside which is the 26 decimal of low-lying marshy land, dispute over which led to the Police firing of April 19. Adjacent to this disputed plot is 19 acres of land belonging to the Razak family. On the disputed plot which was government vested land we noticed the flag of MKSS and a signboard. The Razak family claims that the disputed plot had been given to them 'by the British' in 1932, but when pressed could not produce any documents to confirm their claim.

Over the last 10 years some landless families had been dumping earth on the low-lying marshy plot to make it habitable as a house site. About six months ago Baiju Razak got the panchayat to allot this plot of land to his brother. The settlers on the plot had then appealed to the S D O Mr. Vyas on 31 December 1985 and he had decided the case in favour of the landless families. Both the copy of the petition and the S D O's order were shown to us by the father of Chandeshwar Ram-killed in April 19 firing.

Baiju Razak ignored the S D O's ruling and constructed a 1½ ft. high fencing wall along three sides of the plot in February. The team members saw the remains of the broken wall.

At 1 o'clock in the afternoon of April 19 about 600-700 people gathered under the leadership of MKSS and started demolishing the wall around the plot. The plot of land is about one furlong away from the thana. At that time only one policeman from the thana was present at the site. While the people got busy setting up a dais to hold a meeting there, the police arrived in strength with Baiju Razak and tried to stop the meeting. However, people kept streaming in from neighbouring villages and as the crowd swelled the police resorted to a round of teargassing. As the crowd scattered, heavy brickbatting took place from the roof of Razak's house. Local people allege that Baiju had made prior preparation to create trouble and had brought 15-16 people from outside specifically for the purpose. Brick-batting was followed by a police lathi-charge. Just at that time another procession arrived on the spot. Police again resorted to teargas. By this time about 30 police personnel including the O C of Arwal P. S., the D S P, a jamadar and a havildar were present at the spot along with the anchal Adhikari. As the crowd once again began to gather some of the police officers told the crowd, 'You have won. You have got your rights to the land.'

Immediately the people started shouting slogans hailing the MKSS victory. The police party also withdrew to the thana after picking up eight people including four children from the road. The MKSS responded by calling to the police over the microphone to release the arrested people.

At about 2:30 p. m. the police came again. The demonstrators were asked to disperse peacefully after completing their programme.

According to the O C of Arwal P. S., around this time an S O S was sent to the S P of Jahanabad for more reinforcements.

Meanwhile the demonstrators came to the Gandhi library compound situated near the Arwal P. S. to hold their victory celebration. The meeting began with three mass songs being sung by a women's troupe. Then Bharat Sahu's name was proposed as the Chairman of the meeting. As soon as the first speaker Jugal Das had started to speak, the S P of Jahanabad, Mr Kasowan, arrived on the scene with a contingent of armed police and the SDO. Thereafter things happened fast. As the S P was entering the compound he slapped one of the women bystanders who turned around and retaliated. Just at this time men of the Brahmarshi Sena opened fire on the meeting from the roof of K. D. Singh's ( Congress-I MLA ) house located in front of the library. Being slapped by the woman demonstrator, the S P uttered 'goli mar' ( shoot ). It was taken as the order to shoot and the police started firing from their rifles and sten-guns into the crowd.

Kasowan lined up his men along the Patna-Aurangabad road while another party of policemen entered the compound from the Arwal thana side. What followed was described to us by one who along with others had taken shelter in the adjacent cowshed of Sakaldeo Singh. He recounted that the police firing continued for about 20-25 minutes. It was impossible to make out the number of rounds fired but it was definitely more than the 57 rounds

claimed by the O. C. of Arwal P. S. The sheer number of casualties ( dead and wounded ) is itself a proof of this. After the firing the SP went around in his jeep and gathered the dead bodies scattered over the area. While the SP was busy collecting corpses some policemen went to Sakaldeo Singh's cowshed and told those who had taken shelter there to run for their lives while Kasowan was busy. In this way a number of people were saved.

The eight persons who had earlier been taken into custody by the police were kept in the lock-up and tortured. They are still recovering under medical supervision. The next day the District Magistrate came and asked them whether they could identify the dead bodies. But after this what happened is known only to the police for all the bodies were cremated en masse without being identified.

Among those detained by the police the release of Bimal Kumar Viswakarma of Imamganj was secured by his brother four days later after paying a bribe of Rs. 600. From Bimal we learnt that after the firing of April 19 about 60 cycles were deposited in Arwal P. S. along with a number of banners and festoons.

### **Findings of the Team**

1. A close scrutiny of the events which led to the firing and massacre at Arwal suggests a premeditated conspiracy. Just after the erstwhile SDO of Jahanabad Mr. Vyas was transferred, the Chief Minister of Bihar, Mr. Bindheshwari Dubey, had proclaimed at a public meeting in Paliganj that all Naxalites would be eliminated. Similarly the DGP Mr. S. B. Sahay said in an interview to the press that 'The ( police ) force was fully determined to go to any length to disperse the meetings of extremists.' Affirming the

resoluteness of the police to liquidate extremists, he asserted that 'those extremists who dared to encounter in course of hunt-outs by police will do so at their own risk. If they fire we cannot keep our guns silent. Their each shot will be replied with ten shots by us firmly and with full aim.' ( Indian Nation, April 26, 1986 ).

It has become a regrettable practice on the part of the state to identify peasant activists engaged in democratic movements as 'extremists'. But the statements by the Chief Minister and the DGP indicate the presence of a deep-rooted conspiracy to exterminate peasant resistance to feudal oppression. Ultimately the date and place of the massacre was contingent, but that the state government was gearing up for just such a show of strength is a certainty.

2. The Arwal massacre was not a result of any caste or communal clash but exemplifies state repression on the democratic movements of the peasants. That all castes and communities of the rural poor had united under the MKSS banner to fight for their rights is evident from the composition of the casualty list. It clearly exposes the state government's support for the landlords as against the poor and landless peasants. The way some women ignoring religious differences sheltered MKSS activist Jamilur Rahman even at the risk of their lives was an inspiring example of communal amity.

3. In an effort to incite communal passions the police cremated Ashraf Mian, a 55 year old muslim rickshaw-driver who lived close to the thana, on the excuse that his body could not be identified, thus interfering with the religious beliefs of the people.

4. The police have advanced a strange argument that as those killed in the firing could not be identified, their families could not be informed and so all were cremated indiscriminately. We are surprised at this contravention of official procedure. Why were the photographs of the dead not publicly circulated or published through newspapers to enable identification ? Why could not the bodies be kept for identification ? By cremating all the bodies together, without identifying them, the police have violated the law. Evidently the police were in a hurry to dispose of incriminating evidence.

5. The police have said that those who attended the meeting that day were all armed extremists. They attacked the police station with their guns. The O C of Arwal showed us some ostensible bullet marks on the thana walls. These could well have been done by the police themselves.

6. We were informed by the O C of Arwal that 22 policemen had been injured in the extremists' firing. But he could not give us the list of the injured as he said that the Investigation Officer who had been deputed to enquire into the firing incident had the list. The police administration could not even tell us where the injured policemen were undergoing treatment or in which hospital they had been admitted.

7. The O C of Arwal P. S. told us that on April 19 he had sent an S O S wireless message to the S P Jahanabad for reinforcements around 2-30 p. m. The S P arrived with reinforcements at 4 p. m. During these 90 minutes the 'violent mob' did not however injure any policeman of the



thana. According to the OC, this was because all the injured policemen were from the police-lines and not from Arwal P. S. This leaves us with the conclusion that the police allegation that demonstrators had become 'violent' against the police is nothing but a concocted story.

8. If the extremists did however come for the purpose of attacking the thana, then why did not the police enter the incident in the general diary? The Arwal OC put forward the excuse of lack of time on his part. In other words, it seems as if the police have not yet been able to arrange their alibis in black and white.

9. The police informed us that 11 had died on the spot, 8 died on the way to Patna, while another died one hour after being admitted to hospital. A total of 20 were thus killed, according to information given by the police. In spite of newspaper reports, the police seemed quite unaware of the fact that another person had died in hospital.

The Bihar Government should have by this time published the full list of names of those killed. Behind the delay is the indifference, apathy and dereliction of duty of the police. It is possible that one of the main reasons for the delay was that as long as the dead bodies were not identified and the names of those killed declared, it would be quite easy for the the administration to allege that extremists had come to attack the P. S. Publication of the names might prove to be an inconvenient exposure of the fact that the dead were all poor and landless peasants. If the facts of the democratic agrarian movements become known then it will no longer be possible to call it 'caste conflict'.

We are publishing the list of names of those who were killed in the firing ( see Appendix 4 ). The list is incom-

plete. A large number of bystanders along the highway may have been killed in the firing, but this has not been reported since they did not belong to the peasant organisations and therefore even if some had died this could not be accounted for. Besides it should also be mentioned that several people now undergoing treatment in hospital are in critical condition and it is possible that some of them will succumb to their injuries. It will take some time before the actual number killed can be properly assessed.

In any case, it is pointless to wrangle about casualty figures. The more important point is to stress the deeper implications of the firing incident. It is evident from our investigation that the police did not fire either in self-defence or to disperse a violent mob, They fired deliberately to kill peaceful demonstrators.

10. The theory that the P. S. was attacked also holds no water, since a large number of women and children have fallen casualty. It is absurd that women and children would be utilised by the extremists in their attack on the police station.

11. Those who have been killed are all either poor peasants or agricultural labourers. It seems as if the Bihar Government by this ruthless action intends to silence the dissent of the poor.

12. It is strange that even after such a massacre by the police the state government has remained completely silent about compensation to the bereaved families. At first the government had tried to evade its responsibility by saying that they had died in an 'encounter'. But when the facts were revealed in a number of newspapers, the govern-

ment began to change its tune. It has been announced that Rs. 10,000 as compensation would be paid to the families of six Harijans killed in the April 19 firing. In effect the state government has deliberately tried to give the incident a communal orientation, as if it was a caste conflict. Discrimination over payment of compensation on the basis of community affiliation is highly reprehensible and inhuman. Compensation should be paid to the families of all who were killed, irrespective of caste or religion.

### **APDR DEMANDS**

1. The resignation of the Bindheshwari Dubey government.
2. A judicial enquiry into the incident of firing on April 19. If this is not completed within a specified time then a high-level unofficial and independent commission must be formed.
3. All the guilty officials including the SP and SDO of Jahanabad along with the police officers must be suspended till the completion of the enquiry.
4. Compensation must be paid to the families of all those killed or injured in the firing to the tune of Rs. Two lakhs for the former and Rs. 50,000 for the latter.
5. The private armies ( senas ) of the landlords must be declared illegal and the mercenaries must be arrested.
6. The order declaring Jahanabad as a police district must be rescinded.

7. Sec. 144 must be lifted from all parts of Jahanabad sub-division.
8. The Minimum Wages Act must be effectively implemented.

Calcutta

May 11, 1986

**Members of the APDR team**

Debashish Bhattacharya

Bhabani Chaudhuri

Debabrata Panda

Naba Dutta

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Sumit Chattopadhyay

Nilanjan Dutta

Milon Dutta

**POSTSCRIPT :**

At long last the APDR Fact Finding Team has come to know that the police has lodged a case to wash off their sins. The accused in that case ( case No. 57/86 P. S. Arwal, Jahanabad subdivision, Gaya district, dated 19. 4. 86) are :

- i) All those who were killed and injured in the police firing and all those who were arrested on the day of Arwal massacre.
- ii) Dr. Vinayan, president of the MKSS, Shri Jang Bahadur Singh, Secretary, the Jahanabad-Massouri Area committee of the MKSS and Shri Vishnudeo Singh mukhiya of Bhabanichak panchayat.
- iii) And some 600 people whose names have not been recorded.

They have been accused under Sec,s 147, 148, 149, 188, 323, 324, 337, 307. 353, 379, 447, 511, IPC. and Section 25 (A)/27 of the Arms Act.

The FIR mentions that at 4 p. m. the accused made an attempt to attack the police station and also to murder the SP. Interestingly enough, the time of writing that dozen-page FIR is 4-30 p. m., that is, only after half an hour when the firing by the police began. This very fact shows that this case diary was prepared later on, possibly by the persons high-up in the police administration.

The category of the un-named accused leaves enough room for further police high-handedness likely to descend on the people in the form of torture and arrests in future.

Implication of the injured persons and the arrested ones in non-bailable cases is not only something cruel. It is something inhuman and barbaric, to say the least.

That the police would seize this opportunity to round up the MKSS leaders is quite evident. It only confirms our opinion that the Arwal massacre was planned to stall the peasant movement for social and economic justice.

By including all the victims of police firing in the category of the accused, the administration strives to find an excuse for denying compensation to the victims' families.

## APPENDIX 1

Names of the four bidi workers of Imamganj bazar, murdered by the Brahmarshi Sena on 12 April.

Mustafa Ansari (36)

Halim Ansari (30)

Habib Ansari (40)

Sailoon Ansari (50)

They all belonged to Aminabandh.

Those who were killed while in sleep by the Lorrik Sena at Jinpura village on April 13.

Ram Janam Singh (56)

Bechan Singh (60)

Abdresh Kumar (12)

Amarendar Kumar (10)

Baldeo Singh (50) [ village-Datiana P. S. Bikram,  
Patna district ]

Ranvijay Kumar (10) [ village-Marara, P. S-Kurtha,  
Gaya district ]

The first four of the deceased belonged to Jinpura.

## APPENDIX 2

List of the persons injured in police firing at Arwal on 19 April. They are being treated at Patna Medical College Hospital under police custody.

Name		Village	P. S.
1. Rambrikhch Ram	(40)	Parha,	Karpi
2. Sakaldeo Bind	(25)	Lodipur	Do
3. Kesho Prasad	(25)	Parha	"
4. Jageshwar Prasad	(22)	Hazipur	"
5. Karu Prasad	(30)	Barhar Sikaria	"
6. Janki Thakur	(28)	Dhibri	Paliganj
7. Romeshwar Rabidas	(10)	Lakanipur	Do
8. Manmato Devi	(14)	Soduka	"
9. Chandeshwar Rabidas	(18)	Nadan Singh Ko Tola	Arwal
10. Hardayal Rabidas	(30)	Fekubigha	Do
11. Rajmohan Das	(45)	Rewtibigha	"
12. Bigan Rabidas	(21)	Do	
13. Ganauri Paswan	(50)	Modhuban	Bikram

Manmato Devi died on April 29. Three others had succumbed to death earlier. But their names are not Known.

### APPENDIX 3

List of the persons with bullet injuries, privately being treated by the M K S S.

Name		Village	P. S.
* 1. Manahar Shau	(12)	Tottruma	Kurtha
2. Parwati Devi	(35)	Lokhanipur	Paliganj
3. Ramayan Rabidas	(35)	Veraria Englsh	Do
4. Bhagwani Devi	(40)	Banauli	Pali
5. Chandra Kalo Devi	(40)	Do	
6. Chapiya Devi	(60)	Do	
7. Madan Rabidas	(25)	Chouri	Do
8. Sukhan Rabidas	(12)	Veraria English	Do
9. Sattar Mia	(45)	Majitpur	Karpi
10. Rajaram Mochi	(15)	Akborpur	Pali
11. Chaitu Mochi	(22)	Do	
12. Mahabir Shau	(35)	Madan Singh Ko Tola	Arwal
13. Laljhari Devi	(45)	Do	
14. Rameshwar Ki Maa (Ram- eshwar's Mother)	(60)	Do	
15. Balwanti Devi	(35)	Do	
16. Lakshman Ram	(20)	Puran Bajitpur	Karpi
17. Fulbasia Devi	(40)	Kokra	Pali
18. Ram Janam Mochi	(24)	Murgiabigha	Do
19. Madan Rabidas	(20)	Do	
20. Agnu Pundit	(45)	Kodhiara	Do
21. Akhilesh Mochi	(35)	Ghorna Blgha	Do
22. Ganori Nanoan	(25)	Pyarechak,	Arwal

Another forty people with bullet wounds are under treatment in Jahanabad jail hospital. We could not collect their names and addresses despite much effort on our part.

- This boy was hit by a bullet while he was going along the highway to one of his relatives' house at Nagma.

#### APPENDIX 4

Here is an incomplete list of the persons Killed in police firing at Arwal on 19 April.

Name		Village	P, S.
1. Jayendra Rabidas	(25)	Imamganj Lodipur	Karpi
2. Kariman Rabidas	(30)		
S/o Jala Rabidas		Angari	Do
3. Mangar Rabidas	(55)		
S/o Ram Bishun		Jhunathi	Do
4. Premen Rabidas	(32)	Nagwan Hussanibigha	..
5. SribansPandit(Kumar)	(23)	Lodipur	..
6. Bangali Rabidas	(32)	Parhan	..
7. Bharat Shau	(40)	Wasilpur	Arwal
8. Chandeswar Ram	(38)	Do	
9. Asraf Mia	(55)	..	
10. Anil Ram	(15)	..	
11. Rajendra Shau	(13)	..	
12. Bakhora Rabidas	(25)	Rewtibigha	Do
13. Chandran Paswan	(25)	Sharma	..
14. Ramdeo Yadav	(35)	Do	
15. Son of Mansa Shau (name of the boy not Known)	(8)	..	



Name		Village	P. S.
16. Pappu Rabidas			
S/o Ram Nath Rabidas (15)		Korra	Paliganj
* 17. Balkeshia Devi	(40)	Banauli	Do
18. Ganga Majhi	( 16)	Lakhanipur	"
19. Bijendra Mistri	(12)	Do	
* 20. Manmato Devi			
D/o Sajiban Mochi (14)		Shadura	Do
21. Name not Known ;		died at patna Medical College Hospital.	
22. Same as 21.			
23. Same as 21.			

\* Balkeshia Devi's body was handed over to her husband Rammu Rabidas by the police so was also the case with Manmato Devi. The bodies of all others in the list were burnt down without even trying to identify them.

# **On Arwal Massacre**

## **A Fact Finding Report**

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