

CRIME  
AGAINST  
HUMANITY

**VOLUME III**

**An inquiry into the carnage in Gujarat**  
**List of Annexures**

**CONCERNED CITIZENS TRIBUNAL - GUJARAT 2002**

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for **Citizens for Justice and Peace**  
**P.O. Box 28253, Juhu Post Office,**  
**Mumbai 400 049, India.**  
E-mail : [cjp02in@yahoo.com](mailto:cjp02in@yahoo.com)

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## **FOREWORD**

What a shock and shame that India's fair secular name should suffer dastardly disgrace through the recent government-abetted Gujarat communal rage, compounded by grisly genocidal carnage and savage arsonous pillage, victimising people of Muslim vintage—and 'unkindest cut of all'—allegedly executed with the monstrous abetment of chief minister Modi, his colleagues and party goons. The gravamen of this pogrom-like operation was that the administration reversed its constitutional role and, by omission and commission, engineered the loot, ravishment and murder which was methodically perpetrated through planned process by chauvinist VHP elements, goaded by terrorist appetite. What ensued was a ghastly sight the like of which, since bleeding partition days, no Indian eye had seen, no Indian heart had conceived and of which no Indian tongue could adequately tell. *Hindutva* barbarians came out on the streets in different parts of Gujarat and, in all flaming fury, targeted innocent and helpless Muslims who had nothing to do with the antecedent Godhra event. They were brutalised by miscreants uninhibited by the police; their women were unblushingly molested; and Muslim men, women and children, in a travesty of justice, were burnt alive. The chief minister, oath-bound to defend law and order, vicariously connived at the inhuman violence and some of his ministers even commanded the macabre acts of horror.

There was none to question the malevolent managers of communal massacre. The criminal outrage, there was none in uniform to resist, not even to record information of the felonies. Nor was there any impartial official to render succour or assure civilised peace. When government failed and the local media distorted the truth, the fascist trend flourished and the barbaric, fanatic, rapist human animals remained unchecked.

Awakened by this sinister scenario, people of conscience, all over the country, felt the gory, catastrophe merited investigation. Thus was set up a committee of enquiry formally headed by me, but actively and functionally managed by a great young lady—Teesta Setalvad. She organised the services of eminent judges whose retirement would not inhibit them from throwing all their energy to the enquiry process—a signal public service. A great team, valiant paradigm, joined them. They collected evidence of the gruesome events, lethal incidents, vicious environs and the complicity of people in authority who were vicariously guilty of the indescribable offenses. Those who sat on the committee—they were superannuated judges, a militant marvel of an advocate and four other noble public figures—made great sacrifice and rendered free service. They were experienced as

judges and seasoned social activists, and knew what a judicial enquiry called for—an objective, yet sensitive examination of the overall holocaust. They pooled testimonies sought from official and non-official sources, and pooled all probative material. People came and gave evidence, some officials showed up to unfold what they knew had happened. The Tribunal toured, restlessly strove to get at the traumatic truth and were guided by the necessity of hearing both parties. Grievances poured in. Tears and fears were placed before the Tribunal. I was there only for a day and, therefore, cannot claim to have participated substantially in the enquiry. But my colleagues have done an anguished job, looking into tons of material, sifting and sorting and producing a brave, massive report. I commend their task to the Indian People. I cannot but condemn the culpable delinquency of those in power in Gandhinagar nor, indeed, is it possible to absolve the Central rulers in Delhi who failed to act and, perhaps, connived by omission, the harrying operation in Gandhi Country; I mean Gujarat, where the greatest man of our time was born, with the noblest example of secular symphony of religions. Yet, action has to be taken against heinous culprits since justice shall be done under the Indian Constitution. Be you ever so high, the law is above you.

My message and my mission is the presentation of an exhaustive report, which does credit to those (other than me) who prepared, sedulously and feelingly, findings which they were commissioned to do by their conscience and the nation.

There are tragic, traumatic conclusions and creative, corrective recommendations. There are measures, punitive and rehabilitative, for victimological constitutional action. My task is to place the report before the people. Know ye the Truth and the Truth shall make you Free—provided We, the people of India, act promptly and fearlessly.

The melody of communal unity, the beauty of religious amity and the secularity of Indian humanity—these glorious values are the mission and message to the nation. Let us struggle to sustain this supreme value, lest we, as a people, perish by divisive ideology. The Gujarat episode is an evil event and disastrous portent. Let us battle for the success of our pluralist culture, secular heritage and social-justice-illuminated democracy. India must win! The integrity of our fraternity shall never surrender to berserk, blood-thirsty political bestiality.

October 24, 2002

**Justice VR Krishna Iyer**

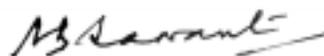
## Concerned Citizens Tribunal - Gujarat 2002

### **An Inquiry into the Carnage in Gujarat**

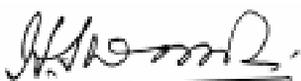
### **Report of the Tribunal**



Justice VR Krishna Iyer  
Retd Judge, Supreme Court



Justice PB Sawant  
Retd Judge, Supreme Court



Justice Hosbet Suresh  
Retd Judge, Mumbai High Court



Adv KG Kannabiran  
President, PUCL



**Ms. Aruna Roy**  
Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sanghatan



**Dr. KS Subramanian**  
Retd IPS, Former DGP, Tripura



**Prof. Ghanshyam Shah**  
Professor of Social Sciences in  
Community Health, JNU



**Prof. Tanika Sarkar**  
Professor of History, JNU

Dated this 21st day of November 2002



# Introduction

The Concerned Citizens Tribunal – Gujarat 2002, was conceived as a response to the carnage that rocked the state of Gujarat following the Godhra tragedy on February 27, 2002. The eight-member Tribunal was constituted in consultation with a large number of groups from within Gujarat and the rest of the country. A copy of its terms of reference and a list of the groups urging that such a People’s Inquiry be launched is annexed hereto and marked as Annexure 1.

The Tribunal collected 2,094 oral and written testimonies, both individual and collective, from victim-survivors and also independent human rights groups, women’s groups, NGOs and academics. The documentation work done by relief camp managers and community leaders, from lists of persons killed or ‘missing’, to the meticulous tabulation of economic loss and religious desecration, is unprecedented and immense. The Tribunal has benefited greatly from these and they are being published in a separate volume of annexures to our report. In addition, over one dozen detailed fact-finding reports and inquiries were placed before the Tribunal and we have benefited greatly from a close scrutiny of these. We have also collected photographs, copies of FIRs, audio- and video-tapes, as evidence. The sheer volume of the evidence on record took an enormous amount of time and human resources to sift through and evaluate. Yet, as in all human endeavours, there may be deficiencies in the report. For these, we plead extenuation and understanding as unlike in case of official inquiries, it has been voluntary commitment from a whole team that has enabled the completion of this report.

The Tribunal pays tribute to the victim-survivors, individually and collectively, who deposed before us at great risk to their person in the simple hope that one day justice will be done and the guilty be punished. Even as the Tribunal sat in Ahmedabad, there were threats and premises like the circuit house at Shahibaug were denied us due to the omnipresence of prowling mobs. We acknowledge our great debt to the activists on the ground who worked day and night to bring the victims and reliable eyewitnesses to us.

After recording evidence, visiting sites, placing on record statements and collecting other relevant material, the Tribunal arrived at some *prima facie* conclusions. These were forwarded along with our recommendations to both the central and state governments and their views were awaited. However, the Tribunal regrets that neither the state government nor the central government, or individual ministers to whom request letters were sent,

responded. Though we are entitled to draw adverse conclusions from this lack of response, because that they did not respond to the interim findings, we do not propose to do so.

However, many senior government officials and police officers did agree to meet the Tribunal, responded to our queries, shared insightful observations and presented some valuable evidence to us. One minister also appeared and deposed before us. The Tribunal had assured this witness (minister) and other officials that their anonymity would be protected. Hence, while their valuable evidence is reflected in the *Findings* of the report, they have not been identified. Anonymity was urged especially because of the fear of reprisal from political bosses if names became known.

The Tribunal has independently accessed volumes of material that helped us arrive at our final *Findings and Recommendations*. The *Interim findings and Recommendations* are annexed as *Annexure 6, Volume 1*.

In a democracy, the people's right to information should be paramount. Any government wedded to this basic right should have eagerly cooperated in the effort of a citizen's tribunal to inquire and let the people know what happened in Gujarat, who engineered the carnage, and who the guilty are.

The Tribunal undertook this huge task as part of the exercise of this fundamental human freedom. The health of any society lies not in denials and half-truths when grave injustices have occurred, but in courageously admitting to them, righting those wrongs with justice and then reconciliation. That both the government of Gujarat and the government of India did not participate in the inquiry reveals their utter disregard for the people's basic democratic right to know.

Having completed its task, it is with humility that the Tribunal presents this report to the country and the world. Even as we complete our task, we know and recognise that our country's record in the matter of punishment of the guilty in cases of mass crimes, against the minorities, against Dalits, and against the poor has been pathetic. Yet, with hope that is eternal to the human condition, we do present this report in the belief that, this time, knowing the truth will help us chalk a future that is radically different.

The sorry state of the rule of law in the country is closely connected to the functioning and accountability of our courts, and the criminal justice system is crying out for radical reform. We hope that with justice to the victim-survivors, these reforms will become a matter of urgent political debate.

The Tribunal would like to express its gratitude to justice GG Loney (ret'd) who participated in some sittings of the Tribunal. The panel also benefited from the insights provided by justice PD Desai (former CJ Mumbai, Kolkata and Himachal Pradesh High Court) who met us in Ahmedabad, and over lengthy discussions, enhanced our understanding and grasp of the situation.

The setting up and the functioning of the Tribunal was made possible due to the Citizens for Justice and Peace, an association of committed citizens from all walks of life, from Mumbai and Ahmedabad, who came together to garner support for the fight for justice, post-carnage. The Tribunal acknowledges its huge debt to this group that felt duty and conscience bound to support and make possible such a Citizen's Inquiry.

The committed team from Sabrang Communications and Publishing, Mumbai, ably

handled the secretariat of the Tribunal. Dr Uma Sheth and Rashmi contributed of their time generously. Their responsibilities included coordinating the schedules of the Tribunal in Ahmedabad and from its districts-- its sittings, recording of evidence, translating and transcribing the evidence and handling voluminous material. Then came the task of deliberations on the evidence by the panel which constituted the Tribunal and finalising this report.

During the Tribunal hearings, the India Centre for Human Rights and Law, Mumbai, Prashant, Ahmedabad, and PUCL-Shanti Abhiyan, Vadodara, provided able support for the Tribunal's hearings.

The panel that constituted the Tribunal pays a humble tribute to all the hapless and innocent victims of the ghastly Gujarat carnage. We dedicate this report to them and to their surviving relatives. And also to each one of those women and men who, at great risk to their person, provided succour and helped expose the truth.

**VR Krishna Iyer**  
**Hosbet Suresh**  
**Aruna Roy**  
**Ghanshyam Shah**

**PB Sawant**  
**KG Kannabiran**  
**KS Subramanian**  
**Tanika Sarkar**



Form No. \_\_\_\_\_

**Part-1****Complaint regarding the destruction of life and property during communal riots during February 2002**

- 1) Name of the head of the family : \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Ration Card No/Election ID No : \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Address : \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) At present where do you stay : \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) Future address and contact No : \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) If residing in camp, then the date of joining camp:
- 7) No. of family members :
- 8) No. of persons dead :
- 9) No. of women raped:
- 10) No. of persons injured :
- 11) If orphan child then :

Sr No	Name	M/F	Age	At Present at
-------	------	-----	-----	---------------

**Part - 2****Details of attack on the place of dwelling (Residence)**

- 1) Date : \_\_\_\_\_ Time : \_\_\_\_\_ Place : \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Details of attack : \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) If any political person is involved in the attack, then its name: \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) Whether police was present at the time of offence : \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) Details of information if given to the police regarding the attack: \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) After how much time of giving information police reached the place?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 7) What steps were taken by the police? \_\_\_\_\_
- 8) Names of attacker/attackers if known : \_\_\_\_\_
- 9) Whether the attackers were local or outsiders? \_\_\_\_\_
- 10) Whether fire brigade was informed? \_\_\_\_\_
- 11) After how much time of informing fire brigade arrived ? \_\_\_\_\_
- 12) Details of help if sought from any Govt. officer: \_\_\_\_\_

**Part – 3****Details regarding dead persons**

- 1) Name : \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Age: \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Name of accused (If known) :
- 4) Cause of death :
  - (1) Due to sharp cutting weapon
  - (2) By burning
  - (3) Private Firing
  - (4) Any other reasons
- 5) Postmortem : Yes/No.
- 6) P.M. Report : Yes/No.
- 7) Name of heir :
- 8) Whether FIR is registered or not? :
- 9) Names of witnesses :
- 10) Whether medical aid received or not? When/ Date/ Time :

- 11) Whether any compensation received from the Govt?/How much?
- 12) Details if more than one attack:

#### **Part –4**

##### **Details of injured persons**

- 1) Name : \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Age : \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Name of the accused :
- 4) Nature of injury : (1) Burn injury  
(2) Fracture  
(3) Assault.  
(4) other reason
- 5) Whether medical treatment received?/ When/Date/Time :
- 6) Nature of weapons used in causing injury :
- 7) Whether injury in grievous or simple :
- 8) Whether FIR lodged or not?
- 9) Names of witness :
- 10) Whether compensation received from the Govt :

#### **Part – 5**

##### **Details of raped victims**

- 1) Name : \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) Age: \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Married/unmarried/widow :
- 4) Whether victim is alive/dead/Injured :
- 5) Whether medical examination done?
- 6) Whether report of medical examination received or not?
- 7) Scene of the offence:
- 8) Whether FIR is registered?
- 9) Names of the witness :
- 11) Whether any compensation received from the Govt?/How much?

#### **Part – 6**

##### **Details of slogans raised by the mob during assault**

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

Any other details :

#### **Part – 7**

##### **Conspiracy:**

- 1) Whether any group meeting had taken place before the attack?  
Yes/No.
- 2) If yes, then who had addressed the group?  
Name : \_\_\_\_\_  
Post : \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Place where meeting was held?
- 4) Before assault you had received any rumour?
- 5) If yes, from where?
- 6) If yes, then what precautions you had taken after rumours/steps taken

## Part – 8

### Nature and extent of damage-in context of house :

- 1) Your house was burnt? Yes/No.
  - 2.1) What was the type of the house :
    1. Kaccha
    2. Half Pucca
    3. Pucca
  - 2.2) No. of open galleries (Orda) : \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2.3) Approx area : \_\_\_\_\_  
) Approx value of house : \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2.5 )Approx damage : \_\_\_\_\_
  - 3 List of things stolen/destroyed items of the house :
- | Things/Items | Quantity/nos | Value |
|--------------|--------------|-------|
|--------------|--------------|-------|

### List of stolen/destroyed vehicles :

Vehicle	Quantity	Value
Cycle		
Sco.Bike		
Motor car		

## Part – 9

### The kind and extent of damage to the community :

1. In what manner the house of your neighbors were burnt?
  - 1.1 How many people were involved? Yes No
  - 1.2 Were they having weapons?
  - 1.3 Were they local people or outsiders?
    1. Local
    2. Outsiders
    3. Both
  2. How many houses were burnt in the area?
  3. How were the houses burnt?
    1. Kerosene
    2. Petrol
    3. Gas Cylinders
    4. Any other
4. Any houses in usable conditions? Yes No.

## Part – 10

### No of people of the community died and injured

1. How many people died in the locality?
  - 1.1 Men
  - 1.2 Women
  - 1.3 Children
2. How many people were injured in the locality?
  - 2.1 Men
  - 2.2 Women
  - 2.3 Children
- 3 How many people were injured in the locality?
  - 3-1 Men
  - 3-2 Women
  - 3-3 Children

3. How many women were raped/molested?
  4. When did the police arrived?
  5. When did the police arrived?
  1. Was present from the beginning
  2. Immediately after complaining
  3. Arrived late but during the attack
  4. After the attack was over
  5. Did not came at all.
  - 6 . Was there police bandobast Yes. No.
  6. What did police do?
  1. Tried to stop the attack
  2. Stood like a spectator
  3. Participated in the attack
  4. Supported the attack
  - 7.1 How did the police support the mob? Give details : \_\_\_\_\_
  - 8 When did the army came?
- |                     |                        |                   |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Time                | Details of the offence | Name of Witnesses |
| Type of the offence |                        |                   |
| Offence             | Victim                 | Witness           |
|                     |                        | Type              |

**Special Details**

This complaint is presented by the complainant :

(Name) : (Signature) :

(Date) :

\*This form was designed collectively in the days following the Gujarat Genocide 2002. The Bombay experience of the violence following the demolition of the Babri Masjid was taken into consideration as also the utter collapse of the criminal justice system in Gujarat and open State Complicity

## Camp Details as of April 24, 02

1.	Shah Alam	8,500
2.	ShahiBag Bag Municipal Urdu school No 1, 2,5,8, Dariakham Ghumbat	5,000
3.	Juni Mewadi Chawl, Kauma Ekta Sanmaj Seva Mandal Monogram Mill, Rakhial	1,265
4.	Sundaram Nagar Bapunagar Muni Shala No 11	5,000
5.	Aman Chowk Bapu Nagar	8,500
6.	Chartoda Kabrastan, Saraspur, Bakarshah ka Roza	5,400
7.	Dudheshwar Muni Shala 1 and 2 Behind Dudeshwar Quarters	735
8.	Sankilitnagar Prathamik Shala Near Water Tank, Juhapura	400
9.	Jehangirnagar, Near Ameena Masjid, Ashit Co-op Housing Society, Vatwa	1,732
10.	Vatwa Dargah	13,35
11.	Al Kubat Park Society, Vatwa	300
12.	Jamalpur, Munda Darwaza, Behind Telephone Exchange Urdu shala no 3 & 4	1,600
13.	G.M. Mills Compound Sheher Kotla, Near Post Office Opposite No 14 Bhogilal Chali	900
14.	Municipal School No 5 and 6, Jain Derasar Darwaza, Rajpur Tol Naka	1,200
15.	Charwad Dariapur, Jawahir Hall	800
16.	Sir Yesudas Temple Trust, Outside Prem Darwaja	300
17.	Idgah Saraspur ke Neeche	350
18.	Anand Flat Bapunagar School nos 15 and 16	600
19.	Mandalam Vikas Society, Near Kishannagar, Danilimda	180
20.	Kishannagar Society	300
21.	Pirshah Mohammad Roza Relief Camp, Near Hanjar cinema, Nagori Patel chawl, Saraspur	1,000
22.	School number 16, Sanjay Chowk, Amraiwadi	350
23.	Khalas Shanti Panch ni wadi, Jagruti Bol, Kalupur	300
24.	Lati Bajar, Jamalpur	150
25.	Behrampura Urdu Shala Number 5 and 6	1,000
26.	Shahpur School number, Lal School, Near Rangla police chowky	500
27.	Nagrik Seva Samiti Rahat Camp, Behind Zia Masjid, Mansoornagar, Vatwa	453
28.	Muslim Ghanchi Tel Samaj, Below Kalupur, Ram Lal Chawl	300
29.	Bal Temple, Behind Karbala Masjidid, Khanpur Darwaza	500
30.	Muslim Ghanchi Samaj, Syedwada, Khanpur	500
31.	Saraspur Vohra ni Roza	CLOSED
32.	Saiffee Society, Opposite Agatwada, Vatwa	294
33.	Kankaria No 7 and 8, Maninagar	400
34.	Khanwadi Surti Society, Ramol	570

35.	Near Nutan Mill, Near Samandar BarKhan Lathi Char Rasta	700
36.	Targadawad Kalupur	CLOSED
37.	Ramanbhai Dayalal ni Chali, Opp Nutan Mills Anil Road, Saraspur	284
38.	Gomtipur, D 31 Dawakhanu, Khetar Ali Shah Baba ni Dargah, Gomtipur	500
39.	Rathod park, Near Bapunagar	508
40.	Parikshit Lal Nagar, Near Block 20, Behrampura	200
41.	Mehndi Kua, Thakurwad, Dudeswar	200
42.	.Hindi School,Near Bombay Housing Raipur Mill Saraspur	300
43.	Kalupur Paanch Kua, Navimohallat Urdu School No 2	CLOSED
44.	Geetanagar, Vatwa Deria Parsi, Pathan Chuna Niwas, Vatwa	200
45.	Madhav Mills Compound, Metre Gauge, Opp Station, Near Patrawali Masjid, saraspur	3,881
46.	Sulemani Roza, Nutan Mill Compound, Saraspur	CLOSED 3-4-02
47.	Chartoda Kabrastan Relief Camp	1,250
48.	Gomtipur and Saraspur Area Camps (LAST TWO DAYS)	6,000
49.	Uunkarwas Gomtipur	500
50.	Society Charitable Trust	400
51.	Mehsaniawasi Gomtipur	200
52.	Rampir Tekra,Chunawalej	300
	<b>Total</b>	<b>66, 119</b>

### **Camps in Other Parts of Gujarat – April 24, 02**

#### **Anand District**

1.	Anand Zakariya Naya Vatan	500
2.	Anand Nutan Nagar	3200
3.	Kohinoor	500
4.	Masjide Inaam	450
5.	Napad	600
6.	Napa Bacchon ka Ghar	700
7.	Bhalez	700
8.	Aumrath	1200
9.	Surali	800
10.	Ravali	600
11.	Borsad	1200
12.	Sogitra	2000
13.	Tarapur	400
14.	Petlad	1800
15.	Amklav	500
16.	Khutez	400
17.	Changa	100
18.	Dhuleta	150

#### **Kheda District**

1.	Sugitra Haji Abdullah Patiwala	1200-1500
	<b>Mehsana</b>	4,000
	<b>Himmatnagar</b>	2,000

<b>Dasaj</b>	2,000
<b>Panchmahal</b>	2,000
<b>Dahod</b>	1,500
<b>Godhra</b>	4,000
<b>Lunavada</b>	1,100
<b>Kalol</b>	900
<b>Halol</b>	1200
<b>Baroda</b>	6,000
<b>Chhotaudaipur</b>	1,800

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**This memorandum was submitted during the President's Visit to Relief Camps in Gujarat along with a memorandum submitted by *Communalism Combat* and Citizens for Justice and Peace representative Teesta Setalvad who had to meet the President disguised in a burkha as the Collector and government representatives were preventing the delegation from meeting the President**

August 12, 2002

To,

**The Honorable President of India,  
Shri Abul Kalam.**

From

Mr Ayub Khan  
Manager

Dear Shri Kalaamsaab,

I am Manager of the Haj House Relief Camp (Honest Seva Samiti) that earlier went under the name of Sahara Relief committee). From July 6, 02 onwards, when the state government started closing down some camps and putting together the refugees in the Haj House the camp is known as the Haj House Relief Camp. As of now the numbers of refugees staying here are as follows:

Haj House Relief Camp

Sahara Relief Camp No 59

(160 families, 860 persons) brought on July 6, 02

Madhav mill Compound, Camp No 45

(12 families 52 persons) brought on July 7, 02

Peer Shah Hamid Camp No 21 brought on July 7, 02

(10 families 49 persons)

Babanshah Roza Camp 6, brought on July 8, 02

(80 families 406 persons)

Ghanchi Samaj Ramlal Chali Camp, brought on July 9, 02

(3 families 19 persons)

Jamia Faizul Kuran Camp 13, brought on July 9, 02

(27 families 116 persons)

AMC Gomtipur Camp 14, brought on July 10, 02

(1 family 6 persons)

Bawahir Hall Camp No 15, brought on July 10, 02

(79 families 417 persons)

Hence the total number of refugees us is 1,925 refugees. Many of these are from the worst affected areas of the violence

**Camp Statistics as of July 15,02**

Officially recognised by Collector

Juhapura

Sanklit Nagar + Camp Near Sonal Cinema

(Total strength: 2,500 persons)

Shah-e-Alam	4,782 persons
Daria Khan Ghumbat,	389 persons
Jamalpur— Madrassa Faizul Quran Kamiat Ulema Hind	953 persons
Bawahir Hall	382 persons
Sardar Royal trust	710 persons
Haj House New Relief Camp	1925 persons

This is a camp where residents of earlier camps 45,21, 6, 28, 13, 14 and 15 have been shifted in early July. (The Sahara Relief Committee is now managing the Haj House Camp in a new name — Honest Seva Samiti.) There are 325 families with 1925 persons there; more persons trickle in too

**TOTAL –13500<sup>1</sup>**

### **BOX-bottom**

CJP and CC survey shows that another 6,500 plus persons are in camps in Ahmedabad city (making the current figure for internally displaced persons above 20,000) and at least 2,100 refugees in rural and other city camps in the state. These are those people in camps that have been officially and coercively shut down but the refugees within which are still living and being fed by the Camp Relief Committees on their own.

### **Ahmedabad City**

Sahara Relief Camp No 59 860 persons

Madhav Mill Compound Camp No 45 1112 persons

At the start, on February 28, 02 this camp had 4,000 people; This was one of the camps closed through the ‘voluntary closure’ used by the state government on June 19.6, 02. There are still 1112 persons, survivors with homes completely destroyed living here. Private community NGOs are helping re-build their homes

### **Peer Shah Hamidshah Roza Camp No 21**

**450 persons**

On February 28, this camp had 1360 persons; This camp was also closed on June 19, 02. Of the persons who left the camp, there were 50 per cent who had come to the camp out of fear and suffering no personal damage and these have returned now. There are about 125 persons of the 450 persons staying who have suffered minimal damage but continue to remain in camps. The rest of the residents have suffered grave damage and remain unfed by the government but looked after by the camp management. Homes for about 105 families are being by the Jamait-Ulema Hind

19.6 closed

### **Bakarshah Roza Camp No 6**

**600 persons**

This camp had 6,500 persons (875 families ) on Feb 28, 02. Later some persons went to the Sahara relief camp. Residents reduced to 3,500 on April 20, 02. On June 19, the camps were closed against ‘voluntary closure’. Of the 600 persons staying there, 125 persons have genuinely had their homes gutted completely. Seventy per cent of these residents have received no compensation for destruction of homes. The rest of the 30 per cent have received as little as Rs. 1,000-2,000 when the damage caused to their homes and property was at least Rs. 2,00,000 each. The meagre compensation of Rs 2,500 for home utensils has been paid to barely 40-50 per cent of the residents.

### **Sundaram Talkies Camp 4**

On February 28, 02 this camp had 3,964 persons. On June 19 they were forced to ‘voluntarily close down.’ (filed affidavit in writ petitions) There were 2,000 persons at the time of the closure residing in the camp. Of the 2,000 persons, 1,000 had suffered a slight damage; The Jamiat Ulema has re-built homes for them. Another 1,000 have been put up in rented houses by the Jamiat-e-Ulema and also given food kits for a month. Homes will also be rebuilt by this organisation

### **Aman Chowki**

This camp run by Congressman Taufeeq Khan was the largest in Ahmedabad and had 10,800 persons. He is alleged by many of the independent camp organisers to having played along with the Collector in coercively closing down the other camps. Of these persons, 5-5,000 who came out of fear were sent back. Another 1,500 from nearby villages like Haldarvas, Kanij and Kochra were sent back too. On June 14, 02 the camp had 3,200 residents when the camp management voluntarily closed them down. The camp management says that it has organised rentals for homes. A month's rent and a kit for food has been given to about 1,000 families. 15 families may be shifted to Bapunagar by the Jamait e Ulema. There are still 80 persons from different places here and they are going to be given 2/3 months of ration by a few of these organisations.

### **Chuni Medhawali Chaalui**

**615 persons**

At the beginning this camp had 1303 persons. It was shut down on June 18, 02. However 615 persons who remain are in a nearby Dargah at Bapunagar being fed by the Dargah management. Their homes are likely to be rebuilt by the Jamiat-e-Ulema and the Jamiat-e-Islaami.

### **Ramol Camp 34**

On February 28, 02 there were 1500 persons. These persons were scared off during the brutal police firing on April 12/13 due to which 1,000 persons got scattered. Over 500 persons from the camp are staying in rented accommodation in the vicinity. They have received neither anything from the state for home utensils not for rehabilitation.

### **Jahangirnagar Camp No 9, Vatwa**

**600 persons**

On February 28, 02 the strength of persons living here was 1734. This camp was forcibly closed down on June 1, 02 (affidavit filed in PIL). However 600 persons are still living there. These refugees had lost everything in brutal destruction of their homes in the first round of violence. (see Gujarat Genocide Gujarat 2002) About 55 per cent have received no ghar vakhari (payment for home utensils) not compensation to help rebuild homes. Food is managed now through private community sources. Aman Samudhay gave food for about seven days.

### **Burhani Society Camp No 32, Vatwa**

**317 persons**

This camp had 317 persons. It was officially closed on April 5,02. The 78 homes that were attacked by mobs carting arms and chemicals and cylinders are lying there in the same condition as this author witnessed on March 4-5,02 when she first visited. There has been no compensation received.

### **Khanpur Camp No 30**

**81 persons**

The residents United Cultural Group

Ghanchi jamaat Khanpur:

Asked to move: don't know what to do Pattiya people)

Ghanchi Samaj Ramlal Chali camp No 28

19 persons

Jamia Faizul Kuran Camp 13

116

AMC Gomtipur Camp No 14

6 persons

Bawahir Hall Camp 15

417 persons

### **CAMP STATISTICS — Outside Ahmedabad**

Nandasan Camp

419 persons

Dasaj

400 persons

Lunva

100 persons

Shivali-

400 persons

Gunja (Nr Visnagar)

50 persons

Unjha

250 persons

Lunavada

460 persons

*(survey by CJP and CC)*

1 13,500 persons for whom state government is providing grain

### 3 Annexure Status of Refugees Survey

*This is a survey, Gujarat-wide of refugees, submitted to the Tribunal in August 2002.*

#### **IS GUJARAT NORMAL?**

The stories from Refugee Camps Tells a Different Story

#### **NANDASAN RELIEF CAMP**

#### **GANDHINAGAR DISTRICT**

##### **Syed Nasir**

Manager, relief camp, Talimul Islam

*Nandasan, Gandhinagar district*

We stopped getting any relief from the government after May 27. Earlier we used to get wheat, sugar, rice and oil. For the government there is no camp, no refugees, now. But there are still 419 persons from 95 families in the camp. They are from the districts of Gandhinagar, Mehsana, Patan and Ahmedabad.

We had some grain that lasted up to June 13; after that it has been very difficult. Some Ahmedabad-based and Mumbai-based organisations have helped with grain. Today feeding the persons is very difficult. These are not persons with any land. They used to work in fields. Their homes have been completely destroyed but they have received barely Rs 5,000-15,000 in compensation.

On February 28 itself, MLA Sureshbhai Patel was named and identified by many survivors as leading the mob in village Paliyar. One month ago, a two-day meeting was held in the village where it was decided that "*Miyabhai gaam ma nahin joyiye*". ("We do not want Muslims in the village"). The total population of the village is around 3,000. The Muslims who have fled just do not want to go back.

##### **Chandmiya Mastanmiya Fakir**

*Paliyar village, Gandhinagar district*

There are eleven families here; my own family, my brothers and nephews. We attended that two-day meeting a month back where it was decided: "*Bandya nahin chahiye*." It was on March 1 that the violence occurred and we were badly beaten. On that day, my relative, Neejumiya Bhikumiya Fakir, had a finger chopped off by the mob and my son, Ilyas Chandmiya Fakir was stabbed. Two homes were gutted and completely destroyed.

We had named the son of the deputy *sarpanch*, Niteen Rasik Jali, Bharat Ransorbhai Patel, Hashu Gopalbhai Patel and Nareshbhai Prahladbhai Patel in the FIR. We escaped and came to the Nandasan camp where 25 other families came after four days. Since then we are at this camp.

The *sarpanch* or the *mamlatdar adhikari* have done nothing to rehabilitate us. We have received no compensation for the houses; we were not even summoned for the house survey. We have lived there for hundreds of years. We have driven the cars and trucks of the Patels. But now we cannot return.

##### **Jumbasan Ramzan Nisa Fakirbhai**

*Abasana village, Ahmedabad district*

There are five families here from Abasana; about 25 persons. We have been in Nandasan from the beginning of the violence. One family that stayed behind was attacked on the night of April 3-4 by a mob of 40-50 people. Our home is one kilometre away. We were sleeping. It was my daughter who woke up saying, "*Bapu, Aslam bapu is shouting*". Then we all woke up and ran for shelter. A family from the Darbar community gave us protection.

They had protected the survivors from the attacked Ghanchi family too. We are terrified now. How can we go back? The *sarkar* is not for us. There is no one from the government for us. The village population is around 2,000. We were *khēt mazdoors* (farm labourers). We also did the *lobaan-batti* (rituals) at the village *dargah*. The Ghanchi family and we were each other's support. Now how can we go back? Nasir *chacha* helps us; we try to earn some money, too, here at Nandasan.

## **Miya Fakir**

*Khorsam village, Patan district*

We were first at the camp at Kadih but came to Nandasan after one month. About 5-6 families; 25 persons. In our village the threats from Hindus continue so there is no question of our going back. A week ago we visited the village to check out on our homes and belongings; everything has been looted from our homes. We were told point blank that there is no need to come back.

The *sarpanch*, Amrutbhai Patel, a Congressman, is our supporter but he is outnumbered by the BJP group: Bholabhai Ambaram, Mukeshbhai Manilal and Chaturbhai Ishwarbhai Patel. He has been trying to get an assurance from them that if we go back “nothing will happen to the Muslims.” But they are flatly refusing. Our families have been living there for 100 years or more. We cannot think of going back.

It is Nasir *chacha* who feeds us now. Sometimes we get some work in the fields then we can eat on our own. One day we get work, three days we don't. We need to be rehabilitated here at Nandasan. We have had to leave our homes and belongings that were stolen or destroyed behind and now have to start from scratch.

## **Dawood Shah Suleman Shah**

*Sosai village, Visnagar taluka, Mehsana district*

From the start of the violence, March 1, we are in Nandasan. We were a lone family of three persons in a village dominated by Patels. The total population of the village is 1,200. The only Muslim house, ours, and the *dargah* were broken and burned down. We have received no help from the government.

I had registered an FIR with the police 15/20 days later at Visnagar taluka in which I had named 14 persons: Darbars, Patels, Kumbhars and Harijans whom we had seen leading and participating in the violence. The Visnagar taluka police station arrested them for eight days and then released them. I have a copy of the FIR that was given to me a month later. All the names of the accused are listed there.

The police had applied to the district sessions court for remand; but the court refused it and allowed them to get out on bail. If we had got the remand as the police had asked for, I/we could at least have recovered our property. The *sarpanch* is a Harijan since ours is a reserved seat; he has not even asked about us. Being a lone family of Muslims in the whole village, how do we go back? We are old staying with my granddaughter. Now we have to shift to Nandasan. There is no other way.

## **Dilawarbhai Jehnagirbhai Mehta**

*Adhundhara village (Niteen Patel, state cabinet minister hails from here)  
Kadhih taluka, Mehsana district*

The police brought us to this camp on March 1. There are 110 Muslim houses in the village — 20 of them are okay but 90 are completely destroyed. Forty of the survivors are in the Nandasan camp; the remaining are in Kadhih and Mandali camps. We live at the camp and try to earn some wages working in nearby fields. For four days we do not get any work, one day we get. We have lost our homes, a lot of property was destroyed but we were lucky no lives were lost.

We have recorded the names of 5-6 persons as accused in the FIR. There has been no action by the police. So, with no support from anywhere, we cannot dream of staying in that village, our home for hundreds of years, any more. The families from the 20 homes that were saved stay there with the protection of two SRP men. But they are constantly harassed and abused by some members of the majority community.

## **Dariakhan Karimkhan Parmar**

*Chanasma, Patan district*

Of the 132 Muslim families from Chanasma, 90 are in Patan and 40 in the Nandasan camp. We had one terrible case of Jaanbi, a 60-year-old woman, who was burned alive at Chanasma. We were all there when it happened. We have filed an FIR and named Saileshkumar Sumbhai, Mukeshkumar Jayantibhai, Bhupendrabhai Keshulal who all are in jail. They are all active workers of the Bajrang Dal.

Arvind Tribhovandas Patel is our village *sarpanch*. He is from the BJP and he did nothing to help. Yesterday we heard from the village that the commonly spoken refrain is that “*Miyanbhai nahin joiye*” (“We do not want Muslims here”). Our houses are broken. We can’t think of going back.

I had a *chakki* (flour mill) and also worked as a labourer. One Muslim owned an STD booth, another a cycle shop. All this has been completely destroyed. And what do we get as compensation? I got a check of Rs 1,200 from the government to rebuild my life and rehabilitate by family.

No one from Chanasma even comes to meet us. This is the sixth time that we have been attacked by the Bajrang Dal in the village. The background to the dispute is the controversy over the grazing land that has been held by Muslims (see *Communalism Combat*, October 2001)

### **Mantharbhai Alana Sindhi**

*Khatrej Chokdi, Kalol taluka, Gandhinagar district*

We were nine families living at the Kamaldev estate at the Jamadar chowky. On February 28, terrified by the frightening atmosphere around, we went to the Gangotri Hotel for security. We were daily wage earners at the hotel for 10 years. The owner of the hotel brought us to the Nandasan camp where we have been living for over four months. We try and earn a daily wage around here. One day we get food, another day we go hungry.

### **Mozaam Khan**

*Pansar village, Kalol taluka, Gandhinagar district*

Twenty-five persons of four families from our village are now in the Nandasan camp. In Pansar village, there are about 450-500 Muslims. We have been holed up here for four months, because there is a boycott by the villagers who say they do not want a single Muslim in the village. The government is not helping at all either.

The *sarpanch* of our village, Gopalbhai Maganbhai Patel belongs to the BJP. The *mamlatdar* had directed him to get us back. He flatly refused. He said, “We do not want Muslims in our village.”

On top of that is the utterly uncaring government. I have received a cheque of Rs 500 to rebuild my house; my neighbour has received Rs 1,000. Many have not received a single paisa. Is this not a mockery of the people who have suffered?

There is safety in numbers here. We will work and rebuild our lives. But first we need to think of building our homes, from nothing that remains.

### **Salimbhai Ramzanbhai Sipahi**

*Raisan village, taluka and district Gandhinagar*

I have been at the Nandasan camp for over four months. Three days after the violence started, the village *sarpanch* left us here for our safety though there was nothing obviously to fear in the village. The village *sarpanch* is Lalitbhai Ransodbhai Patel who belongs to the BJP. I am originally from Radhanpur, living for 25 years in Raisan; doing manual labour and small trade. We never had a problem before this.

In all, there are 10 Muslim homes in the village. All of us are in this camp. The total village is 900-1000 strong. We have not gone back since that day. We are told that are homes are not yet damaged but no one is ready to take us back. There has been no FIR, no police complaint. We are at a loss at what to do.

### **Kausermiya Ziauddinmiya Ghauri**

*Prantij village, Sabarkantha district*

On the night of February 28, near the government godown at Indiravasat railway station where we lived, 42 of our homes were set on fire by a mob that came from outside. An ironsmith, a Muslim who lived amongst us, died in opposing the mob. At 4 a.m. we all left with his funeral. Our homes were completely gutted after we left.

I belong to the Prantij Vohra Jamaat. We arrived at the Nandasan Rahat Camp with four family members. Many from our society are with relatives, some are in a home in Himmatnagar. We are planning to

rebuild our homes and live elsewhere. We have had no help from the government. For 13-14 years things were okay. We had built the colony, the road, the water supply, everything. But suddenly with the poison and hatred being spread and the presence of the Bakshipanch — persons belonging to the Darbar caste, Harijans and Vagharis makes it very dangerous now.

Our colony was attacked twice before, in 1985 and in 1992; then this time. The first two times we managed to face the mobs and fend them off. This time, however, we could not face a mob of 5-6,000. We are all working class people — among us are *bidi* workers, truck drivers, farm labourers.

For 13-14 years we had our homes there. And now they have been destroyed. We will try and exchange that plot for a plot in Nandasan. We cannot hope to go back.

### **Haider Khan**

*Chandkheda village, Ahmedabad district*

We fled to the camps right at the start of the violence when 25-30 of our homes belonging to the housing board were gutted and destroyed. We have not received a paisa in compensation. We first went to the Mandali camps and then came here. Now we try and earn our daily wages here. Our homes, costing Rs 1-3 lakhs, have been destroyed and the government has given us absolutely nothing.

What do we do? We are illiterate? We need a plot of land that only the government can give so that we can re-build our homes and live there.

*(All the persons interviewed above are presently at the Nandasan Relief Camp).*

### **Mandali Relief Camp**

*Mehsana district*

It had been sheltering 1,500 refugees. A month back this camp was closed and persons have left for Pansad village. However, the situation in the village is far from normal and the livelihood of persons is severely affected.

### **Mohd Hanif**

*Station Relief Committee, ChhotaUdaipur, Baroda district*

This camp had 2,700 refugees from Tejgadh, Panvad, Kanvat and Kadval, Kalarani. The camp formally stopped running from the middle of June. Today, while the camp is not formally running, the SRC is actively involved in rehabilitation by building homes through assistance received from organisations in Bharuch/Ankleshwar and Delhi.

Persons displaced violently from Kanvat have returned and are living in 150 rented houses there. A fortnight ago residents of 175 homes shifted back to Panvad and are living in the *madrassa* and *masjid* there. Fifty-six homes at Kadval have been re-built. Sixteen homes within Kalarani and another 16 surrounding the village have been re-built.

People have received compensation amounts ranging from Rs 10-30,000 per family. According to a detailed survey done by us, 140 homes in Kanvat, 175 in Panvad, 55 in Kadval proper, 45 around Kalarani, 15 in Karvat and 80-90 in Tejgadh were completely looted, gutted and destroyed.

What we need today to enable speedy rehabilitation is tin sheets (temporary building materials) for families; this will cost about Rs 30,000 per family. This would help return people to their homes and livelihood.

We have experienced some genuine regret being voiced by the adivasis. They even say that the rains are not coming because you are unhappy. They say the government and the party in power misled them; the same forces that now want 'normalcy' for the elections. We hope that the regret that they express is genuine because adivasis and minorities have had a close and abiding relationship.

### **Haji Mahmood**

*Dahod Relief Camp, Dahod district*

Our camp was formally closed down by the government on June 15. We had 2,250 refugees then. We had families here from Piplod, Fatehpura, Jahlod, Sukhsar and Sanjeli. Twenty-five to thirty families are

now living in rented houses at Dahod. We are still giving grains to 45 families who are economically in very poor shape.

Our assessment is that most have received compensation cheques from the government though the amounts vary and are insufficient considering the losses suffered. Some have received Rs 5,000 and others Rs. 35-40,000. Today the atmosphere has considerably improved. As part of the Muslim Ghanchi panchayat relief committee we are even running depots for building materials so that survivors can receive/buy building materials for 40 per cent less than the market cost.

### **Usman Khan Pathan**

*Dasaj Relief Camp, Mehsana district*

Today we have 400 refugees living here, earlier we had 700. The government has officially shut down our camp on July 1 and stopped giving us any grain. Yet we are feeding 400 people.

We have been fortunate also to complete some rehabilitation with the help of different organisations. About 100 homes were built by us at a cost of Rs 4.70 lakhs (including land) with the help of an organisation from Dhol, Bhavnagar, The government has never given more than Rs 5 per head and some ration grains as relief. All the persons here have received compensation amounts for homes destroyed, though the amount was minimal: Rs 15-17,000. This is one-fifth the cost of their houses.

Dasaj town has a population of about 10,000. We hope to accommodate some of the displaced persons here. The 250 Muslim families of Unjha (a population of 55,000) who do not have land but are essentially traders and businessmen need to re-locate because the atmosphere in this Patel-Harijan dominated village has been brutal and completely non-conducive to any return or reconciliation. We hope to receive something from organisations in Delhi towards this.

### **Gulzar Khan**

*Madrassa Qadriya Razzakya*

*Bhalana, Mehsana district*

This camp has 125 refugees while earlier there were 400. Now, mainly the families of Sardarpur and Ladol remain. Families of Visnagar have returned after the local atmosphere improved. But no compensation has been yet received by them.

### **Maulana Ismail Sarodi**

*Anand Kheda Relief Committee, Anand district*

One month back our camp was closed. Most persons have returned to their original homes in their villages. Residents of Anand, Tajapur, Kheda and Sojihura have returned. But the refugees from three villages, Odh, Moghri and Karamsad and Sarodi have just not been able to return.

Those who have returned have had no threats but they did need to work out a compromise before they could go back. In some cases, the *sarpanchs* or village leaders even asked for verbal assurances that the police cases would be taken back. But this has not been done.

Through our committee we have distributed temporary shelters that cost Rs 15-20,000 per home in 54 villages. We have received help from many sources, Muslim and non-Muslim.

### **Ahmed Hussain**

*Godhra Relief Camp, Panchmahal district*

On May 31, our camp was closed on paper though the leader of the Opposition Amarsinh Choudhary paid us a visit on June 11! We then had 300-400 persons in the camp. Now we have none, most people have gone. The 12 families from Anjanva are in Godhra living in rented accommodation, 20 other families of Anjanva are in Lunavada in rented houses, the Randhikpur families are in Baria except one that is in Godhra.

We had a supportive collector earlier who did not let the camp close; she has been removed so the school camp is closed; we are now in a building opposite.

The Lunavada camp has 5-600 persons still. Most of the families are from Pandharvada, Anjanva and other villages around.

The atmosphere in the Panchmahal villages differs from village to village. In Anjanva the *talati* took the Muslims back a few days back. But Hindu women came out to say that now that Muslims will begin tending their fields again, what about the fields of those who have been arrested and are in jail, among the Hindus? These comments caused a lot of fear; and though the women are staying on there is terror.

Similarly in Natapur, Baria, Salia and Godhra there is tension and fear. Those refugees who had sought shelter in the camps of Kalol, Halol and Dahod have not gone back to their original homes but are living in rented homes in Lunavada town. The residents of Fatehpura have returned as also those from Sanjeli.

The case of Dailol station is interesting. This was the town where 38 persons were killed in the village. A Tasia family that was in the timber-cutting business used to live near the station. On February 27, sensing trouble, the family handed over their '*ara machine*' (log-cutting machine) to a Hindu neighbour to run. For two months he ran it. When the Tasia family returned to the village, he handed back the machine.

Within days, the Hindu received three letters signed by a *gaonvaasi* (village resident). The letters warned, "In the next round, even you will not be spared. We do not want Muslims, anyway. But in the next round, you, too, will go."

We have shown these threatening letters to the DSP and the collector on whose specific nudges and assurances we had told refugees to make the painful trip back to the village.

The other issue in Godhra is the non-release on bail of over 40 innocent Muslims, 19 of whom are detained in Nadiad and 23 in Baroda jails. Both sections 436 and 307 (rioting and attempt to murder) have been applied.

### **Kasambhi Vohra**

*Lunavada Relief Committee, Panchmahal district*

On June 30 this camp was formally closed but we still have 460 inmates from Pandharvada and Anjanva. The camp ran from March 7 to June 30. Today, 12 widows from Anjanva will complete their *iddat* period. So in the next few days they will go back on a trial basis. Five families from Pandharwada went back on a trial basis after five meetings with the villagers. The common refrain was that you may return but remove the names of the accused from the FIRs and chargesheets.

Twelve widows have received compensation for lives lost. But one Ameenabi Kalubhai from Anjanva whose husband's body was not found and hence is in the missing category has not received anything. We have heard that former NCW chairperson Mohini Giri is considering building a widows' home here soon.

The atmosphere in the villages is dicey. Now with the transfer of the collector and the DSP who had kept things in the Panchmahals on a tight leash, we are extremely worried.

Another issue is the illegal detention of innocents who were arrested. Eighty-four persons are also detained in Lunavada; a person who had just returned from Haj pilgrimage was illegally detained on March 15. Courts just do not want to entertain the bail applications.

### **Allah Rakha Shaikh, Lawyer**

*Por village, Gandhinagar District*

There are 75 Muslim families from Por whose homes were completely gutted using gas cylinders for arson on March 1. Even the *masjid*, *dargah* and *kabrastan* were destroyed. The instigators, 53 of who were arrested, had been named, among others, in the FIRs. They have been given bail on the condition that they don't leave Gujarat. The Gandhinagar district court had rejected bail, but the High Court granted it after four months. We have also filed a case for adequate compensation in the HC.

Only the Thakores and Vagharis who looted and from whom some of our things were recovered have been arrested. Due to pressure from Patels we could not succeed in getting the bigwigs arrested. The *zilla panchayat* president Suman Patel and Raman Patel both of whom also belong to the Bajrang dal had led the attack. Then we decided not to push too hard since we do not want too much enmity as we have to come back and stay in the same village.

Some 400 homes belonging to 62 families had been destroyed for which we have now received Rs 35-45,000 each. In the beginning we were given a paltry Rs 3-5,000. We made an application for re-survey and the collector was sympathetic; he summoned us all, did a re-survey and finally gave us the revised bigger amounts.

This too is not sufficient since the total damage is about Rs 2 crores. How do we repair our *masjid*, the *kabrastan* and the *dargah*? CM Modi has refused to give money. The State is flatly refusing to take responsibility. In all, Muslims have around 100 bighas of land; also good milch cattle which have been stolen.

Since the incident and now, there have been at least 50 meetings with the police, the collector, villager leaders and us, the affected persons. The Gandhinagar district minister and local MLA, Vadilal Patel, was present at some of the meetings.

Orally, we have been repeatedly told at the meetings that we should withdraw our cases against the accused. So far we have just said that once it becomes a police case, we cannot withdraw. Fortunately, the SP was transferred and the new SP arrested the accused and they were in jail for three days.

This enraged the Patels. Now they are translating their anger and putting pressure through an economic boycott. We are 400 Muslims in a village of about 5,000 people. Muslim women have traditionally worked in the fields of the Patels and our youngsters have driven their trucks and other vehicles. Now they refuse to have any dealing with us. So there is no work and there is impending starvation.

In the Por violence, three women and three children were killed during the attack that was led by the *zilla panchayat* president Suman Patel and Raman Patel who also belongs to the Bajrang dal. It was a Friday. The *sarpanch* had told us not to worry; he would protect us. But when we were attacked soon after *namaaz*, PI Jhalla functioned in a biased manner.

All of us just got into three trucks to flee. One truck would not start; people started getting out to get into another. They squeezed in. They requested PI Jhalla to take us through the farms, not the village. He said, “*Kya aap ka baap ka raj hai kya?*” He took us through the village. Near the Patel society stone throwing began; 80 were hurt and six died due to asphyxiation.

Now after that tragedy we are faced with a social and economic boycott. This year we decided that the *urs* of the *Dargah* in Por would be simple; we would just have a *fatiha* and a *Koran khani*. We sent an invitation to the Patels but they refused to come.

The mention of “a 1,500 strong crowd of Muslims and a 1,500 crowd of Hindus” in the police FIR regarding the March 1 incident has distorted the whole picture when not a single home or property of any Hindu has been destroyed.

We had mentioned names and given details of the weapons used. We complained separately to the DGP/SP/DSP and the district collector. The earlier DSP gave us no hearing, while one PI told us: “We will burn you like your homes.” Due to the threats we received we made an application for transfer of the case to crime branch but to no avail.

We have lived in Por for generations. Today we live there desperate without any livelihood. We are trying to get all the affected persons the *rahat* card (free rations for six months).

The atmosphere in Por had worsened in the last one-and-a-half years after 100-150 Hindu boys of the village became members of the Bajrang Dal. The *mohalla* next to the society where we live is a Swaminarayan Gurukul. This *sanstha's mahant* is one Purushottamdas Charandas Shastri. I have documentary evidence that he is very communal.

### **Haiderbhai Shaukatbhai**

*Por village, Gandhinagar district*

I am the former deputy *sarpanch*. What we are experiencing now is a terrible social and economic boycott. The ration from the government is not enough. The other villagers are threatening us because of our complaints. At this point we do not want to compromise. So they are squeezing us economically.

**Rahimchacha Miyabhai Shaikh**

*Por village, Gandhinagar district*

We live in 75 homes, about 450 persons. We need business badly. If some *idaara* (organization) can train our boys from three villages who are facing similar boycott it would be good. We are largely dependent on agriculture. Our businesses have been destroyed; our borewells and pumps have been ruined. Personally I have suffered a damage of Rs 2-3 lakhs. Our women used to milk cattle. If we could get some cattle, we could supply milk to the dairy. Gandhinagar is only 10 kms away; Ahmedabad and Kalol are only 15 kms. Three cities are nearby.

Ten of our rickshaws were burned; the truck drivers are jobless.

**Malek Kasim Sardarmiyani**

*Por village, Gandhinagar district*

I am a member of the *gram panchayat* since last year. My home has been destroyed and I have suffered a damage of about Rs 2 lakh. I had a buffalo shed with eight buffaloes. Two are found while others have been stolen. My borewell is gone so 50 bighas of my brother's and my land are now without water.

**Rashidmiya Alimiyani Malek**

*Por village, Gandhinagar district*

Like others I too have suffered losses. I am in the SRP posted at Rajkot. But since the villagers shifted to Mandali relief camp I have been on leave with them as I can give them some protection.

**Akhtarbhai Bhikhubhai Malek**

*Por village, Gandhinagar district*

One of my rickshaws was burnt. Six others were also totally destroyed in the neighbourhood. Even if I had the rickshaw, what is the use? The villagers no longer hire our vehicles. How long can we survive like this?

There were six persons who died in the village from asphyxiation trying to escape. Two were from my family: Mahibaibibi (65) and Ilyas Hussain (2). The others who died are Fatimabibi (50), Sakeena Bibi (65) Farukh Hussain (5) and Shoaib (10).

**(The survey was conducted by Citizens for Justice and Peace and *Communalism Combat* and published in that journal in June-July 2002)**

*These are excerpts from detailed affidavits submitted by camp managers to the Gujarat high Court in the relief camp writ petition. This petition and another, a PIL, on the forcible closure of relief camps had been initiated by the Citizens for Justice and Peace, Mumbai*

*(We reproduce below excerpts from four of the 26 affidavits filed before the Gujarat High Court establishing that the government claim of 'voluntary' closure of relief camps was a naked lie)*

*Asgarkhan Babukhan Pathan, aged 30 years, a labourer, formerly resident of Darbarnagar, Navapura, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, residing at the Jahangirnagar Relief Camp, camp no. 9, Vatwa:*

“Since February 28 when a mob attacked my home and looted and burnt it, I and others from the neighbourhood had to leave the area to save our lives... Since June 1, 2002, due to arm twisting method of the district collectorate, the camp organizers were compelled to close down the camp and all us victims have been asked to leave the camps and the camp has been declared closed... The homes of several victims have been burnt completely and therefore it is not possible to go back and reside in our respective houses.

At present about 600 people are still taking shelter in the same place where the camp existed till June 1, 2002 under the open sky... No relief is being given to the camp organizers as the collectorate has already closed down the camp. All 600 of us are now depending upon private parties for food...

I have not yet received any compensation amount including the amount of Rs. 1,250 for loss of utensils, which the state government is required to give as per the GR. I have received no compensation for the loss of my home, a loss that amounts to Rs 50,000.”

*Rafiqbhai, son of Jamalbhai Lohar, aged 46 years, a welder by profession from Idar, Sabarkantha district, residing at the Muslim Sankalan Samiti, Relief Camp, Nazirabad, Panpur Char Rasta, Ahmedabad:*

“I came to the camp on February 28 with my five children between 11 and 20 years of age. On March 2, after a mob had looted and burned my home. I am still in the camp that has been asked to close down. Some 260 card holders are still at the camp and the camp is running. Only a few victims have been given the cheques of meagre amount towards compensation. I have received Rs. 27,700 for my home though the loss I suffered was Rs. 4 lakh.

We are residing under the open sky and victims of inclement weather”.

*Javed Munnabhai Sheikh, the administrator of the Patrewali Masjid relief camp, Saraspur, Ahmedabad:*

“There are 358 families, i.e. 1728 inmates in the relief camp of which I was a manager. The liaison officer from the collectorate was regularly verifying our records and the number of inmates. The district collector had mounted the pressure on me to close the camp. One method used was checking the number of inmates very often during odd hours. On all previous occasions, the district collector had counted the inmates and their number had tallied with the official figure.

In fact, more than Rs 60,000 is yet not given by the district collector to the camp organizer for provisions. A cheque dated May 3, 02 was handed over to me on June 18, 2002.

It was due to this constant harassment that the camp organizers had sent a letter on June 14, 2002 to the deputy collector for closure of the camp, which was readily accepted by the office of the district collector. The inmates have not reduced despite the closure; the state government refuses to take over the camp and the lack of provisions from the government makes it difficult to continue.

We had written a letter to the deputy district collector, Mr. Virani, dated June 10, 2002 requesting disbursement of the amount of compensation. However, the same was not heeded. Most of the inmates in the

camp are from Ambica Mill compound situated near Khokhra bridge and Choksi Chawl in Gomtipur area. The homes of these inmates were completely destroyed during the unfortunate incidents that followed Feb 27, 2002. Few houses in Ambica Mill compound are being constructed by an NGO, namely, 'Jan Sangharsh Manch'."

*Mohammed Raza Ahmed Saiyed, aged 39 years, a labourer and presently an organiser of Jahangir Relief Camp, Registered Camp No. 9 at Saiyedwadi, Vatva, Ahmedabad:*

"The camp had commenced on February 28, 2002 onwards, at which time the total number of inmates in the camp were 1738; these reduced to 1678 by May 31, 2002. The inmates are from the Vatva area whose homes have been completely destroyed and they are too scared and afraid of returning to their respective homes. No compensation amount for repairs of the house has been given. Further, Rs. 7/- per person per day is yet to be given to the victims. The total outstanding amount is approx Rs. 7,07,128.50 towards the camp organizers.

Since June 4, 02, due to immense pressure and arm-twisting method of the district collectorate, the camp organisers were compelled to write a letter to the district collector to close down the camp and all victims have been asked to leave the camps. The office of the district collector had threatened the camp organizer, i.e. myself, of implicating him in some criminal offence if the relief camp was not closed down merely because while checking the camp some inmates were not present.

I explained to the collector that since the checking took place on June 4, 5 and 6, 2002 in the scorching heat of around 45 degree Celsius, it was not possible for the inmates to stay in the camp in the afternoon and they were taking shelter under trees and nearby houses. The checking took place without informing the camp organizers.

I, the camp organiser was also told by the collectorate that the outstanding quota of food grains for the previous three weeks would be given if I handed the closure letter. Due to all this pressure, I was compelled to write a letter to the state government asking for closure of the camp. On writing such letter, the food stock was supplied and the camp has been declared closed. (annexed copies of the letters exchanged camp and collector).

The houses of several victims have been burnt completely and therefore it is not possible to go back and reside in our respective houses. There are now 600 people depending upon private parties who sponsor food for victims. If this situation continues, the private donors would also find it impossible to spend money and provide food for the victims. None of the inmates in the camp run by me have received the amount of Rs 2,500 for utensils. Further, the amount of compensation of the completely damaged houses is yet to be given to any of the inmates. Lastly, since the camp has been declared to be closed down, even the municipal corporation does not care for maintaining cleanliness and even water supply has been stopped. All the victims are residing under the open sky and facing prospects of monsoon with trepidation."

*(Published in Communalism Combat, June-July, 2002)*

## **PRESS RELEASE ON RELIEF CAMP CASE**

**This was submitted to the Tribunal in August 2002**

**July 31, 02**

### **Press Release**

“ Apart from the relief camps you must visit the site of our burned and destroyed homes that have not been repaired five months after the violence.”

**Rafiq Shaikh, Sardar Royal Trust on behalf of the inmates**

“If elections are held only the Bajrang Dal and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad will participate”

**Resident, Camp Number 26, Shahpur**

“If the EC allows elections in Gujarat it will be a signal of encouragement for bogus voting where only the BD-VHP will benefit. Then they will win again and once again we will be dishoused violently. Our life will then be condemned to being a refugee in a relief camp.”

**Resident, Lal School, Camp 26**

“What homes have been built, a few non governmental institutions have done. The compensation paid to us is not even ten percent of the value of our destroyed proerties.”

**Resident, Quresh Hall camp, Ahmedabad**

A delegation led by Rais Khan, Field Coordinator of Citizens for Justice and Peace and *Communalism Combat* met the deputy election commissioner, A N. Jha in Ahmedabad today. A memorandum with 2, 500 signatures giving detailed reasons for opposing immediate polls in the state was also presented to Mr Jha at the meeting. Later the deputation of the Election Commission that is visiting the state to make its own independent assessment of the political and social climate in the state divided itself into three teams and visited relief camps located in different parts of the city.

Mr Jha and Mr Mandiratti, deputy election commissioners will visit different areas of the state over the next four days to make their independent assessment on the ‘normalcy’ that prevails.

### **In the memorandum that was submitted today, it was stated that:**

“After abusing their constitutional responsibilities in failing to protect the lives, dignities and properties of its citizenry, Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi and his cabinet have abused notions of parity and justice. In the months that have followed, too, no normalcy or peace has actually returned. The July 12, 02 Jagannath yatra that took place under strict security, where only minority areas were searched and cleansed and no behavioral constraints put on those who had been found to be offenders, show that the state functioning under the current political dispensation has and continues to be partisan and therefore, unconstitutional. In a subsequent survey (Status of Refugees Survey done for the Citizens for Justice and Peace and Communalism Combat writ petition in the Ahmedabad High Court—Annexure 2), the clearcut situation for refugees who have returned home has been documented: servility or exodus into newly formed ghettos is what a large section of our population faces in Gujarat.

“The condition and registration of refugee relief camps in Gujarat was ensured only after six camps went before the Ahmedabad High Court in a petition demanding adequate water, food grain and medical facilities. Subsequently, a PIL filed by CJP and CC in the Ahmedabad High Court evinced an assurance from the state in court (June 4, 02) that there would be no closure of relief camps in the state.

“Despite this assurance to the Court, the Collector, as representative of the State Government and administration went around coercing some camps into closure even threatening managers with criminal action if they failed to close.

“Officially, there are now only 13, 482 refugees in the state (all of them in Ahmedabad city) to whom food grains are grudgingly being provided by the district collector. An additional 6,500 more persons continue to live in other camps in Ahmedabad though they have ceased to exist in official records after camps were coerced into closing down. (CJP-CC survey for the PIL). This despite the pendency of the writ petition and the government assurance that there would be no closure of camps. Another 2,000-odd

persons are in camps located elsewhere in the state but which have ceased to exist for the government. These camps – Nandasan (419 persons), Dasaj (400 persons), Lunva (100 persons), Shivali (400), Gunja (near Visnagar-50 persons), Unjha (250 persons) and Lunavada (460 persons) – were summarily closed down between mid-May and early July and the government assumes no responsibility for the relief or rehabilitation needs of these people. Three dozen other camps located at Mandali, Godhra, Halol, Kalol and Anand actually closed down after the state’s coercion’s compelled them to.

“As a result, nearly 25,000 of the over 66,000 (official figure) people who had sought refuge within Ahmedabad city and a majority of the 21,000-odd (official figures) refugees from the rest of the state of Gujarat have been coerced into leaving the camps, their dignity compromised and with no guarantee of security. In over 70 per cent cases, basic rehabilitation costs have also been denied, with cheques of meagre amounts being disbursed.

“Furthermore, a statewide status of refugee survey conducted by CC shows how the return of displaced persons to many districts has been dictated by a raw choice: servility or exodus. In Mehsana district, home to prominent cabinet colleagues of Modi, two of whom have been named as perpetrators by eye-witnesses, the villages of Unjha, Raisan are out of bounds for refugees as are Paliyar in Gandhinagar district; refugees from Por in Gandhinagar have returned only to face an economic boycott from the Patel-dominated village. Moghri, Karamsad and Odh in Anand, Prantij in Himmatnagar, Chanasma in Patan, Randhikpur in Panchmahals have been purged of Muslim residents. In many other villages displaces persons belonging to the minority face similar conditions of boycott. Under such circumstances, with no comprehensive official data on rehabilitation efforts, with 1 crore Gujarati voters yet to receive voter identification, what guarantee that the electoral rolls under a blatantly partisan government will be fairly updated reflecting the brutal reality of the situation?

“All these factors reveal more than ever before that normalcy and peace have far from returned to the hapless state of Gujarat. Gujarat and its people have been held victim to the brutal manipulation of religion for political ends and there is little to show that the guilty will be punished and the perpetrators who occupy high government office will be brought to book. Apart from the entire constitutional framework, sections 153a and 153b of the Indian penal Code (123a and 123b of the Representation of People’s Act) have been breached more than once by those that hold government office in Gujarat.

“Gujarat moreover poses a challenge to the whole Indian Constitutional Framework as at every juncture, since 1998, state machinery has been used to subvert the basic Constitutional parameters of parity in citizenship and non-discrimination in state functioning. The same day that the assembly was dissolved and the chief minister resigned, a spate of transfers of police officers all over the state showed that upright officers were being taken away from active functioning and sidelined into administrative posts (please refer to Police—Criminals in Uniform, Genocide Gujarat 2002). Under the circumstances, polls at this juncture would be far from free or fair.

“More than once, statutory bodies like the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), the Courts and Parliament have been derided by those who hold power in Gujarat. After watching over the violence, decent rehabilitation with dignity has not occurred; hundreds of thousands of persons are facing economic and social boycott. The indecent haste in violating court orders and closing down relief camps amounts to a denial of the right of citizens to a dignified rehabilitation. In short, a section of the Gujarat citizenry has already been reduced to less than second class status.

The memorandum also gives details of the status of criminal investigations, also subverted by the state government. In conclusion, the memorandum urges:

“As citizens committed to justice and opposed strongly to the virus of partisan governance that has seeped into the functioning of organs of the state that the EC defers polls in the state until justice and reconciliation have been genuinely affected.

**Rais Khan**  
**9824061182**

**Teesta Setalvad**

These are the Recommendations made by the National Human Rights Commission on Gujarat made in its report dated April 1, 2002

<http://nhrc.nic.in/whatsnew.htm#gr1>

**Orders Proceedings of the Commission**

1 April 2002

Coram

Chairperson

Mrs. S.V.M.J., Member

Shri V.D., Member

The Commission considered the Report of its team headed by the Chairperson relating to the visit to Gujarat from 19-22 March 2002 and directed that it be kept in a sealed cover for confidentiality at present, with the Secretary General.

The Commission then drew up the proceedings containing some preliminary comments and urgent recommendations which need to be recorded without delay in national interest and addressed to by the Government of Gujarat and the Government of India. A copy of the proceedings together with a copy of the above Report (marked confidential) be sent by the Secretary General to the Chief Secretary, Gujarat and the Home Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India requesting them for the response/ comments of the State Government and Government of India within two weeks to enable further consideration of this matter by the Commission without any avoidable delay.

In view of the reported visit of the Hon'ble Prime Minister to Gujarat on 4 April 2002, and to facilitate his task, the Chairperson is requested to send a copy of this proceedings and of the Report (marked confidential) to the Hon'ble Prime Minister.

In the meantime, all the material received so far and hereafter pertaining to this matter be compiled to enable further consideration of the matter in the light of the entire material and the further response received from the State Government and the Government of India.

Chairperson

( Justice Sujata V. Manohar ) ( Virendra Dayal )

Member Member

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

SARDAR PATEL BHAVAN

NEWDELHI

Name of the complainant : Suo motu

Case No. : 1150/6/2001-2002

Date : 1 April 2002

**CORAM**

**Justice Shri J.S. Verma, Chairperson**

**Justice Smt. Sujata V. Manohar, Member**

**Shri Virendra Dayal, Member**

**PROCEEDINGS**

1. These Proceedings on the situation in Gujarat are being recorded in continuation of earlier Proceedings of the Commission dated 1 and 6 March 2002. They also follow upon a visit of the Chairperson of the Commission to Gujarat between 19-22 March 2002, during which mission he was accompanied by the Secretary-General of the Commission, Shri P.C. Sen, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission, Shri Chaman Lal, and his Private Secretary, Shri Y.S. Murthy. During the course of that mission, the team visited Ahmedabad, Vadodara and Godhra and held intensive discussions, inter alia, with the Chief Minister, Chief Secretary and senior officers of the State, eminent citizens, including retired Chief Justices and Judges of High Courts, former civil servants, leaders of political parties, representatives of

NGOs and the business community, numerous private citizens and, most importantly, those who were the victims of the recent acts of violence.

2. In his meeting with the Chief Secretary and senior officers of the State Government, the Chairperson explained the purpose and timing of his visit. He indicated that he had not visited the State earlier in order not to divert the attention of the State authorities from the tasks in which they were engaged. However, the visit could not be further delayed as normalcy had not been restored in the State despite the passage of three weeks since the tragic events in Godhra. It was the concern of the Commission to see an end to the violence that was occurring and a restoration of normalcy. The Chairperson added that it was the role of the Commission to serve as a facilitator to improve the quality of governance, as a proper respect for human rights depended on such governance. This duty had been performed by the Commission in earlier instances too, notably after the Orissa cyclone and the Gujarat earthquake. As then, it was now the responsibility of the Commission to ensure that the violation of human rights ceased, that further violations were prevented and that those who were victims were expeditiously rehabilitated and their dignity restored.

3. The Commission would like to emphasize that the present Proceedings contain the Preliminary Comments of the Commission on the situation in Gujarat. Likewise, the Recommendations that it contains are of an immediate character and constitute the minimum that needs to be said at this stage.

4. This is because the report of the team that visited Gujarat is being sent under separate cover, confidentially, both to the Central and State Governments, and it would be appropriate to wait for their response to it before commenting in greater length on the situation or setting out comprehensive recommendations.

5. Further, while the team was able to meet with a considerable range of persons concerned with the situation in Gujarat who were desirous of meeting with it, the numbers of such persons was vast and it was not possible for the team, within the constraints of the time available and the circumstances prevailing on the ground, to meet individually with all of those who sought to interact with it. The team therefore encouraged those who wished to meet with it to do so, if possible, in groups and also to submit their views and concerns in writing. Numerous and voluminous written representations have thus been received by the Commission, both from groups and from individuals, during the visit of the team to Gujarat and subsequently. These have been and are being carefully examined. They have been of great value to the Commission in the recording of the Preliminary Comments and Recommendations contained in these Proceedings and their further analysis and study will contribute immensely to subsequent Proceedings of the Commission.

6. On 28 March 2002, the Commission also received a response from the Government of Gujarat to a notice that it had sent on 1 March 2000; it was entitled "Report on the incidents in Gujarat after the burning of the Sabarmati Express Train on 27th February 2002," and came with three Annexures A, B and C, providing details respectively on the "Law and Order Measures" taken by the State Government; the "Rescue, Relief and Rehabilitation Measures;" and a "Response to Press Clippings" that had been sent by the Commission to the State Government for comment. The Report of the State Government, hereinafter referred to as 'the Report,' has been carefully examined and taken into account in drafting the present Proceedings.

7. The Commission would like to emphasize that these Proceedings must therefore be seen as part of a continuing process to examine and address the human rights situation prevailing in Gujarat beginning with the Godhra tragedy and continuing with the violence that ensued subsequently. In this respect, the Proceedings in this case bear some similarity to the manner in which the Commission kept the situation under review, monitoring and commenting on it as the need arose, following both the super-cyclone in Orissa in 1999 and the earthquake in Gujarat in 2001.

8. There is, however, a fundamental difference as well. The earlier instances arose from catastrophic natural disasters which subsequently required a monitoring of the performance of the State to ensure that the rights of all, particularly those of the most vulnerable, were respected. In the present instance, however, the death and destruction sadly resulted from the inhumanity of human beings towards other human beings, and the large-scale violation of human rights. This therefore requires a response from the Commission of a qualitatively different kind.

9. The Commission would like to observe that the tragic events that have occurred have serious

implications for the country as a whole, affecting both its sense of self-esteem and the esteem in which it is held in the comity of nations. Grave questions arise of fidelity to the Constitution and to treaty obligations. There are obvious implications in respect of the protection of civil and political rights, as well as of economic, social and cultural rights in the State of Gujarat as also the country more widely; there are implications for trade, investment, tourism and employment. Not without reason have both the President and the Prime Minister of the country expressed their deep anguish at what has occurred, describing the events as a matter of national shame. But most of all, the recent events have resulted in the violation of the Fundamental Rights to life, liberty, equality and the dignity of citizens of India as guaranteed in the Constitution. And that, above all, is the reason for the continuing concern of the Commission.

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10. It would now be appropriate and useful to recall the background to the involvement of the Commission in this matter.

11. The Commission took suo motu action on the situation in Gujarat on 1 March 2002 on the basis of media reports, both print and electronic. In addition, it had also received a request by e-mail, asking it to intervene.

12. In its Proceedings of that date, the Commission inter alia observed that the news items reported on a communal flare-up and, more disturbingly, suggested inaction by the police force and the highest functionaries in the State to deal with the situation. The Commission added:

“In view of the urgency of the matter, it would not be appropriate for this Commission to stay its hand till the veracity of these reports has been established; and it is necessary to proceed immediately assuming them to be prima facie correct. The situation therefore demands that the Commission take note of these facts and steps-in to prevent any negligence in the protection of human rights of the people of the State of Gujarat irrespective of their religion.”

13. Notice was accordingly issued on 1 March 2002 to the Chief Secretary and Director General of Police, Gujarat, asking

“for their reply within three days indicating the measures being taken and in contemplation to prevent any further escalation of the situation in the State of Gujarat which is resulting in continued violation of human rights of the people.”

14. Meeting again on 6 March 2002, the Commission noted, inter alia, that it had requested its Secretary General, on 4 March 2002, to send a copy of its 1 March notice to its Special Representative in Gujarat, Shri Nampoothiri, for his information. The latter was also asked to send a report to the Commission on the situation, involving in that exercise other members of the Group constituted by the Commission to monitor the rehabilitation work in that State after the recent earthquake in Kutch.

15. In its Proceedings of 6 March 2002, the Commission further noted that

“a large number of media reports have appeared which are distressing and appear to suggest that the needful has not yet been done completely by the Administration. There are also media reports attributing certain statements to the Police Commissioner and even the Chief Minister which, if true, raise serious questions relating to discrimination and other aspects of governance affecting human rights.”

16. Instead of a detailed reply from the State Government to its notice of 1 March 2002, the Commission observed that it had received a request dated 4 March 2002, seeking a further 15 days to report “as most of the State machinery is busy with the law and order situation, and it would take time to collect the information and compile the report.”

17. The Commission’s Proceedings of 6 March 2002 accordingly stated

“May be, preparation of a comprehensive report requires some more time, but, at least, a preliminary report indicating the action so far taken and that in contemplation should have been sent together with an assurance of the State Government of strict implementation of the rule of law.”

The Commission recorded its disappointment that even this had not been done by the Government of Gujarat in a matter of such urgency and significance. It added that it “expects from the Government of Gujarat a comprehensive response at the earliest.”

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, Shri P.G.J. Nampoothri, former Director General of Police, Gujarat, Smt. Annie Prasad, IAS (Retd) and Shri 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 kar sevaks in Godhra occurred in the absence of “specific information about the return

of kar sevaks from Ayodhya” (p. 12 of the Report). It is also asserted that while there were intelligence inputs pertaining to the movement of kar sevaks to Ayodhya between 10-15 March 2002, there were no such in-puts 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 sevaks, 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.

(v) 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-organized 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 instil 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 lakhs 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 lakhs 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 21. 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.

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 Patiya 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 traumatized 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 organized in a systematic way in order to restore confidence among those who have been victimized. 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 coordinating 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 coordinated 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 mobilize psychiatric and counselling services to help the traumatized 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-utilized 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 J.S. Verma)**

**Chairperson**

**(Justice Sujata V. Manohar)**

**Member**

**(Virendra Dayal)**

**Member**

[http://nhrc.nic.in/press\\_mar\\_2002.htm#no1](http://nhrc.nic.in/press_mar_2002.htm#no1)

NHRC issues notice to Government of Gujarat New Delhi, 1 March 2002 The National Human Rights Commission has taken suo motu cognizance of the escalating communal violence in Gujarat and has issued the following notice today:

“This matter is registered for suo motu action on the basis of media reports, both print and electronic. In addition, a request on e-mail has also been received requesting this Commission to intervene.

This matter relates to the existing serious situation in the State of Gujarat. The news items report a communal flare-up in the State of Gujarat and what is more disturbing, they suggest inaction by the police force and the highest functionaries in the State to deal with this situation. In view of the urgency of the matter, it would not be appropriate for this Commission to stay its hand till the veracity of these reports has been established; and it is necessary to proceed immediately assuming them to be prima facie correct. The situation, therefore, demands that this Commission take note of these facts and steps-in to prevent any negligence in the protection of human rights of the people in the State of Gujarat irrespective of their religion.

Issue notice by FAX today to the Chief Secretary and Director General of Police, Gujarat for their reply within three days indicating the measures being taken and in contemplation to prevent any further escalation of the situation in the State of Gujarat which is resulting in continued violation of human rights of the people.

Sd/-

(Justice J.S.Verma), Chairperson

Sd/-

(Justice K.Ramaswamy), Member

Sd/-

(Justice Sujata V.Manohar), Member

Sd/-

(Virendra Dayal), Member”

### **NHRC regrets the inability of Gujarat Government to send report**

New Delhi, 7 March 2002

The National Human Rights Commission has been constrained to record its disappointment that even a preliminary report indicating the action so far taken by the Gujarat Government has not yet been sent to the Commission in a matter of such urgency and significance, even when the unfortunate incidents have led the Hon'ble Prime Minister also to describe the happenings as a mater of national shame.

The NHRC had taken suo motu cognizance of the escalating communal violence in Gujarat and on 1 March 2002 had issued, by fax, a notice to the Government of Gujarat calling for a report “within three

days indicating the measures being taken and in contemplation to prevent any further escalation of the situation in the State of Gujarat which is resulting in continued violation of human rights of the people.”

The Commission, in response, had expected a detailed reply from the Government of Gujarat by now but, it has not yet come, and instead, there is a request from the Chief Secretary, Gujarat for grant of further time of 15 days stating that *‘as most of the State machinery is busy with the law & order situation, it would take some time to collect the information and compile the report’*. The Commission felt that the preparation of a comprehensive report might require some more time, but, at least, a preliminary report indicating the action so far taken and that in contemplation, should have been sent together with an assurance of the State Government of strict implementation of the rule of law.

The Commission has thus sent a fresh direction to the Government of Gujarat on 6 March 2002, stating “in these circumstances, the Commission expects from the Government of Gujarat a comprehensive response at the earliest.”

The Commission has also asked its Special Representative in Gujarat Shri P.G.J. Nampoothiri to send a report on the situation in Gujarat.

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[http://nhrc.nic.in/press\\_mar\\_2002.htm#no1](http://nhrc.nic.in/press_mar_2002.htm#no1)

## These are the recommendations of the Editor's Guild Report

### Recommendations

No iron law can be laid down. This would be undesirable and even counter-productive. The present instance of Gujarat itself amply demonstrates the danger of an information vacuum both in time and content as this is likely to be filled by rumours or deliberate disinformation, both of which pose dangers.

The golden rule in all but the most exceptional cases would probably be to portray the facts honestly and completely while avoiding sensation, gory pictures and details, strong adjectives and provocative display. Narratives must be placed in context and balanced over time with other available material. Observance of such a code will clearly be more onerous for television, especially with regard to on-the-spot coverage with little or virtually no time for editing. Yet we do know that the national channels did hold back what they considered might be inappropriate footage.

Pictures can excite emotions and inflame passions. Repeated replay of footage of the burning train and the charred remains of the victims or other scenes of arson and violence is one of the problems of 24-hour news channels which may have to be differently addressed. At the same time, photographs can capture the essence of a tragedy and evoke far more compassion than words. Perhaps the most poignant image from Gujarat was not of the many dead, but of one living Indian, his face contorted with fear. It shamed and shocked ordinary people and, hopefully spurred many of them to think and act positively.

The Editors' Guild has initiated debate on existing codes and practices with a view to reviewing these and attempting to develop a new framework for guidance in the future. Other bodies like the Press Institute of India have been engaged in a similar exercise. Television, especially in relation to 24-hour news channels, is still a relatively young medium led by young professionals. Pressures are tremendous and instant decisions have to be taken. *Aaj Tak's* Uday Shankar is right in saying that in covering events live, the news story is "built up incrementally" as it happens and gets pieced together, filled in, backgrounded and analysed as events unfold. He told a recent workshop that the channel withheld or heavily edited particularly lurid footage, "war cries" and the destruction of places of worship.

Disagreements about facts and interpretation are best addressed by the right of reply, with appropriate expressions of regret, corrections and clarifications where necessary. *The Express*, for example, carried a story on April 9 about the distribution of swords and *trishuls* under the heading "VHP hand in Gujarat's weapons of violence". The VHP Joint General Secretaries, Dr Kaushik Mehta and Mr Jaideep Patel sent a denial. This was published by the paper together with a rebuttal by the *Express* correspondent who basically stood by his story. (*IE*, April 24, 2002).

As the dust settles, the media, jointly and severally, need to review what happened and what lessons there are for the future. Such introspection should be followed by consultations with political leaders, both government and opposition, administrators, police and security officials, and civic and community leaders. Such interaction would be most useful at both national and state levels. Consideration needs to be given alongside to developing norms for live coverage of riots by television and cable networks, naming of communities and such other matters by appropriate media associations. The Editors' Guild of India could take an initiative in the matter.

Many so-called "leaders" of destructive movements and even known criminals have been built-up, even glorified, by the media howsoever inadvertently. There is need for collective reflection on this issue as publicity and image-building makes megalomaniacs and crackpots, often puny figures, appear larger than life and twice as important. Greater circumspection is required in interviewing them and inviting them to chat shows and panel discussions.

The mischievous role of certain Gujarati newspapers cannot be glossed over. Some of them have been named for irresponsible and unethical journalism in the past but have regrettably learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Wilful incitement to offence, propagation of hate and fuelling disorder are criminal offences. We accordingly suggest that a high judicial officer be appointed by the Government to examine the writings of those sections of the media that are *prima facie* in flagrant violation of the law and recommend what action, if any, should be taken against them. It is learnt that the Police Commissioner,

Vadodara, did in fact seek penal action against a leading Gujarati daily; but his superiors did nothing. We further suggest that a similar inquiry be made into the handbills, pamphlets and other offensive material put into circulation, not always by unknown persons. The authorship of some of these has not merely been alleged but admitted.

We concur with the NHRC's recommendation that "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". Charlatans of every brand must know that they cannot misuse the media with impunity and get away with it.

None of these matters falls within the purview of the K.P.Shah Commission of Inquiry. They call for separate scrutiny.

Official information systems, certainly in Gujarat, need immediate overhaul. Sycophancy and propaganda do not constitute information. They destroy credibility. There is an obligation on the part of the State to enable the media to play its true role. It is in its own highest interest to do so. The media has a constructively adversarial role vis-a-vis the State; but in this information age it is in a sense part of the larger universe of governance.

According to the *Indian Express* (April 28), the Ministry of External Affairs's portal meadev.nic.in too has indulged in something of a fantasy that does the country little credit. (See Annexure 24).

Our broad conclusion is that the national media and sections of the Gujarati media, barring some notable offenders, played an exemplary role in their coverage of Gujarat, despite certain lapses, many of them inadvertent or minor. There were, however, some notable offenders, especially *Sandesh* and *Gujarat Samachar* and certain local cable channels. Technology has introduced a new learning curve and there are lessons to be learnt, internalised and developed into codes of best practice. But the notion that the media should shy away from telling the country how it really is must be firmly rejected. The freedom of the media derives from the citizen's inherent right to expression and information. This freedom carries with it an equally great responsibility that must be honestly and honourably discharged.

It is not for nothing that the nation's motto is "*Satyameva Jayate*", Truth Shall Triumph.

### **Two major negatives**

Much has been said one way or the other about the media's role in Gujarat. This Report, among others, addresses these issues. However, two glaring negatives stand out.

Ever since Independence, whenever there has been a national disaster or emergency, natural or manmade, there has always been an appeal for funds – from the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Governors, chambers of commerce and industry, Rotarians, NGOs and, above all, the newspapers. Such an appeal serves two purposes. It helps raise sorely needed money for relief and rehabilitation or to meet the emergency in question. More than that, it provides opportunity for thousands and millions of other citizens to reach out to the victims or those in distress in a gesture of fraternal solidarity and sympathy and to mobilise support. Newspapers have often vied with one another to lead the field.

This time there was not a single appeal from any quarter, anywhere in or for Gujarat, some small local groups excepted. The silence was deafening. On being queried about their strange reticence on this occasion, newspaper editors and others gave the same reply. On further consideration it was felt that few contributions might be forthcoming and if this did indeed happen, that would send out a wrong message.

Not all will agree. The relief camps in Gujarat, all basically privately run with no more than rations being supplied by the government, need funds. The media has covered the distress but has unfortunately found itself unable or unwilling to help reach out.

We recommend that the Guild issues an appeal for a Fund for Gujarat through its members.

Some in high authority have chastised the Indian media for its role in Gujarat, contrasting this with the manner in which the American media covered the events of September 11. Then two situations are not comparable and the reasoning underlying the homily is specious. What was notable about September 11 was the alacrity with which the US national and state leadership, led by the President and New York Mayor, used the media immediately and repeatedly to offer words of comfort and reassurance and make known their steadfast resolve to deal resolutely with the crisis. Attacks on some individuals by bigots were immediately condemned and prosecuted.

In India, the Prime Minister did not consider it fit to broadcast to the nation, though he was advised to do so; nor did any senior Government leader. Neither did the Governor of Gujarat. The Chief Minister did certainly broadcast one or more peace appeals and met the press for routine briefings. But none of these functionaries reached out to the bloodied, fearful, tortured people of Gujarat to give them solace and a solemn assurance that all criminal elements and their mentors would be put down with a stern and even hand and the guilty brought to book.

Two most potent means of rising above the storm, binding India, healing the wounds and rallying the nation to live by the cherished ideals of the Constitution were pointedly ignored. In this, the leadership failed the media and the media failed the people.

The Prime Minister did, however, speak at a public meeting in Goa on the occasion of a BJP conclave. It was said his remarks were not fully reported and misinterpreted by the media. A clarification followed. The full text of his remarks are with us. It is true that Mr Vajpayee did indeed refer to two facets of Islam, the compassionate and the militant *jehadi*. But he too spoke of cause (“the Godhra” conspiracy”) and consequence (“the subsequent tragedy”). The latter was “no doubt condemnable but”, he asked, “who lit the fire? How did the fire spread?”

At other points, the Prime Minister spoke of “we” and “they”. He said, “India was secular even when Muslims hadn’t come here and Christians hadn’t set foot on this soil”. “They” came with their own modes of worship and “they” too were given a place of honour and respect. No one thought of converting “them” with force, because this is not practised in “our religion; and in “our culture” there is no use for it. (Annexure 25).

This is not the language of a Prime Minister and certainly not the language one is accustomed to hearing from Mr Vajpayee, who spoke with genuine anguish at the Shah Alam camp in Ahmedabad some days earlier. The words were possibly inadvertent, but the occasion and the context were certainly misplaced.

The BJP president spoke of “the provoked and the provoker”, later that same evening when Mr Narendra Modi’s handling of the situation in Gujarat was proudly acclaimed by the ruling party. He appeared to justify medieval vendetta, placing it above the Rule of Law.

Happenstance perhaps, but on April 23, the *Pioneer* carried an article by Prafull Goradia, a BJP notable, suggesting what he thought would be a neat solution – that Indian Muslims migrate to Pakistan..

### **What now?**

Competition for ratings and circulation can sometimes be negative media drivers with trivia, with titillation and sensation crowding out more studied reportage and analysis. The need for political and economic reform in India has been amply debated, even if action on the ground has been disappointing; but can the same be said of social reform and analysis of deeper societal changes?

Gujarat has suffered a terrible tragedy. India too. The dead are gone; ravaged homes and work places will be restored even if rehabilitation takes time. What next? Can one dare accept the partitioning of minds into “we” and “they” and the growing ghettoisation of Gujarat’s cities within fortified “borders” following every one of its periodic bloody riots? With Government and governance losing relevance, are fearful communities (Hindus included) now left with no option than to enthrone new and more ruthless Godfathers?

How is it that Gujarat’s famed entrepreneurship has spawned upwardly mobile classes so devoid of anything other than gross consumerist values that they turn to loot and acquiesce in arson to “create” real estate? This despite vocalised recognition of the economic interdependence of the two major communities. Where are the liberal voices? The Gandhians have been marginalised. The trade unions have been emasculated with the decline of the textile industry and new cohorts of white collar workers on the take. Religious leaders have been largely silent or afraid, though religiosity is rampant and evident in city skylines. The intellectual and cultural community is isolated. The adivasis are being stirred up by interested groups. Where is the political leadership? This is a portrait of a depraved and intolerant society that has displaced Gandhi and Sardar Patel’s Gujarat. Yet there are many striving to restore lost values. All is not lost.

The media will and must continue to turn the searchlight on Gujarat. But there is that underlying story waiting to be probed and told -if Gujarat and India are not to burn again.

Then Collector of Godhra, Smt Jayanthi Ravi submitted this document to the Tribunal on May 7, 2002

### Post-Godhra Riots

Response By District Administration & City Police

Vadodara

Challenge

- **Response**
- **Rescue**
- **Relief**

**10/05/2002**

Response (1)

> Quick vigil prevented any event in the traditionally communally sensitive areas. [Dabhoi, Padra, Karajan]

- First time riots in tribal areas handled effectively.
- Close coordination and communication

**10/05/2002**

**Response (2)**

> **Used EME troops for flag-march on 1/3/2002**

- Army was diverted to tribal areas on 5/3/2002
- DM and SSP visited whole tribal belt during the rouble.
- Deployment of forest guards

**10/05/2002**

Response By VMC (3)

- Fire Calls
- Sanitation
- Health

**10/05/2002**

Rescue /Evacuation

- On 20 occasion dist. ADM
- Evacuated 2475 persons.
- Kawant was the most difficult.

**10/05/2002**

Understanding Tribal Unrest

- Pattern/MO
- Style of operations and combating
- Utilisation of new weapons
- EAS as an instrument to disengage tribals from violence.

**10/05/2002**

Tribal riots-challenges

- Traditional weapons, improvised weapons
- (*agny baan*), modern weapons 12 bore gun.
- Large numbers men and women
- Prior meeting for fixing targets
- Minority targets
- Difficult terrain
- Traditional system of communication
- Coming from the area of 5 Kms radius on foot

**10/05/2002**

Tribal riots-challenges

- Use of modern transportation at times
- Total motivation
- Participation of educated people too
- Drunken state
- Road blocks by felling trees, electric poles, stones, rubble

**10/05/2002**

Innovative methods adopted to control

- Very light pistol and combination of Gas gun experiment
- Close fielding
- CrPC 40 and IPC 176 against sarpanch and Panchayat members
- Depositing arms
- Large scale use of Gas shells
- Hillock experience for long fielding

**10/05/2002**

Innovative Methods Adopted To Control

- Detaining vehicles
- Use of body protectors to protect against arrows
- Utilising the services of NGOs, educationists,

local leaders, Missionaries, religious figures,

Government officers engaged in development work.

**10/05/2002**

Relief (1)

	Total Person	Relief Paid		Amount in Lacs	
		Person	Amount	%	Remarks
Death Compensation					
(1) City	43	19	26	44.19	24
(2) Rural	10	10	10	100.00	Persons not found
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>54.72</b>	

**10/05/2002**

Relief (2)

	Total Person	Person	Relief Paid		Remarks
			Amount	%	
Injury Compensation					
(1) City	236	178	3.56	75.42	
(2) Rural	36	22	0.44	61.11	
<b>Total</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4.00</b>	<b>73.53</b>	

**10/05/2002**

Relief

**(3)**

Cash Dole	Families	Relief Paid		Amount in Lacs	Remarks
		Person	Amount		
(1) City	89	611	0.96		
(2) Rural	454	2489	3.48		
<b>Total</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>3100</b>	<b>4.0</b>		

**10/05/2002**

Relief

**(4)**

Damage To Houses	Fully Damaged Houses	Relief Paid		Amount in Lacs	
		Comp. P. Sanc.	Houses	Amount	%
(1) City	97	91	91	7.93	93.81
(2) Rural	647	643	400	100.47	61.82
Total	744	734	491	108.4	65.99

**10/05/2002**

Relief

**(5)**

Damages To Houses	Partially Damaged Houses	Relief Paid		Amount in Lacs		%
		Comp. Sanc.	Houses	Amount		
(1) City	433	427	401	23.78	92.61	
(2) Rural	962	949	764	119.85	79.42	
Total	1395	1376	1165	143.63	83.51	

**10/05/2002**

Relief

**(6)**

House Kit Compensation	Relief Paid		Amount in Lacs
	Families	Amount	
(1) City	549	6.86	
(2) Rural	1516	18.95	
Total	2065	25.81	

10/05/2002

Relief

(7)

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		Relief Paid		Amount in Lacs	
Earning Assets	Total Cases	Cases Sanc	Cases	Amount	%
(1) City	617	607	604	24.9	97.89
(2)Rural	892	848	840	53.13	94.17
Total	1509	1455	1444	143.63	95.69

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10/05/2002

Relief

(8)

		Relief Paid		Amount in Lacs	
Relief Camps	Number	Persons	Paid to Camp Organiser		
	4	3499	8.56		

10/05/2002

*This has been obtained by the Tribunal from the Gujarat State Intelligence and translated from Gujarati into English*

**Godhra's Communal History from 1925 to 2002**

Keeping in mind the communal history of Godhra town, the details of communal violence between Hindus and Muslims from 1925 to 2002 are as follows:

(1) 1925

On 25/6/1925 slaughtered animals were sold in the mutton market without tying a curtain; this caused communal tension to spread.

(2) 1928

On 1/6/1928 there were riots because of a quarrel over filling of water between Ghanchi women and Brahmins. On 18/9/1928 there was communal violence for the same reason.

(3) 1946

On 18/7/1946, in the communal riots which broke out as a result of robbing of Nagindas Chhagandas Zaveri's shop, the property of Hindus and Muslims were damaged in which there was more damage to the property of Hindus and more Hindus were injured.

On 28/7/1946 communal riots erupted again.

On 19/01/1946 there were communal riots because the Muslims unfurled black flags.

On 6/11/1946 there was an attack on the police when they went to arrest some accused persons and on that occasion the Ghanchis pelted stones thereby increasing communal tension.

On 25/3/1948, in the communal riots that erupted suddenly, a total of 3,940 houses were burned of which first 869 Hindu houses were set on fire and burned amounting to a total damage of Rs. 3,05,677; after that 3,071 houses of Muslims were torched in which the damage amounted to Rs. 12,34,833 and 11,000 Ghanchi Muslims moved out of Godhra. They and others had migrated to Pakistan. This incident of arson occurred within an area of one square mile.

(6) 1953

On 15/9/1953 when the court sentenced Ghanchis for cow slaughter communal tension had spread.

(7) 1980

On 29/10/1980 there was a quarrel between Sindhis and Muslims at the bus stop at 10/45 resulting in communal violence in which two Sindhi girls were burned and the houses and shops of Sindhis were torched.

(8) On 29/3/1981 there were communal riots during the bye-election in ward number 7 of Godhra municipality.

On 19/6/1981 there were communal riots when a Muslim boy was attacked when he was going to buy milk.

(9) 1985

On 9/8/1985, in Soniwada where there was a quarrel between a Muslim driver and shopkeepers in connection with parking, five rounds were fired and Muslim shops were torched.

(10) 1986

On 27/4/1986 because of a quarrel over a seat in Moonlight Cinema between Sindhis and Muslims, a mob of 3,000 Ghanchis had burned cabins and handcarts near Neelam Lodge causing communal riots.

On 17/5/1986, because of a quarrel between Hindus and Muslims over rent for cycles, Hindus had torched 10 shops of Muslims and the Muslims retaliated by torching Hindu shops.

(11) 1988

From 26/7/1988 to 28/7/1988 there were communal riots near Makan Well during police strike.

(12) 1989

On 20/10/89 there were communal riots when Muslims threw stones in Patelwada during "Ramshila Shobhayatra".

(13) 1990

On 8/3/1990, when the mob that came out after a function held to felicitate Sri Gopalsinh Solanki of BJP who was elected to the Rajya Sabha, shouted anti-Muslim slogans, there was communal rioting and the police fired five shells.

AHMEDABAD: Terming the attack on Sabarmati Express at Godhra in Panchmahal 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”.

(PTI, 28 February 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 S-6 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, Gujarat (*Aaj Tak*, 27 February 2002.)

Union home minister LK 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. Muslims 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.’

— VHP 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, VHP Gujarat and an accused in the Naroda Patiya massacre in Ahmedabad; (*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.)

*(Given below is an English translation of a press statement in Hindi which Communalism Combat received through fax from Mr. Hisam Siddiqui, Jadid Markaz, a well-known Urdu weekly published from Lucknow. In view of the public importance of the content of the press statement, Communalism Combat forwarding the same to national dailies as a press release. – Editors, Communalism Combat)*

*Date: February 28, 2002*

Lucknow: Muslim religious leaders, including the treasurer of the All India Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB), Maulana Abdul Karim Parikh, the AIMPLB spokesman Maulana Khalil-ur-Rahman Sajjad Nomani and the AIMPLB vice-president Maulana Kalbe Sadiq, have strongly condemned the attack on the Sabarmati Express at Godhra yesterday.

The religious leaders said that killing innocent men, women and children in such a heinous manner is a shameful and inhuman crime. The perpetrators of such a dastardly crime must be condemned by all and the government should take the strictest possible action against them, they added.

The leaders have also appealed to the Gujarat government and the media not to hold an entire community responsible for the misdeed and not to harass innocents even before the identity of the criminals is clearly established.

Meanwhile, Maulana Abdul Karim Parikh has issued the following separate statement issued from Nagpur:

Yesterday evening we received the heart-rending news that four bogies of a passenger train had been set on fire at Godhra station and that as a result of this inhuman act 55 passengers were killed. This shameful conduct is an ugly blot on the country's tradition of religious tolerance.

I appeal to people from all communities to help maintain peace and harmony in the country, and refrain from inhuman acts and the sin of killing fellow human beings. Such killings will not solve any problem. I appeal to the Gujarat and the Central Governments to mete out the strictest of punishment to those Muslims who are responsible for the violence in Godhra.

My colleagues and I are extremely saddened by this dastardly incident and we pray to Allah that people from all communities join hands to maintain peace and harmony. I also appeal to people from all communities to help the government restore peace and normalcy.

#### **Other Statements of Condemnation**

*Date: February 27, 2002*

Maulana As'ad Madani, President Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind was amongst the first Muslim leaders and organizations who condemned the tragic incident at Godhra in unequivocal terms. The newspapers of 28<sup>th</sup> Feb.02 published JUH condemnation of the incident and demanded from the Govt. to control VHP provocation.

On March 1, 2002, *The Times of India*, *The Hindu*, *The Asian Age* and almost every prominent news agency and daily paper reported the joint condemnation of Godhra incident by Muslim Leaders mentioning the name of JUH president as the co-signatory.

Date: February 28, 2002

#### **Godhra killing condemned; Appeal for Peace and Sanity**

We, the undersigned unequivocally condemn the ghastly arson and burning alive of over 55 persons aboard the Sabarmati Express in Godhra, Gujarat yesterday. Twenty-five persons who lost their lives were women and 14 innocent children. No provocation of any kind can justify the dastardly crime and the guilty persons need to be brought promptly to book. The news has been received by every right thinking citizen, regardless of community, with shock and disbelief.

The incident in Godhra deserves to be unequivocally condemned and the guilty, whoever they are, need to be brought to book forthwith. This incident, just like the systematic mobilisation around the construction of a Ram temple at Ayodhya achieves sharp communal polarisation and unleashes hatred among people leading to heinous, mindless violence and needs to be seen as such. Already in gruesome

and medieval bouts of reprisal in Baroda, Anand and Ahmedabad, minority lives and properties have been targeted. Maharashtra and Rajasthan where bandh calls have been declared by unlawful outfits like the VHP, Bajrang Dal and their mentors are in a state of high alert.

The urgent need for the hour is restraint. Peace needs to be harboured after sensible dialogue. Provocative and inflammatory speeches not only add fuel to the fire. They violate the Indian Constitution and penal law that prohibit hate speech. They reap gory benefits for the so-called leaders of both communities who thrive on communal and sectarian considerations. A communal conflagration that this country has repeatedly witnessed needs to be avoided at any cost.

A great responsibility lies with organs of the state, wedded to the lofty principles of equality, fraternity and non-discrimination as enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The law must be applied unflinchingly and fairly, and the guilty, whichever community or grouping they hail from, punished. Equally, all citizens, community representatives and political leaders need to rise above narrow and sectarian considerations, condemn the incident at Godhra and join this appeal with a lasting plea for justice and peace.

— *Javed Akhtar, Farooque Shaikh, Shabana Azmi, Asghar Ali Engineer, Javed Anand, Alyque Padamsee, Teesta Setalvad, Sajid Rashid, Nikhil Wagle, Fazl Shad.*

**10 Annexures****Reservation Chart of the  
Sabarmati Express, Coach S-6**

(This was made public only in July 2002--*The Times of India*)

**Reservation chart for sleeper class coach: S-6**

Train : 9166 Sabarmati Exp leaving Lucknow on 25 Feb 2002 Lucknow to a JN

S.No	Name	Sex	Age	From	To	PNR	
MSGS	TKT.NO						
1							
2							
3							
4	Bahadur Singh 9805047	M	41	ONB	BRC	2346536614	
5	Umaben B Singh 9805047	F	38	ONB	BRC	2346536614	
6	Poojaben 98050478	F	12	ONB	BRC	2346536614	
	J D Chursia 25434849	F	44	ONB	ADI	2440791954	
9	B Singh 541764	M	46	LKO	ADI	2146012455	NRF
10	M Jain 8573033	M	32	LKO	JRS	2296035067	
11	N R Sharma 8596060	M	42	LKO	BRC	2146271243	
12	N Jain 8573033	F	28	LKO	JRS	2246035067	
13	Ram Shri 8596060	F	38	LKO	BRC	2146271243	
14	R L Singh 8385	M	35	ONB	ADI	2346628631	
16	Shushila 8385	F	30	LKO	ADI	2346628631	
17	Jumna Shankar 8531824	M	65	LKO	ADI	2146196868	
18	Shiv Pati 8531824	F	59	LKO	ADI	2146196868	
19	Poonam Devi 8531824	F	22	LKO	ADI	2146196868	
20	R K Singh 8198187	M	62	ONB	ADI	2145956410	
21	Amar Nath 8591824	M	20	LKO	ADI	2146196868	
22	G lal 7396604	M	30	ONB	BRC	2146264141	
24	Govind Bari 7396604	M	12	ONB	BRC	2146264141	
25	Jamuna Prasad 7064628	M	35	LKO	ADI	2346050519	

26	Prema Devi 7064628	F	40	LKO	ADI	2346050519
27	Pushpa 7064628	F	35	LKO	ADI	2346050519
28	Vinodani 7064628	F	32	LKO	ADI	2356050519
29	Rubby 7064628	F	12	LKO	ADI	2346050519
30	A Begam 99410414	F	70	ONB	RTM	2246199597
32	A K Singh 91266842	M	20	LKO	ADI	2146633215
33	Santosh Kumar R 27945663	M	30	LKO	BRC	2345501281
34	Mangala Devi 27945663	F	28	LKO	BRC	2345501281
35	Archana M 27945663	F	12	LKO	BRC	2345501281
36	D Bhattacharya 97075133	M	60	LKO	ADI	2245734441
37	B C Sinha 98200243	M	54	ONB	ANND	2245943205
38	Banya Singh 98200243	M	23	ONB	ANND	2245943205
40						
41	Hariprasad Joshi 24872867	M	50	LKO	ADI	2145604015
42	V Singh 98208339	M	28	ONB	BRC	2440588745
43	Saju 99553607	M	17	ONB	BRC	2246094250
44	SMT Devkala Joshi 24872367	F	42	LKO	ADI	2145604015
45	Raju K Pandey 9803241	M	28	ONB	BRC	2246064246
46	Mohan Lal 91266877	M	32	LKO	BRC	2246174941

Forensic Science Laboratory, State of Gujarat  
New Mental Corner, Ahmedabad – 16

**Spot investigation report No.2 regarding CR No. 9/2002. Godhra Railway Police Station**

A team of forensic experts had visited the place of offence on 3/5/2002 in which along with the under signed Shri AN Joshi, Scientific Officer, Ahmedabad was included. In order to recreate the real picture of how the offence was committed on the day of incident, one coach of the train was kept on the same spot. With the help of different types of containers experimental demonstrations were also carried out by using liquids inside the said coach. On the basis of which the following conclusions were made.

1. It was found that the height of the window of the coach was around 7 ft. from the ground at the place. Under this circumstance, it was not possible to throw any inflammable fluid inside from outside the coach from any bucket or carboy, because by doing this, most of the fluid was getting thrown out side. At the place of the incidents there was one heap of grit of three feet height at a distance of around 14-ft. in the southern side of the coach. Water was thrown on the windows of the coach with the help of bucket standing on the top of the said heap, in that case only about 10 to 15% of the water went inside and the rest of the quantity was spilled outside itself. Thus if the inflammable fluid is thrown from outside then major part of it would fall around the track outside and catch fire and cause damage to the outer part of bottom side of the coach. But after examination of the coach and the track, no effect was found of the fire on bottom side below the windows of the coach. By taking in to consideration this fact and also the burning pattern of the outer side of the coach, a conclusion can be drawn that no inflammable fluid had been thrown inside from outside of the coach.

2. There also appears to be no possibility that any inflammable liquid was thrown through the door of the bogie.

3. By standing in the passage between the compartment of the bogey and the northern side door of the eastern side of the bogie, water was poured towards the western side from a container with a wide mouth like a bucket; in that case most part of the bogie was covered with 60 liters of water. By pouring the water in this manner, the water went only towards the West and no part of it came out of the door nor did it go towards the latrine side.

4. On the basis of the above experimental demonstration such a conclusion can be drawn that 60 liters of inflammable liquid was poured towards the western side by using a wide mouthed container by standing on the passage between the northern side door of the eastern side of the S-6 coach and the compartment of seat No. 72 and coach was set on fire immediately thereafter. If the period after the train had started from Godhra Railway Station, intensity of fire, the degree of burn of the objects that were inside the bogie etc. are taken into account, it can also be concluded that a large quantity (around 60 liters) of highly inflammable fluid was used to set the aforesaid fire and that the fire had spread very rapidly

Sd/-

Dr. M S Dahiya  
Assistant Director  
(Seal)

**Note: The sketch of the coach and the sketch of the spot are included.**

Spot investigation report No. 1 regarding CR No. 9/2/2002. Godhra Railway Police Station

The forensic experts had visited the place of offence on 1/5/2002. In the team of the experts along with the undersigned, the other experts were Shri AR Vaghela, Scientific Officer, Vadodara, Shri Yogesh Patel, Scientific Officer (Mobile), Panchmahal and Shri SI Desai, Photographer, Surat. The experts have made detailed investigation of the burnt down S-6 coach of the Sabarmati Express train. The said coach was kept in the yard of Godhra railway station. The observations made on the basis of the informations learnt by the detailed examination of the coach are as under.

1. A large number of hit marks were observed on the outer part of the southern side of the burnt out S-6 coach which were due to stones. Apart from this a large number of stones were found scattered inside the coach and similarly glass pieces were also seen. It was found that the said glass pieces were of the windows. From these observations it is possible to say that there was large scale stone pelting on the coach from outside and the glasses of the southern side was primarily broken due to stone throwing and the glass of the northern side were broken due to the heat of the fire.

2. From the condition of the colour on the door of the coach, the burning pattern, condition of the hand lock, the marks of the melting Aluminum strips of the frame of the window etc. it can be established that both the east-west doors of the northern side of the coach and similarly the eastern door of the southern side, thus a total of three doors were opened at the time of the incident of fire and the door in the west direction of the southern side was closed.

3. Out of the windows in the southern side, one rod of one of the windows was found to be broken due to heat. As the height of the lower part of the window was at the height of more than 7 ft. from the ground, it negates the possibility of force on the rod from window side. Further it was not found that any instrument was used to bend the rod. Thus, it becomes clear that the rod was attempted to be broken by the use of force from inside. It appears that the other rods had become loose due to the melting of joints due to heat.

4. By observing the burning pattern inside the coach, its degree, the depth and the elongating pattern on the floor, it appears that the fire has spread inside the coach very rapidly. Further by observing the intensity of the elongating pattern on the floor, it appears that the fire has started from the eastern side of the coach and there after spread towards western side rapidly. Further, it appears that the intensity and proportion of the burning of the objects inside the coach was very high, up to around 80% part of the east to west side whereas in the 20% part, the intensity of burning was less in comparison with 80% part.

5. No sign was observed of the use of any corrosive fluid like acid in the said fire.

6. By observing the condition of the frames of the windows of the coach it appears that all the windows of the coach were closed during the time of the fire

**Dr. M.S. Dahiya**  
**Assistant Director**  
**(Seal)**

## 12 Annexure | Note by Vadodara Police

This was submitted to the Tribunal when the Tribunal spoke to the Commissioner of Police, Varodara, Shri DDTuteja

### **Good work done by Vadodara city police**

1. From **Islamic Study Center Ajawa road** under Panigate P.Stns. Commdt rescued Hindu dominant area 102 Muslim children on Dt 28/2/2002 and sifted at '*Hamara Ghar Yatim Khana*' near Jamanabai hospital. **Shri J L Rana Group –1** and PI Panigate P.Stns. H G Baria and staff in police vehicles.

2. **Rampark Ajwa road** under Panigate P.Stns., a Hindu dominate area, where about 5 bungalows were set on fire by a mob and tried to burnt them in the houses. Immediately **CommDt. Shri J L Rana** from Panigate P. Stns reached to the spot and dispersed the mob, A DCB mobile PSI J T Rana also joined the rescue work and rescued about **5 families (25 persons)** trapped in the house with the flames and shifted them to a safe place in DCB mobile.

3. On 28/02/2002 from Ishwarnagar under Makkarpura P.Stn. in a Hindu dominate area 150 Muslim persons were rescued by **PI J J Sarvaiya** and staff of mobile-3 and sifted at Tandalja

4. On 28/2/2002 Excellent Apartment of Sayajigunj P.Stns. a Hindu dominate area where about 12 Muslim families were under tense Approximat 60 members were sifted to in the city where they went on their request at safe place by Sayajigunj police staff **PSI R P Pawar & PSI J R Waghela** with their staff were engaged for this work continuously.

5. On 28/02/2002 from Village Gotri near *Masjid* under J.P. Road P.Stn. in. a Hindu Dominate area assaulted by Hindu mob and ACP **Shri S M Khatri** and staff rush them and safe 30 Muslim person and sifted at Tandalja.

6. On 28/2/2002 from Ishwarnagar Makkarpura 150 Muslims were shifted to safe place by police at Tandalja by Makkarpura police mobiles.

7. From **Nizampura road** under Fatehgunj P.Stns., a Hindu dominate area one 'Parsi Family (**7 Persons**) rescued on dt.1/3/2002 by **PSI Shri J V Barot** control room and 3 traffic police const. and sifted at Subhanpura.

8. From Fajalpur village under Chhani P Stns. in a Hindu dominant area one family (15 persons) was rescued on Dt.1/3/2002 by PI K J Patel and staff and sifted them to a safe place.

9. On 01/03/2002 from Abidnagar opp. Windsor Company and Garibnagar a Hindu dominate area under Makkarpura P.Stns. 130 Muslim persons were rescued by **PI J J Sarvaiya** and staff of mobile 2 & 3 and sifted at Tandalja. And also from Jasoda colony Hindu dominant area 15 Muslim persons were rescued by **PI J J Sarvaiya** and staff and sifted at Railway station.

10. On 01/03/2002 at Chhani Jakat Naka, Ashapuri pond, the mob of Hindu and Muslim (500/500 persons) gathered and stone pelting on each other. Police rush on the spot immediately and use necessary firing, disperse the mob. During the firing two persons were killed and Police saved the several lives.

The **CP declared Rs. 7000/- reward to PI B V Rabari** and his team.

11. On 01/03/2002 at Bhoi Kabrastan, B/H Jyoti Petrol Pump, the mob of Hindu, Muslim gathered with deadly weapons and stone pelting on each other, Police rushed on the spot immediately and use necessary force and saves the several life and arrested 62 person on the spot. The **CP declared Rs.2000/- reward to PI Shri Christian M Mudaliyar and his team.**

12. On 01/03/2002 at Adania Pool and Limwali *Masjid*, a mob of Hindu and Muslim (2000-250 persons) gathered and pelting of stones on each other and put on fire the residences. Police rushed to the spot immediately and used necessary force and 40 persons were arrested on the spot. Police saved several lives. The **CP declared Rs.2000/- as a reward to ACP Shri D N Patel, PI C M Mudaliyar and their teams**

13. On 1/3/2002 from Abidnagar, opp. Windsor and Garibnagar, police at Tandalja by Makkarpura mobiles shifted 130 Muslims to safe place.

14. On 1/3/2002 from Jyoti colony, Makkarpura, police at Railway Station by Makkarpura mobile shifted 15 Muslims to safe place.

15. From **Ranoli village under Jawaharanagar** P.Stns. in a Hindu dominate area 1 Muslim family (8 persons) rescued on 2/3/2002 and another 45 Muslim persons were rescued from Koyali village Dt.2/3/2002 by **PI G N Sarvaiya** and staff and sifted at Gorwa Madhunagar.

16. On 02/03/2002 from **Tarsali village** under Makkarpura P.Stn. in a Hindu dominant area 15 Muslim persons were rescued on by **PI J J Sarvaiya** and staff and sifted at Hathi Khana.

17. On 02/03/2002 from Maretha village a Hindu dominate area **100-150 Muslim** persons were rescued by **ACP 'A' Dn. Shri S M Katara** and **PI J J Sarvaiya** and staff of Makkarpura 3 and 4 mobile.

18. On 02/03/2002 from Indiranagar under Makkarpura P Stns in a Hindu Dominated area 150 Muslims persons were rescued and shifted at Gorwa and Tandalja by **PI J J Sarvaiya** and staff of mobile no-4.

19. On 2/3/2002 from Tarsali village 15, police at Hathi Khana by Makkarpura police mobile shifted Muslims to safe place.

20. On 2/3/2002 from Maretha village, 100 to 150 Muslims were shifted to safe place by police at Gorwa by ACP 'A' Dv. PI Makkarpura and Makkarpura mobiles.

21. From Indiranagar Makkarpura, 150 Muslims were shifted to safe place by police at Gorwa and Tandalja by Makkarpura mobiles.

22. On 2/3/2002 at GIDC Navsur bus stand on the road there was a huge crowd, PI Shri J J Sarvaiya rushed to the spot immediately along with his staff and dispersed the crowd. Police cached one person on the spot named Shafikhan Rafikkhan Pathan. During his search, police recovered hand made *tamancha* and 19 cartridges and prevented serious body offences taking place and did excellent job.

23. On Dt. 3/3/2002 from **Taj Apartment, Shuklangar** under Fatehgunj P.Stns. in a Hindu dominate area 1 family of Professor Bandukwala (**19 persons**) were rescued on Dt.3/3/2002 by **PI V V Rabari** and staff and sifted at '*Mapara-ni-pol Gandigate*'

24. On Dt.3/3/2002 from **Nandesari village under Jawaharnagar** P.Stns. in a Hindu dominate area a mob tried to assault some Muslim families (47 persons), which were rescued by PI G N Sarvaiya and staff on Dt.3/3/2002 and sifted them to Gorwa at safe place.

25. On 03/03/2002 from **Narmada colony** under Fatehgunj P.Stn. in a Hindu dominate area 2 Muslim families (6 persons) and area, On 28/02/2002 from Shuklanagar united colony Taj Manzil 20 Muslim families (105 persons) also On 01/03/2002 from opp. **Jeevan Chetna school** 1 Muslim family of Siribanu Iqbalbhai Shaikh (7 persons) were rescued by **PI V V Rabari** and staff and sifted at Fatehgunj 'Fatesagar complex'.

26. On 03/03/2002 at Madina *Masjid*, situated at Koyali Village, some Hindus pasted a Bomb to disturb peace of the city. Due to alertness of Police Bomb Disposal Squad rushed to the spot immediately and found out two bombs and made them ineffective and avoided a big incidence to happen. The **CP declared a reward of Rs. 12000/** to PI **Shri G N Sarvaiya** and his team.

27. On 03/03/2002 at Makkarpura GIDC area, Hindu mobs were likely to put on fire Muslim residences. Police rushed to the spot immediately, used necessary firing and disperse the mob. And 14 persons were arrested on the spot. Police avoided a big incident-taking place. **The CP declared Rs.2000/ reward to PI J J Sarvaiya** and his team.

28. On 3/3/2002 from Old Narmada colony, M.I.G. flats, block No 14 Room No 100 near Chhani Octroi Naka, police at Fatehpura Hathi Khana shifted Saliabanu A Supariwala's 3 family members to safe place. On 5/3/2002 from Narmada colony, Chhani Octroi Naka, police at Tandalja road Momim Park shifted Abedabibi's three family members to safe place. On 28/2/2002 from Shuklangar United colony, Taj Manjil, police at Gandigate road at their relatives shifted twenty families of Muslims to safe place. On 1/3/2002 Sarinbanu Iqbal Shaikh's 7 family members were shifted from Jivan Chetna School, Sahebkrupa Room No 6 at Fatehgunj Fateh Sagar apartment at their friends Sardarji's residence safely by police.

29. On 04/03/2002 **PI Shri B J Jadeja**, of "**Organized Crime Cell**" and his team during the combing seized *Muddamal* worth Of **Rs 1,52000/-** *Muddamal* had recovered which was looted at Mangal Bazaar during the riots. Tthe CP declared a reward on 05/03/2002.

30. On 5/3/2002 at Fatehpura Adaniapul police checked one suspected Tata Sumo. In that Sumo, out of 4 Muslims, one had wearied Military Uniform. Police checked them, and seized one 12 Bore Gun from the vehicle. Police prevented serious body offences taking place. The CP declared Rs.5000/- reward to ACP Shri D N Patel and his team.

31. On Dt. 15/3/2002 from Dandia Bazaar under Raopura P.Stns. a Hindu dominant area one Muslim family (7 person) were rescued on Dt. 15/3/2002 by DCP North and sifted at Limwadi *Masjid* and also in Wadi area one family (5 person) from Panigate area were sifted by DCP North at safe place.

32. On Dt. 16/3/2002 from **Pandya Hotel Shankarwadi** area under Fatehgunj P.Stns. a Hindu dominate area one family of **Mehboob bhai (4 persons)** were rescued on dt. 16/3/2002 by P.I. V V Rabari and staff and sifted at Parshuram Bhattha in police vehicle.

33. On 20/3/2002 at Bapod turning of Varsha society, **PI Shri P P Kanani** and his staff was busy in implementation & curfew. During this time, three persons came on Yamaha motorcycle No. GJ-6 9532 on the base of suspect and doubt, police stopped them and checked. During the checking, police obtained one Pistol from them. It was Spanish made worth of Rs. 50, 000/- and two cartridges also obtained. The name of the persons are (1) Ripul Ramakant Kapadia R/o 33, Amarpark society Waghodia road, Baroda. (2) Lukesh Shashiknat Sonalkar R/o 3/A, Pratima society, Waghodia road, Baroda. (3) Samir Kantilal Shah R/o G/92 Shrivast Complex, Waghodia road, Baroda.

34. During the riots, some elements looted the shops and residents and set fire to the houses at Manjalpur GIDC area. The complaints were registered at Makkarpura police station. Police started the combing and Manjalpur and GIDC area and recovered *Muddamal* worth of Rs.2,50,000/- and arrested 11 persons.

This is a list of some of the known dead from the Gulberg Society killings. Since no efforts have been made to compute the dead/missing persons from neighbouring tenements the discrepancy between the dead and missing is significant.

**The deceased in the Chamanpura killings**

	Name	Age	
1	Ehsan Jafri (Ex-MP, Lok Sabha)		Dead
2	Anvarkhan Ahmedkhan Pathan	64	Dead
3	Khairumiya Ahmedkhan Pathan		Dead
4	Joharuniya Saidkhan Pathan	53	Dead
5	Jamilabanu Rashid Khan Pathan	38	Dead
6	Akhattrkhan 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	34	Dead
19	Shamsad Ayubkar Pathan	28	Dead
20	Shamim Ayubkar Pathan	26	Dead
21	Sonaben Allanurbhai Mansukh		Dead
22	Hanisha Mehboobbbhai	32	Dead
23	Asmatben Abdulbhai	45	Dead
24	Mohsin Mehmoodbhai	09	Dead
25	Vasim Mehmoodbhai	05	Dead
26	Sahil Salimbhai	04	Dead
27	Samim Kalimbhai	20	Dead
28	Jahangirbhai Sindhi	43	Dead
29	Mohammad Salimbhai Sindhi	23	Dead
30	Farinaben Jahangirbhai Sindhi	35 <sup>4</sup>	Dead
31	Mumtajiben Sikandarbhai Sindhi	35	Dead
32	Jebunben Kasambhai Mansuri	50	Dead
33	Mehmoodben Aslambhai	32	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		Dead
44	Shahzadali Faquirmohammad	45	Dead
45	Zubedaben Yusufbhai	39	Dead <sup>2</sup>

Table prepared by the Shah-e-Alam Camp reproduced from Genocide Gujarat 2002, *Communalism Combat*, March April 2002

This data was submitted before the Tribunal on May 2, and 3 2002

Names of some of those who were killed on February 28 between Noorani Masjid and Naroda Patiya

1. Inayathussain Rahimbhai Sayyed
2. Sufiyaappa Inayathussain Sayyed (wife of Inayathussain)
3. Shabana Hassan Sayyed
4. Salman Inayat Hussain Sayyed
5. Abidmiya Hamiedmiya Pathan
6. Moinuddin Hassanbhai Sayyed (invalid and burnt after being tied to bed)
7. Safibhai—mother's name Salmabivi Shaikh
8. Mohammed Ayyub Ilabakhsh Shaikh
9. Nasirkhan Chhotekhan Pathan
10. Kanjabivi Chhotekhan Pathan—invalid and died in the fire
11. M. Yunus Mohammed Rajak Ansari—cut up
12. Ibrahimbhai Bapu |
13. Naeembhai Ibrahimbhai Bapu |
14. Abeda Ibrahimbhai Bapu |they were locked up in the house  
which was then set on fire
15. Sajadaben Ibrahimbhai Bapu |
16. Nagmaben Ibrahimbhai Bapu |
17. Saberabivi Ajujbhai Agbanwla
18. Mohammed Faud A. Kader Syyed (Foreman)
19. Hussainmiya Golewala
20. Hajrabivi Rahimbhai Syeed
21. Jalaluddin Alibakhsh Khan Rangrej
22. Asif Sharmuddin Shaikh—burnt with acid
23. Kausarapa Samruddin Shaikh—pregnant and thrown in to the fire
24. Rafik Samruddin Shaikh
25. Javedhussain Ismailhussain Shaikh
26. Begum Javedhussain Shaikh
27. Khudratbegum Khursheedbhai Shaikh
28. Shabbir Ahmed Khursheedbhai Shaikh
29. Jubeda Shabbir Ahmed Shaikh
30. Shabbir Khursheedbhai Shaikh
31. Shabbir Khursheedbhai's three children
32. A. Kadar A. Rashid Anori
33. Mohammedhasan A. Kader Qureshi
34. Salimbegum Sardarbivi Shaikh
35. Asrabanu Kabirali Shaikh |
36. Mohammed Ayyub Baseer Ahmed \_\_\_\_\_ |Family
37. Mohammed Ayyub Baseer Ahmed Shaikh |
38. Anisbhai Naseerkhan Mansuri |
39. Ruksana Anisbhai Mansuri |
40. Anis Naseerkhan's 4 children |
41. Parvinbivi Gulamhussain Shaikh
42. Samuddin \_\_\_\_\_ Shaikh
43. Sufiyabegum Ismail Shaikh
44. A. Karim A. Rasul Radal
45. Chandmiya A. Rasul Radal

46. Sadiq Salim Shaikh
47. Mehboob Babubhai Shaikh
48. Sabiyabanu Jainanabuddin Shaikh (together with two children)
49. Mumtaj Ali Mansha Ali Ansari
50. Amtaj Mumtazali Ansari
51. Samruddin Khasim Sa'ab Chaudharsar
52. Abdul Wahab A. Shabbir Gujari
53. Sarmuddin Mohammed Munavar Lambu
54. Shermabanu Iqbal Ahmed Shaikh

All these lists of those dead and those who died under suspicious circumstances were made as witnessed by me or by those who had witnessed it also this is absolutely true.

Table prepared by the Shah-e-Alam Camp reproduced from Genocide Gujarat 2002, *Communalism Combat*, March April 2002

Table of Complainants and Accused <sup>1</sup>

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 (Bajrang Dal)
2	832	Pathan Naseerkhan Jafferkan	Jaideep Patel Prakashbhai Sunil Jaratha Sunil Patel Pochia Dada
3	834	Rafik Kallubhai Shaikh	Navani Singh Guddu Chhara Suresh aka Sarezad
4	845	Yassienkhan Anwarkhan Pathan	Jaideep Patel (VHP leader) Pachund da Manilal Thakore Padumal Patel
5	1314	Yunusbhai Rahemanbhai Mansuri Manoj Sindhi (Manoj Audio Cassette)	Bipinbhai Patel (Bipin Auto Centre) Shureshbhai Chhara
6	1331	Qayyumkhan Rasidkhan	Uddchhara 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.

<sup>2</sup> Table prepared by the Shah-e-Alam Relief Camp reproduced from Genocide Gujarat 2002, *Communalism Combat*, March April 2002

## 15 Annexure | List of the Dead -- Kheda District

This was submitted to the Tribunal

Summary of Mehmadaabad Town & Taluka Villages

### List Of Death in Riots

Sr.	Name of dead person	Age	Residence	Death Place
1	Pathan Pirumiya Balumiya	70	Godasar	Godasar
2	Pathan Mohamadmiya Balumiya	75	Godasar	Godasar
3	Pathan Karimkhan Nathukhan	40	Godasar	Godasar
4	Pathan Karimkhan Nathukhan	60	Godasar	Godasar
5	Pathan Ilamkhan Aminkhan	50	Godasar	Godasar
6	Pathan Sujankhan Nathukhan	50	Godasar	Godasar
7	Pathan Sitabkhan Gulabkhan	45	Godasar	Godasar
8	Pathan Nurbibi Gulabkhan	70	Godasar	Godasar
9	Diwan Idusa Bakshusa	50	Godasar	Godasar
10	Belim Huseinmiya Mohabatmiya	70	Godasar	Godasar
11	Belim Pujamiya Sefumiya	71	Godasar	Godasar
12	Sheikh Satarbhai Ismailbhai	65	Kapadavanj	Godasar
13	Sheikh Mohamadmiya Nathumiya	65	Dahiyab	Godasar
14	Diwn Madinabibi Pujasa	65	Gobalaj (Kheda)	Godasar
15	Sheikh Safimiya Mirsabmiya	18	Kanij	Kanij
16	Sheikh Sakirmiya Rasulmiya	15	Kanij	Kanij
17	Khokhar Zakirmiya Rasulmiya	19	Kanij	Kanij
18	Saiyad Nabimiya Saidumiya	60	Mahemadabad	Mahemadabad
19	Saiyad Imammiya Nabimiya	35	Mahemadabad	Mahemadabad
20	Pathan Saravarkhan Umarao	45	Mahemadabad	Mahemadabad

(Mehmadaabad Taluka Summary Dt 9/4/02)

<sup>2</sup> Table prepared by the Shah-e-Alam Camp reproduced from Genocide Gujarat 2002, *Communalism Combat*, March April 2002

The Details of the Deaths in the BEST Bakery Case

**Details**

1. Habibulla Abdul Rauf (died of natural causes 10 days before the incident)
2. Ration Card No. H 109 in the name of Habibulla Abdul Rauf [7 names on the ration card]
3. Address: Hanuman Tekri, Dabhoi Road.
4. Number of persons in the family: 7

The following persons were present at the time of the incident:

**Immediate Family**

1. Kausar Ali (M) 35 yrs. Maternal Uncle. Burnt to death. Body recovered on 23rd March was possibly his. His widow and 6 children are in the village in U.P.:
  - (i) Shahjahan Kausar Ali(F) 35, Widow, pregnant
  - (ii) Yasmina (F) 15
  - (iii) Abu Sufian (M) 10 yrs
  - (iv) Idu (M) 8 yrs
  - (v) Salman (M) 3 yrs
  - (vi) Shabana (F) 5 yrs
  - (vii) Fatima (F) 12 yrs
2. Sheikh Sherunissa (F) 40 yrs, mother, still in hospital
3. Nafidullah (M) 20 yrs, brother, discharged from hospital. Mentally disturbed due to the incident
4. Yasmin Nafidullah (F) 18, sister in law. Survived
5. Sheikh Saira (F), 19 yrs, in hospital with a head injury
6. Sheikh Sabira (F) 17 yrs, burnt to death in incident.
7. Sheikh Zahira (giving witness), (F) 18 yrs, injured on the head
8. Sheikh Nasidullah (M) 16 yrs, brother, both legs burnt, still in hospital
9. Sheikh Hasina (F) 75 yrs, grandmother (*naani*), survived

**Other Extended Family Members**

1. Shabnam (F) 35 yrs, (w/o Sheikh Aslam), burnt to death. Aslam had already left for the village when the incident occurred
2. Babli (F) 4yrs - hacked to death and then burnt
3. Sipli (F) 4yrs - hacked to death and then burnt
4. Pathan Firoze (M) 40 yrs, escaped from the balcony, but burnt to death in the jungle nearby
5. Zainab (F) 35 yrs (w/o Firoze) burnt to death
6. Baby boy 4 yrs - child of Feroze and Zainab
7. Baby girl 3 yrs - child of Feroze and Zainab

**Workers**

1. Baliram (M) 20 yrs - Nepali - hacked to death
  2. Prakash (M) 20 yrs, from U.P, hacked to death
  3. Rajesh (M) 19 yrs - local, Vagodia Road, burnt to death
- Also burnt was Nasroo, 18, a Muslim boy from Bahraich district who used to live in the bakery.

**Workers Injured but Alive**

1. Sheikh Tufail (M) 18 yrs
2. Sheikh Rayees (M) 18 yrs
3. Shezaad Sheikh (M) 18 yrs - has lost his memory and is in hospital
4. Sheloon (Shezaad's brother) - still in hospital

Loss of Property (Approximately)

1. 6 rooms - 1,000 sq ft (2 storeys)
2. Residence - worth 10 lakh
3. Bakery - worth 10 lakh (including slicer machine, cake making machine and furniture)

4. Rs 3 lakh in cash was burnt.

5. Raw material:

Maida - 50 bags:	Rs. 40,000=00
Ghee - 30 tins:	Rs. 16,500=00
Oil - 10 tins:	Rs. 5,000=00
Margarine- 20 boxes:	Rs. 5,500=00
Packing Materials (plain):	Rs. 3,500=00
Packing Materials (printed bags):	Rs. 20,000=00
Sugar:	Rs. 3,000=00
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>Rs.9,35,000=00</b>

### **Vehicles**

1. Three-wheeler tempos - 2
2. Scooter
3. Scooty
4. Motorbike (new – Rs. 40,000=00)
5. 2 Cycles (Rs. 2,000=00)
6. T.V.-V.C.R. (Rs 22,000=00)
7. Refrigerator (Rs 8,000=00)
8. Other household things, clothes etc. (Rs 32,000=00)

Rs. 1,250 as 'compensation' for the house and Rs. 80,000 for the death of two family members, Kausar Ali (M) and Shabira (F), have been given to the family.

**(From the PUCL Report, Varodara)**

**SUMMARY OF DAHOD Dist. Killed**

Sl No.	Taluka	Killed Male / Female	Identify	Govt Rs. Received
1	D'baria	5	0	0
2	Dahod	2	2	0
3	Fatepura	6	5	4
4	Jhalod	11	6	6
5	Limkheda	30	9	2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>14</b>

**SUMMARY OF PANCHMAHAL Dist. KILLED**

1	Ghoghamba	6	3	0
2	Godhra	3	2	2
3	Halol	6	6	0
4	Kalol	56	23	7
5	Khanpur	27	16	9
6	Lunawada	5	2	2
7	Morva (H)	1		0
8	Santrampur	15	14	11
	<b>Total</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>31</b>

**SUMMARY OF OTHERS Dist. KILLED IN PANCHMAHAL Dist.**

1	Dehgam	1		0
2	Balasinor	6	5	5
3	Kapadvanj	1		0
4	Kheralu	2	1	0
5	Mahudha	1		0
6	Malput	63	6	0
7	Umreth	2		0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>
	<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>249</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>50</u>

## 18 Annexure | List of Dead -- Dahod District

This Data was submitted to the Tribunal on May 5 and May 7, 2002

Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
(Ta: Dhanpure, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Shaikh Nyaj Mohd. Ali Mohd		6.15	Dhanpur	
2	Shaikh Salim Ali Mohammed		7.10	Dhanpur	
3	Shaikh Jakir Husain Nanubhai		2.90	Dhanpur	
4	Shaikh Nanubhai Amirbhai		3.85	Dhanpur	
5	Makurani Vali mohammed Sher Mohd.		1.80	Bor	
6	Makrani Valimohammed				
7	Makrani Saberabibi Saradar Mohammed		1.05	Bor	
8	Makrani Mohammed Alinajar Mohammed		1.10	Bor	
9	Makrani Yar Mohammed Sher Mohammed		1.80	Bor	
10	Makrani Nurmohammed Sher Mohammed		4.95	Bor	
11	Rafiq Mohammed Dad Mohammed		1.49	Bor	
12	Makrani Rafiqa Mohd. Dad Mohd		1.42	Bor	
13	Makrani Rafiqubhai Dadbhai		1.55	Bor	
14	Makrani Aarefbibi Nurmohammed		0.70	Bor	
15	Makrani Vasimbhai Valibhai		1.57	Bor	
16	Makrani Rafik Mohammed Dad Mohd		1.10	Bor	
17	Makrani Aayesha Dad Mohammed		1.52	Bor	
18	Makrani Hasinabana Dad Mohammed		1.50	Bor	
19	Makrani Aminabibi Yarmohammed		1.51	Bor	
20	Pathan Mohd. Khan Ahmedkhan		1.45	Surpur	
21	Makrani Vali Mohd. Sher Mohammed		1.40	Bor	

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002**  
**Village: Karodiya (Ta: Fatepura, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Kasam Ishaq Sattar	8	7.50	As above	
2	Pirmohammad Cyclewala	7	3.82		
3	Gudala Rauf Salam	4	1.57		
4	Gudala Hamid Sattarbhai	8	3.15		
5	Gudala Ishaq Sattarbhai	6	2.40		
6	Gudala A.Salam Sattarbhai	3	2.95		
7	Gudala Nisar Sattarbhai	4	1.07		
8	Gudala Arifbhai Gulamyusuf	3	1.53		
9	Gudala Gulamyusuf A. Sattar	5	3.13		
10	Gudala Idrish Gulamyusuf	3	1.73		
11	Gudala Ahemad A.Karim	7	2.40		
12	Gudala Arifhai A.Rajabhai	2	2.08		
13	Gudala Yusufbhai Mohd bhai	6	6.45		
14	Gudala Sagirbhai Mohd. Bhai	4	4.52		
15	Gudala Ishaqbhai Mohd. Bhai	5	2.08		
16	Chamdiya Fatema A. Rahim	5	5.10		
17	Gudala Sakina A. Majidbhai	6	2.83		
18	Rafik Majid Gudala				
19	Timiwala Ismailbhai	3	1.80		
20	Timiwala Rafiq Ismailhai	6	0.68		
21	Cyclewala Raishbhai Mohammadbhai	4	1.11		
22	Bhabhor Idrish Ahmedbhai	9	6.08		
23	Bhabhor Gafurbhai Ahmedbhai	3	7.65		
24	Bhabhor Salmabibi Majidbhai		3.00		
25	Bhabhor Arifbhai Gafurbhai	5			
26	Bhabhor Iqbalbhai Majidbhai		3.37		
27	Idmohammadbhai Mansuri	6	3.25		

28	Patel Mukhtar Karimbhai	6	3.35
29	Patel A.Gafur Rasulbhai	7	13.50
30	Patel Rukaiya A. Gaurbhai		5.50
31	Patel Kalam A. Gafurbhai	4	
32	Patel hakim Gulammohammad	8	4.96
33	Ganda Iqbal Sattarbhai	4	1.61
34	Patel Idrish Karimbhai	6	1.65
35	Patel Shabbir Karimbhai	8	1.10
36	Patel Ishaq Karimbhai	5	3.50
37	Gudala A.Gaffar A.Satam	9	4.21
38	Gudala A.Rajak A.Sattar	7	1.43
39	Gudala A.Rahim A.Salam	3	2.49
40	Jhalodwala Shaidbhai Salambhai	7	4.21
41	Gudala Majidbhai 8 Karimbhai		1.78
42	Gudala Irfan Majidbhai		0.30
43	Bhafal Yusuf Sattar	3	1.80
44	Bhagat Najmabibi 3 Gulambhai		0.67
45	Gudala Mustaq Salam	12	1.24
46	Gudala Aminabibi Salam	2	0.63
47	Gudala Abdulsattar Adambhai	7	3.42
48	Patel A.Rahim Ismailbhai	3	3.03
49	Patel Arifbhai Rahimbhai	7	4.53
50	Patel Abidbhai Ganibhai	3	2.32
51	Patel A.Gani Gulammahammad	7	3.25
52	Patel Khairunbibi Iqbalbhai		3.17
53	Patel A.Gafur A. Rahim		2.02
54	Bhagal Gulam Mahammad A. Raheman	4	0.67
55	Patel Hajrabibi A.Razzak		1.95
56	Gudala Hakim Ismail	4	14.00
57	Gudala Saeed Majid	4	8.75
58	Dokila Ishaq Kaiymbhai		2.52
59	Matadar A.Gani Abdulla	3	1.65
60	Matadar Mukhtiyarbhai A.Gani	5	1.85

61	Matadar A.Haq A.Gani	7	2.15
62	Matadar Salimbhai A.Gani	7	1.85
63	Madari Kalubhai Vallibhai	7	0.32
64	Madari Gaffarbhai Sulemanbhai	10	1.14
65	Madari Kalubhai Sikandarbhai	7	1.02
66	Madari Kalubhai Sikandarbhai		1.65
67	Madari Sikandarbhai Nannubhai	3	0.50
68	Madari Ganibhai Amirbhai	6	1.20
69	Madari Salimbhai Ganibhai	4	1.20
70	Madari Arifbhai Ganibhai	4	1.28
71	Madari Majidbhai Sikandarbhai	6	0.62
72	Timiwala Idrishbhai Ismail	3	0.70
73	Timiwala Salimhai Ismail	6	0.64

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
Village: Fatepura (Ta: Fatepura, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

**This Data was submitted to the Tribunal on May 11 and May 12, 2002**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Bhabhor A. Rahim Ismail	10	8.00	As above	
	Bhabhor Shoeb A. Rahim		12.00		
2	Bhabhor A. Gani Ismail	6	3.10		
	Bhabhor Rafik A.Gani	4	10.24		
	Bhabhor Ilyas A. Gani	2	2.54		
3	Bhabhor A.Salam	5	2.96		
	A. Rasul				
	Bhabhor Saeedabibi	5	2.16		
	Muktar				
4	Bhabhor Hakimbhai	4	15.89		
	A.Sattar				
	Bhabhor Hakimbhai		2.89		
	A.Sattar				
	Bhabhor Hakimbhai		3.53		
	A.Sattar				

5	Bhabhor A.Razzak A.Sattar	4	5.38
6	Bhabhor A.Rahim Rasubhai	8	4.02
7	Dokila Iqbal A.Kaiyum	5	6.03
8	Sathia Yunus A.Karim	6	4.37
9	Bhabhor Yusuf Ismail	8	7.63
10	Bhabhor Raisbhai Yusufbhai	4	0.84
11	Bhbhor Mdeenbibi A.Rahim	2	0.50
12	Naguji Majidbhai A.Sattar	9	0.37
13	Naguji Rafikbhai A.Sattar		4.29
14	Naguji A.Sattar Abdulla	7	0.23
15	Naguji Nisharbhai A.Majid	5	1.34
16	Naguji Idris Ahmed	7	1.26
17	Gudala Salam Yusuf	7	3.00
18	Barmawala A. Gani A. Karim	5	4.00
19	Barmawala M.Salim A.Gani	5	6.00
20	Bhabhor A.Kiyum A.Jaffar	9	21.72
21	Bhabhor Aminabibi A.Sattar		11.71
22	Sathia Rauf A.Rahim	7	14.98
23	Sathia Jainul Aabedin. A Rauf		1.10
24	Sathia Ilyas A.Rahim	6	6.48
25	Sathia Arif A.Rahim		1.00
26	Sathia A.Rahim A.Sattar	5	12.22
27	Sathia Salmabibi Iqbalbhai	5	4.38
28	Sathia Rizwan A. Rahimbhai	3	11.00
29	Sathia A.Gani A.Sattar	3	8.00
30	Sathia Rafik A.Gani	3	3.00
31	Sathia Shoeb A.Gani	6	11.00
32	Sathia Shoeb A.Gani		4.00
33	Shaikh Faridabibi Yusufbhai	4	2.50
34	Sathia A.Hai A. Gani	6	6.00
35	Bhabhor A.Gafur A.Rasuf	7	6.23
36	Bhabhor Farukbhai A.Gafur	2	1.73
37	Bhabhor Raufbhai A.Gafur	3	1.93
38	Bhabhor A.Sattar Rasulbhai	3	2.8
39	Bhabhor Iqbalbhai	4	8.50

	Majidbhai		
40	Bhabhor A.Gani Yakubbhai	4	0.90
41	Bhabhor A. Gaffarbhai	4	3.24
42	Bhabhor Najmabibi A. Vahabhai	5	2.23
43	Naguji A.Ganibhai Abdulla	5	4.81
44	Naguji A.Ganibhai Abdulla	4	3.17
45	Gudala A.Sattar Isha	6	29.25
46	Gudala Naeembhai A.Sattart	7	3.80
47	Gudala A.Karim Adambhai	4	4.08
48	Sathiya A.Salim A.Sattar	9	23.00
49	Sathiya Madinabibi Salim		4.80
50	Sathiya a.hamidbhai A.Sattar		9.00
51	Dokila Ilyas Kaiyumbhai	4	4.96
52	Dokila Farukbhai Kaiyumbhai	4	3.23
53	Sathiya Yunusbhai Gani	6	3.00
54	Molana Abutalib	7	2.25
55	Gudala Salimbhai Majid	10	3.28
56	Patel A. Karim A.Rasul	6	4.50
57	Shaikh Sahidabibi A.Karim	3	2.00
58	Gudala Gulambhai Rafik	10	1.36
59	Gudala Salimbhai Gulam		0.62
60	Gudala Yusufbhai A. Raheman	5	7.34
61	Gudala G. Yusufbhai	6	11.80
62	Gudala Sahidbhai 6 Yusufbhai		3.00
63	Gudala Rajakbhai 4 Yusufbhai		2.50
64	Gudala SUGRABIBI A.GANI	6	2.55
65	Rahimbhai A.Raheman	6	2.00
66	BGAGAK A.GANI A.SATTAR	2	0.97
67	Modhiya Ishak Ismail	6	1.58
68	Modhiya Idrishbahi Ismail	7	1.08
69	Modhiya Yusufbhai Rasubhai	8	3.14
70	Modhiya Abdulhak Yusufbhai		0.40
71	Gudala A.Sattar	7	1.35

	A. Salam		
72	Panwala Salim A. Sattar	4	9.50
73	Sathiya Raish A.Gani	4	7.00
74	Sathiya Saberabibi Raisabhai		3.00
75	Gudala Kuddushbhai Mohammed	7	1.25
76	Gudala Hamidbhai Mohammed	7	0.75
77	Naguji Jubedabibi Ishabhai	1	0.80
78	Gudala A.Salam Mohammed	2	1.29
79	Gudala Mohammed Adam	3	1.02
80	Gudala Mohammed Adam	3	1.02
81	Naguji Faruk A.Rahim	4	1.08
82	Naguji A.Rahim A.Sattar	5	3.28
83	Daud Abdul Ishabhai	6	0.50
84	Daud Idrish ishabhai	4	2.20
85	Gudala Idrish Yusufbhai	6	3.56
86	Gudala Mohammed Yusufbhai	6	3.10
87	Gudala Saerabibi Mohammed		10.27
88	Naguji A.Gaffar A.Sattar		2.76
89	Bhabhor Majid Ahmed	5	4.97
90	Musha Rahimbhai A.Sattar	4	2.25
91	Musha Idrishbhai A.Sattar	5	1.70
92	Gudala Ikbalbhai Yusufbhai	3	1.89
93	Gudala Ikbalbhai Yusufbhai		0.54
94	Gudala Idrish Ishakbhai	6	0.65
95	Gudala Idrish Ahmedbhai	8	8.50
96	Gudala Rafikbhai Idrish	2	4.00
97	Patel A. Gani Gulam M		1.20
98	Patel A.Sattar Gulam M	4	4.05
99	Patel A. Majid Gulam M.	10	4.45
100	Patel A. Rajjal Gulam M.	8	24.85
101	Molana Ummer Tajpuri	4	0.57
102	Patel Iqbal A.Razzak	5	15.76
103	Patel Yasin A.Karim	3	1.45
104	Patel Ilyas A.Karim	5	4.05
105	Barmawala Aamin Salim	4	0.67
106	Gudala Rajjak Mohammed	6	2.50
107	Gudala Rahim	8	3.80

	Mohammed		
108	Gudala A.Gani	17	8.46
	Mohammed		
109	Gudala Yunus Yusuf	6	1.56
110	Gudala Salimbhai Yusuf	7	2.70
111	Gudala Rukaiyabibi Yusuf	6	2.23
112	Gudala Majidbhai Yusuf	10	1.41
113	Gudala A.Gani Yusuf	11	1.37
114	Patel Gulam M. A. Sattar	7	1.36
115	Patel Hakimbhai Gulam	2	1.32
116	Patel Rashidbhai Gulam	5	1.02
117	Gudala Sabbirbhai Majid	3	0.68
118	Matadar Husain Aadam	10	2.05
119	Gudala Arif A.Majid	3	5.30
120	Gudala Ishakbhai A.Sattar	5	2.31
121	Gudala Rafikbhai Hakim	5	2.62
122	Gudala Idrish A.Sattar	7	4.29
123	Gudala Sattarbhai Raheman		1.43
124	Bhagal A.Gani Ibrahim	7	6.87
125	Dokila Kaiyum Ahmed		9.25
126	Pathan Chiraguddi Siddimiya	4	2.85
127			0.52
128	Patel A.Rajak Ismail	3	0.32
129	Patel Abdul Ismail	7	1.59
130	Saifibhai Cyclewala	9	3.75
131	Gudala Gaffar Ismail		
132	Gudala Salimbhai Ismail	6	5.51
133	Sathia Gafur Karim		
134	Dhada Ibrahim Ismail	13	1.40
135	Dokila A. Rajak Rahim	7	2.65
136	Dokila A.Haq A.Rahim	4	1.80
137	Dokila Rukaiyabibi A.Rahim	6	0.69
138	Sathiya Rashidbhai Karim	7	1.52
139	Sathia Hakimbhai Karimbhai	2	1.00
140	Babumohammed Pirmohammed Mansur	4	2.43
141	Babumohammed Pirmohammed Mansur		0.83
142	Dokila Farookbhai A.Rajjak	4	0.49
143	Gudala Rajjakbhai Yusuf	2	1.37
144	Gudala Fatmabibi Yusuf	3	0.77

145	Dokila Farooqbhai A.Kaiyum	3.00
146	Mohd. Rafik A.Salam Gaji	
147	M. Salim A. Karim Patel	3.00
148	Tura Hajrabibi Salimbhai 7	2.50

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
Village: Limdi (Ta: Jhalod, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

**This Data was submitted to the Tribunal on May 11 and May 12, 2002**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Malak Jafir Mahmuhusain		1.75	Limdi	
2	Kaji Harun Abbas		0.75	Limdi	
3	Kaji Jakiuddin Habibulla		4.00	Limdi	
4	Kaji Ahmadali Abbasali		0.50	Limdi	
5	Bhatiyara Sattar A.Rahman		0.40	Limdi	
6	Kaji Kamruddin Abbasali		0.72	Limdi	
7	Rafiq A.Rahman Shaikh		0.20	Limdi	
8	Bhatiyar Fakirmohd. Rasulmohd.		0.40	Limdi	

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
Village: Katwara (Ta: Dahod, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

**This Data was submitted to the Tribunal on May 11 and May 12, 2002**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Shaikh Sirajuddin Gulabudin		2.60	Katwara	
2	Shaikh Gulabuddin Samsuddin		1.25	Katwara	
3	Skaikh (Bhurubhai) Siruddin Sizajuddin		0.85	Katwara	
4	Shaikh Riyajuddin Sirajuddin		1.80	Katwara	
5	Shaikh Majuddin Gyasuddin		0.77	Katwara	
6	Shaikh Jafaruddin Naizamuddin		0.98	Katwara	
7	Shaikh Kamaruddin Nizamuddin		1.39	Katwara	

8	Shaikh Fakruddin Sadaruddin	1.20	Katwara
9	Shaikh Najmuddin Amiruddin	1.56	Katwara
10	Shaikh Rafikuddin Amiruddin	1.40	Katwara
11	Shaikh Jamaluddin Jauddin	0.90	Katwara
12	Shaikh Tayuddin Jauddin	0.98	Katwara
13	Shaikh Jahurbibi Maunuddin	2.25	Katwara
14	Shaikh Jenuddin Jauddin	1.35	Katwara
15	Shaikh Rukmuddin Amiruddin	1.50	Katwara
16	Shaikh Amiruddin Nashruddin	2.20	Katwara
17	Pathan Shamirkhan Sharifkhan	2.00	Katwara
18	Maulana Jamaluddin	0.95	Katwara
19	Belim Nasirkha Gyaskhan	0.95	Katwara
20	Belim Sikandarkha Gyaskhan	1.38	Katwara
21	Belim Yasinkhan Kalekha	3.19	Katwara
22	Belim Rubabkha Navabkha	1.04	Katwara
23	Pathan Aliyarkha Gurukhan	0.70	Katwara
24	Pathan Mominkha Karimkhan	0.53	Katwara
25	Belim Mohammedkha Kalekha	0.99	Katwara
26	Malek Nathekha Amirkha	0.95	Katwara
27	Malek Banubibi Ahmedkha	0.35	Katwara
28	Malek Nasirkha Basirkha	1.00	Katwara
29	Malek Mehmudkha Rafukha	0.60	Katwara
30	Shaikh Alauddin Fayaluddin	0.93	Katwara
31	Malek Hanifkha Basirkha	0.90	Katwara

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
Village: Dahod (Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

**This Data was submitted to the Tribunal on May 11 and May 12, 2002**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Jalara Ishaq A. Hamid		0.20		
2	Basirbhai Noor Mohd.		0.40		
3	Arab Sajid Salim		0.27		
4	Liyakat Daudbhai		0.10		
5	Usmanbhai Suleman		0.10		
6	Mohd. Ibrahim Bandibarwala		2.80		

7	Haidarali Saiyadali Kaji	0.50
8	Babubhai Abbasbhai Diwan	0.40
9	Shaikh Mohd. Yunus A. Gafur	0.68
10	Moyuddin Babu lakhara	0.10
11	Noor Ahmed Alam	0.60
12	A. Aziz A. Rahim	3.50
13	Arab Imtiyazbin Salam	1.50
14	Raish A. Sakur Shaikh	0.20
15	Aslam Ahmad Safi Dalal	0.30
16	A. Gaffar A. Sattar Dalal	0.35
17	Vahid Safibhai Chhital	0.88
18	Sakir A. Gaffar Chand	15.00
19	Abdul Rahim Yakub Chand	07.00

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
Village: Dabhada (Ta: Limkheda, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Ibrahim H. Mohd. Zadi		1.40		
2	Haji Mohd. H.A. Majid Zadi		4.30		
3	Gulam H.Mohd. Zadi		4.72		
4	Abdulla H. Ismail Zadi		0.80		
5	Sirajbhai Yusufbhai Ghanchi		4.50		
6	Ibrahim Rasul Saji		3.60		
7	Mehboob Sardar Makrani		0.31		
8	Sheikh Rafiq Mohd.		3.54		

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
Village: Moti Bandibar (Ta: Limkheda, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Patel Sattar Kalubhai		1.20		
2	Samad Ahmad Ibrahim		2.50		
3	Bhunga Wahid Md.Shafi		1.50		
4	Bhunga Sabur Ismail		2.25		
5	Bhunga Daood A. Majid		0.52		
6	Pathan Yasin Ismail		1.50		
7	Bhunga Vali Ismail		5.50		
8	Bhunga Bilal Vali		3.50		
9	Bhunga Md.Shafi Ismail		1.20		
10	Bhunga Aaisha A.Majid		1.50		
11	Bhunga Ahmed Ismail		0.70		
12	Bhunga Hajraben Mohd. Ismail		2.81		
13	Bhunga Mustafa Musa		1.00		
14	Bhunga Maqsuda A.Hakim		1.00		

15	Pathan Fatma Yaqub	2.25
16	Samad Ibrahim Vali	0.50
17	Bhunga Kodar Rehman	1.88
18	Mansuri Hajra Suleman	1.04
19	Bhungra Suleman Kodar	0.98
20	Samad Mohd. Ibrahim	2.55
21	Bhunga Mustaq A.Sattar	3.25
22	Samad Zakir A.Hamid	0.80
23	Samad Shoeb Ismail	2.30
24	Samad Salam Rasool	0.90
25	Samad Hoorbai Rasool	0.40
26	Samad Majid Ismail	2.25
27	Bhunga Ibrahim Ismail	2.70
28	Samad Ibrahim Musa	1.15
29	Samad Sarfaraz Md. Shafi	1.40
30	Samad Rashid Ismail	2.25
31	Luhar Amina Nasaruddin	7.50
32	Sazi Ibrahim Rasool	1.50
33	Sazi Sattar Rasool	1.00
34	Samad Daood Jamal	2.10
35	Samad Jamal Vali	2.00
36	Samad A.Hamid Vali	1.00
37	Mansoori Gafur Ismail	0.55
38	Saji Siknader Ismail	1.75
39	Saji Jamal Isha	2.00
40	Saji Hamid Isha	1.00
41	Samad M.D. Shafi Ismail	3.50
42	Bhwnga A.Qadar A.Sattar	2.85
43	Bhwnga A.Sattar Ismail	2.75
44	Bhwnga A.Sattar Kodar	2.50
45	Bhwnga Rafia A.Sattar	0.60
46	Bhwnga Rasool Kodar	1.00
47	Ghanchi Muslim Panch Masjid & Madarsa	10.00
48	Bhunga Iqbal Valibhai	3.50
49	Bhunga Abdulla A.Hakim	0.60
50	Bhunga Mansuraben Valibhai	3.50
51	Bhunga A.Jafar Sabur	0.60
52	Bhunga Razzak Ibrahim	2.50
53	Samad Mohd. Ibrahim	1.50
54	Samad Anas Mohd.	1.25
55	Bhunga Mushtaq A.Sattar	2.25
56	Bhunga Qadir A.Sattar	2.40
57	Samad Sarfaraz Md. Shah	3.00
58	Samad Daood Jamal	1.00
59	Saji Sikandar Jamal	0.50
60	Samad Yaqub Jamal	1.50
61	Samad Samir Mohd. Shafi	1.20
62	Bhunga Md. Jafar Sabur	0.50

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002**  
**Village: Limkheda (Ta: Limkheda, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Ayyubkhan Latifkhan Pathan	5	0.96	Limkheda	
2	Jabbarkhan Navabkhan Pathan	2	0.70	Limkheda	
3	Munirkhan Siledarkhan Pathan	6	0.94	Limkheda	
4	A.Gaffarkhan Jabbarkhan Pathan	6	0.90	Limkheda	
5	Gafar Ismail Ghanchi	12	1.44	Limkheda	
6	Ganibhai Ismail Ghanchi	5	0.66	Limkheda	
7	Aishabibi Ahmedbhai Qureshi	7	12.90	Limkheda	
8	Haji Ahmed A.Karim Qureshi	4	0.60	Limkheda	
9	Farooqbhai Ahmed Qureshi	7	6.37	Limkheda	
10	Sikandar Ahmed Qureshi	1	2.30	Limkheda	
11	Sirajbhai Babubhai Mansuri	4	2.60	Limkheda	
12	Ishaqbhai Babubhai Mansuri	5	22.40	Limkheda	
13	Shafibhai A.Sattar Mansuri	3	3.60	Limkheda	
14	Madrassa Noorul Islam	-	6.35	Limkheda	
15	Jabirbhai Baboobhai Qureshi	7	4.55	Limkheda	
16	Yaqub Ismail Mithabhai	3	0.75	Limkheda	
17	Haji Babu, Ismail	6	7.30	Linkheda	
18	Yunus Sattar	2	2.20	Linkheda	
19	Munirkhan Pathan	8	2.00	Linkheda	
20	Akbarkhan Nasirkhan Pathan	11	4.75	Linkheda	
21	Husenkhan Mehboob khan Pathan	8	2.00	Linkheda	
22	Salimkhan Majidkhan Pathan	5	2.00	Linkheda	
23	Ashambibi Faruq Qureshi	3	2.80	Linkheda	
24	Babubhai A.Sattar Pathan	5	2.50		
25	Mehmud A.Sattar Pathan	7	3.00		
26	Bachubhai Makrani	8	2.25	Andharj	
27	Sadik Yusufbhai Makrani	9	2.10	Andharj	
28	Mehboobkhan Makrani	6	1.25	Andharj	
29	Gulam A.Karim Qureshi		1.90	Duethiya	
30	H.Nishar Gulam Qureshi		1.40	Duethiya	

31	Sabbir Sattar Qureshi	1.15	Duethiya
32	Lahar Yunus Sarfuddin	2.28	Randhikpure
33	Lahar Mehboob Sarfuddin	2.50	Randhikpure
34	Jainuddin Saifuddin Shakir	6.15	Kakra Dungri
35	Jakkiuddin Jainuddin Shakir	3.04	Mota Datiya
36	Taiyebji Haji A.Husen Kundawala	2.50	Dudhiya
37	Mohmed Hidayatullah Shaikh	1.10	Dahod, Tindori

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
(Ta: Garbada, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Tahera A.Sahkur Shaikh		1.10	Garbada	
2	Ujadu Ayyub Ibrahim		2.00	Garbada	
3	Ujadu Haroon Ibrahim		2.10	Garbada	
4	Shaikh Julekhabibi A.Wahid		1.50	Garbada	
5	Sikandar Saburbhai Shaikh		1.95	Garbada	
6	Ujadu Mohammed kamaluddin		1.70	Garbada	
7	Shaikh Rashida Saurbhai		1.45	Garbada	
8	Ujada Kamaluddin Ibrahim		1.90	Garbada	
9	Ayyub Mustafa Bajarria		0.75	Garbada	
10	Ujada Shabbir Ismailbhai		1.41	Garbada	
11	Shaikh Ajizbhal Saburbhai		2.10	Garbada	
12	Ujada Ahmed Saburbhai		0.65	Garbada	
13	Shahin Ismail Fumti		1.50	Garbada	
14	Shaikh A.Wahid Md. Shafi		2.90	Garbada	
15	Shaikh Yusufbhai A.Sattar		1.75	Garbada	
16	Shaikh Md. Shafi Valibhai		4.25	Garbada	
17	Shaikh A. Razzaq Md. Shafi		1.85	Garbada	
18	Shaikh Arif A.Sattar		1.55	Garbada	
19	Shaikh Soyeb A.Sattar		1.85	Garbada	
20	Shaikh A. Wahab Md. Shafi		2.75	Garbada	
21	Shaikh Habibbhai A. Sattar		1.80	Garbada	
22	Shaikh Zakir A. Sattarbhai		1.75	Garbada	
23	Ujada Yusufbhai Ibrahimbhai		2.35	Garbada	
24	Shaikh Raisabibi Faqir Mohd.		2.00	Garbada	
25	Yunus Mustafa Bajarria		0.60	Garbada	
26	Ujada Irfan Isubhai		2.00	Garbada	
27	Shaikh Md. Rafiq A.Salam		0.50	Garbada	
28	Moulvi A. Raoof A.Hamid Ada		0.50	Garbada	
29	Ujada Saleem Ismailbhai		1.00	Garbada	
30	Shakil Ahmed A. Shaur Shaikh		0.60	Garbada	
31	Ujada Ilyas Ismailbhai		0.50	Garbada	
32	Taherbibi A.Shaqoor Shaikh		0.11	Garbada	
33	Shaikh A.Rajaq Mahmud	2	9.82		
34	Shaikh Irfan A.Rajaq	1	2.45		
35	Shaikh Hafiz Rafiq Sattar	9	3.54		
36	Shaikh Bibiben A.Sattar	2	3.41		
37	Morawala Jubeda Karim	1	1.70		
38	Jarman Maksuda Sattar	2	2.18		

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots after 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002**  
**Village: Piplod (Ta: Devgad Baria, Dist: Dahod, Gujarat)**

No.	Name	No.of Family Members	Amount of loss in lacks	Address	Remarks
1	Yakub Ismail Mithabhai	05	4.15	Dahod Road	
2	Abdul Aziz Ismail 07 Mithabha		4.15	Dahod Road	
3	Abdul Rahim Ismail Mithaibhai	06	4.15	Dahod Road	
4	Rukiya Ismail Mithabhai	03	4.95	Dahod Road	
5	Mehmoodkhan Mohyuddinkhan Pathan		2.79	Dahod Road	
6	Hamidkhan Mehmoodkhan Kanooga		1.70	Dahod Road	
7	Shaikh Akram Hakimuddin		0.59	Panchela, Piplod	
8	Munirkhan Moyuddin Khan Pathan		2.30	Panchela, Piplod	
9	Maksudkhan Mehmoodkhan Pathan		0.70	Panchela, Piplod	
10	Anisa Mushtak Mansur		1.40	Baria Road	
11	Md. Ganibhai Mansuri		4.40	Baria Road	
12	A. Sattarbhai Ganibhai Mansuri		6.65	Baria Road	
13	A. Qadarbhai A. Sattarbhai Mansuri		5.30	Baria Road	
14	Allarakha A.Gafurbhai Mansuri		3.35	Baria Road	
15	Isub Ibrahim Mansuri		16.15	Baria Road	
16	Moalana Zafarshah Rizri		3.60	New Mosque	
17	Shaikh Nijamuddin Qamaruddin		6.35	New Mosque	
18	Shaikh Shahbuddin Qamaruddin		1.25	New Mosque	
19	Pinjara Majidbhai Avajbhai		2.34	New Mosque	
20	Malek Dasumiyan Rasulminya		7.40	New Mosque	
21	Iqbal A.Majid Mansuri		2.50	New Mosque	
22	Siraj A.Majid Mansuri		3.40	New Mosque	
23	Kulsumben Hussainbhai Mansuri		0.98	New Mosque	
24	Hanifbhai Mohammedbhai Mansuri		1.35	New Mosque	
25	Salim Rasulbhai Pinjara		2.50	New Mosque	
26	Musa Ibrahim Mansuri		1.50	New Mosque	
27	Ebrahimbhai Nomanbhai Lunawadawala		12.00	New Mosque	
61	Bakirali Mohammedali Pitolwala		1.60	Piplod	
62	Ajarali Haji Isufali Kathalwala		1.75	Piplod	
63	Hyas Kurban Hussain Katwarawala		2.00	Piplod	
64	Shafatbhai Ibrahimbhai Kaydawala		1.50	Toyni Village	
65	Haji Abdulsattar Ismailbhai Mansuri		10.25	Piplod	
66	Mansuri Shabbirhussain A.Sattarbhai		5.90	Piplod	
67	Mansuri Iqbalbhai A.Sattar		3.20	Piplod	
68	Mansuri Salimbhai A.Sattar		1.75	Piplod	
69	Najmuddin Saifuddin Hasham		2.00	Banswada	
70	Isufi Bakirbhai Cyclewala		1.15	Banswada	

71	Hozefa Salimhussain Allawala	0.75	Toyani
72	A.Wahid Ismail Mansuri	0.97	Piplod
73	Hanifben Ismail Mansuri	2.58	Piplod
74	Fakruddin Tayyabali Happawala	7.30	Piplod
75	Hussain Bakirbhai Cyclewala	0.24	Piplod
76	Mithabhai Md.Rafiq Ismail	0.71	Piplod
77	Mithabhai Ismail Mohammed	3.50	Piplod
78	Chauhan A.Razzak A.Ajiz	6.27	Piplod
79	Chauhan A.Ajiz A.Karim	7.45	Piplod
80	Chachan Abbas Ahmed	1.05	Piplod
81	Chanki Sirajbhai Musabhai	2.16	Piplod
82	Diwan Aalamsha Nathusa	1.00	Piplod
83	Chauhan A.Latif A.Gafur	0.45	Piplod
84	Shaikh Isufbhai A.Gafurbhai	0.70	Piplod
85	Chauchan A.Gafur Hajisuleman	6.50	Piplod
86	Shabbirbhai A.ganibhai Mansuri	0.53	Piplod
87	Mohammedbhai Ismail K Jureshi	2.10	Piplod
88	Hamidaben Kajitkhan Pathan	0.87	Piplod
89	Pathan Valvllakhan Yusuf	1.72	Piplod
90	Yuufkhan Ahmedkhan Pathan	0.85	Piplod
91	Shaikh Ismail Abdulla	10.80	Piplod
92	Kalimuddin Kurbanhussain Cyclewala	5.55	Piplod
93	Aaminabibi Haji A.Sattar Qureshi	16.27	Piplod
94	Mohammed Salim Haji A.Sattar Qureshi	3.77	Piplod
95	Md. Hanif Haji A.Sattar Qureshi	10.13	Piplod
96	Moulana A.Sattar Tap	0.60	Old Mosque
97	Ahmed Ibrahim Ismailwala	2.78	Near bus stand
98	Kuka Saeed A.Gani Ghanchi	0.83	Near bus stand
99	Sikandarkhan Murtujakhan Pathan	1.15	Piplod
100	Firozkhan Murtuzakhan Pathan	0.90	Piplod
101	Rashidkhan Murtuzakhan Pathan	0.85	Piplod
102	Rashidikhan Murtuzakhan Pathan	0.65	Piplod
103	Jabirkhan A.Rahim Khokhar	0.70	Piplod
104	Younus Khan A.Rahim Khokhar	0.60	Piplod
105	Inayatkhan A.Rahim Khokhar	1.22	Piplod
106	Ikhtiyarkhan A.Rahim Khokhar	0.80	Piplod
107	Dildarkhan Murtuzakhan Pathan	1.00	Piplod
108	Mohammedkhan Murtuzakhan Pathan	6.31	Piplod
109	Mehmoodkhan Murtuzakhan Pathan	5.97	Piplod
110	Kalandarkhan Murtuzakhan Pathan	2.32	Piplod
111	Fatmabibi Murtuzakhan Pathan	11.60	Piplod
112	A. Rahim Ahmed Khokhar	15.52	Piplod
113	Amanullakhan Yusufkhan Pathan	4.62	Piplod
114	Mohammedhanif Amanullkhan Pathan	3.10	Piplod
115	Raj Mohammed Munshi Mirza	0.75	Piplod
116	Mohammed Raees Munshi Mirza	0.53	Piplod
117	Yusuf Abdul Raheman Chauhan	2.36	Piplod
118	Majid Ismail Punwaliya Ghanchi	0.98	Piplod
119	Mohammed Majid Punwaliyan Ghanchi	1.45	Piplod

120	Ishaq Majid Punwaliya Ghanchi	0.73	Piplod
121	Ibrahim Majid Punwaliya Ghanchi	0.97	Piplod
122	Suleman Majid Punwaliya Ghanchi	0.72	Piplod
123	Mohammed Rashid Munshi Mirza	0.60	Piplod
124	Sakil Ahmed Jalil Ahmed Sahikh	0.90	Piplod
125	Najim A.Razzaq Shaikh	0.60	Piplod
126	Jabbar Razzak Shaikh	0.26	Piplod
127	Haji Mohammed Munshi Mirza	0.47	Piplod
128	Ismail Mustakim Pathan	1.05	Piplod
129	Hannan Hakimuddin Jambughodawala	1.00	Piplod
130	Hanifbhai Rasoolbhai Ghanchi	1.48	Piplod
131	Aarfbhai Rasoolbhai Gahanchi	2.15	Piplod
132	Rasoolbhai Daoodbhai Ghanchi	5.65	Piplod
133	Ibrahim Rasoolbhai Ghanchi	0.65	Piplod
134	Aminabibi Rasoolbhai Ghanchi	3.15	Piplod
135	Rukaiyabibi Farooqbhai Ghanchi	2.09	Piplod
136	Siraj Rasoolbhai Ghanchi	1.00	Piplod
137	Akbar Habibbhai Shaikh	2.20	Piplod
138	Yaqub Yusuf Panwaliya Ghanchi	0.80	Piplod
139	Ismail Majid Punwaliya Ghanchi	0.60	Piplod
140	Maksud Gulam Rasoolbhai	0.83	Piplod
141	Diwan Ayyub Kashamsha	0.23	Piplod
142	Iqbalbhai Shakurbhai Pathan	1.70	Piplod
143	Firoz Amanuddin Pathan	2.20	Piplod
144	Rashidkhan Shakurkhan Pathan	1.78	Piplod
145	Hafizkhan Shakurkhan Pathan	3.30	Piplod
146	Ayyubkhan Habibi Pathan	0.50	Piplod
147	Israil Ismail Shaikh	1.85	Piplod
148	Pathan Mumtazbibi Amdubhai	1.40	Piplod
149	Malek Ishtiyakbhai Mohammedbhai	1.90	Piplod
150	Malek Mohammedbhai Ashraf	2.00	Piplod
151	Rafikbhai Ataullkhan	0.82	Piplod
152	Nafiskhan Memberkhan Pathan	0.24	Piplod
153	Siraj Yusuf Punawaliya Ghanchi	0.57	Piplod
154	Pathan Hussainbhai Amdubhai	0.75	Piplod
155	Chauhan Karimbhai Habibi	0.75	Piplod
156	Chauhan Habibbhai Mohammedbhai	3.95	Piplod
157	Shaikh Nasimbanu Gulmohammed	5.00	Piplod
158	Bundakhan Sulemankhan Pathan	1.85	Piplod
159	Pathan Shabbirahmed Noorahmed	0.41	Piplod
160	Saiyed Shahid Hussain A.Salam	8.10	Piplod
161	Aashik Hussain A.Salam Saiyed	1.00	Piplod
162	Pathan Nisarahmed Noorahmed	0.60	Piplod
163	Pathan Iqbalahmed Noorahmed	0.60	Piplod
164	Pathan Kalilahmed Noorahmed	3.25	Piplod
165	Pathan Israrahmed Noorahmed	0.70	Piplod
166	Hapijanbibi Noorahmed Pathan	6.75	Piplod
167	Shaikh Abdul Salam A.Karim	15.45	Piplod
168	Shaikh Sobiyabibi A.Karim	5.20	Piplod
169	Shaikh Jorabibi A.Karim	0.50	Piplod
170	A.Salam A.Raheman Chahuhan	6.10	Piplod
171	A. Salam Sabri Saiyed	3.37	Piplod

172	Shaikh Yakub Bauddin	1.95	Piplod
173	Md. Salim Shamsuddin Kuhar	3.53	Piplod
174	Haroon Rashid Shamsuddin Kuhar	1.24	Piplod
175	Md. Rafiq Shamsuddin Kuahr	0.86	Piplod
176	Yasinkhan Kalukhan Pathan	3.55	Piplod
177	Yakubkhan Bauddin Shaikh	2.30	Piplod
178	Md. Yaqubkhan Shaikh	1.70	Piplod
179	Md.Sattarbhai Mansuri	11.55	Piplod
180	Gheri Ahmedbhai Mohammedbhai	2.88	Piplod
181	Halimaben Abdulla Gheri	3.40	Piplod
182	Naseemben Firozbia Gheri	4.08	Piplod
183	Gheri Aasifbhai Ahmedbhai	0.63	Piplod
184	Hanifbhai Hussain Mithabhai	7.30	Piplod
185	Hanifabibi Hussain Mithabhai	3.03	Piplod
186	Khalid Hussain Mithabhai	1.16	Piplod
187	Ishaq Mohammed Diwali	3.88	Piplod
188	Sabera Mohammed Diwali	1.65	Piplod
189	Aasif Ishq Mithabhai	0.92	Piplod
190	Siddique Mohammed Mithabhai	0.70	Piplod
191	Aarifhussain Siddiquebhai Ghanchi	0.50	Piplod
192	Jamilahmed Siddiquebhai Ghanchi	1.91	Piplod
193	Faridaben Siddique Mithabhai	5.79	Piplod
194	Mohammedbhai Musabhai Juniya	3.30	Piplod
195	Juniya Suleman Mohammedbhai	2.95	Piplod
196	Juniya Ishaq Mohammedbhai	1.30	Piplod
197	Juniya Ahmed Mohammedbhai	0.95	Piplod
198	Juniya Farooque Mohammedbhai	1.45	Piplod
199	Vazirkhan Rasoolkhan Pathan	0.87	Piplod
200	Yousufbhai A.Sattarbhai Mansuri	2.50	Piplod
201	Makrani Ajizbhai Salambhai	0.35	Piplod
202	Majidbhai Mehmood Shaikh	0.30	Piplod
203	Mohyuddin Najruddin Shaikh	1.33	Piplod
204	Chauhan Rasoolbhai Nanoobhai	0.37	Piplod
205	Chauhan Dilsabbibi Nanoobhai	0.75	Piplod
206	Chauhan A.Razakbhai Nanoobhai	0.40	Piplod
207	Usmanbhai Ganibhai Makrani	0.28	Piplod
208	Sirajuddin Najruddin Shaikh	0.30	Piplod
209	Chauhan Rahimbhai Salim	0.55	Piplod
210	Chauhan A.Qadarbhai Salim	0.60	Piplod
211	Ilmuddin Najruddin Shaikh	0.48	Piplod
212	Yaqub Ihabbhai Shaikh	1.09	Piplod
213	Saeedaben Ihabbhai Shaikh	1.10	Piplod
214	Malek Qasam Miyan Tajyumiya	2.25	Piplod
215	Gyasuddin Najruddin Shaikh	0.65	Piplod
216	Aarifbhai A. Razzakbhai Mansuri	2.40	Piplod
217	Pathan Valiullakhan Yousufkhan	1.73	Piplod
218	Suleman Mohammed Mithabhai	3.00	Piplod

**Details Regarding the victims of communal riots  
After 28<sup>th</sup> February – 2002  
Village : Sanjeli (Ta. : Jhalod, Dist.: Dahod, Gujarat)**

Sr. No.	Name	No. of Family	Amount of Loss	Address member in Lacs	Remarks
1	Shaikh Mohad Ahmad	6	2.80	Sanjeli	
2	Gudala Ishak Gulam	6	2.14	Sanjeli	
3	Gudalu Rukaiya Gulam	5	2.70	Sanjeli	
4	Musa Faruk Rahim	-	0.75	Sanjeli	
5	Chamadiya Sabera Sattar	4	0.67	Sanjeli	
6	Naguji Faruq Ismail	2	0.67	Sanjeli	
7	Naguji Ismail Isha	3	17.49	Sanjeli	
8	Dokila Gulam Yakub	7	4.91	Sanjeli	
9	Shaikh Iqbal Ahmad	6	2.96	Sanjeli	
10	Naguji Fatema Mohamad	5	0.58	Sanjeli	
11	Nathu Salam Mohamad	4	1.36	Sanjeli	
12	Dokila Rukaiya A. Karim	5	4.84	Sanjeli	
13	Gudala Ishak Yusuf	2	0.53	Sanjeli	
14	Gudala Yusuf Yakub	5	1.40	Sanjeli	
15	Panwala Rashid Rahim	5	1.25	Sanjeli	
16	Panwala A. Sattar Mohd.	4	5.90	Sanjeli	
17	Naguji Rafiq Majit	6	0.98	Sanjeli	
18	Mirza Habib Samsad	1	4.50	Sanjeli	
19	Mirza Maheeb Samsad	5	5.10	Sanjeli	
20	Mirza Anwar Samsad	3	4.30	Sanjeli	
21	Naguji Kalu Majit 8		3.36	Sanjeli	
22	Mala Faruq Mohmad	4	2.19	Sanjeli	
23	Mala Faruq Mohmad	4	1.62	Sanjeli	
24	Mala Suleman Mohmad	5	3.08	Sanjeli	
25	Mala Faruk Mohmad	4	1.80	Sanjeli	
26	Mala Sugra Mohmad	3	2.73	Sanjeli	
27	Dokila Gaffar Sattar	5	1.78	Sanjeli	
28	Sathiya A. Rahim Mohd.	5	1.20	Sanjeli	
29	Sathiy Faruq Sattar	1	2.52	Sanjeli	
30	Sathiya Munat Mohd.	1	2.62	Sanjeli	
31	Sathiya Sattar Ibrahim	3	3.62	Sanjeli	
32	Sathiya Rijvan Sattar	1	2.62	Sanjeli	
33	Sathiya Arif Sattar	1	2.22	Sanjeli	
34	Sathiya Ibrahim Isha	2	6.10	Sanjeli	
35	Sathiya Salam Ibrahim	5	2.32	Sanjeli	
36	Nathu A. Haq Gani	2	5.00	Sanjeli	
37	Nathu Gani Mohmad	5	7.67	Sanjeli	
38	Sathiya A. Hamid Ibrahim	5	5.62	Sanjeli	
39	Ganda Sajid Anis	1	0.20	Sanjeli	
40	Ganda Salim Aiyub	5	2.00	Sanjeli	
41	Ganda Aiyub Adam	6	4.00	Sanjeli	
42	Sathiya Ismail A. Rahim	5	10.01	Sanjeli	
43	Sathiya A. Rahim Isha	3	5.60	Sanjeli	
44	Sathiya Razaq Rahim	4	2.00	Sanjeli	
45	Sathiya Nisar Ahmad A. Rahim	5	3.60	Sanjeli	

46	Sathiya Vahab Rahim	6	2.25	Sanjeli
47	Sathiya Arif Rahim	3	1.05	Sanjeli
48	Sathiya Faruq Rahim	1	0.40	Sanjeli
49	Sathiya M. Yusuf Hamid	2	2.07	Sanjeli
50	Sathiya M. Sahid Isha	4	6.42	Sanjeli
51	Sathiya Yunus Shahid	3	3.40	Sanjeli
52	Sathiya Majit Sahid	5	2.35	Sanjeli
53	Sathiya Amina Gani	2	14.40	Sanjeli
54	Sathiya Iqbal A. Gani	2	5.45	Sanjeli
55	Sathiya Harun Ismail	6	6.30	Sanjeli
56	Makrani Ishak A. Rahman	3	0.57	Sanjeli
57	Pathan A. Gani A. Latifkhan	6	2.61	Sanjeli
58	Chamadiy Majit Isha	8	2.80	Sanjeli
59	Ganda Salim Sattar	5	3.94	Sanjeli
60	Ganda Sattar Ibrahim	4	3.61	Sanjeli
61	Modasiya Maksuda Sattar	1	1.17	Sanjeli
62	Modasiya Karim Sattar	6	6.88	Sanjeli
63	Tura Amina Razaq	4	1.86	Sanjeli
64	Bhabhor Salim Rahim	5	3.15	Sanjeli
65	Modasiya Sattar Mohmad	5	3.36	Sanjeli
66	Modasiy Sabbir Sattar	7	1.46	Sanjeli
67	Gavra Rafiq Abdul	6	2.13	Sanjeli
68	Modasiya Fatma Gani	5	1.16	Sanjeli
69	Jarman Arif Mujit	5	1.44	Sanjeli
70	Jarman Majit Ismai	2	4.67	Sanjeli
71	Haji Razaq Sattar	5	6.00	Sanjeli
72	Dokila Rijvan Razaq	4	0.72	Sanjeli
73	Chamadiya Rafiq Ssttar	6	2.55	Sanjeli
74	Chamadiya Rahish Sattar	6	2.82	Sanjeli
75	Haji Idris Razaq	3	0.98	Sanjeli
76	Chamadiya Aiyub Sattar	12	2.75	Sanjeli
77	Patel Salim Adam	5	4.45	Sanjeli
78	Patel Rahim Adam	5	1.22	Sanjeli
79	Patel Adam Isamil	5	0.56	Sanjeli
80	Modasiya Arif Razaq	1	0.20	Sanjeli
81	Modasiya Rafiq Razaq	4	0.60	Sanjeli
82	Modasiya Razaq Mohmad	6	4.82	Sanjeli
83	Naguji Salim Sattar	5	2.23	Sanjeli
84	Nabuji Sagir Sattar	3	2.36	Sanjeli
85	Nabuji Mariyam Sattar	6	3.58	Sanjeli
86	Naguji Razaq Majit	4	1.85	Sanjeli
87	Naguji Ilyas Majit	6	2.38	Sanjeli
88	Modasiya Salim Bani	4	5.55	Sanjeli
89	Modasiya Rahim Bani	9	4.55	Sanjeli
90	Makrani Iqbal Latifkhan	8	1.26	Sanjeli
91	Pathan A. Haq Latifkhan	5	1.10	Sanjeli
92	Jarman Vahab Rahim	5	5.10	Sanjeli
93	Jarman Rahim Ismail	4	2.60	Sanjeli
94	Tura Adam Ibrahim	6	1.69	Sanjeli
95	Tura Yusuf Ibrahim	7	2.59	Sanjeli
96	Tura Kalu Ibrahim	5	1.03	Sanjeli
97	Shaikh Salim Yusuf	6	4.42	Sanjeli

98	Shaikh Iqbal Yusuf	4	3.85	Sanjeli
99	Tura Gafur Ibrahim	5	1.28	Sanjeli
100	Shaikh Irfan Yusuf	2	3.36	Sanjeli
101	Shaikh Yusuf Mohmad	2	5.90	Sanjeli
102	Shaikh Harun Yusuf	7	4.38	Sanjeli
103	Bataka M. Ilyas Yusuf	5	2.10	Sanjeli
104	Bataka Adam Yusuf	4	4.25	Sanjeli
105	Bataka Rahub Yusuf	5	4.66	Sanjeli
106	Dokila Rajak Karim	6	1.32	Sanjeli
107	Naguji Ilyas Gani	5	16.40	Sanjeli
108	Naguji Vahab Gani	6	20.05	Sanjeli
109	Naguji Sabbir Gani	6	5.80	Sanjeli
110	Naguji Rahub Gani	5	4.60	Sanjeli
111	Naguji Salim Gani	5	9.45	Sanjeli
112	Naguji Rijvan Gani	3	3.20	Sanjeli
113	Jarman Salim Adam	5	7.60	Sanjeli
114	Jarman Adam Ismail	3	13.80	Sanjeli
115	Sathiya Faruk Shahid	3	1.45	Sanjeli
116	Vhora Dr.Gulam H.Yedar Yakub	4	7.25	Sanjeli
117	Mansuri Shaqil Gulam Hedar	4	4.40	Sanjeli
118	Dokila Sarifa Idris	5	2.78	Sanjeli
119	Dokila Raj k Abdulla	5	3.92	Sanjeli
120	Dokila Harun Rajaq	2	1.04	Sanjeli
121	Dokila Irfan Rajaq	2	2.08	Sanjeli
122	Moravala Sabbir Isha	6	3.13	Sanjeli
123	Dokila Anis Sattar	6	5.79	Sanjeli
124	Sathiya Iqbal Ahmad	4	3.10	Sanjeli
125	Sathiya Iqbal Ahmad	3	4.45	Sanjeli
126	Sathiya Salm Ahmad	5	2.30	Sanjeli
127	Sathiya Ahmad Isha	4	4.50	Sanjeli
128	Patel A. Haq Valibhai	11	2.32	Sanjeli
129	Sathiya Karim Ismail	5	3.25	Vasia
130	Sathiya Gani Ismail	4	2.05	Sanjeli
131	Sathiya A. Haq Gani	5	0.37	Sanjeli
132	Ganda Imran Anis	1	1.00	Sanjeli
133	Ganda Rahim Aiyub	5	2.00	Sanjeli
134	Ganda Amina Anis		2.50	Sanjeli
135	Ganda Abdul Aiyub	4	1.00	Sanjeli
136	Ganda Irfan Rahim	3	0.50	Sanjeli
137	Ganda Rashid Aiyub	6	1.50	Sanjeli
138	Sathiya Imran Gafar	5	5.25	Sanjeli
139	Patel Rafik Sattar	5	5.25	Sanjeli
140	Bhativara M. Husain Ibrahim	1	1.25	Sanjeli
141	Morwala A. Gani Mohamad	5	3.65	Sanjeli
142	Shaikh Firoz Sikander	3	3.86	Sanjeli
143	Sathiya Gani Ibrahim	8	3.55	Sanjeli
144	Panwala Sabbir Sattar	6	3.55	Sanjeli
145	Sathiya Safiya Gani	1	1.75	Sanjeli
146	Masken Karim Isha	6	1.75	Sanjeli
147	Masken Nafisa Isha	2	1.10	Sanjeli
148	Naguji Yusuf Gani	3	4.60	Sanjeli
149	Gudala Kalu Sattar	2	3.18	Sanjeli

150	Chamadiya Sattar Isha	2	5.87	Sanjeli
151	Patel Salim Gani	6	3.50	Sanjeli
152	Masken Idris Karim	1	2.74	Sanjeli
153	Patel Salim Gani	2	4.55	Sanjeli
154	Patel Faruq Idris	1	0.73	Sanjeli
155	Patel Ibrahim Gani	12	3.75	Sanjeli
156	Patel Idris Gani	4	2.82	Sanjeli
157	Morawala Sagir Karim	4	3.51	Sanjeli
158	Nathu Idris Salam	1	0.19	Sanjeli
159	Morawala Sagir Karim	2	3.84	Sanjeli
160	Haji Gaffar Majit		3.60	Sanjeli
161	Dabba Sabbir Ismail	3	4.99	Sanjeli
162	Dabba Fakir M. Ismail	5	4.99	Sanjeli
163	Morawala Majit Abdulla	6	2.61	Sanjeli
164	Tura Majit Gani	6	9.32	Sanjeli
165	Tura Zubaida Gani	3	3.40	Sanjeli
166	Nathiu Majit Sattar	3	4.80	Sanjeli
167	Shaikh Sarifa Ilyas Tura	5	7.60	Sanjeli
168	Patel Iqbal Sattar	4	6.44	Sanjeli
169	Patel Tahera Sabbir	5	5.65	Sanjeli
170	Patel Rahim Sattar	5	5.23	Sanjeli
171	Patel Nisar Sattar	4	6.20	Sanjeli
172	Chamadiya Rajaq Majit	5	1.59	Sanjeli
173	Chamadiya Rahim Majit	2	0.56	Sanjeli
174	Chamdiya Zubaida Kalu	5	0.46	Sanjeli
175	Sathiya Mohmed Ismail	4	2.35	Sanjeli
176	Tailor M. Sahid Ismail	8	11.08	Sanjeli
177	Tailor Iyas Ismail	6	2.87	Sanjeli
178	Tailor Halima Ismail	2	2.94	Sanjeli
179	Sathiya A. Majit Gani	5	16.76	Sanjeli
180	Shaikh Mohmad Isha	13	6.60	Sanjeli
181	Shaikh A. Gani Adam	1	3.60	Sanjeli
182	Shaikh Mohmad Gani	6	1.35	Sanjeli
183	Tura Rukaiya Rahim	6	7.85	Sanjeli
184	Shaikh Arif A. Gani	5	2.52	Sanjeli
185	Shaikh Salim Isha	1	2.30	Sanjeli
186	Shaikh Ilyas Isha	7	2.10	Sanjeli
187	Naguji Rafik Sattar	7	4.50	Sanjeli
188	Naguji Salim Sattar	4	4.25	Sanjeli
189	Morawal Iqbal A. Gani	4	2.25	Sanjeli
190	Morawal Rafik A. Gani	3	2.15	Sanjeli
191	Dokila A. Raheman Yakub	1	0.98	Sanjeli
192	Dabba Maksuda Fakir M.	2	5.51	Sanjeli
193	Dokila Amina A. Majit	5	9.32	Sanjeli
194	Dokila Rahis A. Majit	4	1.10	Sanjeli
195	Sathiya Gaffar Ismail	6	7.74	Sanjeli
196	Sathiya Rahub Ismail	5	1.89	Sanjeli
197	Morawala A. Karim Mohmad	4	6.75	Sanjeli
198	Naguji Sugra A. Sattar	3	4.11	Sanjeli
199	Masken Majit Isha	2	4.25	Sanjeli
200	Masken Rafik Majit	2	1.50	Sanjeli
201	Musken Mustaq Isha	6	18.35	Sanjeli

202	Sathiya Irfan Rahub	2	1.06	Sanjeli
203	Masken Sajid Mustaq	1	1.51	Sanjeli
204	Masken Irfan Mastaq	3	3.10	Sanjeli
205	Sathiya Amina Ismail	1	5.60	Sanjeli
206	Shaikh Samir Rahub	1	1.60	Sanjeli
207	Shaikh Arif Yusuf	4	5.81	Sanjeli
208	Masken Sattar Isha	2	1.76	Sanjeli
209	Shaikh Rahim Mohmad	4	3.12	Sanjeli
210	Shakh Farida Yusuf	4	0.90	Sanjeli
211	Shaikh Faruq A. Haq	5	4.45	Sanjeli
212	Sahikh Ishak Rahim	3	4.30	Sanjeli
213	Shaikh Idris A. Haq	1	2.30	Sanjeli
214	Shaikh Rijvan A. Haq	3	0.70	Sanjeli
215	Shaikh A. Haq Mohmad	2	3.93	Sanjeli
216	Sathiya Rafiq Hakim	2	1.12	Sanjeli
217	Sathiya Gaffar Hakim	8	1.22	Sanjeli
218	Sathiya Sabera Gaffar	1	1.29	Sanjeli
219	Sathiya Iqbal Hakim	3	0.92	Sanjeli
220	Sathiya Rukaiya Hakim	2	2.20	Sanjeli
221	Sathiya Sayra Hakim	1	0.59	Sanjeli
222	Makul Arik A. Majid	4	4.10	Sanjeli
223	Sathiya Sahid Hakim	6	1.28	Sanjeli
224	Sathiya A. Majid A. Sattar		1.53	Sanjeli
225	Makul A. Haq A. Majid	4	4.44	Sanjeli
226	Mukul A. Haq A. Majid	3	11.36	Sanjeli
227	Makul Rijvan A. Majid	2	2.88	Sanjeli
228	Dokila Faruk Anis	4	1.07	Sanjeli
229	Dokila Sattar Yakub	1	5.15	Sanjeli
230	Morawala Sabbir Karim	5	6.94	Sanjeli
231	Morawala H. A. Karim Abdulla	3	23.81	Sanjeli
232	Morawala Sagir H. Karim	5	4.17	Sanjeli
233	Morawala Nisar Karim	5	4.43	Sanjeli
234	Shaik Majit Karif	6	3.30	Sanjeli
235	Pathan Memuda Hamid	1	2.31	Sanjeli
236	Sathiya Rafiq Karim	4	3.75	Sanjeli
237	Sathiya M. Safi Karim	3	0.92	Sanjeli
238	Sathiya Karim Isaha	3	3.25	Sanjeli
239	Sahtiya Ilyas Karim	6	3.10	Sanjeli
240	Sathiya Rijvan Karim	1	3.10	Sanjeli
241	Sathiya A. Haq Karim	6	2.86	Sanjeli
242	Tura Mohmad Sttar	5	1.85	Sanjeli
243	Tura Rahim Mohmad	5	1.00	Sanjeli
244	Tura Saida Rafiq	3	2.50	Sanjeli
245	Shaikh Amirmiya Sidimiya	4	0.63	Sanjeli
246	Sathiya Rafik Karim	1	5.19	Sanjeli
247	Shaikh Umrav Sidimiya	1	1.20	Sanjeli
248	Shaikh Yusuf Sidimiya	3	2.50	Sanjeli
249	Shaikh Salim Amirmiya	5	0.70	Sanjeli
250	Shaikh Mustaq Sidimiya	4	3.65	Sanjeli
251	Sahikh Yusuf Sidimiya	3	0.75	Sanjeli
252	Shaikh Murtuza Mehbub	4	2.62	Sanjeli
253	Morawala Ismail Salam	4	3.50	Sanjeli

254	Shaikh Sitariben Jarifkhan	2	1.44	Sanjeli
255	Danga Iqbal Sattar	3	1.90	Vasia
256	Sathiya Sahid A. Rahim	5	3.60	Vasia
257	Sathiya Idrish Rahim	4	4.57	Vasia
258	Sathiya Ilyas Rahim	3	3.20	Vasia
259	Sathiya A. Rahim Ibrahim		6.00	Vasia
260	Tura Rahim Rajaq	3	6.20	Sanjeli
261	Tura Salim Rajaq	2	1.75	Sanjeli
262	Pathan Gattar Bilankhan	6	4.15	Sanjeli
263	Pathan Imran Yusukhan	1	1.70	Sanjeli
264	Bhatiyara Kadar Mohmad	6	5.00	Sanjeli
265	Pathan Mohmad Bilankhan	5	4.20	Sanjeli
266	Pathan Sarifkhan Bhaikhan		8.61	Sanjeli
267	Bhatiyara Sabbir Mohamad	2	4.00	Sanjeli
268	Bhaityara Mohamad Rahim	3	15.25	Sanjeli
269	Morawal Ilyas Salam	5	3.17	Sanjeli
270	Morawal Idrish Salam	6	2.56	Sanjeli
271	Bandi Sattar A. Gani	5	1.78	Sanjeli
272	Tailor M. Rafiq A. Gani	3	7.93	Sanjeli
273	Bandi Gani Adam	1	5.35	Sanjeli
274	Bandi Rajaq Gani	3	1.24	Sanjeli
275	Bandi Irshad Sattar	1	1.37	Sanjeli
276	Ghanchi Kalu Daud	6	1.25	Sanjeli
277	Kasam Anis Salam	5	2.27	Sanjeli
278	Morawala Nurmohmad Salam	6	2.14	Sanjeli
279	Morawala Salam Mohmad	3	4.65	Sanjeli
280	Moralwal Rahim Salam	4	2.31	Sanjeli
281	Chamadiya Sabera Sattar	4	1.85	Sanjeli
282	Sahiya Zubaida Sattar	4	4.73	Sanjeli
283	Sathiya Rahim Sattar	5	1.70	Sanjeli
284	Mala Ibrahim Ismail	3	6.25	Sanjeli
285	Shaikh Firoz Sikandr	5	3.86	Sanjeli
286	Makrani Bibiben Gaffar	4	2.15	Sanjeli
287	Shaikh Sarajan Ahmad	1	4.25	Sanjeli
288	Shaikh Aiyub Ahmed		4.05	Sanjeli
289	Shaikh Gani Ahmed		4.25	Sanjeli
290	Shikh Majid Ahmed		4.20	Sanjeli
291	Dokila Rafiq ajid		3.65	Sanjeli
292	Jarman Gaffar Gani	5	2.50	Sanjeli
293	Jarman Abdul Ismail	3	4.15	Sanjeli
294	Tilor Mustaq Majid	10	4.16	Sanjeli
295	Dokila Safiya A. Majid	1	0.23	Sanjeli
296	Dokila Majid Ismail	1	2.75	Sanjeli
297	Dokila Mustaq Majid	10	1.55	Sanjeli
298	Dokila A. Ajiz Ahmad	4	7.21	Sanjeli
299	Dokila Rafiq Ajiz	1	5.70	Sanjeli
300	Dokila Khemn Ajiz	1	4.40	Sanjeli
301	Dokila Ahmad Ismail	2	3.21	Sanjeli
302	Bhatiyara Ishak Hasan	1	0.70	Sanjeli
303	Bhatiyara Yusuf Hajan	1	0.50	Sanjeli
304	Bhatiyara Hasa Ibrahim	5	3.63	Sanjeli
305	Bhatiyara Sayra Umar	4	0.65	Sanjeli

306	Mirza Zulfikar Altaf	1	3.10	Sanjeli
307	Sathiya M. Rafik A. Karim	5	5.62	Vasia
308	Sathiya A. Rahim A. Karim	6	10.14	Vasia
309	Sathiya A. Haq A. Karim	7	9.70	Vasia
310	Sathiya A. Karim Mohmad	2	5.60	Vasia
311	Sathiya A. Gani Ismail	4	0.35	Vasia
312	Sathiya Maksuda A. Rahim	1	1.80	Vasia
313	Sathiya A. Rahim Mohamad	4	7.42	Vasia
314	Sathiya Ilyas A. Gani	5	5.15	Vasia
315	Mala Aslam Ibrahim	4	0.95	Sanjeli
316	Bhatiyara A. Majid Kasam	4	5.10	Sanjeli
317	Bhatiyara Ayesha Bhekhhabhai	3	5.30	Sanjeli
318	Bhatiyara A. Hamid Lasam	4	4.80	Sanjeli
319	Bhatiyara A. Aziz Kasam		2.50	Sanjeli
320	Mansuri M. S. Hanif Ismil		0.90	Sanjeli
321	Shaikh Nafisa Ilyas	4	2.14	Sanjeli
322	Shamdiya Irfan Gani	1	1.03	Sanjeli
323	Naguji A. Gani Ismail	1	3.02	Sanjeli
324	Shaikh A. Rahim Abdulla	5	15.25	Sanjeli
325	Shaikh M. Ilyas Abdulla	5	13.00	Sanjeli
326	Shaikh Iqbal A. Rahim	5	1.60	Sanjeli
327	Shaikh M. Uusuf A. Rahim	5	5.25	Sanjeli
328	Shaikh M. Shafi H. Abdulla	4	13.00	Sanjeli
329	Shaikh Ajiz M. Shafi	3	1.20	Sanjeli
330	Patel Ilyas Salam	5	4.28	Sanjeli
331	Patel Iqbal Sattar	1	0.75	Sanjeli
332	Naguji Ruksana Anis	4	4.29	Sanjeli
333	Patel Amina Salam	3	10.88	Sanjeli
334	Naguji Sugra Gani	1	4.77	Sanjeli
335	Chamdiya Idris Gani	5	0.40	Sanjeli
336	Naguji Anis Gani	5	8.37	Sanjeli
337	Jarman Rafik Abdul	6	15.00	Sanjeli
338	Jarman Rafik Abdul	5	15.51	Sanjeli
339	Jarman Abdul Ismail	3	24.55	Sanjeli
340	Jarman Rahis Abdul	6	15.61	Sanjeli
341	Jarman Sajid Abdul	1	9.76	Sanjeli
342	Jarman Iqbal Abdul	3	14.35	Sanjeli
343	Shaikh Aiyub Husain	5	1.88	Sanjeli
344	Nathu Rajak Sattar	8	2.09	Sanjeli
345	Nathu Sakina Sattar	3	3.98	Sanjeli
346	Nathu Majit Sattar	5	1.67	Sanjeli
347	Nathu Sugar Sattar	1	0.92	Sanjeli
348	Modasiya Rahim Yusuf	8	4.57	Sanjeli
349	Modasiya Salim Yusuf	5	4.36	Sanjeli
350	Modasiya Yusuf Rajul	4	1.55	Sanjeli
351	Mirza Jahra Altaf	1	0.40	Sanjeli
352	Patel Majid Adam	5	2.70	Sanjeli
353	Patel Rafik Majid	4	3.11	Sanjeli
354	Patel Irfan Majid	1	3.41	Sanjeli
355	Patel Ishak Majid	5	5.12	Sanjeli
356	Patel Iqbal Majid	4	3.66	Sanjeli
357	Patel Rashid Majid	1	1.48	Sanjeli

358	Patel Hajra Rashid	7	0.75	Sanjeli
359	Patel Rafik Isha	6	8.59	Sanjeli
360	Patel Karim Isha	5	8.34	Sanjeli
361	Patel Sagir Isha	2	8.67	Sanjeli
362	Patel Jaffir Isha	8	6.21	Sanjeli
363	Patel Rahis Isha	8	7.29	Sanjeli
364	Patel Anis Isha	10	7.25	Sanjeli
365	Patel Rukaiya Isha	1	4.73	Sanjeli
366	Shaikh Kahara Majid	-	2.16	Sanjeli
367	Shaikh Khatun Ahmad	2	1.70	Sanjeli
368	Shaikh Ilyas Rasid	3	1.40	Sanjeli
369	Shaikh Salim Kaiyum	3	1.30	Sanjeli
370	Shaikh Soyab Kaiyum	5	1.25	Sanjeli
371	Shaikh Mohmad Kaiyum	4	0.65	Sanjeli
372	Shaikh Kaiyum Isha	6	8.85	Sanjeli
373	Modasiya Arif Salam	4	1.90	Sanjeli
374	Modasiya Rafik Salam	4	0.59	Sanjeli
375	Kasamwala Maksuda Salam	6	1.17	Sanjeli
376	Kasamwala Salam Yakub	3	1.46	Sanjeli
377	Bandi Ruksana Rajaq	4	1.08	Sanjeli
378	Shaikh Amajid A. Salam	3	8.35	Sanjeli
379	Shaikh Mohmad Majid	4	1.45	Sanjeli
380	Shaikh Yusuf Salam	10	1.40	Sanjeli
381	Patel Sugra Adam	1	2.60	Sanjeli
382	Panwala Salam Rahim	2	1.45	Sanjeli
383	Modasiya A. Haq Yusuf	5	3.12	Sanjeli
384	Panwala Fatma Rahim	2	1.06	Sanjeli
385	Gudala Rajak Salam	9	0.33	Sanjeli
386	Gudal Rashid Salam	5	0.30	Sanjeli
387	Gudala Sabbir Salam	4	0.40	Sanjeli
388	Panwala Hakim Sattar	5	1.80	Sanjeli
389	Panwala Soyab Sattar	1	2.38	Sanjeli
390	Panwala Rafiq Sattar	4	1.00	Sanjeli
391	Panwala Sattar Ismail	5	2.35	Sanjeli
392	Pathan Aiyub Baramkhan	6	0.47	Sanjeli
393	Pathan Haidar Baramkhan	5	0.67	Sanjeli
394	Shaikh Zubaida Hujainuddin	5	0.21	Sanjeli
395	Sathiya Sattar Mohmad	5	4.18	Sanjeli
396	Shaikh Ishak A. Rajak	9	0.50	Sanjeli
397	Shaikh Sabbir Gulam	5	4.05	Sanjeli
398	Shaikh Gulam Salam	2	3.05	Sanjeli
399	Shaikh Sattar Salam	9	1.33	Sanjeli
400	Panwala Rijvan Sattar	1	0.33	Sanjeli
401	Modasiya Salam Rasul	4	5.11	Sanjeli
402	Belim Mohad Amdumiya	3	0.40	Sanjeli
403	Belim Rustan Amdumiya	5	0.94	Sanjeli
404	Kapura Karim Sattar	3	2.20	Sanjeli
405	Nathu Ishak Ismail	1	4.03	Sanjeli
406	Gudala Hajra Idris	6	1.29	Sanjeli
407	Tura Rabiya Ahmad	6	1.60	Sanjeli
408	Panwala Rajak Rahim	5	4.03	Sanjeli
409	Panwala Samir Rajak	1	0.45	Sanjeli

410	Panwala Gaffar Rahim	6	1.24	Sanjeli
411	Pahan Iqbal Ajiz	5	5.44	Sanjeli
412	Pathan Najruddin Ajiz	9	4.19	Sanjeli
413	Panwala Sattar Ismail	5	0.90	Sanjeli
414	Shaikh Gani Isha	5	2.43	Sanjeli
415	Sathiya Bilkis Mohmad	4	3.62	Sanjeli
416	Shaikh Murtuja Mahebus	5	3.03	Sanjeli
417	Shaikh Mustufa Mahebus	4	0.66	Sanjeli
418	Shaikh Yusuf Sidimiya	4	3.13	Sanjeli
419	Shaikh Harun Yusufmiya	3	1.36	Sanjeli
420	Jarman M. Rafiq A. Sattar	4	1.95	Sanjeli
421	Jarman Maksuda Sattar	2	2.18	Sanjeli
422	Gudala Sabbir Rahim	4	1.75	Sanjeli
423	Gudala Ilyas Rahim	4	1.65	Sanjeli
424	Gudala Isha Yakub	2	1.14	Sanjeli
425	Gudala Rahim Isha	2	2.60	Sanjeli
426	Chandiya Asiya A. Gani		1.70	Sanjeli
427	Makul Ahmad Ibrahim	6	1.24	Sanjeli
428	Makul Halimabibi Ibrahim	1	2.85	Sanjeli
429	Makul Salim Ahmad	4	1.20	Sanjeli
430	Sathiya Isak Ismail	6	7.18	Sanjeli
431	Jarman Mustaq Sattar	6	8.98	Sanjeli
432	Jarman A. Rajak A. Sattar	6	6.03	Sanjeli
433	Jarman A. Sattar Ismail	2	3.33	Sanjeli
434	Sathiya Salim Hamid	5	2.70	Sanjeli
435	Shaikh Abdulbhai Ismail	6	1.71	Sanjeli
436	Shaikh Anis Ismail	6	1.25	Sanjeli
437	Shaikh Nisar Ismail	5	1.57	Sanjeli
438	Shaikh Rajak Ismail	6	1.35	Sanjeli
439	Dokila Sattar Yakub	8	5.15	Sanjeli
440	Tura Yusuf Isamil	1	1.40	Sanjeli
441	Sathiya Idrish Ismail	6	1.64	Sanjeli
442	Patel Rajak Ismail	7	3.00	Sanjeli
443	Tura Rukaiya Adambhai	1	1.74	Sanjeli
444	Tura Sayra Kalubhai	1	1.62	Sanjeli
445	Patel Iqbal Sattar	4	0.62	Sanjeli
446	Chamadiya Idris A. Sattar	5	1.32	Sanjeli
447	Shaikh Kherunisa Abdulbhai	1	3.13	Sanjeli
448	Shaikh A. Rajak Mahmud	2	9.82	Sanjeli
449	Shaikh Irfan A. Rajak	1	2.45	Sanjeli
450	Shaikh Hafiz Rafik Sattar	9	3.54	Sanjeli
451	Shaikh Bibiben A. Sattar	2	3.41	Sanjeli
452	Morawala Jubeda Karim	1	1.70	Sanjeli
453	Shaikh Amina Anvarmiya	2	2.25	Sanjeli
454	Shaikh Imrani Sidimiya	1	0.50	Sanjeli
455	Gudala Isak Yusuf	2	2.30	Sanjeli
456	Shaikh Rafik Gulam	6	1.92	Sanjeli
457	Shaikh Ganibhai Adambhai	1	0.40	Sanjeli
458	Madrasi Taslima Jainuddin	1	3.00	Sanjeli
459	Madrasi Sattar Ibrahim	1	2.00	Sanjeli
460	Patel Safiya Adam	1	4.87	Sanjeli
461	Patel Rabiya Adam	1	4.90	Sanjeli

462	Sathiya Laykun A. Haqe	6	2.21	Sanjeli
463	Shaikh Latifkha Mahomad	4	1.00	Sanjeli
464	Jarman Rafik A. Gani	6	1.86	Sanjeli
465	Morawala Ismail Salam	6	3.50	Sanjeli
466	Dabba Gafar Gulam	6	2.42	Sanjeli
467	Dabba Gulam Ibrahim	3	6.20	Sanjeli
468	Gudala Rajak Isha	8	2.34	Sanjeli
469	Pathan Mahomadsafi Mahomad	6	1.43	Sanjeli
470	Pathan Mahomadisak Mahomad	6	0.83	Sanjeli
471	Dabba Anish Gulam	3	3.47	Sanjeli
472	Pathan Mahmud Yusuf Mahomad	5	1.53	Sanjeli
473	Pathan M. Hanif Mohamad Nabi	6	0.84	Sanjeli
474	Mansuri Sabbir Gulam Haider	5	0.65	Sanjeli
475	Mansuri Iqbal Gulamthaider	3	0.67	Sanjeli
476	Shaikh Murtuja Mahbubmiya	4	0.66	Sanjeli
477	Shaikh Amirmiya Sidimiya	4	0.69	Sanjeli
478	Ganda Anish Ayub	6	1.90	Sanjeli
479	Sathiya Fruk Sattar	1	2.62	Sanjeli
480	Rafik Abdul Hak Gavra	4	1.61	Sanjeli
481	Mirza Aitabbeg Kasulbeg	4	5.90	Sanjeli
482	Mirza Sailmbeg Samsad	5	8.25	Sanjeli
483	Mirza Samsadbeg Rajulbeg	3	4.55	Sanjeli
484	Patel Anish Adam	6	1.63	Sanjeli
485	Dokila A. Rajaq Abdulla	5	1.19	Sanjeli
486	Sathiya A. Rajaq Ahmad	5	4.90	Sanjeli
487	Sathiya A. Karim Ismail	5	2.40	Vasia
488	Sathiya A. Karim Ismail	5	1.85	Vasia
489	Ganda Salim Aiyub	5	7.00	Sanjeli
490	Tura Majid Gani	6	3.55	Sanjeli
491	Sathiya Unus Sahid	3	3.15	Sanjeli
492	Shaikh RahubIsuf	8	4.52	Sanjeli
493	Sathiya Rafik Haqim	2	1.31	Sanjeli
494	Sathiya Gaffar Haqim	6	5.55	Sanjeli
495	Sathiya Sahid Haqim	7	0.89	Sanjeli
496	Sathiya Karim Isha	2	2.17	Sanjeli
497	Sathiya Ilyas Karim	6	1.52	Sanjeli
498	Sathiya A. Rahim Ibrahim	7	10.90	Vasia
499	Bataka A. Rahuf Yusuf	5	4.66	Sanjeli
500	Pathan Sarifkhan Bhuikhan	6	1.25	Sanjeli
501	Shaikh A. Rahim H. Abdulla	5	7.00	Sanjeli
502	Shaikh A. Rahim H. Abdulla	5	10.50	Sanjeli
503	Shaikh M. Iqbal A. Rahim	5	5.25	Sanjeli
504	Shaikh M. Yusuf A. Rahim	5	5.25	Sanjeli
505	Patel Ilyas Salim	4	4.63	Sanjeli
506	Patel Ilyas Salim	4	1.95	Sanjeli
507	Patel Ilyas Salim	4	3.17	Sanjeli
508	Jarman Anish Abdul	5	3.20	Sanjeli
509	Shaikh Memuda Hamid	4	.145	Sanjeli
510	Haji A. Majid H. Adam	5	7.16	Sanjeli
511	Patel Rafik Majidbhai	4	3.56	Sanjeli
512	Patel Irfan Majidbhai	1	3.72	Sanjeli

513	Patel Hajra Rashd	8	6.88	Sanjeli
514	Patel Rafiq Isha	4	2.30	Sanjeli
515	Patel Sagir Isha	2	3.54	Sanjeli
516	Patel Anish Isha	10	6.22	Sanjeli
517	Bandi A. Rajaq Gani	4	1.05	Sanjeli
518	Panwala Haqim Sattar	5	2.60	Sanjeli
519	Sathiya Mohmad Ismail	5	5.30	Sanjeli
520	Amir Miya Siddimiya	2	0.69	Sanjeli
521	Shaikh Salimmiya Siddimiya	4	0.38	Sanjeli
522	Shaikh Samad Ismail	5	1.53	Sanjeli
523	Modasiya Rafiq Salam	4	0.59	Sanjeli
524	Dokila Faquir Anis	4	1.07	Sanjeli
525	Modasiya Arif Salam	4	1.90	Sanjeli
526	Patel Rajaq Ismail	7	1.57	Sanjeli
527	Patel Rajaq Ismail	7	2.15	Sanjeli
528	Patel Rajaq Ismail	7	6.59	Sanjeli
529	Shaikh A. Rajaq Mohm.	2	10.79	Sanjeli
530	Shaikh Rafiq A. Sattar	9	1.02	Sanjeli
531	Patel A. Majid Adam	5	2.60	Sanjeli
532	Sathiya Ahmad Isha	4	1.25	Sanjeli
533	Shaikh Salam Amirmiya	4	0.38	Sanjeli
534	Sathiya Iqbal Ahmad	4	7.70	Sanjeli
535	Shaikh Yusuf Sidimiya	4	3.13	Sanjeli
536	Nathu Sharifa Salam	4	0.69	Sanjeli
537	Sathiya Irfan Idrish		0.50	Vasia
538	Bhakkal Gani Karim		0.30	Vasia
539	Dula Iliyas Sattar		0.40	Vasia
540	Patel Molvi Adem H. Mohd.	12	1.74	Sanjeli
541	Patel Soyab Molvi Adem	1	0.87	Sanjeli
542	Shaikh Suleman Gaffar		2.70	Sanjeli
543	Gudala Idrish Salam	5	0.40	Sanjeli
544	Shaikh Faruk A. Haq	5	0.38	Sanjeli
545	Shaikh Samad Ismail		0.16	Sanjeli
546	Shaikh Imran Samad		0.26	Sanjeli
547	Gudala Amina Salam		0.31	Sanjeli
548	Shaikh Namdar Ahmed	5	2.30	Sanjeli
549	Maula Sajid Kesharpuri	1	1.25	Sanjeli
550	Maula Abdulla Kesharpuri	3	1.33	Sanjeli
551	Maula Ismail Islampuri	8	1.20	Sanjeli
552	Maula Hamza Ahmed Kesharpuri	5	1.70	Sanjeli
553	Maula Rizwan Kesharpuri	4	1.90	Sanjeli
554	Trust Masjid & Madresa			Sanjeli
555	Mansuri Yasinbhai Rasulbhai	2	2.50	Sanjeli
556	Sathiya Mohd. Sattar	6	2.62	Sanjeli
557	Sathiya Rajaq Ahmad	4	2.70	Sanjeli
558	Shaikh Mustaq Sidimiya	5	2.87	Sanjeli
559	Shaikh A. Rahim Sattar	9	8.17	Sanjeli
560	Shaikh A. Rahim Satar		1.75	Sanjeli
561	Kasamwalla Salim Rahim	4	4.00	Sanjeli
562	Modasiya Bibiben Adam	5	2.45	Sanjeli
563	Kasamwal Memuna Karim		4.82	Sanjeli

564	Kasamwala Karim Sattar	6	1.04	Sanjeli
565	Islamiya Majid & Madarsa			Vasia
566	Madusiya Rukaya Rajak		1.00	
567	Modasiya Rafik Rajak		1.40	
568	Nathu Hajra Sattar		1.05	
569	Nathu Sayara Sattar		1.05	
570	Nathu Sakina Sattar		1.25	
571	Vakil Majid Sattar		1.05	
572	Nathu Maksud Rajak		1.09	
573	Nathu Ilyas Sattar		1.40	
574	Dokila Gani Sattar		1.35	
575	Sathiya Ahemad Ishu		4.90	
576	Naguji Irshad Anish		3.72	
577	Naguji Rashida Anish		4.00	
578	Naguji Kavsar Irfan		2.50	
579	Patel Siddika Ikbal		1.60	
580	Patel Shabbirahmed A. Sattar		1.95	
581	Vasiya Masjid		2.00	

**This extensive list was submitted before the Tribunal on May 2, 2002**

**District wise Detail of Damage to mosques and dargahs in Gujarat  
during communal violence which erupted on 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 2002**

**Ahmedabad Town and Ahmedabad District**

1. Idgah Masjid, Idgah Chowki, Damage, Loot and Arson
2. Mosque, Mai Fatesha Dargah Outside Shahpur Gate, Damage, Loot and Arson
3. MariyamBibi Historical Mosque, Vatwa, Damage, Loot and Arson
4. Dargah, I.O.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. Saiyed 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 Masjid, 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, Kalyan 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 Masjid, Dariapur, 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, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, Damage, Loot and Arson
39. Isanpur Pattarvali Masjid, Isanpur. Vatwa, Damage, Loot and Arson
40. Dada Tekra Masjid, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, Damage, Loot and Arson

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 Talav, 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
7. 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 Saiyed Bawa (R.A) Noorani Masjid, Saath Shahid Bawa Dargah, Nandol Road, 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
6. 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, Kouchiya 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. Saheri, 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), Ambav, 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, Vanakbori, 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 Limbdo), Apadwanj, Damaged, Loot and Razed to Ground
11. Hazrat Bal Shaheed Peer Dargah Dasalwada, Balapeer, Gebanshah peer Dargah Kapadwanj, Damaged, Loot Razed to Ground
12. Dargah, Kathal Kapadwanj cross roads, Kapadwanj, 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,Unjha, 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 Saiyed Dargah, Kadi, Razed to Ground
10. Rajiyapeer 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. Kevadiya Colony Masjid, Kevadiya 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

### **Rajkot Town and Rajkot 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, Limbayat, 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 Ground  
(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 Nagarwada Damage, 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, Savli, 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. Masjid, 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

This list was published in **Genocide Gujarat 2002, Communalism Combat March-April 2002**

## 20 Annexure | Economic Losses -- Panchmahal District

This tables of data were submitted to the Tribunal on May 7, 2002

### Village wise loss during communal riots February, March, 2002 (Taluka: Lunawada, Dist:Panchmahal, Gujarat)

S.N.	Name of the village	Total figure of the property destroyed				Amount of Loss (Rs)
		Houses	Shops	Cattle	Vehicles	
1	Lunawada Town	32	129	140	55	22816636
2	Mota Sonela	2	2			385000
3	Kothamba	30	28	35	7	4546150
4	Saragva Mahudi	16	4	332	4	3395000
5	Malekpur	23	17		3	5494000
6	Bediya	17	2	135		2325300
7	Zaydi	22	2	45		2930500
8	Napania	100	1			3250
9	Chhampeli	2	2			619500
10	Gengadiya	6	5	5		585000
11	Hadmatiya	68	3			2315000
12	Kaunchiya	47	3			1753000
13	Pattan	3	1			555000
14	Raanpur	1	2			60000
15	Vaadhela Paali		1			250000
16	Aritha				1	30000
17	Khempur	1	3			275000
18	Chaavadiya	3	2	4	2	1107000
19	Bhatoda	1	1		1	1750
20	Raampur Paadedi	1	1		1	21500
21	Vechaat Na Muvada	3	5			791000
22	Erodina Muvada		1			38000
23	Zarakhwada			1		40000
24	Karanabariya Na Muvada	1		5		105000
25	Nana Vaadoder	1	1			125000
26	Naani Palli		1			50000
27	Ukardi	1	1		1	82000
28	Kolvan		1			400000
29	Juna Gorada		1			140000
30	Mota Bhalaada	5				360000
31	Moti Zaanzi		1		1	190000
32	Navaa Muvaada	1				80000
33	Kaana Baariya	1		5		125000
34	Kaanelaav	1	1			30000
35	Vaadhiya Na Gorada		1			250000
36	Mochivaadiyaa	2	2			325000
37	Namnaar	1	1	1		42000
38	Vatvatiya		1			50000
39	Untdi	1	4			313000
40	Kamlopa	1	3			260000

41	Toch Na Gorada	1				112000
42	Waaniya Na Gorada	4		20		850000
43	Undra	2	1			320000
44	Kharol	3	2			827000
45	Kadiya	2	1			550000
46	Dhesiya	2	2			580000
47	Laalsar	1	1			300000
48	Charaan Gaam		1			114000
49	Bhalaada		4			290000
50	Lakdi Poyda		2			169000
51	Ucharpi	1				85000
52	Dalvai Saavli	1	2	5		624000
53	Nava Rabadia	2	3			520000
54	Haathivan	4	2			624000
55	Khant Na Muvada	3	6		3	851000
56	Maakhaliya	1	2			115000
57	Raajgadh		1			200000
58	Khalaaspur	29	2			1107000
59	Kantaar	1	2			320000
60	Baariya Na movada	1	1			150000
61	Chatkabeli	8	2	20		1430000
62	Juna Bhalada	1	1	6	1	275000
63	Wadi Na Gorada	1	1			375000
64	Naal Na Muvada	1	1			15000
65	Dolatpura	2	1		1	49000
66	Baamanwaad	19				632000
67	Madhwas	2		10		260000

**Grand Total**

**68942236**

(Indian Rupees Six Crores, Eighty Nine Lakhs, Forty Two Thousand, Two Hundred and thirty Six Only)  
Total Loss in Lunawada Proper and Taluka

**Village wise loss during communal riots February, March, 2002**

(Taluka: Kadana, Dist: Panchmahal, Gujarat)

S.No	Name of the village	House	Shops	Cattles	Total figure of the property destroyed	
					Vehicles	Amount of Loss (Rs)
1	Malvan	19	20	15	7 Tempos	24867000
2	Moti Raath	2	2	4	3	3090000
3	Sarasava North	4	4		2	3377000
4	Amthani	4	3		2	2642000
5	Divda-Colony	3	4		1	1210000
6	Dadhaliya	1	1			400000
7	Velanvada	3	2		2	861000
8	Ditvas	1	1			1155000
9	Karvai	1	2			2212000
10	Vada Zaapna	5	7	13	3	2688000
11	Thakor Na Dharaa		2			360000
12	Munpur	2	2			1365000
13	Raajanpur	3	4		2	606000
14	Dodiya	1	1		1	703400

15	Mota Dharoda	2				195000
16	Lapaniya	1	1			460000
17	Talvada	1				70000
18	Ladpur	1				100000
19	Machhivada	1				31000
20	Dhodi Ghanti	1				15000
21	Sanghri-Dodiya	1				250000
22	Bhathani Muvadi	1				80000
23	Sangri (Timba)	1				150000
24	Velanvada (Macchar Na Vantaa)		1	1		640000
25	Bachkariya		1			225000
26	Khatva	1				60000
27	Kuber Na Muvada		1			150000
28	Monghaa na Muvada		1			125000
29	Saaliyabid	1	1			700000
30	Nadhra	1				120000
31	Nava Muvada	1				130000
32	Buchavada	1				196500
33	Dhuniya	1				100000
34	Kaajdi	2	1		2	550000
35	Zinzva	1				30000
36	Shiyaal	3				750000
37	Aantal Vaada	1				121000
38	Prataappura		1			40000
39	Lembaani Vaav	1				90000
40	Aankaliya		2			95000
41	Relva	1			1	90000
42	Padadra	1	1	10		55000
43	Nani Rath	1	1			50000

**Grand Total** **51618900**

(Indian Rupees Five Crores, Sixteen Lakhs, Eighteen Thousand, and Nine Hundred only)

Total Loss in Lunawada Proper and Taluka

**Village wise loss during communal riots February,  
March, 2002 (Taluka: Khanpur, Dist: Panchmahal, Gujarat)**

S.No.	Name of the Village	Total figure of the property destroyed				Amount of Loss (Rs)
		House	Shops	Cattles	Vehicles	
1	Khanpur Proper	47	31	19		29707800
2	Paandarwadaa	103	6	591	80	14785000
3	Baakor	7	7	14	1	3740000
4	Limadiya	13	25	13	1	3431600
5	Baamroda	5				360000
6	Naroda	7	4	15		1662000
7	Vadaa Gam	2	3			365000
8	Gaangta	2	5		2	569200
9	Navaa Gaam		2			375000
10	Isroda	1				135000

11	Lawaana	4	3	5	1435000
12	Dhuleta	3	2		763000
13	Bhadroad	1	1		200000
14	Raajgadh		1		215000
15	Jetpur	1	2		350000
16	Baabaliya	1	1	2	800000
17	Paatapur	1	1		780000
18	Chhani	1			180000
19	Wadhelaa		1	4	50000
20	Bhuvabaar	1	1	1	105000
21	Simalnadaa	1	11		50000
22	Pujelaav	1	1	6	700000

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**Grand Total**

**60758600**

**(Indian Rupees Six Crores, Seven Lakhs, Fifty Eight Thousand, and Six Hundred only)**

**Total Loss in Khanpur Taluka**

No	Taluka		Houses		Commercial(A)		Vehicles(B)		Religious Places			Deaths Rs. Death	Total	Damages
	No	Amt.	No	Amt.	No	Amt.	No	Amt.	Mosque	Madrassa	Dargah			
													Rs. In Lacs	
1.	Dahod		32	121.96	18	12.8								134.76
2.	Zalod		303	595.29	45	55.24								650.53
3.	Fatehpura		224	357.97	79	56.63								414.6
4.	Limheda		34	48.02	9	10.55								58.57
5.	Dev. Bhariya		94	101	25	34.15								135.15
6.	Garbada		15	0.8										0.8
7.	Dhanpur		1	0.15	1	0.01								0.16
8.	Khanpur		1	0.25										0.285
9.	Lunawada		386											0
10.	Kadana		83											0
11.	Santampur		61											0
12.	Dhanera		5											0
Total			1239	1225.44	177	169.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1394.855

(Data submitted by the Gujarat Sarvajanic Relief Samiti )

## 21 Annexure Economic Losses -- Banaskantha District

*This was submitted to the Tribunal on May 4, 2002*

### Property destroyed in Banaskantha district

No	Taluka	No. Rupees	Houses Properties	Commercial No. Rupees	Death Injured	Vehicals Rs.	Total
1	Radhanpur		85		3	40000000	
2	Dioder	2	41			10000000	
3	Sheshan	200		14	28	25000000	
4	Thara	25	64			8348500	
5	Shihori	Leave Village	26			2700000	
6	Bhabhar		26			2500000	
7	Terwada		27			1000000	
8	Harij		4			2430000	
9	Tharad	5	14			278200	
10	Patan	1	1			30000	
11	Lakhni	3	3			569500	
12	Geeba	2				24500	
13	Bamni	3				30000	
14	Dhanera	5				1757000	
15	Shankh-eshwar	5				51000	
		<b>252</b>	<b>291</b>		<b>17 28</b>	<b>94718700</b>	

Sr No	Taluka	Village	Expired Name	Age	House Lootad \$Fire	Shop Lootad \$Fire	Mosque Brokan \$Fire	Darga Broken \$Fire	Approximate Losies Rs in Lakhs	Remarks
1	Kalol	Kalol	Malek Yusufmiya	35	10	75	—	—	Rs.125 Corors	One Man
	"	Pansar	Nil	—	35	—	—	—	Rs.1.00 Corors	Losies
	"	Nardipur	Nil	—	30	—	—	—	Rs. 70 Lakhs	His Kidne
	"	Paliyad	Nil	—	23	—	—	—	Rs. 65 Lakhs	in Police
	"	Ola	Nil	—	8	—	—	—	Rs. 5 Lakhs	Firing
2	Visanagar	Visanagar	Kazi jafarmiya (Samivala)	60						
			Bahelim M hanif	45						
			Dawodbhai							
			Baloch	35						
			Asharafkhanj							
			Baloch	37						
			JenapbibiK							
			Pathan	75						
			Jinatbibi M							
			Pathan	45						

Banuben Y

	Pathan Yakubkhan Y.	41	30	150		Rs. 5 Carors
	Pathan Husainabibi Y.	38				
	Pathan Asifkhan Y.	17				
	Pathan Abidkhan Y.	12				
	Khilji Sohanabibi J.	25				
	Khilji Munafbhai J.	2				
	Behelim Afsanabanu I	19				
	Pathan Ataullah Y.	8				
	Pathan Amarulla Y.	4				
	(15 Exp)					
3	Visnagar Umta Mansari	75	60	2		Rs.90 Lakhs
	Abdulbhai I.					
	Shaikh Mahamadbhai H.	70				
4	Vijapur Sardarpur	40				
	Kureshi Bhaimiya A.					
	Kureshi Johrabibi B.	35				
	Kureshi Arifkhan B.	17				
	Kureshi Rafik B.	13				
	Kureshi Abeda B	11				
	Shaikh Rasida J	35				
	Shaikh Mumtajibibi M.	25				
	Shaikh Firoj makbul	4				
	Shaikh Bachumiya N.	45				
	Shaikh Abasmiya K.	40				
	Shaikh Rukhsana	35	20	22		Rs.70 Lakhs
	Shaikh Sayarabanu A.	22				
	Shaikh Sakarbibi M.	30				
	Shaikh Faridabanu M.	25				
	Shaikh Irfan M.	14				
	Shaikh Tipu M.	7				
	Sherumiya R	50				
	Shaikh Memudabibi S.	43				
	Shaikh Mumtajibibi S.	23				
	Shaikh Yunus S.	14				
	Shaikh Sakinbibi B.	40				
	Shaikh Babubibi	35				
	Babumiya					
	Shaikh Suhana Arifkhan	1				
	Shaikh Jayadabanu	35				
	Abumiya					
	Vijapur Falu	Nil		2		Rs. 1,70,000/
	“ Kanakpur	Nil		1	1	Rs. 35,000/
	“ Derol	Nil		1		Rs.1,00,000/
	“ Pilvai	Nil		31		Rs.6,56,000/
	“ Kukarwada	Nil		74	1 1	Rs.1.20 Carors
7	Mansa	Mansa		Nil	3	Rs. 3 Lakhs
	“	Lodra		Nil	1	Rs.3.8.Lakhs
	“	Ajol		Nil	1	Rs.3.00 Lakhs
	“	Veda (Pilva)	Nil	2		Rs.0.52 Laks

8	Mehsana	Mehsana	Nil	10	95		1		Rs.3.00 Carors		
	"	Piludra	Nil	12					Rs.15.00 Lakhs		
	"	Linch	Nil	25					Rs.1 Carors		
	"	Ambasan	Nil	1					Rs.1.00 Lakhs		
9	Unjha	Unjha	Sultan Bapu Memon		60 22					One mosque value about Rs.15 Lakhs broken by JCM machin totali change in ground	
						Idrishbhai 4 Person Musafir Name & Address Not Known	90	15	1	3	Rs.1.70 Carors
10	Unava	Unava	Nil		25				1	Rs.50 lakhs	One dargah value about Rs.25 Lakhs losies
11	Patan	Patan	Baloch Kayamkhan	40	90		1			Rs. 4,22,55000/	
		Chansma	Nil		15				1	Rs.15 Lakhs	
12	Deodar	Shesan	15 Person Expired Name is not given.		70					Rs.50Lakhs	
13	Thara	Thara	Nil								
14	Disa	Disa	Nil								
15	Visnagar	Savala	Chauhan	53						Rs.15 Lakhs	Agric- ulter farm has Sultan khanM. been totally distroy
16	Bechraji	Bechraji	Nil				6	5		Rs. 15 Lakhs	
17	Kadi	Kadi	Nil	12	53					Rs. 2 Carors	
18	Kadi	Adudndra	Nil	70			1			Rs.1.00 Carors	

**Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind Relief Committee**  
**Property destroyed in Mehsana district**

No	Taluka	Houses	Commercial Properties	Vehicals	Fertilizer	Religious Places	Rs Death	Total
		No.Rupees		No. Rupees	No. Amt	MosqueDargah Madrasa	Injured	
1	Mehsana		95					14241000
2	Visnagar	110	150		1		17	56
3	Vijapur	20	22			1	24	605
4	Kadi	82	53			1		199.61
								14241860.61

*This was submitted to the Tribunal on May 11, 2002*

**Particulars regarding loss in Dahod district**

Village/ Town	Taluka	Fam- ily	Affected people	Damage to Property			Religious Places		Death&Injured			Total Losses in (Lacs)
				Houses	Shops	Mosque	Mosque	Madresa	Death	Injured	Total	
Dahod	Dahod	11	20	11	20	1	1	1	2	-	2	41.64
Katwara	Dahod	32	180	32	11	17	1	2	-	1	1	57.41
Jhalod	Jhalod	173	764	71	104	9	2	2	4	2	6	459.59
Sanjeli	Jhalod	311	1921	400	187	36	1	6	10	96	106	2057.20
Limdi	Jhalod	8	33	7	4	-	1	-	-	3	3	8.19
Timi	Jhalod	17	99	15	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	40.62
Fatepura	Fatepura	214	1135	260	130	44	2	3	4	7	11	935.35
Sukhsar	Fatepura	179	580	132	89	35	1	3	-	-	-	655.65
Piplod	Baria	190	900	150	94	25	2	4	1	1	2	738.15
Garbada	Garbada	32	176	30	15	-	-	-	-	2	2	53.00
Limkheda	Limkheda	22	130	20	11	7	1	1	10	1	11	93.35
Bandibar	Limkheda	43	230	62	16	1	1	1	2	2	4	112.20
Dhabda	Limkheda	8	35	6	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	16.72
Bor Umaria	Dhanpur	15	70	15	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	26.77
Dhanpur	Dhanpur	4	16	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.00
Khanpur	Khanpur	1	6	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2.98
Randhikpur Scatter	Randhikpur	81 19	200	80	21	6	1	-	18	-	18	320.30
		1260	6493	1296	714	183	15	23	51	115	166	5640.12

**Dahod District Relief Committee Mota Ghanchivada**

This was submitted to the Tribunal on May 8, 2002

SNo	Location Name	First Name	Middle Name	Last Name	Company Name	Description	Approx Loss
<b>Sunni Muslim</b>							
1	1114 Sharad Nagar, Tersali	Noor Mohammed K		Memon		House	550,000
2	1130 Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Usmanbhai		Mirza		House	700,000
3	1134 Shaard Nagar Tersali	Shabbir	D	Patel		House	465,000
4	1271 Sharad Nagar, Tersali	Rehmanbhai		Tailor		House	250,000
5	227 Vijay Nagar, Tersali	Saiyed	Gulamhusein			House	250,000
6	247 Vijay Nagar, Tersali	Saiyed	Sadrudin			House	250,000
7	328 Vijay Nagar, Tersali	Saiyed	Idrishussain			House	250,000
8	519 Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Bahamiya		Saiyed		House	150,000
9	519 Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Yunusbhai		Shaikh		House	250,000
10	519 Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Basir		Shaikh		House	550,000
11	519 Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Gafarbai		Shaikh		House	100,000
12	716 Sharad Nagar, Tersali	Noormohammed		Shaikh		House	300,000
13	Alkapuri, Ivory Terrace				Optical Palace	Shop	2,500,000
14	Bahuchrasi Road				Heena Travels	Office	100,000
15	Bahuchrasi Road				Baroda Radiators	Shop	25,000
16	Baranpura Road	Akbaraly		Saiyed		House	500,000
17	Bus Stand, Tersali				Colegiyan Tailor	Shop	200,000
18	Bus Stand, Tersali				Samrat Mattresses	Shop	700,000
19	Bus Stand, Tersali				Sikander Tailor	Shop	500,000
20	Bus Stand, Tersali				Darbar Enterprises	Office	200,000
21	Bus Stand, Tersali				Lala Sev Usal	Shop	30,000
22	Bus Stand, Tersali				Shabbir Pan House	Shop	50,000
23	Bus Stand, Tersali				Riyaz Traders	Office	50,000
24	Bus Stand, Tersali				Rajesh Tailo	Shop	500,000
25	Chandra Mouleshwar, Gotri	Allubhai	Fakir	Vohra		House	200,000
26	Chandra Mouleshwar, Gotri	Rehman	Fakir	Vohra		House	75,000
27	Chandra Nagar, Tersali	Mohammedbhai		Gilani		House	500,000
28	Chandra Nagar, Tersali	Ibrahim		Vohra		House	350,000
29	Dandia Bazar, Baroda				Rangrez Steel Furniture	Shop	200,000
30	Dandia Bazar, Baroda	Anwarhusein		Rangrez		House	100,000
31	Dandia Bazar, Baroda	Inekhab		Rangrez		House	200,000
32	Dandia Bazar, Baroda	Abdulbhai		Dhobi		House	50,000
33	Dandia Bazar, Baroda				Kohinoor Laundry	Shop	50,000
34	Dandia Bazar, Baroda			Mirbakerali		Masjid	150,000

35	Dandia Bazar, Baroda	Sohel		Masjid Mir	House	100,000
36	Dandia Bazar, Baroda			Dhanani Elects.	Shop	150,000
37	Dandia Bazar, Baroda			Sayaji Radios	Shop	200,000
38	Dandia Bazar, Baroda			Sayaji Radios	Shop	400,000
39	Dandia Bazar, Baroda			Rangrez Dying	Shop	150,000
40	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Shafi		Vohra	Shop	50,000
41	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Abdul	Rasul	Vohra	Residence	75,000
42	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Mohamed	Hasan	Vohra	Residence	100,000
43	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Jasubhai		Rathod	Residence	50,000
44	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Sattar		Dhobi	Residence	300,000
45	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Shaikbhai			Residence	100,000
46	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Noorani		Sareewala	Residence	200,000
47	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Husain		Ajmeri	Residence	500,000
48	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Raju	Sareewala		Residence	500,000
49	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Kasam		Raj	Residence	1,000,000
50	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Bachu		Vohra	Residence	40,000
51	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Mohamed		Vohra	Residence	50,000
52	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Shafi		Vohra	Residence	200,000
53	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Ekshadali		Pathan	Residence	100,000
54	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Sikanadar		Deewan	Residence	50,000
55	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Kasambhai		Raj	Cabin	150,000
56	Gayatri Nagar, Gotri	Shafi		Vohra	Shop	175,000
57	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Abdulbhai		Vohra	Cabin	50,000
58	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Karimbhai		Vohra	Cabin	50,000
59	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Abdul		Vohra	Cabin	25,000
60	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Kasambhai		Vohra	Shop	700,000
61	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Suleman		Vohra	Residence	75,000
62	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Mohammed	Abdul	Vohra	Residence	40,000
63	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Ahmed	Ibrahi	Vohra	Residence	100,000
64	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Ibrahim	Jamal	Vohra	Residence	75,000
65	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Yunus	Ibrahim	Vohra	Residence	50,000
66	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Yusuf	Rasul	Vohra	Residence	30,000
67	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Gulam	Ibrahim	Vohra	Residence	60,000
68	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Karim	Fakir	Vohra	Residence	100,000
69	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Fakirbhai		Vohra	Residence	60,000
70	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Ismail	Rasulbhai	Vohra	Residence	30,000
71	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Abdulrehman		Vohra	Residence	50,000
72	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Mohammed	Idushah	Deewan	Residence	200,000
73	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Suleman	Abdul	Vohra	Residence	150,000
74	Ghachi Faliya, Gotri	Nabijbhai		Vohra	Residence	650,000
75	Govind Nagar, Tersali	Firozbhai		Rathod	House	200,000
76	Govind Nagar, Tersali	Gulambhai		Rathod	House	300,000
77	Govind Nagar, Tersali	Suleman		Vohra	House	500,000
78	Govind Nagar, Tersali	Mohiyuddin	S Malek		House	200,000
79	Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Abdul	Vahidkhan	Pathan	House	300,000
80	Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Husainbhai		Diwan	House	100,000
81	Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Gulam Rasool	Vohra		House	175,000
82	Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Habibbhai		Solanki	House	100,000
83	Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Husainbhai		Shaikh	House	50,000
84	Gujarat Housing Board, Tersali	Sikandarkhan		Pathan	House	400,000
85	Gujarat Housing Board	Azizbhai		Diwan	House	200,000

86	Tersali Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Ahmed		Jambu- sariya	House	200,000
87	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Abbasbhai		Shaikh	House	300,000
88	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Gafarbhai		Shaikh	House	300,000
89	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Mohd. bhai	Diwan		House	200,000
90	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Jamil		Pathan	House	400,000
91	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Dilwarkhan		Nakum	House	100,000
92	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Samarali		Pathan	House	200,000
93	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Nazirbhai		Saiyed	House	400,000
94	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Anwarkhan		Pathan	House	550,000
95	Gujarat Housing Board Tersali	Mirsabkhan		Pathan	House	500,000
96	Gujarat Hindu Board, Tersali			Madrasa Jamiya Arbiya	Madrasa	100,000
97	Harni Road Jakatnaka			Bharat EGC Centre	Shop	600,000
98	Jubilee Baug, Baroda			H. S Ranrez	Shop	200,000
99	Kapuria Chokdi, Dhaboi			Dr. Pranjiwan	Office	500,000
100	Kapuria Chokdi, Dhaboi			Mohammedbhai Bhajiwala	Shop	25,000
101	Kapuria Chokdi, Dhaboi			Imran Pan House	Shop	50,000
102	Kapuria Chokdi, Dhaboi			Ahmedbhai Cold Drink	Shop	50,000
103	Kapuria Chokdi, Dhaboi			Hotel Goodluck	Hotel	600,000
104	Kothi Char Rasta, Baroda			Baroda Furniture	Shop	300,000
105	Limdapole Tower, Baroda			Optic Palace	Shop	2,500,000
106	Mahinagar, Gotri	Saiyedbhai			Residence	300,000
107	Makarpura	Musabhai	Driver		House	300,000
108	Maruti Dham, Tersali	Sabirbhai	Nakoom		House	250,000
109	Mataria Kabrasthan			A-1 Cane Brush	Shop	100,000
110	Mataria Kabrasthan			Marwell Radiator	Garage	100,000
111	Mataria Kabrasthan			Shaukatbhai Garage	Garage	200,000
112	Mataria Kabrasthan			Basir Motor garage	Garage	100,000
113	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Ibrahim	Gafur	Vohra	Residence	225,000
114	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Ismail		Deewan	Cabin	15,000
115	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Farida	Yakub		Cabin	15,000
116	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Mohammed	Abdul	Chipa	Shop	300,000
117	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Kalubhai		Balim	Residence	25,000
118	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Umarbhai		Gandhi	Residence	150,000
119	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Mehroonisha		Deewan	Residence	15,000
120	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Mehroonisha		Deewan	Residence	30,000
121	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Salim	Ahmed	Shaikh	Residence	125,000
122	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Murtuza	Ahmed	Shaikh	Residence	20,000
123	Navi Nagar, Tarsali	Akbar	Maulana	Shaikh	Residence	25,000
124	Nawapura	Sikandarbhai		Shaikh	House	15,000
125	Nawapura	Abdulbhai	I	Malek	House	300,000
126	Nawapura	Akbarbhai		Shaikh	House	25,000
127	Nawapura, Bhoiwada	Malik		Lalmiyan	House	300,000

128 Nawapura, Bhoiwada	Ahmedbhai	M	Shaikh	House	55,000	
129 Noorpark, Tersali	Sajidbhai		Pathan	House	100,000	
130 Noorpark, Tersali	Tariq		Malek	House	250,000	
131 Noorpark, Tersali			Noorpark Jama Masjid	Masjid	200,000	
132 Noorpark, Tersali	Aabidali		Saiyed	House	300,000	
133 Noorpark, Tersali	Gafarbhai		Memon	House	400,000	
134 Noorpark, Tersali	Ismailbhai		Memon	House	300,000	
135 Noorpark, Tersali	Bholubhai		Memon	House	200,000	
136 Noorpark, Tersali	Anjumbhai		Memon	House	300,000	
137 Noorpark, Tersali	Saidaben		Patel	House	1,000,000	
138 Noorpark, Tersali	Ayubbhai		Patel	House	500,000	
139 Noorpark, Tersali	Ibrahim		Mansuri	House	250,000	
140 Noorpark, Tersali	Sabirbhai		Bhatti	House	300,000	
141 Noorpark, Tersali	Anwarbhai		Malek	House	700,000	
142 Noorpark, Tersali	Sattarbhai		Vohra	House	700,000	
143 Noorpark, Tersali	Shaukatbhai		Khilji	House	500,000	
144 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Karim	Umar	Vohra	Residenc	110,000	
145 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Ismail	Mohammed	Vohra	Cabin	50,000	
146 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Ibrahim	Hassan	Vohra	Residen	1,000,000	
147 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Karim	Gafur	Vohra	Residenc	150,000	
148 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Bhika	Jamal	Vohra	Residenc	100,000	
149 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Ismail	Mohammed	Vohra	Residence	50,000	
150 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Musabhai	Jamal	Vohra	Residence	50,000	
151 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Dawood	Rasul	Vohra	Residence	60,000	
152 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Suleman	Ibrahim	Vohra	Residence	75,000	
153 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Abbas		Malek	Residence	50,000	
154 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Yakub	Fakir	Vohra	Residence	40,000	
155 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Ismail	Hasan	Vohra	Residenc	100,000	
156 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Yakub	Hasan	Vohra	Residence	75,000	
157 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Kasam	Rasul	Vohra	Residence	80,000	
158 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Dawood	Bhaiji	Vohra	Residence	40,000	
159 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Sattar		Vohra	Residence	70,000	
163 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Mohammed	Kasam	Vohra	Residenc	100,000	
164 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Jamal	Bhaiji	Vohra	Residence	30,000	
165 Ramdev Nagar, Gotri	Ibrahim	Mohammed	Vohra	Residence	40,000	
166 Raopura Tower, Baroda				Shoe World	Shop	5,000,000
167 Raopura Tower, Baroda				Tower Shoe	Shop	8,500,000
s168 SB/ 105 Aavishkar Complex	M	Kapadia		Auto Parts	Shop	100,000
169 Sharad Nagar	M N	Vohra		House		1,200,000
170 Sharad Nagar	M N	Vohra		Shop		700,000
171 Sharad Nagar, Tersali	Aarif		Shaikh	House		300,000
172 Sharad Nagar, Tersali	Yasminben		Shaikh	House		250,000
173 Shiv Shakti-2, No 1, Makarpura	Rafiq	Munir	Pathan	Reside		1,000,000
174 Suryakiran Building Old Padra Road				Surya Medicine	Shop	10,000
175 Suryanagar, Tersali	Naushadbhai		Chisti	Godown		160,000
176 Tandela Road				S. K Traders	Office	200,000
177 Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda				Shafi Auto garage	Garage	600,000
178 Tatgara Kabrastan, Rafiq Baroda		Diwan			House	50,000
179 Tatgara Kabrastan, Yasin Baroda	G	Diwan			House	50,000
180 Tatgara Kabrastan,				Kabir Auto	Garage	150,000

181	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Aasif Traders	Garage Shop	200,000
182	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Madina Masjid	Masjid	250,000
183	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Honest Dymaker	Shop	50,000
184	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Indori Scrape	Shop	100,000
185	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Musabhai Garagewala	Garage	150,000
186	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Iqbal Body Work	Garage	75,000
187	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Amin Garagewala	Garage	150,000
192	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			A-1 Body Garage	Garage	400,000
193	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Anwar Batterywala	Shop	50,000
194	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda	Guljarshah	M Diwan		House	75,000
195	Baroda Tatgara Kabrastan, Baroda			Paramount		250,000
196	Gotri Taus Complex, Gotri			Aarif Foot Ware	Shop	200,000
197	Tersali	Ahmed Miya	Husainali	Shaikh	House	300,000
198	Vasna Road			Star Auto Garage		700,000
199	Gotri Vasna Road, Gotri			Sohel STD PCO	Shop	300,000
200	Tersali Vijay Nagar, Tersali	Usmanbhai	Jariwala		House	600,000
201	Tersali Vijay Nagar, Tersali			Hindustan Poultry Farm	Office	240,000
202	Tersali Vijay Nagar, Tersali			Gujarat Store	Shop	550,000
203	Tersali Vijay Nagar, Tersali	Bahamiya	Shaikh		Hous	250,000
<b>Total</b>						64,995,000

*This was submitted to the Tribunal on May 8, 2002*

Sr.No	Location	First	Middle Name	Last Name	Company Name	Description Name	Approx Loss
<b>Sulemani Jamaat</b>							
1	Amdavadi Pol	Farid	Abdulali	Mohibi		Shop/Medic	1,000,000
2	Dandia Bazar Baroda	Ahmed	Arshad	Munawari		Shop	1,500,000
3	Dandia Bazar Baroda	Yusuf	Yunus	Kasimi		Handbarrow	22,000
4	Fatehgunj	Idrish	Mohammad Ismail	Kagzi		Tempo Damage	3,000
5	GIDC Por Zia & BR	Siraj Nazir				Factorym	1,500,000
6	Makarpura	Mrs. Amara	Akberali	Shedwala		House	75,600
7	Makarpura	Magroobali		Khan		Laundry	83,000
8	Makarpura	Aiman	Nazir	Ameri		Shop/House	300,000
9	Makarpura	Raees	Alim	Contractor		House	118,000
10	Makarpura	Raees	Faiyaz	Contractor	Vehicle/Window Glasses Of House		15,000
11	Makarpura	Muslim	Khurshid Hussein	Kasimi		House	1,200,000
12	Makarpura	Alihusein	Fidahusein		Shop/General Store/Xerox Etc		228,500
13	Makarpura	Sharafali	Mulla Athar Saheb	Sharfi		House	500,000
14	Nizampura	Firoz	Gazanferali	Hakim		House	2,200,000
15	Pratapnagar	Mohammed Naeem	Abdul Husein	Kadri	Shop/General Store/Tailoring		80,000
16	Pratapnagar	Mulla Dr.Tayab			Compound Wall	House/	12,000
17	Railway Station	Irfan	Mohammad Abbas	Sheb		Vehicle	2,000
18	Tarsali	Ahmed	Arshad	Munawari		House	500,000
19	Tarsali	Aziz	Arshad	Munawari		Housem	500,000
20	Tarsali	Sharaf	Mulla Asgarali	Ameri		Housem	345,000
21	Tarsali	Mujtuba	Munawarali	Merchant		House	1,200,000
22	Tarsali	Nasrulla	Hamid	Munawari		House	700,000
23	Umeta Village	Mrs.Haleema	Mulji	Bhoy		Residence/ Farm House	15,000

This date was submitted to the Tribunal on May 5, 2002

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN ANAND TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs. Prem (A)	No. Rs.	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Bedva					1		1	200000
2	Chaklasi					1			150000
3	Chikhodara					1	1	1	670000
4	Gana					1			150000
5	Karamsad					1			150000
6	Khambholaj					1			150000
7	Mogar					1	1		310000
8						1			200000
9	Ode					2	1	1	1800000
10	Rasnol					1	1		160000
11	Sandeshar					1	1	1	300000
12	Sarsa					2	1	1	2100000
13	Sundan					1	1	1	230000.
14	Vadod						1		75000
15	Vasad					1	1		200000
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6845000</b>

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN PETLAD TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs. Prem (A)	No. Rs.	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Bharel						1	1	250000
2	Demol					1		1	180000
3	Mahelav					1			150000
4	Nar					1	1	1	285000
5	Palaj					1	1	1	250000
6	Pandori					1	1	1	250000
7	Ramol					1			150000
8	Shahpur							1	10000
9	Sunav					1			150000
10	Sunderna					1	1		250000
11	Vadadla							1	50000
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1975000</b>

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN ANKLAV TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs. Prem (A)	No. Rs.	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Bhetasi					1	1	1	325000

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN BORSAD TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs.	Prem (A)	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Borsad						1		120000
2	Jantral					1			75000
3	Jarola					1			100000
4	Kavitha					1	1		270000
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>465000</b>

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN THASRA TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs.	Prem (A)	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Dakor				2	1	1		270000
2	Thasra						1		100000
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>370000</b>

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN KHAMBHAT TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs.	Prem (A)	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Sayma						1		50000
2	Vatadra						1		20000
<b>TOTAL</b>							<b>2</b>		<b>70000</b>

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN GODHRA TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs.	Prem (A)	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Timba Road				1	1	1		295000

**PROPERTY DESTROYED IN SOJITRA TALUKA**

No.	Area	Houses	Commercial	Vehicles (B)	Death (C)	Holy Places			Total Rs.
		No. Rs.	Prem (A)	No. Rs.	Death / Injured	Mosque	Dargah	Madrassa	
1	Balinta				1				50000
2	Malataj						1		5000
3	Piplav						1		100000
<b>TOTAL</b>							<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>155000</b>

Village	District	Family's Numbers	No. Persons
Chansma	Chansma	25	127
Vadavali	Chansma	1	6
Vasai	Vijapur	1	5
Paliyad	Kalol	3	11
Khatrej	Kalol	9	46
Rasan	Gandhinagar	15	61
Pansar	Kalol	2	7
Cherva	Mahesana	9	32
Otana	Kadi	3	12
Handkheda	Gandhinagar	2	11
Gandhinagar	Gandhinagar	3	21

### VILLAGE WISE SUMMARY REPORT

No.	Village	No. Family	No. member	Residential Damage	Business Damage	Total Damage	No. of death
1	Alina Nadiad	7	32	1335000	50000	1385000	
2	Alindra	2	16	15000	35000	50000	
3	Amod	1	4	0	125000	125000	
4	Anand	24	184	10668000	505200	11173200	
5	Asodar	3	36	382000	15000	397000	
6	Atarsumba	52	269	2085000	1215000	3300000	
7	Badhani	1	10	200000	0	200000	
8	Bajuwa	3	17	675000	185000	860000	
9	Bakrol	12	90	50000	2590000	2640000	
10	Balinta	2	17	600000	208000	808000	
11	Balol	61	316	3418000	50000	3468000	1
12	Bamroli	1	10	450000	200000	650000	
13	Bedva	24	174	3095000	798500	3893500	
14	Bharel	6	29	825000	829000	1654000	
15	Bhetasi	2	17	150000	0	150000	
16	Borsad	2	17	20000	24000	44000	
17	Chaklasi	17	105	643000	1782000	2425000	
18	Changa	12	102	2010000	945000	2955000	
19	Chhapara	1	10	50000	75000	125000	
20	Chikiiodara	119	643	14317050	2596500	16913550	
21	Dabhou	1	7	70000	50000	120000	
22	Dakor	58	401	5566000	3288000	8854000	
23	Damol	2	7	325000	115000	440000	
24	Devatalpada	1	7	500000	0	500000	
25	Dharmal	8	56	2135000	344000	2479000	
26	Dumral	9	42	1300000	915000	2215000	1
27	Fangni	5	28	306000	60000	366000	
28	Gana	27	156	6529000	602580	7131580	
29	Godasar	2	13	125000	210000	335000	
30	Jalundh	2	16	100000	50000	150000	
31	Jantral	2	12	70000	40000	110000	
32	Kalsar	3	30	80000	825000	905000	
33	Kanajari	1	5	55000	0	55000	
34	Kanbhaipur	1	11	170000	0	170000	
35	Kaniya	1	14	100000	125000	225000	
36	Kanjri	12	65	1250000	95500	1345500	
37	Kapadvanj	1	6	50000	0	50000	
38	Karamsad	14	77	2475000	160000	2635000	
39	Kavitha	1	5	15000	30000	45000	
40	Khambholaj	14	86	2055000	405000	2460000	
41	Khijalpur	1	5	15000	0	15000	
42	Kunjarav	2	11	125000	0	125000	
43	Mahudha	1	5	3000	0	3000	
44	Malataj	4	21	50000	1390000	1440000	
45	Manej	15	67	429500	50000	479500	
46	Mehamadabad	1	5	16200	4400	20600	
47	Mehdav	6	25	670000	217000	887000	
48	Mirzapur	5	29	90000	95000	185000	

49	Mogar	7	45	625000	160000	785000	
50	Mogri	5	16	340500	205000	545500	
51	Munej	2	11	115000	0	115000	
52	Nadiad	1	5	18000	5000	23000	
53	Napad	1	6	0	300000	300000	
54	Nar	14	66	1575000	77000	1652000	
55	Navli	38	238	6330000	1207500	7537500	
56	Ode	317	1625	39947700	6979500	46927200	41
57	Palaj	2	0	442400	0	442400	
58	Petlad	1	1	200000	3000	203000	
59	Pij	35	196	8719500	1244000	9963500	
60	Pipalav	10	41	1221000	206600	1427600	

### VILLAGE WISE SUMMARY REPORT

No.	Village	No. Family	No. member	Residential Damage	Business Damage	Total Damage	No. of death
61	Pipdiya	1	7	75000	200000	275000	
62	Piplag	3	19	150000	50000	200000	
63	Porda	1	4	75000	0	75000	
64	Pundori	93	471	19947400	6397500	26344900	
65	Ramol	20	92	2905000	527000	3432000	
66	Rangaipura	1	0	265000	0	265000	
67	Ras	1	13	0	75000	75000	
68	Rasnol	6	40	588000	645057	1233057	
69	Rudel	2	18	100000	12000	112000	
70	Sanand	1	10	0	30000	30000	
71	Sandesar	51	258	4773000	1453000	6226000	
72	Sankarda	4	20	155000	0	155000	
73	Santokpura	1	5	0	40000	40000	
74	Sarsa	65	336	5378200	2919900	8298100	
75	Savli	1	7	50000	0	50000	
76	Sayma	9	49	1091265	132000	1223265	
77	Shahpur	2	18	350000	0	350000	
78	Sisva	1	5	0	8000	8000	
79	Sunav	22	106	5595000	2061000	7656000	
80	Sundan	15	64	1010000	515000	1525000	
81	Sundarna	7	38	900000	80500	980500	
82	Tarapur	1	8	40000	0	40000	
83	Tarsali	1	4	55000	0	55000	
84	Thasra	10	63	3630000	1570000	5200000	
85	Timba Road	41	249	6037650	6177000	12214650	
86	Tuva Station	4	33	545000	190000	735000	
87	Undel	2	17	155000	0	155000	
88	Uttarsanada	16	117	1625000	4285000	5910000	
89	V. V. Nagar	40	240	4979400	2977500	7956900	
90	Vadadala	10	54	2675000	1130000	3805000	
91	Vadod	1	5	0	0	0	
92	Vagashi	2	12	285000	30000	315000	
93	Vahera	1	5	15000	0	15000	
94	Vamali	1	7	56000	0	56000	
95	Vasad	41	232	17354000	60000	17414000	
96	Vaso	1	5	30000	0	30000	

97	Vatadara	2	14	240000	0	240000
98	Virsad	2	12	200000	9000	209000
99	Zarola	3	22	850000	0	850000
<b>GRANDTOTAL</b>		<b>1472</b>	<b>8239</b>	<b>207406765</b>	<b>63261737</b>	<b>270668502 43</b>

### TALUKA WISE SUMMARY REPORT ANAND / KHEDA

No.	Village	No. of Family	No. of Family Member	Residential Damage	Business Damage	Total Damage	No. of Death
1	Anand	826	4549	121094850	25110237	146205087	4
2	Ankalav	6	53	532000	15000	547000	
3	Borsad	16	114	1270000	238000	1508000	
4	Kapadvanj	53	275	2135000	1215000	3350000	
5	Khambhat	15	96	1586265	182000	1768265	
6	Mahemdavad	4	28	191200	289400	480600	
7	Mahudha	67	352	3533000	195000	3728000	
8	Matar	2	16	15000	35000	5000	
9	Nadiad	103	599	15553500	8576500	24130000	
10	Petlad	233	1210	42095300	13486000	55581300	
11	Sojitra	17	86	2391000	1454600	8345600	
12	Tarapur	1	8	40000	0	40000	
13	Thasra	74	513	9452000	5883000	15335000	
<b>GRANDTOTAL</b>		<b>1417</b>	<b>7899</b>	<b>199889115</b>	<b>56679737</b>	<b>256568852</b>	

Village	District	Family;sNo.	Number of Persons
Chansma	Chansma	25	127
Vadavali	“ “	1	6
Vasai	Vijapur	1	5
Paliyad	Kalol	3	11
Khatrej	Kalol	9	46
Rasan	Gandhinagar	15	61
Pansar	Kalol	2	7
Kherva	Mehsana	9	32
Lotana	Kadi	3	12
Chandkheda	Gandhinagar	2	11
Gandhinagar	Gandhinagar	3	21

**GUJARAT SARVAJANIK RELIEF COMMITTEE  
JAMIAT ULAMA – I – HIND**



































































































































## BHARATIYA 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 .Ram *sevaks* 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 parliamentary constituency from your *zilla*? (this responsibility is to be given to those workers who will not be taking part in the elections)
- ◆ Name of parliamentary 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 favour?
- ◆ What would be the immediate effect on the electorate if the central government changes its stance on the Ayodhya 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.**

*This is excerpted from the PUCL report on Varodara as it gives an example of the extent of stereotyping*

### **The role of the local press**

A peace-loving area like Tandalja populated by Hindus, Muslims and some Christians is termed 'Mini Pakistan' by the *Hindutva* forces and a consistent campaign to malign the area has been carried out by them. Systematic rumours about Tandalja were spread all over Vadodara. In areas as far as Sama, Nizampura and Manjalpur, Hindus were told that the number of Muslims was steadily increasing in Tandalja, that they had collected large quantities of arms and that a mob of thousands of Muslims from Tandalja could attack any time. The fact that refugees from all over Vadodara and some surrounding villages could get shelter in the area was used to propagate the rumour that since the affected people were angry and were gathered together in one place, they were definitely planning an attack. The Hindus staying in and around the area were aware of the fact that no such moves were taking place in Tandalja. But the rumour was so powerful that it was very difficult for any Hindu or Muslim resident of Tandalja to convince others that the area was peaceful, particularly because the rumours were consistently supported by the vernacular press. A false news item about private firing in the area was published in *Sandesh* on 17<sup>th</sup> March (p.5, 3-column heading "Private firing created tension at late night at Tandalja, police fire tear-gas shells"). When the residents from the area and PUCL sent a rejoinder to this false news to *Sandesh*, it printed the rejoinder, but by that time the damage had been done. It has been difficult, given the continuous adverse reporting in *Sandesh*, to react and send rejoinders to each false report. Indeed, after seeing these consistently false reports, particularly by *Sandesh*, many of the residents feel so depressed and helpless that they have stopped reading *Sandesh*.

The rumours intentionally spread by the *Hindutva* forces in Vadodara that Muslims were getting together in Tandalja to attack Hindus were supported by such misleading press reports. A demand from some societies outside Tandalja to declare this area a 'Disturbed Area' and drive out the affected people from the relief camps there was generated through this campaign. This was interpreted and reported by a section of the press as if the collector had declared the area a disturbed area. (*Gujarat Mitra* dated 3<sup>rd</sup> April; *Sandesh*, 4<sup>th</sup> April; and *Bapor Samachar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> April.) The following were the headlines (translated from Gujarati), that appeared in these papers:

1. *Gujarat Mitra* (3<sup>rd</sup> April): Two-column width, three lines, last page:

***"Does Tandalja situated on the western outskirts of Vadodara town belong to India or Pakistan? Must be decided."***

#### **Sub-headings:**

- (1) Because of influx of minority community from surrounding areas, terror (*dehshat*) is spreading among Hindus.
- (2) Collector's proposal to declare the area as disturbed area on the fears that Mini Pakistan will be created.
- (3) When riots take place and minority people come to stay in one area why should Hindus migrate from that area?

2. *Sandesh* (4<sup>th</sup> April): Three-column heading, last page:

***"Dehshat (terror) of creation of Mini Pakistan in Tandalja because mobs of minority community are coming to Tandalja area from all over the state."***

#### **Sub-headings:**

- (1) Hindus are selling their property at throwaway rates.
- (2) Collector has proposed to declare the area as disturbed area to the state government.

This vicious campaign on the part of the local press has deeply affected the lives of people of all communities in this area.

As per our information hardly any representative from the Gujarati Press has visited Tandalja or the

Tandalja relief camps to see the plight of the affected people, but they have consistently published wrong information about the area. In doing so, they have created an atmosphere wherein common Hindu people staying outside the area are afraid to enter the area, though around 7000 Hindus are staying peacefully within the area (a fact not reported at all in the press). *Rickshawalas* refuse to take passengers to Tandalja. For some days during the riots, a van from Vadodara Dairy refused to deliver milk and other dairy products to the shops in the area, although there was no curfew or any incidents of violence.

25<sup>th</sup> March was Moharrum. In the afternoon some shopkeepers approached us with a complaint that the Vadodara dairy van had not been delivering milk and other products in our area for since the past two days. When we talked with the dairy authority they told us that no van driver was willing to come to Tandalja. We told them that there was no curfew here and not a single incident of violence had taken place. The person said that he could not do anything if the driver refused to go to Tandalja. We offered to accompany the driver from the main road to the approach road in our area but they flatly refused. Ultimately we had to ask for the collector's intervention to get Vadodara Dairy products delivered in the area.

Tandalja residents say that their Hindu relatives and friends are afraid and do not visit them even if they try to convince them that there is no problem in the area.

Basil School was one of the centres for the S.S.C. and H.S.C. examination. The so-called representatives of the majority community demanded that it should be dropped as a centre because students from the community would not feel secure to come to this sensitive area. The demand was accepted by the Board of Examination and Administration. They conveniently forgot the fact that the school was working and examinations were also conducted when most other parts of the city were under curfew. Most of the students in this school are from the Hindu community.

An important reason why such a wrong impression of the area was propagated is that the state has not played a responsible role in countering rumours. Even when there was a campaign to declare Tandalja a disturbed area and drive out affected people from the relief camps, and the collector was misrepresented on the issue, there was no rejoinder or clarification by the authorities. Both Hindu and Muslim residents signed a memorandum to the collector opposing such a move and offered to hold discussions with the people who wanted Tandalja declared a disturbed area, on the basis of misinformation. However, such a meeting, which would have helped to dispel apprehensions, was not facilitated or organised by the administration.

Table 7.1: Some Examples of Misuse of Cable TV Channels

Date	Name of Channel	Content
February 27, 2002	VNM Channel	Ajay Dave's (VHP) statement that we will retaliate with violence and create history (in relation to the Godhra incident)
From February 27, for more than a week	JTV	Repeated images of the Godhra incident were shown many times a day, thereby attempting to create feelings of outrage among Hindus
March 15, 2002	Siti Cable	Common man on the street said how Hindus want the Ram Mandir to be built. "We are beginning an <i>andolan</i> today which we will stop only after we achieve our goals."
March 15, 2002	Deep Channel	Showed rally after <i>shiladaan</i> ; 3 local leaders - Deepak Kharchikar (Shiv Sena), Niraj Jain (Bajrang Dal) and Ajay Dave (VHP) gave speeches and interviews at the Machchipeeth <i>naka</i> . These contained anti-Muslim sentiments. "Muslims will have to live the way we want, otherwise we will pull them out of their houses and kill them".
March 16, 2002	VNM or News Plus In Cable	Ajay Joshi : 'We will be training Hindu youth to be <i>ladayak</i> (fighters, aggressive)'
March 29, 2002	VNM or News Cable	Mayor Bharti Vyas said "like Hiranyakashyap destroyed evil, we will also destroy <i>deshdrohis</i> ".

**From the PUCL, Varodara Report on the Carnage in Varodara 2002  
Samples of Fan Mail at [www.narendramodi.org](http://www.narendramodi.org)**

*The CM of Gujarat is proud of being email and Internet savvy and he has often let it be known that he has a website. Given below are some samples from his website aimed at cynical self-promotion. If there is any need for "proof" of his anti-Muslim, and therefore unconstitutional, attitudes they are here at this site. Legal action against Modi as well as the site hosts seems to be in order.*

"Dear modi ji, you are like a god to us. thank you for saving Hindus. but you are not doing enough. we will not be satisfied until you send your sena out to Muslim countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan to rape Muslim women kill and burn Muslims. thank you" - rakesh kumar trivedi [raktri74@hotmail.com](mailto:raktri74@hotmail.com)

· “SIR, I FAIL TO FIND WORDS TO EXPRESS GRATITUDE TO YOU FOR THE WAY HINDUS HAVE BEEN PROTECTED IN THIS STATE DESPITE ALL THE CRITICISMS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. YOU HAVE ENDEARED YOURSELF TO ALL THE GUJARATIS. THE WHOLE STATE IS SOLIDLY BEHIND YOU. HATS OFF TO “ASLI MARD!!!” - p.j.desai ricky071@rediffmail.com

· “Lots of thanks for all that u have done to us. We (Hindus) were a victim of Islamic violence since long.”

· “Dearest Modi sir, Lots of thanks for all that u have done to us. We (Hindus) were a victim of Islamic violence since long. I remember killing of Hindu pilgrims in VaishnoDevi, Amaranth and in almost all over India innocent Hindus were killed by Muslims only on the name of religion and jihad. The entire underworld is run by Muslims. It is very sad that in spite of all these years of Muslim terrorism, some of our leaders still support the Muslims only to get their votes (Congress for e.g.). The opposition should realize that its duty is not just to oppose every decision of the govt but to also support the Govt in the interest of the nation. In such a situation you have taken all the courage to stand against the Muslims and give justice to the majority, you really deserve to be thanked. Come to our city and u’ll realize that people are virtually worshiping you. I understand that the stand you are taking is a difficult one, and i also know that there will be even some Hindus too who will dislike you are stand, but a vast majority is with you and love you. Pls continue and don’t bother about those critics, we will make sure that you remain the CM forever. Thanks a lot once again. I wish there were few more Narendra Modis in this country...” —Rupal Yours Truly

Rupal ([rupal\\_333@yahoo.com](mailto:rupal_333@yahoo.com))

· “The very fact that anti-national elements were effectively paid back during his tenure is reason enough for us to salute him” - Vishal Patel (A student in Ahmedabad)

· “Respected Modiji, We are proud of you for maintaining Gujarat so well. Please don’t get shaken by the critics, we Hindus all over the world love you so much and we will pray for you always. Thanks and take care” - Shreeenivas Gadi

· “It’s ploy to tarnish CM’s image through 2nd phase of riots sponsorship”

“Sir, We are really pleased by your excellent handling of the riot situation in Gujarat. The English press supported by power-hungry congressmen are out to tarnish your image & that of the powerful Hindu samaj. These people are very few in numbers & the majority of us openly support you & your dynamic handling of the situation.” - raja khara.

(Excerpted from Vadodara PUCL Report)

*Sandesh* Headlines and Reports

28<sup>th</sup> February, 2002.

**Page 1**

1. 70 HINDUS BURNT ALIVE IN GODHRA
2. SABARMATI EXPRESS BRINGING RAMSEVAKS FROM AYODHYA BURNT BY A VIOLENT MOB
3. Photograph of burnt bogey and dead bodies with the caption: Peace In Flames. Flaming attack by violent, anti-national elements, more than 60 Hindu brothers and sisters burnt alive
4. AVENGE BLOOD WITH BLOOD. The headline quotes the VHP leader from Dholka Rajendra Shah who says that the 'Hindu samaj will have sharp reactions to the killing of innocent *ramsevaks*. We will have to avenge blood with blood', says Rajendra Shah

**Page 2**

1. THE DISTRICT COLLECTOR [of Godhra] SAID ONLY ONE THING: THIS IS THE HANDIWORK OF ANTI SOCIAL ELEMENTS. THIS IS THE SORRY STATE OF THE ADMINISTRATION.  
The Godhra District Collector is being criticised here for not attributing the train massacre to Muslims, who are anti-national according to various *Sandesh* reports
2. THE DEAD ARE NOT MERE RAM SEVAKS, THEY ARE THE HEIRS OF RANA PRATAP, GURU GOVINDSINGH

**Analysis:** The Ram Sevaks are being valorised here and their lineage traced to Rana Pratap et al. On the whole *Sandesh* has conferred upon the Ramsevaks the status of martyrs, and has consistently referred to the massacre as a '*balidaan*', (sacrifice).

**Page 3**

1. THE VICTIMS' MASS MURDERS: 10-15 GIRLS WERE PULLED OUT BY RELIGIOUS FANATICS: The report says: 10-15 girls were dragged out of the Sabarmati Express, and this is being hotly discussed in Godhra. As a result there is tension. The survivors of this incident also said this. The police is also trying to look for this. These girls were trying to escape from the train, police has denied it, but Kaushik Patel of VHP has accused.
2. MUSLIM LEADER PREVENTED THE FIRE ENGINE BY BRANDISHING AN OPEN SWORD. The fire brigade learnt of the fire at nine o'clock and rushed to the spot soon after. But at that very moment a local Muslim leader armed with an open sword appeared and prevented the fire brigade from putting out the fire. Other religious fanatics joined them and an atmosphere of communal tension/discord spread in the entire Godhra city.
3. ABOUT 10 YOUNG GIRLS WERE PULLED OUT FROM THE RAILWAY CARRIAGE BY A GROUP OF RELIGIOUS FANATICS  
The news item goes on to refute the headline

**Analysis:** What is the purpose of such headlines other than to provoke? On 2<sup>nd</sup> March *Gujarat Samachar* said that this report was false.

4. THIS IS THE UNHOLY ACT OF THOSE WHO WANT TO BREAK THE COURAGE OF KARSEVAKS: KAUSHIK PATEL

## Pages 8-9

1. Photographs of the Godhra carnage spread out over two pages. Centrefold
2. News report with headline: 8-10 WOMEN DRAGGED INTO *BASTI*

**Analysis:** The report says nothing about this incident except for a passing reference in the last paragraph. Why have a headline as provocative as this?

## 3. TERRORISM WITHIN THE BORDERS: IT HAS BEEN GOING ON IN GODHRA FOR YEARS

### Page 10

1. DO THE TC, DRIVER, AND IN-CHARGE STATION MASTER [OF THE SABARMATI EXPRESS] BELONG TO A CERTAIN COMMUNITY?

Accusation by VHP. This made the situation more tense in Godhra.

**Analysis:** This was a rumour that *Sandesh* has picked on and sensationalised, adding to the tension in Godhra and elsewhere.

## 2. THE GODHRA INCIDENT IS REMINISCENT OF CHENGIZ KHAN'S ATROCITIES

### Page 13

1. TODAY'S RESOLVE: JINNAH'S HEIRS IN GODHRA HAVE TO BE PUNISHED. Article by Hari Desai.

The article purports to go back in history to Partition and the role Jinnah played. It accuses Jinnah of threatening the minority community in Pakistan to convert or face the ire of the State, a policy that is still being followed. It also refers to how the minority community in Bangladesh is being treated: Taslima Nasreen has written about the gang-rapes of minority women there. Today in India after the burning of the Sabarmati Express the issue is not that of the interests of the minority community here or about Hindu liberalism. It is a conspiracy against the nation. Those responsible for this repulsive act have to be punished and exposed before the nation. The burning of the train can only be seen as a well-planned strategy to destabilise Gujarat. Some elements were not happy with the fact that Gujarat was free of communal tension under the BJP. So these anti-nationals instigated Muslim against the karsevaks who had gone to Ayodhya as part of the VHP programme for construction of the Ram Mandir. The concluding paragraph says that Hindus have been attacked, every action will have a reaction. The next few days will see this. The last sentence is: For how long will we tolerate this?

## 1<sup>st</sup> March 2002.

### Page 1

1. GUJARAT BURNS: CALL FOR BHARAT *BANDH* TODAY. 118 DEAD.

**Comment:** The headline is splashed across the page in large red letters. A red star is drawn around the death count.

2. HORRIFIC REACTIONS TO THE GODHRA INCIDENT: MORE THAN 50 PERSONS BURNT ALIVE. Many places of worship targeted. Numerous incidents of petrol and acid bomb-throwing

3. 70 BURNT ALIVE IN CHAMANPURA, AHMEDABAD

4. A CAR PASSING THROUGH KHEDIA VILLAGE NEAR KALOL WAS STOPPED BY A MOB, A GIRL WAS ABDUCTED

**Analysis:** None of these headlines choose to condemn this violence.

### 3. BURNT ALIVE IN DEROL, KALOL IN PANCHMAHALS.

The report states: "People bent on avenging yesterday's mass murder burnt 6 men of a certain community alive".

**Analysis:** The avengers here are presented as being justified in their acts of violence. There is no mention of letting the law take its course, no censure against such acts of violence.

#### **Page 2**

##### PAKISTANI NATIONAL ARRESTED BY RPF IN CHANCHALAV RAILWAY STATION.

The report says: Suspicion of Pakistani agency ISI's involvement in the demonic Godhra incident.

#### **Page 3:**

##### A MASJID AND 3 FACTORIES BURNT IN ANKLESHWAR

#### **Page 5**

##### STATION MASTER ALSO INVOLVED IN THE SENSATIONAL GODHRA MASSACRE

#### **Page 10**

##### 'POCKETS' OF MINI-PAKISTAN IN NAVAYARD

The report says that 'pockets' of a certain community are being created in Navayard. The police ought to take note of this(!) People from UP have settled here. They possess illegal ration cards and could be criminals running from the law.

#### **Page 15**

##### THE GODHRA INCIDENT IS NOT COMMUNALISM, IT IS THE BLACK SHADOW OF TERRORISM

#### **Page 16**

##### 1. THE BODIES OF TWO HINDU GIRLS WHO WERE ABDUCTED FROM SABARMATI EXPRESS FOUND NEAR KALOL IN A BAD CONDITION

The report says the girls were raped and then cut up, sprayed with petrol and the bodies were burnt. There is also talk about the body of a third girl having been found: "There is a limit to barbarity".

**Analysis:** This report is mischievous in the extreme because of its explosive content and because there is no attempt to verify this, no sources have been quoted. This report was later denounced as false by *Gujarat Samachar*, another Gujarati daily.

#### **Page 16**

##### 1. RELIGIOUS FANATICS STAGE ARMED ATTACK ON WAGHODIA ROAD

The report says that a group of armed religious fanatics attacked Chandranagar on Waghodia Road. The air was rent with cries of women and children. A group of youths from a neighbouring locality intervened. But for that there would have been a second Godhra.

**Analysis:** The report is provocative in the extreme and stokes hostility. No sources are quoted. If an incident was indeed averted why is it that the newspaper sees fit to report something like this in such a blatantly communal manner? There are doubts about the veracity of this incident.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2002**

#### **Front page, top right**

1. Photograph of burnt, mangled bodies. Provocative in the extreme.

2. RIOTS IN AHMEDABAD UNCONTROLLABLE. 250 give up their lives in uninterrupted violence. The people who died were killed, why should *Sandesh* seek to justify this?

### 3. ADIVASIS ON THE WARPATHTH AFTER FUNDAMENTALISTS/FANATICS ABDUCT AND MURDER ADIVASIGIRLS

The report says a religious place was attacked and people cut to pieces in Pandarva village.

**Analysis:** Muslims are portrayed as fanatics. The report justifies the tribal attack on the religious place. There is no substantive reporting of abduction or murder of *adivasi* girls, this is just a piece of information loosely inserted into the report. There is no mention of sources, nothing about where and how the information was obtained.

### 4. PAKISTAN IS NOTHING BEFORE INDIA. IF INDIA SO DECIDES THERE WILL BE NO SIGN OF PAKISTAN: FERNANDES

**Analysis:** Jingoistic.

#### Page 2

1. PERHAPS THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF COMMUNAL VIOLENCE [IN BARODA]: 4 factories burnt in Sardar Estate by an unruly mob. Destruction worth lakhs of rupees. Flames engulfed the factories burned for 6-7 hours.
2. ATTEMPT TO BURN CHANCHALAV RAILWAY STATION NEAR GODHRA
3. The report says that a mob of religious fanatics started fires near the Chanchalav railway station to free a Pakistani citizen.

**Analysis:** No sources quoted, no verification.

#### Page 10

1. JALARAM TEMPLE IN CITY TO BE ATTACKED: RUMOURS CAUSE DEVOTEES TO GATHER HERE  
The report says that hundreds of 'devotees' gathered at the famous Jalaram temple in Karelibaug after hearing rumours that it would be attacked by religious fundamentalists.

2. BAPUNAGAR REELS UNDER BLIND PRIVATE FIRING ALL DAY. IF YOU DO NOT KILL THE ENEMY THEY WILL KILL YOU. *Agar tum ne dushman ko nahi mara to woh tumhe mar dega* (written in Hindi).

**Analysis:** Extremely provocative: aggressive posturing. This kind of a headline breeds and instigates further violence.

2. Photographs on the last page of burnt bodies.

**Analysis:** Provocative.

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 2002

#### Page 1

Photographs with caption: Bodies burnt in Mehsana.

**Analysis:** This set of photographs are in bad taste and extremely provocative.

#### Page 2

72 HOURS AFTER THE GODHRA MASSACRE VADODARA DISTRICT IN FLAMES. A mob of 700 mob attacked a religious place in Sankheda village and burnt two houses.

**Analysis:** 'Mob' is used here instead of 'religious fanatics', so presumably this is a Hindu mob.

### **Page 3**

IT IS SAID THAT IN THE SOME 'NAR PISCHACHIS' (demons) INVOLVED IN THE GODHRA MASSACRE ARE SEEKING SHELTER IN TULSIWADI AREA. Another issue being discussed hotly is that there is a posse of arms hidden in the nooks and crannies in the portion of the Vishwamitri river valley that passes by Tulsiwadi.

**Analysis:** This entire article is based on rumours and in fact gives substance to them. Very provocative and instigates violence.

### **Page 8**

A FRENZIED MOB WITH A FUNERAL PROCESSION OF ONE RAJU BARIA IN SAVLI VILLAGE WHO DIED IN FIRING ATTACKED SHOPS, HOUSES, CABINS. The report says: the mob was shouting slogans like, 'Rajubhai Amar raho', 'Rajubhai hum Ayodhya jayenge', 'Rammandir banega'.

**Analysis:** Why print such slogans in an already explosive situation? The intentions of the newspaper are questionable.

### **Last page**

Photographs of bodies

**Analysis:** Both sets of photographs are disturbing in the extreme, inspire fear and instigate communal anger.

### **5<sup>th</sup> March 2002**

#### **Page 5**

A report says that 'Those who burnt a 17 year old alive wore a 'Pathani' dress'.

**Analysis:** The implication here is that it was a Muslim who committed the act. In an atmosphere so vitiated by communal passions this detail has been deliberately added to stoke communal hostility.

#### **Page 9**

PAKISTANS' EFFORT TO INSTIGATE RIOTS IN INDIA UNDER THE NAME OF 'OPERATION'. Pakistan's military rulers want to use Indian citizens in their devious plot to fan communal tension here.

**Analysis:** Completely unsubstantiated and provocative in the extreme.

#### **Page 12**

MEHSANA'S MOULVI GIVES A CALL TO: FACE THE 'KAFIRS', FINISH THEM, 'ALLAH HO AKBAR' IN ASHAPURI IN NAVAYARD.

**Analysis:** The Moulvi in question is from Kota, not Mehsana and the call he gave from the loudspeaker was a warning that the *basti* was to be attacked and that women and children should seek the shelter of the house. The loudspeaker has been since confiscated and it is the sound of '*aartis*' from the neighbouring Hindu *basti* that prevails in the mornings and evenings today. These are facts that PUCL-Vadodara and Shanti Abhiyan teams have found out after visits to the area. *Sandesh* has indulged in wilful misreporting and the news item is riddled with factual errors.

### **6<sup>th</sup> March, 2002**

#### **Page 1**

HINDUS BEWARE: HAJ PILGRIMS RETURN WITH DEADLY PLANS TO ATTACK

**7<sup>th</sup> March, 2002**

**Page 8**

NOT JUST PEACE: RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE NECESSARY: THE GODHRA MASSACRE: PRE-PLANNED CONSPIRACY?

The report says: “even if the *karsevaks* travelling the train were shouting provocative slogans, they should not have been burnt like this... People’s anger exploded, it is but natural. Every action has a reaction... This is a natural thing... If we talk about the police, after all the police is a part of society. For how long will they remain aloof from popular sentiment? What can 5-10 police men do to control frenzied mobs of 500?”

**Page 14**

GODHRA: THE MINI-PAKISTAN’S KARACHI CONNECTION.

Report claims that Karachi has an entire area named Godhra.

**8<sup>th</sup> March 2002.**

**Page 1**

1. THE VHP IS SOFT ON THE MANDIR ISSUE, BUT MUSLIMS ARE STILL ANGRY. (*VHP naram to Muslim garam*)

2. WHEN MUSLIM LEADERS SHOUTED SLOGANS LIKE ‘HINDUSTAN ZINDABAD’

The report goes on to say that the Circuit House in Baroda witnessed an unprecedented event when Muslim leaders of the city got together to shout slogans like the above, and appeal for peace.

**9<sup>th</sup> March, 2002**

**Page 1**

MOBSTERS STILL DO NOT LIKE PEACE?

News report with a photograph of a dead calf’s head in a plastic bag. The news report asks: Who has done it?

**Analysis:** What was the intention of the newspaper in splashing a photograph like this on the front page? The report goes on to say that it was a dog that had dragged the body of the calf into a street.

**Page 7**

1. 4 YOUTHS WITH RIFLES ESCAPED IN A TATA SUMO FROM THE CURFEW RIDDEN FATEHPURA AREA

The report goes on to say that these youngsters then made calls on their mobile phone to Calcutta, Bombay, Bangalore after reaching Tandalja.

1. PRIME ACCUSED IN THE GODHRA CARNAGE IS HIDING IN BOMBAY AND WAITING TO ESCAPE ABROAD.

**Page 16**

A report tells readers that in 1948 people from Pakistan set the tricolour on fire in Godhra’s Iqbal High School. A teacher who shouted *Vande Materam* was thrown out of the school.

**Analysis:** The only objective of recalling and re-printing this kind of information at a time like this is to fuel communal hostilities.

**15<sup>th</sup> March 2002**

**Page 1**

1. DHARMAYUDH IN AYODHYA.

The report starts with an assertion that, ‘there will be a dharama yudh in Ayodhya between ‘*bhakti*’ and ‘*shakti*’.

2. Parmahans’ threat to commit suicide appears four times on the front page.

3. PROHIBITION OF PUJA ON ALL MANDIRS ON 67 ACRES DISPUTED LAND

**Page 14**

4 ARMED YOUTH CAUGHT IN THE SENSATIONAL TATA SUMO CASE RELEASED ON 5 DAYS REMAND

**Analysis:** There are no such reports about Hindus being arrested.

**Page 4**

There is a tiny news item in corner about a meeting on communal harmony in Rustompura village.

**Page 5**

1. Banner headline: IN THE NAME OF SHELTER MIGRANTS FROM OTHER VILLAGES ENTER CITY

The report warns that moves to set up Muslim colonies overnight on Municipal Corporation land in Tandalja, Wadi, Akota. It also says that victims of riots from nearby villages in Vadodara who have come here, some Muslim leaders have used their political connections to set up illegal colonies on Corporation land. Information about dangerous activities has come to the fore in these colonies. The VMC also knows about this. Rehabilitation is only an excuse.

**Analysis:** The truth is that these are relief camps where terrified Muslim victims have taken shelter. The anti-Muslim bias of the newspaper is in full and virulent display when it purports to expose the ‘dangerous activities’ that are going on in these relief camps.

2. SADHUS DEMONSTRATE IN FRONT OF VMC OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF MUTTON SHOPS COMING UP IN FRONT OF THE ISKON TEMPLE

The report says Hindu religiosity will be outraged if this is not stopped and an *Andolan* will begin. In a box in the same article it says, ‘sadhus’ chanting of ‘Hare Krishna, Hare Rama’ transformed the Municipal Corporation into a religious spot’. A footnote says, ‘the Municipal Commissioner and Mayor faced the blazing question of the sadhus...What if a *masjid* is built in front of the *mandir*?’

There is constant reference to Hindu citizens and Hindu devotees.

**Page 6**

1. The editorial compares the VHP and RSS. The RSS is much stronger than VHP. If the *Mandir Andolan* has to be carried on properly and with a long term perspective then it is not possible without the support of the RSS. The VHP accepts this.

3. THE SC JUDGEMENT ANGERS HINDUS: ‘TALK OF THE TOWN’. Will there be a 1992 action replay in Ayodhya today?

In a box: The government allows Muslims to read *namaz* during office hours and Hindus are prohibited from performing puja.

16<sup>th</sup> March 2002

**Page 1**

**HOLI OF VIOLENCE IN BARODA**

Large red letters. Written with death count and number of injured in large numbers. The entire page is filled with news about violence in Baroda, and the Ayodhya issue.

**Page 3**

**1. VIOLENT MOB RAZES DARGAH NEAR SAYAJI HOSPITAL**

The report has two photographs: one of policemen surrounding the razed *dargah*, and another of Hanuman idols installed there. The report stresses that the *dargah* was razed as a result of the ‘private firing’ in the Machchipeeth area of the city.

**2. Machchipeeth VIOLENCE LEADS TO A MOB LOOTING AND SETTING FIRE TO SHOPS NEAR NATRAJ CINEMA**

**Analysis:** The violence in Machchipeeth is now being used to justify the orgy of violence that followed much like the way in which Godhra has been consistently used to justify the genocide.

**3. STONE PELTING ON THOSE GOING TO GIVE CONDOLENCES TO THE PEOPLE KILLED IN THE GODHRA MASSACRE IN BALASINOR. 3 Hindu youths stabbed.**

**Analysis:** Mention of Hindu youth, there is never such mention when Muslims are stabbed or attacked. This is designed to stoke communal passions.

**Page 5**

**RAMDHUN IN RAMESHWAR MANDIR. THOUSANDS OF DEVOTEES PARTICIPATE**

**Analysis:** Once more there is glorification of the *Ramdhun* programme. Hindus are cast as devotees, in contrast to Muslims as fanatics.

**Page 7**

**1. MUSLIMS ATTACK RANAVAS IN KADIYAWAD, DABHOI**

Inset box: Why did a kerosene tanker go to a Muslim area before the attack on the Ranawas, ask the residents of Dabhoi.

The report says that a kerosene tanker went into Kadiawad area and kerosene was distributed in the area.

**Analysis:** What is the intention of this news item? It is a routine matter that kerosene tankers go into all residential areas. Kerosene is the main fuel for household purposes. There is a deliberate slant here meant to distort facts.

**2. “YOU HAVE PLAYED YOUR ONE DAY MATCH, NOW WE WILL PLAY A 5 DAY MATCH.” Two communities on warpath in Wadi, one of the communities threatened the other saying this.**

**Analysis:** Why is such a threat being highlighted? The CM Narendra Modi is also said to have made references to cricket matches in another context. Does this mean that Hindus threatened the Muslim

promising to wreck havoc? The headline is instigative.

**Page 9**

Photographs all over the page. One of them has a congratulatory caption that says: ‘women chanting the *ramdhun*’.

**Page 13**

Boxed article: THE SACRIFICE AND STRUGGLE FOR THE RAMJANMABOOMI. The article gives a history of the ‘Ram Janmabhoomi struggle’ in which 3 lakh Hindus are supposed to have died since the 15th century.

**Analysis:** Dubious. There is no mention of sources. The article is meant to foment trouble.

**Page 14**

RSS STATEMENT: WE HAVE NO RELATIONS WITH BJP. The post-Godhra violence was a natural reaction of the Hindus.

**Analysis:** Constant reiteration of post-Godhra violence as a reaction.

**Page 15**

YOUTH FROM VASNA MERCILESSLY ATTACKED IN JUHAPURA. The report describes how a mob came into Juhapura. This man was returning from work and he was surrounded and attacked. In the meantime a jeep entered the lane, saw the mob and sped straight into the mob dispersing it. The driver rescued the youth and made off from there.

**Analysis:** This is a positive incident where the man was rescued by the jeep driver at great risk. The article and the headline choose instead to highlight the attack rather than the rescue.

**Page 16**

HEADLINE: ANGRY MUSLIMS FIRE ON AND ATTACK RAMSHOBHA YATRA. What happened in Machchipeeth that caused the city to burn?

The report says: “In the afternoon the city was infused with spirit of Ram. Women, children and youth burst into the main roads, Ram had suffused the city. At a time like this the entire city was plunged into violence because of the attack by the fanatics of Machchipeeth. When a *shobha yatra* emerged in the Raopura area in the afternoon chanting *Ramdhun*, people were dancing and chanting Ram. Everybody was immersed in devotional sprit. The police was also present. The *shobha yatra* reached the Machchipeeth crossing. *Dhols* and *manjiras* were played.

At Suryanarayan Baug an acid bulb shot out from a rooftop in Machchipeeth. The ram *bhakt*s of the *shobha yatra* looked towards Machchipeeth to see where the acid bombs were coming from. And an armed mob was spotted. They had swords and were shouting. The women in the *shobha yatra* ran in panic. The youth ran towards the police. But by then a shower of acid bulbs was raining down from not one but five rooftops in Machchipeeth. There was the armed mob down on the streets and up on the rooftops were acid bulbs raining down.

Violence disrupts *bhakti ras* (the spirit of devotion) and mobs face each other. The Machchipeeth mob comes forward taking advantage of the ‘coverage fire’ of acid bulbs from the rooftops. Stones, bottles rain down from the sky and the police is surprised. The violent Machchipeeth mob comes on to the street. Before the people and police understand what is happening the notorious elements of this area, namely Nooru Mistry, Ayub Clubwala and Yusuf Kadia start private firing. On the one hand was the ‘covering’ stone throwing from the rooftops and on the other was the mob was on the road. The police was outnumbered. There was panic. The violent mob was ready to attack the people on the road. 8-10 people could

have died but the police came just in time and fired.“

**Analysis:** The entire city was terrorised, not suffused with the spirit of devotion. The *Ramdhun* programme was part of an aggressive call given by the VHP, it was not a show of intense devotion. Such *shobha yatras* have caused terror and fear throughout the city. Going by *Sandesh* reporting, it seems as though a city immersed in Ram was attacked. The events that unfolded in Machchipeeth actually followed a very different sequence. Our separate report clarifies this in greater detail.

#### **Page 16**

##### **1. WAS THE MACHCHYPEETH MOB ATTACK PRE-PLANNED?**

**Analysis:** To our knowledge no mob attack takes place without planning. *Sandesh* has chosen to pick on this one because it concerns a minority dominated area of the city.

##### **2. PRIVATE FIRING OF MUSLIMS FROM BOTH MASJIDS IN SADAR BAZAR, FATEHGANJ**

The report says that two groups clashed and after a pitched battle there was private firing.

**Analysis:** The headline is misleading. In Fatehganj Muslim families were attacked and their shops burnt.

#### **17<sup>th</sup> March 2002**

#### **Page 2**

**RESIDENTS OF RANAWAS, DABHOI ANGRY. “THE ADMINISTRATION IS RUNNING AROUND FOR MUSLIMS, BUT NOBODY HAS COME TO WIPE OUR TEARS”**

**Analysis:** We have enough facts to prove that reality is quite contrary to this claim. By highlighting such grouses and by not balancing it with stories from relief camps or Muslim *bastis*, *Sandesh* reveals its communal biases.

#### **Page 12**

**THE MUSLIMS OF HATHIKHANA, MITHAFALIA ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE HANUMAN MANDIR**

The report says that Muslim gave a call to ‘cut the Hindus, break the *mandir* and make a *dargah*...’

**Analysis:** The report fails to substantiate their claims. There is reason to doubt the veracity of the information contained in the report.

#### **Page 12**

Even after Godhra, Dabhoi had remained peaceful. This was disrupted by Muslims fanatics. Residents of Ranawas demand immediate arrest of anti-national elements.

**Analysis:** Muslims consistently being portrayed as anti-national. They cannot be mere anti-social elements as stated by the Godhra District Collector Jayanti Ravi.

#### **18<sup>th</sup> March 2002**

#### **Page 1**

1. VIOLENT CONVULSIONS IN VADODARA AGAIN. 3 DEAD. Banner headlines in large, red letters.
2. Top right: close-ups of corpses.

**Analysis:** Both news report and photographs are designed to sensationalise gruesome incidents of violence.

**Page 3**

FANATIC MOB OF MUSLIMS FROM BAWAMANPURA TRIED TO BURN HARISH PETROL PUMP

**Analysis:** Muslims being portrayed as fanatics once again.

**Page 5**

TANDALJA TENSE AFTER RUMOURS SPREAD

The report says that the rumours spread in the area and there was panic. Once people realised it became quite peaceful. Representatives of Shanti Abhiyan say that it is untrue that there was private firing or that police had burst teargas shells. Nothing has happened in Tandalja, but some people are interested in fomenting trouble.

**Page 7**

Photographs of those injured and dead

**Page 11**

NEWSPLUS, a regular column. Inset box: "There are Muslim-dominated areas in various parts of the country. Here during communal riots, Hindus have to bear the consequences. In Gujarat, Godhra stands out during communal riots, but there are echoes of Godhra in other 'pockets' too. Those who stand to gain in one place must remember that they will lose out in ten other areas. That is inevitable. Now there is a general understanding that those who live in water will stand to lose if they are hostile to crocodiles."

**Analysis:** This is the 'broader perspective' that *Sandesh* offers its readers. Offensive, anti-minority posturing is routine in the 'analytical' articles. This article serves almost as a mouthpiece of the RSS when it issues a warning to the minority community to behave or face the consequences.

**19<sup>th</sup> March 2002**

**Page 12**

SAI MANDIR AND THE HINDU AREA IN TULSIWADI UNDER VIOLENT ATTACK BY MUSLIMS

According to report, mobs of 5000-7000 attacked the area.

**Analysis:** Gross exaggeration of the numbers, deliberately done.

**20<sup>th</sup> March 2002**

**Page 3**

1. 70 HINDUS WERE BURNT ALIVE IN GODHRA AND THE RIOTS IN SHEHAR LEFT 44 DEAD. 16 BODIES HAVE YET TO BE IDENTIFIED

The report is basically about an appeal by the administration for help in identifying relatives or kin of the 16 dead. This crucial detail is mentioned only in the last paragraph.

**Analysis:** Even an appeal by the administration becomes an excuse to indulge in terror-mongering!

2. SHANTI SAMITI TRIES TO MAINTAIN PEACE

**Analysis:** The news item is tucked away in small corner of the page. News like this could have encouraged other such attempts to maintain peace but that was not on the *Sandesh* agenda.

**Page 14**

Photographs of weapons and broken temples.

**21<sup>st</sup> March 2002****Page 7**

SUDANESE YOUTH CAUGHT IN FATEHGANJ. DOES HE HAVE AN ISI CONNECTION?

The report says that residents have complained of private firing by him. His ISI connection is being explored, says the report. The police found an iron pipe in combing operations in his house.

**Analysis:** The fact of the matter is that the Sudanese national is a student in the M.S. University. He lives in a room above the *masjid* in Fatehganj. He was reading the *namaz* when violence began there. He was arrested and it was only when the Embassy intervened that he was released. Why has *Sandesh* not reported this and instead made claims about his ISI connection?

Photographs: Dead bodies in Bharuch, all close-ups

**23<sup>rd</sup> March 2002****Page 1**

1. Close ups of dead/injured

2. THE NAKED DANCE OF VIOLENCE IN VADODARA. Headlines in large red letters.

**Page 2**

3 DIE NEAR FATEHPURA LAL AKHADA. ARE THE TWO MUSLIM POLICEMEN POSTED AT THE POLICE POINT RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS?

**From the PUCL, Varodara Report on the Carnage in Varodara 2002**

*The Tribunal recorded evidence of the preparatory grounds being laid for community-wise home and property surveys in next-door Rajasthan*

<http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/printedition/210802/detNAT16.shtml>

### **RSS conducts Gujarat-type survey of Hindus in Jaipur**

*-By D.K. Singh*

**Jaipur, August 20:** The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) has launched a campaign to draw the city's Hindu youth into its fold. The "*Hindutva* consciousness" drive includes a comprehensive survey of the city's population, at the end of which the RSS hopes to have a database of every Hindu boy and young man in Jaipur.

Over the past several months, groups of RSS *pracharaks* have been visiting the city's Hindu localities to spend time with youngsters. Their mission, as revealed by an RSS worker: "To proselytise uninitiated Hindus, and to give memberships to those who show sympathy for the Sangh."

The recruitment drive and survey has so far covered only two areas, Sanganer and Khatipura - a measure of the thoroughness and attention to detail with which the *pracharaks* have been doing their job.

A similar survey by Sangh affiliates had been reported from Gujarat a few months before the March-April violence. The survey had allegedly helped identify Muslim homes and shops to the mobs of Hindu killers in the aftermath of the Godhra carnage.

The *kshetriya pracharak* for RSS's Rajasthan unit, Shankarlal, however, denied any survey or *Hindutva* drive. "We are visiting houses to extend invitations for Raksha Bandhan festival that we organise in every *mohalla* to take an oath for the defence of our nation. We have been doing it for the last 50 years, you have noticed it only now."

*These were a series of alerts sent out through the website of [www.sabrang.com](http://www.sabrang.com)*

CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace

**Update: February 27, 2002**

Appeal to Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India  
**Take *Suo Motu* Action on Ayodhya**

**February 27, 2002**

To

Chief Justice S.P. Bharucha,  
Supreme Court of India,  
New Delhi.

Honourable Sir,

**Is the Indian Supreme Court content to remain a mute spectator to a nationwide bloodbath yet again?**

The nation is once again being held cynical ransom to unlawful outfits and elements like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal as they openly signal their intention to flout the Indian Constitution and the rule of law. Repeatedly, statements by the VHP claim that they will not deflect from their decision to begin construction of the Ram temple on the site of an illegally demolished Mosque on March 15, 02. These threats are unlawful given that the matter remains unresolved judicially. The local administration has been appealing helplessly to the executive demanding that the activities and the outfits be declared illegal to no avail.

The matter deserves even more prompt and immediate consideration given the ghastly arson and burning alive of over 50 persons travelling in the Sabarmati Express at Godhra in Gujarat today and the potential of this incident to lead to a nationwide bloodbath of revenge and counter-revenge between groups and communities.

The incident in Godhra deserves to be unequivocally condemned and the guilty, whoever they are need to be brought to book forthwith. This incident, just like the systematic mobilisation around the construction of a Ram temple at Ayodhya achieves sharp communal polarisation and unleashes hatred among people leading to heinous, mindless violence and needs to be seen as such. Already in gruesome and medieval bouts of reprisal in Baroda, Anand and Ahmedabad, minority lives and properties have been targeted. Maharashtra and Rajasthan where bandh calls have been declared by unlawful outfits like the VHP, Bajrang Dal and their mentors are in a state of high alert.

Since year 2000, but especially since August 01, outfits like the Bajrang Dal and the VHP have undertaken a much publicised programme of arming Indian civil society through the distribution of trishuls that are in fact cleverly disguised four-inch scrap Rampuri knives that can kill. The intelligence wing of the police of at least two states in the country, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh have asked for the banning of the blatantly illegal activities of these outfits on grounds that they generate localised terror. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands of such trishuls have been systematically spread to arm bands of youth being readied and trained for violence. The threat to the rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution is clear.

Nine years ago, as the Court, the Indian Parliament and the law and order forces mutely watched not only was a 400 year old Mosque destroyed in full public view. The event and the movement preceding it gave open sanction for a vengeful bloodbath for some months in 1990 and then again in 1992-93, during which Indian religious minorities were singled out and targeted whether in Rajkot, Ahmedabad, Indore, Mumbai, Purulia, Jaipur, Gonda —cities spanning different regions across the country. It was clear that in the guise of construction of a temple to Lord Ram, the politics of violence, hatred and venom ruled the day. India hung its head in shame.

Then nine years ago, all wings of the Indian state had been adequately petitioned, in advance, of the imminent dangers; all singularly failed to uphold the Constitution.

Will the same mistake be made again?

Already we are informed through media reports that no less than ten-twenty thousand zealots, groomed to irrationality and trained in wielding lathis and trishuls, geared to break the law have assembled at Ayodhya. Over 1 lakh more are expected to converge by the assigned date. A few days ago, a former governor of UP, Romesh Bhandari has petitioned you, honorable Sir that “we may be left with a fait accompli and the resultant chaos that we witnessed in December 1992 when the Babri Masjid was demolished in full public glare.” He has appealed to you in light of the fact that so many thousands of kar sevaks are gathering in Ayodhya and urged your taking suo moto action in the matter.

Former governor Bhandari’s appeal is reminiscent of the voice of advocate OP Sharma who petitioned then CJ, Venkatchaliah requesting Supreme Court’s suo moto action in preventing the demolition given the fact that hundreds of thousands of kar sevaks had reached Ayodhya. That was on November 30, 1992. Reluctant to take the appeal seriously the SC had merely sent an observer to Ayodhya, a court official who mutely watched the demolition.

Once again, we reiterate the appeal, in your capacity as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the apex constitutional authority in the country. As citizens concerned about the quality of public life and discourse in the country, that has suffered from the severe perversions caused by hate speech, blatant falsehoods and violence, we urge that the Supreme Court does not remain a mute spectator yet again and issues suo moto orders so that unlawful actions of the *kar sevaks* are restrained, criminal activity stopped and nationwide violence prevented.

**Teesta Setalvad**, Communalism Combat  
**Professor Prabhat Patnaik**, Academic  
**Farookh Shaikh**, Artiste  
**Vivan Sundaram**, Artist  
**Javed Anand**, Communalism Combat  
**Dolphy DeSouza**, Social activist  
**Nikhil Wagle**, Journalist

**Shabnam Hashmi**, SAHMAT  
**Professor KN Panikkar**, Historian  
**Praful Bidwai**, Journalist  
**Ram Rehman**, Photographer  
**Rajendra Prasad**, SAHMAT  
**Sajjid Rashid**, Journalist

## **CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace**

Update: February 28, 2002

**Feb. 28, 2002**

### **Citizens from Gujarat-Mumbai Appeal to the President**

#### **Alert: Prime Minister, Home Minister and All Party Leaders**

We urgently appeal to the President of India, Shri Narayanan to immediately depute the Army to all cities of Gujarat especially Ahmedabad. The police under the current political dispensation has abdicated all responsibility in Ahmedabad, Rajkot and many other cities and is allowing marauding mobs belonging to the ruling BJP, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal to stab and burn alive persons, to attack property and large housing colonies.

Unless the Indian executive at the very highest level wishes the country to witness communal carnage of the kind that has cost us dearly in the past, the Army with a relatively non-partisan history must be brought in to restore peace.

At this point brutal pre-mediated arson has lit every street in Ahmedabad. Ten people have died totally since the Godhra arson incident yesterday; two in Baroda, three in Ahmedabad. In a gruesome incident in Ahmedabad, a senior citizen, stalwart for communal harmony, one Ehsan Jaffrey was burnt alive today. Shops, businesses and apartment blocks with Muslim residents are being targeted; shops and businesses have been burnt.

The Chief Minister has reportedly told *The Times of India* correspondent that today's violence and destruction is nothing compared to what happened at Godhra yesterday! In the circumstances, it is critical that the Army takes over and some semblance of protection before the law, fundamental rights guaranteed to every citizen are ensured, however belatedly, in Gujarat.

Repeated efforts by individuals and groups made to the chief minister and his coterie to make a public appeal on television for peace have been dismissed with "*ab jaada kya hua hai?* Only four people have died" "(Not too much has happened as yet). Apartment blocks like the Delite Apartments, Shah Alam Nagar and Bombay Housing with persons from the minority community trapped inside are even at this moment being set alight.

If adequate protection does not come from the State people will resort to defending themselves. This is tantamount to encouraging violence by the State and must not be allowed to happen. Rajkot and Surendranagar never known for their communal past experienced violent tensions as marauding mobs were allowed the sway of the streets by Narendra Modi's administration.

**Girish Patel**  
**Javed Akhtar**  
**Dr. Hanif Lakdawala**

**Teesta Setalvad**  
**Valjibhai Patel**  
**Javed Anand**

**Shabana Azmi**  
**Farooque Shaikh**  
**Sheba George**

## **CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace**

Update: March 5, 2002

### **Riot victims being treated like prisoners**

Six days after brutal violence rocked Gujarat state, especially Ahmedabad city, the sheer scale and dimension of the tragedy and its lasting impact is being callously rejected by the ruling state government. The total loss of life has been put at 500, but our estimate is that the casualties may be closer to a staggering figure of 2,000.

While Rs. 2 lakh as compensation to the surviving relatives of the victims of the Godhra tragedy was immediately announced, the Gujarat government is revealing its sectarian approach by simply not declaring payment of compensation to the victims of violence post-Godhra. We are demanding that an identical compensation amount be announced for families of the other victims and that areas that are today housing thousands of internally displaced persons be declared as relief camps.

Fifteen make-shift camps located in different parts of Ahmedabad, all within Muslim *bastis*, house at least 35,000 internally displaced persons. It is feared that this figure may touch 50,000 once a complete survey of the city is carried out. These figures do *not* reflect the figures of displaced persons from other towns and villages.

The condition at the relief camps is pathetic, every resident is suffering from mental trauma; the government and administration is treating them like prisoners in concentration camps: the survivors are not allowed to step out or move about freely, even for basic commodities. The immediate need is for milk, oil, grains, rice, tea and temporary building materials like *mandaps* etc since at the moment the survivors are housed in make shift accomodation in extremely unsanitary conditions.

Many of the survivors suffer from burns and other serious injuries; medicines and medical attention and health care is the need of the hour. There is also the genuine fear of an epidemic breaking out. Individuals and groups who can arrange for such commodities to be sent to Gujarat are urged to do so. We can provide details of collection and distribution centres. However if you prefer to send cash from which material can be bought, we also enclose details of the agency to where this may be urgently dispatched.

Individuals and citizens' forums in Ahmedabad have together formed a Citizens' Initiative for the collection and distribution of humanitarian relief in a coordinated manner.

The People's Union for Human Rights (PUHR) along with many other organisations will be engaged in the task of documenting details on the extensive loss of life, missing persons and the attacks on people and their properties to assist the proposed People's Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the violence in Gujarat. To be led by Justices Krishna Iyer, Hosbet Suresh and S.M. Daud will be initiated soon.

Please demand from the President, the Central Government and the Gujarat Government that:

- Adequate Reparation for Loss of Life and Property for ALL victims of Gujarat violence.
- Declaration of Camps of Internally Displaced Persons as Relief Camps.
- State takes complete responsibility for the Relief and Rehabilitation of Affected persons.
- Transparent and Speedy Rehabilitation of Survivors.

**Meanwhile please send your contributions by cheque or draft to  
Gujarat Education Society (Attention Father Cedric Prakash)  
C/o Prashant, Post Box 4002  
Ahmedabad 380 009**

**Father Cedric Prakash**  
Prashant, PUHR

**Teesta Setalvad**  
Communalism Combat, PUHR

(Ahmedabad City Alone)

Given below are the relief camps that have been contacted by the NGOs working in various areas of Ahmedabad till today.

Chartoda Kabrasthan	(Gomtipur)	3,000 people
Madhavbai Mill Compound	(Gomtipur)	3,000 people
Nagoripatel Ni Challi	(Saraspur)	1,000 people
Amanchowk		4,500 people
Sundaram Nagar	(Bapunagar)	
Gayatri Society	(Bapunagar)	2,500 people
Shah Alam Dargah		5,000 people
Bibi Talav		1,500 people
Al-Medina		1,500 people
Al-Kuba		1,500 people
Alif Nagar	(Around Shah Alam-Vatva Road)	1,500 people
Shahibaug area		3,000 people
Shahpur		3,000 people
Odhav area		2,000 people

All these numbers are approximate; however, there are several other camps in the city (all in Muslim Bastis) which have not been reached by the NGOs as yet. The actual numbers of Muslim refugees in the camps can safely be put at about 50,000.

**CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace**

Update: March 5, 2002

Appeal to the President of India

**March 5, 2002**

**To**

**Shri K. R. Narayanan**  
**President of India**

**Fax 011-3017290**

Dear Sir,

The situation in Gujarat is desperate. It is a tragedy of appalling human proportions. Earlier, the State indulged in direct and systematic acts of murder, terror and targeting of economic properties of the minority community in Gujarat. Now it is actively preventing relief and rehabilitation from reaching the affected areas; relief camps in the city that are being treated like concentration camps.

Six days after brutal violence has rocked Gujarat state, especially Ahmedabad city, the sheer scale and dimension of the tragedy and its lasting impact is being callously rejected by the State Government. Though the loss of life has been officially placed at around 500, our estimate is that it may touch a staggering figure of 2,000.

While Rs. 2 lakh an compensation was immediately announced to the surviving relatives of the victims of the Godhra tragedy, the Gujarat government is revealing it's sectarian approach by simply not declaring

payment of compensation to the victims of violence post-Godhra. We are collectively demanding that such compensation be announced and the areas that are today housing thousands of internally displaced persons be declared as relief camps.

Fifteen make-shift camps located in different parts of Ahmedabad, all within Muslim *bastis*, house at least 35,000 internally displaced persons. It is feared that this figure may touch 50,000 once a complete survey of the city is carried out. These figures do *not* reflect the figures of displaced persons from other towns and villages.

The condition at these relief camps is pathetic, everyone is suffering from mental trauma; the government and administration is treating them like prisoners in concentration camps: the survivors are not allowed to step out or move about freely, even for basic commodities. The immediate need is for milk, oil, grains, rice, tea and temporary building materials like *mandaps* etc., since at the moment the survivors are housed in make shift accomodation in extremely unsanitary conditions.

Many of the survivors suffer from burns and other serious injuries; medicines and medical attention and health care is the need of the hour. There is also the genuine fear of an epidemic breaking out.

The situation is so desperate that even the bodies of the deceased — brothers, sisters and children killed in the most brutal and inhuman manner — have not been denied the right of to a dignified departure. Bodies lie in the most de-humanised state and the State is refusing to look into this.

Sir, it would be in order that in your capacity as the President of India, the Constitutional Head of the Indian State, you make a generous contribution from the President's Fund for the Reparation of the Loss of Life, Dignity and Property of the citizens — religious minorities—in Gujarat. What Gujarat, especially the city of Ahmedabad, experienced over the past week was an utter and complete breakdown of constitutional authority. The moral and physical response to the scale of the tragedy needs your active intervention in every way possible.

**Shabana Azmi**

Member of Parliament

**Girishbhai Patel**

Senior jurist, Lok Adhikar Sangh

**D.N. Pathak**

President, PUCL Gujarat

**Indubhai Jani**

PUHR, Gujarat

**Dr Hanif Lakdawala**

IFIE, PUHR, Ahmedabad

**Vivan Sundaram**

SAHMAT

**Sushobha Barve**

Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation

**Father Francis Parmar**

Movement for Secular Democracy

**Sophia Khan**

Vikas Adhayan Kendra

**K. Stalin**

Drishti, Ahmedabad

**Sejal Daud**

**Javed Akhtar**

Poet, artiste

**Teesta Setalvad, Javed Anand**

*Communalism Combat* & PUHR

**Father Cedric Prakash**

Prashant, PUHR, Ahmedabad

**Rajendra Prasad**

SAHMAT

**Sheba George,**

PUHR, SAHRWARU, NAWO

**Shabnam Hashmi**

SAHMAT

**Gautam Thakker**

National Bank Employees Federation

**Rajkumari Pariyani**

SAHRWARU

**Wilfred D'Costa**

INSAAF

**Shabnam Virmani**

Drishti, Ahmedabad

**Meera Goradia, Arvind Lodaya**

## **CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace**

Update: March 6, 2002

**(We reproduce below an appeal addressed by eminent writer Mahashweta Devi to the President of India on March 2)**

### **Protect people in Gujarat, Mahashweta Devi pleads with Narayanan**

*Eminent author writes to the President and expresses her anguish*

**Kolkata, March 2**

Eminent writer and Magsaysay award winner Mahashweta Devi today urged President K R Narayanan to immediately intervene to protect lives of innocent riot victims of Gujarat and prevent the violence from spreading further.

In a letter to the President, the writer said she was appalled at the outburst of communal frenzy even as the Gujarat Government as well as the Centre did not take any initial action "and are doing too little too late".

"The carnage which has been taking place in the last few days is clearly the outcome of motivated, well-planned out and provocative actions of the so-called Sangh Parivar," she said.

Seeking the President's intervention "at this hour of national shame with whatever forces you can muster and put an immediate halt to this needless waste of human life and help restore sanity", Mahashweta Devi said she was deeply disturbed and concerned at the sequence of events taking place in Gujarat.

"The people who perpetrated heinous vandalism in Ayodhya in December 1992 and stoked communal flames are again at their game for the last few months. We know the pattern. We even know the remedy. The trouble is a complete lack of political will to put a stop this kind of madness", she said.

The writer said while stern legal action should be taken against those who killed *Kar Sevaks* in Godhra, similar action should be taken against those indulging in arson and bloodbath in other parts of Gujarat and elsewhere.

## **CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace**

Update: March 6, 2002

### **Ahmedabad: A tale of two cities**

**Teesta Setalvad**

**Fr. Cedric Prakash**

**Sushobha Barve**

Our update and appeal to the President of India yesterday had encompassed the sheer extent of the humanitarian and human tragedy that has been engineered systematically by the state government in Gujarat. Until 5 p.m. on March 5, relief was actively prevented from reaching the affected areas with the government simply refusing police protection to truck drivers fearful of driving through an utterly brutalised Ahmedabad. The text of this appeal can be read at **sabrang.com**.

We visited Jamalpur area this morning and met community leaders who had played a role in reaching many of the survivors to the relief camps over the past few days. Later, we spent the day at the Shah Alam Relief camp that is housing 5,500 displaced persons since Thursday night, that is, on February 27.

The tales of the survivors are hard to tell and repeat. They are tales of pre-planned and systematic attacks, by mobs of no less than 5,000 with the aid of the police and even SRPF, of killing by arson where petrol and diesel was used in a cynical manner. Young children were killed after being cut to pieces. The

severing of trust and faith between communities who have lived with some of their neighbours who participated in the violence will be hard, if not impossible to repair.

Our estimates put the final figures of those dead at 2,000 all over the state. Economically, the Muslim community throughout the length and breadth of the State has been crippled. What is truly chilling about both the nature and scale of the violence is that it was systematic genocide, the ethnic cleansing of a minority community accompanied by systematic sexual violence against women and children.

Besides, the method of killing reached barbaric and de-humane proportions. This has left the hapless inmates of the relief camps victims of deep and bitter trauma and utterly terror stricken. While intellectuals debate about the likelihood and nature of the backlash, the survivors of the brute violence are so terrorised that they simply await the next round of targeted terror. The issue of the dead being given a dignified burial looms large. Today, 129 bodies at *Dariakhanki Ghumbat*, Shahibag were given a mass burial around 5 p.m. There are reports of 150 bodies in a mutilated state lying in a village at Naroda Pattiya, just outside Ahmedabad. The violence in and around Surat continued today and two women belonging to the minority community were beaten to death in a village just outside Godhra.

The size of the mobs who were encouraged by chief minister Narendra Modi's verbal statements and sanction to roam the streets was between 5-15,000 and the scale of violence and barbarism suggestive of trained *trishul*-wielding cadres. There appears enough evidence to suggest the permanent existence of such a cadre, approximating 20-30,000, on the payroll of the Bajrang Dal-VHP-BJP, who have received training in physical attack and mental brainwashing into a dehumanising hatred.

It is otherwise simply impossible to explain how in the space of 72 hours, a 15-20 per cent minority in the state has been brutalised through violence and economically crippled, too. This is why we appeal to one and all to refer to the recent Gujarat violence as ethnic cleansing and genocide. The violence that the state witnessed was not just another communal riot.

What was most startlingly evident as we returned for the day was the dual reality of Ahmedabad, a tale of two cities. The unaffected Hindu came out on the streets and went about his business even as in at least 15 areas of the same city, 35-50,000 of its residents lay shaken, morally and physically broken. Not a shop was open in these ghettos, people cannot step outside their homes or relief camps, for food, medicines or clothing.

What is to be the fate of us as a people if we are unable to generate an adequate enough response countrywide to this bitter reality of two cities?

### **The Ahmedabad Peace March**

More than 1,500 Ahmedabadis from all walks of life took part in a peace march organised by a section of civil society on Tuesday, March 5. The march which began at Kochrab *Ashram*, were Mahatma Gandhi spent his early years, ended about five kilometres away, at the Sabarmati *Ashram*. The silent peace marchers collectively articulated a pressure on the state government for the immediate restoration of peace.

### **Justice and Reparation**

A team of the People's Union for Human Rights will be visiting different parts of the city of Ahmedabad and the state of Gujarat to document the massive loss of life and property. Other groups are also collating similar information. This would collectively be the groundwork for a people's Judicial Commission into the Ethnic Cleansing in Gujarat that would be headed by Justice Krishna Iyer and of which Justice Suresh and Girishbhai Patel would be a part. The detailed collation of material and documentation has already begun.

**Teesta Setalvad**  
Communalism Combat, PUHR  
**Sushobha Barve**  
Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation

**Fr Cedric Prakash**  
Prashant, PUHR

**Details of Shah Alam Camp**

**March 6, 02**

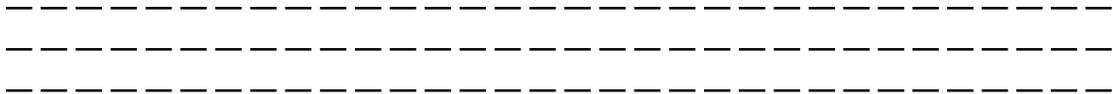
The camp is feeding 5,500 persons each day. The food requirement is

Rice	1,000 kilos per day
Dal	100 kilos per day
Sabzi	200 kilos per day
Oil	Ten Tins of 15 kilos each
Tea	Twenty kilos per day
Sugar	Fifty kilos per day
Milk	500 litres per day

**They URGENTLY need:**

- Blankets
- Bedsheets
- Towels

This camp needs three doctors for urgent medical attention for the whole day  
They need municipal staff to clean the toilets and to construct more.



CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace  
Update: March 1, 2002

**AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL**

**Public Statement**

**1 March 2002**

**AI Index ASA 20/002/2002 - News Service Nr. 37**

**Equal protection to all citizens must be ensured in Gujarat**

Amnesty International is deeply concerned about reports of widespread communal riots in the Indian state of Gujarat since 27 February in which nearly 250 people, a large number of whom appear to have been unarmed civilians, have reportedly been killed. The organisation calls on law enforcement agencies to ensure equal protection to all citizens, and on all the parties involved to stop the cycle of violence and retribution.

The organization urged the Government of India and the Government of Gujarat to ensure that all law enforcement agencies deployed in the state, as well as in the rest of the country, strictly abide by the guidelines set by the international community for the conduct of law enforcement officials and the use of firearms.

"Law enforcement must be exercised by security agencies with the aim of protecting human dignity, irrespective of the religious identity or political beliefs of the persons to be protected," Amnesty

International said. Article 1 of the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials sets the duty for all security forces to “protect all persons against illegal acts.” Amnesty International is concerned at reports suggesting inaction by the police force and senior officials in responding to the violence.

Amnesty International reminds the Government of India of Principle 9 of the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, which says that “law enforcement officials shall not use firearms against persons except in self-defence or defence of others against the imminent threat of death or serious injury, to prevent the perpetration of a particular serious crime involving great threat to life, to arrest a person presenting such a danger and resisting their authority or to prevent his or her escape, and only when less extreme means are insufficient to achieve these objectives.”

The organization welcomes the step taken on 1 March by the National Human Rights Commission, which issued a notice to the Government of Gujarat and to the Director General of Police asking them to submit a report within three days on the incidents and the measures taken to contain them.

“The killings on all sides presently perpetrated in Gujarat must be investigated promptly, effectively, independently and impartially and those responsible brought to justice, irrespective of their position, religious identity or political beliefs. Only by ensuring that there is no impunity for such acts can the Gujarat State and Union government send a clear signal that communal violence will not be tolerated,” the organization said.

ENDS

#### **Public Document**

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For more information please call Amnesty International’s press office in London, UK, on +44 20 7413 5566  
Amnesty International, 1 Easton St., London WC1X 0DW web :  
<http://www.amnesty.org>

CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens’ Initiative for Justice & Peace  
Update: March 7, 2002

**Teesta Setalvad**

**Fr Cedric Prakash**

**Sushobha Barve**

#### **A trained saffron militia at work?**

Today, on the second day of our stay in Ahmedabad (Fr Cedric Prakash is Ahmedabad based), we heard more tales of horror in the different relief camps that we visited. Worse, the accounts of the survivors and victims highlight the systematic pattern of behaviour and complicity in the violence.

Violence has not abated but is simply taking place in the more dispersed rural areas where even the media does not reach. Even as we write this update, reports of four persons being burned alive in Santrapur village have come in. Each one of the victims was a Muslim. In regions of north Gujarat, especially, violence continues and terror reins in the countryside.

To their credit, villages on the outskirts of Anand have doggedly resisted the violent threats to their Muslim inhabitants. To pressurise the Hindus from these villages, the local VHP has been sending them a set of bangles every day. But so far the locals have held out. We learn that the day before yesterday a minister from the state cabinet addressed a meeting of the villagers decrying them for not having taken to violence.

In our update yesterday we had stressed that the violence in Gujarat should *not* be referred to as a communal riot but an act of ethnic cleansing, genocide. We saw more evidence of this once again today, as we drove to the outskirts of Ahmedabad, to Vatwa that has given shelter to a total of 6,000 members in relief camps. The main relief camp here is a makeshift pandal where women, children and men eat and sleep. There is a serious problem of sanitation. There is also a problem of insufficient toilets. The administration has *not* responded to the repeated demand for mobile toilets and tents.

We have also pointed out in repeated media interviews and updates that a factor in Gujarat's violence is a trend recorded by Teesta Setalvad (through *Communalism Combat*) in Gujarat over the past two years. The hiring of young men, on high salaries, by the Bajrang Dal for the express purpose of wielding the *talwar* and the *trishul*. In short, the creation of a trained, private militia.

Every single account that this writer received before arrival in Gujarat, and which has been corroborated by on reaching here are strong pointers to the role played by such an outfit in the present carnage. In every incident in Gujarat over the past few days, the mobs leading the attacks were not the usual riot mobs.

They were mobs of 5-15,000 that collected swiftly and with precision wrecked total destruction of life and property in brief periods and brutal ways. It is not easy to collect such large mobs even in a city like Mumbai, let alone Ahmedabad and scattered villages. Strong indications of such a militia poses a challenge to Indian civil society and the 'secular' Indian state – how will be cope?

Can we raise a demand for a judicial inquiry into the existence of and the disbanding of such a militia? The training given to this militia is not simply for the perpetration of violence. It is also a mental training in de-humanisation of the 'enemy', through the preaching of ideological hatred that enables men (and women, in some cases) to attack, dismember, de-humanise, kill, burn and then finally enjoy the loot.

On our drive to Vatwa, along the outskirts of the city, evidence of selective destruction of Muslim shops was clear. Kilometre after kilometre, *dhabas*, garages, laundries, bakeries and garages owned by the minority community were burned even as the shops next to them were completely unharmed.

At Vatwa we met displaced persons from Burhani society where 80 homes belonging to Dawoodi Bohras were completely destroyed. Elsewhere the number of homes burnt down were as follows: Bismillahnagar (60), Roshni Park (105), Raunak Park, Bachubai Kua (80) Darbar Khetar (80) Syedwadi (150), Azimpura (100) Tufel Park, Iliaz Park, and Navapura (300).

This entire area was targeted by Hindu neighbours living in nearby societies two days after the Godhra incident of February 27. The attack, all eye-witnesses maintain, was planned with meticulous precision as crowds of no less than 15,000, with saffron bands on heads, *talwars*, *guptis* and *dharis* in hand, arrived on four-six occasions over the next twelve hours to wreck systematic destruction on homes, reducing them to empty shells. The homes in Burhani society belonging to the Dawoodi Bohra community were totally gutted.

When Muslim women went to the *sabzi mandi* today, orders were issued by the local Bajrang Dal activist, Mahesh Patel (indicted for inciting the violence) ordered *sabziwallahs* not to sell any vegetables to Muslims. Stones were pelted at women trying to get a glimpse of what was left of their homes.

In almost all areas, the police has not yet fulfilled its primary duty of registering the First Information Reports (FIRs) related to the violent incidents. Instead, in many cases, they have registered false cases against young men of the minority community who tried to defend themselves.

The frightening aspect of the violence is the deep-rooted terror still in the minds of the survivors. On

three occasions over the past three days we have been told of cassettes being played late at night, from the homes of perpetrators of the crime living in nearby societies, sending out the war-cry: '*Looto, kaato, maro, Jai Sri Ram!*' ('Loot, attack, kill, Jai Shri Ram!').

Provocative speeches, hate speech by both the mainline Gujarati media, the statements of the Chief Minister, Narendra Modi and the surreptitious distribution of provocative pamphlets continue. CM Modi's statement reported in the *Indian Express* this morning is telling: "The violence in Godhra was communal violence, the violence after that was 'secular violence'".

The large circulation Gujarati daily, *Sandesh*, is probably the worst perpetrator of hate speech over past days. Today a report titled, '*Hindu upar khatro-Haj Yatra pachi valta humla ni khaufnaak saajish*' warns Hindus in Gujarat that "Several state govt agencies say that after the Godhra incident, the fear of terrorism looms large all over Gujarat. With the help of international help, RDX bombs and aeroplane hijacks are likely to be used by these terrorist forces." Neither the police nor the state is taking any action against this publication.

Schools re-opened in the 'other' Ahmedabad and further evidence of 'normalcy' was witnessed. When a few of us friends went for dinner to a Gujarati restaurant, I (Teesta Setalvad) was asked to lower my voice and preferably not speak of the only thing that I can speak of at the moment. Hunger is an equaliser and since our long day had meant no food we ate, but ate in a locale that gave us a real taste of virtual reality. A friend on the table summed it up well, '*Aaj kal jab log puchte hain, kaise ho to lagta hai ki in dinon mein woh shabdon ka matlab hi nahin raha.*' (When people ask, 'How are you?' these days it seems that these words have no meaning).

A citizen's initiative in Gujarat has resulted in a pamphlet on the destruction of the culture and heritage of Gujarat. The pamphlet is proposed to be reached to tens of thousands of people, including those living in villages and remote parts. (The pamphlet will be posted on our website (sabrang.com) in the next few days.

Other small and larger peace initiatives have also begun. Two ex-Prime Minister's, V.P. Singh and I.K. Gujral, are scheduled to arrive in Ahmedabad on Thursday. An all-party delegation of MPs will also visit the city the day after. There are rumours that the state plans to sabotage the visit by taking them to make shift camps where not many problems can be perceived.

### **Relief needed at many camps**

**March 7, 02**

THE NOBLE AMBULANCE SOCIETY that happens to be owned and run by Muslims was badly humiliated and prevented from reaching relief to affected persons since violence broke out in Gujarat. I had a meeting with the Secretary, Mr Salim Shaikh who requested that we put out this appeal for Medicines:

Tablet Zentac	2,00,000
Tablet Furazoladin	2,00,000
Tablet DHQ	2,00,000
Tablet Lopamide	2,00,000
Tablet Vitac	2,00,000
Tablet B Complex	2,00,000
Tablet Ampielox 500	1,00,000
Tablet Proxyl 250	1,00,000
Injection Dextrose 5 %	1,000 bottles
Infusion Set	1,000 pieces
Injection D.N.S.	1,000 pieces
Injection Sielvien	
Shet 24 No 23	200 pieces

Tablet Metacin 500	2,00,000
Tablet Ibuprofen 400	2,00,000
Tablet Wysolone Song	2,00,000
Tablet tetracycline 250 mg	2,00,000
Tablet CPM	2,00,000
Tablet Dexona	2,00,000
Tablet Chloroquin	2,00,000
Injection Xylocain 2 %	1,000 bottles
Betadine Cream	1,000 tubes
Cotton	500 pieces
Tablet Voveran	50,000
Tablet Avil	10,000
Capsules Mox 250	0,000

### **Noble Ambulance Society**

2485 Sindhiwadi, Jamalpur, Ahmedabad 380001

Phone: 079-5399790; 079-5394494

CARNAGE IN GUJARAT: Citizens' Initiative for Justice & Peace

Update: March 8, 2002

## **Crippling a community every which way**

**Teesta Setalvad**

**Fr Cedric Prakash**

**S u s h o b h a**

**Barve**

AHMEDABAD: "We have paid the price for living decently," a Muslim resident told me (Teesta) today. He is a resident of Paldi, an area dominated by Jains. Paldi is a locality in Ahmedabad inhabited by the upper middle class. Of the 5-6,000 population, there are about 1,000 Muslims. From 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. on March 1, 02 the residents experienced utter terror and helplessness as a mob of 3-5,000 surrounded the apartment blocks dominated by Muslims and gutted them completely.

Kazmi Apartments, Elite Apartments, Delite Apartments, Corner 2 and Tarana Apartments were totally gutted. Abdullah Motimahal, Nizamuddin Momeen and Iqbal Hasmani, all above 60, were attacked by men wielding swords. Despite the fact that the violence raged for seven hours, and not less than 100 calls went to the Police Commissioner, no help was forthcoming from the police or the fire brigade.

This area has been the target of *Hindutva* fanatics since February 2000 when a crude bomb was placed in a flat in a building owned by one Naved Siddique to send out a clear message — no Muslims moving into Paldi please! It has also been the scene of communal polarisation in 1990, the year of LK Advani's infamous *rath yatra*.

At the Naroda fruit *mandi* where we visited next, all 17 wholesale fruit godowns owned by members of the Memon community were gutted with military precision. Apart from the wares (fruit), offices, computers and trucks carrying fruits were destroyed. The total loss from this is an estimated Rs 2.5-3 crore. Though distraught businessmen — hearing news of the well-planned and selective destruction of their businesses — made no less than 50 calls to the Agricultural Produce Marketing Committee (APMC), they received no help or protection.

The police are reported to have aided the mob of 5,000 and there are unconfirmed reports of daily wage earners of Hindu businessmen being engaged to carry out the job.

The Baben Shah *Masjid* on the Swami Narayan Chawl road, just behind the fruit market was turned to

rubble. When we reached there, we found torn and burned pages of the Koran strewn all over and the photograph of the idol of Hanuman, some *diyas* and 'Jai Sri Ram!' painted in red on the wall ruins.

This is the fate of 26-30 *masjids/mazaars* all over the city and, unconfirmed reports say, of 250 for all over the State.

Thereafter we visited Naroda Pattiya, the scene of the worst violence where nothing but charred remains and ruins greeted us. All the survivors of this most brutal round of violence are in relief camps. Charred remains, a gas cylinder inside the mosque, used to effectively blast the place of worship were all that we could see.

A preliminary assessment by the Muslim community of the total loss it has suffered is around Rs 3,000 crore. Seventeen-18 factories in interior Gujarat, 1,100 hotels belonging to Chilikias and at least 1,000 trucks owned by Muslims were targeted. All over Ahmedabad a quick tour is enough to show that the violence was both targeted and selective.

### **Response**

We had an intensive meeting to discuss legal strategies on the Gujarat situation today. The good thing was that this was a collective meeting cutting across different groups and the consensus for concerted, not dispersed action. Initial drafts of different legal interventions proposed will be ready by the weekend.

“The voice of sane civil society needs to be asserted in a concerted manner through mobilisation and legal action,” said Girishbhai Patel, senior jurist adding that we need to do whatever we can to build up a stiff and sustained resistance. It was unanimously decided to make a universal and public demand on the official Commission that has been announced by the State Government. These are:

- To reject the appointment of a local Judge and demand that due to the extent of breakdown of the constitutional machinery of the State a diverse and representative team of Supreme Court Judges be appointed to conduct the inquiry;
- That the terms of the Commission be made powerful;
- That the State commit itself to accepting the recommendations.

In addition, a People's Judicial Commission of Inquiry with a time frame of a few months and a series of other interventions have been worked out and will be initiated shortly.

### **Relief**

On the issue of relief and rehabilitation, of no less than 35,000 displaced persons within Ahmedabad alone, we need to make a concerted demand on the following issues:

- Bare necessities like food, clothing and temporary shelter have not reached several of the camps on the outskirts of Ahmedabad,
- Tin sheets in large numbers are needed to make temporary shelters,
- There are still unconfirmed reports of corpses lying in a well at Naroda, the scene of the most brutal violence. It is important that the Army goes, with some community leaders among Muslims, to recover these bodies and give them a dignified burial,
- The issue of rehabilitation on government land with constructed homes is looming large especially as in many areas persons are not willing to go back. Relocation without sensitivity and examination can however be mindless as locations of communities have more to do with economic reasons, the sources of livelihood rather than any other; urgent attention needs to be paid to the matter
- Civil society groups need to ensure that ration cards are issued afresh and swiftly for all inmates of relief camps. If this is not done there is a real danger that the State, which has already displayed a blatantly partisan and fascist role, will tomorrow actually rob these residents of Ahmedabad their basic right, that of citizenship.

- All groups working in these areas, and there are many, need to pay special attention to assisting eye witnesses and survivors registering FIRs promptly.
- The State government needs to provide on a mass basis bore wells to the Muslim peasants of the State who have already been targeted and their bore wells destroyed.

Please join our campaign for speedy and meaningful relief and rehabilitation by faxing the above mentioned demands to:

**K. Subha Rao, Chief Secretary**  
**Government of Gujarat, Gandhinagar**  
**Fax: 079-3250305**

**March 9, 2002**

### **Press Release**

As concerned citizens from within Gujarat and the rest of India, we strongly oppose the appointment of the Justice KG Shah Commission of Inquiry on several grounds.

Firstly, we demand the appointment of a panel of diverse and representative sitting judges of the High Court or Supreme Court from outside Gujarat to conduct the official investigation.

The basis for our intervention is fourfold. Firstly, there has been widely documented coverage, in the media of the State Sponsored Genocide that has taken place in the State of Gujarat. There have been frightening and disturbing reports of Government complicity and participation in the violence. This is ground enough to demand that a panel of judges from outside the state be assigned this responsibility to enable free and fair judicial investigation.

The atmosphere of coercion and brutality that pervades Gujarat even today requires that a panel of outside judges, less amenable to local pressures and terror, conduct the investigation. The reason we are demanding a representative panel of sitting Judges and not a single retired one is because the appointment of the former is made by the Chief Justice and the latter by the State.

Secondly, the physical health of the Judge appointed –KG Shah — is precarious. Thirdly, his past judicial record reflects a distinct anti-minority bias.

Lastly, the concerned citizens group has also pressed for an expansion of the terms of reference of the Commission appointed by government to include,

- The build up of the political and social atmosphere, short-term and long-term, the background of which led to the incidents at Godhra and the rest of Gujarat;
- Whether individuals groups and/or organisations were responsible for such incidents and their circumstances;
- Whether the State Government took preventive and precautionary measures to protect lives and property of citizens.

Girishbhai Patel, Valjibhai Patel, Valjibhai Patel, Gautam Thaker, Fr Cedric Prakash, Sophia Khan, Dr Hanif Lakdawala (*From Ahmedabad*)  
Mihir Desai, Teesta Setalvad, Javed Anand (*From Mumbai*).

**March 9, 2002**

**Urgent Appeal to the Chief Justice of India**

***Protection and Basic Amenities for Relief Camps in Ahmedabad***

**Mr. S. P. Bharucha,  
Chief Justice  
Supreme Court of India**

Dear Sir,

This is an urgent appeal made by concerned citizens of Gujarat and the rest of India. We urge you, given the seriousness of the matter, to please intervene, treating this communication as public interest litigation. We are urging Protection from the State for the preservation of life, a Fundamental Right under the Indian Constitution.

From Feb 27, following the reprehensible incident at Godhra, the whole of Gujarat state was consumed with barbaric violence blatantly encouraged by both the Government and the State machinery. There is ample evidence of crude and open State Complicity and Violence. The Brutal and Pre-Mediated Violence that continued until the day before yesterday, has left 35,000 residents of the city internally displaced.

They are now living in relief camps in different parts of the city, entirely managed by members of the community. These camps are in far-flung areas of the city. The residents of these camps are in an extremely vulnerable situation. Given the levels of brutality that were evidenced in the recent carnage and also given the organised nature of the mass crimes committed, thousands of persons living in the camps are prone to be victims of further violence. Hence the State should intervene, through a direction from you to ensure immediate protection by the Army of all these camps. This is our first plea to you, Sir.

Though a week has passed since the brutal violence began in Gujarat, stray and brutal incidents of violence have not stopped and the city is tense and on edge with wild rumours circulating all the time. Just the day before yesterday, we had mass stabbing and savagery against the Muslim minority in a village, barely half a kilometre outside Ahmedabad. Hence the issue of providing protection to these camps is quite critical and urgent.

Besides, *the state government has simply refused to take charge of the rehabilitation of 35,000 displaced citizens.* Nearly one-and-a-half dozen relief camps in the city are being entirely manned by community leaders with some help in relief coordination from NGOs. The conditions in these camps is pathetic.

Besides, many of these camps are out in the open without basic amenities and the citizens are experiencing great insecurity after the brutal experience that they have gone through. In the Vatwa camps, where one Mahesh Patel of the VHP has been identified as the chief instigator and accused in the violence that occurred on March 1, audio-cassettes with cries and howls of '*Maro, Maro*' are played at night on loudspeakers *even now* to further shake the already terrorised residents.

The condition at these relief camps is pathetic, every resident is suffering from mental trauma; the government and administration is treating them like concentration camps, the survivors are not allowed to step out or move about freely, even for basic commodities. The immediate need is for milk, oil, grains, rice, tea and temporary building materials like *mandaps* etc, since at the moment the survivors are housed in make shift accommodation in extremely unsanitary conditions.

Many of the survivors suffer from burns and other serious injuries; medicines and medical attention and health care is the need of the hour. There is also the genuine fear of an epidemic breaking out. In such a dire situation the State is maintaining a cold and calculated distance from providing relief. Is this not sufficient evident for a case of discrimination against the minority that is ultra vires of the Indian Constitution?

The issue of rehabilitation on government land with constructed homes is looming large especially as in many areas, persons are not willing to go back to their original locality out of fear. Relocation without sensitivity and examination, however, can be mindless as locations of communities have more to do with economic reasons, the sources of livelihood rather than any other; urgent attention is needed to be paid to this matter.

A directive needs to be issued to the State Government by your Lordship to ensure that ration cards are made afresh and swiftly for all inmates of relief camps. This will ensure to some extent their right to residence in future. If this is not done there is a real danger that the State, which has already displayed a blatantly partisan and fascist role, may tomorrow actually rob these residents of Ahmedabad of their basic right of citizenship.

There are eyewitnesses, written and photographic evidence of blatant State Complicity in the genocide. The evidence of selective destruction of Muslim shops was clear. Kilometre after kilometre in Ahmedabad city and throughout the State, *dhabas*, garages, laundries, bakeries, garages and factories owned by the minority community have been gutted or destroyed even as the shops next to them were completely unharmed.

Hence we appeal to you, in your position as Chief Justice,

“ to pull up the Gujarat state for: first, failing in its primary duty to protect the lives and property of a section of its citizens; and, second, to compound this shameful laxity by not even bothering to manage the efficient dispersal of relief and then, rehabilitation. The State must take complete responsibility for the Relief and Rehabilitation of affected persons;

“ We urge a directive from you to ensure Army protection at all the Relief Camps in Ahmedabad city. In failing to perform the primary functions of the State in a democratic society, the state of Gujarat is failing in its basic Constitutional Obligations and Laws. We therefore make a strong plea for full and complete Army protection to be provided at these relief camps to assuage somewhat the fear felt by the citizenry. This is a matter of grave urgency and we urge that you treat it as such.

“ A directive needs to be issued to the State Government by your Lordship to ensure that *ration cards* are made afresh and swiftly for *all* inmates of relief camps. This will ensure to some extent their right to residence in future.

“ Specifically apart from Food and Health Care (which includes treatment of trauma), the State government needs to provide on a mass basis bore wells to the Muslim peasants of the State who have already been targeted and their bore wells destroyed.

**Petitioners:**

Prof KN Panikkar (Vice-chancellor, Sanskrit University, Kerala)

Gautam Thakker, Fr Cedric Prakash, Sophia Khan, Dr Hanif Lakdawala (Ahmedabad)

Mihir Desai, Teesta Setalvad, Javed Anand (Mumbai)

**Details of Relief Camps (Ahmedabad)**

**These are the relief camps that have been contacted by the NGOs working in various areas of Ahmedabad till today.**

Chartoda Kabrasthan	(Gomtipur)	3,000 people
Madhavbai Mill Compound	(Gomtipur)	3,000 people
Nagoripatel Ni Challi	(Saraspur)	1,000 people
Amanchowk		4,500 people
Rakhial/Sundaram Nagar	(Bapunagar)	3,000 people
Gayatri Society	(Bapunagar)	2,500 people
Shah Alam Dargah		5,000 people
Bibi Talav		1,500 people
Al-Medina		1,500 people
Al-Kuba		1,500 people
Alif Nagar (all around Shah Alam Vatva Road)		1,500 people
Shahibaug area		3,000 people
Shahpur		3,000 people
Odhav area		2,000 people

*This was submitted to the Tribunal at Varodara*

To,  
The Citizens Tribunal  
At: Baroda  
Baroda

Sir/Madam

We the peace loving citizens of “Ajwa Road” societies convey our deep sense of anguish and anger against so called Law or order keeping Authorities who have left no stone unturned to keep us in terror during all those 70-days after Godhra Incident

The under mentioned incidents will certainly highlight the very cause of our Anguishness against Police and State Administration.

**Eye witnessed incidents of Ajwa Road— Bahar Colony, Area:**

**[A] Sardar Industrial Estate:**

**Bahar Colony** area consisting of a group of 10 to 12 societies, a peaceful locality of Traders class, Professionals, Bankers & Government employees. The area have no record of any crime or disturbance even during riots of 1992.

Despite of frequent attacks on our area by Majority class, no incident reported of our attack on any area residing nearby localities.

Aftermath of Godhra carnage, some antisocial miscreants started breaking down peace of the area by arsoning in some reputed **Industrial Units and Business Establishment in Sardar Industrial Estate** which is on a walkable distance from our locality. The business units particularly **belonging to Minority communities were targeted and some 18-20 units were arsoned** and set ablaze including a Swiss Collaborated factory which is most affected with a loss of about 1.75 crore. We are peace loving people and never thought of any violence despite 80% of the units are belonging to Majority class.

**[B] On 17<sup>th</sup> March 2002, Sunday @ 3.00 p.m.——— At Bahar colony:**

Some anti-social elements gathered in the nearby open fields since morning & were waiting for the chance to set fire to all of cabins & lorries stayed at Sardar-Estate *Char-Rasta*. At about 14:15 p.m. the mob succeeded in broke open a godown belonging to Minority community. They threw a flammable chemicals in the godown, which blasted with high flames came out of it.

On hearing the blast some women residing nearby G.E.B Sub-station came out of curiosity of the incident & saw the godown bursting & firing. One Gray colour Police Matador No. GJ 6 U 922 passed away at the site towards Sayajipark without taking cognizance of the miscreants present at the site. Just after sometime a Blue Colour Police Mobile Van arrived at the place at *Char-rasta* & policemen came out of the van & watched the scene like a mute spectators. The miscreants took a solace and got a moral support in view of police inaction. On the contrary police rushed towards GEB-Sub-Station, where some minority women

trying to represent the case how fire took place & requested for police security in the area. The van didn't respond at the request & fired towards the innocent women without giving any warning & observing rules of firing.

The firing was done at 15.10 PM. [curfew relaxation time] at Point-Blank range which took life of an innocent youth who was standing inside internal road of the society & injured another young boy who was just calling the women back. After firing, the police rushed into the colony area & beat the women with *lathis* & injured them & spoke disgusting/abusing Language.

The incident clearly shows a complete bias action against the minority & careless handling of the situations. The police could have taken actions against the miscreants who were already at the *char-rasta* spot, burning the huts & godowns. Instead the actions were directed towards innocent residents of the colony.

These are the hard facts of the case & police will have no excuse to justify their actions. Our intension to write this report is directed at police who is reportedly busy in cooking up their own story. **With a view to give better understanding of the location a site-map of the area is enclosed.**

**In this case.....**

**The police FIR** is drafted in such a ways to save the police from their bias action towards minority some of the major facts/differences are enumerated hereunder:

**Police FIR States**

1. There were 1500-2000 mobs of Muslims from Bahar colony came out
2. They had swords, *Bhala*, Pipes in their hands
3. Teargas cells were used to disperse the mob before firing
4. Police was attacked and the firing done to save the police from attack
5. Firing was done from *Char-rasta*

**Factual Position**

- Only few women (about 50) trying to represent the arsoning at *char-rasta* were came out
- This is totally wrong reporting as only women were representing.
- Direct firing and no teargas was used. No warning was given before firing.
- There was no attack on police but police has used unnecessary power and fired at innocent citizens.
- Firing done at point blank range at the internal road of the society.

At the very same time, police party instead of curbing arsoning **entered** peaceful **Borsalli Aptt. And Aalishan Complex area** using disgust language and caught a youth namely "Imtiyaz" who was sitting inside his private motor-car listening radio-tape and handed over a sword (seized by police during combing somewhere) in his hand and took his photograph. The policeman started beating up Mr. Imtiyaz as if he was criminal. On intervening of his mother "Maimuna" and other women in the area, the police started using power over innocent women and beaten up with on secret parts and spoke disgust "*Gallis*" to women. Mr Imtiyaz was kept under custody under sec. 143,147, 148, 149, 188, 152, 436,337 BPA-135 without cause of any criminal act. Due to harsh action of police party the following women were seriously injured.

1. Shaikh Maimuna Daudbhai
2. Vohra Zehra [Pregnant lady]
3. Khirwala Rukayyaben
4. Shankhedawala Rizwanaben
5. Momin Raiessa
6. Shiriwala Hamidaben
7. Shaikh Shaban Sarfaraz

The whole incident of police firing and atrocity towards women at Bhara colony, Aalishan Complex and Borsalli Apptt. Was reported to the Commissioner of Police and Collector, Baroda by Fax at 5.00 pm. On 18<sup>th</sup> March, 02, for taking corrective steps against all laibles.

Again at 7.30. on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 02, meeting was arranged with Mr. Piyush Patel, ACP to discuss atrocity of police in the area at Bahar colony who assured immediate steps.

The matter was again also discussed when National Commission for Women delegation visited Baroda on 12<sup>th</sup> April, 02 in the presence of Commissioner of Police but no action has been taken by the department.

**[C] Police atrocity over Sabina park society resident on 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2002.**

On 2<sup>nd</sup> May at about 22.00 pm a stone pelting incident was reported from Kisanwadi area which is adjoining area of Majority.

Instead curbing down miscreants of Kisanwadi, **PSI Mr Parmar of Panigate** police station rushed to Sabina park society and used *lathis* on innocent women, old aged citizens and children who were taking rest at their houses. **Mr. Parmar** entered the house and broke furnitures, telephones and fixtures and **beaten even a pregnant women named Taslimaben with lathi on her stomach and back**. On advising not to beat a pregnant land by her in-laws and husband, they were also beaten up. He spoke abused language towards innocent women. Some 10-12 young people selected by Mr. Parmar were beaten up with *lathies* without any reason.

We are unhappy of police inaction & bias action in red time when rioting and arsoning was routine and action biasly in peace time when we are in our house observing law and order peacefully.

**An eye-witness report of police firing on 17<sup>th</sup> March, 02 Sunday at 15:10 P.M. in Bahar colony, area of Ajwa Road, Vadodara**

Bahar Colony, a peaceful locality consisting mainly Traders-class, Professionals, Bankers & Government Employees, is situated at main Ajwa Road, having Industrial Estate at Walkable distance. The area do not have any record of communal disturbance in even 1992.

Some miscreants were trying to disturb the peace of the area since 27<sup>th</sup> February evening by gathering in the form of a mob & trying to set fire to huts & Industrial Units at Sardar Estate & Business Establishment in the area belonging to Minority Community.

On the day of incident **i.e. on 17<sup>th</sup> March, 02** some anti-social elements gathered the nearby open fields since morning & were waiting for the chance to set fire to all of cabins & lorries stayed at **Sardar-Estate Char Rasta**. At about 14:15 p.m. the mob succeeded in broke open a godown belonging to Minority community. They threw a flammable chemicals in the godown, which blasted with high flames came out of it.

On hearing the blast some women residing nearby **G.E.B. Sub-station** came out of curiosity of the incident & saw the godown bursting & firing. **One Gray** colour Police Matador No **GJ 6 U 922** passed away at the site towards **Sayajipark** without taking cognizance of the miscreants present at the site. Just after sometime a Blue Colour Police Mobile Van arrived at the place at *Char-rasta* & policemen came out of the van & watched the scene, like a mute spectators. The miscreants took a solace and got a moral support in view of police inaction.

On the contrary police rushed towards GEB-Sub Station, where some minority women trying to represent the case how fire took place & requested for police security in the area. The van didn't respond at the request & passed away & instead turned back immediately & fired towards the innocent women **without** giving any warning & observing rules of firing/warning.

The firing was done at 15.10 pm. [curfew relaxation time] at Point-Blank range which took life of an innocent youth who was standing inside internal road of the society & injured another young boy who was just calling the women back. After firing, the police rushed into the colony area & beat the women with *lathis* & injured them & spoke disgusting/abusing Language.

The incident clearly shows a complete bias action against the minority & careless handling of the situations. The police could have taken actions against the miscreants who were already at the *char-rasta* spot, burning the huts & godowns instead the actions were directed towards innocent residents of the colony.

These are the hard facts of the case & police will have no excuse to justify their actions. Our intension to write this report is directed at police who is reportedly busy in cooking up their own story. With a view to give better understanding of the location \_a site-map of the area is enclosed.

**Copy To:**

- 1 Collector Vadodra City – For Judicial Inquiry of unjust firing incident.
- 2 Human Rights Commission – Local, Vadodara
- 3 PUCL - Vadodara
- 4 National Human Rights Commission – New Delhi
- 5 Asian Human Rights Commission – Geneva, Switzerland

**To represent all such cases to all concerned to save minority community from financial/loss of lives**

6 The Commissioner of Police – Vadodara

*This memorandum dated March 20 was submitted by the residents of Panchmahal district living at the camps at Godhra, Lunavada, Kalol and other places. It was sent to the NHRC and also submitted to the Tribunal*

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 victims.
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.

*(It was first published in Genocide Gujarat 2002, Communalism Combat, March-April, 2002)*

*This was submitted to the Tribunal on May 5,2002*

**Kadi Muslim Samaj**

Memorandum cum Representation

To,  
The Hon'ble Prime Minister of India  
Sri Atal Bihari Vajpayee  
New Delhi. (India)

***Sub:- Submission of particulars regarding damage of Muslim properties and one-sided behaviour of police during communal riots in KADI City. Dist. Mehsana (N.G.)***

We undersigned the member of different Muslim community & social workers on behalf of Muslim community submit the following representation regarding subject referred to above.

- (1) First of all we feel regret and express our sorrows for the un-warranted incident occurred at Godhra Railway Station & we condemn such an incident in strong words on behalf of Muslim of KADI City and Taluka.
- (2) On 28/2/02 that is after one day i.e. 27/02/02 certain antisocial elements connected with Vishwa Hindu Parishad & Bajrang Dal started causing damage to certain commercial establishments, Cains Poultry Farms, Trucks & Residential Premises by looting & setting fire. The damage to such Properties is to the tune of approx. Rs. 75 Lacs. In that connection the Complainants have lodged & Registered at criminal Reg. No. 55/2002 to 75/2000 & the investigation is being carried on by preparing *Punchnamas* of the damaged Properties. We regret to say that Police investigation is being carried on according to Private instruction wishes of Vishwa Hindu Parishad & Bajrang Dal, the Police has not arrested the accused involved in such cases till to-day. Therefore, we are totally un-satisfied with Police attitude. Even after our repeated request the Police has not taken into consideration the real urgency & importance of this untoward incidents.
- (3) We also submit that our *Dargah* namely "BALAPIR" is situated near Kadi town & within the Vicinite of village Nani Kadi, Ta:- Kadi, Dist. :- Mehsana. This religious place has been there since last 500 years. The Persons of Hindu/Muslim community attend this place everyday. On 28/02/02 certain anti-social elements connected with BJP/VHP & Bajrang Dal unlawfully entered in this *DARGAH* compound. Such elements set fire the building and enshrine & copies of Holly Quran, and other Religious Books with Gas Cylinders & other explosive substances. They also set fire of Jeep/ Rickshaw and Hotel. Due to those incident the members of Muslim/Hindu community have been surprised & shocked. This *Dargah* is a registered Public Trust & is being managed administered & looked after by appointed trustees. Diwan Kasamshah Ramjanishah is one the trustee and *Muzavar* of this holly place. At the time of such incident, he was present in his house situated near by *Dargah* & he saw such an incident with his naked eyes. He immediately identified certain persons involved in this incidents. Diwan Kasmshah Ramhanshah has also lodged a complain regarding this incident in KADI city Police Station. At that time he saw that one BJP member (1) Patel Rameshbhai Bachubhai residing at Bhagyoday Society KADI, (2) Patel Kanubhai Umedbhai Employee of Kadi Nagar Palika, & Satishbhai Bachubhai along with 20 other persons involved in such incident. The above complainant Diwan Kasamshah Ramjanshah has identified all those persons & their names have been sent by Regd. Letter to Dist. Supdt. Of Police

Mehsana and Police Inspector Shree P R Parmar of Kadi Police Station. The whole show was organised in presence of Two Policemen.

- (4) The statement of this complaint has been recorded by the investigation officer of this care. In this Police Statement he has given the names of those Persons with their correct addresses but those persons have not been arrested so far due to immense Political Pressure & certain reasons best Known to Police officer of KADI Police Station. Even after above incident these accused have continued to commit other cognisable offences. This offences seem to have been & being committed at present due to negligence of Police Inspector of Shree P R Parmar. On the contrary the Police Officer of Khadi Police Station are giving shelter to such anti social elements which are backed by certain religion and Political parties. The Police Staff of Kadi Police Station was never cautious, alert and serious regarding this situation which was prevailing in Kadi Town. Those persons ought to have been immediately arrested so that peace could have been restored & such crimes could be stopped and avoided.
- (5) After Balalpir incidents certain antisocial elements also attacked one Mosque (*masjid*) situated in Lal Darwaja area. This Mosque is know as Bhagdalwad *Masjid*. Such elements have damaged the Mosque on a large scale & destroyed the articles, Holly Quran & other religious books by setting fire & due to this we, the Muslims are shocked & surprise. With this we also bring to your kind attention that such elements have also damaged the *Dargah* of "BABA HABAS" & *Dargah* of 'MANEKSHAHPIR' situated at Thor Highway road & also *Dargah* of 'RAJAPIR' situated near Village Vidaj Tal : Kadi (N.G). These elements have also damaged certain residential premises in Visatpura, Kalyanpura Villages of Kadi Taluka.
- (6) On 01/03/2002 certain persons of Patel community residing Vamaj, Thor, Fluetra Village near by village Meda Adrej gathered by using siren & attacked with dangerous weapons the persons of Muslim community namely Saiyed Kalumiyan Amirmiya are about 40 yrs. Of village Meda Adrej & one women namely Hasinabibi Urf Hasi Kalumiyan age about 20 yrs. They inflated injuries on their bodies with dangerous weapons & burned them to death with Petrol. Both the Muslim persons died on the spot. The complaint regarding this incident was lodged by Shri Dosmiya with name of accuse involved in that case in Bavla Police Station at C.R. No. 17/2002. But certain accused which are named in F.I.R. have not been arrested so far, for the reason best known to Police Officer. Looking to the above facts and circumstances it is clear that damage to the tune of more than Rs. 75 lacs has been done to the Properties Muslim Communities. It is also clear that Muslims have shown Patience even after this incidents. The Muslim of Kadi & Kadi *Taluka* have not taken any step against Hindu Community and their Properties till now. On the contrary the Hindu who are staying near Muslim areas such as Sharaf Bazar, Kapad Bazar, Hansa Sheri, Pada Pole, Kali Sheri, Tambori wada, have been respectfully protected and if necessary give proper shelter. We, the Muslim did not damage any person or properties of Hindu Community. The damage has been done to the Properties of Muslim Community due to negligence of Police Officer Shri. P R Parmar.
- (7) With the intension of spreading Communal Riots in Kadi City & other village of Kadi Taluka Me. Patel Babubhai Kachwala, Patel Jivanbhai Bechardas Khawadwala of Vishwa Hindu Parishad Kadi. Instigated the People of Hindu Community. For this purpose they used (MARSHAL JEEP) MEDICAL VAN. The anti-social element who have Participated in Balalpir incident were arrested by Police after so many days. It is surprising that the real eye witness was not allowed to file FIR against those Persons but the Police Officer himself filed a complain without the name of the accused. But after the strong representation the Police recorded the statement of the eye witness Diwan Kasamshah Ramzanshah. In his statement he gave the names & address of those persons. The Police simply arrested then & produced before Court without proper and detailed investigation. And because of this reason the accused of the case were immediately released on bail the Hindu anti-social elements celebrated with fire cracks which led to breach of Peace & Public tranquility. The Police ought to have taken this incidents seriously. But

the Police did not do so. On the contrary the Muslim were harassed and arrested without any reasonable cause & taken into Police Custody. The Police Officer had created an atmosphere against Muslims.

- (8) It is pertinent to note that even though that no communal incident has occurred, one Me. Satyandra Bachubhai Patel who is the Driver of Kadi Municipality and the main accused in Balapir Case created rioting atmosphere in Kadi City. This Satyandra Patel is the driver in Fire Brigade in Kadi Municipality. With the help of this fire brigade van he misused the Siren & tried to create enmity between Hindu & Muslim Community. Because of this mischief of Satyandra Patel some 2 to 3 thousand people gathered near Muslim area. Those people started anti Muslim slogans & stone throwing in Muslim area. Some Muslims informed Kadi Police Station regarding this incidents. One cabins was set on fire. It was very clear that above persons started movements against Muslims as if it was preplanned. They started attacking the Muslims & Muslims Property and did damage to the tune of lacs of rupees. After words we came to know that anti Muslim atmosphere was created under the direct supervision and instruction of Mr. Nitinbhai Patel, the Finance Minister of Gujarat State. It is seriously noted that all these activities were carried out in the Presence of Shri. A K Sharma, DSP Mehsana, Shri A S Patel Collector Mehsana, Shri P P Vyas, *Mamlataadar* & Executive Magistrate of Kadi and Shri Parmar, Police Inspector Kadi Police Station. All these Officers did not try to control the situation & stop these unlawful activities. Near about 60 residential Premises of Muslim of Kadi City were set on fire in Maladpura Area and One Cabin near Swaminarayan *Mandir*. On 31-03-2002 certain Hindu anti-social elements with 3 to 4 thousand people attacked Muslims of Village Anundra of *Taluka* Kadi, destroyed the houses of Muslims & One Mosque (*MASJID*) & thereby terrorised the Muslim. The Properties which were damaged worth Rs. 30 lacs. These Muslims have become homeless & they are now in Nandan Camp. In this incidents so many Muslims have become injured.
- (9) Now it is a fact that the above incidents of Anundra Village was very serious but Police Officer did not Pay any attention to the representation made to the them by Muslim social workers. On the contrary Muslims are harassed *lathi* charged and sent to Jail. The persons responsible for Anundra incidents have not been so far arrested and no proper investigation is being carried out by Police.
- (10) It is serious to note that on 31/03/2002 one Muslim of Ghanchi community was stabbed to death by Four persons of VHP / Bajrang Dal. We have come to know that the name of those persons have been informed to police but they have not been arrested so far. It is surprising that only One FIR has been filed by Police for the damaged of nearly 70 to 80 commercial shops and residential premises. The Police is not prepared to hear anything of Muslim & is doing anything they like.
- (11) On 31-3-2002 Muslim women were *Lathi* charged & teargased for no reason whatsoever by Police. We are sorry to say that even that Muslim Ladies & social workers are threatened to be arrested & sent to Jail. So they cannot make any representation for & on behalf of Muslims. Most of damage to Muslims person & Properties is being done by Hindu Patel Community but the people from Dalit, Rajput, Rabari & Thakore Community have given protection, assistance & help to Muslims. The above incidents have occurred during the imposition of Curfew.
- (12) Looking to the above facts & circumstances if the Muslim are to be protected real culprits must be immediately arrested, sent to Jail & prosecuted. We also want that proper Justice must be given to Muslim & stop the communal riots immediately. We are of the view that the organisation like VHP & Bajrang Dal must be immediately banned by the Govt. in accordance with the law

After above incidents the Muslim residing in rural area such as village Nani Kadi, Anundra, Meda Adrej, Vidaj, Kalyan Pura, Bhalhi, Deusana, are under tremendous pressure. They feel unsafe. This people are staying in different camps. Thus position is okward & Pity. We also wish that such people should be immediately rehabilitated by the state govt.

We also request your kind self to see that proper compensation must be given to our community by the Govt. of the Gujarat. Our community wants immediate Justice in this regard.

We, therefore bring to your kind attention that our demands may be immediately fulfilled & the state govt. & concern agencies may be instructed to take immediate measures for the re-habilitation & Financial Assistance to our effected Muslims & to take necessary steps for the safety of minorities.

## **Leaders of Kadi Muslim Samaj**

- 1. Mr. Abbaskhan Pathan**  
*(Advocate / President of Kadi Kasba Sipai Jamat)*
- 2. Mr. Abdul Kader M. Dalal**  
*(Editor: Praja Utkarsh – Weekly. & Secretary All Gujarat Ghanchi Jamat)*
- 3. Mr. Ahmedbhai (Guruji)**  
*(President Mansuri Jamat-Kadi)*
- 4. Mr. Sirajbhai Mansuri**  
*(President Shahi Kabrastan Kadi)*
- 5. Mr. Ilyas Mithawala**  
*(Municipal Corporator Kaidi)*
- 6. Mr. Gulam Rasul Azazi**  
*(President Pirbhai Jamat, Kadi)*
- 7. Mr. Nyamatkhan Pathan**  
*(Municipal Corporator, Kadi)*

*This was submitted to the Gujarat Governor on March 12, 2002*

**March 12, 2002**

A CPI (Muslim) delegation along with leaders of the All India Democratic Women's Association have visited various relief camps and affected areas in Ahmedabad and Godhra on March 10, 11 and 12. The team comprised of Member of Parliament and Central Committee member, Subodh Roy, Central Committee member Brinda Karat, Subhashini Ali, Kiran Moghe and Mariam Dhawale accompanied by Arun Mehta, State Secretary, CPI (M).

The most telling examples were those where even Muslim dominated areas were razed to the ground. Areas like Bapu Nagar, Sone ki Chali, Madina Chali, Ansar Nagar, Akbar Nagar etc. all areas neighbouring each other were cordoned off and then attacked by huge mobs that burnt and looted all the shops and most commercial establishments and many houses. Religious structures like a mosque and *madarsa* were burnt, broken and desecrated.

Victims from Akbar Nagar which was situated just behind the H Division ACP office are presently in the Bapu Nagar camp just across the road. They are able to go and file their FIRs but while there are more 300 FIRs to be filed, they are being registered at the rate of about 20 a day. What this means is that evidence of crimes will be destroyed, the number of dead will never be officially accepted, compensation will be denied and the criminals will go scot-free. Even worse, in cases where the police has been forced to register FIRs in which BJP, VHP and Bajrang Dal leaders, including the brother of the State Home Minister, have been named no arrests have been made.

The delegation visited the following relief camps in Ahmedabad : Shah Alam, Bapu Nagar Aman Chowk, Sunderamnagar, Jhuapura, Kankariya Municipal Schools 7 and 8; and in Godhra: Iqbal Primary School. While the camps had started functioning on the 28<sup>th</sup> February, the GR on relief was issued only on March 5 giving details of the ration to be issued to each person in the camps but except for the camp in Godhra which has been receiving the rations, even five days later the order has not been implemented. The Shah Alam camp where there are more than 8000 people has received only 1500 kgs of rice, some tins of cooking-oil and a few hundred packets of powdered milk when this falls short of even its daily requirements. The Bapu Nagar Aman Chowk camp had also received 1500 kgs of rice only once. The other two camps had received no rations from the Government at all.

All the points raised above need to be acted upon immediately by the State Government. The priority, however, has to be strong steps to stop the violence which is still being spread in an organized manner to the rural areas. In many district of the State like Kheda, Davod, Panchmahal etc., homes to Muslims in villages are being burned down and all the Muslim villagers who are able to save their lives are forced to take shelter in camps at the *taluka* headquarter. In the camp and in the General Hospital at Godhra, the delegation met survivors from villages like Randhikpur (Dahod) District, Pandharwada (Panchmahal). All the Muslims have had to leave their land and shops in these villagers. Not only have had members of their families been subjected to the most unspeakable atrocities including rape of women but many of them have been hunted down by communally inflamed people. At least one family from Randhikpur had 16 of its members, including a 2 day old infant girl, murdered several kilometres away from their village, four days after they had been forced to run away by people who had followed them in a vehicle. As late as on March 5, the Muslims of Anjanwa village (Panchmahal District) were attacked. In the Godhra General Hospital, the delegation met Maksuda Bibi who had been attacked and thrown into a well with 4 other women and 2 children. She was the only survivor. This diabolical process of "cleansing" rural areas of their Muslim population has still not ended. Even on the 10<sup>th</sup> March there were reports of attacks being carried out in village in Chhota Udaipur District.

*This was submitted to the Tribunal*

**Janta Dal (Secular)**

**Satish Desai**  
**General Secretary**

**Shri Devgodaji,**

**3-5-2002**

The revengeful communal carnage of Muslims in different part of Gujarat that began on February 28 following the Gujarat *Bandh* call given by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad in the wake of the Godhra train burning incident on February 27 and which is still continuing finds no parallel in the history of Gujarat. The current violence and arson has surpassed all the previous violent incidents against Muslims that took place in 1947, 1969, 1982, 1986 and 1992-93. This anti-Muslim violence, which has overt and covert support of the state government headed by Chief Minister Narendra Modi, was a well-calculated and planned incident.

On the day of Gujarat *Bandh*, police administration confined the Muslims in their localities by imposing curfew. This provided a chance to hooligans, antisocial and lumpen elements belonging to VHP, BD and their sympathisers to loot and destroy the shops, establishments, industries and business centers of Muslims. While VHP goons indulged in looting and arson of Muslim properties, police and security men deployed on security duty turned a blind eye to these violence thus indirectly abetting the violence and arson. Then many cases, security men were reported to have directly participated in the violence. The result has been that the economic assets Muslims built by their hard work and labour during the last 50 years despite severe odd against them were reduced to ashes within a matter of few hours at the hands of VHP and Bajrang Dal's goons and those supporting their ideologies. Today, the Muslim of Gujarat has been reduced to zero economically and financially. Certainly, such a large scale violence, death and destruction and loss of properties worth thousands of crores of rupees would not have been possible if the government had acted firmly against the perpetrators of violence and arson. This violence and arson has now spread to rural areas of the state, thus further complication the situation.

It is pertinent to mention that VHP has been the root cause of the whole trouble that indulged Gujarat from February 28. In fact the history of VHP is the history of hatred and violence. The organization is not only responsible for the destruction of the historic Babri *Masjid* but it also boasts of this criminal act which they undertook on December 2, 1992. The whole world, including the government of India, condemned the Taliban for destruction of Buddha statues in Bamiyan and called it a 'terrorist act'. If the destruction of Bamiyan Buddhas is an act of terrorism, demolition of Babri *Masjid* is a terrorism of equal degree and a terrorist organization. It is spreading terrorism within the boundaries of India and has now become a threat organization is banned to ensure stability, security and integrity of the nation and society. In the interest of national security and stability. VHP and BD must be banned before March 15, the day VHP and BD plans to begin temple construction in Ayodhya at Babri *Masjid* site in violation of law.

**KALOTA A J**  
**DIST. PRESIDENT**  
**JANATADAL (SECULAR)**  
**GODHRA (GUJARAT STATE)**

**Dated: 09/03/2002**

Unfortunately the incident at Godhra station on 27-2-2002 is coloured by the present government as pre plan by minority communities. Man may lie but circumstances will not, the cardinal thyme is ignored inasmuch as if it were a pre plan then why the Muslim businessmen as usual opened their shops, factories and being visited by thousands of Muslims and non-Muslims communities citizens and businessmen and public. Only at the time of imposition of curfew these persons came to know about the alleged Railway incident. Even in the other part of the city Muslim businessmen started their business from the very morning of the day of the incident. Can these facts make any laymen to conclude that the incidents erupted under preplan?

The matter does not rest here, all the schools and colleges were regularly attended by Muslims students. Not only that, these schools situate in almost non-Muslim areas and their presence falsifies that any pre-plan as alleged was to be translated in to action. Moreover near Godhra City in the village of Kakapo more than fifty students for examination attended the college.

In view of above facts the allegation of preplan to raid the train is completely falsified. Et the Chief Minster Shri Modi visited Godhra within hours and particularly he visited the Railway premises and with pre-determined mind he declared the incident under preplan.

A simple example is that the municipal members belonging to BJP party along with other outlaws of other non-Muslim parties came with full police forces bulldozers and vehicles at the cabins belonging to Muslims, which were scheduled to be removed as encroachment. They started first looting and robbing when Muslims approached local authorities for protection they were replied that there were no sufficient police forces to give them protection. If these police forces contained in about 20 vehicles were ordered to reach affected areas belonging to Muslims, hundreds of lives of Muslims and their properties worth crores of rupees belonging to Muslims could have been easily saved. But as government did not wish this step Muslim were deprived of their protection. Surprisingly even the shops belonging to non-Muslims also were scheduled to be destroyed but the authorities did not dishonestly acted upon. Only loss of Muslims for crores of rupees occurred due to removal of encroachments, which could have been easily carried out, when peace prevailed to which Muslims had no objection though there is stay from Hon. Gujarat High Court for the purpose.

It is very clear that within the week the Muslim *samaj* continued to represent for protection of Mulims in villages and shift them to safe places the government did not pay any heed. The fresh example of this is that on 5-3-2002 at the village Aanjanwa of Santrampur *Taluka* 14 Muslims were brutally murdered and yet no protection was afforded. With pain we submit that the “*Sandesh*” news paper dated 6-3-2002 on the front page published an irrelevant news that “Hindus beware dangerous plan of attack HAJ pilgrim return home at the instance of terrorist in Gujarat.” The matter does not rest here even Chief Minister Shri Modi added fuel to the fire by dishonestly corroborating the same and repeating alleged pre plan of Railway incident. He further stated that Government determined to smash elements (torched to Muslims).

Government and the press purposely published false news with a view to spread disturbances and the same encouraged even relatives of Ministers, MLAs, MPs, to participate freely and fearlessly in the disturbance in these two districts. One Pravinsinh Prabhatsinh Chauhan is the Son of Minister of BJP Government, who when informed the deed of his son, replied that he will do and do whatever you like. He owns 14 vehicles each of that filled with 50 miscreants are utilized to kill and destroy Muslim property. Thus no safety is ensured to Muslim. Though Muslims filed complaint starting specific names as accused deliberately none is arrested at the instance of Government agencies anti-Muslims parties and others.

Many dead bodies of Muslims lay at several places and though authorities were informed no arrangement was offered to bring those dead bodies home. On the contrary the dead bodies were smashed in order to save the Government to pay Ex-gracias amount. We still pray that these dead bodies be handed over to the relatives of respective families and the Ex-gracias amount coupled with cash dolls be directed to be given to the affected persons IMMEDIATELY.

There is no connection of Muslims and Muslim *Samaj* of Godhra with the alleged incident. It is pertinent to note that the train reached Godhra late by five hours. If CBI is entrusted the inquiry right from the station wherefrom the train had started on Monday night till it reached Godhra, real thing will come out. Gujarati newspaper "*Sandesh*" dated 22/2/2002 in its front page published that 20 antisocial elements boarded the train from Dahod.

I am fortified by the news dated 8/3/2002 in "*Subha Ajtak*" in the morning news of *AJTAK* channel at 8-00 A.M. and/or 9-00 A.M. that about seven Hindu and some Muslims have been arrested at UJJAIN (a station on the way of Sabarmati train) and they confessed the Godhra Railway incident crime was carried out by them on account of dispute with *Karsevaks*. They boarded the train from Ujjain. However Government appears to have suppressed this true news, which entitles Muslims so far, arrested to be immediately released. As per *Sandesh* dt. 28/2/2002 20 more antisocial elements boarded the train. The miscreants who used in arsoning the Muslim property by petrol bomb, chemicals etc and *Karsevaks* must have been equipped with the same lethal articles being hailed from same anti-Muslim elements. Therefore the allegation of preplan being carried out at Godhra falls to the ground.

The allegation of 'preplan' by Muslims is also falsified by the news of *THE WASHINGTON POST* published by *MSNBC VIEWERS* reported by special correspondents Rama Lakshmir headed, HINDU MAY HAVE PROVOKED WORST OF REACTION dated GODHRA INDIA MARCH 5 wherein interview of Shri B. K. Nanavati, the Deputy Police Superintendent in Godhra, revealed –

"The investigation does not support the contention by Gujarat's Chief Minister, Narendra Modi, that the assault on the train was a "terrorist attack"

**"It is not preplanned, it was a sudden provocative incident"**

(<http://www.msnbc.news/719935.asp?cpl=1>)

All know that after the BJP president in the Godhra Municipality was dethroned by Independent Members of the Municipality, the dethroned party girded up its lion uproot present Municipality President and his associates in presents ruling party of Godhra Municipality. The BJP is admittedly close associate of other anti-Muslim parties RSS, VHP Bajrang Dal and others common assembly of which planned to uproot Muslims and their property throughout the State including Districts of Panchmahals, Dahod etc. Therefore present investigation led by state Govt. and anti-Muslims is dishonest requires to be entrusted to CBI and complete Ban on RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena at least in Gujarat state is immediately warranted and Riot Tax be imposed in the affected areas of Gujarat to curb future disturbances by these elements off and on.

It is pertinent to note that all the Muslim immoveable properties were burnt by miscreants by same chemicals throughout the State which shows that miscreants are equipped with this chemicals and there is reason to believe that the *Karsevaks* travelling in the alleged train must have been also equipped with such Chemicals with them in the train and accidentally the same caught fire probably – due to short circuit or due to their dispute with antisocial elements as stated by *Sandesh* dt. 28/2/2002, Suddenly the coach caught fire. All the doors were locked from within and fire must spread so quickly that passengers of coach could not escape. CBI inquiry will surely reveal that deceased stormed dispute on every station leaves many questions.

Unfortunately the Chief Minister could not come within hours to visit place of Rail incident, but he had neither time to visit affected place in Panchmahals, & condone affected Muslims, as CM of state. This shows where the wind blows.

A visit of following village will show that miscreants burnt properties with chemicals after robbing the valuable. Therefore visit of these places is requested:

1. In Pandharwa village more than 150 Muslims were brutally murdered and then burnt and robbed valuable and burnt immovable to ashes, CM declared on 8 deaths contrary to even newspaper.
2. In a tempo about 50 Muslims migrating to Aantalwada to safer place, and while passing by Limda where the tempo was stopped due to felling of trees on road and then spreading chemicals burnt tempo and all the Muslims therein to death.
3. Such deeds also were made at villages Derol (50 deaths), Kesarpur, Randhikpure, Delol, Lunawada, Dahod, Piplod, Devgad, Bariya, Anjalwala, Rath, Dantol, Virapura, Kaliyakuva, Sarsav, Mora where miscreants brutally murdered Muslims and burnt then and destroyed Muslims immovable during curfew hours.
4. At Godhra, during release of curfew, a Muslim was stabbed by Hindus in the Bazaar. Almost in all above places, existence of Muslims is totally uprooted.

## JANTA DAL (SECULAR)

Satish Desai

General Secretary 5, Safdurjung Lane, New Delhi-11. Tel: 3794499 Tele Fax: 3794899

Ref.....

To,

**Honorable Justice Shree Vermaji**

**Human Rights Commission,**

**New Delhi**

\*The *Bandh* call by given by VHP and backed by ruling BJP on 28<sup>th</sup> Feb.02 become a bloody battle ground for Bajrang Dal, VHP and RSS & Shiv Sena Terrorists to kill, burn alive, murders, loot & burn their shops, office and house with police outing as the supporters on these fanatics.

\*In all more than 37 persons mostly Mulims have so far been killed Baroda district.

\*Thousands of minority persons living in majority, dominated areas have been looted their houses burnt and rendered refugees. Now they are living in minority dominated areas as refugees. These areas are Tandlaja, Bina nagar, Mougawada etc.

\*14 persons of Muslim Community mostly backed workers were burnt alive in Best Bakery workshop at Yamunamill area Dabholi Road Baroda.

\* Not a single arrest has been made so far in this murder case.

\*On 15<sup>th</sup> March, Ram *dhum* Rally was allowed in the sensitive area of Baroda, despite section 144 in force. These mobs of Hindu fanatics looted and burnt Muslim shops in Dandiya Bazar and Raopura area with a police van present. Yet no firing or tear-gas shells were, shot.

\*On the contrary when Hindu mob attacked Muslim areas: Macchipith Police opened fire and burst tear-gas shells at Muslim. At the time of this incident police were seen taking firing orders from Raopura, BJP, MLA Yoges Patel, BJP city president sSdhab Sharan Brambhat, Balu Shukla, Umakant Joshi, ex mayor from Baroda, Dipak Kharchikar, Hindu Shiv Sena leaders Niraj Jain VHP president Baroda.

\*Local Gujarati daily flared the situation by wrongly reporting, “private firing” by Muslims of Macchipith

\*Police after inequity confirmed that “no private firing” took place in Macchipith

\*Despite the lose of Muslims lives and property only Majority Muslims were arrested from Macchipith are and booked under section 307.

\*On 17<sup>th</sup> March 02 in the Makepura, Avadhut Nagar of Baroda group of Muslims had gone there to collect their belongings under Makepura Police and canvoy Despite armed Police a 2000 strong mob attacked the Muslims in killed Two persons and seriously wounded many police failed to open effective fire and played negative roll.

\*A large murder of Muslim property such as houses, offices, shops, lorries. *Dargas*, Mosques have been looted and destroyed in area such as Gotri, Baranpura, Shavasi, Undera, Manjalpur, Makarpura, Maneja, Tarshali, Danteswar, Pratpnagar, Karelibag, Salatwada, Shanstha Vasanhat and other areas

\*Free use of white prosperous and LPG cylinder shells was made to burnt and destroy properties.

\*Carefully inquiry of chemicals and source of LPG cylinder with its number and company brand could help trace the criminals

\*Police officers who remained inactive on 28<sup>th</sup> Feb, 15<sup>th</sup> March and 17<sup>th</sup> March large scale looting and killing should be dismissed and inquires set up against them.

\*Thousands of Muslims refugees who have come from Hindu areas should be relocated in Muslim areas in plots of corporation or Govt.

\*Govt plots belonging to corporation/Govt should be allotted to refugees at subsidized rates in “Safe” areas corporation Govt. agencies and other local body should be asked to expedite such relocation work.

\*Cash dollars to the relatives of the dead, to the injured and homeless be given at the earliest.

\*Soft loans to those who have lost business be given at the earliest and at the lease hazards.

\*Activities of Bajrang Dal, VHP, RSS should be banned, their offices sealed and properties should be confiscated the attack on Orissa assembly was warning to minority given by RSS meeting at Banglore are pruf enough of constitutional schemes of these organization.

\*Media coverages if *AAJTAK*, *STAR-NEWS* report of *TIMES OF INDIA*, *THE INDIAN EXPRESS*, *GUJARAT SAMACHAR*, *THE HINDU*, Magazines such as, *MEEN TIME*, *INDIA TODAY*, *NEWSWEEK*, should also serve as strike evidence of the socoundn Bosnia, Herzogovanian in Gujarat minorities by CM Narendra Modi who “justified” massive killing of Muslims as “reaction” to Godhra incident.

August 2002

**Citizens Memo to EC**

The Chief Election Commissioner

**Nirvachan Sadan**

**Sardar Patel Chowk**

**New Delhi**

Dear Mr. Lyngdoh,

The 10th Gujarat Assembly is finally getting dissolved. It is for the Election Commission to decide now the date of the forthcoming elections and we the concerned citizens feel that the election should not be held a day earlier than the schedule.

The undersigned are all apolitical. We have no party and no personal & political ambitions. However we feel that if the elections are held now, they would be far from free and fair. Our reasons are as follows:

1. 1 crore voters (36% of the total Gujarat voters) are yet to receive identity cards. If Election Commission insists on identity cards so that the franchise cannot be exercised without it, this one-third voters would loose their right to vote. This cannot be allowed in the larger interest of the democracy.

2. 3 lacs affected Gujaratis are still staying away from their homes - be it in relief camps or with the friends and relatives. The Progress of rehabilitation and distribution of compensation has been less than satisfactory. The hasty closure of relief camps does not denote the return of normalcy as claimed by the State government and an atmosphere

of fear and distrust continues to prevail, with certain sections of the local media playing an unhelpful role. This is certainly far from conducive to free and fair elections.

3. 2 District Panchayats and 84 local municipalities are deprived of elections though these were due. The Gujarat government has postponed them four times and the reason given for this is that the atmosphere is not conducive. If these local elections cannot be held how can one hold them for the Legislative Assembly in the same area.

4. The monsoon is far from normal. In some parts, the farmers are yet to start sowing because of the lack of rains. 69% of the total cultivable land has received some rain but they are also facing an acute shortage of water and the overall situation in the State is near a drought. The State government has already started sending tankers for drinking water to many areas. Power shortage is also bothering agriculturists. How can these people be involved in the election process?

5. The Chief Minister (now a Caretaker) is yet to take the Investigation and Enquiry Commission seriously. It is therefore felt that justice may be denied or delayed beyond a reasonable period to the affected community in the State.

In these circumstances, we do not think that the present government, being a Caretaker Government in charge of administration, can conduct free and fair elections.

It is therefore essential that the Centre takes over the administration for the next Assembly Elections.

The very fact that the Chief Minister has reason to request the Governor to prepone the Assembly Elections means that he is unable to perform his constitutional duties and maintain law and order, which is his prime responsibility.

This admission alone points to the necessity of his quitting otherwise a large number of Gujarat's voters will lose their right in the absence of law and order by booth capturing and other illegal means which pollute the election process.

It is therefore felt that till the Election Commission is satisfied, the election process in Gujarat should not commence.

We request the Commission to follow the 1995 example of the Kashmir Legislative Assembly and visit Gujarat, give an audience to concerned citizens, social activists, NGOs and political parties and only then have a conclusion about the prevailing situation.

**Mrinalini Sarabhai**  
**Batuk Vora**  
**Indukumar Jani**  
**Digant Oza and others**

*Citizens Memorandum to Election Commission after the hearings of the Tribunal were concluded*

July 31, 2002

To,  
**The Chief Election Commissioner,**  
**Nirvachan Sadan,**  
**Sardar Patel Chowk,**  
**New Delhi**  
**FAX- 011-3711023**

**Submitted through Fact Finding delegation of Election commission to Gujarat**

Dear Mr. Lyngdoh,

As a senior journalist, human rights activist and close watcher of Gujarat, it is with deep pain and concern that I address this memorandum to you. Last Friday, on July 19, 02 the chief minister of Gujarat, Shri Narendra Modi dissolved the state assembly, resigned his post in a bid to push for early elections in that state.

To state that this action is cynical in the extreme is to state the obvious. Mr Modi and his cabinet, have in past month abused sorely their constitutional responsibilities of protecting the dignity, lives and properties of his citizenry. He ruled over a violent, state-wide, premeditated pogrom against a section of the citizenry using the tragic Godhra mass arson as an excuse to justify the sheer scale and brutality of the violence. I spent no less than six weeks in total in that hapless state touring not just the metros but far flung villages to document in detail the happenings. *Genocide Gujarat 2002* is the outcome. I annex a copy of this report for you (Annexure 1).

In the months that have followed, too, no normalcy or peace has actually returned. The July 12, 02 Jagannath yatra that took place under strict security, where only minority areas were searched and cleansed and no behavioral constraints put on those who had been found to be offenders, show that the state functioning under the current political dispensation has and continues to be partisan and therefore, unconstitutional. In my subsequent survey (Status of Refugees Survey done for the Citizens for Justice and Peace and Communalism Combat writ petition in the Ahmedabad High Court—Annexure 2), the clearcut situation for refugees who have returned home has been documented: servility or exodus into newly formed ghettos is what a large section of our population faces in Gujarat.

The condition and registration of refugee relief camps in Gujarat was ensured only after six camps went before the Ahmedabad High Court in a petition demanding adequate water, food grain and medical facilities. Subsequently, a PIL filed by CJP and CC in the Ahmedabad High Court evinced an assurance from the state in court (June 4, 02) that *their would be no closure of relief camps in the state. Despite this assurance to the Court, the Collector, as representative of the State Government and administration went around coercing camps into closure even threatening managers with criminal action if they failed to close.*

Officially, there are now only 13, 482 refugees in the state (all of them in Ahmedabad city) to whom food grains are grudgingly being provided by the district collector. An additional 6,500 more persons continue to live in other camps in Ahmedabad though they have ceased to exist in official records after camps were coerced into closing down. (CJP-CC survey for the PIL). This despite the pendency of the writ petition and the government assurance that there would be no closure of camps. Another 2,000-odd

persons are in camps located elsewhere in the state but which have ceased to exist for the government. These camps – Nandasan (419 persons), Dasaj (400 persons), Lunva (100 persons), Shivali (400), Gunja (near Visnagar-50 persons), Unjha (250 persons) and Lunavada (460 persons) – were summarily closed down between mid-May and early July and the government assumes no responsibility for the relief or rehabilitation needs of these people. Three dozen other camps located at Mandali, Godhra, Halol, Kalol and Anand actually closed down after the state’s coercion’s compelled them to.

As a result, nearly 25,000 of the over 66,000 (official figure) people who had sought refuge within Ahmedabad city and a majority of the 21,000-odd (official figures) refugees from the rest of the state of Gujarat have been coerced into leaving the camps, their dignity compromised and with no guarantee of security. In over 70 per cent cases, basic rehabilitation costs have also been denied, with cheques of meagre amounts being disbursed.

Furthermore, a statewide status of refugee survey conducted by CC shows how the return of displaced persons to many districts has been dictated by a raw choice: servility or exodus. In Mehsana district, home to prominent cabinet colleagues of Modi, two of whom have been named as perpetrators by eye-witnesses, the villages of Unjha, Raisan are out of bounds for refugees as are Paliyar in Gandhinagar district; refugees from Por in Gandhinagar have returned only to face an economic boycott from the Patel-dominated village. Moghri, Karamsad and Odh in Anand, Prantij in Himmatnagar, Chanasma in Patan, Randhikpur in Panchmahals have been purged of Muslim residents. In many other villages displaces persons belonging to the minority face similar conditions of boycott. Under such circumstances, with no comprehensive official data on rehabilitation efforts, with 1 crore Gujarati voters yet to receive voter identification, what guarantee that the electoral rolls under a blatantly partisan government will be fairly updated reflecting the brutal reality of the situation?

The over two dozen affidavits filed by the petitioners, 24 camp managers and refuge seekers for the hearing of the writ that came up before Justices Sinha and Panchal of the Gujarat High Court on June 26, are revealing. *Asgarkhan Babukhan Pathan, aged 30 years, a labourer, formerly resident of Darbarnagar, Navapura, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, residing at the Jahangirnagar Relief Camp, camp no. 9, Vatwa has in an affidavit has sworn that:* “At present about 600 people are still taking shelter in the same place where the camp existed till June 1, 2002 under the open sky... No relief is being given to the camp organizers as the collectorate has already closed down the camp. All 600 of us are now depending upon private parties for food... I have not yet received any compensation amount including the amount of Rs. 1,250 for loss of utensils, which the state government is required to give as per the GR. I have received no compensation for the loss of my home, a loss that amounts to Rs 50,000.”

*Javed Munnabhai Sheikh, the administrator of the Patrewali Masjid relief camp, Saraspur, Ahmedabad* says before the High Court :“There are 358 families, ie, 1728 inmates in the relief camp of which I was a manager. The liaison officer from the collectorate was regularly verifying our records and the number of inmates. The district collector had mounted the pressure on me to close the camp. One method used was checking the number of inmates very often during odd hours. On all previous occasions, the district collector had counted the inmates and their number had tallied with the official figure...In fact, more than Rs 60,000 is yet not given by the district collector to the camp organizer for provisions. A cheque dated May 3, 02 was handed over to me on June 18, 2002. It was due to this constant harassment that the camp organizers had sent a letter on June 14, 2002 to the deputy collector for closure of the camp which was readily accepted by the office of the district collector. The inmates have not reduced despite the closure; the state government refuses to take over the camp and the lack of provisions from the government makes it difficult to continue.”

*Mohammed Raza Ahmed Saiyed, aged 39 years, a labourer and presently an organiser of Jahangir Relief Camp, Registered Camp No. 9 at Saiyedwadi, Vatva, Ahmedabad:*

“The camp had commenced on February 28, 2002 onwards, at which time the total number of inmates

in the camp were 1738; these reduced to 1678 by May 31, 02. The inmates are from the Vatwa area whose homes have been completely destroyed and they are too scared and afraid of returning to their respective homes. No compensation amount for repairs of the house has been given. Further, Rs. 7/- per person per day is yet to be given to the victims. The total outstanding amount is approx Rs. 7,07,128.50 towards the camp organizers. Since June 4, 02, due to immense pressure and arm-twisting method of the district collectorate, the camp organisers were compelled to write a letter to the district collector to close down the camp and all victims have been asked to leave the camps. The office of the district collector had threatened the camp organizer, i.e., myself of implicating him in some criminal offence if the relief camp was not closed down merely because while checking the camp some inmates were not present....I, the camp organiser was also told by the collectorate that the outstanding quota of food grains for the previous three weeks would be given if I handed the closure letter. Due to all this pressure, I was compelled to write a letter to the state government asking for closure of the camp. On writing such letter, the food stock was supplied and the camp has been declared closed... Lastly, since the camp has been declared to be closed down, even the municipal corporation does not care for maintaining cleanliness and even water supply has been stopped. All the victims are residing under the open sky and facing prospects of monsoon with trepidation.”

Meanwhile the status of criminal investigations by the state into the brutal massacres also leaves much to be desired.

### **Naroda Pattiya Massacre**

In late May (Asian Age, May 27), Operation Crackdown launched by the crime branch of the Ahmedabad police, in which the police have tried to arrest some of those directly named in FIRs related to the multiple crimes committed at Naroda gaon and Naroda Pattiya. Operation Crackdown also involved arrests of those involved in the Gulberg Society massacres.

In Naroda village case the total number of arrests has gone up to seven. The total number of accused, however are 27. <sup>1</sup> Police had arrested two persons on Sunday and two others were arrested earlier. Although names of Naroda legislator Maya Kodnani, VHP general secretary Jaideep Patel and other top leaders figure in the FIR of Naroda Pattiya carnage, they have not been arrested till date. On the contrary, crime branch officials say that “their names are not mentioned at all.”

Among the names of those arrested, The Times of India, May 28 reported that “Babubhai Rajabhai Patel alias Babu Bajrangji, Parminder Singh Rajput and Kishan Khubhchand Kooranai were arrested early this morning from Naroda and Saijapur localities and were produced before a court which remanded them to 10 days police custody, according to Joint Commissioner of Police (Crime Branch) P P Pandey quoted in the publication. He said it was a matter of investigation whether they were activists of Bajrang Dal, VHP or BJP or not. “So far we have no evidence to suggest this,” he added. “We have arrested them because their names were in the FIR in the case relating to the killing of 86 people by a mob on February 28 at Naroda Patia locality of Ahmedabad,” Pandey said.

On May 16, The Indian Express quoting a PTI report reported how a single woman witnesses’ courage—Jannatbi Kallubhai Sheikh—, had led to the arrest of Ratilal Rathod alias Bhavani Singh, accused of raping five women at Naroda Pattiya on February 28. Rathod is a driver with the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service (AMTS)<sup>2</sup> Jannatbi had filed a detailed complaint listing the name of the accused in the offences.

One of the most troublesome and worrying trends to have emerged from the Gujarat Carnage is the largescale *direct involvement of elected representatives in the incidents of violence*.<sup>3</sup> This was first recorded through testimonies of victims and survivors.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter, in scores of FIRs lodged by victims and survivors, the names of MLAs figure. The Hindustan Times (May 26) and The Hindu of May 27)

report how “1 BJP MLA; 1 Cong MLA; 4 BJP corporators; VHP Gujarat chief figure in the FIRs: BJP MLA Mayaben Kodnani in Naroda Patia massacre; toll 60; Cong MLA Faruqhbhai Sheikh in Kalupur riots; BJP MLA B. Khatri, Corporator Kokabhai in Kalupur riots; BJP Corporators Ashok Saheb and Vallabh Patel in Naroda Patia riots; BJP Corporator Nitin Patel in Naranpura violence; BJP Kheda district general secretary Rajesh in Kheda rioting; VHP state chief Jaideep Patel, Bajrang Dal leader Praduman Patel in Naroda Patia riots.”

As disturbing were extensive media reports that expose how the state government, the BJP party and the VHP were pressurising innocent Hindu young men from Ahmedabad to ‘volunteer their names and get arrested’ so that the political bigwigs and masterminds go scot free. The Hindustan Times reported on May 3 that. “It appears the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) has been paying poor Hindu boys to own up to being the rioters in the recent violence and surrender to the police. The VHP has also been accused of doing this to help the state government appear to be taking action in the riots cases.

Significantly, last week the state submitted to the Supreme Court that it had arrested almost 40,000 people so far in connection with the riots.

But this has failed to provide consolation or relief to riot victims. People in areas like Kalupur and Gontipur, which have witnessed more communal violence than most, say the VHP is conducting an enormous volunteering exercise, where poor Hindu boys are being lured with cash to surrender themselves in place of the real culprits. This, they add, will help the state government have satisfactory statistics in their reports.

#### *Gulberg Society, Chamanpura (Ahsan Jaffri case)*

On the day of the incident itself PI Erda of the local, Meghaninagar police station filed an FIR; a second FIR was filed the next day and 19 persons were first arrested after which another 3 were arrested (see page 27 of *Genocide—Gujarat 2002*). Thereafter in late May a chargesheet has been filed which is not yet public. Then, the Operation Crackdown led by the crime branch of the Ahmedabad police in late May arrested nine more persons, in addition to the earlier arrests made in the weeks following the incident. (The Asian Age, May 27). Three main accused are still free.

#### *Sardarpura massacre, Mehsana*

Thirty-four persons, mostly women and children, were burnt alive in a small room in Sardarpur village. In all, there are 46 accused and they have been released on bail through four different applications filed before the additional sessions judge, Mehsana, D. R. Shah. Four applications have been filed for cancellation of bail of the accused by advocate Hashim Qureshi appearing for the victims’ families. The public prosecutor in the district court, Dilip Trivedi, is also a general secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Mehsana district. (He gave an extremely provocative statement on February 28 to the *Sandesh* daily)—see *CC, June-July 02*.

The four applications for rejection of bail are on the grounds that even after being released on bail, the accused attacked a mosque in the same Sardarpur area. (FIR no. 110/2002 dated May 13 is launched with the Vijapur police station.). The PP did not take any objection to cancellation of bail. The High Court has issued notices in all these four matters filed under section 439(2) of CrPC. Chargesheets have been filed.

#### *Deepla Darwaja, Visnagar, Mehsana district*

Twenty-four persons were attacked and subsequently burnt to death. Thereafter, with a view to destroy the evidence, the culprits collected their remains and dumped it in a lake situated in a Patel community area.

Two cancellation of bail applications have been filed by advocate Hashim Qureshi against the 43 accused released on bail. Shockingly, the same PP (Mr. Trivedi) who never objects to bail applications by the VHP and the BJP had in this case, registered his 'no objection' to bail being given to the accused.

These applications have made several pleas, the main ones being that the police conduct in non-registration of names of accused, deliberate non-recording of *panchnama* and subsequent failure to help locate the victims' bodies all ensured that easy bail was obtained. Prima facie there appears to be biased police conduct, a patent example of culpable negligence. Therefore, a special criminal application has also been made challenging the same.

### **Gomtipur police atrocities case, Ahmedabad**

This case pertains to the death of six persons in reprisal killings by the police on April 21, after a police constable was killed at Dani Limda. Significantly, there were no disturbances in the area on that day, no members of the majority community reside anywhere around where the victims were targeted or shot dead.

Hanifabibi Bashir Ahmed Sheikh (42) a woman residing at Modi Chawl: She was killed because police constable Prakash hit her on the head. The VS Hospital post-mortem report shows cause of death as shock as a result of firearm injury. There is no FIR registered. Nor compensation has been given till this date.

Kalubhai Sheikh (20), male, residing at Jhoolta Minara, Ahmedi Society: Just in front of the society, the police fired from the police chowki. He suffered a head injury and died on the spot. The post-mortem report from VS Hospital identified the cause of death as due to shock as a result of firearm injury.

Naziabibi and Mehmood Husein Sheikh (daughter and father) aged 18 and 42 respectively residing at Patel Chawl, Kamdar Medan: While cooking in her kitchen, Naziabi was hit by a police bullet, and she died on the spot due to head injury. Her post-mortem was done at the VS Hospital. Her father, Mehboob Hussein Sheikh was shot at in the same incident, outside the house.

Abrar Ahmed Hanif Qureshi (22), male, residing at Patel Chawl, Kamdar Medan: Though the main gate of the chawl was closed, police aimed from a hole in the gate. Neck injury, died on the spot. Post-mortem at VS Hospital.

Mehboob bhai Sultan bhai Sheikh, (22), male, residing at Maniarwada, Gomtipur: The police entered the chawl from a private house. Deceased was on the roof of his house when one police constable along with several police personnel beat him mercilessly. Then the constable, using a private firearm concealed in his socks, shot him from point blank range. Four different applications have been filed before the Gujarat High Court on behalf of the victims and supported by the Islamic Relief Committee, praying for the special investigation by the crime branch and inquiry against the culprits/police constables and for compensation. The grounds: The police authority totally failed in discharging their duty as per the provisions of the Police Manual, particularly Clause 45, 53, 55, 60 and 61 of part 3 of Volume 2. Therefore, this is a fit case for inquiry through proper channels, by proper office, as per the hierarchy of the police department.

In a case of Darmishta behn, the Gujarat High Court has led down the law on payment of compensation. The court ruled that when great loss and injustice is caused to a person who has lost his beloved, and his life has become miserable by way of an atrocity by the police officer, then he is not in position to meet with any orthodox litigation and proceeding. Therefore, interim compensation can be awarded under Article 226.

### *Dr Bhavnagari Case, Ahmedabad*

On February 28, when many areas of Ahmedabad and the state of Gujarat were being attacked, a large mob of 5-7,000 had targeted the Paldi area of Ahmedabad where. Dr

Bhavnagari, a respected doctor and his son lived in the Delite Apartments in Paldi that was also severely attacked and damaged by the mobs. Dr Bhavnagari owns a licensed gun and is also an ace shooter, being a member of the National Rifle Shooters' Association. When the mob advanced close and threatened the doctor and his family, he used his gun and fired. Two persons were injured and later one fell victim to the bullets.

The police arrested Dr Bhavnagari despite there being a strong case under section 66 onwards of the Indian Penal Code that permits a person firing in self-defence when his life is endangered. The police also filed an FIR against both the Dr Bhavnagari and his son on the ground that both had fired. The son surrendered to the police in late March.

Though the police had met one of the survivors of the bullets on March 3, they recorded his statement only on March 14. In his statement, the young man had stated that both father and son had fired in which two persons died. Applications for anticipatory bail filed for both father and son by advocate Haroon Momin were rejected in the City Civil and Sessions Court, Ahmedabad. The bail applications were then pending before the Gujarat High Court. In its report the police stated: "If he had not fired, he could have died. A mob of 1,500-2,000 had attacked the building; shops were burning, they had deadly weapons and it was only when sections of this mob climbed the staircase of Delite Apartments that Dr Bhavnagari and his son fired."

When this report was filed in the Sessions Court, Chetan Shah, advocate for the VHP (he is appearing in all their cases) asked to be joined as party. Magistrate Purani turned down the application saying that he had no *locus standi*. The matter for deliberation on the police report under section 159 was pending. Meanwhile, 90 days had passed since Dr Bhavnagari's arrest. Under section 167(2) of the CrPC if no chargesheet has been filed within three months, a person has to be released. Both appeals for bail came up before the HC. Granting bail, the judge, Justice Behram J Sethna passed unwarranted strictures against two police officers — additional commissioner of police Satish Sharma and PI NH Joshi – for filing it's report under section 159.

He says, "Therefore *prima facie* I am of the considered opinion that by submitting the aforesaid report, both of them have committed contempt of court for which even contempt proceedings could have been initiated against them; however on the request made by learned additional public prosecutor, Abhichandani and on the assurance given by PI Joshi that that in future this will not be repeated I have not thought it fit to initiate such proceedings. However I am fully convinced that the attempt made by both the police officers Shri Satish Sharma, additional CP Sector I and PI NH Joshi in 'trying to interfere with the administration of justice by submitting the report dated June 24, 02 and June 26, 02 is a serious misconduct for which both the police officers should be dealt with strictly by way of departmental proceedings by the state govt. When the last day for filing chargesheet was June 30, 02 they submitted such report at the last minute and allowed the main accused to get the bail."

All these factors reveal more than ever before that normalcy and peace have far from returned to the hapless state of Gujarat. Gujarat and it's people have been held victim to the brutal manipulation of religion for political ends and there is little to show that the guilty will be punished and the perpetrators who occupy high government office will be brought to book. Apart from the entire constitutional fraework, sections 153a and 153b of the Indian penal Code (123a and 123b of the Representation of People's Act) have been breached more than once by those that hold government office in Gujarat.

Gujarat moreover poses a challenge to the whole Indian Constitutional Framework as at every juncture, since 1998, state machinery has been used to subvert the basic Constitutional parameters of parity in citizenship and non-discrimination in state functioning. The same day that the assembly was dissolved and the chief minister resigned, a spate of transfers of police officers all over the state showed that upright officers were being taken away from active functioning and sidelined into administrative posts (please refer to *Police—Criminals in Uniform, Genocide Gujarat 2002*). Under the circumstances, polls at this juncture would be far from free or fair.

More than once, statutory bodies like the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), the Courts and Parliament have been derided by those who hold power in Gujarat. After watching over the violence, decent rehabilitation with dignity has not occurred; hundreds of thousands of persons are facing economic and social boycott. The indecent haste in violating court orders and closing down relief camps amounts to a denial of the right of citizens to a dignified rehabilitation. In short, a section of the Gujarat citizenry has already been reduced to less than second class status.

I urge, as an individual citizen committed to justice and opposed strongly to the virus of partisan governance that has seeped into the functioning of organs of the state that the EC defers polls in the state until justice and reconciliation have been genuinely affected. I urge also that the EC makes its own visit to the State of Gujarat visits, the victims of those affected and groups working with them. I urge that this visit is guided independently and time freely given to all groups to present their cases before the Election Commission.

In anticipation

Yours sincerely,  
For, Raiskhan  
**TS/CJP/CC**

*This is the text of the memorandum submitted to the Election Commission*

**From:**

**1. Citizens For Justice & Peace,  
2. Communalism Combat  
Office at "Nirant", Juhu Tara Road,  
Juhu, Mumbai.**

**Dt: 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 2002.**

**To,**

**The Election Commission,  
At present at Circuit House,  
Annexe, Shahibaug, Ahmedabad.**

**Re:- Against holding of early elections in the State of Gujarat.**

**Sir,**

1. The applicant no. 1 is an association of persons from Gujarat and Mumbai constituted to lead and support the struggle for justice and peace in Gujarat. The applicant no. 2 is a journal that has won national and international acclaim for its objective and fearless crusade against the politics of division and hatred, be it of the majority or the minority. Its editor Ms. Teesta Setalvad is herself a writer of high repute espousing the Cause of Human Rights. Committed to the right to information this journal has brought out a special edition on the Gujarat disturbances, titled, "*Genocide-Gujarat 2002*" authored by Teesta Atul Setalvad. Ms. Teesta Setalvad is also one of the trustees of the applicant no. 1 herein.

2. The applicants herein have filed a Public Interest Litigation before the Hon'ble Gujarat High Court being Special Civil Application No. 5311 of 2002 and the Hon'ble Court was pleased to issue notice to the respondents. On service of the notice, on 4<sup>th</sup> June, 2002, the respondents have made a statement before the Hon'ble Court that the relief camps will not be closed. The same statement was reiterated by the Ld. Advocate General Mr. Kamal Trivedi on 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2002 and assured the Hon'ble Gujarat High Court Coram: Hon'ble The Chief Justice Mr. D. S. Sinha and Hon'ble Justice Mr. J. M. Panchal. With this assurance of not closing the relief camps the petition was ordered to be notified after a month. The petitioner is likely to be heard in the next week. The details of the inmates and the victims have been narrated in the above petition filed before the Hon'ble Gujarat High Court and to substantiate its claim of the abysmal condition in which they are forced to meet the petitioners therein and the applicants herein had produced affidavits before the Hon'ble Court. All these affidavits were affirmed in the last week of June 2002. The applicants crave leave to annex some of the true Xerox copies of the affidavits as to this memorandum.

3. The Dist. Collector under the specific instructions of the State Government had resorted to arm twisting methods to compel the organizers of the relief camps to close the camps. The district collectorate had visited the relief camps without informing the camp organizers well in advance of such visit and had resorted to counting the number of inmates in arbitrary manner. This, despite the fact that the Hon'ble Gujarat High Court in another writ petition being Special Civil Application No. 3773 of 2002 had made specific observations that the office of the district collector would inform the concerned organizers of the relief camps at least one day in advance before counting the number of inmates. The Hon'ble Court was also at pains to observe that even if the number of the inmates were found to be less in number, in any case the food supply would not be reduced by the district collector. These directions were given to the district collector to avoid the circumstances where the inmates would be required to move out of the relief camps for few hours for attending the police station or recording the *panchnama* of their destroyed properties or for

any other difficulties. Annexed hereto and marked as *ANNEXURE – B Colly* are the copies of the impugned orders of dtd. 22<sup>nd</sup> April and 4<sup>th</sup> May 2002.

4. However, despite the orders of the Hon'ble Court and assurances given to the Hon'ble Court on behalf of the state government the relief camps, including Vatwa *Dargah* Relief Camp was inspected and had arbitrarily counted the inmates to be less than what the actual number was at the relevant time. The ration was reduced and the organizers are being compelled to close down the relief camps. This is just one of the examples which is being placed before the election commission to assist the commission in deciding the coercive methods adopted by the State Government. Annexed hereto and marked as are the copies of the true translated applications sent by the relief camp organizers to the office of the district collector which are produced in writ petition before the Hon'ble High Court .

5. The office of the district collector was perhaps not satisfied with restricting the supply of food etc to the relief camps and therefore had ordered the relief camp organizers to shift all their inmates in few relief camps for "better management". One such relief camp where some of the victims were sought to be shifted was at Dariyakhan Ghummat. Many victims from different relief camps were shifted to Dariyakhan Ghummat in the month of July, 2002, yet, to the shock and surprise of the victims the Dariyakhan Ghummat Relief Camp is ordered to be closed on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2002. The inmates who have been shifted to Haj House in the Kalupur area are placed between 4<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> floor of the building where the lift is invariably closed thereby causing hardships to the inmates particularly the old and feeble men and infirm women and minor children. All these circumstances show that the State Government is interested in adopting all sorts of pressurizing tactics to discourage the victims from taking shelter in the relief camps.

6. It is under these circumstances, I am requesting you to kindly avoid thrusting the elections upon the people of the State Of Gujarat.

Thanking you,  
Yours' faithfully,

**TS/For Communalism Combat & Citizens For Justice & Peace.**

*The role of the Indian police in different states has evinced strong censure in the findings of several post-Independence Judicial Commissions of Inquiry. Excerpts:*

**Justice Shiv Dayal Srivastava's Report on the riots at Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh and Narasinhapur, February 1961:**

"The Intelligence department... was entirely inefficient and the law and order authorities were responsible for a laxity in investigation and prosecution which resulted in large acquittals. ... There is also a visible tendency towards formality rather than reality. Instead of going to the root cause in search of truth, padding is resorted to. Then it is said that most important feature is that the police does not command the confidence of straightforward investigation as it should." (para 107, page 74)

**Justice Raghubar Dayal Commission of Inquiry into the Riots in Ranchi, Sholapur, Malegaon, Ahmednagar, Sursand, Jaipur and Suchetpur, 1967**

"The general impression has been that either there was no police force available to deal with the mischief makers or it had no directions to act... 354 Hindus and 594 Muslims were arrested for violating the curfew orders between August 22 and 27. On August 22, 4 Hindus and 61 Muslims were arrested 7 Hindu and 19 Muslim homes were searched, 184 persons were killed – 19 Hindus, 164 Muslims and one, unverified. During investigations, 409 Hindus and 102 Muslims were arrested. The Commission found the intelligence system to be unsatisfactory." (paras 5.9, 5.12, page 38 onwards)

**Justice Jagmohan Reddy Commission of Inquiry investigating the Ahmedabad riots of 1969**

This commission of inquiry has cited more than half a dozen of instances where Muslim religious places adjoining police lines or police stations were attacked or damaged. The argument advanced by the police officers that because they were busy quelling riots at various other places, these police stations were shorn of adequate strength and hence these attacks on religious places could not be punished, did not impress the Commission. It made this observation because not a single Hindu place of worship near a police station was reported to the Commission. (pages 173-174).

The report while recognising that it is not possible for any government to anticipate the immediate cause of the eruption of violence said, "What could be expected from law-enforcing and governmental agencies is a proper appreciation of the communal atmosphere prevailing in a state, in a town or in any particular place or locality, to anticipate trouble and to take steps to nip it in the bud or to deal with it firmly when such a situation does arise. In our view, on the facts disclosed by governmental and other records already referred to, the law enforcing agencies could not have but known that the communal atmosphere in Ahmedabad had become tense.

**Report of the Justice D.P. Madon Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Disturbances at Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and Mahad in May, 1970:**

"Several instances have been proved before the Commission in which police officers and policemen either did not prevent Hindu rioters from indulging in rioting, looting or arson or showed communal discrimination in dealing with the rioting mobs or gave incorrect information to the control room or lodged incorrect FIRs, in order to make out that the persons who had rioted or were responsible for looting or arson in particular incidents were Muslim rioters not Hindu, or actively assisted Hindu rioters in burning and looting Muslim properties." (103.145)

"Discrimination was also practised in making arrests and while Muslim rioters were arrested in large numbers, the police turned a blind eye to what the Hindu rioters were doing. Some innocent Muslims were arrested, knowing them to be innocent. Some innocent Muslims who went to take shelter at the Bhiwandi Town Police Station were arrested instead of being given shelter and protection. An example of this is that

of Abdul Tawab Abdul Raof Ansari and some of his male workers and relatives who on May 8, 1970 went to the Bhiwandi Town police station for shelter after Abdul Tawab's factory was burnt down. Communal discrimination against Muslims was so all pervasive that it extended to the treatment of prisoners." (103.148)

"Discrimination on the matter of distribution of food and water was made by the police and jail authorities between Muslim and Hindu prisoners; PSI S.S. Mane and other police officers and policemen in charge of the prisoners at the Taluka police station could have procured water tankers earlier. Not doing so was an act of deliberate callousness on their part. Their reason for not sending for fire engines to fetch drinking water for the prisoners was that most of the prisoners were Muslims not Hindus and Hindu prisoners were allowed free access to the water taps at the Taluka police station. "(103.162)

The Commission's comments on the Special Investigation Squad of Bhiwandi:

1. The working of the Special Investigation Squad is a study in communal discrimination.
2. The officers of the Squad systematically set about implicating as many Muslims and exculpating as many Hindus as possible irrespective of whether they were innocent or guilty.
3. To achieve their aforesaid object the officers asked the Bhiwandi Town police station not to enter the CR numbers in the *Muddemmal* registers but leave it to them to enter subsequent CR numbers, as they wanted...
4. Classification and grouping of offences were conducted in such a fashion that the complaint registered by a Hindu was taken as an FIR and those of Muslims as mere police statements recorded in that case that therefore remained uninvestigated.
8. Cases of many Hindus belonging to the Shiv Sena, *Rashtriya Utsav Mandal* (an extension of the local branch of the Jana Sangh) were wrongly classified as 'A' category and investigations closed and no proper investigation was undertaken into several complaints of murders of Muslims and arson of their property...
11. Cases against Bhaskar Mali, the President of the RUM and Datta Punyarthi, one of the leaders of the local Jan Sangh were dropped after pressure was brought to bear on the DIG (Crime) B.K.Govardhan and S.P. Bhawe to drop the cases...
13. No investigation was conducted into the composition and activities of Hindu communal and allegedly communal organisations operating in Bhiwandi but only in respect of Muslim communal and allegedly communal organisations.
14. A false case was made up against 223 Muslims in which it was alleged that 16 out of them had entered into a criminal conspiracy to attack the Shiv *Jayanti* procession on May 7, 1970.
15. Deputy Superintendent of Police S.P.Saraf held private conferences and discussions with several leaders of Hindu organisations including many who were implicated by Muslims in offences of arson and murder. Some of the leaders with whom Saraf held private conferences and discussions were Dr. B.P.Vyas who was president of the Bhiwandi branch of the Jana Sangh and the guiding spirit of the RUM, Baliram Mahadeo More, *shakhapramukh* of the Bhiwandi branch of the Shiv Sena, Mohanlal Parshram Karwa who was one of the founders of the *Nagrik Hiarakshak Mandal*, a body set up to present the case of Hindu parties before the Commission and many others.
16. The frauds and manipulations committed by the officers of the Squad in the investigation of riot cases were done partly under the instructions of Deputy SP, P.J.Saraf, DIG (Crime) Govardhan, SP(Crime) C.P.Kurle and SP(Research) Dr. H.G. Abhyankar and partly with their connivance.

17. These officers are directly responsible for the manipulation and bias reflected in the actions of the Squad.”

**Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Tellicherry Disturbance, 1971  
Justice (retd) Joseph Vithyathil:**

“236. Through the evidence of the Deputy SP, he says that while on patrol duty he had to curb many among his rank and file who could not restrain themselves when they met Muslims on the road. Similar evidence was given by the Sub-Collector and other witnesses who have testified saying that while chasing away some Muslims, many policemen yelled at them to go to Pakistan. At Mattambaram, one or two of them got into the mosque and besides beating Usmakutty Haji, a very respectable person, broke the tube-light and chandeliers in the mosque. There is nothing to show that there was any justification for this action... I am inclined to think that this was a high-handed act done by some policemen who made use of the opportunity to exhibit their anti-Muslim feelings.”

“254. So far as the minorities are concerned, it is the feeling among them that they are not getting justice, that they are discriminated against in the matter of appointments in the Public Services, that they do not get equal protection of the law and that their religion is in danger, that prompts them to rally around religious organisations of their own. It is of the greatest importance that appropriate steps are taken by the government to remove the cause for such feelings in the minorities. There is much truth in saying that if you want peace you must work for justice.”

“255. The attitude adopted by the rank and file of the police in Tellicherry during the disturbances shows that they were infected with the virus of communalism. This is a matter that should be taken serious notice of. It is of the utmost importance for the maintenance of law and order that all sections of the public, particularly the minorities, have confidence in the impartiality of the police. Policemen who are found guilty of communal hatred or prejudices should be immediately dismissed from service. It is also necessary that in recruitment to the police adequate representation is given to minorities.”

**Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Jamshedpur riots in April 1979, by Justice J. Narain,  
Mr.S.K. Ghosh and Mr S.Q. Rizvi**

During the course of inquiry by the commission there were wide-ranging complaints regarding the anti-Muslim behaviour of the Bihar Military Police (BMP)...the facts and circumstances of the attack on the Muslim *basti* did give rise to the suspicion that deliberate or otherwise, firing by the police on the Hindus had no effect... Not a single Hindu could be identified as having been injured or killed as a result of 108 rounds fired by the BMP in this area over a period of 24 hours; this coupled with the fact that when the Hindu attacking mob had been driven away from the area, 9 Muslims were found dead in their own homes...(17.5)...The Commission feels that the composition, training discipline and leadership in the BMP leaves much to be desired...(17.12)

**Inquiry Report on Meerut Riots, September-October 1982, by Mr. N.C.Saxena (former Director of the  
Indian Institute of Administration, Mussourie) to the Central Minorities Commission of which he was  
joint secretary**

“As regards the first act of violence, which led to the riots, the District Administration tried to give an impression that the riots broke out in Meerut Town because of the *Pujari* of the disputed temple in *Mohalla Shahgasa* was murdered on September 6, 1982. The aggressiveness of the Hindus, unlawful activities of the Hindu communal group and police inaction prior to the murder of the *Poojari* was not highlighted in either the reports of the district administration or in the national newspapers. But, according to the enquiry report of the divisional commissioner, RD Sonkar (available from the files of the state government), a number of incidents took place before September 6 which were not properly handled by the district administration and which poisoned the relations between the two communities.”

“For instance, on *Janmashthami* day, August 12, 1982, about 400-500 Hindus tried to enter the *Kotwali* demanding special permission for a mid-night *Arti* at the disputed place. Despite this being an unlawful assembly, only four people were arrested. On the next day, about 250 Hindus agitated before the *Kotwali*, only 19 were arrested. All the arrested persons were released on bail at the police station itself due to pressure from Hindu leaders. On August 20 and 22, September 2 and 4, pieces of objectionable meat were found in the premises of four mosques and no arrests were made although it was clear that attempts were being made by a section of communal Hindus to provoke Muslims. On September 4, a Muslim youth was stabbed in a Hindu *mohalla* and only one arrest was made the next day in that connection. The murder of Ram Bhole, a drug addict was handled in an entirely different fashion by the district administration, who treated it as an affront to the entire administration, 114 Muslims were arrested and brutally beaten by the police, those who came to the police station were similarly assaulted and the brutal treatment led to one death in police custody. The conduct of the police included the arrests and brutally beating up of educated and well-placed Muslims in the days that followed.”

“Right from the beginning the district administration saw the communal riot as instigated by the Muslims and the Hindu action as retaliation and therefore chose to take stern action against Muslims only. The perception of senior police officials is evident from the affidavit filed by the then SSP, Meerut, J.P.Rai before the Parikh Commission.”

“The district administration right from the beginning perceived a threat to public peace only from Muslims and, therefore, chose to take one-sided action in pursuance of their thinking, observations and reports which were received by them from the intelligence machinery. The orders from the senior officers in the district to the police could be summarised in one phrase, “Muslims must be taught a lesson.” The PAC and the police faithfully implemented this policy. Looting and arson, in this context, was considered legitimate and necessary, and was therefore ignored. The district administration was very keen to retain the PAC in the district and bitterly opposed suggestions for getting it replaced by CRPF or BSF.”

**Report (majority) of the Commission of Inquiry into the Bhagalpur Riots of October 1989, signed by Justices R.C.P.Sinha and S.Shamsul Hasan, published in 1995**

“The role of Magistracy was no different from that of the police. In general, they were cowardly, communal and indifferent to the sufferings of the common man.” The report also noted that “the mob consisted of thousands of armed, slogan-shouting people. One wonders how a mob acting like the will-o’-the-wisp disappeared, undeterred, undetected and uninhibited, enjoying the total freedom of action and safe from arrest or police bullets which they deserved...Admittedly hoards of Hindus, the number going up to thousands, attacked the localities and villages of Muslim inhabitants, but nobody was arrested in the process of attacking an area. Nobody cared to enquire from where these massacring invaders descended upon Bhagalpur and the villages. The figures expose the group and individuals responsible for the pre-planning (of the violence) and how successful this plan proved to be with the able assistance of the District Administration, especially the police...from the officers to ordinary police constables, and the smaller functionaries of the administration, barring a few exceptions, they were totally infected with an anti-Muslim bias. This is evident from the fact that every unlawful act succeeded, totally uninterrupted by any administrative interference except in one or two cases...We would hold the SP of Bhagalpur, K.S. Dwivedi wholly responsible for whatever happened before October 24, 1989, on that day and after October 24. His communal bias was fully demonstrated...by the manner in which he arrested Muslims and by his extending no adequate protection to them.”

**Report of the J.Ranganath Misra Commission of Inquiry into the 1984 riots in Delhi**

“The riots occurred broadly on account of the total passivity, callousness and indifference of the police in the matter of controlling the situation and protecting the people of the Sikh community... The Commission is satisfied that firearms had been taken away from the Sikhs during that period...Several instances have come to be narrated where police personnel were found marching behind or mingled in the crowd. Since they did not make any attempt to stop the mob from indulging in criminal acts, an inference has been drawn

that they were part of the mob and had the common intention and purpose. Some instances, though few in number, have also been noticed where policemen in uniform have participated in the looting... It is a fact and the Commission on the basis of satisfaction records a finding that FIRs were not received if they implicated either the police or any person in authority and the informants were required to delete such allegations from written reports... The Commission was shocked to find that there were incidents where the police wanted clear and definite allegations against the anti-social elements in different localities to be dropped out while recording FIRs. Unless the police were hand in glove with the anti-social elements in their respective localities, they would not have behaved that way.”

**Sixth Report of the National Police Commission, March 1981**

“Several instances where police officers and policemen have shown an unmistakable bias against a particular community while dealing with communal situations” adding that the composition of the police is “heavily weighted in favour of the majority community.”

**National Integration Council,.....**

“The most disquieting feature in recent times is the loss of credibility of the police in the effective tackling of communal disturbances. The charge of partisanship was levelled against the PAC during the communal violence at Aligarh. A police force which cannot command the trust of all sections of the community is self-defeating. ... Police like the judiciary, must not only be impartially but must manifestly be so. We have to build up a police system without caste and communal prejudices affecting its role and performance, a system vigilant, alert and impartial, capable of exercising operational freedom in the ruthless suppression of communal riots.”

***Unfinished Innings, Madhav Godbole, former Union Home Secretary, 1991-93 discussing the pre-demolition(December 1992) phase***

“The UP police in general and the UP Provincial Armed Constabulary (UPPAC), in particular, had the reputation of being communal and biased. This was also one of our worries. According to some reports, the UP police deployed in Ayodhya had developed close links with sections of the VHP and local BJP workers. The possible reaction of such a force in the event of a sudden take-over of the Ayodhya complex by the central forces had also to be taken into account. Incidentally, during the communal holocaust following the demolition of the Babri *Masjid*, there were repeated complaints about the partisan behaviour of the UPPAC towards the majority community. The Home Minister had, during his visit to UP, publicly talked about the need for disbanding the UPPAC, but there had been such a strong protest that he hurriedly withdrew the statement, as was his wont in other similar situations. Disbanding of the PAC would not have been easy but its composition certainly required to be changed so as to make it multi-religious on the lines of the Rapid Action Force under the CRPF. The men of the UPPAC also needed to be re-trained to change their psychological orientation.”

*(From Who Is To Blame?, by Teesta Setalvad, Communalism Combat, March 1998)*

**Who casts the first stone?**

Much of the successfully circulated propaganda generated by Hindu majoritarian political organisations that has effectively absolved them of any blame or responsibility of inciting violence and bloodshed in the public consciousness has been on the debate of “who casts the first stone?” In riot after riot they have attempted to absolve themselves of any blame by projecting that it is the Muslims, who have in every communal conflagration cast the first stone, that is then followed by “justifiable retaliatory acts by Hindus in self-defence.”

Detailed investigations by most judicial commissions that have investigated communal riots since Independence have in their findings held the systematic poisoning of the atmosphere through provocative acts by Hindu communal organisations like the RSS, Jana Sangh, Shiv Sena, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and affiliates responsible for injecting the poison of communalism into the atmosphere that manoeuvres Muslims into apparently throwing the first stone.

**Justice Venugopal Commission of Inquiry into the Kanyakumari riots of 1982 (prolonged confrontation between Hindus and Christians)**

“The RSS adopts a militant and aggressive attitude and sets itself up as the champion of what it considers to be the rights of Hindus against minorities. It has taken upon itself to teach the minorities their place and if they are not willing to learn their place to teach them a lesson...The RSS methodology for provoking communal violence is

- a) rousing communal feelings in the majority community by the propaganda that Christians are not loyal citizens of this country;
- b) deepening the fear in the majority community by a clever propaganda that the population of the minorities is increasing and that of the Hindus decreasing;
- c) infiltrating into the administration and inducing the members of the civil and police services by adopting and developing communal attitudes;
- d) training young people of the majority community in the use of weapons like dagger, sword and spear;
- e) spreading rumours to widen the communal cleavage and deepen communal feelings by giving a communal colour to any trivial incident.”

**Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Disturbances at Jamshedpur, April 1979**

The evidence of government officials shows that after the communal riots of 1964, the Ram Navmi Festival, like other festivals became the occasion for greater vigilance and alertness from the law and order authorities; simultaneously the number of Ram Navmi processions kept on increasing till it had risen to 79 in the year 1979. (11.3)

In the run up to the communal build up before the elections prepared by the Intelligence Branch, Jamshedpur (dated March 23, 1979) there was special mention to the Divisional Conference of the RSS scheduled to be held on March 31 and April 1 in which among others the RSS sarsanghchala was to participate. (11.4) The dispute of the route of the procession (the administration after consideration had denied permission for the route to pass through Muslim areas) became sharp and agitated reactions from a group of persons calling themselves the Sanyukt Bajrang Bali Akhara Samiti who systematically distributed pamphlets to heighten communal feelings and had organisational links with the RSS. A call for the defiance of the authority and the administration when it refused permission for one of the routes led to a violent mob protesting and raising anti-Muslim slogan (11.11) and thereafter an incendiary leaflet doing the rounds of Jamshedpur (issued on behalf of the Sri Ramnavmi Kendriya Akhara Samiti) that is nothing short of an attempt to rouse the sentiments of Hindus to a high pitch and to distort events and

show some actions as attacks on Hindus that appear to be part of a design.(11.20) A survey had already established (Sarvekhshan se yeh saf ho gaya hai) that all policemen, havalgars, home guards etc. were at heart ready to give support to them (Hindu communalist organisations). This not only shows the extent of the planning that had been going on, but also how the people in general were being assured of protection from punitive action by the police, due to the alleged attitude of its subordinate formations.(11.20d) This analysis will leave no scope for doubt that the religious sentiments of Hindus were being raised to a high pitch, that an organisational link had been well established and a plan had been carefully evolved according to which not only some incidents had occurred but the future course of action had been laid down. And, a call for the defiance of the authority of the Administration, sweeping aside the objections raised by the Muslims, by forcibly taking out the procession of the Dimna Basti Akhara through the disputed route had been sounded, whatever the consequences that may follow. So the authorities were held to blame in advance for any unpleasant incident that may occur from the execution of the plan announced in the (above-mentioned) leaflet (11.21)

**Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Tellicherry Disturbance, 1971**  
**Justice Joseph Vithyathil :**

“In Tellicherry the Hindus and Muslims were living as brothers for centuries. The ‘Mopla riots’ did not affect the cordial relationship that existed between the two communities in Tellicherry. It was only after the RSS and the Jana Sangh set up their units and began activities in Tellicherry that there came a change in the situation. Their anti-Muslim propaganda, its reaction on the Muslims who rallied round their communal organisation, the Muslim league which championed their cause, and the communal tension that followed prepared the background for their disturbances. According to the RSS, until the Muslims give up their separatist attitude and join the mainstream of Indian National Life there will be no communal harmony in this country. Gurujji Golwalkar is said to have a very simple remedy for communal riots in India. He said: “Let Muslims look upon Rama as their hero and the communal problems will be over.” (Organiser, June 20, 1971). That is what the rioters who attacked the house of Kuhammad (P58W1) asked him to do. “If you want to save your life you should go round the house three times repeating the words ‘Rama, Rama’. Kuhammad did that. But you cannot expect the 70 million Muslims of India to do that as a condition for maintaining communal harmony in the country. This attitude of the of the RSS can only help to compel the Muslims to take shelter under their own communal organisation.”  
(point 249 of the report)

**Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Disturbances at Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and Mahad, 1970:**  
**Justice D.P. Madon**

If the events surrounding the Shiv Jayanti procession in Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and Mahad are looked at more closely, the start of the riot was not with the simplistic reaction of the procession being attacked by a group of Muslims. Tension, as the Commission of Inquiry report itself suggests, did not begin with the Shiv Jayanti celebrations of that year but began in 1964, the first year that the practice of publicly celebrating Shiv Jayanti had been started and had seen an annual build up in tensions since. This practice did not only introduce the poison of communalism in Bhiwandi indirectly, but through the years, the organisers did not make any attempt to disguise the real motive and anti-Muslim slogans and provocative floats were part of the celebrations from the very beginning, the first year. In spite of police opposition the organisers made every attempt to incite rioting by insisting on taking their procession through Muslim-dominated areas, throwing gulal (coloured powder) at Mosques and shouting incendiary slogans like “we will ground any one who opposes us into dust.” In his report to his superiors, the SP, Thane district has stated, “I found that a section of Hindu elements, particularly the RSS and some PSP men were bent upon creating mischief. Their idea in accompanying the procession was not so much to pay respects to the great Shivaji but to establish their right and if possible to provoke and humiliate Muslims.” (Vol,1, pg 165)

It was in 1970 that for the first time propaganda was carried on in villages exhorting villagers to participate in the Shiv Jayanti procession in Bhiwandi and this was the first year when villagers were mobilised to participate by the Rashtriya Utsav Mandal, an off-shoot of the Jana Sangh, and the Shiv Sena and the object of these organisations in bringing villagers to participate was “to intimidate the Muslims”; the participants carried lathis to which bhagwa flags were tied, banners of the three organisations, the Jana Sangh, the RUM and the SS were displayed by processionists. (pts 1,2,3 of the report).

The villagers shouted provocative, anti-Muslim slogans, behaved aggressively, threw gulal on the Moti Masjid at Bangad Galli and Hyderi mosque situated at the junction of Dargarh road and Sutar Alli aided by a passive police (see other box).

Slogans like “Galli galli mein shor hai, Sab Mussalman chor hai”, “Shiv Sena Zindabad”, Rashtriya Utsav Mandal Zindabad”, “Aala re aala Hindu aala, Gela re Gela, Laandya gela”. Two persons who were arrested by two policemen present were thereafter released after the Jana Sangh and SS leaders of the processions threatened the police with trial.

From the time that the two arrested Hindus were released, the Police lost all control over the situation. “It would have been much better had the officers remained firm and not released the two Hindus.”

The authorities erred in releasing the two processionists who were arrested for shouting unapproved and objectionable slogans just as the Shiv Jayanti procession of May 1970 was about to start instead of remaining firm and not being cowed down by the clamour of the other processionists and the threats held out by some local Hindu leaders, including Baliram Mahadeo More, the Shakhapramukh of the Bhiwandi branch of the Shiv Sena. (point 10)

### **Ahmedabad Riots, 1969**

Some writings in the Gujarati newspapers and most leaflets, handbills and appeals made in the name of the Dharm Raksha Samiti related the story of the stray incident of the hitting of the glass panel by a street-child, who happened to be a Muslim to the “historical” role of Muslims as destroyers of Hindu temples and dharma (religion). They also spread rumours of the rape and molestation of Hindu women, again an oft-repeated technique in many riots related again to the “historical” rapes of Hindu women by Muslim invaders, for which two acts Muslims had to be “taught a lesson”. On the walls of the large Muslim-owned hostel, Qamar hostel, wall-writings read, “Muslims Quit India.”

Ajit Bhattacharjee’s Report on Ahmedabad, Sampradayikta Virodhi Committee, New Delhi 1969 says that during the first three days of rioting which took toll of a thousand lives and property worth crores of rupees, the police failed to take firm action as a matter of policy. The Report reveals that responsible Congress leaders justified the delay in putting down the riots on political grounds -they feared that the political cost of coming down hard on rioters early might well have seen a Jana Sangh government in power in 1972 (the next election).

### **Ranchi Riots, August 1967**

Justice Raghubar Dayal Commission of Inquiry into the Riots in Ranchi, Sholapur, Malegaon, Ahmednagar, Sursand, Jaipur and Suchetpur, 1967

“In 1967, the riot apparently began on August 22, 1967 when a procession of Hindu boys protesting against the imposition of Urdu were stoned by some Muslims. But if we look at the events 10 days preceding August 22, the provocative slogans raised by the agitators and their conduct throws more light on the methods and motives of the agent provocateurs.”

In 1967, a United Front government came to power with the Jana Sangh as one of its constituents riding to power on a 33-point manifesto that included the promise to make Urdu the second official language of the state. On July 14 that year when a non-official bill to make Urdu the second official language was introduced in the state legislature, the Jana Sangh, some Congress members and a non-official organisation called the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan announced a state-wide agitation against the Bill from August 12 to 26. Various anti-Urdu programmes were launched during the anti-Urdu week including the distribution of anti-Urdu pamphlets and taking out processions raising anti-Urdu slogans. The language of the leaflets was most offensive and provocative and objectionable arguments posited against Urdu and Muslims. One such titled, "A Challenge to the Manhood of the Next Generation", Muslims were declared anti-national, and the new generation of students exhorted to stand up against them. These series of provocations had been openly carried out for ten days before the first stone, by a Muslim, was cast.

**(Who Is to Blame? By Teesta Setalvad, first published in Communalism Combat, March 1998)**

*This document was submitted to the Tribunal, in translation. It was in wide circulation in Gujarat in early 2000. Though it is an anonymous pamphlet, the fact that it echoes the functionings and public statements of individuals and organisations that are self-professed advocates of Hindutva requires that it be taken note of*

### How to bend & break the law

➤ ‘Now that we have our own government we (should take proper advantage of it) and should get our work done by it’

➤ ‘The main attack on Hindu Samaj is that our sisters of tender age are being abducted through inducements and allurements and then made to sign the marriage register after getting converted by force. Hundreds of Hindu girls are being made Muslims like this in Gujarat State.

➤ ‘Many times the girl does not agree. If habeas corpus petition is filed in the court and 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. The Hindu Samaj needs to resort to social opposition to find a solution to this and even resort to violent attacks if necessary’.

➤ ‘The police ran away, the magistrate and his staff hid under the table to save themselves. The Muslim boy and the Hindu girl were beaten to death by the people and their dead bodies were left in the court room.... since thousands were involved, no one was convicted. The incident of Halvad is etched in golden letters in the proud history of Hindu samaj. Revenge of this type is necessary against such abduction of our girls.’

➤ ‘There is not wrong if we abduct a (Hindu) woman and keep her under our custody. But the girl’s people should take the initiative.’

1. Hindu samaj (society) is being attacked repeatedly by non-religious elements in the country. They are supported by Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Arab countries. In the same way, Vanvasi and poor areas are being attacked by the missionaries on the basis of their economic strength.

2. The Hindu not only loves his religion but also is a lover of festivals. Centuries ago, these festivals had been arranged taking into consideration the birthdays of our great personalities and also the changes in the seasonal cycle.

In these celebrations we usually organise various public functions such as pooja, arati, mahaprasad, and varghodo. Each and every section of Hindu samaj (society) takes part in it. Our pilgrimage centres also are filled with devotees coming for darshan on certain fixed days. More than one crore devotees take a holy dip at the Triveni Sangam at Prayag. Recently we have seen that daily lakhs and lakhs of people make pilgrimage to have a holy dip at the Kumbh. Besides these, melas are being organized in small villages on chaitra purnima, vaisakhi, karthik purnima, Mondays of the month of sravan (June–July) and on Saturdays. Together with faith and darshan, people have some fun (on such occasions).

These melas have now become the targets of non-believers (*vidharmiyo*). These people cannot bear the rapid growth of the VHP, the Bajrang Dal, Durgavahini and to a certain extent political parties like the BJP. We and our institutions are being attacked by lethal weapons like bombs, AK 47 and rifles.

3. In our country, all the activities undertaken by the subversive forces are criminal in nature. Cases are filed about such criminal activities. But using money power they outsmart us. The police forces are also not enthusiastic to book them since they have close contacts with them. On such occasions we are not able to show proper awareness and smartness, and as a result the criminals find an open field for their activities. The court also is not able to do anything. Not only that, under one pretext or another, they tend to flourish more and more.

4. In the Vanvasi areas of Surat, Christian Fathers and missionaries are inflicting atrocities on our Vanvasi brothers and sisters. Threats, inflicting injuries and also incidents of sexual assaults on our sisters are taking place.

Since our samaj lacks sympathy and proper guidance, no complaints are filed of such incidents; and even if they are filed, they outsmart us with their money and influence. Children of our leaders and higher authorities are studying in their convent schools; because of that their institutions are able to exert an influence on our officials.

Recently the missionaries engineered an attack on the Sangh Shakha of Isanpur village in Mandvi Taluka. News has been reported of the sexual assault on Undha, a Vanvasi sister at Anandpur village of Ucchal Taluka, by Reverend Ramanand Baudh. The police did not take any action when a complaint was filed in the village and did not apprehending the accused. At last, when our activists of the area represented the matter, the police got scared and they were forced to arrest the Padri.

5. Hindu samaj has been repeatedly attacked in Surat City. The original inhabitants are very frightened and subdued but in this samaj there were some courageous individuals such as Naresh, Naicam, Bala and Devlo. The Muslims plotted to finish off these three. They engaged sharpshooters and within a short time, by eliminating them, they have tried to weaken the samaj.

In order to show on record that they have caught the culprits, the police rounded up some people and reported that they have caught the culprits. But it is our bad luck that the real assassins were caught only after several months. Our government was not able to keep these accused in the jail. In this context, we shall try to understand some of the legal implications, to see how we should remain alert as activists.

6. The Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) is one of the main legal provisions wherein the investigation of crime and provisions related to the duties of the police etc., are included.

7. There are two types of crimes. In cases where there is provision for punishment for two years or less, where the (accused) can be granted bail, the offence is called a bailable offence.

8. In cases wherein someone is caught in a crime that is a bailable offence, even if the police catches the offender they are bound to release him on bail. According to the CrPC, under article 436 (1), if the accused is charged with a bailable offence, and, if the police station in-charge detains him without warrant, or if he is produced in the court, or if he surrenders in the court and if he is under the custody of such a police officer, the accused can, at any stage during the court proceedings, be released on bail. If the police fails to release him after being granted bail, a complaint can be made about it to the magistrate.

9. Another distinction in law is between a cognizable offence and non-cognizable offence. Article 2(a) explains the distinction between the two kinds of offences. According to the distinction made under section 2 (a) of the CrPC, an offence is cognizable wherein the police officer can, according to the first schedule or following the law in force at that time, detain (the offender) without warrant.

10. In the language of the court, this difference is termed cognizable and non-cognizable offence. Two separate registers are maintained in the police station for recording these two types of offences. In cases where the police have no authority to book a person without warrant, which are non-cognizable offences such as minor cases of using offensive language (bad words), inflicting minor wounds in a scuffle, using threats (not threats of murder) etc., they are registered as non-cognizable or (N.C.) offences and are registered in the N.C. register.

In case the offence has caused ordinary injury only, the complaint is filed in the N.C. register and the victim sent to a government hospital for treatment and obtaining a certificate of injury. A note is then made in the N.C. register stating that the complainant is free to file a complaint in the court, if he wishes to do so. The signature of the complainant is affixed below the note.

11. Serious offenses are mostly cognizable crimes. Important provisions on how to register complaints in this regard are given in the CrPC, articles 154 and 156. They are as follows:

(a) The police station in-charge has to record or make someone else note down any information regarding crimes, which come under the purview of the police, even if complaints are given orally. The police has to read it out to the one who provides the information and make him sign the written information. The police official is also bound to write a summary of the complaint in the record book in the proper form prescribed by the state government;

(b) Under sub-section (1), one copy of the written document should be given immediately, free of charge, to the one who makes the complaint.

(c) If the police station in-charge refuses to record the complaint, the person who is thus refused can write the main points of the information and inform the superintendent of police (SP). If the SP is

convinced that the police officer has failed in his duty, then he can undertake a police inquiry himself as laid down according to the above rule or he can order his subordinate officer to do the same and such an officer will have all the powers of his superior in the relevant case. The powers of the police officer to investigate police cases under article 156:

(1) The officer in-charge of the police station, without the order of the magistrate, can investigate the cases of police officer in the areas falling under the local police station under the provisions of chapter 13;

(2) Citing the reason that he has no such power to investigate, no objection can be raised at any stage against the action of the police officer in such cases;

(3) Any magistrate having powers under article 190, can order a police inquiry as mentioned above.

12. Two important things are to be noted: (1) serious crimes that are cognizable and which are reported to the police station should be noted down immediately, and, (2) the complainant should be given a copy of the written complaint after affixing his signature to make sure of what is written in the complaint.

Our experience is that even after filing complaint about certain anti-social and criminal elements who are involved in crimes, police have not been recording their names even after their names were supplied. The police have been trying to save them because they receive hafta (regular bribes) from them and also they share their tiffin (lunch box). The persons who have complained can find out if the police has committed such irregularity when they read the copy of the complaint.

13. Another additional provision is that if the police officer either refuses to write down the complaint or has not written it as narrated, then the superintendent can be informed through the post. After we post a complaint, the crime will be registered and the necessary steps will be taken. But in this much time will be wasted and many times the objective of the complaint will not be fulfilled. So instead of sending it by post, sending a telegram will be better, even if we have to spend more money.

Actually, after preparing the telegram if it is shown to the police officer and he reads it, he will realise that the complainant will not bow down to any pressure from anyone. Wanting to save himself, he will, then register the complaint.

14. We are being attacked often. There are attempts to disrupt our festivals. Stones are pelted at the chariots of the Lord. Recently incidents have been reported of bombs being planted and sometimes firing from automatic weapons. Non-believers are threatening grass-root workers while they are engaged in social work. They have the right to defend themselves when such incidents occur, but along with it, it is essential to file a complaint about it immediately.

15. As mentioned above, according to CrPC, article 154, whatever complaint is accepted in the police station, a short summary of it is made in the station diary and then the complaint is recorded in the book as a First Information Report (FIR).

The first information that the police records of the crime is considered FIR. This can be done orally or sent through telephone, telegram, or in writing. This FIR plays a very important role in the judgment of the case in the court. In order to decide whether there is sufficient proof to convict the accused, information conveyed by the complainant about the facts immediately after the event took place is very important.

Many times, the details of the crime, names of witnesses, reason for the crime etc. are well-known to the complainant. But in spite of these details being known to him, they are not entered in the FIR. If, after the lapse of some hours or days, they are revealed during the police inquiry, it is argued that they are made up stories and the case becomes suspect at first glance itself, if the complainant is not able to give adequate explanations for the delay.

If the complainant is not able to give adequate explanation for delay, the accused take advantage of this. And even if the crime was committed in broad daylight, in the presence of hundreds of people, the accused is acquitted. So if we are involved in such cases, we have to be alert and in dictating the complaints the following care should be taken:

a) Complete details of the culprit including his address should be given. If you do not know these, then description of his face, his clothes, the sort of footwear he wore, the language he uses, the tone of voice in which he spoke should be given, as these details help the witnesses to identify the culprit when he is caught and paraded in front of them;

b) Details of the crime: how and which way the criminals came, whether single or in a group, what they were speaking, which way they went back and what they were speaking, etc;

c) Whether the criminals, while running away, have left any signs at the site of the crime or not. Many times in the scuffle, the criminals leave their footwear, clothes, and weapons. If they are injured, then drops of blood etc., should be reported;

d) Which criminal has inflicted wounds on which part of the body by which instruments on the persons who are of the party of the complainant;

e) The type of the vehicle in which the criminals came, such as scooter, motorcycle, rickshaw, car, tempo etc., and if possible its registration number, and if not, details of the colour and the make of the vehicle.

f) Actual details of the place where the crime took place and the evidence to prove the place of the crime. If, at the place of the crime there are drops of blood; if someone is injured there may be a pool of blood; or if there are signs of being hit by sharp instruments such as an axe or dhario (sickle like weapon) — these are enough proofs to show that it is in the location of the crime. You can also include details such as stones thrown at the location or fire balls.

g) Names of witnesses to the crime;

h) If the incident has taken place due to other events, then the causes for such, which are called ‘motives’, under the law;

i) Many times the attackers had pre-planned the assault and if so such details;

j) When we make a complaint, we need to be very well prepared; sometimes influential people commit crimes and they hide behind ordinary people like their servants as the culprits. On such occasions, if you are alert, you can give the names of those elements who are responsible, their names can be implicated in the case right from the beginning.

The law contains the word “chance-witness”. We understand that in any crime if there are no clear evidences then the accused will not be punished. Many times, incidents occur in such locations where even though there are witnesses to the crime, such as when a person is beaten up, they will not come forward to testify as witness.

If the accused is shrewd enough, then he will present himself together with his people to the police and declare that he is ready to provide evidence and thus provide witnesses.

These witnesses may be staying close to the place of the crime and can be very important witnesses. But since they are in collusion with the accused right from the beginning, they can change their stand in the court and as a result, the accused are let free even though they have committed the crime. We should not become victim to this conspiracy.

k) It is necessary to give the names of witnesses when we make the complaint. In some instances, when the witnesses may not be willing to stand witness, we should arrange to have our men as witnesses. Many times real witness also may give answers anyhow when cross-examined and, as a result, the reliability of the witness suffers. So when we give the name of the witness, first we have to make sure whether he will remain firm in the court and also whether he is reliable otherwise.

The accusation of “chance witness” is a very effective weapon in the hands of the accused. Many times, the witness does not live near the place of the crime and there is no reason for him to be present at that particular time and place. Such a person is called a “chance witness” in legal parlance. But if the enquiring officer as well as the lawyer pleading for the complainant are alert, the presence of such chance witness can be shown as natural.

l) In order to prove the crime, the one who gives the complaint should make sure of the names of the accused and the witnesses and they should be arranged if need be.

m) The person who makes the complaint feels that the police have noted down his complaint, and have arrested all the persons whose names were given and have done the proper procedure. After breaking down the (mosque) at Ayodhya, in the incidents that took place in Surat, the police had detained both Hindus and Muslims. But the state government was then ruled by Aurangzebs.

As a result, when the Hindus were caught in the cases, the police penal codes were applied to their crimes. Sometimes they were implicated in attempted cases of murder. These Hindus were implicated in serious types of crimes and were detained in the jails for months.

The police used to detain Muslims in equal numbers, some times even larger numbers. But the following morning when they were presented before the executive magistrate (*mamlatdar*), they all used to be granted bail and left free to go home. They used to twirl their mustaches if to challenge us that we can do no harm to them. All these were arranged by a Muslim minister and other senior leaders of the Congress Party. In such a situation we have to be alert. Now that we have our own government, we (should take proper advantage of it) and should get our work done by it.

16. Thus if we are attacked in any incident, we should take care to follow the precautions mentioned above and make a complaint immediately.

17. One of our volunteers learnt that a Christian Padri (pastor) had sexually assaulted a Vanvasi sister in the Uchhal police station area. But the police who were in collusion with the Christians deliberately did not apprehend the pastor. When the woman volunteer approached the concerned police authority, she was told that the culprit was under police custody and had been produced before the Vyara magistrate, and was detained in the Vyara jail. The woman volunteer was smart and fearless.

She asked the police officer to show her the pastor wherever he is. At last, under her pressure, the pastor was arrested after three days. I told her that the police misled her for two days. She said she suspected from the beginning that the police was telling her lies. The police will not behave in this manner if you note down and show him whatever he has said.

You should behave as if you are going to send it as a telegram to the chief minister, home minister and the district superintendent of police.

18. Recently, the Honourable (home minister) Haren Pandya has issued a very important circular. If the police is not ready to register a crime, the complaint can be made before an executive magistrate (*mamlatdar*). We believe that such complaints can be made to the sub-divisional magistrate (deputy collector) or even to the district magistrate (collector). According to the circular, it is the duty of the authorities to send the original complaint to the police and to instruct them to register the crime.

19. The main attack on Hindu Samaj is that our sisters of tender age are being abducted through inducements and allurements and then made to sign the marriage register after getting converted by force. Hundreds of Hindu girls are being made Muslims like this in Gujarat state.

20. There are three articles in law related to this. It is a crime to abduct any woman who is below 16 years of age from her guardian according to section 363 of Indian Penal Code (IPC). Forcing a woman against her will to prostitution or to marry is a crime under section 366 of IPC. It is a crime of sexual assault under section 367 of IPC to force a woman to have sex with her.

Even if a girl below 16 years has given her consent to sex, it is a crime of sexual assault. The age of the girl is important in cases of abduction and sexual assault. Most often it is not difficult to save girls who are not legally adults. But it is difficult to get back an adult women from the clutches of these (anti-social) elements.

Unfortunately, the girl's own people, such as mother, father, brother, or uncle, are not enthusiastic in this task. If the girl's party is prepared, then even by using threats and punishment and taking law into our hands and unmindful of any violence or untoward incident that may take place, we should take the girl into our custody. In a criminal case, if the girl is under our custody, even if the marriage is recorded, the man will not be given custody of the girl. In such situations, there is a provision to send the girl to the home for protection of women. There is not wrong if we abduct the woman and keep her under our custody. But the girl's people should take the initiative.

21. Many times the girl does not agree and if habeas corpus petition is filed in the 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. The Hindu samaj needs to resort to social opposition to find a solution to this and even resort to violent attacks if necessary.

In the case of Halvad village, a Muslim boy abducted a Brahmin girl. The girl was of age and the case was under investigation under the Halvad court. On the day of the court verdict, the Miyo (Muslim) was bold enough to move around the village with the Brahmin girl. The people got agitated because of this. Not five, twenty five, hundred, two hundred; more than thousand people pounced on them with pipes and iron rods in front of the court in session.

The police ran away, the magistrate and his staff hid under the table to save themselves. The Muslim boy and the Hindu girl were beaten to death by the people and their dead bodies were left in the court room. A case of murder was registered and many people were arrested. The matter was recorded in the court and the magistrate also gave his statement. But since thousands were involved, no one was convicted. The incident of Halvad is etched in golden letters in the proud history of Hindu samaj.

Revenge of this type is necessary against such abduction of our girls.

22. In the Vanvasi areas, attempts are being made to implicate our Vanvasi brothers and sisters, who are not lured by the inducements offered by the missionaries, in legal clutches. We should take revenge for this also.

In the complaints we file to take revenge, we should implicate the top authorities of the mission and if possible foreign missionaries also. They may not be convicted in the court in the end, but they should be made to go up and down the court for months on end and thus their having to undergo harassment is also a type of punishment.

23. The cause of cow protection is also important for us. After Gitaben was murdered, there was an amendment made to the Bombay Cow Protection Act of 1954 and a complete ban on cow slaughter was imposed. But taking into consideration the judgement of the Supreme Court in a case of similar nature in Madhya Pradesh, the Honourable Gujarat High Court has judged that the amendment is constitutional. In actual fact, there is a need to amend the Constitution for this.

Our Constitution is framed by vain secularists and not by the patriots who were inspired by Hindutva. Our people are fooled by saying that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his supporters have made provisions in the Constitution against cow slaughter. In article 48 of our Constitution, dealing with the provisions for the scientific development of agriculture and animal husbandry in order to improve the stock of cow breeds, provision is made to prohibit slaughter of weak cows and their progeny.

According to the cow protection law, before cattle slaughter, it is necessary to obtain a certificate from the proper authority stating that the cattle is fit to be slaughtered. These authorities collude with the agents and collaborate in the slaughter of cattle that is taking place daily.

We should keep a strict watch on the daily activities of such officers. Nagarpalikas, municipal corporations, zilla panchayats and even the government are all ours. Strict action should be taken against these officers, through all these institutions. It is prohibited to slaughter young cows and any female progeny of the cow which is useful in farming or any other type of use or if it can yield milk or can give birth to a calf. Is this law in force?

24. Even if the cow protection law is enforced completely, cow slaughter can be stopped. This year before Bakri Id and on the day itself, we undertook many confrontations and as a result we were able to save the lives of thousands of gaimathas (cow-mother goddesses). But for this we need to prepare at least two months in advance and organize the Hindu samaj or a grand scale; then only can we achieve some result.

Cattle are exported by truck and for this transport permission is needed. The shifting of cattle should be done under the purview of the law to prevent cruelty to cows. Such legal provisions exist. Where the transfer of cattle takes place, those Hindu brothers who are involved in this business should be made to understand and made to stop this business. We should make special efforts on Bakri Id days by making true or false complaints related to cow slaughter. We can do much work by building good relationship with the police and getting their collaboration.

25. The provisions of the law are not such that can be explained by writing on paper. It demands careful study of the day-to-day amendments of the law and judgments in the court etc. In reality, our main task is to enforce the existing law through the government authorities and the police.

***(Communalism Combat has got access to a secret document from Gujarat that is a potent, inflammatory, step-by-step guide for supporters of Hindutva on how to bend the law, when convenient, and break it, whenever necessary. This was reproduced in the journal in April 2000 and submitted to the Trbinal by the journal's co-editor Teesta Setalvad on May 2, 2002 )***

*This was submitted to the Tribunal on May 2, 2002*

This is from an English publication of the RSS called SEVA-DISHA. It announces the close connections between the RSS and the VHP

The workers of the RSS and inspired organizations started several seva activities and programmes decades ago, by establishing independent organisations. While many of them were started in a modest, miniscule capsule, they contained the seeds to eventually grow into, "MOVEMENTS". Many of these have spread their work in more than one Prant.

The major Samsthas listed below have brought under their umbrella, a plethora of Samsthas (institution). They have expanded their work in several social service areas, through numerous activities & programmes. That is why they are aptly termed as, "MATRU-SAMSTHAS".

Quite a few of these have etched their names on the World map! No wonder then, that our leading social workers are invited to formulate and guide state level policies. Many act as consultants in their respective fields. Many of our workers have received prestigious awards.

But the most significant achievement of such Matru-Samsthas is that they have been successful in generating their own human & financial resources; their workers and in several respects have become self-dependent. They are Non-Govt. Voluntary Organisations in the truest sense of the term.

However, all the Matru-Samsthas could not be included in the list below. Indeed there are hundreds of other Matru-Samsthas! Judging by the volume of their work, the human & financial resources they have succeeded in mobilising, they are not small scale organizations at all! However, their geographical coverage, at present, stands limited. Indeed the number of such Matru-Samsthas is quite substantial, as would be clear from column no. 9 of Table No. 2.

We feel that this phenomenal growth of such, "local level", so called small-scale Matru-samsthas is a very desirable healthy trend. This trend should be encouraged in future. Let us hope that many of these would graduate as major Matru-Samsthas in the near future!

<b>Name</b>	<b>Address of Head Office</b>	<b>Telephone</b>
Seva Vibhag, RSS	"Shakti", M.V.Naidu Street Panchavati, Chetput Madras Pin 600031	1044-7775014 044-8266243
Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram	Chanchal Smruti, 3 <sup>rd</sup> Floor, G.D Ambedkar Marg, Naigaon, Mumbai Pin: 400031	022-4119615
Vishwa Hindu Parishad	36, Piroja Manision, Grant Road (East), Mumbai Pin-400007	022-3094306
Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad	3, Marble Arch, Senapati Bapat Marg, Mahim Pin-400016	022-4306321
Bhartiya Majdoor Sangha	Vishwakarma Bhavan, 185, Shaniwar Peth Pune, Pin-411030	0212-452020
Vidya Bharati	Saraswati Nivas, Nirala Nagar, Lucknow Pin-226020	0522-73695
Deen Dayal Shod Samsthan	7-E, Swamy Ramtirth Nagar, Ranji Jhansi Road, New Delhi, Pin : 110055	011-526735

*From the RSS publication Seva Disha submitted to the Tribunal by an expert witness*

*These excerpts from writings of RSS Ideologues were submitted to the Tribunal by a witness*

**Excerpts from MS Golwalkar, *We And Our Nationhood defined, 1939***

*“German national pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep the purity of the nation and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races – the Jews. National pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has 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 in Hindustan to learn and profit by.....”*

From this standpoint sanctioned by the experience of shrewd old nations, the non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and revere Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but the glorification of the Hindu nation i.e. they must not only give up their attitude of intolerance and ingratitude towards this land and its age-old traditions, but also cultivate the positive attitude of love and devotion instead; in one word, they must cease to be foreigners or may 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. “

*This article was published in The Hindustan Times , February 18, 2000, based on a research paper The Fascist Connection. Academic Marzia Casolari, “Hindutva’s Foreign Tie-up in the 1930s. Archival Evidence”, published in the Economic and Political Weekly, January 22, 2000.*

It has provided evidence of fascist influence on the organisations and leaders of Hindu nationalism. These influences, she demonstrates, were the result of direct contact between Hindu nationalists and members of the Italian fascist state. Although the organisational structure of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was apparently independently conceived by Keshav Baliram Hegdewar in 1925, the fascist influence on its growth and emergence through the 1930s and the 1940s, has been ably demonstrated by Casolari.

It might be argued that the fascist influence on the Hindutva forces was a passing phenomenon, a mere flirtation. These links then would have nothing to do with the politics of the Hindutva organisations today. One way of testing this hypothesis would be to examine whether the political and social concerns of the Hindutva forces today are any different from those in the 1930s and whether they are sought to be resolved any differently.

Among other things, this research shows that B. S. Moonje, a Hindu nationalist leader, who was a friend and mentor of Hegdewar and in whose house Hegdewar was brought up, met Mussolini and “played a crucial role in moulding the RSS along Italian (fascist) lines.” In his diaries, writings and speeches, Moonje is eloquent about his Italian experience of meeting Mussolini in Palazzo Venezia in Rome on March 19, 1931, his visits in Rome to the Military College, the Fascist Academy of Physical Education and the fascist youth organisations Balilla and Avanguardisti.

Moonje felt that “The idea of fascism vividly brings out the concept of unity amongst people ... India and particularly Hindu India need some such institution for the military regeneration of the Hindus....Our institution of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh of Nagpur under Hegdewar is of this kind, though quite independently conceived. “

Extending the activities of the RSS and the setting up of a military school, the proposed Bhonsle Military School, were at the center of Moonje’s plans. Casolari records that Hegdewar and Moonje organized meetings to discuss Mussolini, fascism and its relevance to militarizing Hindus. Her argument is that even if the RSS was independently conceived, the contact with Italian fascism affected its organization and imbued it with a sharper functional character.

This is what <http://www.hinduunity.org/bajrangdal.html#formation> says about the formation of the Bajrang Dal

## BAJRANG DAL

### Formation of Bajrang Dal

Vishva Hindu Parishad decided to start 'Ram-Janaki' *Rath*yatra for awakening the society on October 1, 1984. There was nothing against other religions but certain anti-Hindu and anti-social elements threatened with dire consequences if Vishva Hindu Parishad took this *Yatra*. Uttar Pradesh Government, in spite of making sure that those elements could not disrupt our *Rath Yatra*, refused to give protection to *Rath* and the participants. The Holy saints made a call to the Youths to protect '*Rath*'. Hundreds of Youth gathered in Ayodhya. They performed their duty very well. Thus Bajrang Dal was formed with a temporary and localised objective of awakening youth of U.P., and get their involvement in Ram *Janma Bhoomi* Movement. The results of formation of Bajrang Dal were amazing. Most of the young men were proud in getting themselves attached with Bajrang Dal. In 1986, the VHP decided to form Bajrang Dal in other states and very soon Bajrang Dal was formed in other states too, as its youth wing. The role of Bajrang Dal in Hindu Awakening is not a secret. It successfully got the Hindu Youth involved in Ram *Janma Bhoomi* movement. It is evident from the tremendous success of various programmes, i.e., *Shila Poojan*, *Ram Jyoti Yatra*, *Kar Seva* of 1990 and *Kar Seva* of 1992.

### Bajrang Dal and Other Religions

Now, Bajrang Dal has its units in all the states in India. More than 5 Lakh active workers of Bajrang Dal are devoted to the service of Mother India and Hindu *Dharma*. Their motto is "*Seva, Suraksha, Sanskar*" (Service, Security, and Embellishment). Bajrang Dal has proved as a security ring of Hindu Society. Whenever there is an attack on Hindu Society, Faith and Religion, the workers of Bajrang Dal come forward for their rescue. Hindu Society and its faith are being kicked and insulted by various forces for the last fourteen hundred years. Demolitions of more than 3,000 temples, fraudulent or forceful conversion of crores of Hindus were the main tactics of these forces. Bajrang Dal endeavors to put up resistance by democratic means against these forces. It is however observed that of late the anti-Hindu forces are increasingly getting involved in a hate campaign against Bajrang Dal to malign its image. Bajrang Dal is not against any religion. It acknowledges respecting the faith of other people, but expects and asserts for similar respect of the Hindu Sentiments. As a Hindu, Bajrang Dal believes in validity of All Religions and Respect for all human beings, irrespective of caste, colour, and religion (*Aatmasvat Sarva Bhuteshu*). For this purpose Bajrang Dal has undertaken various public-awakening campaigns. In any case, it does not believe in violence, and any unlawful activity.

### Cow Protection Agitation

Hindus respect cow as their sacred mother. But some people in *Bharat*, unfortunately, claim slaughter of cow as a part of their religious rituals without caring for the sentiments of their Hindu brethren, rather to hurt their feelings. Most of the states in India have laws prohibiting cow slaughter and Supreme Court too has declared that cow slaughter can not be the religious right of any religion. Even then this crime is freely committed simply to hurt Hindu feelings. Bajrang Dal saved more than 1,50,000 cows in the year 1996-97. Thus Bajrangis are in fact trying to help respective State Governments in the implementation of their Cow Protection Laws, as awakened citizens of democratic *Bharat*. Bajrang Dal strongly opposes those who violate the laws of land by slaughtering cow.

### Amar Nath Pilgrimage

Our ancient pilgrimage "*Amar Nath Yatra*" was on the verge of closure because of threatening from Kashmiri Islamic Jihad terrorist. Hindu pilgrims were attacked many times. But no one was daring to speak against those militants. In this situation, Bajrang Dal made a call to send 21,000 workers on the

*Yatra*. But more than 50,000 workers reached Jammu for this *Yatra*. The Govt. had to make special arrangement for this *Yatra* and the militants were pushed back. Our endeavors revived the prestige of our Holy Amar Nath pilgrimage, and as courageous Citizens of *Bharat* the Bajrangis challenged the Islamic Terrorism.

### **Bajrang Dal and Service to Down Trodden**

Bajrang Dal has mobilised thousands of youth of the country for social service activities for the benefit of our Scheduled Tribes and Schedule Castes brethren. We have enthused idealism in the youth of the country to devote their life in the service of the down trodden. Bajrang Dal has been launching character building campaign too. Hundreds of young men are devoting their life as whole-timers for the service of down trodden countrymen and women. In the field of social service, Bajrang Dal workers are also running various free coaching centres and *Sanskar Kendras*. Bajrang Dal also helps the organisers of several social and religious functions by providing selfless workers to take the responsibility of arrangement of their functions.

**Bajrang Dal's LATEST NEWS**

**Bajrang Dal activists take up arms, June 13th, 2001**

**By Biswajeet Banerjee**

*The Times of India News Service*

LUCKNOW: Guns boom periodically at Sarojini Nagar here. Bajrang Dal workers, about 100 of them, are being given firearms training. These sessions, according to Bajrang Dal and VHP leaders, are for galvanising the public for construction of the Ram temple.

“We are preparing these able-bodied persons to fight any eventuality. With the ISI spreading its tentacles, these people are being trained to challenge the anti-Hindu forces,” said Ved Prakash Sachchan, joint convener of the state unit of the Bajrang Dal. Majority of trainees camping in Lucknow for the last three days are students between 20 and 25. They have been drawn from 22 districts of Uttar Pradesh. Their instructor is Sardar Bhupendra Singh of Kanpur.

“It is not the gun that matters, but self-confidence. Anyone who knows how to handle an airgun can easily operate a rifle,” says Awadh Bihari Mishra, convener of the Dal’s state unit.

Besides firearms training, Bajrang Dal activists are taught martial arts, including judo and karate.

“They are also taught how to use a knife to defend oneself from being knifed,” said the convener.

These camps are being held with an eye on Ayodhya, contend the convenors. “We have to create the same euphoria which existed when the Babri Masjid was demolished,” said Hari Dixit, a VHP leader.

Vikas Babu Mishra, a trainee from Unnao, says the training has taught him “how to beat those who do not respect Hinduism”. Sadhu Ram, his friend, adds: “Now, we are ready to face any eventuality.”

These camps, which have almost become a routine affair, were first held in Ayodhya last June. This time, the training camp for the Awadh region is being held in Lucknow. Women will be trained in firearms by the Durga Vahini, an offshoot of the VHP, in Kanpur from June 24.

Meanwhile, the Bajrang Dal has chalked out an elaborate training programme for Hindu youth. In August, about 50,000 Bajrang Dal workers, drawn from all over the state, will be taught *trishul* warfare.

“We have a target of enrolling over two lakh Hindus as members by the end of next June,” says Sachchan.