IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA CRIMINAL APPELLATE JURISDICTION SPECIAL LEAVE PETITION (CRIMINAL) NO. 34207 OF 2018

IN THE MATTER OF:

Zakia Ahsan Jafri & Anr.

PETITIONERS

VERSUS

State of Gujarat & Anr.

RESPONDENTS

CONVENIENCE COMPILATION ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

VOLUME IV

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ADVOCATE-ON-RECORD FOR THE PETITIONERS: MS. APARNA BHAT

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ISSUES NOT DEALT WITH BY THE MAGISTRATE AND THE GUJARAT HIGH COURT (CONTD.)

A. Hate speech as part and parcel of incitement to targeted violence and a systemic conspiracy

- The Original Complaint by Zakia Ahsan Jafri dated 08.06.2002 and subsequently the Protest Petition dated 15.04.2013 before the Learned Magistrate had highlighted instances of widespread hate speeches and hate writings by prominent persons and their organisations and how the State Government s Home Department turned a blind eye towards various State Intelligence Bureau (SIB) reports for prosecuting certain office bearers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and publishing houses for propagating an incendiary rhetoric [Complaint dated 08.06.2008 @ Pages 6 - 73 of Volume III of the SC Record].
- 2. Allowing hate speech unchecked and unprosecuted was also part of the furtherance of a pre-hatched conspiracy to ensure that a large body of armed and aggressive groups of people supporters take to the streets with blood in their minds to seek revenge for the tragic killings at Godhra.

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Messages of the SIB on 27.02.2002 also record sloganeering by members after the tragic Godhra mass arson took place. Records of the special investigation carried out of this complaint reveal a serious concern at top levels of the police administration that such instances of inciteful speech need to be prosecuted under the law. (*These have been annexed and analysed in Volume II of the Convenience Compilation at E-Q in the Note and at Pages 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, 16-17*)

- 3. However, it appears clear that the State Government abandoned its legal and constitutional duties in this regard. The deleterious impact of hate speech in Gujarat has been adversely commented upon in the following:
 - a. Report (Interim) and Final of the National Human Rights Commission dated 01.04.2002 & July 2002 respectively [@ Volume X of the SC Record]
 - b. Report of the National Minorities Commission
 - c. Report of the Editors Guild of India
 - d. Report of the Concerned Citizens Tribunal, Gujarat 2002 (Role of the Media)
 - e. Report of the State Intelligence Bureau, Gujarat, April 2002
- 4. Hate speech in the present case falls under the following heads:
 - a. Statements of prominent political leaders on before and after 27.02.2002
 - b. Regional (vernacular) media / press published in Gujarat
 - c. Pamphlets with incendiary content, identified / known and anonymous both issued by right wing organisations obtained from all over the state of Gujarat

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- 5. The widespread hate speech has been restrictedly investigated as an independent head by the Special Investigation Team (SIT) and has been summarily brushed off in the Closure Report.
- 6. Similarly, the Magistrate s order dated 26.12.2013 does not address the detailed submissions in the Original Complaint and Protest Petition on the incendiary instances of widespread hate speech as part and parcel of a conspiracy to unleash targeted violence against a section of Indians.
- 7. The impugned order of both the Learned Magistrate and the Hon ble Gujarat High Court do not deal with the various hate speeches mentioned in the Protest Petition. The Petitioners state that the SIT investigation also failed to consider the aforesaid aspects of hate speech [Original Complaint @ Page 65 Volume III of the SC Record].
- 8. This shows total non-application of mind and failure to exercise jurisdiction, as the contents (which are not disputed) do constitute hate speech.

9. On and before 27.02.2002:

a. It is not a coincidence that the National Human Rights Commission, the Editors Guild of India and the State Intelligence Bureau, Gujarat s SIB Messages, ADGP (Int.) R.B. Sreekumar s reports and messages of several other SIB officials record the existence of incendiary pamphlets in their multiplicities all over the State of Gujarat in all probability even before the Godhra incident on 27.02.2002. Though a few of these pamphlets were anonymous, several were authored and published officially by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP). Similar or the same pamphlets have been flagged by the Concerned Citizens Tribunal as well [@ Page 779 Volume XIII of the SC Record]. The Concerned Citizens Tribunal-Gujarat 2002 was headed by Justice V.R. Krishna lyer (former Supreme Court Judge), Justice PB Sawant (former

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Supreme Court Judge) and Justice Hosbet Suresh (former Bombay High Court Judge).

- b. It is not a coincidence but an essential ingredient of the same conspiracy that the same organization i.e. VHP, authored and distributed the pamphlets and the leaders of the same organization made incendiary and provocative speeches, even "claiming credit" for the post-Godhra reprisal violence. There were also media reports of swords, *trishuls* and arms distribution being claimed by members of the VHP as late as April 2002. What is shocking is that despite specific recommendations and sanctions for prosecution, such prosecution did not take place.
- c. Specifically, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) headed by a former Chief Justice of this Hon ble Court, J.S. Verma had, in its Interim Report of April 2002 recommended inter alia that not only such instances be firmly dealt with in accordance with the law but that the burden of proof be shifted on such persons to explain or contradict such statements [@ Page 21 Volume X of the SC Record].
- d. Similarly, the Editor s Guild of India had come down heavily on the widespread hate in the media. This body of recognised media professionals in its section on Recommendations of the Gujarat 2002 report (Rights and Wrongs) observes the need for greater circumspection by the media in blindly reporting speeches of persons out to exploit the reach of mass media through the use of provocative and inciteful speech in an image building exercise while breaking the law. The Editor s Guild of India in its report also comments on certain Gujarati newspapers as being serial offenders during this critical period in February May 2002 and urged that a high level 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 action to be taken. The report comments on the fact that D.D. Tuteja, then Commissioner of Police, Vadodara did, in fact, seek penal action against a leading Gujarati daily. However, D.D. Tuteja s superiors did nothing. The Editor s Guild also concurs with the NHRC s recommendation.

10. Hate speech around the Godhra incident

On 28.02.2002, the Ahmedabad police and administration, а. despite the volatile situation in the city and State after the tragic Godhra mass arson the day before, and when violence had broken out all over the State of Gujarat already, not only permitted (Acharya) Giriraj Kishore, Vice President of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) entry into the city after he arrived at the Ahmedabad airport, but gave him police escort too. This VHP functionary then proceeded and accompanied crowds which had assembled at the Sola Civil Hospital before 11:00 A.M. from where he was allowed to move to the funeral processions where he reportedly spoke to media persons and was present there for 10-15 minutes. He made provocative statements there that are extensively narrated in the Protest Petition and also reported by media portals. The fact that this VHP functionary had been giving such provocative statements from the day after the Godhra incident and was still allowed entry into Ahmedabad and to address an already agitated and mobilised crowd during the cremations speaks poorly of the city police administration. The comments by Giriraj Kishore wherein he makes provocative remarks of the psyche of the community that attacked the kar sevaks at Godhra were clearly designed to condone reprisal violence. [Protest Petition @ Para 168 - 173, Page 283 - 284, Vol IV of the SC Record]

b. Other senior functionaries of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad like its International General Secretary Dr. Praveen Togadia (A-20) named in the Original Complaint dated 08.06.2002 [@ Page 64 Volume III of the SC Record] too have been on record during this period making a series of hate speeches that constitute criminal offences [@ Para 169 of the Protest Petition - Volume IV of the SC Record]. Praveen Togadia, quoting from journalist Vir Sanghvi states that it is clear there are Muslim mob murders on ... and that Hindus must react to this "Jihadi" activity since Hindus are unarmed.

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- c. Then Minister of State (MOS) for Home, Gujarat, Gordhan Zadaphiya, also named in the Original Complaint dated 08.06.2002 makes a similarly incendiary speech reported extensively in the electronic media [@ Para 172 of the Protest Petition Volume IV of the SC Record]. He describes the Godhra arson as a pre-planned and sinister inhuman act. Coming from an elected official holding a constitutional position, this had an impact down the line on the law and order machinery.
- d. In a similar, organised and coordinated vein, Dr. Jaideep Patel, Joint Secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (Gujarat) and also named in the Original Complaint dated 08.06.2002 justified the mob violence post Godhra (27.02.2002) stating that in every police station area mobs of 10,000 - 15,000 persons did come out and defied the police to arrest them [Para 173 @ Page 285-286 of the Protest Petition - Volume IV Of the SC Record].
- e. Another evidence or ingredient of Conspiracy is that soon after the tragedy at Godhra not only were the bodies of the victims were handed over to a VHP functionary, Jaideep Patel and mobs allow to

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gather at 4 a.m. at Sola Civil Hospital creating a volatile situation which warrants heavy arrangements of the law and order machinery, a message a was given to provide police escort to Giriraj Kishore, Vice President of VHP who arrived at the Ahmedabad airport. The police apparently were not in a position to maintain basic law and order in the state and this action reflects abandonment of all legal and Constitutional duties by the government and its functionaries. Statements made by Acharya Giriraj Kishore are at Para 171 at Page 284, Volume IV of the SLP paper book. Processions were taken to Gota Crematoirum which is at a distance of three kilometres from Sola Civil Hospital and also Hatkeshwar Crematorium which is 18-20 kilometres away. These processions were taken through the city with aggressive crowds accompanying them shouting provocative slogans. In fact, the procession that began at 10.30 hours concluded only at 1830 hours.

11. Vernacular Press (Sandesh Newspaper etc)

a. While the incendiary and inciteful speeches made by leaders largely belonging to organisations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad did widespread damage in terms of promoting an atmosphere that was threatening for the minorities, and some elected officials of the Gujarat government also joined in, what made matters worse in a sense was how sections of the mass circulating newspapers also broke all Press Council of India Codes and Media Ethics to indulge in their own brand of brazenly untruthful and provocative coverage. The Protest Petition details these headlines in the Sandesh newspaper over several days and weeks [Para 233-238 @ Pages 306 - 311, Volume IV of the SC Record].



- b.These include blatantly false reporting on 28.02.2002 of the kind that claimed that 15 Hindu women dragged away from the railway compartment by a fanatic mob" at Godhra to selective reporting of attacks only on the majority community. The Gujarat police denied that any such incident took place. Worse still, when mob attacks were reported at all, this newspaper did not mention the identity when the victim belonged to the minority community.
- c. On 01.03.2002, Sandesh falsely reported again with a front page prominent heading that dead bodies of the kidnapped young women from Sabarmati Express, have been recovered with their breasts chopped off when in fact no such incident took place. The police denial of any such incident finds no mention in the report.
- d. Sandesh newspaper stated that Gujarat is aflame because of Muslim fundamentalists taking its lies and canards to the extent of falsely reporting about former parliamentarian Ahsan Jafri and the Gulberg incident. An exhaustive list of such newspaper headlines is mentioned in the Protest Petition *[List of Sandesh s inflammatory articles are listed in Para 233 - 238 of Protest Petition]*.
- e. Incidentally, the Editor s Guild Report, extensively relied upon by the Petitioner both before the Learned Magistrate and before the Hon ble Gujarat High Court, has been simply not dealt with when it comes to widespread hate speech.
- f. Then Commissioner of Police, D.D. Tuteja, had recommended action against Sandesh newspaper in 2002.

- g. IPS officer Rahul Sharma, then SP, Bhavnagar had, in March 2002, sought permission to register a criminal case against the Sandesh under the provisions of Rule 53(10) of the Gujarat Police Manual Volume III.
- h. State Intelligence Bureau (SIB), Gujarat, had through DCP (Int.),
 P. Upadhaya (communication dated 01.04.2002) recommended grant of sanction for the prosecution of Sandesh as recommended by Rahul Sharma.
- i. The State Intelligence Bureau (SIB), Gujarat in 2002 took note of inflammatory pamphlets distributed by VHP in Gujarat and in Vadodara city. This logically should have led to action by the administration and government since senior level officers on the field and in the SIB were recommending action. This, however, did not happen.
- j. Instead of taking action against Sandesh newspaper, Editor s Guild Report of 2002 reveals that the high functionaries in the Gujarat government wrote congratulatory letters to Sandesh and other newspapers for certain inflammatory writing.

12. VHP pamphlets:

- a. There is widespread concern and note of the distribution of pamphlets, authored / published and anonymous that have incendiary and provocative content. Some or many of these have been authored and published by the Vishwa Hindu Parisdhad (VHP).
- b. ADGP (Int.), R.B. Sreekumar, on 16.04.2002, wrote a letter to DGP (Copy to ACS - Home) recommending legal action against VHP



office bearers for publishing pamphlets containing elements of communal instigation. He recommended 45 pages of incendiary pamphlets sourced by the SIB from different parts of the state for prosecution of the organisation for violation of the law and incitement to violence. Sreekumar s Statement before SIT details this and his register shows that the DGP advised against taking any action against vernacular media but the SIT did not investigate these pamphlets.

- c. The Concerned Citizens Tribunal, Crimes Against Humanity, Gujarat 2002 headed by Justices V.R. Krishna Iyer, P.B. Sawant and Hosbet Suresh makes specific mention of some of these pamphlets and has published translations of these in English..
- **d.** In view of the systemic outbreak of violence, the Petitioners argue that allowing widespread hate speech and writing to spread unchecked was part of the conspiracy in Gujarat in 2002. For example, one such Pamphlet published by one Chinubhai Patel, Vishwa Hindu Parishad state leader with address Vishwa Hindu Parishad Office, Vanikar Smarak Bhavan, 11, Mahalakshmi Society, Mahalakshmi Cross Roads, Paldi. Karnavati is specifically vilifying towards Islam and Muslims and calls for a social and economic boycott of Muslims. Chinubhai Patel was conspicuously not examined by the Special Investigation team (SIT) despite evidence available on record for the widespread distribution of such pamphlets and statements of several persons being recorded that specifically referred to these incendiary pamphlets. The Learned Magistrate and the Gujarat High Court have also not dealt with these offences.
- e. The Petitioners in the Protest Petition not only flagged the Extensive documents of such Incendiary Pamphlets from the

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Investigation Record, but found that the existence and widespread distribution of such pamphlets all over Gujarat were mentioned in detail in the Report of the Editor s Guild of India, wherein one Chinubhai Patel, Treasurer of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) has been quoted as having admitted authorship of one of these to the Indian Express. The SIT has simply not investigated the issue and the Magistrate has ignored this lapse as well. Conspicuously hate speech and writing acknowledged to provoke violence from the majority and minority was completely ignored by the Ld Magistrate and the High Court.

In the extract from its report, annexed here, the Editor s Guild states that

- A pernicious piece of hate propaganda, (i) officially disseminated by the VHP, calls for the economic boycott of Muslims. This was admitted to the Mr Indian Express by Chinubhai Patel, the Parishad's Gujarat treasurer. (See Annexure 18). A more recent four page pamphlet circulating in Ahmedabad by this same organisation carries an appeal for funds to provide security for Hindus. It reads: Your life is in danger, you can be murdered any time... We are collecting funds for securing the interests of the Hindus...there are thousands of more Godhra carnages being planned". Mr Chinubhai Patel has confirmed that these pamphlets are in circulation. (Times of India, April 26, 2002).
- (ii) The Express, March 24 (Delhi edition) reports the police seizure of a pamphlet urging Hindus

to create a "jagrut Hindu rashtra", allegedly circulated by the Bajrang Dal president. Hastimal, who is said to have been arrested. The theme: "Don't purchase anything from Muslim shops, don't travel in their vehicles or visit their garages; don't watch films which feature Muslim stars. In this way we can break their financial backbone". The same news item says that the police seized a pamphlet in tribaldominated Banswara, exhorting Hindus to hang a saffron flag outside their homes to help identification during Moharram.

- (iii) A Hindi leaflet attributed to the Bharat Bachao Sangh, Allahabad and said to have been found in Coach No S-6 of the Sabarmati Express was also given to us. (Annexure 20).
- (iv) Gruesome coloured photographs depicting the charred and mutilated remains of Sabarmati Express victims are reportedly being circulated at meetings, accompanied by fiery speeches.
 (Hindustan Times, April 9). The Guild Team was officially given a set of such photographs with provocative captions at the VHP office. This evoked extreme horror and disgust.
- (v) In Ahmedabad we were told of the seizure a booklet titled "In Defence of Hindus" purporting to be a "riot manual" from Nagpur containing a list of do-it-yourself brutalities.
- (vi) Corresponding reports have appeared of pamphlets allegedly circulated by Muslims.One of these, titled "Give Challenge to Open

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Terrorism by Covert Terrorism", is said to have been distributed at the Shah Alam refugee camp in Ahmedabad, a charge denied by organisers of the camp.

13. In his statement before the SIT, Ashok Narayan said that the government was non-committal in taking action against hate speech:

"Question (by Malhotra): Please see a letter dated 16-4-2002 addressed to the DGP with a copy to you regarding the two pamphlets in circulations in large number in Gujarat for which action was proposed u/s 153-A & 153-B IPC after taking legal opinion from the Law Department. What action was taken on this communication?"

"Answer: The issues raised by ADG (Int.) in this letter were discussed with the DGP. However, I don't recollect any action taken thereon. However, it may be added here that several such pamphlets were brought to the notice of DGP, myself and Chief Secretary but in such cases the name of the printer/publisher had not been mentioned. Accordingly, we had impressed upon the police to trace out the culprits responsible for these pamphlets but unfortunately no material could be collected in this regard, with the result no action would be taken in this regard.

14. The Magistrate in his order finds that the entries in Mr. Sreekumar s register are mala fide as a result of his supersession. But the contents of Mr. Sreekumar s affidavits are partly corroborated by affidavits of Ashok Narayan. Further, the Magistrate errs in brushing aside the aforesaid

allegations of Mr. Sreekumar as mala fide at the stage of cognizance. The statements of Mr. Sreekumar prima facie reveal offences as stated by the Petitioner in the Original Complaint and the Protest Petition.

15. Then DGP Chakravarthi (named in the Original Complaint as Accused No. 25) was examined three times by the SIT (on 16/17.12.2009, 24.03.2011 and 30.01.2012). DGP Chakravarthi gave the following perfunctory response on why VHP s widespread incendiary pamphlets were not pursued in investigation.

"As regard the undesirable activities of VHP and BD in indulging in extortion of money and publishing/distributing pamphlets containing the elements of communal instigation, a report was sent earlier in point of time by CP, Ahmedabad and I had discussed with ACS (Home) who said that he would bring it to the notice of the Govt.

- 16. Despite above said references to the CP, Ahmedabad, P.C. Pande (Accused No. 29 in the Original Complaint dated 08.06.2006) being made by DGP Chakravarti in his statement before the SIT, the SIT does not pursue this line of investigation at all. Pande s statements were recorded no less than six times before the SIT yet the SIT did not consider it important to examine him on the criticality of the vicious hate speech indulged in by the VHP and allowed by the state police and administration despite consistent recommendations to the contrary from its own Head of Intelligence, ADGP (Int.) R.B. Sreekumar.
- 17. Hate speech and inflammatory writing have been part of the ingredients of the conspiracy that was evolved pre and post Godhra in Gujarat in 2002. There has been sufficient evidence listed by Petitioner no. 1 herein in her Original Complaint dated 08.06.2006 but much more evidence has now

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come to the fore through records made available by SIT. However, just like different aspects and ingredients of the conspiracy have been deliberately left unaccepted by the SIT, the SIT has refused investigation into serious offenses of hate speech and communal writing. They have confined their assessment to one or two speeches of prominent politicians rather than systematically looking at the speeches made by the co-accused in the complaint, office bearers and members of the ruling BJP, VHP, RSS and Bajrang Dal. What makes this matter even more scandalous is the fact that the Gujarat State Intelligence Bureau records contain ample such examples of incendiary speeches that were used as a tool and part of the conspiracy to generate heated mobs to commit violence against innocent members of the minority community in different districts of the state.

18. Post facto claims by VHP leaders

- a. Leading member, now deceased, of the Gujarat Unit of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad had on 12.03.2002 in an interview to senior journalist Sheela Bhatt, then with Rediff.com, detailed how the VHP executed well-laid out plans, including being armed with government data and lists of electoral rolls, to target minority lives, households and business establishments all over the State. This has been completely ignored by the Magistrate and the Gujarat High Court. The SIT did not even examine Sheela Bhatt, senior journalist. The text of this interview has been published as part of the Concerned Citizens Tribunal report and has also been specifically mentioned and argued in the Protest Petition [Protest Petition @ Para 150 153, Page 278 279, Volume IV of the SC Record].
- b. Barely three months after the Gujarat riots, the VHP continued with its hate speech in different parts of the country with one of its



leaders Ashok Singhal threatening to repeat the Gujarat experiment and further that the Gujarat experiment would be repeated all over the country. The SIT did not even examine VHP leader Ashok Singhal who is now deceased.

19. Conclusion:

- a. The hate speech investigated as an independent head by the SIT are only the statements and speeches of the former Chief Minister of Gujarat whereas the plethora of hate writings and speeches of prominent personalities especially those belonging to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad are conspicuously simply not dealt with. In fact it is the SIT who has self-limited its investigation when the Original Complaint dated 8.6.2006 and the Protest Petition dated 15.04.2013 both went far beyond this into the Wider Conspiracy.
- b. The glaring deficiencies of the SIT investigation with respect to hate speech have been extensively highlighted in the Protest Petition. Unfortunately, both the Learned Magistrate and the Gujarat High Court have ignored this evidence despite it being presented as documentary evidence and detailed written and oral submissions.
- c. The SIT, in its Closure Report dated 8.12. 2012 examines in no great depth the impact of such incendiary speech circulating widely in print form all over the state. The findings of SIT in the form of an admission by the State of Gujarat that no action had been taken against the print media leads the SIT to dismiss this grave allegation. (Page 1425, Volume VIII of the SLP paper boks) Surprisingly this is not further investigated into by the SIT.



During the course of enquiries by SIT, Govt. of Gujarat has intimated in writing that no action had been taken on the recommendations of Shri R.B. Sreekumar against the print media. This allegation, therefore, stands established (**Pg 212, Volume XI (11) of the SC SLP record)**

20. Case law on hate speech:

- a. The instances of hate speech and writing identified by the Petitioners are offences inter alia under Sections 153A (1) (a) & (b), 153B (1) (c), 166 and 505 (2) of the Indian Penal Code, 1860.
- b. The following judgments lay down the parameters for judging what constitutes hate speech and how and when the state administration needs to act:
 - i. Babu Rao Patel v. State (Delhi Administration) (1980) 2 SCC 402
 - ii. State of Karnataka v. Dr. Praveen Bhai Togadia (2004) 4 SCC
 684
 - iii. Amish Devgan v. Union of India 2020 SCC OnLine SC 994
- c. In Amish Devgan v. Union of India 2020 SCC OnLine SC 994, this Hon ble Court elaborated on the concept of hate speech by identifying three elements: <u>content-based</u> (open use of words and phrases generally considered to be offensive to a particular community and objectively offensive to the society), <u>intent-based</u> (speaker s message to intend only to promote hatred, violence or resentment against a particular class or group) and <u>harm-based/</u> <u>impact-based</u> (harm to the victim which can be violent or such as loss of self-esteem, economic or social subordination, physical and mental stress, silencing of the victim and effective exclusion from the political arena).

Evidence in Documents

1.	Report (Interim) and Final of the National Human Rights Commission dated 01.04.2002 & July 2002 respectively	Strong recommendations of penal action against hate offenders in print and electronic media	
2.	Report of the Editors Guild of India	Strong findings, data, documentation & recommendations [PAGE NO. 1 30]	e e
3.	Report of the Concerned Citizens Tribunal, Gujarat 2002	Findings and recommendations on role of the media all over Gujarat in 2002 [PAGE NO. 31 46]	Reference: Annexure III, File I, D-2, Pages 254-255, SIT Record/Papers Listed at Page 779, Volume XIII of the SC Record
4.	(Acharya)GirirajKishore,VicePresidentoftheVishwaHinduParishad(VHP)allowed VIPentry intoAhmedabadon28.2.2002and a hateoffender.SpeechesbyDr.PraveenTogadia,InternationalGeneralSecretary, VHP		Protest Petition at

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	[PAGE NO. 47 50]		
	- Text of Dr. Togadia s speech as part of the Concerned Citizens Tribunal Report [PAGE NO. 55 56]		
	- Statement dated 10.05.2010 made by Dr. Togadia before the SIT, Gandhinagar [PAGE NO. 57 59]		
G. Zadaphiya, Minister of State, Home and a VHP member commits offence of hate speech			
Dr. Jaideep Patel, Joint Secretary, VHP Gujarat commits offence of hate speech			
ALLEGATION II, The Decision to bring dead bodies of those killed in Godhra train fire to Ahmedabad and Parade them in Ahmedabad City	Extract from Inquiry Report of AK Malhotra presented to the Supreme Court on 12.5.2010 relating to the parading of dead bodies and mob mobilizations and crowds allowed to gather during the funeral processions of the Godhra Victims in Ahmedabad on 28.2.2002	Report, Volume XI of	

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	[PAGE NO. 51 54]	
Post facto claims by VHP leaders	Accused No. 23 in the Original Complaint Professor Keshavram Kashiram Shastri (now deceased), then Chairman of the	Paras 150-153 at Pages 278-279 at Volume IV of the SC
	Gujarat Unit of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, in an interview to Rediff.com detailed how the VHP had plans and electoral rolls to target the lives and establishment of Muslims in the state.	Concerned Citizens Tribunal, Volume 1 Annexure 13- pg 288- 289 at Annexure III, File I, D-2 in the SIT
	- Extract of Protest Petition dated 15.04.2013 [PAGE NO. 111 - 112]	
	- Rediff.com article [PAGE NO. 60 - <u>61]</u> [PAGE NO. 113 - <u>114]</u>	
	Other VHP leaders, Ashok Singhal and others also continue with such hate speech - Hate speech by political leaders [PAGE NO. 62 - 65]	
	- Newspaper reports on hate speech by	

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		political leaders [PAGE NO. 66 - <u>68]</u>	
5.	Regional Press (Sandesh Newspaper etc.)	 NHRC (without naming the newspaper) Editors Guild specifically naming Sandesh and Gujarat Samachar Original Complaint dated 08.06.2002 Extracts of Sandesh newspaper headlines and articles from Editor s Guild Report [PAGE NO. 69 - <u>881</u> Protest Petition dated 15.04.2013 [PAGE NO. 89 - <u>94</u>] 	Guild Report Extracts from Annexure Spiral - N Pgs. 5506-5511 from HC CRA
6.	SIB messages take note of inflammatory pamphlets distributed by VHP in Vadodara city	SIB messages note prevalence of VHP hate pamphlets and make observations of their deleterious effects on the ground in Vadodara (Baroda) and around [PAGE NO. 95 - 96]	Petition SIB on Hate speech Volume IV of the SC Record at Paras 238 & at Paras

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7.	VHP pamphlets and several anonymous pamphlets widely distributed all over the State on and before 27.02.2002 and recovered from multiple sources (SIB, CCT and others)	pamphlet calls for (in translation) a social and economic boycott	Annexure III, File I, D- 2, Pages 254-255, SIT
9.	ADGP (Int.), April 2002, R.B. Sreekumar recommended 45 pages of incendiary pamphlets sourced by the SIB from different parts of the state for prosecution for violation of the law and incitement to violence.	Sreekumar while he held the post of ADGP (Int.) [PAGE NO. 115 - 161] R.B. Sreekumar	III, File III, D-27 ofthe Sit Records/Investigation filed at Page 4505- 4559 M SPIRAL of the HC CRA 205/2014
	Gujarat State Police Officers who seek action against hate speech and hate writing of Gujarat newspapers	Sharma, then SP,	Annexure Page No.4799; Letter @ Annexure M, Page No.4503-4504); Article at Annexure-V Page No.6688 of HC CRA 205/2014 Record) Reference: Spiral Annexure-M pg 4504 of the HC CRA

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		on the basis of Rahul Sharma s recommendation [PAGE NO. 171]	
		3. Then CP, Vadodara D.D. Tuteja recommended the prosecution of Sandesh newspaper	
11	K. Chakravarthi, DGP Gujarat in 2002 makes several statements to the SIT		
		Statement dated 24.03.2011 [PAGE NO. 188 - 194]	
		Statement dated 30.01.2011	
	PC Pande, CP Ahmedabad makes several statements before the SIT	No mention of hate speech and its impact during the riots and the SIT does not ask him questions in this regard despite references to this in DGP Chakravartis	

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		statement before SIT	
		Statement dated	
		24.03.2010	
		[PAGE NO. 197 - 208]	
		Statement dated	
		07.05.2010	
		[PAGE NO. 209 - 212]	
		Statement dated 05.10.2010 [PAGE NO. 213 - 218]	
		Statement dated 23.11.2010 [PAGE NO. 219]	
		Statement dated 23.03.2011 [PAGE NO. 220 - 222]	
		Statement dated 14.01.2012 [PAGE NO. 223 - 225]	
13	Letter from High level Functionaries in the Gujarat Govt congratulating newspapers indicted	Editor s Guild Report of 2002 has this letter [PAGE NO. 226]	Reference: Congratulatory Letter to Newspapers @ Annexure N-Page No.5368)
	for spreading hate		10.0000

B. Indictments of the Gujarat Govt and Administrative and Police Heads by Statutory Bodies Ignored

1. The Original Complaint by Zakia Ahsan Jafri dated 08.06.2002 and subsequently the Protest Petition dated 15.04.2013 before the Learned Magistrate had highlighted several instances of how, between 2002 and 2007 several Statutory Bodies, for instance the National Human Rights Commission(2002, 2004 and subsequently too), Central Election Commission (2002), Women s Parliamentary Committee(2002), the National Commission for Minorities (NCM), (2006) and Food Commissioner (2007) appointed by this Hon ble Court continued to indict the state government for its failure to respond as per the law. [*Reference_Zakia Jafri Complaint dtd 8.6.2006 at Page Nos 6-73, Volume III of the SC Record; Reference: Protest Petition filed by Zakia Jafri dated 15.4.2013 at Volume III (Pages 195-275),(Volumes IV (Pages 276-549) and V (Pages550-709) of the SC SLP Record]*

2. Misleading reports about normalcy, the preparation of electoral rolls were presented by the Home and Revenue Departments and represented to the Central Election Commission. These relate to crucial issues of Widespread Impact of the Reprisal Killings and Violence post the Godhra Tragedy on 27.2.2002, the Continuing Violence in the State right until the third quarter of 2002, the Subversion of the Criminal Justice System by high level police officers and administrators (Failures to register FIRs, appoint Independent prosecutors etc) and in totality completely ignore or give a go by to the strong remarks of these Statutory Bodies. Over the decades, to deepen accountability and ensure the protection of the most marginalized, the creation of bodies like the NHRC, NCM and others are meant to act as the crucial watch dogs and checks and balances on any elected government. Often the recommendations made by these statutory bodies from 2002 onwards, were

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contradicted by the State s own senior officers. Judgements of this Hon ble Court commented adversely on the state s attitude to justice, reparation and punishing those guilty of mass violence.

(Reference: Para 1036 1051 the Protest Petition, Pages 665-672 at Volume V of the SC Record)

3. The allegations of breakdown of Constitutional machinery dealt with pertain not just to the immediate outbreak of the post-Godhra Violent Incidents but continue right until and after May 2002 (when the then Central Government appoints a Security Advisor to the State Govt, senior IPS Officer KPS Gill) and thereafter until and after October 2002 when incidents of continuing violence against marginalised sections of the minority continued and these are accompanied by subversions of any corrective measures by high level functionaries of the State Govt. The subversions include hasty or false registration of FIRs, not recording names of powerful persons, officials or otherwise accused. subverting independent investigations as and prosecutions and misleading this Hon ble Court, the NHRC, the CEC. In fact right unto and post 2007 these acts of subversion continues.

- 4. It appears clearly therefore that the State Government abandoned its legal and constitutional duties in this regard. The deleterious impact ignoring these detailed observations/findings and recommendations of these bodies were pointed out in depth, not examined in detail by the SIT and completely brushed off by both the Magistrate and the High Court. These Reports Include:
 - Report (Interim) and Final of the National Human Rights
 Commission dated 01.04.2002 & July 2002 respectively
 [Annexed as A-1 at Volume X of the SC Record]



- b. Report of the Central Election Commission, 2002. [Annexed as A-2 at Volume X of the SC Record]
- c. Report of the National Minorities Commission, 2006 [Reference: Annexure L , Page 4411 of the CRA 205/2014;]
- Ninth Report of the Committee on Empowerment on Women (2002-2003) Concerning Violence Against Women during Riots (July-August 2002) [Annexed as A-3 in Volume XI of the SLP SC Record]
- e. Report of the Concerned Citizens Tribunal, Gujarat
 2002 (Short Term and Long Term Recommendations)
- 4. The findings of these statutory bodies has been dismissively investigated as an independent head by the Special Investigation Team (SIT) and has been summarily brushed off in the Closure Report. In fact, versions of top level policemen and bureaucrats have been accepted by the Investigating team as defence without considering the gravity of the findings of the statutory bodies.
- 5. Similarly, the Magistrate s order dated 26.12.2013 does not address the detailed submissions in the Original Complaint and Protest Petition on the detailed findings/observations on the collapse of the Law and Order Machinery (including the failure to respond adequately to the Prelude/Build Up of Violence, the continuing violence, subversion of the justice system and what clearly appears to be several instances of discriminatory governance at work in the police and administration; above all the need for Independent Investigation and prosecution. The Hon ble Gujarat High



Court, despite being made aware of the gross anomalies also offers only a limited remedy.

- This shows total non-application of mind and failure to exercise jurisdiction, as the contents (which are not disputed) do constitute a complete failure of the constitutional machinery.
- 7. In its interim and final report (April-May-July 2002) the National Human Rights Commission recorded strong findings on the complicity of the State Government in the continuing violence, subversion of the justice system, discriminatory mind-set of the top leadership and need for independent investigation and prosecution. The Commission therefore recommended that key cases should be transferred to the CBI, and a Special Court should be set up to investigate these cases and full protection should be given to all witnesses. [Pages 8-92 Vol. X of Supreme Court Record]
- 8. On and before 27.02.2002: It is not a coincidence that the National Human Rights Commission, the Editors Guild of India and the State Intelligence Bureau, Gujarat s SIB Messages, Gujarat State Intelligence Bureau reports record the existence of incendiary pamphlets in their multiplicities all over the State of Gujarat in all probability even before the Godhra incident on 27.02.2002.
- 9. Specifically, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) headed by a former Chief Justice of this Hon ble Court, J.S. Verma had, in its Interim Report of April 2002 recommended inter alia that not only such instances be firmly dealt with in accordance with the law but that the burden of proof be shifted on such persons to explain or contradict such statements [Page 21 Volume X of the SC Record].
- 10. Report on the Visit of the NHRC Team headed by the Chairperson, NHRC, Justice JS Verma, the Former Chief Justice of India, to Ahmedabad, Vadodara and Godhra towns between March 19-22, 2002 resulted in, on April 1, 2002, the Preliminary Comments &

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Recommendations of the NHRC together with Confidential Report to Government of Gujarat, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India and Prime Minister .

- 11. The Response of the Gujarat Govt to the Preliminary Comments and Recommendations of the NHRC dtd 1.4.2002 Government of India seeks time to respond until April 30, 2002 (**April 12, 2002**)
- 12. These detailed proceedings and reports of the NHRC in respect of the situation in Gujarat are in continuation of the proceedings recorded on March 1 and 6, 2002 and April 1 and May 1, 2002. This is a detailed report that at the outset observes that on the part of the Gujarat Government there is a Lack of Response to the Confidential Report of the NHRC by the Gujarat Govt. Observations by NHRC

:... The Govt of Gujarat has sent its reply dated 13th April 2002 and MHA reply dated 15th Aril 2002... The above reply of the Govt of Gujarat <u>does</u> not respond to the contents of the Confidential Report of the NHRC dated April 1, 2002.

Besides, in this detailed Order the NHRC has made strong Observations on the Failure of action by the State Govt on Intelligence before and after Godhra (27.2.2002); widespread lack of faith in investigation process, discriminatory treatment in matters of administration of relief package by the Govt; in invocation of POTO in Godhra case and lenient provisions related to post Godhra mass and widespread reprisal killings. The Extensive Report also comments on the Inadequate Relief to the victims - No Visits to Relief Camps (even Shah-e-Alam) by High Functionaries of the Government.

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Findings & Recommendations Interim Report of NHRC May 31, 2002

- i) Poor Recording of FIRS and Investigation, Hence Transfer of Major Critical Cases to CBI
- ii) These Time Bound Trials to be conducted in Special Courts by judges handpicked by the Chief Justice, Gujarat; Special PPs should also be appointed.
- iii) Time Bound Trials, Help Desks and Police Desks in Relief Camps for FIRs, Hate Speech to be Prosecuted. 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.

Findings & Recommendations Interim Report NHRC had made strong observations on the Serious Failure of Intelligence & Action by the State Govt before & after Godhra tragedy and largescale loss of life afterwards; widespread lack of faith in the integrity of the investigation process and the ability of those conducting investigations.

(a)Transfer of Critical Cases to CBI

(These Include Godhra, Gulberg, Naroda Patiya, Best Bakery, Sardarpura)

b) Poor Recording of FIRS and Investigation, Hence Transfer of Major Critical Cases to CBI

c) These Time Bound Trials to be conducted in Special Courts by judges handpicked by the



Chief Justice, Gujarat; Special PPs should also be appointed.

d)Time Bound Trials, Help Desks and Police Desks in Relief Camps for FIRs, Hate Speech to be Prosecuted. *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.*

Reference: [Page 17, Volume X of the SC record]

13. These Comments of the NHRC on the Response of the Govt of Gujarat are telling.

- i) The facts speak for themselves...The Commission has therefore reached the definite conclusion that.....there was a comprehensive failure of the state to protect the Constitutional rights of the people of Gujarat [*Page 26*, *Volume X of the SC record*]
- *ii)* Failure of Intelligence [Page 26-27 of Volume X of the SC Record]
- iii) Failure to Take Appropriate Action: failure to anticipate the violence or to take appropriate action [Page 27 of Volume X of the SC Record]
- iv) ...Public Servants who had sought to perform their duties diligently and to deal firmly with those responsible for the violence had been transferred at short notice to other posts

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without consulting the Director General of Police and indeed, over his protests.

- v) ... Pattern of Arrests Page 28 of Volume X of the SC Record]
- Vi) Uneven Handling of Major Cases (Gulberg, Chamanpura, Naroda Pariya and Best Bakery are specifically alluded to especially with regard to tardy action and arrests [*Page 28 of Volume X of the SC Record*]
- *vii)* Distorted FIRs..looting in areas of rich people but failure to identify who these people are.[*Page 29 of Volume X of the SC Record*]
- viii)Senior Political Personalities who have been named were seeking to influence the functioning of police station.... Victims having great difficulties getting FIRs recorded, in naming accused and getting copies of the FIRs [Page 29 of Volume X of the SC Record]
- Powerful Accused Not Named in FIRs/ Let Off ix) Almost 90% of those arrested even in heinous offences like murder, arson, etc have managed to get bailed out as soon as they were arrested. Reports have also appeared in the media that those who have been released on bail were given warm public welcomes by some political leaders. This is in sharp contrast to the assertion made by the State Government in its Report of 12th April bail applications of all accused 2002 that persons are being strongly defended and rejected.

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Lack of Faith in Integrity of Investigation Process; [Page 29 of Volume X of the SC Record]

NHRC refutes GOG claim that situation was brought under control in 72 hours [Volume X of the SC Record]

Discriminatory Attitude of the State Government [Volume X of the SC Record]

- x) Pervasive Insecurity of Justices Kadri & Divecha [Page 29-30 of Volume X of the SC Record]
- Letter of Justice AN Divecha (retired, HC) to Justice Verma, Chairperson of the NHRC dated 23.3.2002. This letter speaks of the allpervasive Violence; the Inability of Influential Persons Including Ministers to Save Him etc; and the Need for Rehabilitation without Ghettoization. [Annexure L, Pages 4301-4306 of CRA 205/2014 Record; Page 63-67of Volume X of the SC Record]
- 13. The recommendations of the NHRC on May 31, 2002 were not only completely ignored by the government and administration but the Investigating Team looking at the Wider Implications and Ingredients of the Conspiracy that included a complete subversion of the Criminal Justice System. No Officials of the NHRC, not even the Hon ble Chairperson, were examined by the SIT and neither did the Magistrate s Court nor the Gujarat High Court find any lacunae in this regard.
 - *i)* Once again Transfer of Investigation to CBI Urged though Govt of Gujarat and Govt of

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India have resisted/not agreed [Page 31-32 of Volume X of the SC Record]

- Detailed Recommendations on Setting up of Special Courts, [Para 21] Page 34-36 of Volume X of the SC Record]
- iii) Special PPs of Integrity be appointed especially since Questionable PPs had ensured easy bail to accused. [Page 34 of Volume X of the SC Record]

Transfer of Investigation, NHRC to monitor [*Para 20(xiii), (xiv)*], *Page 34-36 of Volume X of the SC Record*]

Survey of Affected Persons Recommended and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons [Page 34-36 of Volume X of the SC Record]

Commission Requests Detailed Reports on prosecution of Hate Speech by Persons, Politicians & Organisations. [*Page 35 of Volume X of the SC Record*]

Commission Recommends Action Against Delinquent Public Servants. [*Page 36 of Volume X of the SC Record*]

14. The stringent Observations in the Report of the Central Election Commission (CEC), dated August 16, 2002, a Constitutional Body were not only completely ignored by the government and administration but the Investigating Team looking at the Wider Implications and Ingredients of the Conspiracy that included a complete subversion of the Criminal Justice System. No Officials of the CEC were even examined by the SIT and neither did the Magistrate s Court nor the Gujarat High Court find any lacunae in this regard.

- 15. These Observations and Findings of the CEC that did not find the atmosphere vis a vis safety and security of life and law and order conducive to holding early elections in the state, are telling:
 - (i) Report of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC)James Lyngdoh on advancement of Gujarat state elections as suggested by the Govt of Gujarat

[Page 94-125 of Volume X of the SC Record]

- (ii) Report of the Central Election Commission
 (CEC): CEC has pointed out these major defaults of officers in its order dated 16.8.2002 [Pages 325 of Volume IV & Page 665 of Volume V of the SLP SC Record Protest Petition, Volume 1[(Misleading CEC)
- (iii) Gujarat Assembly was promulgated by April 2002 as part of a cynical design to use the widespread displacement of affected persons from the minority community (the displaced were admittedly 1,68,000 between February 28 2002 and December 2002) to advantage. The circumstances created by the systematic battering of the minority community were sought to be electorally manipulated. The CEC squarely held that under the circumstances Article 324 that required the EC to hold free and fair elections and in circumstances where election could be neither free not fair Article 174 of the Constitution (that required elections to be held within six months of the legislature being suspended) needed to necessarily bow to Article 324 of the Constitution.

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- (iv) Continuing Violence: Team Surveys of the ECI show that disturbances continued right until August 2002 there were not just public disturbances and violence but that electoral rolls of several districts were faulty largely because of mass dislocation caused by the violence [CEC Report at Page 102 of Volume X of the SC Record]; Protest Petition: Paras 524-530 Volume IV Pages 425-427]
- (v) The ECI observed that, on the basis of the State of Gujarat s own report to the Commission that 20 of Gujarat s 25 districts were affected areas in which 27 lakh, 12 thousand BPL card holders were in receipt of free rations. The Commission has observed that given that the scheme of free rations has been continued till October 2002 it is clear that vast numbers of people in a large geographical area were affected contrary to the state s claim urging early election.

[Page 103-104 of Volume X of the SC Record] [Page 104-6 of Volume X of the SC Record] [Page 107of Volume X of the SC Record] [Page 108-9 of Volume X of the SC Record] [Page 110 of Volume X of the SC Record] [Page 111-113 of Volume X of the SC Record] a)Strong Fear and Insecurity especially among the Minorities

b) Small incidents escalate to communal tension

c)complaints of brigands belonging to outfits moving around creating terror with impunity



d) Faulty FIRs: powerful accused not arraigned;

f) Detailed Observations on how Municipal and Taluka elections in Gujarat in 2002 were postponed and why therefore, logically, the state elections too should be

Again the contradictory versions between the senior and accused administrators and policemen is given and pitted against ADGP RB Sreekumar and CP, Ahmedabad KR Kaushik who speak of undercurrent of communal tension and need for additional forces

[Pages, 113, 116-117 of Volume X of the SC Record]

g) Inadequate Relief and Rehabilitation;State s abdication of responsibility & Bias inImplementation of Relief Measures

[Page 118 -120 of Volume X of the SC Record]

iv) Directions of the ECI

a. EC concludes that the law and order situation is far from normal.

b.GOG circulars admit that Elections 22 District Panchayat, 15 Taluka Panchayat and 81 Municipalities have been postponed to October 2002.

c.EC quotes from GOG Orders postponing local body elections and concludes (**Para 40**) that if the state government is not in a position to hold elections to local bodies, that too in urban areas, how can it hold a general

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election to the State Assembly which requires far greater mobilisation and effort..is beyond one s comprehension comments the EC.

[Page 123-125 of Volume X of the SC Record]

- a) No confidence in the Police: Arrest and Punish the Guilty; Overall lack of faith in state machinery, govt and police; Critical Observations about the Subversion of the Justice Process; Impunity to Perpetrators, Continuance of Curfew etc
- b) Widespread dislocation and Displacement inside and outside the state; need for Confidence Building Measures
- c) Deals with the poor conditions of the internally displaced persons and the status of refugees in all parts of Gujarat.
- d) Critically comment on the state government s deliberate denial of basic relief measures to those refugees not living in officially designated relief camps
- e) Directions of the Commission that include special revision of electoral roles, house to house surveys in 20 Affected Districts.
- f) Situation Far From Normal, Wounds raw, tensions high.
- 16. Date of Report (31.7.2002) of the SIB given by ADGP(Int) R.B. Sreekumar to Chief Election Commissioner J.M. Lyngdoh on his team s visit to the State. As many as 152 of the 182 assembly constituencies in the State had been affected. (Para 524 to Para 530 at pages 231 of the Protest Petition @ Pages 425-427, Volume IV of the SC Record). A closer scrutiny has led to the conclusion that out of 26



police districts, 4 Commissionerates, and 11 districts had no deaths due to riots and in the five districts of Bharuch, Junagadh, Patan, Vadodara rural and Bhavnagar and the Commissionerate of Rajkot and Surat there was relatively less violence. This was because of the lawful and constitutional behaviour of the police in charge. Then ADGP RB Sreekumar s views as supported by then Police Commissioner of Ahmedabad KR Kaushik gave details of the spread and extent of the violence. *[Page 113 of Volume X of the SC Record]*

- 17. Senior officials, some of whom have been named in the complaint of Zakia Jafri dated 8.6.2006 gave misleading reports to the C.E.C when he visited Ahmedabad. But for the independent reports of the State Intelligence, corroborated by the then Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad, Kaushik, a Constitutional Authority like the CEC would have been undermined and mis-informed.
- 18. Statement of one of the officers named in the complaint dated 8.6.2006, then Chief Secretary Subha Rao is recorded by SIT wherein he refers to the official version given by him and other officers to the Chief Election Commissioner Shri Lyngdoh on 9.8.2002. He is not interrogated by SIT about the severe conclusions in the CEC Order dated 16.8.2002 on the inconsistencies in the official version nor the Election Commission s own assessment of the situation that went contrary to the official version.
- 19. Statements of DGP Chakravarthi recorded by SIT. He is not asked any questions about the misrepresentation by higher officers to the CEC as Commented upon by the CEC
- 20. Statement of ACS (Home) Ashok Narayan recorded by the SIT. RB Sreekumar s contemporaneous affidavit before the Nanavati Shah Commission mentions the deliberate misleading of the CEC by higher laced officials of the State Government

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21. Women s Parliamentary Committee Violence Against Women During Riots Report of the Women s Parliamentary Committee Violence Against Women During Riots WPC-Mandate [Pages 126-141 Vol. XI of Supreme Court Record]

> i) The Committee visited Vadodara, Panchmahal and Ahmedabad from 2nd to 4th July, 2002 and went to three Relief Camps viz. Lunawada Relief Camp, Panchmahal, the Shah Alam Relief Camp, and Dariyakhan Ghummat Relief Camp at Ahmedabad. Finally, the committee held discussions with the Chief Secretary, Government of Gujarat, Additional Chief Secretary, Home Department, Principal Secretary. Revenue Department and Secretaries, Department of Women and Child Development, Social Justice and Empowerment, Health Department and other officials of Government of Gujarat and representatives of the Ministry of Human Development Resource (Department of Women and Child Development).

WPC-Observations

i) The Committee having taken note of the serious nature of the Violence against Women during the recent prolonged riots in Gujarat as projected in the Media and in the reports submitted to the Committee by the National Commission for Women and some NGOs/women activists who had visited Gujarat

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and heard the problems/grievances of the women who were victims of violence, the Committee took a decision to study the situation in Gujarat in detail and prepare their Report on the Violence against women and steps taken for their rehabilitation.

- Relief, Rehabilitation, Compensation: Women unaware of Relief Packages, compensation not paid. [Page 131-132 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- iii) Housing Compensation Inadequate payment. [Page 133 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- iv) Demand for comprehensive survey for compensation.
- v) Fear and Insecurity. [Page 133 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- vi) Sexual Assaults Testimonies. *Page 136, 139* of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- vii) FIRs of Women and Girls not Recorded. [Page 133, 136, 139 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- viii) Women Demand the Camps should not be closed before Monsoon or before proper Rehabilitation. [Page 140 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- ix) Home Secretary admits that FIRs too general and proper, detailed FIRs needed to be recorded. : (21) List of 58 Women Assaulted given to Committee by Shah-e-Alam. [Page 135 of Volume XI of the SC Record;]

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WPC-Findings

- *i*) The Committee note that 185 cases of attacks on women have been registered of which 100 are in Ahmedabad City. A total of 57 attacks on children have also been registered of which 33 are registered in Ahmedabad City. Rape cases of 11 women have also been registered. Of these 3 cases are from Dahod, 1 from Anand, 4 in Panchmahals and 3 in Ahmedabad City. *[Page 137 of Volume XI of the SC Record]*
- *iii*) The Committee feel that it is in the bounden duty of every State machinery to take preemptive steps to prevent spread of violence. For this purpose, the intelligence services have to always remain vigilant and cautious. The Committee regret to note that the failure to anticipate the potential dangers of the situation by the intelligence services was responsible for the violence, death and destruction of the magnitude that was witnessed in Gujarat. [Page 137 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- iii) The Committee feel that effective and preventive steps ought to have been taken to ensure that riots of such intensity did not spread. [Page 136 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- *iv)* Discrimination in Payment of Relief. [*Page* 136 of Volume XI of the SC Record]

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- v) Inadequate Housing Compensation Paid.
- vi) Forcible Closure of Relief Camps: The Committee noted that in comparison with the figures of number of Relief Camps and the inmates in the peak period in April, 2002, there is reduction of Relief Camps by 111 Camps and reduction in the number of inmates by 1,19,839. Relief Camps have been closed down in Anand, Kheda, Panchmahal, Sabarkantha, Vadodara and Mehsana. [Page 138-139 of Volume XI of the SC Record]

WPC- Recommendations

- i) Rectify improper FIRs registered and protect women who are threatened to withdraw FIRs; Ensure FIRs registered where still not done. [Page 139 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- ii) Security to be provided to women and children so they can return home. [Page 140 of Volume XI of the SC Record]
- iii) Provide enough Milk, Food and Bedding in Relief Camps. [Volume XI of the SC Record]
- iv) Inaction on Hate Speech: The Committee has noted with regret that no efforts have been made to confiscate the hate literature that has been widely circulated in the State or to identify those responsible for its preparation, printing and circulation. The Committee hopes that the law enforcement machinery acts effectively in this regard. [Page 141 of Volume XI of the SC Record]

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v) Special Courts/Impartial Investigation. [Page 141 of Volume XI of the SC Record]

22.Continuing Failure in rehabilitation etc can be observed in the 2004-2005 report of the National Human Rights Commission (2004-2005)

NHRC Annual Report (2004-2005)

Findings

- i) It found 4,545 families comprising around 30,000 persons still living in very difficult conditions in 81 relief colonies.
- Pathetic Rehabilitation: The study found that ii) none of the colonies had been set up or assisted by the state government. Only five of the 81 colonies government had or government recognised schools and only four served midday meals to the children. Only five had ICDS centres, of which four served supplementary nutrition to the children, and one to nursing and expectant mothers. Only three had PDS shops and only 725 out of 4,545 families were recognised as BPL although their intense poverty as internally displaced persons facing economic boycott was acute. People who had APL cards are reluctant to apply to apply for a transfer of the card because they fear that this may be cancelled.

23. A Report of the National Commission of Minorities Visit to Gujarat on receipt of Complaints (13-17,2006) recorded the following set of findings. The

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SIT did not see it fit to Investigate any of these National Commission of

Minorities Visit to Gujarat

Findings

- Four years Down Livelihood issues and no proper Jobs/Businesses.
- ii) Abject Poverty, No Issuance of BPL Cards.

24. On **19.3.2007**, the Food Commissioner of the Supreme Court s Report to the Supreme Court regarding the Implementation of the Food Schemes in Relief Colonies of Displaces Persons (Carnage of Gujarat 2002); Refers to the NCM Report of 2006.

Findings

- (i) It found 4,545 families comprising around 30,000 persons still living in very difficult conditions in 81 relief colonies.
- (ii) Pathetic Rehabilitation: The study found that none of the colonies had been set up or assisted by the state government. Only five of 81 the colonies had government or government recognised schools and only four served midday meals to the children. Only five had ICDS centres, of which four served supplementary nutrition to the children, and one to nursing and expectant mothers. Only three had PDS shops and only 725 out of 4,545 families were recognised as BPL

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although their intense poverty as internally displaced persons facing economic boycott was acute. People who had APL cards are reluctant to apply to apply for a transfer of the card because they fear that this may be cancelled.

(iii) <u>Recommendations</u>

- (i) Contempt of court notices are issued to the chief secretary and other official of the government of Gujarat for misrepresenting facts and furnishing incomplete and inaccurate information to the commissioners appointed by the Supreme Court. Antyodaya Cards must be given.
- (ii) Primary schools should be opened.
- (iii) ICDS Centres for 81 colonies.
- (iv) PDS.
- (v) Widow Pensions.
- (vi) MNREGA enrolment.
- (vii) Chief Secretary personally liable.

25. In the SIT Investigations, both the Inquiry report dtd 12.5.2010 presented before the Hon ble Supreme Court and the Final (Closure) Report filed before the Magistrate on 8.2.2012, these allegations are dismissed lightly. *(Reference:* ALLEGATION NO. XVIII: State Home Department gave misleading reports about normalcy in the State to Central Election

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Commission for ensuring early Assembly Election. (*Pgs 214-219 of Volume XI of the SC SLP Record; Pages 1397-1400 of Volume VIII of the SC SLP Record*)

Some portions of the NHRC Annual Reports are available on the NHRC website but the suo motu Investigation Reports into Gujarat 2002 are not available on the official website of the NHRC.

- (i) <u>https://nhrc.nic.in/sites/default/files/AR02-03ENG.pdf;</u> <u>https://nhrc.nic.in/sites/default/files/AR04-05ENG.pdf.</u>
- (ii) The Report of the National Minorities
 Commission (2006) on Gujarat situation is not available on the website.



Report (Interim) and Final of the National Human Rights Commission dated 01.04.2002 & July 2002 respectively	the NHRC in 2002 and	Volume X of the SC Record] References:
Preliminary Comments & Recommendations of the NHRC together	b. Failure to respond effectively	Page 35, 38 of the Zakia Jafri Compliant at of Volume III of SC SLP Missing CEC NHRC
with Confidential Report to Government of Gujarat, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India	c. Hate Speech d. Uneven Handling of Cases, Pattern of Arrests	Zakia Jafri Complaint dtd 8.6.2006 in Protest Petition: Pages 325 of Volume IV & Page 665 of Volume V of the SLP SC Record Protest
and Prime Minister .	e. Transfer of Investigation and Trials to CBI, Independent Prosecutors, special courts etc	Petition, Volume 1 (Misleading CEC) Pages 635-636, Pages 665-666 of Volume V of the SLP SC Record Pages 667-668 of Volume V of the SLP SC Record Attitude of State Govt to Statutory Bodies like NHRC/CEC etc dealt
	f. Treatment officials who performed their duty	with Reference: SIT
	g. After awaiting the Govt of Gujarat (GOG s response) which was found to be unsatisfactory NHRC concluded that	Investigation Record Annexure III 6 File VI D-88 Proceedings of the National Human Rights. Commission on situation in Gujarat from 1st March 2002 to 1st July 2002. (The Index)Listed at Page 785 Volume XIII SC SLP Record].



	there as a complete breakdown of Constitutional Machinery	<u>Reference:</u> Pages 24-26 of Volume X of the SC record; <u>Annexure L</u> , Page 4252 of the CRA 205/2014 Record]
		Reference: Annexure L , Page 4244, Para (vi) of the CRA 205/2014 Record; Para 19- 20 (vi, viii,xii, xiii,2. [Pages 21-22, Volume X of the SC record Annexure 3
	h. Letter of Retd HC Judge An Divecha is telling	Reference: Annexure L, Page 4248-4249 of the CRA 205/2014 Record a to i) References: Annexure L, Page 4256-
	i. Measures recommended by NHRC Ignored	 4275 of the CRA 205/2014 Record; c. Hate Speech: Annexure L, Page 4268-69 of CRA 205/2014 Decords (Dome 25)
	j. Prosecution of	205/2014 Record; [Page 35 of Volume X of the SC Record]
	Delinquent Public servants not done	h.Annexure L, Pages 4301-4306 of CRA 205/2014 Record
	k. NHRC Officials and Chairperson not examined	i.Annexure L, Page 4262- 63 of CRA 205/2014 Record j.Annexure L, Page 4268- 69, of CRA 205/2014 Record; [Page 36 of Volume X of the SC Record]
Report of the	The report of the CEC	Reference:
Central Election	comments strongly on	Zakia Jafri Complaint dtd



	h	8.6.2006 in Protest
Commission, 2002	how there are divergent versions among state government officials regarding the spread and extent of Contining Violence, Damages, Pervasive Insecurity etc	Petition Pages 199 of Volume III of the SLP SC Record, NHRC Report and Order dated May 31, 2002 mentioned Pages 667-668 of Volume
		D-39 of the SIT Record/Investigation;Page 94-125 of Volume X of the
	Tables of Extent and Spread of Violence One of the officials	[CEC Report at Page 102 of Volume X of the SC Record]; [Reference: Protest Petition: Paras 524- 530 Volume IV Pages 425-
	(2002) Chief Secretary Subha Rao who s statement is recorded	(Para 524 to Para 530 at

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	conclusions in the	
	Statement of then DGP K Chakravarthi recorded by SIT on three occasions, he is not questioned on Mis- representation of Facts etc to a Constitutional authority like the ECI (CEC)	
	Narayan recorded by the SIT. In his statement dated 13.12.2009, he admits that then ADGP Intelligence RB Sreekumar gave a distinct version of the state of Law and	Annexure M-1 , Pages 4837-4897 of CRA 205/2014 HC Record] Reference: Statement of ACS (Home)
	the ECI (CEC).	Ashok Narayan recorded by the SIT.

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	RB Sreekumar s contemporaneous affidavit before the Nanavati Shah Commission mentions the deliberate misleading of the CEC by higher laced officials of the State Government.	
Report of the Ninth Report of the Committee on Empowerment on Women (2002-2003) Concerning Violence Against Women during Riots	about Relied & Rehab; Housing	(July-August 2002) [Annexed as A-3, Pages 126-141 in Volume XI of the SLP SC Record] Reference: Zakia Jafri Complaint dtd 8.6.2006 in Protest Petition: Pages 204-208 of Volume III of the SLP SC Record References: [Page 131-132 of Volume XI of the SC Record; Annexure L , Page 4394 Para (ii) to (vii)(ix)(x), of the CRA 205/2014 Record]; Also at Page 135-136 of Volume XI of the SC Record; Page 133, 136,
	No Forcible Closure of Relief Camps before	



	the Monsoon Comprehensive Findings and Recommendations of the WPC	Reference: [Annexure L , Page 4395 Para (xiii) & (xiv) of CRA 205/2014 ; Page 140 of Volume XI of the SC Record] Reference: Annexure L , Pages 4401-4407 at Paras (33) to (40) of the CRA 205/2014]; Page 137 of Volume XI of the SC Record
•	Short Term and Long Term Recommendations	Reference:
National Human Rights Commission (Annual Report 2004-2005)	(Annual Report on Internal Displacement) Findings in Annual Report on Internally Displaced Persons;4,545 families comprising around 30,000 persons still living in very difficult conditions in 81 relief colonies. Pathetic Rehabilitation by Govt	
Report of the National Minorities Commission (NCM) 2006	This Report, four years after the Violence is telling in its indictment of the Failure to humanely rehabilitate Internally Displaced persons, women,	L,Page 4411 of the

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The Food Commissioner Of this Hon ble Court s Report to the Supreme Court (19.3.2007)	men and children as an outcome of the Violence in 2002. Four years Down Livelihood issues and no proper Jobs/Businesses. Stringent Findings regarding the Implementation of Food Schemes in Relief Colonies of Interced Persons (Carnage of Gujarat 2002); Refers to the NCM Report of 2006. Contempt of Court Notices Issued o the Chief Secretary, Gujarat Government. Antyodaya Cards must be given. Primary schools should be opened.	
Orders of this Hon ble	colonies. PDS. (Public Distribution Schemes) must be accessible, Widow Pensions & MNREGA Enrolment too 1. SC Order dtd	0
Court in several related matters that have not been acted upon	23.11.2003 Staying Trials 2. SC Order (Aug 2004) on Guj Govr Misleading Court on Bail Applications 3. SC Order on Re- Opening of 2000 cases	Jafri Criminal Complaint dated 8.6.2006 Where observations of the Supreme Court are

Overview

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Gujarat burned and was convulsed with barbarous violence for over 40 days from February 27, 2002 when the Sabarmati Express, running from Faizabad to Ahmedabad, was attacked and torched at Godhra killing 58 passengers, many of them women and children. Whatever the provocation, as alleged by some, nothing extenuates the outrage. This utterly horrible crime calls for the swift pursuit and punishment of the perpetrators. Even as the Godhra tragedy was roundly condemned, the anticipated backlash took on the dimensions of a holocaust primarily aimed at the Muslim community. This soon engulfed central, north and northeastern Gujarat, including Ahmedabad, Vadodara and parts of the eastern tribal belt.

Nearly 800 persons were killed according to the official count; unofficial estimates are far higher. It was a slaughter of the innocents. The brutalities were unprecedented, especially against women. The targeting of Muslim homes, establishments and sources of livelihood was precise and bears evidence of premeditation. The term "ethnic cleansing" and "genocide" have been used to describe the horror. Later, there were retaliatory strikes on Hindus, albeit on a lesser scale.

The Editor of Sandesh was to tell us that "Something happened". What ?

In the first week of April, some 120,000 victims of both communities were still to be found taking pitiable refuge in makeshift relief camps run by NGOs with some official assistance.

What remains is a miasma of fear, hatred, insecurity, guilt and grim foreboding. Gujarat and India have suffered a grievous moral and material loss from which it will take much time and effort to recover. A whole community was targeted for the alleged sins of its co-religionists at Godhra long prior to that event and far beyond Gujarat. Ancient wrongs, real and imagined, were sought to be collectively avenged by the savage violation of the rights of a living, demonised "enemy". There has been an appalling emotional partitioning of minds into "we" and "they" among all too many across Gujarat and elsewhere in India. Millions in the country and throughout the civilised world have been appalled. Yet, in the midst of the carnage, there were innumerable stories, many yet to be written, of courageous and moving interventions by friends, neighbours and even strangers in defence of the helpless and endangered across this divide. That lends hope.

Overall, our finding is that the prompt and extensive portrayal by sections of the local press and national media of the untold horrors visited on innocent people in the wake of the Godhra carnage was a saving grace. The exposure of the supine if not complicit attitude of the State and manifest outpourings of communal hatred, stirred the conscience of the nation, compelled remedial action, howsoever defensively and belatedly, and activated the National Human Rights Commission, the Minorities Commission and other safety mechanisms. However, the role of sections of the Gujarati media, especially the Gujarat

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Samachar and more notably Sandesh, was provocative, irresponsible and blatantly violative of all accepted norms of media ethics. This cannot be lightly passed over.

There were certain indequacies and lapses in general media coverage that we shall address: but the charge that the media was a major aggravating or even causative factor in the situation is specious and self-serving and must be dismissed.

The official information machinery of the State was clearly inadequate to the task and preferred to sing the praises of the Chief Minister rather than deliver timely and authentic information. Official attitudes encountered ranged from complacency to helplessness; but some officers were clearly uneasy at being disabled from doing their duty.

Gujarat was the first large scale "television and cable riot" covered in real time. This poses delicate issues and difficult choices that merit discussion. Finally, the role of digital communications, the mobile phone, SMS (smart mail service), email, web sites, introduced computer generated handbills and posters, and the digital camera, was pervasive, insidious and oftentimes dubious, being prone to misuse. This "new media" has introduced an altogether new dimension of global and person-to-person communication that number be carefully assessed. Censorship is not the answer; sobriety, training, professionalism and codes of conduct are necessary.

Freedom and Responsibility

Freedom of the press is a derivative of the citizen's fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression guaranteed under Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution. It is, however, subject to "reasonable restrictions" under Art. 19(2). While the media enjoy the right to freedom and independence in the discharge of their duties, they are gesentially trustees for the larger freedom of speech and expression. Through judicial pronouncements and international covenants to which India is a signatory, this includes the citizen's right to inform and be informed. The right to know is a precious democratic right and is through this means that the citizen is ensured participation, transparency and accountability.

The Indian media is privileged to enjoy a wide measure of freedom By this very token, it must exercise this freedom with responsibility in matters relating to public order, decorey and morality, defamation and incitement to an offence. It is incumbent on the media to surve for objectivity, fairness and balance, to avoid sensationalism or anything that is fiable to inflame passions, especially during periods of stress and tension. It is also obligated to make corrections and afford injured parties the right of reply. In situations of communial strife, the Indian tradition has been to avoid naming the communities involved so as not to exacerbate tensions.

These conventions were evolved in the 1950s and 1960s when the media was farmore limited in terms of reach and circulation. There was no TV and even radio was largely confined to more affluent homes (until the transistor revolution). News bulletins were tew and by and large there was a 6 to 24-hour news cycle. No more. The information revolution and new technologies have created an instant, interconnected world intricately and extensively networked by large, small and inter-personal means of communication. The new media does not respect 24 hour deadlines. News is disseminated in real time. The 24-

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hour TV news channels enter homes and work places with immediate announcements and updates of "breaking news". Email, the web and mobile phone are ubiquitous.

Despite the speed with which electronic news moves, rumour travels faster, like greased lightning. There are many voices, big and little, formal as well as personal carrying it here, there and everywhere. So truth and authenticated information are in constant competition with disinformation. To use the terminology of nuclear warfare, the legitimate media must therefore enjoy first-strike capability. Else it will trail behind disinformation, speculation and rumour, never quite catching up and merely reacting to the agenda set by master manipulators and vested interests. Technology has critically altered the rules of engagement between truth or objective news reportage and falsehood or concoction. Old norms therefore require careful review and revalidation or amendment.

This is obviously a complex and delicate issue that requires extensive debate and reflection so that appropriate norms are devised for the future.

It is in this context that modern media coverage and the reportage of Gujarat must be evaluated. It might be irresponsible not to portray the facts as they are with all dispatch. Like war, riots too begin in the minds of men and truth can be a defence against "information terrorism", incitement and panic. Sensationalism, horror and excitement of passions can be moderated, if not averted, by the manner of presentation, the choice of words and commentary, the editing of footage and pictures, the headlines, positioning and general treatment. This is where professionalism, experienced "gatekeepers" like chief reporters, news editors and chief sub-editors or page editors and anchors can exercise discretion under overall top editorial control not merely during "office hours" but in anticipation of major deadlines around the clock.

The Godhra episode

The Sabarmati Express, running some hours behind schedule, was torched in Godhra just before 8 a.m. on February 27. Local reporters soon reached the spot and filed the news. Aaj Tak was probably the first news channel to flash the breaking news. Zee TV's local cameraman in Godhra rushed his footage to Ahmedabad. This was aired soon after 2 p.m. Others, including Doordarshan, followed, deputing camera crew from Ahmedabad, Baroda and Delhi. An anonymous email message was widely circulated attributing what purported to be an eyewitness account obtained by two local correspondents, Anil and Neelam Soni, whose designations and telephone numbers were given. This spoke of an altercation at the station between karsevaks, who alighted from the train for tea and snacks, and local hawkers of the minority community. (See Annexure 1).

There is more than one version of what followed. The "molestation" and "abduction" of a girl is alleged. The train began moving out of the station when incensed hawkers pulled the alarm chain to stop it within a few hundred metres, beside the Godhra Railway outer signal cabin adjacent to the Ghanchi bustee to which the vendors belong. The train was mobbed and stoned and Coach No. S-6 was set on fire.

When exactly this email message was actually sent is not clear. However, on being queried, the Sonis denied having filed the story. They disclaimed it as a fabrication.

Nevertheless, others purportedly gave out somewhat similar versions, embellished by reports of earlier misbehaviour along the entire route as reported by a Faizabad newspaper. Jan Morcha, (See Annexure 1A), First official reports of the Godhra incident spoke of a terrorist plot with cross-border connivance. The Railway Police has conducted preliminary investigations and the one-man Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Gujarat Government is now seized of this matter and its fallout. The facts are yet to be established.

Two points need to be kept in mind about the Godhra incident. As some people were known to have escaped from the ill-fated S-6 coach, the number that had perished was officially assumed to be relatively moderate until quite some hours later when the charred remains of all those trapped inside were finally extricated. The first press release issued from Gandhinagar on February 27 quoted the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Gordhanbhai Zadaphia as stating that "as per preliminary report, six people were killed, 38 injured and out of them 18 were discharged from the local hospital after necessary treatment. He said that the number of deaths could be on the higher side also". The Government Press Note is at Annexure 2.

The magnitude of the horror only unfolded several hours after the tragedy. The evening TV bulletins and the next day's papers told the grim story. Even then, most national and possibly several regional channels remained fascinated by the presentation and analysis of the Union Budget through much of February 28. Crawlers at the bottom of TV screens and occasional news updates developed the Gujarat story.

The Fuse is Lit

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Meanwhile, on February 27 itself, subsequent incidents of violence in Godhra town were brought under control but trouble erupted elsewhere in the district and other parts of the State. The torched carriage No. S-6 was detached and the Safarmati Express continued its journey, disgorging trumatised passengers en route at Vadodara. Anand and Ahmedabad. Word spread. The return of badly charred bodies to grieving families stirred passions. The VHP sounded a call for a Gujarat bandh on February 28 which was endorsed by the ruling party. A "ashti yatra" was mooted but fortunately called off in time. However, Gujarat was already in flames.

There was little doubt that the Godhra carnage was likely to provoke a strong backlash in view of Gujarat's sad record of periodic riots on a variety of issues. Preparations were according made to meet the situation. However, mob fury took over. The subsequent seeming justification of the brutal reaction by linking it to the 'original sin' of Godhra lends credence to the widespread charge of official passivity if not connivance and a clear lack of political will within the ruling establishment. Innocent Muslims ("Babar le aulad") were deliberately and calculatedly targeted for dastardly crimes attributed to their co-religionists not merely in Godhra but earlier elsewhere. There can be absolutely no sanction for such 'transferred guilt'. Though Muslims defended themselves and did indeed retaliate in some cases, the reported breakdown of deaths, arrests, fatalities and casualties from police firing and "refugees" huddled in the relief camps tell their own story. The 'riots' were clearly one-sided.

The national print and electronic media documented the holocaust and the meticulous targeting of Muslim homes, mohallas, shops and establishments, factories,

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thotels and cateries and other economic assets as well as dargalis, mosques, shrines and kabristans. Neighbouring Hindu properties were spaced. Obviously these targets must have been marked out as even Muslim establishments with names like Tufsi Restaurant or Tasty Bakery largety catering to a Hindu chentele, were looted and fired.

Sheela Bhatt posted an interview with K.K.Shastri, the 96-year old President of the Gujarat unit of the VHP, on the rediff.com portal. This makes chilling reading. According to Mr Shastri, the list of Muslim-owned shops was prepared on the morning of February 28. It was done as "we were terribly angry tover Godhrao. Lust and anger are blind". "Hindutva was attacked. This is..., a tremendous outburst that will be difficult to roli back", Further, "we can't condomn it because they are our boys". Shastri added.

"The VHP has formed a panel of 50 lawyers to help release the arrested people accused of rioring and looting. None of these lawyers will charge any fees because they believe in the RSS ideology".

Mr Shastri is said to have denied making these remarks. The two VHP Joint General Secretaries, Mr Jaydeep Patel and Dr Kaushik Mehta, whom we met at the VHP office in Ahmedabad, also contradicted the report, making out that Mr Shastri was old and hard of hearing. They rejected the theory that Muslim premises were targeted. Sheela Bhatt has the tape. The text of the rediff.com story as reproduced by "Mainstream", Delhi, is at "Annexure 3. The text of the rediff.com story as reproduced by "Mainstream", Delhi, is at "Annexure 3. The text of the April issue of "Vishwa Hindu Samachar" published by Rashtra Chetna Prakashan and edited by Mr K.K.Shastri lends credence to what he told rediff.com. A two-page article therein praises "Chhote Sardar" for his handling of Godhra and its aftermath.

Many media persons experienced the anger of Hindurva forces. So did the Guild team. One of its members was closeted with some print and TV journalists at Ahmedabad's Circuit House on April 1, when there was a load commotion. A group of six or eight VHP storm troopers burst into his room shouting and gesticulating, justling those present. vehemently accusing them of hatching a dark conspiracy behind closed doors. A Gujarai Information Directorate official sought to intervene and said that discussions were in progress with a representative of the Editors Guild. The mob thereupon turned on the latter vociferously demanding to know whether he was Hindu or Muslim. He replied that that was irrelevant, said he was a "Hindustani", gave his name and asked the intruders to introduce themselves and state their purpose. They refused to identify themselves, shouting "hum Hindu hai", each insisting in turn that this was his name. It was explained that the Guild Team was in Gujarat to inquire into the media scene and wished to meet everybody and hear all sides of the story. It was going to Gandhinagar the following day to meet with ministers and officials. This evoked the derivive refort that they, the intruders, were the "ministers" we should hear. They were then invited to sit down coolly and relate their version of events.

The group slowly simmered down. Its spokesmen charged the English media and national TV channels, with defaming the majority community with one-sided and totally biased coverage, "They only listen to Muslims and ignore Hindus". They do not focus on Muslim rioters and damage to Hindu property. Hindus who escaped from the Godhra inferno and admitted to hospital in Ahmedabad and Hindu refugees in the Prem Darwaza and other relief camps had not been interviewed. Aaj Tak invited the barshest rebuke, especially for its prompt coverage of the first lew hours. The demand was that this channel

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should be shut down and its "licence" revoked. Aaj Tak was probably first on the air with live footage of the rioting. The Times of India and Indian Express, both of which have Ahmedabad editions, were also singled out for mention.

The VHP vigilantes left after about 30-40 minutes to cries of Jai Sri Ram and the two ringleaders did finally give their names and calling cards. They expressed regret for any offence caused but insisted we should meet the VHP leaders and provided the mobile telephone number of Mr Jayant Patel, Joint General Secretary, who was at that time travelling in Kutch. By now a small posse of policemen had arrived and as the Guild Team went to the Prem Darwaza and Shah Alam relief camps, a DCP awaited us with a message from the Police Commissioner seeking to know if we wished to lodge any complaint or sought police protection. We declined both offers.

Mr Jaydeep Patel was contacted that evening and the Team did meet him and Dr Kaushik Mehta, the other VHP Joint General Secretary, a couple of days later. On our narrating the incident, they said that the VHP was so popular that all sorts of people went about using its name. Earlier, in mentioning this same incident to the Chief Minister, we said this little episode had told us more than anything else about the mindset behind the riots. We expressed surprise that "partners" of his Government should behave in this manner. Mr Modi agitatedly denied such partnership.)

Sandesh: "Something happened"

A starker revelation of the Hindutva mindset at work in Gujarat was soon to follow the encounter with the VHP when we visited the CMD and de facto Editor-in-Chief of Sandesh. If there is one thing that can be confidently said about Mr Falgun Patel, it is that he is honest to a fault. We met this press baron on one of the higher floors of his plush and glearning new office in Ahmedabad, far above the dust and din of the city sprawled below. Let him tell the story, as prompted by our queries.

The English media, he said, had sided "out and out" with the minority community and the Gujarat papers were, by and large, pro-Hindu. He blamed the English media for throwing all restraint to the wind by citing the religious affiliation of various groups. Others therefore followed suit.

Hindus were not temperamentally prone to starting riots. Gujarat had known worse disturbances, as for example in 1969. But this time Hindu anger "irrespective of class" was inflamed by the burning of innocent women and children at Godhra. "Something happened". Even Hindu women felt "theek hai, salon ko maro". Some English papers carried baseless stories that Godhra was not pre-planned and that karsewak misbehaviour at the railway station provoked the Muslims. When it was said that the Times of India ran its story on the basis of an on-the-record briefing by the IGP Railway Police (See Annexure 11, P 19), this was dismissed as "bullshitting".

Mr Falgun Patel described the Godhra incident as "unforgettable" and the reaction to it as justified. "Can a 20 per cent minority take the majority for a ride? There has to be a limit". Muslims had done nothing to throw out the Latifs in their community (a reference to a notorious Ahmedabad don who was killed in an encounter some years ago). Dariapur (a Muslim dominated section of the walled city) had a godfather and so the Muslims thought they could get away with anything. When the BJP government assumed office, a clear message went out to the Muslim mafia. Hence they were quiet. But asked by us why innocent persons should be targeted, Mr Falgun Patel said the idea was "to pressurise ordinary Muslims to put pressure on Muslim goons to behave". After the way "these Muslims" had behaved, "Hinduism ke naam per hum kuch bhi karenge".

Mr Patel complained that outsiders who had "no feeling for Gujarat" ran the local English papers. It was, however, pointed out to him that these papers hired talent, irrespective of community.

Asked of checks and balances in the production of Sandesh, Mr Patel remarked that all news obtained was "balanced by our own version". The paper "editorialises the news" as the regular editorials and articles carried later "are too late". He freely admitted in response to a query that the paper's reporters did tose balance and were communalised "all down the line, even today" (April 2). This view was proffered as "a general statement" and further amplified by a subsequent remark to the effect that "the Hindu reaction is so strong that we have to be cautious. I get 200 calls a day". Yet the paper did have a Muslim readership and was not anti-Muslim per se.

Mr Falgun Patel was down to earth in his perception of the Gujarat media scene. Running a newspaper is big business and Gujarat essentially has two newspapers, Sandesh and the Gujarat Samachar, both bitter rivals. The Gujarat Samachar has a circulation of around 8.10 lakhs and Sandesh about 7.05 lakhs. But because of its pro-Hindu stand, Sandesh's circulation had increased by 150,000 copies since the riots began. This newspaper competition was "not healthy" and it was left to each newspaper to contradict inaccuracies in the other. There was "no ethics or principles". Gujarat Samachar, he alleged, had a pro-Jain bias. "Hindu protection is my duty".

Mr Patel complained that authentic and timely information was seldom available from the Home Department, Police or Information Department. The media had not been taken into confidence or fully briefed. The Police Commissioner of Ahmedabad had held his first press briefing only on the 34° day of rioting. The Chief Minister (who we were told personally conducted daily 4 p.m briefings for the first ten days) was, in Mr Patel's view, fond of TV appearances and ignored the print media. The CM's TV appearances were, however, inadequate as he would only respond to queries and kept repeating that everything that had happened was a reaction and that normalcy had been restored. Incidents and casualty figures could not be easily confirmed.

Mr Falgun Patel said that on February 28 itself Sandesh appealed for calm. It frontpaged a story to the effect that Gujarat was still recovering from last year's devastating earthquake and a subsequent cyclone disaster and should therefore keep cool despite Godhra. Positive stories of human interest and communal harmony were also run "to send out a humanitarian message". Sandesh also praised the Bhavnagar SP for his firm and timely action (in preventing harm to a large number of children huddled in a madrassa in imminent danger of being attacked). Incidentally, s on thereafter, this officer was among those who were summarily transferred on what we were told by the CM was "long-pending promotion". 24

The Guild Team questioned Mr Patel about some of its more sensational reports in screaming headlines, many of which were unsourced, speculative or without any basis. One of these was a dire warning about Hajis returning to Gujarat with arms and RDX to wreak vengeance. This caused considerable panic and was contradicted as baseless. Mr Patel's plea was that the report had appeared in the Asian Age a day earlier and that Sandesh had followed it up and made its own inquiries with the Intelligence agencies and others. Thereafter, the Chief Minister had been alerted but had taken the report rather casually. (The Team subsequently saw the Asian Age report and found its contents and alleged Intelligence background to be very different in purport and tenor. It in no way justified the Sandesh story). Mr Patel's defence was that the Asian Age story had not been contradicted.

Mr Patel was also asked about the Sandesh banner headline about the breasts of two Hindu women having been chopped off by the mobsters at Godhra. He replied that the information came from the DSP Panchmahals. This was promptly contradicted and the contradiction appeared in the Gujarat Samachar. This, we were told, was a fall out of "competition" between the two rival papers. Sandesh's own policy was "not to carry corrections and clarifications".

Mr Patel countered by referring to the coverage of the destruction of the Wali Gujarati dargah by the Times of India. "Was this right?" he asked. (Wali Gujarati lived in the 17th century and was India's first Urdu ghazalkar. This well known cultural landmark, dear to all communities, was razed to the ground on February 27 and a paved road built over it within days. Some 240 large and small Muslim dargahs, mosques, shrines and kabristans were similarly vandalised throughout Gujarat and Hulluria Hanuman (riotous Hanuman) murtis installed at some sites. In Vadodara, the tomb of the famous Baroda court musician, Ustad Fayyaz Khan was desecrated.

Asked about the killing of Ehsan Jafri, a former M.P and several others by fire in Gulberg-colony despite desperate calls for help over several hours, Mr Patel said that Mr Jafri had a "bad record". (Many others told us later that on the contrary Ehsan Jafri was a poet and much respected figure who worked for the masses and preferred to live in a cosmopolitan residential area rather than in a Muslim ghetto. Justice Akbar Divecha's flat was vandalised in Ahmedabad and the residence of Prof J.S. Bandukwala, who teaches physics at M.S. Baroda University and is a votary of communal harmony, was similarly ravaged.

Finally, Mr Patel showed us a letter dated March 18 sent to him officially as owner and chief executive of Sandesh by the Chief Minister. In this, Mr Narendra Modi, personally expressed his high appreciation for the newspaper's restrained coverage of the recent events in the best traditions of journalism. Mr Modi told us later that similar letters had gone out under his signature to a number of Gujarati language papers. Gujarat Samachar and 14 others were sent such letters according to a hurried listing by the Information Department. The text of the original letter in Gujarati and its English translation is at Annexure 4.

Before parting company, we mentioned that we were going to Gandhinagar to meet the Chief Minister and others. Mr Patel wryly remarked, "The Government dances to our tune. We can get them to do anything". Others, later, made much the same comment - in reverse.

The Gujarat Samachar story /

The owner-editors of the Gujarat Samachar, Mr Shreyans Shah and Mr Bahubali Shah were generally reticent but said their competition with Sandesh had in no way compromised journalistic standards. "I never publish news keeping circulation in mind; the paper's policy is to promote communal harmony, Mr Shreyans Shah asserted. However, there had been a rise in circulation of about 50,000 to 60,000 copies, "though these things do not-lest".

An article in the Samachar had implied that Ehsan Jafri, who was brutally slain, "got what he deserved". Queried on this, Mr Babubali Shah said he stood by what the paper had written.

Both Shahs said there was inadequate official information during the first weeks of the riots.

Other Gujarati papers

There are a large number of Gujarati papers, 32 large and small vernacular publications in Ahmedabad alone. Fulchab, in Rajkot, was characteristically the first to take out a peace rally immediately after Godhra.

In Ahmedabad we met editors of three other dailies, Sambhav (four editions), Prabhat (Ahmedabad and Mehsana) and Gujarat Today (which has a Muslim ownership). All three are seen to have been moderate and balanced in approach.

(Sambhav's CMD, Mr Kiran Vadodaaria, avoided publishing pictures of corpses. The paper received an anonymous threat on April 1 because it had carried a column by M.J. Akbar, the Asian Age Editor. The Editor told us that though no curfew passes were distributed to his staff, they were able to move about quite freely with their formal press cards which were honoured.

Prabhat's Director, Mr Ashish Kothari, spoke of swords and liquor being distributed on February 27. Its Editor felt that TV had played a very positive role by exposing the machinations of those behind the rioting mobs.

Mr Aziz Tankarvi is Editor of Gujarat Today, the only daily newspaper owned and run by Muslims in Gujarat. He told us that his paper had carried more editorials on the developments in Gujarat than any other published in the State. His endeavour, he said, was to cool tempers. Independent observers confirmed that Gujarat Today generally carried balanced reports – an assessment that VHP officials whom we met strongly contested.

Like Prabhat, Gujarat Today too did not receive Mr Narendra Modi's letter of commendation.

Senior administrative and police officers in Anand told the Guild team that local newspapers incited violence through irresponsible reporting. One paper, Madhyantrar, edited by Mr Jashwant Rawal, was specifically named. The paper's April 3 edition, shown to us, alleged that a Muslim police officer was behind the local riots. An eight-column commentary on the front page was headlined: "Muslims will have to prove that they are full Indians".

The Kutch Mitra ran a statement by a prominent Moulvi on its front page for several days condemning Godhra and expressing regret over what had happened. The Saurashtra Samachar, Bhavnagar, of March 2 carried a special supplement devoted to religious harmony.

Meeting with Narendra Modi

We had asked for separate meetings in Gandhinagar with the Chief Minister, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, the Information Minister, the Chief Secretary and the DG Police the better to serve focussed discussion. However, Mr Narendra Modi met us without his ministerial colleagues or the DGP but collectively in the presence of the Chief Secretary, the Home Secretary, a senior police official, the Revenue Secretary (who looks after relief and rehabilitation), the Director of Information and several others.

A large bust of Gandhiji is installed in front of the Sachivalaya and looks across the road at the adjacent Old Secretariat that houses various Government Directorates. The Old Secretariat is a protected area. Yet the Gujarat State Wakf Board, located just below the Directorate of Information, and the Gujarat Minorities Finance and Development Corporation housed in the Block opposite, both Government offices, were attacked and torched by a mob during office hours on February 28. Staff in all the Directorates ran for cover. The Old Secretariat was closed; later, curfew was imposed in Gandhinagar. No arrests had been made until April 2, the day of our visit. Records pertaining to dargahs, mosques, madrassas and kabristans were lost in the fire.

We told Mr Modi of our mission and asked for his assessment of the media's role in the ongoing crisis in Gujarat. He was coy; it was too early for him to say anything about the media as CM, he said. But if Narendra Modi were asked that question, that would be a long story. Coaxed to say something more, he said the media, especially TV, was very powerful. None in the media had appealed for peace. Yes, maybe editorials had appeared, but ordinary people did not read editorials. He himself had gone on the air and repeatedly called for peace.

Responding to queries regarding various statements attributed to him by the media, Mr Mödi denied citing Newton's law. Nor had he spoken of "action-reaction"; he had wanted neither the action (at Godhra) nor the subsequent reaction. When we cited footage in Zee to the contrary (Annexure 4A), there was no reaction from Mr Modi The Chief Minister said he had merely only narrated the facts and justified nothing. He was pained by a "Diary" item about his "feasting" while Gujarat burned that the Times of India had carried the previous week. He had merely gone to his constituency in Rajkot to thank party workers after his recent by-election victory and had had a quick, Spartan meal before hurrying away to inspect some continuing earthquake relief works. The Indian Express too had had carried unkind references to him in its "Modi-Meter" column.

He had not said "normalcy" had been restored in 72 hours but only that the situation had been largely brought under control during that period, unlike on past occasions when rioting had continued for weeks. Firing had been ordered and a large number of arrests had been made. Scare stories in some papers, such as about returning Hajis and breast-cutting in Sandesh, had been officially denied but the contradictions had not been carried. This was because newspapers sought to sensationalise issues. Asked why the State did not prosecute offending newspapers under the law, Mr Modi said "we prefer to move on".

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The Chief Minister justified the presence of two Ministers in the Gandhinagar and Ahmedabad Police Control Rooms. This was standard practice in Gujarat, even during the earthquake last year; moreover, the control room was a convenient place from which to interact with the public. (Later we were to hear of reports of a Minister's son sitting in the police control room in Godhra. When we queried this with official interlocutors, we were informed that no action could be taken unless an FIR was filed. None had dared do so).

He went on to deny reports of his comparing his term of office to a "one-day cricket match". What he had said when he took office was that there were 12,000 hours to go before the next Assembly elections. Just as in a one-day cricket, achieving a given run-rate is critical, he had appealed for a better "work-rate" to fulfil the Government's promises to the people. This remark had been twisted.

He said he had visited both Muslim and Hindu relief camps and had spoken to all camp organisers. He would not like to comment on the National Human Rights Commission's report but the media had omitted many positive references made by the Commission about the Government's performance. The NHRC had also called for a media code and self-policing under the terms of Article 19 (2) of the Constitution.

The Chief Minister had little to say about the killing of Ehsan Jafri and the attack on the two Justices of the Gujarat High Court, apart from pleading an inadequacy of forces to control large mobs roving across far flung areas of the city. He denied saying that "private firing" by Jafri had enraged the mob. Words had been put in his mouth as he had merely referred to a newspaper report that said this is what had happened. He also denied any preplanned targeting of Muslim establishments and said that local people knew the who and the what of these things as they lived in the same community.

Mr Modi had no explanation for the widespread destruction of Muslim dargahs and shrines and how it was that in at least one case the rubble had been cleared and a tarred road built over the site. The Team pointed out that the usual complaint was that damaged rods and pavements were never repaired for months on end and that tarring a road is a major operation that calls for organisation, mechanical equipment and efforts beyond

the capability of stray hoodlums. The CM pleaded lack of knowledge but did say that he had ordered the removal of makeshift Hindu shrines and idols installed in some of them. He then went on to ask if it was helpful for TV to have shown a decapitated Hanuman idol at a desecrated Hindu shrine at Anjar in Kutch that very morning (April 2).)

The CM defended the recent transfer of several police officials, including some who had dome commendable work in controlling riots. He felt these "long-pending promotions" would act as an "incentive". He said there could be two views opinions on this count but agreed with the suggestion that perhaps promotions might have been announced but the actual movement of the officers deferred until after the law and order situation had stabilised. He also accepted that he would have done well to call local editors for a frank briefing. This would have enabled him to explain the Government's concerns and solicit their cooperation.

Mr Narendra Modi, like certain other official spokesmen in Delhi, also drew a comparison between media coverage of the Gujarat riots and the restrained and responsible role of the American media after the September 11 attack on the World Trade Towers in New York. Dead bodies were not shown on television or in press photographs. The fact is that on September 11 and for some days thereafter none other than firemen could approach, let alone enter, the WTC and very few bodies were recovered until much later. People were shown jumping off higher floors and clinging to windows. The two episodes are very different and there was no arson, rape, loot and rioting in New York of the kind witnessed in Gujarat.

Before we left, the conversation turned to how confidence and mutual trust might be restored. The Team said that commissions of inquiry in India had lost credibility because of delays and obstructions in their working and inaction on their findings. In the circumstances, the Gujarat Government could not do better than to enable the K.G.Shah Commission to complete its task expeditiously and thereafter take immediate action on its findings. Mr Modi thought this a good idea.

However, on visiting the shell of the burnt out carriage No. S-6 at Godhra station (with a Railway escort) on April 3, we were surprised to see this prime exhibit standing in the yard unguarded and stray people entering it at will. Anyone could remove or plant anything in the carriage, tampering with whatever evidence it has to offer with none being any the wiser.)

Furthermore, it was only on April 1 that Justice K. G. Shah, heading the one-man Commission of Inquiry, reportedly visited his office, having been provided with some staff and other wherewithal with which to commence his labour. Interviewed over TV he is reported to have said that his inquiry could quite take time. As of April 6, when the last of us left Gujarat, none seemed aware of any notification having been issued by or on behalf. of the Commission calling on people to come forward with relevant evidence or announcing any programme of work or schedule of visits. (See Annexure 5 for K.G. Shah Commission's terms of reference).

The Story as told through Gujarat Government Press Notes

Even before leaving for Gujarat, we had requested the State Information Department for a set of relevant press notes and other official documents, statements and appeals that would enable us to understand the situation from the official perspective. We were provided a set hurriedly put together Press Notes in English. These are briefly analysed below. All citations are in the actual language used in the official releases.

The phraseology most often used for the Godhra incident was "inhuman genocide", "inhuman carnage" or "massacre" while the subsequent riots were invariably described as "disturbances", and occasionally as "violent disturbances/incidents". The Chief Minister usited Godhra on the evening of February 27 itself and the Press Note issued thereafter cescribed the torching of the Sabarmati Express as a "pre-planned inhuman collective tolent act of terrorism".

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Several releases refer to the situation having been brought under control - thin 72 hours. An official release on March 5 carried twin beadings: The State Government has taken stringent action to stem riots and violence: Narendra Modi; and 'Chief Minister's Appeal to Trade and Industry, Religion Heads and Intellectuals for the Revival and Restoration of Economic Activities has evoked Encouraging Response". The ceasion was a Citizens' meet organised by the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce and Industry in response to an appeal by the CM "to revive and restore economic activity". The release notes that "Modi said it was the duty of the state government to provide security to the citizens even by taking drastic actions. Referring to the keen interest shown by the people around the globe in the 'Resurgent Gujarat' after devastating earthquake, he said 'that entire world was looking at the progressive and fast developing Gujarat".

After again referring to "the pre-planned collective terrorism against Gujarat", "akistan's proxy war and its "clandestine role...behind the Godhra genocide", "Modi asserted that at this critical juncture, interest of Gujarat was maintain peace and said that the Government had discharged its duty to stop violence". Further, he said, "the elements -isting to perpetuate violence and destabilise Gujarat were disappointed. Making a "sterence to Shabana Azmi's demand to file a case of mass murder against the Chief Minister, Medi said that he would not have any regret to be hanged at the Bhadra Fort if "estoration of peace within three days was considered an offence".

Another press release dated March 9 was headed "We will not surrender to the clements out to malign Gujarat says the Chief Minister". The occasion was another address "leading business men and the merchant community" under the auspices of the Maskati bew Cloth Market Mahajan. He said Mahatma Gandhi had taught Gujarat to fight against mustice. Health Minister Ashok Bhatt who also spoke "was cheered when he said that the trading community hails the Chief Minister as 'the Sardar opposed to terrorism', because be restored peace to Ahimedabad in only 72 hours". The press release concluded with the trading will power of the Chief Minister and described him as 'Chhote Sardar'".

A March 4 press release from Ahmedabad on the occasion of Mr L.K. Advani's sit to Gujarat stated that "Home Minister L.K. Advani today said that the Godhra genocide had given a setback to the four year of peaceful Bharatiya Janata party Rule in Jujarat". The comment was reflected in the heading.

1. (There were a couple of press notes on community amity. A release dated March 2 ploted the Chief Minister as denying newspaper reports of people having been burnt alive 2 Pandarwada village in Panchmahal. We were later to learn that this was one of the worst 3 stances of rural violence. (This has been documented by Communalism Combat, Mumbai and figures in its Report "Genocide, Gujarat 2002", March-April issue, No. 77-78).) \

We were not given any releases issued by the Police Department or by the thmedabad Police. So we do not know to what extent, if any, they filled the gaping holes in the narrative offered by the Press Notes issued through the Information Department. It is quite possible that the latter file given to us was incomplete and consisted of no more than a representative sample. Be that as it may, the media and, through it, the people of Gujarat were not kept properly or fully informed through the official information channels. What was put out was a travesty of the horrific events that engulfed the State. Much of it was one-sided and self-serving, culogising the Chief Minister and focussing on a particular section of the trading community while Gujarat burned.

The file of official Press Notes given to the Guild is at Annexure 6.

The Directorate of Information also gave us a file contained 11 clarifications issued by it in respect of certain statements and views attributed to the Chief Minister in various news reports, editorials and articles by columnists. The Chief Minister himself referred to certain of these comments when the Guild Team met him. The file of "Clarifications" is at Annexure 7.

Criticism of the "Secular Media"

The vocabulary of discourse, like much else in Gujarat, has come to reflect the deep emotions and divisions aroused by events in the State. Thus, the term "secular media", is used pejoratively to describe those papers and channels which are only critical of violence against the minority community.

One critic wrote to the Guild as follows after its Fact-Finding Mission was announced: "Till date, only politicians were coddling and flattering this (Muslim) community under the cover of "secularism" for their selfish motive of securing votes. But now, media people, especially Xavierites and convent-ites having recently entered this field, have also joined their bandwagon and have given completely biased and one-sided coverage... Not a single educated and forward Muslim like Shabana Azmi or Dilipkumar have defamed their fanatic and downtrodden member in very clear and true words (sic). While our own journalists have played pivotal role in depicting VHP members as hardliners and fanatics causing great harm to the prestige of our community and of our nation.... Try to understand one thing – "If you are defaming your family member, you are undermining your own interest.....".

(Sections of the media have been criticised for directly or indirectly linking the Godhra incident to Ayodhya. Vir Sanghvi, Editor of the Hindustan Times had this to say: "The sub-text to all secular commentary is the same: the kar sevaks had it coming to them. Basically, they condemn the crime; but blame the victims". (Annexure 8) Others, like Jaya Jaitley, the Samanta leader, argued in the Indian Express that "there is a whole mass of feelings out there that these people (Opposition/intellectuals) are missing and will continue to miss if they remain comfortably secluded in their make-believe worlds". Her conclusion: "If Godhra had been adequately condemned, perhaps the retaliation would have been more easily contained. If the intellectuals and the so-called secular Opposition leave it to the fundamentalists, violence is all we will get. Whether we like it or not, they were the only ones who reflected the anger against Godhra, when both secular media and politicians had failed". (Annexure 9).

Not only is the logic flawed, but Godhra was roundly condemned by all. Leaders of 1 prominent national Muslim organisations denounced "the barbaric and brutal violence in 3odhra" on February 28. (Muslim India, April 2002). The Prime Minister and Leaders of he Opposition were signatories to a joint appeal to maintain peace and communal harmony he following day.

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Sandhya Jain, writing in the Pioneer of April 23, 2002 under the heading Perceived fair play will cool Hindu rage", opines that "majority bashing has assumed such larming proportions that there is growing concern among analysts that the proverbial lindu patience may be reaching breaking point. Serious commentators are of the view that olitical parties and the media should understand the Godhra-Gujarat conflagration from us point of view, and resist the temptation to fish in troubled waters".

The Guild Team received a letter from Bhopal labelling marked portions of Outlook" (March 18, 2002) a gross misuse of the right to freedom of expression. The npugned reports included several reports and columns by the Editor, Vinod Mehta, Prem hankar Jha and Priyanka Kakodkar (reporting from Godhra). Vinod Mehta wrote: "...Are we equating state terrorism with an act of terrorism committed by a group of crazy, igoted individuals?...When law-abiding citizens are being burnt alive by mobs, objective surnalism needs to be jettisoned; the media has no option but to tell the story from the de of the victims so that the country can see the grisly events".

Others are sore because the media did not se through the sinister plot underlying odhra, namely to bring about the economic destabilisation of India, beginning with ujarat. At the same time, some critics are of the view that the media has carried caggerated accounts of the economic loss suffered by trade and industry in Gujarat. A tter to the Times of India calls for balance. It reads: Please refer the Sunday Times, larch 10, P 1. "Razed dargahs pave roads to mystery": it is a title biased against Hindus. he report under the title states that Hanuman Mandir was also razed. So the correct title is Razed dargahs and Hanuman Mandir pave roads to mystery".

Hotline, a Gujarati weekly published from Surat, carried a long piece in its edition April 6 by its editor, Vikram Vakil, under the heading "English media exposed". He tes and comments on 10 examples of "indulgence in gossip" citing the Times of India, dian Express, Outlook and Star TV. Particular mention is made of reports on the burning 'the Sabarmati Express in Godhra on February 27 and on a Times story (March 19) of i0 persons being burnt alive and thrown into a disused well. Hotline says this was just a mour and was denied by the police. (See summary translation at Annexure 10). This is ecisely what the Times had said too. (See Annexure 11, P 13).

The Gujarat Janhati Rakshak Samiti of Vadodara led by Ajay Dave represented to e Guild Team against the pro-minority mind-set of the English media. It noted their ilure, to cover and analyse the reasons for adivasi anger against Muslims in rural adodara and spoke of "provocation" such as the azan being called 40 times a day in a igle village (eight mosques each calling the faithful to prayer five times). The Hindus are "oppressed and suppressed". "White collar indignation" over Godhra had spilled on the streets, taking the form of looting instead of killing ! The "topiwalas" were at the ot of all wrongdoing and thought they had license to crime. The backlash being witnessed is "a natural reaction" to Godhra. The Samiti presented a memorandum, with a number of newspaper clippings appended, excoriating the "nasty role" of certain English and minority language newspapers and TV channels. They were charged with "one-sided coverage". Their aim was to defame Gujarat and bring it down to the level of Bihar "so that industrial investment in Gujarat is inhibited and its economic prosperity suffers a setback". (See Annexure 11).

A Muslim liberal in Ahmedabad complained, more in sorrow than in anger, that many contemporary and contextual articles he had sent in recent times to the local English newspapers were never used. He pleaded that the media, especially the English language press with its national reach, should find space for local liberal, modern Muslim voices and ³ enable them to network. Muslim Indians must know that there is an alternative discourse to what they hear from traditional sources or radical forces. Likewise, it is imperative to rebuild inter-community links and bridges that have been destroyed. The point, made with feeling and eloquence, is well taken.

The Other Side of the Fence

A number of civic and human rights groups and NGOs in Ahmedabad and Vadodara have been monitoring the media and shared their perceptions and findings with the Guild Team. Among these, the People's Union for Civil Liberties and Shanti Abhiyan in Vadodara and a number of other community groups in Gujarat have meticulously tracked media trends in Gujarat.

The attitude of Sandesh has been noted earlier. Gujarat Samachar (Vadodara edition) is again shown as using provocative, instigative headlines for unsourced, unverified, exaggerated or even fictitious stories. (See Annexure 11A). A lack of objectivity and balance is evident in much of the coverage, though some positive stories were also published. The Muslim-owned Gujarat Today is seen to be more restrained and balanced and mindful of carrying stories of communal harmony despite the violence. The Times of India and Indian Express are commended on the whole. But some matters could have been more adequately covered such as combing operations, atrocities against women, conditions in relief camps and the involvement of persons named by local people in various areas. The Express is cited for some of its investigative stories but there is criticism of headlines such as 'Dial M for Modi, Murder' and 'Modimeter', the latter being a daily tally of casualties.

The overall conclusion of PUCL-Shanti Abhiyan is that "When Muslims were at fault, names were taken, perpetrators were clearly identified. When Muslims were the victims of murderers, arsonists, looters, etc, then it has not been clearly stated who attacked whom. No sources have been quoted for headlines, even when they have simply been lifted from speeches by VHP leaders (like "Khoon ka badla Khoon"). Headlines are also misleading and often followed up by reports that do not substantiate headlines.... The anti-minority stand is obvious in the slant in news reporting. Editorials and news items are often written in a way that implicitly and explicitly justifies carnage after the Godhra, incident". (Annexure 12).

The Memorandum presented by the Anjuman-e-Imdad-e-Bahami, Vadodara, is revealing. The mendacious reportage of Sandesh is exposed. Yet the representation concludes with a reaffirmation of the secular ethos of the average citizens of Gujarat". (Annexure 13),

Another Memorandum presented by the Shahpur Seva Samaj, Ahmedabad, on "Provocation and Instigation of Violence ...," contains a detailed analysis of the Gujarati press. It lists a number of fabrications prominently published and subsequently not corrected when officially denied. (Annexure 14).

Still another Memorandum against Sandesh in particular was submitted by K.R.Kazi of Vadodara together with copies of offending stories along with a gist of offensive passages/inferences given in English. (Annexure 15).

A representation by residents of Tandalja, a Muslim majority area in Vadodara, speaks of a media campaign in Gujarat Mitra and Sandesh to have the locality declared a disturbed area" as it is a "mini-Pakistan". (See Annexure 16).

Sandesh (Bhavnagar edition, March 1, 2002) is cited as inciting Hindus to avenge Godhra. An unsourced report reads: "Hindus were burnt alive in Godhra and leaders in Bhavnagar did not even throw a stone in the name of bandh. Ahmedabd, Vadodara and Rajkot partly avenged the killing of Hindus in Godhra. In the case of Bhavnagar, the gutless leaders are hiding their faces under the guise of non-violence. (Annexure 17).

Gujarat Today was found to be generally balanced and moderate in tone. The visuals it published were sober. The paper sought to promote communal harmony and carried editorial page articles by liberal Hindus and Muslims including translations of columns from the mainline English press.

TV and Radio networks

Zee TV, Aaj Tak and ETV (Eenadu) operate Gujarati channels in addition to Doordarshan. There were few critics of ETV and its coverage was described as balanced. Aaj Tak in particular received a lot of flak for its candid coverage. It had earned praise during the earthquake for going off the beaten track and picking up special nuances. This same approach possibly proved an embarrassment to some on this occasion. Like the other networks it used mobile OB vans that allowed quicker and more exhaustive coverage.

Star TV (NDTV) carried some graphic footage and interviews in the thick of the riots – in Ahmedabad and along the Vadodara-Godhra highway where a number of industrial establishments and trucks were burnt. There were strong critics of its coverage, including what was termed as the arrogant and hectoring tone of its correspondent while interviewing a tired Ahmedabad police commissioner at the end of a long day and its insistence that the Army's deployment was unduly delayed. Rajdeep Sardesai, NDTV's Political Editor, responded to this criticism in a subsequent newspaper article. Star also carried an extremely moving interview with Professor J.S Bandukwala in Vadodara, a man whose secular ethos continues to burn bright even after going through a terrible ordeal.

There is little doubt that some of the television coverage unmasked the State Government. It hit back by banning Star on March 2 for several hours. In an interview to "Outlook" (March 18, 2002), Mr Narendra Modi was asked why he had sought to muzzle the press. His response was that "There was no ban on the media. I blacked out just one channel because of the provocative reporting methods used. Traditionally the print media has used its own methods of self-censorship, taking care not to mention the names of communities while reporting riots. If every half an hour names of communities are going to be mentioned, without any substantiation or any attribution, it inflames the situation instead of allaying it. It is not difficult to see what impact it will have. I must also tell you that since then the channel has tendered an apology and made amends"./Asked about this, Star News commented that it met Mr Modi at a press conference and requested him to lift what it termed an unfair ban. The Chief Minister complied. It must also be added that Mr Modi was given opportunity on the channel to air his point of view on events in Gujarat by prior atrangement before the ban.

The coverage by Doordarshan and AIR's Ahmedabad kendras was staid. There were viewers and listeners who said that they appreciated this though others expressed dissatisfaction. One of our interlocutors said that while AIR reported the facts, Doordarshan siad the situation was under control. The Chief Minister's peace appeal was replayed several times by Doordarshan. Peace rallies in different parts of the State and programmes emphasising communal harmony were aired. These included sound bytes in Gandhiji's voice, culled from archival material, and stories of Hindus sheltering Muslims. Efforts were made to counter rumours and scenes of joint Holi celebrations were screened.

According to a report in the Indian Express (March 8, 2002), AIR, Delhi was quizzed by somebody in the Prime Minister's Office regarding an English discussion that was critical of the manner in which the Gujarat riots had been officially handled. This is said to have resulted in an inquiry and the transfer of the concerned Programme Officer. The discussants, Bhishma Narain Singh, a former Governor, Prof. Imtiaz Ahmed of JNU and Amulya Ganguli of the Hindustan Times were admittedly critical. However, if the issue was an alleged lack of balance in the programme, the answer is that Prasar Bharati cannot be totally anodyne about stark events and hope to enjoy any credibility; nor is balance always possible in a single programme and may often only be achieved over a series of broadcasts that allow all legitimate points of view a fair airing.

Local Electronic/Cable Networks

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Many cities in Gujarat have local cable-television channels that broadcast several hours a day. Gujarat Samachar has such a channel in Ahmedabad. There is another in Anand known as the Charotar Area Network Link or CAN-Link which is a 24-hour channel and also publishes a local newspaper, Naya Padkar. What subscribers wanted from their local media was positive stories of community living and hard information about incidentprone areas, curfew hours, safe routes for commuting and so forth. This was not forthcoming and such information as was provided was sometimes confusing.

Vadodara has four cable channels. While they did carry some official peace messages, it is alleged that they were politically exploited and some of their coverage amounted to incitement. PUCL and Shanti Abhiyan were particularly critical of the JTV and Deep channels. (See Annexure 12 P 27). The Police Commissioner Vadodara felt the cable networks had "played havoc" and warned them. The licenses of two operators were suspended on March 17 after they showed live footage of rioting in the sensitive Macchipith area on March 15, when the VHP celebrated news of the performance of shilinyas at

Ayodhya. This same live footage was repeated the following day. The licenses were restored after 48 hours. FIRs were, however, registered against News Plus and the VNM Channel respectively and the operators released on bail.

On the other hand, some observers told us that the cable coverage exposed violation of Section 144 or curfew by large crowds and instances of police inaction. However, even these sources admitted that the live coverage did arouse passions.

Cable Networks are subject to rules framed under the Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act, 1995. Operators have to seek registration by an authorised officer who may be a district magistrate, sub-divisional magistrate or police commissioner within his/her area of jurisdiction. The Rules prescribe a code for programmes and advertisements. No programme may be carried which offends good taste or decency, attacks religious communities, incites violence, contains false and suggestive innuendoes and half-truths, or is unsuitable for unrestricted public exhibition. Any authorised officer may prohibit certain transmissions infringing the code or otherwise if expedient to do so in the public interest. Penalties include fines and seizure of equipment.

The Guild Team was informed that during long periods of curfew between March 1 and 15, some cable channels made it a point to screen "patriotic" or "nationalist" films such as Gadar, Border, and Ma Tujhe Salaam.

Pamphlets and Handbills

The new media was actively used for positive and negative ends through the Gujarat riots. Computer generated or more crudely and clandestinely printed pamphlets and handbills, without any imprint line, were brought out and widely circulated. Some of earlier vintage were recirculated. Among those we met, some testified to seeing handbills being openly distributed in large-numbers at street corners and traffic intersections. The dissemination of such material was reported in the press. Their authenticity is difficult to establish and it is entirely possible that some are products of disinformation wilfully distributed with diabolical intent. Others appear more plausible in view of circumstantial evidence from other quarters. Either way, this is a most dangerous development, even if not altogether new, as means of instant and widespread dissemination are now technologically available.

A pernicious piece of hate propaganda, officially disseminated by the VHP, calls for the eeanomic boycott of Muslims. This was admitted to the Indian Express by Mr Chinubhai Patel, the Parishad's Gujarat treasurer. (See Annexure 18). A more recent four page pamphlet circulating in Ahmedabad by this same organisation carries an appeal for funds to provide security for Hindus. It reads: Your life is in danger, you can be murdered any time... We are collecting funds for securing the interests of the Hindus....there are thousands of more Godhra carnages being planned". Mr Chinubhai Patel has confirmed that these pamphlets are in circulation. (Times of India, April 26, 2002).

PUCL/Shanti Abhiyan has summarised the content of several other pamphlets (See Annexure 12, P 30-31). The most damaging of these is an alleged secret RSS circular listing ways of killing or debilitating minorities. The economic boycott theme figures again and was found to be circulating by chain distribution in Sadhari, Pali district, Rajasthan. The Express. March 24 (Delhi edition) reports the police seizure of a pamphlet urging Hindus to create a "jagrut Hindu rashtra", allegedly circulated by the Bajrang Dal president. Hastimal, who is said to have been arrested. The theme: "Don't purchase anything from Muslim shops, don't travel in their vehicles or visit their garages; don't watch films which feature Muslim stars. In this way we can break their financial backbone". The same news item says that the police seized a pamphlet in tribal-dominated Banswara, exhorting Hindus to hang a saffron flag outside their homes to help identification during Moharram.

A bunch of vicious handbills was handed over to us in Ahmedabad by one of the groups we met. These call for economic boycott of Muslims and warn Hindus against Christian schools and praying at dargahs. Others appeal to the police and Army and salute Narendra Modi. One handbill has a message for Muslim youth and instructs them on how to deal with kafirs. This is attributed to a Dr K.M.Farukh but carries no address or other identification. All the other handbills are unsourced. (Annexure 19).

A Hindi leafter attributed to the Bharat Bachao Sangh, Allahabad and said to have been found in Coach No S-6 of the Sabarmati Express was also given to us. (Annexure 20).

Gruesome coloured photographs depicting the charred and mutilated remains of Satarmati Express victims are reportedly being circulated at meetings, accompanied by fiery speeches. (Hindustan Times, April 9). The Guild Team was officially given a set of such photographs with provocative captions at the VHP office. This evoked extreme horror and disgust.

In Ahmedabad we were told of the seizure a booklet titled "In Defence of Hindus" purporting to be a "riot manual" from Nagpur containing a list of do-it-yourself brutalities.

Corresponding reports have appeared of pamphlets allegedly circulated by Muslims. One of these, titled "Give Challenge to Open Terrorism by Covert Terrorism", is said to have been distributed at the Shah Alam refugee camp in Ahmedabad, a charge denied by organisers of the camp. It is said to be attributed by intelligence sources to an unknown organisation called Lashkar-e-Khelendeen and calls for guerilla strikes to destroy the "Narendra Modi terrorist organisation". (HT, April 9).

In Ahmedabad, the National Medicos Organisation on April 2 gave the Guild Team a "provocative" Hindi leaflet ending with the slogan "Pakistan Zindabad". The same "medico" representation was strongly critical of the English press and spoke of "a

... series of events like Kargil, hijacking of Indian Airline plane, attack on J&K Assembly and Indian Parliament, capture of RDX and other weapons at various places and series of bomb blasts. It said "we need to break this pattern in order to protect security and integrity of this country and national self-respect".

To counter these sinister campaigns, Shanti Abhiyan and the Baroda Chamber have sought to disseminate positive messages. But the day the Guild Team left Vadodara, the papers reported that large billboards sponsored by a citizen's group with messages of communal harmony had been defaced. The advertising agency contracted for the job was also threatened. (Times of India, Ahmedabad, April 6).

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Equally significant is a widely distributed publication entitled "Godhra and After" produced by the Vishva Samvad Kendra, Gujarat, and given to us at the VHP office in Ahmedabad. It lists "facts" that give "several reasons to believe that this (Godhra carnage) was a pre-planned conspiracy". Travellers of a particular religion were asked to get down at the previous station, namely, Dahod; patients of a particular community were discharged from the Godhra civil hospital a day before February 27 and not a single case from that same community was registered that day; and no student or teacher of a particular community was present in Godhra's schools on February 27. From this it is surmised that abt only was the torching of S-6 a pre-planned attack but there was forewarning of something untoward likely to happen that fateful day.

The Guild Team checked these "facts" with district officials, the Railway authorities and local journalists. There was no corroboration whatsoever.

Digital media

The Gujarat riots probably mark the first occasion when digital media has been so extensively used, if at all. Rioters and middle class looters were directed by mobile phone. Accordingly to some who monitored it, the Gujarat State web site had little reference to the riots, barring information about forthcoming examinations. SMS messages were reportedly sent to some people warning them that milk supplies had been poisoned. Others received telephone calls about a threatened rocket attack, setting off alarm and pancic. Chain messages were sent by email.

A liberal Muslim, M.H. Jowher of Manfin Infotech Ltd, started a web site www.riotinfo.com on March 7 following the eruption of mass violence. He preaches communal harmony and writes of the law and the Constitution. Here is someone trying to build fraternity anew amidst the smouldering ruins of hate and despair. He advertised for support on April 12 and received a dozen positive responses from Hindus interspersed with some threatening calls. He has sought to put out correct and authenticated information about the riots and specific events in order to counter mischievous propaganda. He has Jone this in part by mailing assumed addresses. Many have bounced back but others have scored hits.

Mr Narendra Modi too is something of an internet buff and has a personal web site www.narendramodi.org. This has posted ardent fan mail with some messages hailing him as a god and "asli mard" for protecting Hindus. (See Annexure 12, P 28-29). It is conceivable that a hacker may have broken into Mr Modi's domain to post material calculated to cause him embarrassment. Even so, it would appear incumbent on someone in his position to have a web manager to monitor the site and remove any offending material rather than assume legal and moral ownership by letting it remain on his site.

We were told of a number of e-mail boards such as E-fore from Ahmedabad and Vadodara which carries an account of Gujarat developments with daily updates. This was started at the time of the Kutch earthquake in 2001 and is said currently to network about 1000 persons. Teesta Setalvad's Communalism Combat from Mumbai operates a portal known as www.sabrang.com. Help Asia is the name of another e-group; ekta.online.com is said to be run by an NRI group based in California.

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Film too has come to play a role in Gujarat. An NGO, Concerned Citizen's Initiative, has 22 hours of video footage on Gujarat compiled from various sources. An edited version of this has been screened in Delhi and is available with Sahmat. Such scenes captured by amateur filmmakers can offer candid and revealing information, unobtrusively obtained. (See Annexure 21).

The Police too have also now started employing videography more intensively than before. This has enabled them to film rioting and crime and garner material evidence for identifying criminals, making arrests and launching prosecutions.

Email, like the telephone, has been used to threaten, intimidate and send hate mail. Hindus sheltering their Muslim neighbours received threatening calls which had a chilling effect. Two serving Muslim Judges of the Gujarat High Court, Mr Qadri and Mr Akbar Divecha were threatened and had to flee their homes. The residence of one was attacked and burnt. A Hindu brother judge who offered him a safe haven in his own home was reportedly the recipient of threatening calls. The greatly respected Dr J.S Bandukwala of M.S. Baroda University, who has devoted his life to communal harmony, was similarly threatened. Ehsan Jafri frantically phoned for assistance repeatedly, but in vain. He was cruelly fortured and burnt alive with others in the Gulberg Society colony in Ahmedabad.

Rumours

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Nothing flies as fast as rumour, now given wing by electronic technology. Reference had already been made to rumours of milk supplies being poisoned and a possible rocket attack on Ahmedabad. According to Ahmedabad's Police Commissioner, vested interests spread rumours which created tension and in certain cases became a selffulfilling prophecy. What is worse, he says, educated people have "repeatedly been disobeying curfew restrictions and moving out of their houses just to participate in rumourmongering". He felt that many incidents in Juhapura and Gomtipur were "initiated" by rumours. (See Annexure 22). Rioting is becoming an instrument of information war.

Such mischievous tendencies are best countered by timely and authenticated information.

We heard many accounts, possibly apocryphal, and saw some handbills of "quiet" districts being marked out for "action" and local politicians and activists being sent bangles to stigmatize their pusillanimity. This evoking of the macho spirit must be linked to the feats of "manhood" exhibited by mass rape and bestiality towards women.

Attacks on the Media

Reporting can be a hazardous occupation in situations of tension and conflict. Its intrusive reporting of what some possibly thought would have better been allowed to remain a quiet vendetta, invited trouble.

Print and TV journalists told the Guild team of the harassment they faced from VHP and other activists. In Vapi, activists snatched the camera from an ETV crew but returned it later. In another incident an ETV cameraman, a Muslim filming a shop being burnt in Dakor, a pilgrim town, was taken away by activists but later let off. ETV received threatening calls for showing the severed hand of a Muslim man. This portrayal was deemed partisan. A Zee TV crew, filming a restaurant being burnt, was similarly attacked. On February 28, Muslim miscreants in Behrampura burnt an ANI camera and car and confined the crew in a State Transport bus for over four hours. An office of Gujarat Today in Ahmedabad was attacked and damaged.

A member of the Guild Team had to deal with an excited VHP mob in the Ahmedabad Circuit House on April 1.

Ms Medha Patkar, the NBA activist leader is a red rag to the bull to many in Gujarat for her opposition to the Sardar Sarovar project. That, however, was no reason for her to be attacked by an unruly Congress-VHP crowd at Sabarmati Ashram on April 8 while attending a Gujarat peace meeting. The Police rescued her and was leading her to safety but then suddenly lathi-charged the newsmen covering the scene. The Chief Minister expressed his regret over the incident and appointed a one-man judicial inquiry under retired Justice S.D.Dave of the Gujarat High Court. He was to report by the end of April.

(Barkha Dutt of NDTV reported of vigilantes armed with swords surrounding her car on a Gujarat highway screaming "what's your religion?" Hindu, she replied, "privately cringing for my cameraperson, Ajmal Jami". (Outlook, March 25).

Indian Express photographers were targeted and its chief reporter, Janyala Sreenivas, threatened. Its Rajkot man, Parish Joshi was mobbed and his camera damaged while photographing a shop being set on fire. In Ahmedabad, its photographer's flash-gun was damaged though this could have been by accident when the police was trying to control crowds. In Surat, the Express cameraman along with a colleague from Sandesh and another media person were attacked by a Muslim mob. Kerosene had been poured on them but a passing RPF posse was fortunately able to rescue them in time.

Bhargav Parikh, the news coordinator of Zee News and Tejas Gondalia, his cameraman were beaten up and had their camera smashed in Ahmedabad. The Times of India's Sudhir Vyas was beaten by the police in Rajkot. NDTV crew had to cry Jai Sri Ram before their vehicles were allowed to move.

Sonal Kellog of Asian Age and a local reporter of another paper were barred from entering part of Surat's walled city where they had gone to interview a woman who had been attacked. They were themselves beaten and were unable to file a complaint with the police. (Hindu, April 9, 2002).

The Resident Editor of the Indian Express, Mr Virendra Kumar told us that the office van used for dropping night staff home was routinely and repeatedly searched by prowling mobs armed with swords and pipes looking for Muslims. Identity papers had to be shown. All this during curfew hours. A Muslim member of the staff sometimes slept at the office. Another, finding his house surrounded by a mob, phoned the office which in turn alerted the police. Mr Kumar himself received a stream of hate mail accusing the Express of being anti-Hindu. The tenor of what seemed like an orchestrated campaign was, "You have no right to live in India and write like this".)

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Textbooks and warped mindsets

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Over and beyond the dreadful killings and bestiality in Gujarat and a lowering threshold of tolerance and restraint, what is deeply worrying is the purveying of hatred and divisive prejudice by narrowly sectarian groups. If wars begin in the minds of men, so do riots. Children, in particular, need to be taught to be good citizens and imbued with values conforming to the high ideals of the Constitution. Textbooks and history must therefore be written and prescribed with due care.

One of the basic values of the Constitution is Fraternity. Yet one finds some of the books published and prescribed by the Gujarat State Board of School Textbooks of poor quality in terms of content, context and style. (It would be good to look at other states' textbooks too). Take for example the Social Studies textbook for Class 9.

Chapter 9 is on Problems of the Country and their Solution. The very first section (problem?) is "minority community" (P 93). Children are told that "apart from the Muslims, even the Christians, Parsees and other foreigners are also recognised as the minority communities. In most of the states the Hindus are in a minority and Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are a majority in these respective states". So the Class 9 child is told that Muslims and Christians are foreigners and that Hindus are in a minority in most states".

Reform measures are suggested for the minority community alongside their economic progress. But things can go wrong and lead to communal violence. "Therefore a special riot police force should be raised to tackle such explosive situations" and "victims of communal violence also should be properly compensated ... ". Here, children are being suggestively told of the perils of communal violence almost as part of everyday life. Barkha Dutt, quoted above, saw a boy of 10 clutching a bottle of petrol at one of the barricades she encountered on a Gujarat highway when she was asked her religion. What was he going to do with it, she asked. "It's for self-defence against them", he said,

Then we come to "Problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes" (P 94). What ails them ? "They have not been suitably placed in our social order, therefore, even after independence they are still backward and poor. Of course, their ignorance, illiteracy and blind faith are to be blamed for lack of progress because they still fail to realise importance of education in life". The message: the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have only themseives to blame for their sorry plight. (See Annexure 23). The sections on Women and Anti-Social Activities are not more inspiring.

Class 12 students sitting for their Board examinations in Gujarat on April 22, 2002 were put to a grammar test. The English paper asked them to remove the word "if" and rewrite the sentence, "If you don't like people, kill them". This was followed by another question asking students to rewrite a short passage as a single sentence. The passage read: "There are two solutions. One of them is the Nazi solution. If you don't like people, kill them, segregate them. Then strut up and down. Proclaim that you are the salt of the earth". The consternation this singularly insensitive question understandably aroused was sought to be assuaged by an official explanation that the passage was culled from E.M.Forster's "Tolerance", a prescribed text and that the question paper was set last September by a "minority teacher".

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A horrified father was reported as saying his son had come home agitated and asked whether he should disown all his Muslim friends. "We are at a loss for words to explain things to him", the distraught parent said. (Asian Age, April 23, 2002).

The framing of school curricula has become a subject of controversy of late. Gujarat is planning to revamp its curriculum, which is by no means objectionable in itself. But again the spirit that animates it is important. On January 26, 2002, the first anniversary of the great earthquake that devastated parts of Gujarat last year, the State Education Department issued a circular to schools to observe "Dharti Puja", enclosing a list of shlokas by which to propitiate the Mother Goddess. This as India enters the 21st milleniam and needs to move fast forward rather than backwards. (See Annexure 12, P 32-35).

There have even been reports of betting over the riots. Bookies have been placing bets on who would start riots and where and whether the Gujarat riots would spread to Rajasthan. There has been betting on the death toll. (Times of India, April 10). So now we have rioting as a blood sport.

Media Codes and Ethics

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The media has long been subject to formal and informal media codes. Foremost among these are constitutional and statutory injunctions. Article 19(2) permits imposition of reasonable restrictions on freedom of speech and expression in relation to "the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence".

On the onset of the latest communal outbreak in Gujarat, the Chairman of the Press Council, Justice K. Jayachandra Reddy issued an appeal calling upon the media "to mould public opinion on correct lines in regard to the need of friendly and harmonious relations between various communities and religious groups and thus promote national solidarity...".

On April 3 Mr Reddy noted with deep anguish "that a large number of newspapers and news channels in the country and, in particular, a large section of the print and electronic media in Gujarat has, instead of alleviating communal unrest, played an ignoble role in inciting communal passions leading to large scale rioting, arson and pillage in the State concerned." He called once more on the media to observe "proper norms and standards ... and not to distort or exaggerate (and) not to employ intemperate, inciting and unrestrained language". The local papers were particularly enjoined to strict adherence of this norm.

The Press Council Chairman asked the media "to be prace makers and not abettors, to be trouble shooters and not trouble makers" in the present situation. He concluded by reminding the media that contravention of ethical norms in reporting or commenting on matters pertaining to communal harmony is likely to invite penal action under provisions of Section 295-A of the Indian penal Code and allied provisions". Section 295-A is akin to Section 153 and relates to speech and writings which wilfully injure religious sentiments and maliciously incite communal harred. In its Report to the National Human Rights Commission, the Gujarat Government insisted that "the major acts of violence were contained within 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 (and) Baroda cities and some towns of Panchmahals, Sabarkantha, Mehsana, etc". The NHRC was not greatly impressed. It referred to Articles 19(1)(a) and 19(2) and went on to express itself "clearly in favour of a courageous and investigative role for the media". At the same time, it added, "the Commission is of the view that there is need for all concerned to reflect 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".

Mr. L.K. Advani, Home Minister, urged the media to practice "responsible journalism" when he addressed the National Union of Journalists at Tirupati on April 6. He deplored the general decline in media values he sensed in the coverage of the December 13 terrorist attack on Parliament and the more recent events in Gujarat. The age-old convention of not mentioning the names of communities involved had been abandoned by a section of the media.

The question of naming the religious identity of riot victims was the subject of considerable deliberation in the Second Press Commission, the National Integration Council and the Press Council. The Editors Guild is seized of the matter. The issue is undoubtedly highly sensitive and complex. Technology has introduced a new dimension to the debate, though this by itself cannot be a reason to ignore content. A balance has to be struck and where it is struck will vary with circumstances. Barkha Dutt puts it pithily: "Naming the community under siege in Gujarat was moot to the story. In fact it was the story". Rajdeep Sardesai adds: "It was the mob that was determining the pace of events, and not the channels who were merely reporting what was happening on the ground".

Recommendations

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No iron law can be laid down. This would be undesirable and even counterproductive. 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 Ta.

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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 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 Affair's portal meadev.nic.in too has indulged in something of a fantasy that does the country little credit. (See Amexure 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 "Satyameve 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.

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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. 3-

(We recommend that 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, Editor of BJP Today, suggesting what he thought would be a neat solution – that Indian Muslims migrate to Pakistan. (Annexure 26).

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.

Role of the Media

1.1. The Tribunal recommends that all the recommendations made by the Editors' Guild in its report on the Gujarat carnage be implemented. *(See Detailed Annexures, Volume III)*

1.2. The role of the mass media — audio, visual and print — is critical in times of internal conflict. Unbiased coverage, the urge to investigate and report the truth, and to expose injustices are the positive aspects of media coverage. On the negative side, provocative headlines and non-factual reporting can reinforce stereotypes, fuel rumours, fan the flames of hatred and justify or instigate violence against the targeted community. In the latter case, the media abandons what is expected of a free press — fair reporting, analysis and comment – and, instead, acts as a partisan in the conflict.

1.3. Following Shri Modi's diktat, the bodies of the passengers burnt to death in a compartment of the Sabarmati Express at Godhra, were taken by road in a cavalcade to the Sola Civil Hospital in Ahmedabad. '*Rambhakts*' in the cavalcade resorted to provocative sloganeering, expressing their rage and threatening revenge. The state-controlled media was used to broadcast this message and the local *Akashvani* radio station even announced the cavalcade's scheduled time of arrival in Ahmedabad. By the time the dead bodies reached the civil hospital, a highly charged crowd had already assembled there, shouting incendiary slogans like, "*Khoon ka badla khoon se lenge*" ("We will avenge blood with blood").

1.4. It was during the 7.30 p.m. broadcast on *Akashvani* radio that Shri Modi, for the first time, alleged that the "ISI or a foreign hand was behind the Godhra tragedy." This, then, became his government and party's official version; and for his *Sangh Parivar* fraternity, the justification for the 'reaction'. The tragedy was that the state executive touted the 'foreign hand' version without any investigative proof and that large sections of the media published it uncritically, without asking Shri Modi the basis on which he had so quickly arrived at such a conclusion.

1.5. Even English language newspapers, which, to their credit, played a non-partisan role after the outbreak of violence post-Godhra, faltered somewhat on the question of the ISI link in the Godhra crime. For example, based on information provided by officials investigating the Godhra tragedy, *The Times of India* carried a report in the

last week of March, debunking the 'pre-planned theory'. But weeks earlier, the same newspaper had uncritically reported statements made by Gujarat ministers, baselessly asserting that the 'Godhra attack could not have been spontaneous.' Later, after extensive investigation, the Ahmedabad based Forensic Science Laboratory concluded that the inflammable material that set coach S-6 aflame could not possibly have been poured in from outside.

1.6. *Aaj Tak* was the first TV news channel to flash the news of the Godhra deaths. Thereafter, *Zee TV*'s local cameraman in Godhra rushed his footage to Ahmedabad. This was aired soon after 2 p.m. Others, including *Doordarshan*, followed, deputing camera crew from Ahmedabad, Vadodara and Delhi. The magnitude of the horror only unfolded several hours after the tragedy, as the evening TV news bulletins repeatedly telecast gruesome pictures of the burnt train and the corpses. The telecast of such pictures raises ethical issues that the visual media should deliberate upon.

1.7. On February 28, the two largest circulation, multiple-edition Gujarati newspapers, *Sandesh* and *Gujarat Samachar*, which are fairly dependent on the state government's largesse, played up the unsubstantiated official version of there being a 'foreign hand' behind the Godhra tragedy. It was only 3-4 weeks later that reports rubbishing this theory began to appear in newspapers. But by that time, the damage had already been done.

1.8. Sandesh and Gujarat Samachar have been playing a blatantly communal role since the BJP returned to power in Gujarat in 1998. The BJP government's patronage of these dailies needs to be looked into carefully, so that they do not continue to act as mere government agents. In the recent carnage, too, the role of Sandesh was particularly mischievous, while some smaller circulation newspapers like Gujarat Today, Sadhbhav and Gujarat Mitra acted responsibly.

1.9. On February 28, the day after the Godhra tragedy, *Sandesh* published photographs of the burning coach of the Sabarmati Express with the headline, 'Fifty Hindus burnt alive' above the masthead. Besides, it also had a gruesome colour spread of photographs of the Godhra corpses. This was the *first* major breach of media ethics and law in the context of the Gujarat carnage. Witnesses told the Tribunal that copies of this issue of *Sandesh* were widely photocopied and flaunted by cadres of the RSS/ VHP and BD in rural areas, to provoke anger and prompt the participation of ordinary people in the carnage that followed.

1.10. In the same issue, another front page headline that read, 'From among those abducted from the Sabarmati Express, two dead bodies of Hindu girls found near Kalol in mutilated state' had the following report: 'Vadodara, Thursday: News about the dead bodies of two girls, abducted from the bogies during the attack on the Sabarmati Express yesterday, found in a mutilated and terribly disfigured form near a pond in Kalol, has added fuel to the already volatile situation of tension, not only in Panchmahal, but in the whole state. In an act of inhumanity that would make even a devil weep, both girls had their breasts cut off. It is evident from the dead bodies that the victims had been repeatedly raped. There is speculation that the girls might have died because of gross sexual abuse." After investigations, the police found the report to be entirely baseless.

1.11. The police, too, stands indicted in this case by choosing to remain silent and doing nothing to expose the newspaper and initiate action against it for publishing a totally baseless but highly inflammatory story. Meanwhile, *Sandesh* continued, unchecked, to paint Muslims as murderers and traitors. On March 1, a report titled, 'Call from the mosque: Slay the non-believers — Islam is in trouble' told its readers: "On February 27, at 11.30 a.m., a mosque located along the railway tracks incited a crowd with the call: 'Slay the non-believers... Islam is in danger.' Responding to the call, the crowd attacked the surviving *Ram sevaks* from the torched train compartments, who were sitting by the railway tracks." This, too, was a story without any basis.

1.12. From the news clippings perused and the testimonies collected by the Tribunal, it appears that the deliberate labelling of the miscreants responsible for the Godhra tragedy as 'anti-national Pakistanis' was the brainwave of Gujarat's home minister, Shri Gordhan Zadaphiya, who is also a senior VHP leader. "The bogie-burning is a terrorist act similar to the attack on the American Centre in Kolkata. The culprits in both cases are the same," Shri Zadaphiya claimed, and issued a dire threat: "We will teach a lesson to those who have done this. No one will be spared and we will make sure that the forces behind this act will never dare to repeat it."

1.13. On March 7, Sandesh carried a report with a damaging headline, suggesting that Indian Muslims returning from the Haj pilgrimage could be a potential 'terrorist' threat to Hindus. Titled, 'Hindus in danger! Possibility of attack with terrorists' support! Frightening scheme of attack by returning Hajis!', the report stated: "Various government agencies have received frightening information that, after the Godhra incident, the fear of terrorist attacks is looming. The terrorists will use RDX purchased with foreign funds, attack with bombs or hijack planes. Investigating agencies have confirmed that the ISI is responsible for the attack on *kar sevaks* in Godhra. The anti-social elements have gone underground for the present and are waiting for an opportunity to attack. It is possible that the attack will take place after the international pilgrims return from Saudi Arabia after Haj. The attack was postponed so that the pilgrims can return safely. According to the SP of the intelligence bureau, Shri Sanjeev Bhatt, the bombings will be as serious as those that took place in Mumbai, in 1993. As if in support of this, the chief minister, Shri Modi, told the trading community that the Godhra incident was not communal. It was well-planned and according to the facts being revealed, it indicates that we have to be more alert. Only Pakistan benefits from all this... That there are internal disturbances in India, and the citizens are harassed, appears to be in the interest of the perpetrators. The chief minister stated that the government is determined to get to the roots of the Godhra incident and destroy the elements that harmed the common man... Similarly, the former chief minister, Shri Chhabildas Mehta said that the government and the people should take adequate steps to ensure that Pakistan's secret service cannot do whatever it likes wherever it likes."

1.14. 'When Muslim leaders shouted slogans like '*Hindustan Zindabad*!', read a *Sandesh* headline on March 8. The report said that the Circuit House witnessed 'an unprecedented event', when Muslim leaders of the city came together to shout slogans like

the one mentioned above, and appeal for peace. The implication was clear: that Muslims are inherently anti-national and violent, whose raising of patriotic slogans and appealing for peace was 'unprecedented'.

1.15. Typically, the opening lines of most reports concerning the post-Godhra violence began with, "In the continuing spiral of communal rioting that broke out as a reaction to the demonic (or barbaric) Godhra incident..." The denunciatory words used liberally to describe the Godhra incident were strikingly absent when reporting the subsequent genocide. Clearly, like the Gujarat government, *Sandesh*, too, continued to justify the carnage in the rest of Gujarat as a 'reaction' to the heinous arson in Godhra.

1.16. There were several instances of misreporting that helped fuel rumours. The report, on March 16, of an incident that took place in Machchipith, Vadodara, where four Muslim youths in a Tata Sumo had been picked up for carrying arms, was completely misleading. If one read the *Sandesh* report, it appeared as though the youths had a whole cache of arms in the vehicle. The truth was that one of the occupants was carrying a firearm for which he had a license. Similarly, there were misleading reports about Tandalja in Vadodara, which has a large Muslim population. It also housed the largest relief camp, giving shelter to more than 5,000 people from the city and nearby areas. *Sandesh*'s reports on Tandalja were instrumental in fuelling rumours and spreading false information. In fact, on March 18, members of Shanti Abhiyan, an NGO, forced *Sandesh* to publish a refutation of an article it had earlier published, which reported that there was tension in Tandalja.

1.17. Inflammatory tactics were used consistently by *Sandesh*. Reports on gruesome acts, like the burning alive of people, were published in bold letters, under banner headlines. Photographs of burnt, mangled bodies were a regular feature on the front page, or the last page reserved for important local news. In the first week of violence in the state, *Sandesh* published colour photographs of scenes of the carnage, superimposed with a 'burst' giving readers the latest figure of casualties. Photographs of *trishul*-wielding '*Ram sevaks*' were splashed on the front pages in the first week. The photographs served to instill terror amongst Muslims and to provoke intense passions and mutual hostility between the two communities.

1.18. *Sandesh* did worse than ignore the journalistic code of conduct that prohibits naming the communities involved in violent conflagrations. It published reports like: 'a mob of religious fanatics' (read Muslims) who were abducting tribal women, having to face the wrath of the people; or: 'religious fanatics' about to attack a temple causing tension in certain areas in Vadodara city, bringing 'devotees' (read Hindus) out on the street to protect their place of worship.

1.19. Throughout the violence, *Sandesh* cynically propagated the idea of Muslims being anti-national and pro-Pakistan. Areas in the city or the state with a sizeable Muslim population were described as 'mini-Pakistan'. On March 7, a report claimed to have discovered Godhra's 'Karachi connection': an entire area in Karachi named Godhra. On March 1, the headline of a news item claimed that a 'mini-Pakistan' was in existence in the Navayard area of the city. The article went on to say that such

'pockets' were being created in the city, and asked the police to take note of the 'criminal' UP migrant labourers who lived in this area. That Muslims in such *bastis* were living in complete terror at the time, was a trivial detail the *Sandesh* reports had no use for.

1.20. On March 1, a report claimed that the entire Sabarmati Express would have been put to flames had it not been delayed. The headline claimed, 'A mob of 7-8,000 was waiting for the Sabarmati Express to arrive at Godhra.' The mob, *Sandesh* reminded its readers, was made up of 'religious fanatics'.

1.21. *Gujarat Samachar*, the other leading Gujarati paper, also played a role in inflaming passions, though not as consistently as *Sandesh*. Reportage on the Godhra incident, in particular, was inflammatory and irresponsible. But it also carried reports highlighting the need for communal harmony.

1.22. On February 28, the lead story on page 1 carried the headline, '3-4 young girls kidnapped.' The source of this information was not mentioned. On page 10, a report quoted VHP leader, Shri Kaushik Patel, who claimed that 10 girls had been kidnapped. The reporter, evidently, had not cross-checked the concocted claims, either with the IGP or the railway police. The report did not mention the names of any of the girls or any other details about the alleged kidnapping. Yet another report, on page 2, carried the account, ostensibly, of an eyewitness, Sushri Hetalben, after the train reached Vadodara. She was quoted as saying, "Young girls from Ashraiwadi, who were travelling with us, are lost."

1.23. On March 6, the *Gujarat Samachar* carried a report on the last page with the headline, 'The Plan was to torch the whole train, not just one bogie.' A box item on the last page stated that, 'a mob was ready for the second attack.' Again, the source of information was not mentioned; the tone and tenor of the reports, however, suggested they were reports based on careful investigation.

1.24. On March 7, *Gujarat Samachar* carried a box item on the last page, claiming that, "ISI is creating trouble in Gujarat; Kalota and his colleagues are important link; the deputy commander of 'Huji', arrested in Kolkata, has confessed to the conspiracy." The report uses the term '*Rambhakt*' several times for the travellers on the Sabarmati Express on that fateful day. On March 6, the headline of a report read 'Torching of the train at Godhra was pre-planned. Kalota was tipped off by a railway officer on how to cut open the vacuum pipes.' The source of information was not mentioned.

1. 25. On March 16, a page 1 story titled, 'Indiscriminate firing from Fatehganj Mosque,' was a complete fabrication.

1.26. On March 18, a photograph on page 1 showing bombs recovered by police during combing operations in the Danilimda area of Ahmedabad, had a caption that said: "People talking of secularism should be asked if protecting criminals is secularism."

1.27. There were many other stories that contributed actively to the belief that Muslims were mobilising on a large scale to attack Hindus. It is evident from the communal pogroms and conflicts in recent years, that a section of the mass media is being increasingly used to peddle the familiar communal tactic of depicting the victum as the aggressor and vice versa. On March 24, a heading on page 1 of *Gujarat*

Samachar read, 'Sat Kaival temple receives threat; Sarsa temple and *pathshala* under threat of being blown up using remote control.' And a heading on page 2 in the same issue read, 'Possibility of attack with deadly weapons; Secret agencies receive information; Religious and educational institutions will be targeted. All DSPs alerted.' On March 26, *Gujarat Samachar* had a story on the last page, 'Sabarmati Express incident was nothing but a pre-planned incident; many youths ready to commit crimes on just one signal from Bilal.' There was absolutely no basis to any of these reports.

1.28. However, unlike *Sandesh* and *Gujarat Samachar* also carried some positive stories. Here are some examples:

- Muslims saved a Hindu shopkeeper's shop in Halol. (March 2, p.5)
- Residents of Ram-Rahim *tekra* in Ahmedabad are an example of communal harmony. (March 5, p.1)
- Hindus saved the life of a Muslim woman in Halol. (March 5, p.5)
- No one wants riots. Rare scenes of communal harmony in sensitive areas of the city. (March 6, last page)
- Elol village near Himmatnagar is an example of communal harmony. (March 6, p.5)
- A Muslim woman offered shelter to a Hindu family. (March 7, p.3)
- At Bhoj village in Padra *taluka*, Muslims were given shelter in a temple. (March 7, p.8)
- "Oh! He is our Rahim *Chacha*... our *guruji*..." and they saved him. (March 10, p.11 - An article by Bhaven Kachchhi in Sunday supplement.)
- At Lilapir Dargah of Talaja, devotees include all Hindus and Muslims. (March 11, p.5)
- An old Muslim woman saved from a mob by a Hindu youth. (March 22, p.2)
- A pregnant lady taken to hospital by a Muslim youth risking his life. (March 28)

1. 29. *Gujarat Today* is an 11-year-old Gujarati daily with a claimed circulation of 70,000. It is published by the Lokhit Prakashan Trust, Ahmedabad. The paper was started by Muslim liberals, and is probably the only Gujarati daily with a large Muslim readership. The paper carries news from villages and district towns that are not generally covered by the mainstream media. Given that Muslims constitute the vast majority of the readers of *Gujarat Today*, the role it played during the carnage is particularly noteworthy and significant

1.30. In its report on the Godhra incident on February 28, the paper reported that *kar sevaks* caught hold of some Muslim tea-vendors at Godhra station and forced them to say '*Jai Shri Ram*', which sparked off the incident. This is also highlighted in a box on another page. In contrast to the more temperate language used in later reports, the reportage on February 28 was distasteful in parts. When the Sabarmati Express arrived at Vadodara station, "the saffron mob of the Bajrang Dal and VHP ran like dogs, attacking people with swords... *kar sevaks* got down from the train shouting slogans like '*Har Har Mahadev*!' '*Bharat Mata ki Jai*!' 'Kill Muslims, chop up Muslims'..." The paper also carried a report and a photograph of a Hindu youth, Shri Arun Paswan, who was also attacked at Vadodara railway station.

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1.31. There was no editorial on the Godhra carnage on February 28, to condemn the heinous crime of torching a train compartment, whatever the provocation. Principles apart, the daily, it would seem, was even oblivious to the enormous communal consequences of what had happened.

1.32. However, thereafter, the extensive coverage of the incidents, helplines and information about the police and the administration was factual.

1.33. Details of relief camps in Ahmedabad — their location, the kinds of facilities available (and what was necessary) in the camps — as well as appeals for assistance were published.

1.34. The paper carried detailed investigative reports of the violence. Some of these were:

• Details on the conditions of people in the relief camps, including issues of legal assistance, marriages organised and the delivery of babies in the camps. (March 6)

• Investigation into the Naroda Patiya incident, with details relating to the procurement of petrol, diesel and gas cylinders used for burning.

• Use of the inflammable chemical 'Lakgel' for burning. (March 8) This has not been reported in any other paper.

1.35. The daily also made a consistent effort to report on instances of communal harmony, and to project the view of Hindu liberals and progressives who were critical of the *Hindutva* project in Gujarat. Some examples are reports on: how the lives and properties of 175 Muslims of Naroda in Ahmedabad were protected by local shepherds; how Hindu doctors in Bhavnagar saved properties from burning and made efforts to treat the injured; relief in the form of foodgrain and clothes provided by Hindus to victims in Jhagadia; a group marriage of Hindu and Muslim youths in Mangrol.

1.36. Also reported was news from Prantij, where a woman *sarpanch* successfully stopped riots occurring in her village. The March 8 edition carried news items about peace committees in Vagra, Palej, Dholka and Bharuch. On March 10, the paper had a report on how Hindu families saved the lives of 15 Muslims in Kavitha village near Borsad. While there were reports from Juhapura, of how Muslims saved Hindus, there was also a report on how looting of both Hindus and Muslims took place.

1.37. The March 12 issue carried news of a Hindu family in Dehgam, which sheltered 20 Muslims in their house, and a boxed item about a relief camp in Bhalej village, Kheda district, run by Hindus and Muslims. The March 15 issue had a report of how Muslim women saved the lives of Hindus. News of unity among the Hindus and Muslims of Lambadia and Sami was reported in other issues of the paper.

1.38. The Gujarat government, the Tribunal notes, was selective about action against TV channels and publications. While it banned some local TV channels, and also a national channel — *Star News* — on March 2, because it had exposed the government's inaction, it took no action against newspapers like *Sandesh*. The ban was lifted on the assurance that the CM would be given a chance to air his views on the channel.

1.39. The English language newspapers, with their local editions in Gujarat, did a

commendable job through most of that period. Although the over-emphasis on urban reportage meant that the villages and rural districts affected by the carnage received exposure much later (even though the violence took place in the same 72 hours after Godhra), the abiding impression gained by the Tribunal, on perusing the English media, was its commitment to secular values even in the face of intimidation. The Ahmedabad and Vadodara 'Newsline' supplements of *The Indian Express* and *The Times of India's* local edition, did a fine job in exposing the truth, doing follow-up stories etc. The Ahmedabad-edition of *The Asian Age*, too, reflected this urgency and sense of purpose. Many of the stories exposed the government's complicity and the police buckling under political pressure. *The Indian Express* especially went out of it's way on the issue. The resident editor of the newspaper, Shri Virendra Kumar had to face threats and intimidation from both the government and leaders of the accused organisations but he did not buckle down.

1.40. The Tribunal would like to record its appreciation of the *Updates on the Gujarat Carnage* put out on the website *sabrang.com*, which were, in a sense, the first insightful accounts and analyses of the horrors of the Gujarat carnage. The conditions at the relief camps, the abdication of state responsibility in giving succour, and the sheer scale of the deaths, were recorded accurately by this and other efforts of this organisation. Journalist Teesta Setalvad's tracking of the Gujarat carnage, in the report brought out by *Communalism Combat* and in earlier publications, also deserves favourable mention.

1.41. Through a statement issued on April 3, the chairman of the Press Council, Justice K Jayachandra Reddy, warned the errant media of action under section 295-A of the IPC and allied provisions. (Section 295-A deals with "Deliberate and malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings of any class by insulting its religion or religious beliefs.")

1.42. The national print and electronic media documented the holocaust and the systematic targeting of Muslim homes, *mohallas*, shops and establishments, factories, hotels and eateries and other economic assets as well as *dargahs*, mosques, shrines and *kabristans* (graveyards).

1.43. The *rediff.com* portal posted an interview that journalist Sushri Sheela Bhatt conducted with Shri KK Shastri, the 96-year-old president of the Gujarat unit of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, which makes for chilling reading. According to Shri Shastri, the list of Muslim-owned shops to be targeted was prepared on the morning of February 28. This because, "We were terribly angry (over Godhra)... Lust and anger are blind"... "*Hindutva* was attacked... This is a tremendous outburst that will be difficult to roll back"... "We can't condemn it because they are our boys." Shri Shastri added, "The VHP has formed a panel of 50 lawyers to help release the arrested people accused of rioting and looting. None of these lawyers will charge any fees because they believe in the RSS ideology." Shri Shastri is said to have denied making these remarks. The two VHP joint general secretaries from Gujarat, Dr. Jaideep Patel and Dr Kaushik Mehta, whom the Editors' Guild met at the VHP office in Ahmedabad, also contradicted the report, making out that Shri Shastri was

old and hard of hearing. They rejected the theory that Muslim premises were targeted. But Sushri Sheela Bhatt has the tape. *(See section on Annexures, Volume I)*. The tenor of the April issue of *Vishwa Hindu Samachar*, published by Rashtra Chetna Prakashan and edited by none other than Shri Shastri himself, lends credence to what he told *rediff.com*. A two-page article therein praises the *'Chhote Sardar'* (CM Shri Narendra Modi) for his handling of Godhra and its aftermath.

1.44. The Tribunal recorded the evidence, in detail, of representatives from the print and electronic media. There are a large number of Gujarati newspapers, there being 32 large and small vernacular publications, in Ahmedabad alone. *Fulchab*, in Rajkot, was, characteristically, the first to take out a peace rally immediately after Godhra. *Sambhav* (with 4 editions in Gujarat), *Prabhat* (published from Ahmedabad and Mehsana) and *Gujarat Today* (which has a Muslim ownership, and is published in Ahmedabad) are seen to have been moderate and balanced in their reportage and editorial approach. The CMD of *Sambhav*, Shri Kiran Vadodaaria, avoided publishing pictures of corpses. The paper received an anonymous threat on April 1, because it had carried a column by Shri MJ Akbar, the editor-in-chief of *The Asian Age*. Though curfew passes were denied to the editorial staff of *Sambhav*, they were able to move about quite freely with their normal press cards.

Prabhat's director, Shri Ashish Kothari, has testified before the Editors' Guild about swords and liquor being distributed on February 27. The *Kutch Mitra* ran a statement by a prominent *moulavi* on its front page for several days, condemning Godhra and expressing regret over what had happened while the March 2 issue of *Saurashtra Samachar*, Bhavnagar, carried a special supplement devoted to religious harmony. Evidence before the Tribunal also indicates that smaller Gujarati papers like *Madhyantar*, edited by Shri Jashwant Rawal, incited violence through provocative reporting. The publication's April 3 edition, produced before the Tribunal alleged that a Muslim police officer was behind the local riots in Anand district. An eight-column commentary on the front page was headlined, 'Muslims will have to prove that they are full Indians.'

1.45. The widely reported statements of Sri Modi and former union law minister, Shri Arun Jaitley, about the media's role in 'provoking violence' generated a lot of discussion and debate. "...I would also appeal to the media to do their bit. The media is supposed to give subdued coverage to such volatile situations.... If you show dead bodies and then identify which community the bodies belong to, then, instead of playing the role of reducing tensions you are actually provoking people." — Arun Jaitley. (Telephonic interview on the programme, 'Is Waqt', *Zee News*, March 1).

1.46. The Tribunal finds these statements farcical, since these top-level government functionaries did nothing to control obvious efforts by the VHP/RSS/BJP leadership to fuel rage and instigate 'revenge' post-Godhra. When the free press did its job, highlighting the crimes committed and the government's complicity in it, they chose to lay the blame at the doors of the 'messengers' from the media.

1.47. Journalists covering communal riots in the country experience a sea change over the last decade and a half, in the conditions of work and the risks they now face.

Prior to 1992, when communal violence did not involve the mobilisation of large mobs/cadres, a reporter or a press photographer could move around more or less freely, secure that, in the performance of journalistic duty, they themselves would not become potential targets. But after December 6, 1992, this can no longer be taken for granted. The violence and vandalism accompanying the Ayodhya movement changed all that. As the demolition of the Babri Masjid was in progress on December 6, 1992, several reporters, correspondents and media persons were brutally attacked.

A significant development, negatively in this regard has been the physical danger experienced by women and men journalists from the targeted Muslim community covering the carnage. The Tribunal met at least three such who had identity cards with assumed names, supported by their respective publications and managements to ensure safe passage in their work.

1.48. Media persons were targeted during the Gujarat carnage as well. Shri Modi himself made repeated and veiled threats about the television coverage by national channels like *Star News* and *Aaj Tak*. He even attempted a ban on the former news channel, which did not quite work.

1.49. On February 28, Shri Bhargava Parikh of *Zee TV* and his cameraman were attacked because the attackers thought that they were documenting evidence of individuals leading the mobs. Shri Dibang from *Aaj Tak* was attacked near the Kabadi Market on March 2. Shri Rajdeep Sardesai of *Star News* was threatened. ANS staff was also attacked. Two correspondents of *NDTV*, Shri Sanjay Singh and Shri Sanjay Rokhade were detained at Bhavnagar for five hours. They were terrorised and traumatised by a band of Bajrang Dalis who taunted them repeatedly, asking, should we kill you, should we not?

1.50. On April 3, the crime reporter of *The Asian Age* in Ahmedabad, Sushri Sonal Kellogg, and the reporter of a Surat-based daily were beaten up by the police in the Mariam Bibi Ni Chawli area in Gomtipur. When she complained to the deputy commissioner of police [Zone V], Shri RJ Savani, whom she knew quite well, all he said was that "it might have been a mistake." When she protested to the police commissioner, Shri PC Pandey, in his office, he was dismissive, "Don't bother me…I don't have time…file a complaint if you want." As the journalist herself puts it, "If policemen can be so brutal towards journalists on duty, their behaviour with ordinary citizens could be so much more atrocious. It is a pity that the police in Gujarat is either a mute spectator or it harasses and tortures innocent people."

1.51. On April 8, the Ahmedabad police, who had failed to control mob violence over the past 33 days, severely assaulted about two dozen reporters and photographers at the historic Gandhi Ashram. The journalists, who had assembled to cover two peace meetings, including one attended by Medha Patkar, were beaten up ruthlessly. Leading his men was deputy commissioner of police, Shri VM Parghi. Three media persons, *The Indian Express* photographer Shri Harsh Shah, *NDTV* cameraman Shri Pranav Joshi and *ETV* reporter Shri Harshal Pandya were seriously injured, and Shri Pranav Joshi had to be admitted to the ICU at a private hospital. *Aaj Tak* correspondent Shri Dhimant Purohit, who suffered a fracture in his hand, *NDTV* reporter

Shri Sanjeev Singh, *Jansatta* photographer Shri Amit Dave, *Gujarat Samachar* reporter Shri Ketan Trivedi, a photographer of the same newspaper Shri Gautam Mehta and reporter Shri Ashish Amin were amongst the other victims.

1.52. The Editors' Guild team also faced the wrath of *Hindutva* forces. On April 1, one of its members was closeted with some print and TV journalists at the Circuit House in Ahmedabad, when there was a big commotion. A group of 6-8 VHP stormtroopers burst into his room, shouting and gesticulating, jostling those present and vehemently accusing them of hatching a dark conspiracy behind closed doors. A Gujarat Information Directorate official sought to intervene and said that discussions were in progress with a representative of the Editors' Guild. The mob turned on the latter demanding to know whether he was Hindu or Muslim. He replied saying that this was irrelevant, and that he was a 'Hindustani' (Indian). Giving them his name, he asked the intruders to identify themselves and state their purpose. They refused to identify themselves, shouting 'Hum Hindu hain' ('We are Hindus'), each insisting in turn that this was his name. Only gradually did the group cool down. Its spokesmen accused the English media and national TV channels of defaming the majority community with 'one-sided' and 'totally biased' coverage. "They only listen to Muslims and ignore Hindus. They do not focus on Muslim rioters and on damage to Hindu property. Hindus who escaped from the Godhra inferno and have been admitted to hospital in Ahmedabad and Hindu refugees in the Prem Darwaza and other relief camps have not been interviewed." Aaj Tak invited the harshest rebuke, especially for its coverage of the violence in the first few hours of February 28. The group demanded that this channel should be shut down and its 'licence' revoked. Aaj Tak was probably the first on air with live footage of the rioting. The Times of India and The Indian Express, both of which have Ahmedabad editions, were also singled out for mention.

1.53. The Editors' Guild report comments extensively on the language used in the press notes of the Gujarat government. Some of these deserve mention here: "The phraseology most often used for the Godhra incident was, "inhuman genocide", "inhuman carnage" or "massacre", while the subsequent incidents of violence were invariably described as "disturbances", and occasionally, as "violent disturbances/incidents." The chief minister visited Godhra on the afternoon of February 27 itself, and the press note issued thereafter described the torching of the Sabarmati Express as a "pre-planned, inhuman, collective, violent act of terrorism."

1.53.1. "Several press releases of the government refer to the situation having been brought under control within 72 hours. An official release on March 5 carried twin headings, "The state government has taken stringent action to stem riots and violence: Narendra Modi' and 'Chief minister's appeal to trade and industry, religious heads and intellectuals for the revival and restoration of economic activities has evoked encouraging response.' The occasion was a Citizens' meet organised by the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in response to an appeal by the CM "to revive and restore economic activity." The release notes: "Modi said it was the duty of the state government to provide security to the citizens even by taking drastic actions.

Referring to the keen interest shown by the people around the globe in the 'Resurgent Gujarat' after devastating earthquake, he said that entire world was looking at the progressive and fast developing Gujarat."

1.53.2. "After again referring to "the pre-planned, collective terrorism against Gujarat", "Pakistan's proxy war" and its "clandestine role...behind the Godhra genocide", "Modi asserted that at this critical juncture, interest of Gujarat was to maintain peace and said that the Government had discharged its duty to stop violence." Further, he said, "the elements wanting to perpetuate violence and destabilise Gujarat were disappointed." Making a reference to Shabana Azmi's demand to file a case of mass murder against the chief minister, Modi said that he would not have any regret to be hanged at the Bhadra Fort if restoration of peace within three days was considered an offence.

1.53.3. "Another press release dated March 9 was headed, 'We will not surrender to the elements out to malign Gujarat says the chief minister.' The occasion was another address to "leading business men and the merchant community" under the auspices of the Maskati New Cloth Market Mahajan. Shri Modi said Mahatma Gandhi had taught Gujarat to fight against injustice. Health minister Shri Ashok Bhatt who also spoke, "was cheered when he said that the trading community hails the chief minister as "the Sardar opposed to terrorism", because he restored peace to Ahmedabad in only 72 hours." The press release concluded with the observation that "businessmen, traders and the owners of process houses were full of praise for the strong will power of the chief minister and described him as *'Chhote Sardar*"

1.53.4. "A March 4 press release from Ahmedabad on the occasion of Shri LK Advani's visit to Gujarat stated, "Home minister LK Advani today said that the Godhra genocide had given a setback to the four years of peaceful Bharatiya Janata party rule in Gujarat." This comment was reflected in the heading.

1.53.5. "There were a few press notes on communal amity. A release dated March 2 quoted the chief minister as denying newspaper reports of people having been burnt alive in Pandharwada village in the Panchmahal district. It turned out to be one of the worst instances of rural violence. (This incident was first reported by the monthly *Communalism Combat* in its special issue, 'Genocide, Gujarat 2002', March-April issue, No. 77-78.)"

1.54. Among the television networks, in addition to *Doordarshan*, *Aaj Tak* and *ETV* (Eenadu) operate Gujarati channels. There were few critics of *ETV*, and its coverage was described as balanced. But *Aaj Tak*, in particular, received a lot of flak for its candid coverage. A year ago, during the earthquake in 2001, it had been praised for going off the beaten track and picking up special nuances on the ground. It is possible that a similar approach proved an embarrassment to the powers that be on this occasion. Like the other networks, it used mobile OB vans that allowed for quicker and more exhaustive coverage.

1.55. *Star News* telecast some graphic footage and interviews in the thick of the riots in Ahmedabad, and along the Vadodara-Godhra highway, where a number of industrial establishments and trucks were burnt. It also carried an extremely moving

interview with professor JS Bandukwala in Vadodara, a man whose secular convictions continue to burn bright, even after going through a terrible ordeal.

1.56. There is little doubt that some of the television coverage exposed the state government. It hit back by banning *Star News* on March 2 for several hours. In an interview to *Outlook* (March 18), Shri Modi was asked why he had sought to muzzle the press. His response was, "There is no ban on the media. I blacked out just one channel because of the provocative reporting methods used. Traditionally, the print media has used its own methods of self-censorship, taking care not to mention the names of communities while reporting riots. If every half an hour, names of communities are going to be mentioned, without any substantiation or any attribution, it inflames the situation instead of allaying it. It is not difficult to see what impact it will have. I must also tell you that since then, the channel has tendered an apology and made amends." Asked about this, Star News sources commented that they met Shri Modi at a press conference and requested him to lift, what they termed, an unfair ban. The chief minister did so. It must also be added that Shri Modi was given an opportunity to air his point of view on events in Gujarat on the channel, by prior arrangement before the ban was lifted.

1.57. The coverage by *Doordarshan* and *All India* Radio (AIR's) Ahmedabad stations was restrained. Many viewers and listeners who appeared as witnesses before the Tribunal said that they appreciated this, although others expressed dissatisfaction, commenting on the fact that while *AIR* reported the facts, *Doordarshan* kept saying that the situation was 'under control.' The chief minister's appeal for peace was telecast repeatedly by *Doordarshan*. Peace rallies in different parts of the state and programmes emphasising communal harmony were aired. These included sound bytes in Gandhiji's voice, culled from archival material, and stories of Hindus sheltering Muslims. Efforts were made to counter rumours and scenes of joint Holi celebrations were screened.

1.58. According to a report in *The Indian Express* (March 8), *AIR*, Delhi was quizzed by somebody in the Prime Minister's Office, regarding an English discussion that was critical of the manner in which the Gujarat riots had been handled. This is said to have resulted in an inquiry and the transfer of the concerned programme officer.

1.59. Many cities in Gujarat have local cable-television channels that telecast news and programmes several hours a day. *Gujarat Samachar* has one such channel in Ahmedabad. There is another, a 24-hour channel in Anand, known as *Charotar Area Network Link* or CAN-Link. The group also publishes a local newspaper, *Naya Padkar*. What subscribers wanted from their local media was positive stories of community living and hard information about violence-affected areas, curfew hours, safe routes for commuting, and so forth. This was not forthcoming and such information, when it was provided, was sometimes confusing.

Vadodara has 4 cable channels. While they did carry some official peace messages, it is alleged that they were politically exploited and that some of their coverage amounted to incitement. In the evidence placed before the Tribunal, members of the civil liberties' group, PUCL, as well as Shanti Abhiyan were particularly critical of the *JTV* and *Deep* channels. The police commissioner of Vadodara felt that the cable

networks had "played havoc" and issued them a warning. The licences of two operators were suspended on March 17, after they showed live footage of rioting in the sensitive Machchipith area on March 15, when the VHP celebrated news of the performance of *shilanyas* at Ayodhya. This same footage was telecast again the following day. The licences were restored after 48 hours. FIRs were, however, registered against *News Plus* and the *VNM Channel* respectively and the operators were released on bail.

Political leaders used the local electronic media in the most despicable manner. The intentions of a number of leaders belonging to the ruling party and its affiliates become very clear, if one examines their speeches on local TV channels such as *JTV*, *Deep* and *VNM*. The speeches of leaders like Shri Ajay Dave (BJP), Shri Nalin Bhatt (BJP), Shri Deepak Kharchikar (Shiv Sena), Shri Neeraj Jain (VHP), Sushri Bhartiben Vyas (Mayor of Vadodara) and Shri Jitendra Sukhadia BJP), were particularly provocative, obviously intended to incite crowds to violence. If these were the speeches made on TV, one can well imagine the role of these people during the violence on the streets. (For example, on March 18, Sushri Bhartiben Vyas convened a '*Shanti Samiti*' meeting which was attended by the police commissioner and the collector, as well as leading political figures of various parties. She made appropriate pacifist remarks at this meeting but later that day, she made inflammatory remarks against the minority community in the Vadodara Municipal Council.)

1.60. The Tribunal also recorded evidence that shows the misuse of the media by channels like *Citicable* and *Narmada*, which influenced public perceptions for the worse in Bharuch-Ankleshwar.

1.61. Networks are subject to rules framed under the Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act, 1995. Operators have to seek registration by an authorised officer, who may be a district magistrate, sub-divisional magistrate or police commissioner within his/her area of jurisdiction. The rules prescribe a code for programmes and advertisements. No programme may be carried, which offends good taste or decency, attacks religious communities, incites violence, contains false and suggestive innuendoes and half-truths, or is unsuitable for unrestricted public exhibition. Any authorised officer may prohibit certain transmissions infringing the code or otherwise, if expedient to do so in the public interest. Penalties include fines and seizure of equipment.

1.62. The Editors' Guild was informed that during long periods of curfew between March 1 and 15, some cable channels made it a point to screen 'patriotic' or 'nationalist' films such as *Gadar*, *Border* and *Ma Tujhe Salaam*.

1.63. The Gujarat carnage was probably the first of its kind, where mobile phones and cellular services were actively used. They were used by the leaders of large mobs to coordinate and launch attacks. Equally, they were used by victims, survivors, rights activists etc. to contact authorities or to make frantic appeals for peace, which, unfortunately, were not always heeded.

1.64. The long history of communal violence in India is replete with instances where rumours have been a prominent part of the *modus operandi* adopted to stoke hatred and violence. But it works differently now. Earlier phases of inter-community

violence, riots started over small and freak incidents and often spread due to the residual mistrust and suspicion between communities. Since the early eighties, the pattern of communal violence has increasingly assumed the characteristics of pogroms and genocidal killings, and has made the generation of hate speech and rumour an exercise put into force by the elements who lead and mastermind the killings. Hate speech, pamphlets and propaganda are conspicuously used to these ends, and even mainstream newspapers put into use for the purpose.

1.65. The rumours that were spread during the Gujarat carnage followed familiar lines: Impending attacks from Muslims, threat of retaliation from the relief camps, Muslim youths being armed, decapitated bodies found in a temple, etc. Rumours such as these, which were doing the rounds, were not adequately countered by the authorities; regrettably, the mass media, too, did not pay heed to this. In what might appear paradoxical, and reminiscent of the 1992-1993 anti-Muslim pogrom in Mumbai, while the minorities were the victims, it was the majority that experienced the threat perception most acutely. This was so because the fear psychosis was deliberately created, in Mumbai earlier and in Gujarat this time, so as to justify the carnage and killings as 'defensive' acts by 'protectors of Hindus'. In response to this, sections of the minority formed vigilante squads to defend themselves in majority dominated areas of Ahmedabad and Vadodara.

1.66. Hate speech and hate writing, rumour-mongering and factual reportage have now become critical issues that need to be addressed by the police, the government and the media, to maintain internal peace and security.

1.67. The Tribunal would like to put on record that an anonymous e-mail message was widely circulated in early March, the gist of which was that the trigger for the tragedy at Godhra was provided by riotous *kar sevaks*, who, among other things, molested a young Muslim girl on the railway platform and dragged her with them into the compartment. It was this misdemeanour which enraged the Muslim stall-owners trying to rescue the girl, the e-mail claimed. It added that two local correspondents, Shri Anil and Sushri Neelam Soni, were eyewitness to all this but that their report was suppressed. To make the information appear authentic, the designations and telephone numbers of the correspondents were given.

The e-mail message said that the girl was "molested" and "abducted". Further, as the train began moving out of the station, incensed hawkers pulled the alarm chain to stop it within a few hundred metres of the station, near the outer signal cabin adjacent to the Ghanchi neighbourhood, to which the vendors belong. The train was mobbed and stoned and coach No. S-6 was set on fire.

When, exactly, this e-mail message was actually sent, is not clear. However, on being questioned by the Editors' Guild, the Sonis denied having filed the story and disclaimed it as a fabrication. Nevertheless, others also put out somewhat similar versions, supplementing their account with a news report published by the Faizabad-based *Jan Morcha* on February 25, narrating accounts of the misbehaviour of *kar sevaks* on their way to Ayodhya. travelling by the same Sabarmati Express.

That the *kar sevaks* attempted to drag a Muslim girl standing on the platform to their compartment is a fact. But rumour had it that she was actually pulled into the train. A senior journalist who deposed before the Tribunal, clarified that she had spoken to the family concerned, who said that an attempt was made to pull the girl into the train, but Muslim vendors intervened at once and rescued her.

1.68. The Tribunal records from the evidence placed before it that four young men from Ahmedabad - Shri Memon Mohammed Samir B and Shri Memon Ayub Abubakar from Juhapura and Shri Memon Gulam Mustafa J and Shri Mansuri Makbul I, both from Sarkhej Road — have filed an FIR under sections 153(A), 155, 295, 295(A) of the Indian Penal Code against Sandesh and Gujarat Samachar. The complaint, faxed to the commissioner of police, Ahmedabad, Shri PC Pandey, and dated March 10 states, "After the incident of February 27, these two publications, instead of reporting news fairly, made baseless accusations against Muslims and printed fallacious news and also spread the news in a provocative manner, which is detrimental to the interest of the nation and as such, caused provocation resulting in large-scale destruction... Due to the articles carried by the publication on February 28, which were inflammatory, not only was the integrity of the Muslim community questioned, but unspeakable atrocities were also inflicted on it... By such provocative news articles, the accused displayed support to particular right-wing extremist organisations like the VHP and the Bajrang Dal, which has not only ruined the prestige of the state but brought national shame to India in the eyes of the international community... The rift caused between citizens on the grounds of religion and communal disharmony is becoming irrevocable and as such the accused, large circulating newspapers, have committed a heinous crime, as contemplated by the sections above. They can also be booked under the POTO ordinance." The Tribunal notes with regret that no action has been initiated against the newspapers. (See Detailed Annexures: PUCL Report on Media, Volume III).

passes strictures as does the Chief Election Commission (CEC); powerful accused are being openly and brazenly saved but yet the SIT is protective of A-1 Mr. Modi during its much publicised questioning. A-25 (then DGP Mr. K Chakravarti) admits during his statements to the SIT that then ADGP, Mr. RB Sreekumar's transfer was directly because the State Intelligence Bureau under him had written strong comments on the video speech delivered by A-1 Mr. Modi at Becharaji in 9.9.2002 and the fact that this news got leaked to the media. SIT however sees no reason to draw any conclusions from the motivated actions of the government and home department under A-1 Mr. Modi. The blinkered approach of SIT is all too evident in how it chooses to discredit all those whistleblowers who have given evidence directly implicating A-1 Mr. Modi in serious crimes.

Dr. Praveen Togadia, Accused No. 20 (A-20)

- 168. "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 Girlraj Kishore; (Newshour, Star News, 27 February 2002.)
- 169. (Star News: Newshour) Friday, 01, 03, 2002) Dr. Praveen Togadia (Secretary General, VHP International): "In (a) democratic pattern we at the same time we must exercise all our democratic right to agitate...... It will be agitation till the completion of the construction of a Ram temple. It is the question of our faith and faith cannot be challenged by anybody. It is the duty of the political party to respect... and they are surrendering to blackmailing by Muslim vote-bank!1 will quote Mr.. Vir Sanghvi, editor of The Hindustan Times – 'We secularists are programmed to see Hindu–Muslim relations in simplistic terms. Hindus provoke, Muslims suffer. It is clear now that there are Muslim mob-murderers on Hindus...' – and we are talking... (SN: How long do these murders carry on?) We must consider that it is *jehadi* terrorist activity, which is responsible for this violence... (SN: Dr. Togadia, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth would make the entire world go blind

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and toothless...) I am not asking a tooth for a tooth. It is not tooth. Hindus are unarmed. And you secularist people are always defenders...*

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170. (Star News: What's on the government's mind? That's what the country wants to know. Is it to restore peace and then talk to the VHP? What's the strategy that the govt. has up its sleeve?)

Co-Conspirators and Accused

171. Acharya Giriraj Kishore (Vice-President, VHP): (Panel Discussion) (Incidents like this (Godhra) show the psyche of a community): "What is the reason for the pilgrims, they were attacked when they came from Amarnath? What was the reason? That is the psyche, I say!""Communal violence can be checked only...why this incident happened, who did it, what is the psyche behind it? This should be studied."

(AT: News) Wednesday, 27. 2. 2002)

172. Train burning at Godhra, Violence in Gujarat; VHP, Government in conflict on Ayodhya. Mr. Gordhan Zadaphiya (Home Minister, Gujarat): "Ye ghathna subha 7.20 ko jo Sabarmati train aati hai Faizabad se, woh Panchmahal zilia ke Godhra head Quarters jo yahan hain capital vahan par aayi. Aur woh jaise hi vahan platform se thoda aage chali - aadha km. bhi nahi hoga - woh train ke uppar patharao hua. Patharao hone ke baad usme aag jani ke sare padarth jaise petrol, diesel, vagerah - Pehle se pre-planned lagta hai – aur immediately pura 5-6 number ka dibba hai woh jalaya gaya. Aur usme aabhi tak, ye jo dead bodies hum ko recover hui hain, yeh 57 hain. Usme 25 mahilayien aur 15 bachche hain aur 17 kariban purush hain in sab ko - yeh dead bodies yahan se recover kiye hain. Aur yahan se hum log Ahmedabad civil hospital ko bhej rahe hain... yeh danga nahi hai, dango mein aamne saamne jo sampradayik daange hote hain, usme retallation hota hal. Isme to sirf pre-planned, organized aur pehle se hi saari chizen jaise ki tayar hoti hain. Aur ise hi shanonmen ghatna ban na - woh lagta hain ki organize prakar ka ek crime hai. Aur ye bilkul amanviya, aisi ghatna bacche aur mahilayon ke saath aisa drushya jo kiya gaya hai woh bahut gambhir hai (On arrest) haan ji, 30 - 40 logon ke kariban shanka ke adhar par hum log ne kiya hai. Aur yahan par

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aur karavahi chal rahi haj jiski aur jo naam kuch vagerah hain, woh log yahan par karvah kar rahe hain ... tanavto hain saare rajya mein, lekin ghatna – apriya ghatna jo hai... Godhra mein to bilkul shanti bani hui hai aur rajya mein bhi shanti bani hui hai. 1-2 chut-put ghatnaein koi Ahmedabad aur Anand vagerah mein, Baroda mein hui aur uske baad rajya mein vaisi stitithi tanav purna hote huye bhi abhi tak shant hai." [Tr.: This incident took place when at 7:20 in the morning, the Sabarmati Express which arrives from Faizabad to the Panchmahal district Headquarters, Godhra, which is the capital - it arrived here. And as soon as it left the platform and moved a bit further, about half a kilometre or so, the train was stoned. After the stoning, all the inflammable material like diesel, petrol etc. were thrown in - looks like a pre-planned incident - and immediately the S6 coach was set on fire. And so far, the dead bodies recovered from there are 57. In that there are 25 women and 15 children and about 17 men. All of them, these dead bodies have been recovered from here. And from here, we are sending them to the Ahmedabad Civil Hospital ... This is not a riot in a riot there is a confrontation - in a communal riot, there is retaliation. This is simply 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. And this is absolutely inhuman, to do this to women and children - this is very serious... (on arrests) Yes, we have (rounded up) about 30-40 suspects. And there is further action being taken here. Those who are suspected and some names - they are working on it ... There is tension throughout the state, but Godhra, where this ugly incident took place, is completely peaceful. And the state is also peaceful. 1-2 minor incidents have happened in Ahmedabad or Anand etc., or in Baroda but by and large, the situation is tense but as yet peaceful.)

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(SN: News) Sunday, 10. 03. 2002).

173. Dr.. Jaideep Patel (Joint Secy., Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Gujarat): "Woh to swabhavik hai, jo log aaiye hain aur is mein lakhon, 15-20,000 log hain. To pakad ke le jaaye police 15-20,000 logon ko. Har ek jagah, harek police station mein 10-15,000, 10-15,000 logon ko pakad ke le jaaye." (Tr.: The people came spontaneously (on the roads) and there were lakhs, 15-20,000 of them. So let the police

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arrest 15-20,000 people in enywhere, at every police station, let the police arrest 10-15,000 people each.)

Call to Arms Other examples of Hate Speech on 27.2.2002

- 174. Terming the attack on Sabarmati Express at Godhra in Panchmahal district of Gujarat as a "pre-planned, violent act of terrorism", chief minister Mr. Modi said the state government was viewing the incident "very seriously". (PTI, 28 February 28, 1:02:51 a.m.)
- 175. "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 preplanned incident and immediately the S6 coach was set on fire... This is not a riot. In a riot there is a confrontation, in a communal riot there is retaliation. This is just pre-planned, organised and as though all things have been prepared in advance. And for the situation to develop in a matter of minutes it looks like an organised sort of crime..." Gordhan Zadaphiya, minister of state for home, Gujarat (Aaj Tak, 27 February 2002.)
- 176. Union home minister L K Advani on March 4, 2002 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."—Dr. Praveen Togadia, international general secretary, VHP; in an interview to Hotline in Ayodhya.
- 177. LUCKNOW: Chairman of the Ram Janmabhoomi Nyas, Mr. 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.)

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(Pages 161-163 of the Malhotra Inquiry report, Volume XI of the SC SLP Record)

ALLEGATION II, The Decision to bring dead bodies of those killed in Godhra train fire to Ahmedabad and Parade them in Ahmedabd City; Page 162 Malhotra Report, Volume XI of the SC SLP Record

One Shri Hasmukh T. Patel of VHP had acknowledged the dead bodies. It may be mentioned here that the handing over of the dead bodies to their legal heirs/guardians was the duty of the railway police, who had registered a case in connection with this incident. Shri M.L. Nalvayia has stated that these dead bodies were handed over officially to Shri Jaydeep Patel and Shri Hasmukh T. Patel of VHP as per the instructions given by Smt. Jayanti S. Ravi, DM and Late B.M. Damor, ADM, Godhra. Shri M.L. Nalvaya has filed an affidavit before Nanavati Commission of Inquiry to this effect on 05-09-2009 However, Smt. Jayanti Ravi has stated that no such instructions were given to Shri Nalvaya to hand over the dead bodies to Shri Jaydeep Patel or Shri Hasmukh T. Patel of VHP and that Shri Jaydeep Patel was merely to accompany the dead bodies to Ahmedabad.

Shri Raju Bhargava, the then Superintendent of Police, Godhra has stated before the SIT that since, there was a curfew in the town, he had arranged for four (4) mini trucks, Tata-407 and one Tata-608 tempo for the transportation of the aforesaid dead bodies. He also arranged for the police escort with a pilot gypsy. Further, one Sub Inspector was sent in gypsy with some other staff and two armed guards each were made to sit in the aforesaid five vehicles. The convoy left Godhra around midnight intervening 27/28-02-2002 for Ahmedabad by road. On the way to Ahmedabad, the escorts from the concerned districts had replaced each other. The five trucks carrying dead bodies reached Sola Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad between 0330 hrs to 0400 hrs on 28-02-2002. At Sola Civil Hospital, Dr. Pushpa Belani, Medical Superintendent, PI Lathiya of Sola PS., Shri Prajapati, Deputy Collector, Shri K.

Srinivas, Collector and several other Administrative and Police Officers were present. Shri Jaydeep Patel handed over the letter to Shri Prajapati, the then Dy. Collector and the police and the administrative officials got busy with the preparation of panchnama and other documentation. The relatives of the persons, who had died in the Godhra carnage, were also present to the hospital. Accordingly, 35 persons were identified and their dead bodies handed over to their relatives by about 1300 hrs on 28-02-2002 by the police after obtaining the receipts from them. It may be mentioned here that 25 dead bodies were claimed by the residents of Ahmedabad, two (2) by the residents of Kadi, Mehsana, five (5) by the residents of Anand, two (2) by the residents of Khedbramha, Sabarkantha and one (1) from Rajkot. The photographs and DNA samples of the remaining unidentified 19 dead bodies were taken by the hospital authorities. These 19 unidentified dead bodies were cremated on 28-02-2002, at Gota cremation ground nearer to the Sola Civil Hospital by the District Administrative and Police officers with the help of Surpanch of Gota village. The cremation was completed by about 1830 hrs on 28-02-2002.

On 28-02-2002, twelve (12) charred dead bodies of Godhra carnage were brought to Ramol, Ahmedabad City from Sola Civil Hospital. All these deceased persons belonged to Ramol-Khokhra area. Shri M. K. Tandon, Jt. CP, Secor-II instructed Shri R.J. Savant, DCP, Zone-V to make efforts to ensure that the dead bodies were moved in vehicles and not by foot, as the same would have escalated the tension. It may be mentioned here that ten (10) kar-sevaks belonged to Ramol and two (2) kar-sevaks were from Khokhra. Shri R.J. Savant succeeded in persuading the relatives and the well wishers of the deceased to take each body in a vehicle and the funeral procession was guarded by the police up to Hatkeshwar cremation ground, about 4 kms away from Ramol-Khokhra. The funeral was over by about 1400 hrs and the crowd which had gathered on the highway dispersed thereafter.

It may thus be seen that the journey from Godhra to Ahmedabad started around midnight and the dead bodies reached Sola Civil Hospital sometime between 0330 to 0400 hrs and there was no one on the highway at that point of time in the night to see them. Further, though a letter had been addressed by Shri M.L. Nalvaya in the name of Shri Jaydeep Patel of VHP and the dead bodies were acknowledged by Shri Hasmukh T. Patel of VHP, yet the dead bodies were escorted by the police upto Sola Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad situated on the outskirts of Ahmedabad City. At Sola Civil Hospital, Shri Jaydeep Patel handed over the letter to the hospital authorities and the local police as well as the hospital authorities took charge of the dead bodies. Subsequently, 35 dead bodies were handed over to the legal heirs/guardians of the deceased by the police after completing the formalities and documentation. The 19 unidentified dead bodies were cremated on the same evening by the local administration and police authorities at Gota cremation ground nearby with the help of Sarpanch of Gota village after retaining their DNA samples. Subsequently, 12 dead bodies could be identified after conducting DNA tests, while the remaining seven (7) remained unidentified.

The above facts would go to establish that though a letter had been addressed by Mamalatdar, Godhra to Shri Jaydeep Patel of VHP, yet the dead bodies were escorted by the police from Godhra to Ahmedabad, where the same were taken charge of by the hospital authorities, District Administrative and Police Officers and handed over to the kith and kin of deceased persons after taking proper receipt. Further, the unidentified bodies were disposed of by the District Administrative and police officers. The fact that 25 deceased persons belonged to Ahmedabad, 2 to Mehsana, 1 to Rajkot and 2 to Sabarkantha places accessible via Ahmedabad and the same were claimed by their legal heirs/ guardians at Ahmedabad. Shri P.C. Pande has stated that there had been no parading of dead bodies inasmuch as the trucks carrying the dead bodies under police escort reached Ahmedabad City between 0330 hrs to 0400

hrs on 28-02-2002, which means they had started from Godhra at least three hours earlier and as such there was no one to see them on the highway at dead of the night. Shri Pande has also stated that in Ahmedabad City, the dead bodies were kept in Sola Civil Hospital situated on the outskirts of the City and that most of the dead bodies were handed over to their relations after proper documentation by 28-02-2002 morning.

In view of the aforesaid discussions, the allegation that the CM's decision to bring the dead bodies of those killed in Godhra carnage to Ahmedabad was with a view to parade them in the City is not established. Further, the allegation that the dead bodies were handed over to Shri Jaydeep Patel, is also not established, inasmuch as he only accompanied the dead bodies from Godhra to Ahmedabad, and that the custody of the dead bodies remained with the police escort and thereafter with the Sola Civil Hospital Authorities, Administrative and Police authorities. The allegation that the dead bodies were transported to Ahmedabad against the wishes of Smt. Jayanti Ravi is proved to be incorrect. Shri M.L. Nalvaya Mamalatdar had acted in an irresponsible manner by issuing a letter in the name Shri Jaydeep Patel in token of having handed over the dead bodies which were case property, deserves to be dealt with through strong departmental action against him.

The text of Dr. Togadia's speech

(This is the speech that VHP international general secretary Praveen Togadia made on Saturday at Lodia village—the epicentre of the earthquake in Gujarat's Bhuj district—in the presence of State Industry Minister Suresh Mehta and Animal Husbandry Minister Devanand Solanki. Excerpts from the speech, which was first reported by The Indian Express, as recorded on tape).

"When I came here, some friends told me that some organisations have requested that I should not say anything that will offend their feelings. Now they dictate to us what we should say. But my question is, don't you offend us?

"At Bhimasar police station, a complaint has been lodged. An 18-year-old boy was taken to Radhanpur six months ago and made a Muslim. If you do this, doesn't this offend us? We don't offend anybody's feelings. But here our feelings have been hurt. Have you agitated against this?

"When you attack our Akshardham, does not this offend our feelings? When you burnt people alive at Godhra station, does this not offend our feelings? When you destroy our Somnath temple, does not this offend our feelings?

"When the so-called Babri Masjid which was, in fact, a Hindu temple was destroyed, Muslims became unhappy. They (Muslims) clamoured that Hindus had destroyed the *masjid* which was a Hindu temple. Here, were your feelings not hurt? They were. When Babar destroyed our Ram temple 450 years ago, were we not hurt then? When you burnt people at Godhra station, we have to respect your feelings. When you create bloodshed at Akshardham we have to respect your feelings, but should you not respect our feelings in such incidents?

"This type of mindset has produced the offspring of Gazni in this country. We have always lived peacefully for ages. Do you find any clash between the Parsees and Hindus? Is there any conflict between Hindus and Jews? Is there any fight between Hindus and Buddhists? Do you find any clash between Hindus and Sikhs? Why then there is conflict with some Muslims?

"When a survey conducted by the *India Today* magazine asked Muslims whether Mohammad Gazni, Aurangzeb and Jinnah, who was unfortunately from Gujarat, were among their heroes, one-third of the 12 crore Muslims gave an affirmative answer. How we can have a rapport with you when you have this mentality? They certainly cannot be our heroes. If you still think that your feelings are hurt, then you should go to Pakistan. If you have to live in this country you have to respect the feelings of Hindus. We have never hurt your feelings, you have. You are still doing it.

"A well known Mumbai-based authority on Islam, Rafiq Zakaria, has written that only *jihadis* opposed Muslims. Of late, there is seen some protest against this mentality in some Muslims. Zakaria clearly says that Hindus are not at fault here as it is work of only *jihadi* Muslims.

"I will give you an example of a village near Viramgam where there was communal harmony between Muslims and Hindus who greet each other with 'Ram Ram' and 'Salaam Valekum' for ages. But then came a maului from Uttar Pradesh. One day, on a Friday, a Muslim did not greet Hindus. When the Hindu villagers asked the Muslim villagers for the reason behind this sudden change in behaviour, they were told that the maului had told them not to wish kafirs on Friday.

"When the Godhra incident took place, the so-called secularists of this country did not condemn it the same day. Those who disrupted Parliament for a whole month on the Ram *mandir* issue didn't raise this issue in Parliament. Then, the communal violence began from February 28. First, the puppies of Gujarat made noises and started barking. When it was felt that this noise would not do, dogs from all over the country started coming here. Some came from Lucknow, some came from Kerala. Then we heard that a dog from Italy also made the rounds here.

"There has been browbeating in Gujarat to delay the elections so that Hindu votes get divided, so that people of Lohana community vote for their community candidates, so that the Darbars, Patels and Brahmins do the same. So that the supporters of *Miya* Musharraf could rule here. Should we permit companions of *Miya* Musharraf to rule here?

"Therefore, never vote on the basis of caste. Vote on the basis of religion. If you do not vote on the basis of religion, there cannot be unity among the people of Gujarat.

"You think that Hindus could be suppressed with bomb explosions or violence? We are five crore Hindus in Gujarat. If 50,000 Hindus get killed in a terrorist attack, the five crore figure will not get smaller. If you people who number 50,000 die, no one would be left here from you.

"Our Soniaben is imported from abroad. But Muslims of India are not imported. Indian Muslims are converted Muslims. Therefore, Soniaben is a foreigner to us but Muslims are not.

"Since the forefathers of Muslims are Hindus, how can the blood of Arabia flow in their blood? I advise all Muslims to get themselves tested for their Hindu origin. I request Indian Muslims to get their genetics tested. The blood flowing in their blood vessels will be found to be not of Prophet Mohammed but of Lord Rama and Lord Krishna. If it is proved that you have the blood of Rama and Krishna, then how can there be any dispute with you? It is you who are in conflict with us. If in the name of Prophet Mohammed, you pray in a mosque, we have no objection. But if you talk of *jihad*, it is not acceptable to us.

"Gujarat is not the right place for *jihad*. You cannot harm Hindu religion and culture by *jihad* because Hindus have the tradition of wearing a garland of flowers. But our Hindu deity wears a garland of human heads, we feel we wrongly adopted the tradition of wearing a garland of flowers."

Date: 10-05-2010

Statement of Dr. Pravin M. Togadiya, S/o, Shri Mohanlal Togadiya, aged about 52 years, R/o, Sankat-Mochan Hanuman, VHP headquarters, R.K. Puram, Sector-6, New Delhi.

I belong to Gujarat. I had completed my graduation in Medicine & Surgery from B.J. Medical College, Ahmedabad City. I did my Masters degree in Cancer Surgery from M.P. Shah, Cancer hospital, Ahmedabad City. I was running my own 'Ami' Surgical hospital during the period December, 1985 to December, 1998. This hospital was sold of by me in 1998 itself. Thereafter, I stopped practicing for financial gains and had been performing surgical operations on charitable basis. After 1998, I occasionally visited different hospitals such as Dhanvantari hospital and Ami surgical hospital and used to perform surgeries.

I joined Vishwa Hindu Parishad in June, 1986. From 1986 to 1998, I remained General Secretary of Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Gujarat State. Later from December, 1998, I am Secretary General, VHP, International. In the reference to eternal, unchanging, human values, which is for welfare of the humanity, as well as beyond humanity in the universe to establish continuing changing way of a life, which is beneficiary to the whole world including the human beings and to propagate this noble value system through the world and to protect this noble value system and to protect Hindus, who are practicing this noble life style based on these noble values by democratic and constitutional means.

- Que. How and when did you receive the information relating to the burning of a railway coach of Sabarmati Express near Godhra Railway Station on 27-02-2002?
- Ans. On 27-02-2002, I was at Ayodhya, U.P. At that time Ram Maha-Yagna was going on from 0530 hrs to 2030 hrs. daily. As a Secretary General of VHP, I was Chief Executive and in charge of this religious ceremony. On 27-02-2002, around 1000 hrs, while I was conducting Ram Maha-Yagna religious ceremony, I got a message from my colleague and headquarters in charge from Delhi that there was some problem at Godhra Railway Station and that probably a few kar-sevaks had been killed by Muslims.
- Que. What was your immediate reaction to this information?
- Ans. Since, I was sitting in Ram Maha-Yagna and busy with the rituals, I waited for the further details to come.
- Que. When and what details did you get with regard to the Godhra incident?
- Ans. On 27-02-2002 afternoon, I received further information from my colleague that when the train Sabarmati Express going to Ahmedabad moved out of Godhra Railway Station at about 0800 hrs (I don't recollect the exact time.), it was stopped and surrounded by a Muslim mob, which burnt the train and more than 50 persons were burnt alive.
- Que. What was your further action and reaction?
- Ans. The incident was very painful and immediately, I suggested that all persons in the train, who had survived or injured should be given sufficient protection as well as medical treatment.

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- Que. What was the further action taken by you in the matter?
- Ans. On 28-02-2002, I contacted Late K.K. Shastri, who was then President, Gujarat State and inquired about the details of the incident. Late Shastri informed me that the survivors of Godhra carnage gradually returning to their native places, whereas the injured had been hospitalised in the Godhra hospital.
- Que. What did you do thereafter?
- Ans. I have already stated that I was busy with the Ram Maha-Yagna from 23-02-2002 to 02-06-2002 and used to perform Yagna everyday from 0530 hrs to 2030 hrs.
- Que. When did you visit Gujarat, thereafter?
- Ans. I do not recollect the date, but I have a recollection that I had visited Gujarat in the month of May, 2002. At that time, there was a complete chaos in Gujarat and some stray incidents of riots were still being reported. I did not contact anyone to find out the fate of Godhra carnage case. At that time the police was busy in maintenance of Law & Order and virtually no investigation was going on.
- Que. Did you discuss the matter relating to Gujarat bandh/Bharat bandh with Late K.K. Shashtri?
- Ans. I did not discuss any such matter with anyone. I was not even aware about the bandh call given by VHP after the Godhra carnage. It may be added here that VHP has got more than 50,000 branches in India and all over the world and every branch does not report to me directly about any of such events taking place.
- Que. Did you talk to the Chief Minister of Gujarat State about the incident?
- Ans. No. I did not talk to the Chief Minister.
- Que. Do you know Shri Gordhan Zadafia, the then MoS (Home)?
- Ans. I know him most probably since 1995, as he was earlier working with VHP, but later he joined politics and it is rule in VHP that if someone joins the politics, he has to leave the VHP.
- Que. Did you talk to Shri Gordhan Zadafia, the then MoS(Home) after the Godhra carnage incident?
- Ans. No.
- Que. Are you aware of the fact that communal riots took place in Gujarat pursuant to the Godhra carnage?
- Ans. I came to know from the newspapers report at Ayodhya that communal riots were going on in the few parts of Gujarat. I tried to get the detailed information regarding situation, but detailed information was not available in any of our system.
- Que. Do you know Shri Jaydeep Patel, General Secretary, VHP and did you discuss this matter with him?
- Ans. I know Shri Jaydeep Patel, General Secretary, VHP, but I did not have any talks or discussions with him with regard to the communal riots.
- Que. What was your mobile phone number at that time?

Ans. My mobile phone no. was 98240775..., I do not remember the last two digits. It may be mentioned here that in February to April 2002, none of the mobile service provider had connected Ayodhya with their network and as such my mobile phone was not operative, since there were no signals.

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- Que. Since when are you having the present mobile phone no. 9825323406?
- Ans. I had taken this mobile phone in 2005 or 2006.

Que. Kindly see the call details of mobile phone no. 9825323406 for 27 & 28-02-2002, 01-03-2002, 03-03-2002 & 04-03-2002, which show the location of this mobile phone at Ahmedabad on these dates. Please explain.

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- Ans. In this connection, I state that this mobile phone number was allotted to Shri Mahendra Patel, a relation of South Gujarat State President Shri Vijay Pranami in 2005 and as such I could not have used it in February/March, 2002.
- Que. Do you know Dr. Mayaben Kodnani, MLA, BJP, if so, since when?
- Ans. I know Dr. Mayaben Kodnani as a Gyneacologist doctor and I know her since the time, when I was practicing.
- Que. Did you talk to Dr. Mayaben Kodnani during the riots?
- Ans. I did not have any such contact with her. I never talked to her over phone.
- Que. Who are the police officers known to you?
- Ans. I had known Shri Sinha, Shri M.M. Singh, DGsP of Gujarat.
- Que. Do you know Shri R.J. Savani, the then DCP, Zone-V, Ahmedabad City?
- Ans. I do not know Shri R.J. Savani, the then DCP, Zone-V. I do not know any PIs, because virtually after 1998, I had very little contact with Gujarat only and used to visit Gujarat twice in a year.
- Que. Did VHP have any relationship with Sangh Parivar organisations like BJP, RSS and Bajrang Dal?
- Ans. VHP is a legally established institution as per Charitable Act of India. It is an independent legal entity, whose office bearers, policies and programmes are decided by its members democratically. VHP has nothing to do with any political party and an office bearer of VHP can not be an office bearer of any political party.
- Que. Do you know Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP of Congress party?
- Ans. No. I am not aware, when he contested the elections from Ahemdabad.
- Que. Smt. Jakia Nasim widow of Late Ahesan Jafri has alleged in her complaint that you being the International General Secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the owner of Dhanwantri hospital, Ahmedabad and the proud author, verbal and written of several incendiary speeches that have breeched criminal law by inciting violence against the religious minority.
- Ans. I deny this allegation. It is frivolous and maliciously made with a view to defame me. I have not given any such speech as alleged by Smt. Jakia Nasim and I was not present in Gujarat during this period and as such there is no question of giving any such speeches. Further, it may be added that Dhanwantri hospital is not owned by me.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

10/05/10

Before me 55/200 (A. K. Malhotra) Member, SIT, Gandhinagar

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https://www.rediff.com/news/2002/mar/12train.htm

It had to be done, VHP leader says of riots

Sheela Bhatt in Ahmedabad

In a startling revelation, Professor Keshavram Kashiram Shastri, 96-year-old chairman of the Gujarat unit of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, told *rediff.com* that the list of shops owned by Muslims in Ahmedabad was prepared on the morning of February 28 itself.

Shastri was replying to an allegation that shops in Ahmedabad were looted on the basis of a list prepared by the VHP in advance and that the violence was not a spontaneous outburst against the <u>carnage in Godhra</u>.

A scholar of the Mahabharat and a highly respected literary figure of Gujarat, Shastri said in a tape-recorded interview, "In the morning we sat down and prepared the list. We were not prepared in advance."

Asked why they did it, he responded, "*Karvun j pade, karvun j pade* (it had to be done, it had to be done). We don't like it, but we were terribly angry. Lust and anger are blind." He said the rioters were "*kelvayela Hindu chokra*" (well-bred Hindu boys).

He said there were two reasons for the inactivity of the Ahmedabad police during the rioting. "They feared death," he said simply. "And some of them were Hindus who thought, let the mob do whatever it wants."

He agreed that the atmosphere in the city now is so charged that if he were to go to the Muslim-dominated Kalupur area of Ahmedabad, he would not come back alive.

He admitted that people had been burnt, mosques razed, and shops looted, but argued that all that had been done in a "frenzy".

Shastri agreed that violence was not the answer to violence, but remarked, "These things [*non-violence*] look good in the *shastras*. Our boys were charged because in Godhra women and children were burnt alive. The crowd was spontaneous. All of them were not VHP people. The Waghri community (a scheduled caste) didn't even know the victims of Godhra, but they have done an amazing job! They are not our members. In villages all these people who were angry are not our people. They are angry because Hindutva was attacked. This is an outburst, a tremendous outburst that will be difficult to roll back."

He said the situation could get aggravated and bigger riots were possible. "There will be a war," he said. "So much poison has spread that it's difficult o contain it now."

Asked how he, a scholar and a litterateur, could condone innocents being burnt alive, he remarked, "The youngsters have done even those things which we don't like. We don't support it. But we can't condemn it because they are our boys. If my daughter does something, will I condemn it?

"We don't believe that the boys have done something wrong, because this was the result of an outburst. But we do feel that they should not have gone so far. But that's an afterthought. We needed to do something. It's said that snakes that are not poisonous should keep the enemy away by hissing once in a while."

He agreed that in Hindu philosophy, such actions are sinful, "but it's done! Now we should work for peace. Because India can't afford such disturbances."

The Ahmedabad police have so far arrested 977 persons on charges of rioting, looting, burning and killing people in response to first information reports filed by the victims and relatives of the dead.

According to the police, the search for looted goods has been quite successful. In many colonies and slums, looted stuff has been found abandoned on the roads by rioters fearful of being caught.

According to a police source, a legislator in Ahmedabad has sought police protection because the relatives of those arrested have been nagging him day and night to get them out.

A senior police officer told *rediff.com* that the arrested boys are now blaming local leaders and saffron activists. "Our boys did it because the mobs and leaders supported it. Now how can you arrest them?" say the relatives of the rioters.

According to Shastri, "The VHP has formed a panel of 50 lawyers to help release the arrested people accused of rioting and looting. None of the lawyers will charge any fees because they believe in the RSS ideology."

BJP leaders

"For the first time in years, we have had an upsurge of popular sentiment that brought together Dalits, tribals and middle-class Hindus on the same platform," he said.

— The Telegraph, March 6, 2002, from a Delhi dateline report filed by the daily's special correspondent, quoting a BJP minister in the central government, without identifying the person quoted.

"He (Narendra Modi) has salvaged the party's credibility and honour in a way no one has done after we came to power in the Centre."

— A Union minister from the BJP, not identified by name, quoted in The Telegraph, March 6, 2002.

"Modi was the only one who had the guts to defend what happened in his state without batting an eyelid or being red-faced. He did not say one thing one day and another the next day."

— BJP sources', not identified by name, quoted in The Telegraph, March 6, 2002.

"After the post-Godhra spontaneous Hindu upsurge, the party will have to consider the people's strong feelings on *Hindutva* and nationalism".

– Bharat Pandya, BJP MLA, quoted in India Today, March 18, 2002. The report added that at a closeddoor meeting with party president, Shri Jana Krishnamurthy in Ahmedabad, MLA after MLA of the BJP talked of reverting to the Hindutva track.

"The charge that Muslims did not take much interest in the national movement is correct. They don't consider India their home."

—Vinay Katiyar, BJP's UP president, purportedly quoting Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Ambedkar, in his first address to the UP state council of the BJP as its president, quoted in The Statesman, Aug 6, 2002,.

RSS leaders

"Let Muslims look upon Ram as their hero and the communal problems will all be over". - RSS mouthpiece, Organiser, June 20, 1971.

"Let Muslims understand that their real safety lies in the goodwill of the majority". - RSS resolution at its Bangalore meet, March 18, 2002.

VHP Leaders

"Now, it is the end of tolerance. If the Muslims do not learn, it will be very harmful for them." — Harish Bhai Bhatt, VHP leader, quoted in Mid-Day from a New York Times report, March 6, 2002

"It had to be done", VHP leader says of riots. In a startling revelation, Professor Keshavram Kashiram Shastri, 96-year-old chairman of the Gujarat unit of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, told *rediff.com* that the list of shops owned by Muslims in Ahmedabad was prepared on the morning of February 28 itself.

- http://www.rediff.com/news/2002/mar/12train.htm

Barely three months after the Gujarat Carnage, the VHP announced its intentions to test war on *jihad* in UP. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad plans to turn Uttar Pradesh into a laboratory for carrying out experiments aimed at promoting the feeling of *Hindutva* among Hindus and starting a campaign against "the Muslim mentality of *jihad*." The firebrand VHP leader, Singhal, was quoted as having said that "*Ab jahan jahan Godhra hoga wahan wahan Gujarat bhi hoga* (wherever there is Godhra there will be Gujarat)." He said that Muslims "who nursed the *jihadi* mentality" would be taught a lesson. "In Gujarat, for the time there has been a Hindu awakening and Muslims have been turned into refugees. This is welcome sign and Gujarat has shown the way to the country. Politics in India will now be based on the Hindu community – *Jo Hindu hit ki baat karega woh Bharat pe raaj karega* "(A Hindu who talks about his rights, will rule India)," he said.

—The Asian Age, June 6, 2002

Modi is He-Man, Lyngdoh has religious bias: VHP

"Both the CEC and the Congress president, Sonia Gandhi, are Christians and both wanted to postpone elections. Post-Dangs, Lyngdoh had shown his bias [against Hindus] in a lecture delivered at the IAS academy in Mussoorie," VHP international general secretary Praveen Togadia said in New Delhi.

-rediff on net, Aug 25, 2002

"We'll repeat our Gujarat experiment"

Vishwa Hindu Parishad international working president Ashok Singhal today termed Gujarat as a 'successful experiment'—and warned that it would be repeated all over India. Singhal, in Amritsar to inaugurate a physiotherapy centre at the Shivala Bhaian temple, said, "Godhra happened on February 27 and the next day, 50 lakh Hindus were on the streets. We were successful in our experiment of raising Hindu consciousness, which will be repeated all over the country now."

—The Indian Express, Sept 4 2002

"Godhra happened and the next day, 50 lakh Hindus were on the streets. We were successful in our experiment of raising Hindu consciousness, which will be repeated all over the country now..."

— Ashok Singhal, speaking in glowing terms of the fact that whole villages had been "emptied of Islam. People say I praise Gujarat. Yes, I do", inaugurating a physiotherapy center in Amritsar quoted in The Asian Age, September 4, 02

Gujarat to decide country's politics: Togadia

VHP International general secretary Praveen Bhai Togadia warned that "Godhra ka uttar aaj Gandhinagar, kal Dilli aur parson Pakistan mein diya jayega" (the reply to Godhra will be given today in Gandhinagar, tomorrow in Delhi and the day after in Pakistan).

— Praveen Togadia, international general secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad in The Times of India, Sept 15, 2002

TV (Star News) tapes prove Modi attacked Muslims

- By Sanjay Basak

New Delhi, Sept. 15: Brushing aside the evidence produced by a television channel on Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi's derogatory remarks on Muslims, and ignoring Prime

Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's censure of the state administration following the Gujarat carnage, deputy prime minister L.K. Advani on Sunday stood firmly behind Mr Modi and said his "*Gaurav Yatra*" was an example to be followed by the BJP.

The VHP, meanwhile, has decided to bring out another "*yatra*" in support of Mr Modi in Gujarat. The BJP president, Mr M. Venkaiah Naidu, who only a few days back was reported to have pulled up the Gujarat chief minister for his remarks against the minority community, on Sunday appeared to retract his censure, and clarified that he had merely "cautioned" Mr Modi "since there was a scope of misinterpretation." He added that the "matter ended after Modi claimed he never made anti-minority comments."

However, Mr Modi's assertion and Mr Naidu's claim that no anti-Muslim statements were made during the *Gaurav Yatra* was challenged by *Star News*, which produced tapes with Mr Modi's recorded voice, taking a snipe at and ridiculing the minority community in Gujarat. The state intelligence department had also cautioned the additional chief secretary (home) in a letter (J/2/BJP/Yatra/525/02 dated September 9) that such a speech could cause communal tension in the state.

The tape, broadcast by the television channel, gives a new twist to the controversy in the light of the Gujarat government's denial of the existence of any tapes and the text of Mr Modi's speech during the rally at Besraji village in Mehsana district on September 9. The National Commission on Minorities has asked for a copy of the tape following a furore over Mr Modi's remarks.

That Mr Modi, who lacked any caste-based support in Gujarat and was still regarded as an "outsider" by the locals, was trying to cash in on a communal divide, becomes somewhat evident following the airing of the tapes by the TV channel. In the excerpts of the audiotape, a voice — reportedly that of Mr Modi — is heard making inflammatory speeches in Gujarati. The English translation is as follows:

"I told them that I got water from Narmada in the month of *Shravan*. If they had it their way, they would have got it in Ramzan...

"What should we do? Run relief camps for them? Do we want to open baby-producing centres? We are five and we will have 25 offspring. Gujarat has not been able to control its growing population and poor people have not been able to get money."

The tapes clearly demonstrate how Mr Modi, in search of the "Hindu vote," tried to play to the gallery. He went on with his tirade against Muslims thus: "There is a long queue for children who fix tyre punctures. In order to progress, every child in Gujarat needs education, good manners and employment. That is the economy we need."

Once again targeting Muslims, he ended with what appeared to be a warning: "For this we have to teach a lesson to those who are increasing population at an alarming rate."

While the BJP president refused to answer any question on Mr Modi, claiming that this would only "create further tension," the chief minister's principal mentor in the party, Mr Advani, virtually gave him a pat on the back and praised his *Gaurav Yatra*, saying it was an example for the BJP to follow. "The massive turnout at the Gujarat *Gaurav Yatra* is a source of nervousness for the opposition.

"When the opposition denigrates Gujarat as 'Godse's Gujarat' the need for restoring Gujarat's *gaurav* is more," Mr Advani told BJP leaders who had assembled for the party office-bearers' meeting on Sunday.

The deputy prime minister went on: "Just as the yatra is a highly-successful programme, we

must now work with devotion to make the *Gaon Chalo Abhiyan* and the proposed December rally a success."

-http://www.asianage.com/main.asp?layout=2&cat1=1&cat2=22&newsid=19834

'5 crore Gujaratis will chop off Miya Musharraf's hands' - Modi

Ahmedabad, Sept. 15: Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi stooped down to a deplorable new low in political rhetoric on Sunday while warning "*Miya* Musharraf" that if he does not stop pointing his "dirty finger towards Gujarat, five crore people of Gujarat will not hesitate to chop off his hand and teach him a lesson."

Besides this, the chief minister has got advertisements published in newspapers asking the public to decide between "Modi and Musharraf."

Mr Modi, who called Gen. Musharraf "*Miya*" at least eight times, made the distasteful remark of Gujarat chopping off his hand at a thinly-attended public meeting at Visaavadar in Saurashtra where he ridiculed the Pakistan President for "daring" to point his "dirty finger" at Gujarat. Visaavadar is the constituency of former chief minister Keshubhai Patel, who was conspicuous by his absence on Sunday.

Mr Modi, who has been strictly warned by New Delhi not to make offensive and abusive remarks, was reportedly annoyed at thin attendance at Visaavadar and lost his cool when groups of people shouted slogans hailing former chief minister Keshubhai Patel, thereby interrupting his speech.

Mr Modi had mellowed down and refrained himself from making personal remarks on any leaders till Saturday evening, after he was reprimanded, for describing the Muslim philosophy of life as "*hum paanch hamare pacchis*" and stressed that he will not allow relief camps to facilitate unending production of children last week. He, however, regained his old self and indulged in heavy Musharraf and Congress bashing in Saurashtra on Sunday. It must be noted that the Saurashtra region had remained completely peaceful during the recent spate of communal riots and these provocative speeches by the chief minister has shocked the local population, who see a sinister design in dividing them on the basis of community.

Attacking "*Miya* Musharraf" for daring to raise Gujarat at the United Nations, Mr Modi said, "I am aware of what *Miya* Musharraf is doing in Pakistan." The Gujarat chief minister added, "A systematic cleansing of the Ahmediya Muslim community is going on in Pakistan. Muslims who are minorities are being harassed, but Indian leaders don't talk about it because it is an internal issue of Pakistan.

"And here we have a *Miya* who is pointing his dirty finger at Gujarat," he screamed, telling the crowds that it was a matter of *gaurav* (pride) for Gujarat not to let the '*Miya*' point his dirty finger towards Gujarat. "Stop doing this *Miya* Musharraf or five crore people of Gujarat will chop off the hand which has this dirty finger that you point towards Gujarat," he roared.

Instead of focusing on political rivals in Gujarat or the rest of the country, Mr Modi has now stooped to a level where he has asked people to choose between him and Gen. Musharraf. On Sunday, under the banner of the *Rashtriya Chetna Manch*, advertisements were issued asking the public to take a decision between "Musharraf and Modi." While the BJP claims that it has not issued these advertisements, party sources confirm that they have been issued under direct instructions from the chief minister.

The advertisements have mugshots of Mr Modi and Gen. Musharraf and asks people to choose between them. "Musharraf calls it Hindu Terrorism. This is Nationalism for Modi. One insults the country. The other maintains the country's self-respect."

https://m.rediff.com/news/2002/aug/23vhp1.htm

Modi is He-Man, Lyngdoh has religious bias: VHP

Describing Chief Minister Narendra Modi as "He-Man", the Vishwa Hindu Parishad on Friday charged Chief Election Commissioner J M Lyngdoh with religious bias for his recommendations on Gujarat.

"Both the CEC and the Congress president, Sonia Gandhi, are Christians and both wanted to postpone elections. Post-Dangs, Lyngdoh had shown his bias [against Hindus] in a lecture delivered at the IAS academy in Mussoorie," VHP international general secretary Praveen Togadia said in New Delhi.

Several Christian shrines and missionary institutions were attacked in Dangs district of Gujarat in the year 2000.

Claming that the delay in elections had been taken as an "insult" by the people of Gujarat, he said, "There is a sense of injustice prevailing in the state. The people are not able to understand why elections cannot be held in the state if they can be held in violence-torn Jammu and Kashmir."

Togadia said VHP cadres had spread out to 10,000 villages across the state to ensure Modi's victory in the polls "whenever they are held".

'We'll repeat our Gujarat experiment'

Vishwa Hindu Parishad international working president Ashok Singhal today termed Gujarat as a "successful experiment"&...

By: Express News Service | Amritsar | September 4, 2002

Vishwa Hindu Parishad international working president Ashok Singhal today termed Gujarat as a "successful experiment"—and warned that it would be repeated all over India.

Singhal, in Amritsar to inaugurate a physiotherapy centre at the Shivala Bhaian temple, said, "Godhra happened on February 27 and the next day, 50 lakh Hindus were on the streets. We were successful in our experiment of raising Hindu consciousness, which will be repeated all over the country now."

Singhal also spoke glowingly of how whole villages had been "emptied of Islam", and how whole communities of Muslims had been dispatched to refugee camps. This was a victory for Hindu society, he added, a first for the religion. "People say I praise Gujarat. Yes I do," he told an appreciative, but modest, audience.

Singhal also took potshots at the NDA Government, saying it hadn't helped the Hindu cause. The Ram temple would be built at the same place in Ayodhya, he stated. "We have been able to raise consciousness within the Hindu community, though it's unfortunate that the temple hasn't been built till now."

Gujarat to decide country's politics: Togadia

Lucknow News - Times of India

TNN | Sep 16, 2002, 00:40 IST

LUCKNOW: International general secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad Praveen Bhai Togadia on Sunday said the Gujarat elections would decide the politics of the country and would also leave its impact on Pakistan. He warned that Godhra ka uttar aaj Gandhinagar, kal Dilli aur parson Pakistan mein diya jayega (the reply to Godhra will be given today in Gandhinagar, tomorrow in Delhi and the day after in Pakistan).

He said the root cause of the Gujarat violence was the Godhra carnage and repetition of such incidents had to be avoided if peace had to prevail in the country. He denied that he had ever said what took place in Gujarat was a matter of pride. On the contrary, he maintained that what he had said was that the communal violence in Gujarat had to be analysed against the backdrop of the Godhra carnage which he termed as an act of terrorism. He alleged that the tabliqi jamaat active in Godhra was the Indian version of the Taliban and was spreading its tentacles all over the country. Hitting put at chief election commissioner LM Lyngdoh, the general secretary said his speech at the IAS Academy after the Godhra carnage was that of a missionary. He simultaneously thanked him for postponing the elections in Gujarat as it had provided chief minister Narendra Modi an opportunity to widen his vote base. Modi ki yatra ab nikal chuki hai aur unka mat badh raha hai (Modis yatra has begun and his vote bank is context in the solution of the solution of the solution of the table is table is the table is the table is the table is table is the table is table is the table is table i

Alleging that Indian secularists were behaving like Al-Jazeera (of Qatar), he said the country did not need this brand of secularism. In response to a query Togadia said that Swami Adhokshanand who was opposing the BJP in Gujarat was a fake Shankaracharya who had been put up by Congress president Sonia Gandhi to cast aspersions on Hindus supporting the BJP. He claimed that Adhokshanand had been

barred the court enter Puri Orissa. by to in Togadia said the VHP would organize a state-wide yatra of sants in Gujarat in October BJP to garner support for the in the elections. Nearer home, Togadia said the first jatha of Ram sadhaks would reach Ayodhya on September 21. The jathas will comprise 150 Ram bhakts who will stay in the temple days. town for five The programme will continue for 45 days. On September 28 an emergency meeting of the Sant Kendriya Mahamandal has been convened in Lucknow to discuss the court's proposal to all parties about excavation at the disputed site, as also related issues. On September 29 the UP Dharam Raksha Sammelan will be convened at Lucknow at the Laxman Mela site where a pledge will be taken by the participants for Dharam Raksha. Similar pledges will be taken by Ram Bhakts all over the country between September 29 October 5. and Togadia said between November 15 and December 15 Dharan Jagran yatras would be taken out all over the state. A total of 1,500 yatras would be taken out, he added.

ANNEXURE

Sandesh Headlines and Reports.

69

28th February, 2002.

Page 1

i.

14

1.

1. 70 HINDUS BURNT ALIVE IN GODHRA.

 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 is quotes the VHP leader from Dholka Rajondra 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

 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 altributing the train massacre to Muslims, who are auti-national according to various Sandesh reports.
 THE DEAD ARE NOT MERE RAM SEVAKS, THEY ARE THE HEIRS OF RANA PRATAP, GURU GOVIND SINGH.

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

Page 3

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 THE VICTIMS MASS MURDERS: 10-15 GIRLS WERE PULLED OUT BY RELIGIOUS FANATICS: 10-The report says: 15 girls were dragged out of the Sabarmati Express, this is being holly 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 newsitem goes on to refute the headline.

Analysis: What is the intention in having such headlines if not to provoke? On 2nd March Gujarat Samachar another Gujarati newspaper said that this report was false.

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

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 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 seen to be 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:

1. A MASJID AND 3 FACTORIES BURNT IN ANKLESHWAR

Page 5

1. STATION MASTER ALSO INVOLVED IN THE SENSATIONAL GODHRA MASSACRE.

Page 15

1. THE GODHRA INCIDENT IS NOT COMMUNALISM IT IS THE BLACK SHADOW OF TERRORISM

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 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 no attempt to verify this, no sources have been quoted. This report was later denounced as false by Gujarar Samachar, another Gujarati daily.

Sandesh does not see fit to speak of the limits of violence being inflicted on the Muslim community throughout the State. While the mob in Godhra is 'demonic', 'diabolical', 'evil' the violence perpetrated on thousands of innocent Muslims in Panchmahals is not condemned Unverified newsreports of this sort are provocative in the extreme and can instigate further violence.

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Page 8-9

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

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?

1. 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 JOF THE SABARMATI EXPRESS] BELONG TO A CERTAIN COMMUNITY? Accusation by VHP. This made the situation more tense in Godhra.

Analysis: This was basically a rumour that Sandesh has picked on and sensationalise, 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?

1st March, 2002-

Page 1

I.

12

1. GUIARAT 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.

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? Throughout the report there are assumptions about the murderous intention of the crowd of 'religious fanatics' and the alacrity with which Hindu youths prevented this. There are doubts about the veracity of this incident.

2nd March, 2002

Front page, top right

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

 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 WARPATH AFTER FUNDAMENTALISTS/FANATICS ABDUCT AND MURDER ADIVASI GIRLS.

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

Analysis Muslims being seen 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 are no mention of sources, nothing about where and how the information was received.

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

Analysis: Jingoistic.

Page 2

 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 ruppes. Flames engulfed the factories burned for 6-7 hours.

 ATTEMPT TO BURN CHANCHALAV RAILWAY STATION NEAR GODHRA. 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.

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).

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

2. Photographs on the last page of burnt bodies.

Analysis: Provocative.

3rd March, 2002

Page 1

1. Photographs with caption: Bodies burnt in Mchsana.

Analysia: This set of photographs are in bad taste and is extremely provocative.

Page 2

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

Aualysis: 'Mob' here does not say 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 holly 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

1 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

1 Photographs of bodies.

Analysis: Both sets of photographs are disturbing in the extreme instigation fear, terror and communal anger.

5th March 2002

Page 5

1. 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 sloke communal hostility.

Page 9

 PAKISTANS' EFFORT TO INSTIGATE REFESTIVE 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 and Shanti Abhiyan teams have found out after visits to the area. Sandesh has indulged in wilful mis-reporting and the news item is riddled with factual errors. This puts into question the veracity of Sandesh reportage.

6th March, 2002

Page 1

1. HINDUS BEWARE: HAJ PILGRIMS RETURN WITH DEADLY PLANS TO ATTACK.

-11.3: 11.

7th March, 2002

Page 8

1. NOT JUST PEACE RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE NECESSARY: THE GODHRA MASSACRE: PREPLANNED CONSPIRACY?

The report says even if the karsevaks travelling the train were shouting provocative slogans they should not have been barnt 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 are 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

1. GODHRA: THE MINI-PAKISTAN'S KARACHI CONNECTION. Report claims that Karachi has an entire area named Godhra.

8th March 2002.

Page 1

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

 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.

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9th March, 2002

Page 1

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11

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? The report goes on to say that it was a dog that had dragged the body of the calf into a street.

essa 75

5488

Analysis: What was the intention of the newspaper in splashing a photograph like this on the front page? Was it to deliberately foment trouble?

Page 7

 4 YOUTHS WITH RIFLES ESCAPED IN A TATA SUMO FROM THE CURFEW RIDDEN FATEMPURA AREA. The report goes on to say that these youngsters then made calls on their mobile phone to Calcutta, Bombay, Bangalore after reaching Tandalja.

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

Analysis: When there is such tension and at such sensitive moments, printing headlines without much verification points to dubious intentions.

Page 16

1 A report tells the readers that in 1948 people from Pakistan set the Tricolour on fire in Godhra's Iqbal High School. A teacher who should 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 the fire.

15th 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

Analysis: There could have given a less inflammatory headline.

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.

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Page 4

1-

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

Page 5

 Bannur 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, Wach, Akota, it also says that victims of nots from nearby villages in Vadodara who have come here, some Muslim leaders have used their political connections to set up illegal colonies on Corporation fand. Information about dangerous activities have come to the fore in these colonies. The VMC also knows about this. Rehabilitation is only an exense.

Analysis: The much is that these are relief camps where triviled 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 instigated 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 feetnete 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 devolees.

Page 6

 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.

 THE SC JUDGEMENT ANGERS HINDUS: 'TALK OF THE TOWN', Will there be a 1992 action replay in Ayodhya today? In box: The government allows Muslims to read namaz during office hours and Hindus are prohibited from performing puja.

Page 16

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN AYODHYA TODAY? CITIZENS IN SUSPENDED LIMBO. Analysis: The headline makes to create anxiety and terror.

16th March 2002

Page 1

14

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.

Analysis: The headline almost jubilantly proclaims the violence that claimed the city on 15th March 2002

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Page 2

Ramdhun programmes highlighted in various parts of the district. Muslims had already finished their namuz before the Ramdhun began.

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Analysis: No mention of Muslim fears. They have inserted this bit of information to sensationalise the reading of the namaz. In an atmosphere of such violence the newspaper could have easily exercised restraint. The Ram Dhun programmes are almost posed as a victory.

Page 3

de la

 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 Macchipith area of the city.

 MACCHIPTH VIOLENCE LEADS TO A MOB LOOTING AND SETTING FIRE TO SHOPS NEAR NATRAJ CINEMA.

Analysis: The violence in Macchipith 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 doliberately stoke communal passions.

Page 5

 RAMDHUN IN RAMESHWAR MANDIR. THOUSANDS OF DEVOTEES PARTICIPATE. Analysis: Once more there is glorification of the Ram Dhun programme. Hindus as devotees as compared to Muslims ag fanatics.

Page 7

24

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1. MUSLIMS ATTACK RANAVAS IN KADIYAWAD, DABHOL

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, WE WILL NOW 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

12

 Box in article: THE SACRIFICE AND STRUGGLE FOR THE RAMJANMABOOMI. The article gives a history of the Ram Janmabhoomi 'struggle' in which 3 lakh Hindus have died since the 15th century.

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

Page 14

1. 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.

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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 be 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 chooses instead to highlight the attack rather than the rescue.

Page 16

24

 HEADLINE: ANGRY MUSLIMS FIRE ON AND ATTACK RAMSHOBHA YATRA. What happened in Matchingith 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 Macchipith. 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 Macchipith crossing. Dhols and manjiras were played.

At Suryanarayan Baug an acid bulb shot out from a rooftop in Macchipith. The ram blakts of the shobha yatra looked towards Macchipith to see where the acid bombs were comming 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 Macchipith. 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 Macchipith 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 Macchipith 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 Ysuf Kadia start private firing. One 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 peple could have died but the police came right on time and fired.

Analysis: The entire city was terrorised, not suffused with the spirit of devotion. The Ram dhun 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 Macchipith actually followed a very different sequence. Our separate report clarifies this in greater detail.

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Page 16

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24

1. WAS THE MACCHIPITH MOB ATTACK PRE-PLANNED?

5.03.8

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 MASHDS 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 Fatchganj Muslim families were attacked and their shops burnt.

17th March 2002

Page 2

 RESIDENTS OF RANAWAS, DABHOI ANGRY. ' THE ADIMINISTRATION IS RUNNING AROUND FOR MUSLIMS, BUT NOBODY HAS COME TO WIPE OUR TEARS'.

Analysis: The truth of the matter is that the administration has hardly done anything for the Muslims. 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 hostis, Sandezk reveals its inherent communal biases.

Page 10

1. RAMMANDIR WILL BE BUILT EVEN IF WE HAVE TO USE FORCE: PARAMAHANS.

Analysis: All RSS and VHP statements are given pride of place in Sandeah. Appeals for peace, instance of Hindus and Muslims protecting each other are given short shrift.

Page 12

 THE MUSLIMS OF HATRIKHANA, 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 antisocial elements as stated by the Godhra District Collector Jayanti Ravi.

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 newsreport and photographs designed to sensationalise gruesome incidents of violence.

Page 3

1. 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

1. 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, antiminority 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.

19th March 2002

Page 12

1.1

 SAI MANDIR AND THE HINDU AREA IN TULSI WADI UNDER VIOLENT ATTACK BY MUSLIMS. Mobs of 5000-7000 attacked the area according to report.
 Analysis: Gross exaggeration of the numbers, deliberately done.

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20th March 2002

Page 3

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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: The deliberate formulation of sensationalised headlines are meant to terrorise or communalise an already divided society. Even an appeal by the administration becomes an excuse to indulge in terror-mongering.

 SHANTI SAMITI TRIES TO MAINTAIN PEACE. The newsitem is tucked away in small corner of the page.

Analysis: Sandesh obviously has its priorities all set out very clearly. News like this can encourage other such attempts to maintain peace but that does not seem to be on the Sandesh agenda

Page 14

1. Photographs of weapons and broken temples.

21st 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 Fatchganj. 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?

Page 16

1. Photographs: Dead bodies in Bharuch, all close ups.

23rd March 2002

Page 1

Close ups of dead/injured.
 THE NAKED DANCE OF VIOLENCE IN VADODARA. Headlines in large red letters.

Page 2

1. 3 DIE NEAR FATEHPURA LAL AKHADA. ARE THE TWO MUSLIM POLICEMEN POSTED AT THE POLICE POINT RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS?

Conclusion

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When Muslims were at fault names were taken, perpetrators were clearly identified. When Muslims were the victims of murderers, arsonists, looters, etc. then it has not been clearly stated who attacked whom. No sources have been quoted for headlines, even when they have simply been lifted from speeches by VHP leaders. Headlines are also misleading, and often followed up by reports that do not substantiate headlines. Photographs are meant to incite communal anger, fear and terror amongst people. The anti-minority stand is obvious in the slant in news reporting. Editorials and newsiterus often written in a way that implicitly and explicitly justifies carnage after the Godhra incident.

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Sandesh daily

On 28-2-2002:

"About 10 to 15 young Hindu girls were pulled out of the railway carriage by a group of religious fanatics"

"Women got down to save their lives but were caught in the Hooligans (Nar pishach)"

In the small prints almost at the end of the said 'news story" it said that the police did not indicate any such happenings but the damage to he psyche of the people was done.

On 1-3-2002

"Mutilated bodies of the Two of the women kidnapped from the Sabarmati Express found near Kalol"

"Bodies burnt by sprinkling petrol after they were raped and butchered"

In the small prints almost at the end of the said 'news story" it said that the police denied any such happenings but the damage to he psyche of the people was done.

On 6-3-2002

1.

"Hindus Beware:"

"At the instance and with the help of the terrorists" "Conspiracy of heavy return attack after the Hajj Pilgrimage"

The report contained nothing further from the truth. With out an iota of substance in the 'Story', it was published to defame the whole Muslim community as "demonised"

As a matter of fact due to what was happening everywhere in Gujarat the family, friends and relatives of every single Haji and in fact the whole community was literally and figuratively doing nothing but praying to the almighty for their safe return to their homes.

On 9-3-2002

aoaz -

"Pro Pakistan elements had burnt Tiranga in the High school compound in 1948"

How does this news item is relevant after 54 years except to induce a sense of hatred among the Hindu brethrens for the Muslim community as a whole?

On 11-3-2002

"Sense of terror in Godhara Hindu society due to Periodical heavy attacks on them"

"Civil Hospital, Saint Anald School and Commerce college in minority area : future targets of the Killers ?"

The report is based upon total hearsay and was devoid of any substantiated or un substantiated incident or happening what so ever.

On 16-3-2002 (For the Vadodara City):

<u>"Behind the Machhipith episode;</u> What happened that the City burned"

"Had the Police not arrived in time, the Rambhakts in the Rally (Shobha Yatra) would have perished"

The report was full stories as to how Machhi pith Muslims attacked the processionists and police with petrol bulbs, acid bulbs, stones and even by private firing of around 30 rounds!

Most Important: There was no question of Police arriving in time. The police was there all along the rally route with the Police Commissioner and Assistant Police. Commissioner very much present in person as shown here under in the Times of India Report extract.

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On the same day, there was another 'news story' with the following Head lines on the same page:

"Private firings in Machhipith, Fateh Ganj, Wadi, Nawapura"

highly provocative and suggestive report has this to concede at the end of the story.

'Nothing recovered from the combing'

BUT THE TRUTH HAS ITS OWN STORY TO TELL FOR THAT DAY:

- There was not even a single case of any non-Muslim person receiving any physical lojuries.
- There was not even a single case of even damaging of any houses, shops, and other properties belonging to non-Muslims.
- There was not even a single case of even damaging of any religious places belonging to non-Muslims.

(It is worth noting both by the police and public at large that we have a fair sprinkling of Hindu population, their shops, dispensaries in all our Muslim mohallas or Muslim pockets in Machhipith. Nawabwada, Salat wada, Nagar wada, Shiya pura but there has not been any case of any harassment to them or damage to their properties)

 There was not even a single case of any police official receiving any physical injuries.

Against this:

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The destruction/burning/looting on that day of Muslim houses, shops, other properties and their religious places is huge and widespread. The list is a long one. The following list is ...dicative and by no means exhaustive. Many of these places were also attacked earlier (bet. 28th feb to 15th March). They were attacked again to finish the unfinished job.

- Mosques / shrines burnt, destroyed, damaged:
 - Mir baker ali's mosque on Pratap Road;
 - Salatwada mosque;
 - Mosque near Raopura Tower;
 - Shiyapura mosque;
 - Mosque and Shrine near Kareli baug mental Hospital;
 - Shrine near Sayaji Hospital.

Shops of the Muslims burnt, destroyed, looted :

 Shops near Rao pura Tower – Tower Shoes, Indian Boot House, and Super point (ready made garments), Consulting Dentist's Clinic,

- 3 shops Navrang complex, Dandia bazaar road.
- A house and Shop opp. Mahaastra lodge on Pratap Road;
- Shops Janta Vastra Bhandar and Sodagar Bags, Dry cleaning laundary near Ahmedabadi pole.
- A medical store in Shiya pura,
- A number of shops in Salatwada
- Tens of Kiosks, garages, workshops,

Houses, and other properties of the Muslims burnt, destroyed, looted

- a number of houses in Salat wada,
- a house in Wadi Wadi,

1028 - 2301

- a house in Shiya pura, a house on Piramita Road,
- a house near the Rao pura Tower.
- numerous vehicles, Rixas, Scooters, motor cycles.

One would think, with such large-scale destruction of Muslim properties, many arrests must have been made. Yes, many arrests were made but not of the goons who burnt, looted Muslim shops, houses, mosques, shrines but of the Muslims (as many as 40) many of whom were slapped with all sort of charges including C.P.C 307.

(They were taken on police remand and then kept in jail for five days and when presented in court the Hon. Judge did not even deem it necessary for the defense layer to make any submission. He put only one question to the prosecutor about the casualities, physical injuries to non-Muslims or police officials. There being a negative answer from the prosecutor, the Hon. Judge set the accused on bail with a pointed remark to the prosecution as to why such a big file of papers wast prepared for nothing).

Very interestingly though, is a "four column report" in the Times of India daily of 16th March at page 3 has, inter alia, this to say :

"However the policemen on duty seemed to be guided by the BJP functionaries rather than their bosses. While stone pelting continued, city BJP's media cell convener Ajay Dave virtually issued 'orders' to the cops in Machhi pith. For about two hours, he instructed policemen on where to aim their tear gas shells and which houses to be searched, all this while senior police officials like Tuteja and

additional commissioner of police Keshav kumar supervised Combing operations".

DOES IT NOT SPEAK VOLUMES ABOUT WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED?

On 16-3-2002:

<u>"Raja Masani was harassing the Hindu ladies</u> <u>in his class:"</u> <u>"He has prepared special bedroom in the tuition class. Raja was</u> very un popular due to his deeds"

On the same day the Indian Express daily had this in its story:

"They wanted to teach him lesson for marrying a Hindu girl"

This was the real reason for massacring the teacher who was not only very happy with his wife but was very popular with his pupils also. A Hindu friend and his wife were with him when he was attacked and the Hindu friend received injuries while trying to protect Raja.

The sensational headline in Sandesh was to defame the deceased teacher personally and to the cross community relationship particularly when the boy is from the minority community.

Similar headline in the same daily was to defame a professor whose house was ransacked by the mob. In stead of objectively reporting the extensive damage to the Professors' comfortably furnished house (the damage running into tens of thousands rupces), the head line in the news item ran like this:

"When the mob went to ransack Muslim professor, professor's sex scam exposed"

"Photographs captured of Professor's colorful relations with married and young women"

What other motive can be attributed except to defame the highly educated teachers and professors persons from minority community in the society in general (not in the eyes of their students because they know them well)

On 16-3-2002:

You played one-day match; Now we have come to play 5 days' match: threatens the crowd (the crowd implicitly is muslim)

Can the game of Cricket terminology be so crudely publicised to create a.wedge bet. the two communities?

On 17-3-2002

2.1

Lethal weapons from the residence of the Labour Judge

The report tells about the "combing" done when there was nobody was at his residence and the weapons comprised of kitchenware and plumbing spares and such other miscellaneous items.

It was publicised to defame a responsible, senior person of judiciary.

On 29-3-2002:

The villages around Bajwa and Koyali in the Hit list of Muslim organisations

<u>Your Gujarati test is over now</u> our Hindi test will begin... Be prepared

We'll blow up the Refinery so no body will survive

The contents of the story like the headline was without any substance. The police failed to get even the police remand for the Two persons detained for this threat .

The publication of such stories is nothing but a crude attempt to create an atmosphere of terror in the society.

Can we afford the luxury of this mischief mongering?

WE BELIEVE IN THE SECULAR ETHOS OF THE AVERAGE CITYGENS OF GUJARAT: +

We sincerely believe that the average citizens of the state are very much secular ... in nature. They are for the communal harmony, brotherhood and amity.

Even under extremely surcharged atmosphere, there are many, many instances of the neighbors, friends, colleagues and even unknown ordinary citizens saving the lives and helping out the victims.

We assure our Brethrens from all communities in Gujarat our sustained efforts to build bridges of the communal harmony, brother hood and friendship. Let us do everything we can to help the process of catching the culprits of Godhara incident and what happened after that in all over Gujarat.

Let us not be misled by the inflammatory news reports: Let us judge the happenings on the basis truth. Let us cultivate the habit of cross checking.

That way, we will be able to differentiate the truth from the half truths, distorted truths and plain lies. This will go a long way in normalizing the situation .

entered into discussions of the ministers present who are also coaccused and the District magistrate and other police officers.

- A-21 Dr. Jaideep Patel who has been in touch with the Chief 231. Minister from the morning of 27.2.2002 is also allowed to be present at the official meeting of the cabinet. Therefore between 1645 and 1945 hrs when as many as six or more of the coconspirators and accused are present at Godhra, major decision relating to the unfolding of conspiracy are taken, and these are also communicated in different ways to the administration. Major aspect of this conspiracy is to aggressively promote the motive behind the Godhra train burning incident as part of an internationally hatched conspiracy, use the ghastly charred remains of the bodies and take them in funeral procession to inflame communal passion. In such meetings, inflammatory speeches are also made by various accused which are not checked or controlled by the police and finally after the infamous meeting at the CM's residence on 27.2.2002, terrorise and paralyse the administration into not performing its lawful primary constitutional duty.
- 232. When A-1, Mr. Modi is questioned by the SIT, no questions are put to him about the detailed documentary evidence available in the SIT records, about Mr. Sanjiv Bhatt's role on 27.2.2002. This evidence was available with the SIT since January 2010 when the DGP made it available (17 files) that is even before the investigation report dated 12.5.2010 was filed before the Hon'ble Supreme Court. Thereafter some vindication comes from the CMP Sanjay Bhavsar himself when among the documents handed over by him is one with Mr. Sanjiv Bhatt's signature. Yet SIT ignores this vital documentary evidence completely. It is no wonder that the SIT was resisting tooth and nail against making this documentary evidence available to the Complainant/Petitioner.

Sandesh Newspaper as Collaborator in the Conspiracy

233.

The Sandesh daily Gujarati newspaper with widespread circulation played a diabolical role in distorting the Godhra incident to foment violence. The following examples show the extent to which this publication went as a collaborator in the conspiracy hatched by A-1 and the VHP.

> Annexure 1 – Sandesh – 28-2-02 page 1 continued page 14 – Screaming headline stating that 60

Hindus groalive in Godhra. Provocative language used.

- Annexure 2 False story– 28-2-02 page 1, heading 10-15 Hindu women dragged away from the railway compartment by fanatic mob. Police denied that any such incident taking place.
- Annexure 3 Sandesh 28-2-02 page 16, the same bogus story is repeated with the heading – mob dragged away 8-10 young women to the slums.
- Annexure 4 Sandesh 28-20-02 page 5, news item with heading, "Sabarmati Express arrives at Ahmedabad amidst chants of, 'Jai Shree Ram!'... 'Blood for blood!'"
- Annexure 5 Suppression of truth 28-2-02 page 3.
 A mob killed a youth in Bapunagar, buses and shops set on fire in Ahmedabad. The victim is a Muslim but the paper deliberately hides his Muslim identity. Other victims were Muslims, their properties were targeted, but 'Sandesh' does not mention this anywhere in the news.
- Annexure 6 Sandesh 28-2-02 page 2 heading Sword over his head, train driver hijacked. In fact, there is no such hijack of the Sabarmati Express train driver; no other news paper either in Gujarati or English reported this fabricated news.

300

 Annexure 7 – Sandesh – 1-3-02 page 1, continued on page 14 – headline says 15,000-strong mob commits great destruction – 50 burnt alive in Gulberg Society of Chamanpura (Ahmedabad) – Three died, five injured: mob turns fierce. News about killing of Ex- MP Mr. Ahsan Jafri printed on the front page. The report claims that ex-MP fired at the mob, so the agitated mob killed him. The widow of Ahsan Jafri has denied any firing by her husband. The newspaper justifies the killing and burning of 60 persons by a mob from the majority community. Mr. 113

90%

Jafri has called the police more than 200 times for help. 'Sandesh' does not disclose this fact in its report.

- Annexure 8 Sandesh 1-3-02 page 16 heading of the kidnapped young women from Sabarmati Express, dead bodies of two have been recovered with their breasts chopped off. In fact, there is no such incident. Police denial of any such incident finds no mention in the report.
- Annexure 10 Deceptive trick photography and news

 Sandesh 1-3-02. On the top of front page, a big title, '98 killed' is superimposed on a color picture of funeral biers. The obvious aim is to create an impression that the 98 victims belonged to the majority community.
- Annexure 11 Sandesh 5-3-02 there is a news item on front page with heading 'Karsevaks forge ahead, defy prohibitory orders'. Though this news item, the defiance of prohibitory orders by karsevaks is glorified.
- Annexure 12 Sandesh On 5-3-02 there is story on page 2 with the title, 'Anger of people against TV Channels'. The story says the biased coverage by some TV channels created tension between two communities. Owners of this paper are clearly upset with TV channels which show that Muslims are the actual sufferers. (The same TV channels had earlier telecast images of victims of the Godhra carnage). Till March 31, 2002, Sandesh does not publish a single photo of Muslim victims of the carnage. Almost 90 percent of shops, commercial, industrial, business establishments ranging from a small vendor's cabin to factories worth crores which were looted and burnt down are Muslim property. This is a clear attempt at economically crippling the minority community. Yet, neither Sandesh nor any other major Gujarati daily prints a single word about 114

this. Many Muslims women were raped before being killed/bury zive in Naroda Patiya, Gulberg Society and elsewhere. But except for *Gujarat Today*, the Gujarati vernacular press does not place this information before its readers.

 Annexure 13 – Sandesh 5-3-02 page 11. Its a very communal, highly objectionable, provocative, inflammatory, anti-Muslim article by Manoj Gandhi, some excerpts are as under:Heading – Gory incidents of Godhra – Ahmedabad – dangerous game of Khoon ka badla Khoon! (Blood for blood!).

Big heading:

 Gujarat is ablaze because of the conspiracy of fundamentalist Muslim terrorists.

STATES AND A STATE AND A STATES

(2) Instigation of tolerant Hindus triggers intense reactions;

Sub-heading in block letters:

(1) After 50 years of Independence, what is the reason of Muslims hatred towards Hindus of Hindustan?

(2) After the communal riots of 1992 and Godhra incident, Muslims should learn that the results of instigation of tolerant Hindus can be dangerous,
(3) If fundamentalist Muslims do not understand this truth, then innocent Muslims will continue to be sacrificed in this glory game.

The text:

(1) No Hindu can pardon someone forever, the brutal and cowardly terror, committed by the wicked Muslims of Godhra, cannot be pardoned by any Hindu forever because a wrongdoing can be pardoned once or twice, but pardon every time is considered as the sign of weakness.

30%

(2) Snake charmers who can catch a poisonous snake and trap it in the basket are never afraid of history. They know better how the snake is to be defanged. This fact should be remembered forever by the traitors and the treacherous of the minority community and all fundamentalists as well as terrorists of not only Godhra or Gujarat but of entire India.

(3) Those who forget this, always suffer losses. It is a fact that their own mistakes lead to a heavy toll

(4) Treating Hindus as their enemies, massacre of Hindus through conspiracy of religious fanatics, fundamentalists and terrorists among the Indian Muslims, will not be tolerated; the hissing snake will be brutally dealt with

(5) There is no way out except adopting the policy of tit-for-tat against Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. Otherwise, Hindus in Hindustan will be reduced to a shameful, sorry plight.

- Annexure 14 –Sandesh 6-3-02 page 1. An 8column headline 'Hindus Beware', 'Deadly conspiracy of retaliation after Haj'. Subheading – Bomb blasts using RDX or plane hi-jacking feared.
- 234. On March 18, 2002 Accused No.1 Mr Modi sent an official letter of congratulation to 'Sandesh' and 13 other Gujarati newspapers expressing his high appreciation for their restrained coverage of events (sic). This was told by A-1 himself to a team of the Editor's Guild who visited him on April 2, 2002. The text of the original letter in Gujarati and its English translation is available at Annexure III, File II, D-5 of the SIT papers. Three other Gujarati dailies that had been moderate in their approach and whose representatives the Guild members met were Sambhav (four editions), Prabhat (Ahmedabad and Mehsana) and Gujarat Today. Prabhat's director,

Mr. Ashish Kothari sport the Guild of swords and liquor being distributed widely on 27.2.2002. Neither *Prabhat* nor *Gujarat today* received the congratulatory letters from A-1 Mr Modi. Mr. Falgun Patel (*Sandesh*) speaking to the Guild made provocative statements, describing the Godhra incident as "unforgettable" and adding, "Can a 20 per cent minority take the majority for a ride? There has to be a limit."

- 235. SIT had been repeatedly urged by the Complainants, co-petitioners and witnesses to investigate this collaborative hate crime. But SIT simply did not go into this aspect in its investigation at all.
- 236. There is ample'evidence in the Investigation papers indicating that the SIT deliberately did not investigate the prelude and build-up to the violence unleashed post-Godhra.
- 237. The anger of the minority community against the publication of communal writing by mainline Gujarati newspaper in 2002 had led to several memorandums being submitted to the authorities. From 27.2.2002 onwards Sandesh newspaper had played the role of assisting the enveloping conspiracy to spread communal violence hatched by accused no.1. The IB message at page 58 of Annex. III File XIX, dated 7.3.2002, 1130 hrs (Mes. IB/Mahiti/383/02 records that Muslims of Tandalge area in Vadodara had boycotted the Gujarati Samachar and Sandesh Newspapers because they have printed inflammatory news that went against public order. This message also records that the anger of the minority went so deep that despite the A-1 chief minister visiting Vadodara no one from the Tandalga met him or even submitted a memorandum.
- 238. At pages 47 and 48 of annexure III File No.XIX in the SIT papers, the State IB takes note of inflammatory pamphlets distributed by VHP in Vadodara city. This logically should have led to action under the relevant section of the IPC. Both ADGP-Int Mr RB Sreekumar and SP Bhavnagar at the time, Mr Rahul Sharma had strongly recommended prosecution of the Sandesh newspaper. The fax message Mes IB/D-2/com/Info Patrika/ Vadodara/974 and Mes, /SB/Patrika/ 1247/ 02.

Prelude and Build Up to the Violence

Hate speech and inflammatory writing have been part of the 588. ingredients of the conspiracy that was evolved pre- and post-Godhra in Gujarat in 2002. There has been sufficient evidence listed by the complainant Smt. Zakia Jafri in her complaint dated 8.6.2006 but much more evidence has now come to the fore through records grudgingly made available by SIT. However, just like different aspects and ingredients of the conspiracy have been deliberately left unaccepted by the SIT, the SIT has refused investigation into serious offenses of hate speech and communal writing. They have confined their assessment to one or two speeches of accused No.1 or any other accused rather than systematically looking at the speeches made by accused No.1 and the co-accused in the complaint, office bearers and members of the ruling BJP, VHP, RSS and Bajrang Dal. What makes this matter even more scandalous is the fact that the Gujarat police State Intelligence Bureau records themselves contain ample such examples of incendiary speeches that were used as a tool and part of the conspiracy to generate heated mobs to commit violence against innocent members of the minority community in different districts of the state.

589. At page 158 to 159, Annex. III File XIX a fax. Message Mes.D-2/15/HM/285/2002 records that at 00.50 hrs on 28.2.2002, i.e., within 16 hours of the tragic Godhra incident a 'Patrika' was being circulated in Vadodara city by the VHP. The message also records that one Muslim was killed at Vadodara railway station by Kar sevaks on that day and a meeting was arranged by Vadodara city BJP President Shabada Sharma Bhrahmabhatt at the party city office on 28.2.2002 between 2100 and 2200 hrs.

590. Despite imposition of curfew in the city of Vadodara from the early hours of 28.2.2002, the ACP(Int) Baroda region informs the head office at Gandhinagar that leaders of BJP including Rajesh Parekh Bal and others came in a crowd in Lakhipura at 1023 hrs on 28.2.2002 (Page 116 Annex.,III File XIX Fax. Mess. Mes/D-2/com/288/2002). Again at page No.114, the message indicates that Vadodara region curfew is made a mockery. A Muslim person is stabbed with a knife in the neck and chest and dies. (Kareribag

14 of Annex.III File Carbon Key Additional and the second and the

591. The message of the State IB at page 135-136, Annex, III File XIX, Fax. Message D-2/Com/Banav/295 clearly observes that the police in Vadodara did not impose curfew with any seriousness. The message also states that the police were negligent in its duty. Further the message describes that the Karjan main highway had been blocked by the Karjan VHP President Gajanand Ambalal Gandhi and other workers on 28.2.2002 from 1000 to 1030 hrs. This message was sent out by the Vadodara intelligence to Gandhinagar by 1247 hrs. But neither was the ADGP(int) D.C. Raigar questioned about this, nor was the DGP Chakravarti asked to explain. The statement recorded by the SIT of accused No 48. (Tuteja) also reflects no questioning on the lapses in the imposition of curfew by the Vadodara or any other police in the different districts of Gujarat that were badly affected.

592. One Muslim lady, Bismillaben Zuberkbhai and one unknown Muslim male were assaulted by a Hindu mob at 1000 hrs. Curfew was imposed in Patan city only at 1145 hrs (Page 168 Annexure III, File XIX, Fax, Messge Mes. Com/567/2002) dated 28.2.2002 sent at 1214 hrs.

' get

593. Similarly the fax message D-G/HA/VHP/Bandh/291/02 at page 222. Annexure III File XIX sent from IB, CID, Bhavnagar describes how the VHP leader Shashi Prasad Dayashankar Jani, Advocate Bhupendra Ashtiq, advocate and Parilbahen ..., lead a mob that forcibly shuts down the market at 8.30 a.m. at Ghogha gate. Bhavnagar. The Kutch VHP president, Dr. K.G. Vaid along with members of the BJP and Bajrang Dal was similarly shutting down the market and even attacking the Shimla Doodh Dairy, fishing market and an advocate's office. This is stated in the intelligence message sent at 1.45 p.m. on 28.2.2002 that can be seen at page 230(Fax Mess) – 2/com/Takedan /426 /02.

Annexure 11 Hate Writing

C. G. ROAD SHOP OWNERS' ASSOCIATION

C. G. ROAD AHMEDABAD - 380009

This is to inform all the traders of the C.G. Road Shop Owners' Association that today, i.e., 4-4-2002 office bearers of the **Vishwa Hindu Parishad** and the office bearers of the **Bajrang Dal** Mr. Chinubhai Patel and Harishbhai Bhatt with their members met us personally. During the visit, the current Gujarat situation was discussed. Since the visit was unexpected, we listened patiently to the officers of the **Vishwa Hindu Parishad** and the **Bajrang Dal**. After the discussions and before taking any decisions, we planned to hold a meeting with you. The meeting will be attended by the important traders of C.G. Road and the officers of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal.

We hope that we will all combine our efforts and take an appropriate decision.

Place of meeting Place : Hotel Nalanda, Mithakhali Chha (six) Roads Time : 04.31 P.M. Date : 06-04-2002 (Saturday)

Your well-wishers, For C.G. Road Shop Owners' Association,

Your life is in danger — you might be killed any time!

Lord Shree Krishna told Arjun: 'Lift your weapons and kill the non-religious.'

The lord wants to tell us something also

Dearest soul brothers,

Namaste! I have come to meet you in solitude. I want to talk to you about something very important and serious. I expect that you will never forget this meeting. You are a very important and responsible person of this country and your life is valuable. There is a great danger to your life and that of your family. I have to come to warn you.

In the secure and safe Hindu localities in spite of security guards outside how safe are you in your bungalows? The traitorous, terrorist Muslims will come in truckloads, kill the guards and then enter the bungalows. They will kill you in your bedrooms and drawing rooms. Today lakhs of Hindus are afraid of this happening and those living in *mohallas* stay up all night in groups to guard us. How many people can the army and the police protect at a time?

I am not talking about thousands of years ago — just 53 years. In 1947, first in Sindh province, then in Punjab and Bengal, they attacked Hindu bungalows and killed about 15 lakh Hindus cruelly

and without any pity. This is a historic fact and it can be repeated today. Then, how safe are you and I in our own homes?

In 1947, the Muslims living in this country of Hindus said that Hindus and Muslims are different nationalities, different people. Their religions are different, their culture is different, they have different places of worship and pilgrimage, tradition, language, dress, festivals, diet, beliefs, etc. So we will not be able to live with you in one country, so cut up the country and give us Muslims a separate Islamic nation and we gave them a Muslim country, Pakistan.

In 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa. The whole country accepted his leadership. This man of international stature and the Congress tried very hard to unite the Hindus and the Muslims. What was the result of their efforts? Did the Hindus and Muslims unite? Certainly not! The Muslims responded by demanding a separate country and broke up India. Pakistan is a monster born out of the efforts of Gandhiji to unite Hindus and Muslims.

If a world leader like Gandhiji could not unite Hindus and Muslims, then what can today's politicians do? Those who talk about Hindu-Muslim unity are deceiving themselves and are misguiding crores of Hindus. There is no similarity between Hindus and Muslims and they do not think of India as their country. It is not possible to unite with those who call India a witch and oppose *Vande Matram*. Hindu-Muslim unity and brotherhood are deceptions, hallucinations and this can be proved by the Muslim history of the last 1,400 years.

In 1947, the Muslims snatched away all of Sindh and half of Bengal to create Pakistan, a Muslim country. 20% Muslims took away 30% of the land, and chased out of the country 2 crore Hindus, who owned about Rs. 80,000 crore of assets and business, empty-handed.

At the time of partition, in towns like Lahore, Islamabad, Dhaka, Peshawar, Hyderabad and Karachi, they went around shouting '*Allah-o-Akbar*!', '*Pakistan Zindabad*!' and 'Kill the non-believers!' while carrying sticks, swords, knives and lighted torches, raped lakhs of our Hindu mothers, sisters and daughters and then killed them. To preserve their virginity many women jumped into wells or into fires. About 15 lakh Hindus were killed cruelly and Hindus were wiped out in their own country. The land turned red with the blood of Hindus and rivers of blood were flowing.

How many Hindus know that one-third of our land was taken away to create Pakistan? How many know that 15 lakh of our predecessors were killed? If a nation forgets its history it is doomed to live it again. 'History repeats itself.'

After breaking up the nation and creating Pakistan, the Muslim population in the country has again reached 16 crore. They do not believe in family planning. They are permitted to have four wives by the Congress and the Constitution. Their population is exploding and this is their one-point program. The day their number reaches 25% to 30%, the condition of the Hindus is going to be very bad.

In Pakistan, the status of the Hindus is not just second class — they are slaves there and that is going to happen to the Hindus in India. They will use their numbers and their weapons to create several Pakistans in India, proclaim India as a Muslim nation and hoist the green flag of Islam on Red Fort.

Laden alone gave America a taste of terrorism killing almost 5,000 Americans. All the Americans as well as the opposition supported Bush, while the politicians in the opposition in India are opposing POTO in the hopes of Muslim votes. From a distance of 8,000 miles, America attacked Afghanistan and killed 10,000 Afghan Muslims while India is fighting Mus-

lim terrorism and harassment for the last 1,300 years.

America found Laden alone too much whereas we have in our lanes and by-lanes thousands of Ladens, Dawoods, Latifs, Imam Bukharis, Syed Shahabuddins and two lakh *mullah-maulvis* who poison one lakh *madrassas* and mosques day and night with terrorist activities. Organisations like SIMI, Lashkar-e-Toiba and ISI, with the support and help of Pakistan, are carrying on terrorist activities. They train lakhs of terrorists in thousands of institutions. They have formed an army of single, unemployed Muslim youth of India by paying high salaries.

The terrorist and traitorous Muslims of this country get weapons from more than 50 Muslim nations to carry out their religious wars. They are supplied with AK-56 and AK-47 rifles, automatic machine guns, small canons, rocket launchers and several kilos of RDX.

The entire country is sitting on a heap of weapons and heading towards civil war and internal strife. When Pakistan attacks India, the Muslims living here will revolt. In 1947, they only had sticks, swords and spears but now they have modern weapons. They are plotting to kill crores of Hindus and we will be fighting these traitorous Muslims in every lane and by-lane of the country. If the Parliament and the Kashmir assembly can be attacked then what safety is there for the citizens of the country?

When the National Human Rights Commission's chairman, Justice Mr. Verma saw the melted window bars of the coach in which the *kar sevaks* returning from Ayodhya were burnt alive, he wondered what the condition of the people inside must have been. The women and children clung to each other to save their lives and they must have cried piteously in the flaming coach. About 58 *kar sevaks* were burnt in this land of Hindus.

One can understand if Muslims oppose construction of temples in Pakistan but how can one tolerate their opposition to the construction of Ram temple in Ram's own country? Do Hindus have to live at the mercy of Muslims in India also? Are Hindus still slaves of Muslims?

The Godhra incident is just one symptom of the cancer in this country. This cancer of terrorism has spread to the entire country. Godhra is only the trailer — the entire film is still to be seen. There is a plan to have several Godhra incidents.

To understand Muslims one must understand Islam. You will not understand it with just one or two instances — you will have to go deeper, to the roots. You will have to understand their history of the last 1,400 years. After the birth of Islam, in the last 1,400 years, the bigoted Arabs descended with a sword in one hand and the Quran in the other. They had only one condition — either accept Islam or die! About 10 crore people who did not accept Islam were killed and the inherent culture of the country was wiped out. They were proclaimed Islamic countries and the flag of Islam was hoisted there.

In our country, Aurangzeb, Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Chengiz Khan, Mohammed Gazni, Mohammed Ghori, Shahjahan and other rabid, murderous and dictatorial Muslim invaders and emperors ruled over us and enslaved us. In the last 1,000 years of Muslim rule in India, 2 crore Hindus were murdered by the Muslims who fought 10,000 battles and caused communal riots against Hindus. They killed two lakh *sadhus* and *sants*. They pulled down 5 lakh Hindu temples like those of Shri Ramjanmabhoomi, Ayodhya, Shri Krishnajanmabhoomi, Mathura, ShriKashivishwanath, Benares and Shri Bhagwan Somnath, Gujarat, and built mosques in their place. Crores of cows were slaughtered and lakhs of Hindu mothers, daughters and sisters were abused and raped. If we forget all this, then even god will not be able to save us.

It is written in the holy book of Islam, the Quran, that those who are not Muslims, i.e., Parsis, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus and people of other religions of the world are

kafirs (non-believers). Those who accept Islam should not be harmed but those who do not should be killed and slaughtered. If you kill such people, you will get the title of *gazi* and if you die fighting them, you will be called *shaheed*. All *gazis* and *shaheeds* will be taken by God to the seventh heaven and will be supplied with alcohol and fairies. This is their idea of heaven: alcohol and perversions.

The Quran exhorts all Muslims that if they are living in non-Islamic countries (*Dar-ul-harab*), they should fight religious crusades and make them Islamic countries (*Dar-ul-Islam*). "Fight the non-believers till the last drop of your blood because religious crusades are a Muslim's duty and their dream should be to establish Islam as the only religion worldwide flying the flag of Islam in all countries."

In the 1,400-year history of Islam, the behavior, thinking and language of Muslims has shown to all the people of the world that they have blind faith and are backward, violent, vicious, atrocious, unforgiving, uncompromising (inflexible), bigoted, vindictive and filled with hate. This is the real and naked face of Islam and the Muslims have been fighting Jews, Hindus, Parsis and the English for years.

As long as there is Islam in this world, there will be crusades — which means wars and killings, atrocities and genocide. Islam is not a religion, culture, tradition or a spiritual movement. There is no truth, non-violence, humanity, pity or love in Islam. It only preaches violence and atrocities. It is the plot of Arab Muslims to force itself on all the peoples of the world. To think of or call Islam as a religion is folly, a denial of facts. If you want to live then you have to assess their acts during 1,400 years of their history.

Hindus have now woken up, they are now one big family of crores of Hindus. Crores of Hindu hands have risen to combat the atrocities that the Muslims have handed down to us. The Hindu is not to be pitied any more or to be beaten up. If even one Hindu is bullied, crores of Hindus will react. They will come out and demand an eye for an eye. If we are attacked we will attack right back. The Iron Man, Sardar Patel, removed the mosque and graves built by Mohammed Ghazni after demolishing the Somnath temple and built a grand temple, which does the nation proud. In spite of Congressman Nehru's opposition, the then President, Rajendrababu, attended the ceremony for the construction of Somnath temple and gave it his full support. If Sardar Patel were alive he would erase the signs of slavery and build grand temples in Ayodhya, Mathura and Kashi. We must resolve to build these grand temples to make the wishes of crores of Hindus come true.

Even animals live for their young ones — we are born in India and it is our duty and responsibility to defend the country and religion and repay our debts to our motherland. If you want to live in peace and honour, unite! Every Muslim, no matter how poor, gives 5% of his earnings to the mosque for his religion. Hindu businessmen (industrialists) are kidnapped by Muslims, who demand lakhs and crores of rupees and many of us pay up the ransom out of fear. This money is used to buy weapons with which to kill Hindus. Every year, several Hindu girls are kidnapped by Muslim hoodlums and are married to them forcibly.

To solve these Islamic problems, each Hindu family will have to make sacrifices. A fixed part of his income will have to be given to Hindu groups — not just within your means but much more than that. We will not be able to survive if we do not unite. Only talking or wishing well or blessing will not be enough. Join up and give monetary donations. To give monetary help to Hindu groups is not donation or pity — it is an investment for our safety and security. Think only of the country and not of political party philosophies or traditional beliefs. Hindus

will demand explanations from those who favour Muslims for political expediency. The Jaichands and Amichands will not be spared by Hindus.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad is the generally accepted powerful group of Hindus worldwide including those in our country. About 250 workers in Gujarat have left their jobs and businesses to work full time for it and it has a presence in 7,000 villages. They run 350 one-teacher schools in forest areas besides hospitals, dispensaries, refugee homes, *ashram* schools and thousands of centres for *satsang*. There are rifle-training camps and the Bajrang Dal workers are given *trishuls* and taught to use them.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad is protecting and uniting the Hindus in an untiring effort to make the country strong and safe. We expect a lot of monetary support. After the Godhra killings, many young men who tried to protect Hindus were killed and others were jailed under clauses 302, 307 and the Riot Act, and this is still going on. Their number is in thousands and they will stay in jail for a long time to come. They had no personal enmity towards the Muslims — they have suffered for society, religion and the country and now that they are in prison, it is our (yours and mine) duty to feed their families.

It is not enough just to show lip sympathy — you will have to come forward to support them and do our duty otherwise our (yours and mine) conscience will not forgive us, nor will society. When Mohammed Ghazni attacked Somnath temple, the 10,000 Brahmins inside were saying their rosaries. Mohammed Ghazni slaughtered them and destroyed the idols — he did this 17 times and killed lakhs of Hindus. The Muslims could enslave us for 1,000 years because we were not united. In 1947, when the country was partitioned, Pakistan was formed and lakhs of Hindus were killed. In Kashmir, since the last 10 years, lakhs of Hindu *pandits* have been killed and forced to leave and if we still do not come to our senses, even god will not be able to save us. Hindus have no option but to unite—otherwise they will not survive and we will be killed in broad daylight.

I repeat my question — what sacrifice are you willing to make individually? Become a member of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and donate. Otherwise, for a small section of society, the people will be tired of making sacrifices. We require strong support from you. Write a check in the name of Vishwa Hindu Parishad Gujarat right now, otherwise it might be too late. The Parishad is registered with income tax and charity commissioners so you can get 50% deduction under 80G. Vishwa Hindu Parishad is the group of crores of Hindu families. It is the security force for our safety, protection and tradition. Only a united Hindu society can bring peace to the nation and the world. Hinduism is patriotism and Hinduism is universal brotherhood. Proclaim with pride, 'We are Hindus!'

Send this letter to your neighbors, relatives, friends and traders and become a member of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Come to the Parishad office and meet us personally. Please reply to this letter.

I am writing this historic letter to you. I am making you aware of what is happening in the country after analysing history and assessing historic truth as well as the current situation, and warning you. Every time you read this letter, you will discover something new — a new aspect. I have come to make you sleepless. I hope that your mind, senses and conscience will accept this truth. The country that learns its lessons from history and plans its future accordingly always survives, while others are destroyed — etch this truth in your heart.

The life subscription for the Parishad is Rs. 2,000. The life subscription for Vishwa Hindu Samachar is Rs. 600. Donate Rs. 15,000 (rupees fifteen thousand) for each family of those arrested.

Give the traitorous Muslims a taste of patriotism by boycotting them socially and economically. The Hindu who sees god in every particle worships truth, non-violence, love and peace. Without complete peace, the economic, social and spiritual progress of the country will end, people will fall prey to mental illnesses and the entire country will be pushed towards death.

Peace cannot be attained by begging: crores of united and powerful Hindus will be able to establish peace and security in the country.

Yours truly, Your well-wisher Chinubhai N. Patel Vishwa Hindu Parishad state leader Vishwa Hindu Parishad Office Vanikar Smarak Bhavan, 11, Mahalakshmi Society Mahalakshmi Cross Roads, Paldi, Karnavati. Tel. 6604015, 6631365 Tel. (res.) 7454699

AWAKE, HINDU BROTHERS!

The time has come for the Hindu religion, which has been enslaved in spite of living in Hindustan. To date, all the governments have been supporting Muslims. These Muslims do not know that Hindu society has woken up and is in the process of sending all Muslims to Pakistan. Those Muslims who are against Hindus are all terrorists. Their chief bootlegger is Delhi's Shahi Imam Bukhari who is the main terrorist. Those Muslims who think VHP and Bajrang Dal are like mushrooms (cat's cap) should know that your Bukhari or Dawood Ibrahim or the Muslims of Pakistan or *Bharat* could never compare with Pravin Togadia or Bal Thackeray. All of you are like ants and insects in front of these two. The violence that erupted after the killings in Godhra is a warning to you Muslims that there is still time for you to go to Pakistan if you want to.

We do not want to leave a single Muslim alive in Gujarat. The people of villages as well as cities have now woken up and they are ready to take an eye for an eye {respond to stones with bricks}. To avenge murder {revenge for blood with blood} we will kill Muslims wherever we see them. Annihilate Muslims from *Bharat*. Muslims do not know that they are not fanatical Muslims. When there were kings, the Muslim kings forced our Hindu brethren to convert and then committed atrocities against them.

And this will continue to happen till Muslims are not exterminated. Therefore, it is necessary for our Hindu brethren to come forward. After the Godhra killings, only 10 per cent of Hindus have been enraged. Muslims should realise that only 10 per cent of Hindus have called for their annihilation. If the remaining 90 per cent also call for their annihilation then the name Muslim will not survive in Gujarat and the time has come to call for the annihilation of all Muslims. In many villages, this has already been done. Now the Hindus of the villages should join the Hindus of the cities and complete the work of annihilation of Muslims. The Muslims who consider the architect of *Bharat*, Baba Ambedkar, to be an untouchable, do not know that they are not even fit to be his footwear.

If Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had been the Prime Minister of India, then not a single Muslim would have been in India. So, let all Hindu brethren know that the time has come to eradicate

the Muslim word from Gujarat. All Hindu brethren are requested to be ready to destroy Muslims without being afraid of any politician. Temples are searched to catch *kar sevaks* then why cannot the *madrassas* and mosques be searched for the arms of Muslims? People of villages and cities get ready and celebrate next Holi with the corpses of Muslims.

Let the supreme court say what it wants to The temple will be constructed at that spot Long live Hindu nation!

— Hindu *Sevak*

THE ONLY SOLUTION IS FINANCIAL BOYCOTT

Anti-national elements that are using the money they earn with our cooperation to weaken us. They buy arms and molest our sisters and daughters. The answer to these elements lies in

Financial Non-Cooperation Movement

Come! Let us resolve:

- (1) I will not buy any thing from any Muslim shopkeeper.
- (2) I will not sell my goods to these elements.
- (3) Neither use these traitors' hotels or their garages.

(4) I will give my car to Hindus' garages only. From a needle to gold, do not buy anything made by a Muslim nor sell anything made by us to them.

(5) Boycott movies casting Muslim heroes-heroines. Banish films of traitorous producers.

(6) Never work in Muslims' offices and do not employ Muslims.

Such a stringent economic boycott will suffocate those elements and break their backs. Then it will be difficult for them to live in any corner of the country. Friends, start this boycott from today so that no Muslim will have the guts to lift his head before us and live. Have you read this newsletter? Then make 10 copies and distribute it amongst our brethren. He who does not follow this newsletter and does not distribute it to others—may he be cursed by Hanuman and Ramchandra. *Jai Shri Ram*!

- A true Hindu patriot.

Service

Security

Culture

Specially for Hindu Youth

Let Bajrang Dal ready its crossbow War is the only Salvation

50 years after independence it appears that Hindus are second citizens of this country. Religious conversions, infiltration, terrorism and bomb blasts have surrounded Hindustan. On the ostentatious stage of democracy, in films and in TV serials, Hindu philosophy and Hindu gods and goddesses are continuously being insulted. Not only in Kashmir, but all over Hindustan, it appears as if the Hindu is an outsider.

At present Hindustan is caught

 \blacklozenge 1 lakh Christian missionaries bring in crores of rupees from abroad and carry out conversions.

• The forefathers of 95% Christians and 90% Muslims were Hindus... because of conversions the Hindus are decreasing in number.

• Because of conversions the Hindus of the border *zillas* are becoming minorities.

• Instead of 3,000 there are 35,000 slaughter houses in India. More than 50,000 cattle are being slaughtered every day.

• From the country of Buddha and Mahavir, flesh is being exported instead of non-violence.

All over the country, you see anarchy and aimlessness because Hindu, Hindu culture, Hinduism and Hindu religion are being continuously eroded.

Islamic *jehad*, of which the world is fed up, has also targetted Hindustan.

• Whenever Pakistan has lost a war it has started a proxy war with **ISI** (its secret agency).

• "Jehad" is being carried out in order to establish an Islamic state in Hindustan.

• Fanatic organisations like Jamaat-e-islam, Tabligh movement, Student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), and Ahl-e-hadis under the guidance of I.S.I., are carrying out anti-Hindu, anti-national activities on a war footing.

• Because of Islamic *jehad*, there isn't a single Hindu surviving in Kashmir.

• Because of the ISI, during the last several years....

29151 citizens have been killed

5101 security officers have been killed

61900 automatics have been found

51810 kgs. of explosives have been found

• There is a scheme of getting Hindu youth of Hindustan habituated to addictive substances.

• Counterfeit currency notes of Rs. 100 and Rs. 500 are brought into the country to destroy the economy of Hindustan.

• There is a scheme, openly carried out, to trap thousands of Hindu girls and put them in harems.

• Fanatical communal training is being given in nearly 80,000 madrassas against Hindus.

• Graves and *dargahs* are mushrooming on stations, dams, bridges and government land as well as in all important places.

• Nearly 300 Hindu temples have been pulled down even after independence.

• Most of the *zillas* near the border are without Hindus

Islamic *jehad* means annihilation of all Hindus

Islamic *jehad* means pulling down all Hindu temples

Islamic jehad means destroying Hindu religion

Islamic jehad means dividing Hindustan

Islamic *jehad* means destroying Hindu culture

Every young man must join Bajrang Dal today because

• In Hindu Hindustan, the largest group of Hindu youth with lakhs of members is Bajrang Dal.

• It is Bajrang Dal's aim that Hinduism, Hindu religion and Hindustan can be victorious in protecting itself by fighting till mother *Bharat* is pleased.

• Bajrang Dal is the strength of the Hindus today. Since 1984, Bajrang Dal has been fighting on various fronts.

• Bajrang Dal saved more than one and a half lakh cows from the slaughter houses by celebrating cow protection year.

• Over the short period of eight months, Bajrang Dal has courageously saved more than 100 Hindu girls from the irreligious.

• In Gujarat's 3321 villages, Bajrang Dal is busily carrying on the good work of service, protection and unity.

- Make an army of 20 young persons in every village.
- Give physical training to the youth for self protection and protection of Hindus.
- Run playgrounds, gyms. or exercise schools.

• Once a week, either on Tuesdays or Saturdays, arrange (offerings) to Hanuman or group worship.

- ♦ Hanuman Jayanti Ø Valmiki Jayanti
- Martyr's Day on 2 November
- ◆ 14 August All India Memorial Day
- ◆ 6th December National Glory Day

Hindu youth

Reply in the same language that is used for jehad.

— the arms that have risen for *jehad* should become servile

- do unto others as they do unto you....Hindus should become one.

Reply to *jehad* with **"crusades"**. For this, the young of every village will have to join Bajrang Dal. Arrange to donate *trishuls* in every village. Arrange seminars and public meetings explaining the terror of *jehad*.

Bajrang Dal is Hindu strength

Every youth should join Bajrang Dal immediately

Carry the trishul.

'JEHAD"

The people of Baroda and Ahmedabad have gone berserk Narendra Modi you have fucked the mother of miyas The volcano which was inactive for years has erupted It has burnt the arse of *miyas* and made them dance nude We have untied the penises which were tied till now Without castor oil in the arse we have made them cry Those who call religious war, violence, are all fuckers We have widened the tight vaginas of the "bibis" Now even the adivasis have realised what Hinduism is They have shot their arrow in the arse of *mullahs* Wake up Hindus there are still miyas left alive around you Learn from Panvad village where their mother was fucked She was fucked standing while she kept shouting She enjoyed the uncircumcised penis With a Hindu government the Hindus have the power to annihilate miyas Kick them in the arse to drive them out of not only villages and cities but also the country Let the fuckers know that The fucking of fuckers will not work.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM LOCAL LEADERS TO RSS MEMBERS

- (1) Go to the temple twice a day in the morning and evening.
- (2) Keep yourself ready to respond to your leader when he needs your help.

- (3) When the army marches past, set off fire crackers.
- (4) Dress in khaki pant, white shirt and cap and tie a string on your hand(wrist?).
- (5) During meetings and various assemblies, move around to help each other.
- (6) If they dare, get ready and shout.
- (7) After every meeting, shout *shlokas* at least three times.
- (8) Hold one meeting per week.
- (9) When fighting the Muslims change the appearance of your neighbourhood so you are not recognised.
- (10) Don't mount a frontal attack—attack from the back.
- (11) Fight more at night-time.
- (12) Try to live close to Muslims.
- (13) Don't give the police a chance to catch you with weapons.
- (14) When you work for the Muslims, don't accept labour compensation.
- (15) If it is time for wages, then collect people around you on the pretext of searching.
- (16) If you purchase anything from a Muslim shop pay only the cost price, not the profit.
- (17) Don't give correct testimony to the police.
- (18) Guard your temple.
- (19) If you get any information, let your leader know in writing immediately.
- (20) Every member should be trained to fight against ten people at a time.
- (21) During a battle use any weapon to fight.
- (22) When you do (?) in Muslim houses have irregular relations with Muslim women so that you have the opportunity to increase Hindu population.
- (23) Deform new-born babies of Muslims.
- This was the nation of heroes, now it is filled with frightened people.
- They escape from our control and the poor innocent is sacrificed.
- If the Hindu youth is angered there will be a rain of shoes on their heads.

Hindu wake up now and chase away the Muslims.

Do you know that.....?

• The terrorist activities all over India are conducted from a *madrassa* in Akwada, Bhavnagar called Dar-ul-ulum, from where recently 12 truckloads of weapons have been found and the CBI has come from Delhi to investigate this.

• All No. 2 business such as spare parts, oil, grease, bogus billing, scrap, money laundering, smuggling, kidnapping etc. is done only by Muslims. They do not pay any taxes and live at our expense in our country and with our money in style and arrogance.

• They who used to buy goods from Hindus now prefer to buy from other Muslims even if it is expensive while the Hindu customer will buy from a Muslim for a small advantage.

• At the time of independence, the population of Hindus was 30% which has now gone down to 9% while the Muslim population has increased from 7 crore to 30 crore (an increase from 7% to 32%).

• From small villages to big cities, all the mosques have been painted at the cost of several crore of rupees.

• In all the *madrassas* the children are taught to be fanatical Muslims.

• Most of the politicians in the country are not concerned with the welfare of the Hindus. They are only interested in corruption and robbing the nation to fill their pockets; and play the politics of vote banks by favouring Muslims at the expense of Hindus. • Each Haj traveller is given Rs. 22,500 to go for Haj while Hindus get nothing The best solution to the burning questions above is this-

• Attack the Dar-ul-ulum *madrassa* in Akwada and destroy it.

• If you have any information about the No. 2 activities, immediately inform the sales tax, income tax, custom excise or collector's office or the nearest police station and get the goods confiscated.

• Deal only with Hindus whether it is a little cheaper or more expensive. Support only the Hindus in business and boycott the Muslims economically.

• Tell the children about the great people of our culture and create in them a sense of courage, heroism and enthusiasm; teach him to be a fanatical Hindu from childhood.

• Oppose the subsidy given to Haj pilgrims and demand that it be stopped.

Ask all politicians only what they are doing for Hindus. If he associates with Muslims, boycott him and teach him a lesson. Explain calmly to those Hindu traders who maintain close relationships with Muslims in the hope of cheap goods that this is wrong—then warn them and if they still don't listen, cause them as much economic damage as possible

MAKE AT LEAST TEN COPIES AND DISTRIBUTE THEM

On March 28, 2002 this group sent this alert along with the translated pamphlet to the President of India

Shri KR Narayanan, Hon President of India

March 28, 2002

We appeal that

• The President makes a call for restraint or a stop to Holi (*dhuleti*) celebrations in Gujarat;

• The President as Commander of the Armed Forces calls the Army to be on a red alert and be present at all sensitive locations tomorrow March 29, 02 in the state of Gujarat especially Ahmedabad;

◆ The President directs and ensure the preventive arrest of all those lumpen leaders (many of whom, unfortunately are elected representatives of the ruling BJP) who have been witnessed as leading the violence in Gujarat in the past month;.

• The President directs the removal of chief minister Narendra Modi and his cabinet who have failed in their basic constitutional obligations.

Teesta Setalvad

Javed Anand

An extremely disturbing, inflammatory and seditious pamphlet (text included) is being distributed in hundreds of thousands in Ahmedabad city for the past 48 hours. It is calling upon the trained and armed cadres of the RSS, VHP, BD and BJP to indulge in more violence tomorrow, the day of the festival of Holi—March 29, 02.

It uses filth and abuse that reveals the mindset of the perpetrators of violence; it is anonymous so that authorship and responsibility cannot be pinned down in law and action not taken; moreover, past outbursts of systematic violence in Gujarat reveal that such pamphlets have worked their intent in furthering murder and destruction on the streets.

"From Vatva to Naroda, Bapunagar to Kalupur,

On 29th March there will be a call, take Ram's name and attack,

We will kill Muslims the way we destroyed Babri, We will burn Jamalpur and empty Dariyapur, Whether it is an old chawl or *miya's*, we will not leave you, We *Hindustanis* swear we will seek you out and kill you, This is the tradition of *Raghukul* and we never foreswear, Let Sonia have dogs like Farroukh Shaikh or Haji Bilal, We will treat them like Ahsan Jaffery, Muslims have darkened the skies with the smoke from burnt shops, We will cut them and their blood will flow like rivers."

(From the text of the pamphlet received by us enclosed as an annexure)

The record of the present government in provoking cadres for the first two days by calling the reaction to Godhra *swabhavik pratikriya* (understandable/natural reaction)and worst still, marginalising those IAS/IPS officers who have resisted political influences and performed their duties as enshrined in the Indian Constitution leaves little or no room for doubt that the **grim intent to further perpetuate annihilation and violence against the minority community** as enunciated in the pamphlet need not be an empty threat.

The President of India and the Chief Justice are called upon to respond to this state of affairs which is like nothing experienced by the Indian union before. In a desperate hope, the Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee and Home Minister L.K.Advani are also being appealed to— to honour their Constitutional Duty if not their Ideological Affiliations.

Instead of responding after death and mulilation have taken place, the Indian State — that still remains wedded to the Indian Constitution — must call for a restraint or stoppage to Holi (*dhuleti*) celebrations, call for the President as Commander of the Armed Forces to call the Army directly to red alert and be present at all sensitive locations and finally to ensure the preventive arrest of all those lumpen leaders (many of whom, unfortunately are elected representatives of the ruling BJP) witnessed as leading the violence.

Finally the occasion calls for the immediate removal of the chief minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi and his cabinet and the handling of law and order by a machinery, unhindered by political affiliations.

The occasion demands an intervention by the President of India Shri K.R. Narayanan. The occasion also behaves interventions by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court._

Teesta Setalvad

Javed Anand

Text of Pamphlet

Wake up....

Get up....

Be united...

{Reply to bricks with stones}

Today the minority community is trying to crush the majority community. The Muslims should be ashamed that even after 50 years of independence they have not become *Hindustanis*, but they have no idea of the strength of the majority community. Muslims are traitors as compared to Hindus—the Godhra killings and the razing of the Sindhi market have proved this. Till now, Muslims were showing their treachery only in Kashmir, then they extended their activities to the Parliament in Delhi and now they have made a great blunder by challenging

Gujarat. Now the Muslims cannot be protected from the Hindus by either the police or the army—or the vote-seekers or the political parties who pamper them.

When India got her independence, there were 3 crore (30 million) Muslims in India. Now on the 50th anniversary, there are 35 crore (350 million). Understand...be warned..., in five to ten years they will be as many as us. Nobody is preparing a cricket team that (?army).....that is being prepared by Pakistan.

Police and army, you also beware, you are also Hindus. You can also be attacked. You should also support Hindus. We Hindus support the police and the army fully.

My Hindu brethren, unite and form a Free Indian Army just like the one during the struggle for independence. Annihilate the enemy and lighten the burden of sin, which the country is carrying.

From Vatva to Naroda, Bapunagar to Kalupur,

On 29th March there will be a call, take Ram's name and attack,

We will kill Muslims the way we destroyed Babri,

We will burn Jamalpur and empty Dariyapur,

Whether it is an old chawl or miya's, we will not leave you,

We Hindustanis swear we will seek you out and kill you,

This is the tradition of Raghukul and we never foreswear,

Let Sonia have dogs like Farroukh Shaikh or Haji Bilal,

We will treat them like Ahsan Jaffery,

Muslims have darkened the skies with the smoke from burnt shops,

We will cut them and their blood will flow like rivers.

Free Indian Army is the union of Hinduism. Thousands of our brethren have joined it.

You also join and give your support to save Hindustan.

Thanks to Narendra Mody, we salute you, after Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, a hero is born Gujarat is proud and the glory of India is in your hands.

Every Hindu is requested not to stone the police or army. They are our brothers.

Reproduced here is the English translation of a pamphlet in Gujarati, which was widely circulated in Sanjeli town and its neighbourhood a fill month before the attack on the Muslims on August 12 and 15, 1998).

ONWARDS TO SANJELI!

Let's unite - to stop young, tribal women from being lured and kid napped. Let us unite to put an end to these unholy incidents of Hindu women being sold in Muslim countries - Let's respond to bricks with stones.

Onwards to Sanjeli! Public meeting Onwards to Sanjeli! Date: July 7, 1998, Sunday afternoon, 3 p.m.

At Rein Bassera, Sanjeli

Leaders of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal to address the meeting

A young, 18-year-old woman, Kanta, of Randhikpur, and another married Adivasi woman were seduced and kidnapped to some unknown destination by Muslim youths. We have no trace of them. This is not the first incident in our area. Whether it is Vandana from Bandibaar, or Ami and Surekha from Jhalod, or Varsha from Godhra. There have been innumerable such

incidents of kidnappings and disappearances. For months and years, our sisters and daughters cannot be traced. Apart from that, tragic incidents like the suicides of several elders like Magabhai Ninama keep happening in our society.

- Hindu young women are kidnapped and Hindu elders commit suicide.
- Hindu population on the decline Produce more children by kidnapping young women.

• Add to Muslim population A widespread conspiracy to add to the numbers of anti-Hindu, anti-national elements is at work throughout the country.

For the establishment of *Ram Rajya*, it was the people alone who came forward to help *Bhagwan* Ram. Now too, Adivasi brethren will have to come forward and unite to destroy this conspiracy.

When there is a weekly village market what do these Muslim loafers do? How do these Muslim loafers behave with Adivasi women going to the river for river sand? Pretending to help, do you know how these loafers tempt and lure young Adivasi women and their elders?

Without expecting anything from the police, the government, or any of the politicians who are only interested in securing our votes - come - let us save our sisters and daughters from the clutches of these yavanas (demons) who sell them to the Arabs.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad - Bajrang Dal - Sanjeli.

(Reproduced above are English translations of the pamphlets in Gujarati that have been widely circulated in Gujarat in the last few years. The Tribunal has on its record orginal copies of these pamplets in the Gujarati. What has been reproduced here are English translations of the same and published by Communalism Combat).

Inaction on Hate Speech as Part of the Conspiracy, Self-Confessions and Hate Speech Un-investigated by SIT

150. In a shocking interview given by him, Accused No. 23 Professor KK' Shastri publicly confirmed the VHP's diabolical plan hatched with the full inspiration and masterminding by A-1 Mr. Modi. (See Annexure of Interview that is also available at

[http://www.rediff.com/news/2002/mar/12train.htm]. Conducted by Sheela Bhatt it.was an interview with K.K. Shastri, the 96-year-old President of the Gujarat unit of the VHP, on the rediff.com portal. It makes chilling reading. According to Mr. Shastri, the list of Muslimowned shops was prepared on the morning of February 28. It was done as "we were terribly angry (over Godhra). Lust and anger are blind". "Hindutva was attacked. This is.... a tremendous outburst that will be difficult to roll back". Further, "we can't condemn it because they are our boys". Shastri added, "The VHP has formed a panel of 50 lawyers to help release the arrested people accused of rioting and looting. None of these lawyers will charge any fees because they believe in the RSS ideology". (See Annexure III, File II, D-5, Report of the Editor's Guild of India).

151. According to this Report, Mr. Shastri is said to have denied making these remarks. The two VHP Joint General Secretaries, Dr. Jaideep Patel and Dr. Kaushik Mehta also contradicted the report, making out that Mr. Shastri was old and hard of hearing. They
rejected the theory that Muslim premises were targeted. However, journalist Sheela Bhatt has the tape and the SIT instead of investigating this clear evidence of the conspiracy that was hatched between Mr. Modi, the RSS, VHP, BJP among others simply dismisses these charges with a line "Prof. Shastri is now dead."

152. However the SIT made no effort at all to record Sheela Bhatt's statement. The text of the rediff.com story as reproduced by "Mainstream", Delhi, is at Annexure 3 of the Editor's Guild Report, Annexure III, File II. The Editor's Guild Report adds that the tenor of the April 2002(Errata) issue of "Vishwa Hindu Samachar" published by Rashtra Chetna Prakashan and edited by Mr. K.K. Shastri lends credence to what he told rediff.com. A two-page article therein praises "Chhote Sardar" Mr. Modi for his handling of Godhra and its aftermath. Shastri had among other things told Bhatt that, "that the list of shops owned by Muslims in Ahmedabad

30K

was prepared on the morning of February 28 itself. Mr. Shastri was replying to an allegation that shops in Ahmedabad were looted on the basis of a list prepared by the VHP in advance and that the violence was not a spontaneous outburst against the carnage in Godhra. "...A scholar of the Mahabharat and a highly respected literary figure of Gujarat", Mr. Shastri said in a tape-recorded interview, "In the morning we sat down and prepared the list. We were not prepared in advance."

90%

153. Lacunae in SIT Investigation: SIT ought to have analysed professionally all the statements, interviews delivered by powerful leaders of the above-mentioned organizations at the time, any magazines (including Hotline and Vishwa Hindu Samachar, pamphlets etc used widely by the VHP and RSS and thereafter arrived at a professional conclusion as an investigating agency. Mr. RB Sreekumar had provided a bunch of the most incendiary pamphlets distributed by the VHP at the time. These have not only been deliberately ignored by the SIT but do not find a space in the investigation papers.

investigation that should be ordered by this Ld Court.

SIT Avoid Exploring the Mens Rea of Mr. Modi (A-1)

The non-seriousness of the SIT investigation despite the fact that a 154. unique and responsible duty had been put on it by the Hon'ble Supreme Court is evident when the investigating agency makes no effort at all to interrogate the mens rea of Accused-1, Mr. Modi. As elaborated above, A-1 Mr. Modi had won from the Rajkot Assembly seat only 5(Errata) days before 27.2.2002. Newspaper reports mentioned above and Annexed hereto show that A-1 Mr. Modi won by a slender margin. Among the vigorous campaigners at Rajkot was former CPI leader and Congress MP, Ahsan Jafri who had warned of the "evil and Machiavellian character of A-1 Mr. Modi that boded ill for the state." Mr. Modi's cold and calculated actions in deliberately not allowing any protection to reach Gulberg Society at Meghaninagar stemmed from the deep seated vendetta sentiment he held because of his narrow electoral victory that could as well have meant a defeat. Moreover, the fact that as reported in the newspapers, it was Rajkot's Muslims that ensured a slim margin for a man with a megalomaniac attitude is the mens rea of

Annexure 13 VHP 'Proud' of Targeted Violence

(This interview appeared on March 12, 2002)

It had to be done, VHP leader says of riots

Sheela Bhatt in Ahmedabad

In a startling revelation, Professor Keshavram Kashiram Shastri, 96-year-old chairman of the Gujarat unit of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, told *rediff.com* that the list of shops owned by Muslims in Ahmedabad was prepared on the morning of February 28 itself.

Shastri was replying to an allegation that shops in Ahmedabad were looted on the basis of a list prepared by the VHP in advance and that the violence was not a spontaneous outburst against the <u>carnage in Godhra</u>.

A scholar of the Mahabharat and a highly respected literary figure of Gujarat, Shastri said in a tape-recorded interview, "In the morning we sat down and prepared the list. We were not prepared in advance."

Asked why they did it, he responded, "*Karvun j pade, karvun j pade* (it had to be done, it had to be done). We don't like it, but we were terribly angry. Lust and anger are blind." He said the rioters were "*kelvayela Hindu chokra*" (well-bred Hindu boys).

He said there were two reasons for the inactivity of the Ahmedabad police during the rioting. "They feared death," he said simply. "And some of them were Hindus who thought, let the mob do whatever it wants."

He agreed that the atmosphere in the city now is so charged that if he were to go to the Muslim-dominated Kalupur area of Ahmedabad, he would not come back alive.

He admitted that people had been burnt, mosques razed, and shops looted, but argued that all that had been done in a "frenzy".

Shastri agreed that violence was not the answer to violence, but remarked, "These things [non-violence] look good in the shastras. Our boys were charged because in Godhra women and children were burnt alive. The crowd was spontaneous. All of them were not VHP people. The Waghri community (a scheduled caste) didn't even know the victims of Godhra, but they have done an amazing job! They are not our members. In villages all these people who were angry are not our people. They are angry because *Hindutva* was attacked. This is an outburst, a tremendous outburst that will be difficult to roll back."

He said the situation could get aggravated and bigger riots were possible. "There will be a war," he said. "So much poison has spread that it's difficult o contain it now."

Asked how he, a scholar and a litterateur, could condone innocents being burnt alive, he remarked, "The youngsters have done even those things which we don't like. We don't support

it. But we can't condemn it because they are our boys. If my daughter does something, will I condemn it?

"We don't believe that the boys have done something wrong, because this was the result of an outburst. But we do feel that they should not have gone so far. But that's an afterthought. We needed to do something. It's said that snakes that are not poisonous should keep the enemy away by hissing once in a while."

He agreed that in Hindu philosophy, such actions are sinful, "but it's done! Now we should work for peace. Because India can't afford such disturbances."

The Ahmedabad police have so far arrested 977 persons on charges of rioting, looting, burning and killing people in response to first information reports filed by the victims and relatives of the dead.

According to the police, the search for looted goods has been quite successful. In many colonies and slums, looted stuff has been found abandoned on the roads by rioters fearful of being caught.

According to a police source, a legislator in Ahmedabad has sought police protection because the relatives of those arrested have been nagging him day and night to get them out.

A senior police officer told *rediff.com* that the arrested boys are now blaming local leaders and saffron activists. "Our boys did it because the mobs and leaders supported it. Now how can you arrest them?" say the relatives of the rioters.

According to Shastri, "The VHP has formed a panel of 50 lawyers to help release the arrested people accused of rioting and looting. None of the lawyers will charge any fees because they believe in the RSS ideology."

— http://www.rediff.com/news/2002/mar/12train.htm

Annexure 14 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

<u>Secret</u>	O. No. D-1/Pamphlets/688/2002 Office of the Addl. D.G. of
Police,	
	Intelligence, Gujarat State,
	Gandhinagar, Date : 16/4/2002
	Given as Exhibit to Commission
on	
	31/8/2004. Exhibit 5635
To,	

The Director General & Inspector General of Police, Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.

Two pamphlets in circulation in large numbers in Gujarat which have come on record of this office, are enclosed for ready reference (Annexure 'A' and Annexure 'B')

2. The brief details are as under :

(A) <u>A pamphlet is in circulation in Ahmedabad City and elsewhere in Gujarat State,</u> <u>authored and published by Swami Laxmi Sankaracharya, of "Bharat Bachao Sangh" 390/298,</u> <u>Chokhandi, KItganj, Allahabad (U.P.)</u>

2. The pamphlet has been published by "Allied Offset Printers (Gujarat), Pvt. Ltd., Gomtipur, Karnavati-21. The name of V.H.P. Dr. Vanikar Smarak Bhavan, 11, Mahalaxmi Society, Paldi Karnavati figures as a contact place.

3. The eumulative effect of this pamphlet is to generate anti-Muslim feelings by resorting to selective reference to various books, newspapers, etc.

4. The reference to gang rapes, cutting of breast, stamping them with seal of 'Allah' etc. are likely to incite feelings of Hindu community against Muslims.

5. Certain observation about America can also have adverse impact on relations between two counties.

6. The timing of circulation of this pamphlet in Gujarat in the background of Godhra incident and subsequent riots is alarming as it would further consolidate feeling of hatred between two communities.

(B) A pamphlet in circulation in Ahmedabad City and Gujarat authored by Chinubhai N. Patel 'Nidhi Pramukh' of V.H.P. Vanikar Smarak Bhavan, 11, Mahalaxmi Society, Mahalaxmi Char Rasta, Paldi, Karnavati for collection of money for-

- (1) Looking after families of persons arrested in riots.
- (2) To make more persons subscribe 'Vishwa-Hindu Samachar'

The pamphlet also calls for –

- (a) Economic and social boycott of Muslims
- (b) Reconstruction of temples at Ayodhya, Mathura, Kashi

The facts and figures mentioned in the said pamphlet are aimed at persuading Hindus to contribute to VHP in return for security of Hindu families and also for taking retaliatory action against Muslim onslaught / violence in organized manner. The tenor of the pamphlet is aimed at capitalizing on the general sense of insecurity and misappropriating the task of providing security and maintenance of law and order, a primary task of the State.

3. The contents of both pamphlets are objectionable and are required to be inquired into regarding authencity with regards to names and address of publishers mentioned therein.

Moreover, the contents are prima-facie against the provisions of Section 163-A and 153-B I.P.C. Therefore it is requested that legal action may advised to be taken by Police-unit after obtaining legal advice from Legal Department of Government of Gujarat through Home Department.

> (R.B. Sree Kumar) Addl. D.G. of Police, State Intelligence Bureau, Gujarat State,

Gandhinagar

Copy W.Cs. to : Addl. Chief Secretary to Government of Gujarat, Home Department, Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar.

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િ હીં. બેંદરા સ્ટો બેંદરા સ્ટો A Minute Bar è Ę, A.C. 1 ş. ŝ, 4 美麗型 . 194 c / c/4 Blasale १९५०व्रं राज રવામી લઇમી શંકરાસાની dennys . આપના બાયદાએ મંગ

ાજી માને અધિયાઓ ઇતિશાસનું સૌથી મંદ્રું સાંગ્ર વાગ્યાના તેમનું એ દ્વાગ્યાના અન્યાનું છે. તું અને ૨ કાયમાં બીલે કાર મુ દેશાળી બનાવ સાથ આ શાસ ક્રચ્છ કરી એલ-D અમેલે છેવા મા મેચલે કેને એટેલા અલ્પી છે. કાજે જાય બહુ સુ એ સાયમાં સમય વિષયમાં દેશા મોલી સુરથા નામે ભારતને માટે છે. તે⊉ેલ્લાને વ્યવસારે વસ્તું કે કે

હિન્દુઓ બધા કાંદ્રિર

ુપાળ નેમાં પૂર્વ દેશ્લામ અનુસાર સંદુધાર વિદેશ કોઈ અન્ય તેને દિલ્લાઓ શાક રાઉ દિલ્લાન પ્રજાાદનાઇ, પ્રમુખ કે સુરાકે પુરાકમાં સુપ્ય દેશના સમાહન પર્યા લોક પૂર્વુ મેન્દ્રીયા 'સન્ય પ્રશ્ને થયું દુલ્લી પર્યા પાતનાઇ બાહ સિંહ ક સુનિષ્ટ કે તું ઉકા ખા કહે છે. આ પ્રીંગે પુરાવ્યું તેમ ઉપડા દુરાવ્યા છે? કું કે મહાત્માર આદેમ અનુસર કિંદ્ધર (મો(સુંદ્ર) કેમ ખુન સાઇટ) નીચ્યું કારે દાગે કે એક્સ પુરાવાણ વધાને કેમ્દ્રુ પ્રસ્તા

ું મુખ્યત્વે આદેવ આદેવ અનુસર ક્લિક ઉપયું હતું કરતાર પાડદોનું નીપ્તું કાર્ય તે કે સંપત્ત પૂત્વ છતા તેનાને દેવન પરંતા ક નુદ્રાં કોઈ કારકાર ખેખા અર્ચ બાદ તો રંગને તરેફું દ્વારું તેમ ધારત તો શેવને જ્યાન વધારા છે નહેવાય એવને અપનારેસ કર એમના પડતેમ ધિરકેશવરેશે લેવો જે દેમવા આદારિસિંદુ દ્વારું છે (એને ઘટલ તે સુધને કે છે) એને પુત્ર કેન પત્ની ત્યાં જિદ્ધાર (દાનું) તેમ ની પડતેમ ધિરેલપોના ધારતવાઓ દેશ (દાટુક પ્રૂંટવાર)માં બહાનો એ પુરાવૃદ્ધિને તો પર ઇસ્ટાયનો તુમ્ય ઉપરાંશ આપતા (પિટે કરેશું કા વાદે તે આસ્તામ પદાર્થિક દર્ભાદ સ્વાર્થકો છે અને પડતો એ પુરાવૃદ્ધિને તો પણે ઇસ્ટાયનો તુમ્ય ઉપરાંશ આ અપનાટને વિટે કરેશું કા વાદે આસ્તામ દેશ છે છે. સાર્થક સ્વાર્થકો થયું છે, અનુ દુધુ વાદ્ય આદેવા અહ્યતના દિવસથી આ જેન્દ્ર પડ વિટે પતામનું ગુદ્ધ અને સાથે છે.

ાયલા તે મારુ સ્વાસ પાટે દુદ્ધાના અનું પોર્ફ પ્રસ્તાર સ્વાર્ગ્યાં કરે છે. તે સામ દેવા ફાય્ય છે ઉધારક્ય પ્રારં રાગાના કટલાક આદેશો પુરુષ પણ ભારત સાફે ટ્રેસિંગાણી વાપન સ્વારાય કેવિય પ્રારંગે માસ સાર્થક ઉદ્ધા છે. ઉધારક્ય પ્રારં વિત્યાર કરવાટે દાવે પ્રાયં કરા હતા આદે થયા કે દુદ્ધાં વાપને સ્વારાય સ્વાર્થવાય છે. તે પાર સાર્થક ઉદ્ધા છે સંદ ઉત્કે પ્રા વિત્યાર કરવાટે દાવે પ્રાયં કરા હતા આદે થયા કે દુદ્ધાં વાપને સામયોથી છે. તે પાર સારે બાહ વાપને તે કાર્યક્રિય કાર વિત્યાર કરવાટે આવે કરવાટ કરવાટ કરવા કે વાર્યકે વાપને વ્યવસાય છે. તે પ્રાયં કરવાટ કરવાટ કરવાટ કરવાટ કરવાટ કરવાટ

્કુરાળથી શૈનિક્સરિલ્ક, પ્રભાવ

હિન્દુઓ પર આવા અત્યચાર કેમ થતા રહ્યા ?

ા અનુ ઉત્પૂર્વનેના નામલાવા ઉત્પત્સેન અને અન્ય પ્રચાર્થપ્રદેશો છું વેલગજનાવાન સાથે છે. વિદ્યાસ સારક જાયુ, આ લેવે દિવા આ તેવું લાહેલ એવા માળે પ્રયુજ્યોલ્ટ્યું જણવેલ દ્વારે પ્રવૃત્તિ આ માને કેર મુક્લમાં વાદ જાદથાં મહે આ મ વિદ્યાર પ્રથણિ વિચારને કારી એવા આ વ્યરવાર્ટ્સકાર છે." તેમાં આવી અધ્યાવન એન્ટર્સ વ્યવસાધી ઉત્પત્ર કારી નહીં. આ વ મ

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ું છે. તેમ કુશાર તેમ જ રાયરા અને એકજીએ અમાંચું છે. વિત્તી તહેશભા ખુસૂર્ણમાં માહેય તો પણ તુરાયદાઓ કારણે તેમનુ વિદિત ો નહે છે. નાગ્ય પ્રચ્છે ઉકદ હબાદ વર્ષ દાધા પ્રદાણકૃષ્ણ અને હવા માછો વિવૃત્તિક નીહની રહી છે. પ્રસિત હેનિનાસ્ટાક અને છ મહોવનથી કહે છે . કુલારે કોઇ સમ્પ્રેજ આદે સામયે અની(જીલ છે ત્યારે કોઈનિએર દૂક સમાજ અને ઘણો જાય છે હિન્દુ લખાવ્યું યું છે કુ જ થયે પણ એ, અનગણ વસી કેટલાકે સિદ્ધું શોને દૂધર પંત અને હોય હોયુંલા, આપી સંખ્યો અખત મહાદાય છે, સૌથતે દંદ તમને મને ગઈ ગયાબાં ઈ લોઈ મરવાએ તેવા, એટન એક્લિ હવા 'વત્ત્વને રેક્સોફેટ 'વર્ષ કને છે. પશુ એમને પાર બળે કે સ્વ દૂહ ું લેલુ સમાજ ર*િલમા*થી હતો ત્યાં સુધર એલના માલેનગિ છેલે બહેતો, બેક્સ્ટ્રોડીઇંબ્રેંસરો, ભારી અસુ પહોં માથશે. ભારત અને ઉદ્દેશના િયામ મન્દ્રો ઓન્ના પ્રસ્તુદ્વારો દોષના પર્ય અનેશમાં આવ્યું છે. આ પ્રત્યાને દેશ પ્રત્ય પ્રત્યાને છે. આ પ્રત્યાને વિદ્યાર્થ એ એન્ટની એનના લાખન વર્ષ છે. જતારે સુપૂર્વન પંડાનવરના તેન્દ્રુપ્લુપ્રિંદેએ, દેવના વિદ્યાર્થી અને એનનો કટિને ઉદ્યુ આ અને દાવ્યતની સ્થાપત્રે બાદ અને પ્રયુ કે અને નથી. સુદયતો અધારે દ્વીપે દુદ્ધવાલા કટર થયો છે તરકા કે કુશનવા પ્રશ નિ અમજરી વ્યવસાર છે. આ દાર્થ બાદ અને પ્રયુ કે બાદ નથી. સુદયતો અધારે દેવીપે દુદ્ધવાલા કટર થયો છે તરકા કે કુશનવા પછ ્યુસન¥ી પરવર્ગો આવાતમાં અત્યાનનો આદેવું છે કુઓરેર હિન્દુ ઓવર્ગ્સું પ્રેલિય દિવસ છે. ઉત્તુ એન્ટ આદાકને ઉત્તુ હુસિલ્ક બ્લઈ ગાઇનાં પાર ભાતાને છે. ભાવેમ્બમાં આવું છું.પરિકોર આવશે ?

⁽¹⁾ध्यच

્યું ક્ષિપ્યાડીમધ્ય આદિવ પંચીતે કેસ્ટ કારડાય છે

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ંઈરલામી આતંક

અલ્ટકલ્લ કારણીરમાં જેવાલના વાગે વિન્દુઓની કાલીઆય થઇ અધી છે. વિવાચાર પત્રોના જણાવલ પ્રમાણે કારણીરમાં લિન્દુ મદોલાઓ પર વાળીનેક બચાત્કાર કરી એવના સ્વેન્દ્ર કાણી વાખવામાં અવ્યોધુનીપછી અલ્લાહની પહોર ગરમ કરી એમના સવલ પર ભાષવામાં ખાલી હતા હતો જ કારવારી લીન્દું કરોડવાં વાલી તે માજે વિભાલ મની ખારતમાં રસાદ પર લખડતો મઈ વધી છે. કારબીર તો તેવળ ઉદાતરણ છે. ખવિષ્યમાં સમગ્રે દેશના આપ તાલ ઘર ઘરે, પૈકે, પાકિસ્તાન અને ખાંગલાદેશમાં બચલ થોતા હિન્દુઓ ભર્મ મહાનક માળાયાદી, અપમાની, ભાવ અને આવેક દર્શ્વ તરહ જેવી સિંદ્રચૂંગેલ્ટને છે. આમામ અને વિવારના કેટલાક જિલ્લામાં િયદિવર્ષોએ જંગલ છે કલાઇ સ્વર્ણી દીધો છે.

ાં કે પ્રિંગ્યુ આ ગામમાં ગયાં પણ કરે તો એસેકોમનાદો, કરીવરમ અને ચેટને પર કાળપાકે થા તથેતાઈ પરંગ છે. એનો જૂટ ઉં 'માળ્યનો માને થય ન મન્દ્રાનો તમ સુંગી મંચાય છે. ભારતીય લોકસ્પાધિર્થ કેવચે ફિન્દુ સ્ટ્રોમાં મન્દિવેધ કાલ્ય છે, પણ મુખ્યત્વાલી પ્રદાયમનાં ઈમ વિશેષી, કોળી અને અનમ ગયતાં ઉશ્કે સ્વીજનક ભવળતો કરે છે તો ચંચોદિલ્લેલઇ અને કવેલામળ અવવામાં અવવે છે. 100 'જેલ્લા હતુ રાશિયલમ અને અલગભાત દેવાએ છે. તેટલે આવેલ પર કાર્યુ અંગ્લેરે કુરને આવ્યલાગ વાય છે. આ ગળ દેવનું અવસ્તી દેવના બધુ વખેશ જાહે સ્વર્ધ છે. તિંગુની આ અંગિયુલ્લ-એની લેશલતા અલદે ફેંદલું દુરુંદળી તેનરી વાળતા છે.

માનવ અધિકારવાદ 🕃 હિંસવાદ 😗

કારમાં હતા છે દુવદેની અને અનેવ અન્તર લોધું કે,વે જોયો અને નિઝોશાનુંદુંદર્દી, ગોધલાઈ, સમોડ્યુંગણી, અનેવ વચ્ચી લેનજ (મનવતાનાદી લોકો જેને અન્ય અજ્ઞા છે. પશુંદ્ર અટલ્ડેલોકો કે પુરલક કબત્વર સુકુર્દ્ધિને ખોલાસ કે ઇન્ટનો બોલાયી તિચાલ છે ત્યારે [ામજ કોડો અને વેળાવો, સામયતાદાઓ વેળજ ઉત્પં અભિવેસી રાજ્યના આવ્યું કેને આવેલ્ટ્રેના દિલીધકુલર દીકે યુસુકાનાન જેવ બેંકો માલવ સર્વિકારના ન વે નાડવાય મલાવી છે છે. એમને મુકારવાઈની કુક્ષણ દીદાર સાંઘલાગિયતનો દાઈ વિદ્વાર્થના કું કે છે તો માર ખાવે આવ્યા પ્રિત્તુ થઈ ફોન્ટાટર્ટ છે. આ સંબંધલા માનવ આપધારથીનું મુંદલ અધિકારોની આગ્યો દિલાના અધિકારોનો માંગથી કરી ઉત્ત છે.

ભારતીય, તાલિબાન-' સિમી '

ભારતમાં પ્રશ્વ તેમાં સામપ્રમાં ઉભરતી મુસ્ટર્સ્ટ્રેપોરી માર્ગને આપણો કોઈટ્રે કે પંજરેમાઓમાં આવ્યા તે મુસ્ટ્રેમ મુખ્યત્વરી મુપ્રાદેષ્ટ મુખ્યિત તેમાં, વસ્તાર વિસ્તાર છે એએ પ્રાદેવે વિદ્વાર્થ સમય ખાસાના જેવાઈ છે.વતની પેચાર કરી તેને છે. શેનની શેર્ડ કાળત સ્ટુડનાંસ છરવાળિક સુતર્વત નાંસ ઇંગિયા તુકૃત્વીનું છે.

બદ્રશી રાશાના, ભાળક પુરાવસને વિશાળ દેવાં લિવામાં ભાષિક ફેદ્દુસ્થા અને દ્વાવા વર્ણ અન્યતંત્રવાની સવા ! કાજી કરી લીધો, એનાથી પ્રેમણે અટસ્ટામાં મુખ્યિત હોવામાં પ્રેશની નામક અલ્ફોર્ય દ્વેતામાં આજતીય મહિલાના સમયનો દીજાવેમાં દ ભિલ્લાયક છે લોકો અને છે. આદેમાને અનુસ્વાર સાકનલ કરી, પ્રયતના કેમ આવેડું કેમેનના સરસ્ટ્રદ ગુજાતને અને આગળા આસ્વમા પેલન લોકન પીલી માન્ય મુક્તિમ શુપ્લો દેવ માક્સ છે. દુસિવી વ્યવસાયે રાષ્ટ્રકોફિવોલ કેસ્ટે દી અપિયલ સિવે બદલાવું સામ મહસ્તાક સંગતન પ્રવાસ એ હતા એવા સહ્યાંગા સંગઢની વિદારના તામે ખુંદર્શ છે નાર્દ્રો દેશા અને સમાસ દેશપુર્ણ

રમાં ઈસ્લામી આતંકલાદ

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આ છેલ્લામેલ આવેલવા આવતા પ્લીસો પૈયું આ ગામવામેલ્લો ફેલેવરે માલ્યાને અવે સાવસ પુસિલ્મ દેશાવ

C/575 ંતમનો પ્લોમનો તથા છે. અનેવટકી કેરોલામ આવકેવાર દરખ્ય લેખ છે. શાં **ક**ોફોફોફ એ સન્દ રહ્યલે છે છે તે સુલવ્ધાનોનો લ્ટેકર ્રિમાઇ પ્રતિવેશનાથી લેવલે પ્રેમણ મધ્યે આવ્યા કાઇ રહેશોલે તેમાં આવ્યા તેમાં દુર્વતી મેટ સાથે છે. તેમે પ્રતિવેગ કેમ પ્રતાવસાન 12. 2.651 พระพ. พร. . อื่น พบริษณฑ์, พริณฑร์ ให้ๆ 2.55, พระพ. พม Raws, พระวัติธุล (ลิกษ์ 1934, พันนิพแห่ง) કલ્વામથારી હેઠલાવાને અને ઉપયોગ યુજ્લને વિભાને અંપનીસ્થા અધ્ય સિદામનું દ્વિકાર તેમક તરસ કરવા તેને છે. આંગણવા છે,ત ્યાદેર પશુપાડુ તોયું વેબાળતું પૂર્ણથી મથભા કરેદેવો સરસર પુત્રે કરા સૌથી, હેઠું મળવારો આવતાં તે વીડેકા અને બોન્ટ [પુરોપ્યુવર દેશોન્ટિ શુક્રિયન હાલીકાઈ, તેમજ પુરિવાદ અનુસુરા ૬ ન્ટની અલેમ અનુ પ્રેફેટનું કેરનાની મોતરો કારતો મેઠાવ્યા અનેવક લઇ ુલ છે. વ્હાયો છે

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કેટલાક ખપુર લોકો તે સમુપ્રિયમીયરે આપ પૈકા હર તે હતા, ભીપતે અન્યવૃત્તિ કોરવા કહેલા પ્રદે છે – આપતે નવા હો ઈલ્લામલે ાત્માં તે છે. પાંચ તેમાં જાતેત અને ઈચરતા ફિંદરાંગે કે આજ દુરુ ઇસ્લોનોએ અને એનજ થયું ગોતોને ફેન્સ કરૂતથ વધ પ્લુપી મહત્વનથે પ્રધાન કે અને કરે છે ન લેક્સામ શાંગિયું કરે શે ત્યાવ છે. ઇપ્લોપેલું પુરાવળાનો તાથે દહેસ અને ન ફિટી સામે હુદવન આદેશ છે. દુશનમાં આવ્યતના અલેશ છે : પુસાવયાનું પુંચુલવર્તન પ્રશ્નમાં તેનું કરેટું વર્દેશ તાથે આદેશવાત તરતે. એમની દાશ ყი ამ.

'આવકવામાં બોનો કોઈ થયાં કે આદિ હોતી. તેલી ફેંકોમાં મેટાભત જે તિત્યું આર્મવૃદ્ધ કરવતા છે માટા આવતા આવે દેવા વતને ધારતના વેલાનો કરે છે કે આ ક્લાળી ઇસ્લાય શાક્ષે અંતનો દેશિંગમું દાહાદવામાં તે અનુમું કોલ શાર્ગવાન અને કુલવાને આગળવાર તમા છામ દેવ્યાથી આ આવ્યદાશની દુ. કુમ સરવા કરવા કુમ સિંકિ ખેતરી છે કે કાકરે ગોનો પૈયું કરવા, ઉપનામનો પણ તે પર મનાવા ક રાજ્ય પણ જ જિલ્લા પ્રસાધ અન્ય છે. પ્રારૂપ આદેવી મુંદર કરવાયો છે. પ્રયાણ પ્રાથમ પ્રદેશે ગાળવું પ્રદેશ પ્રાયણ પ્ where is a more able as great it and strates to at marker it sector where we we will be મલ્લીમાં જે, જ ઇન્કે (મેટ ક ઉદ્દેશી તસાણે કરવું દુકુવેલો ન જાવેનવાઈ, દૂધણે કે દુવસ અનાહનાય નવે તે તેમ અને લાન્ટી ્યુક્રામ્પલ છે. તેમવાને આદ્યારનો દિવ દેશે છે. તેવુંથીજીને કરી વટ શેવ એંઘો માંગે તેને સંદેશ માંગત ખેતાન છે. આ લોકો જાલી બે તે કુસર જ ઈસ્લામ છે અને કુસનના આવેલી, તેર આંગણવાર આ યુસરાય કું. છે.

મ્યાદાન વિદ્યુ નથીદેશમાં બાલ-ગાંધ પુયલથી ખેતનો સાથે સાથે આવ્યું છું તે છે. આન્ય શાકાઓ સાથે દેશે જ આવ્યું મારી જયા ઇન્ટ મોળવેના જના જ માંધેનોને પુશે તેમથા મેટે પાળવે છે. આ ધાર્થિયું છે તેમાં મારો દેવ અન્યત છે તેમથે સિંહલી િજીદીપીઓનું અમલી કે અન્ય અનેસિકા નહીં પ્રગ્નુ ભારણું છે! અધિ રાદ અને એન્ટ્રાફ્સ્ટ્રેનિસ નામ સિન્દુઓના પ્રત્યાન ફાન્સલા સુરિસ્ટ અનેક્સ તેન્સીના કેન્સ્ટ્રો અગે નેવાઓની અંધ ત્યરકાદ્વાંન કરવાનો નોસિનો બધુરો કેલ્ટ કે આ મુસ્ટિલ પ્રક્રાયકા લંગુલ આક્રસ્ટ્રા શાસ્ત્ર જ શાસ્ત્ર લોક હાથમ હુપી મહિલ્યા માટી પાંચ્છાનું કુંચરી, નિસવા કરવી સૌદ્રે લાઉ લોકોનું ખૂબ ભાગે પડતી અને જોઈ લાગમાં 🛛 फलक्का अंगी क्रिसे.

નભીરિક્સ નીના પ્રત્યે પ્રકારણ મહત્વનોતાનો, પશુંદાથી શાળમ ખોરસ્કાનને ફોલ્ટ્સ ત્યારા છે છે. દારા છે મોરસ તો પ્રાં તે નિષ્ણુપુર્વ પૂર્વ વાજવાદે સમયકાર છે. તે આદું શાક કરાય તે તે તે રાષ્ટ્રીય ને તે સંદે આ તે તે તે સામગ્ર સામગ્ર બહેલે તેવું લોકો સાથે તેમ બોલે જ તરફે થયે. 🔭

ખારત માસલમ રાષ્ટ્ર બની શકે....

ગાસ્ત્રમાં મુખ્ય પુરુષામાં લોઇ તથા છે. જે દર્શું એ ત્રંપુ છે તે પ્રોય, તેણે હુંથા ૨૫ વર્ષપ્ર એએ પ્લાસ્ક અલ્લ ઉત્સ દાર ધ જરાં, ઉત્પર્ધાનું આપેષાંચાંચિત્ર કરવાલા મળેન મુકલા સ્વર્ધનુંદાયનું કરવાને દેવાનું પંચી તે છે. તેમનું મળીને કરવા મદી જગા હોત પથ્ય જુટલીમાં નોયદેવાં થયા કે સ્વાર થોટ જ માટે છે. આદુંદીરવાણે આદથી આવાં પૂછી ત્યાર લોકલનાથી ખૂંદવીનું વ્યવસ કાળ વેલા કે રજ્યાર હરવમાનો જ વધો (આ લોકો બેટ મહ્યવૃદ્ધિવૃદ્ધિ પાઉ) કરવા તે દેશો દેવવાના વસે અને આવે તો આવે છે. તે સુઆન છી જે જાહે, ભાગા, ગાળા નાયે ધર્મસિંદધળતાવા વાને પહેલું (તેના છે) અદેશભાગમાં છેવું તોર આપવા જાણ જ નવી, ધેન્દુ મોની આ કમજોદીને લરકો પંચાયામના લોકસભા મનદાવે મૈત્રોમાં, પુરાયમાંત્ર કેવેટવાણે પ્રિંદોઈ આવે મુખ્યાવાઠી યુસગાતનોની સરમર બવાળશે. એ પટી બિન્દ્ર ખોને સુજરાતાથી અથવા રાખવાં મુસ્લિતના નામે અને દેશમાં બોકરાતીનું વધું દબાલી દેવામે. આજથી રપ વર્ષ પછી અયા તિન્દુ પગ્રયુવામોને આ સંકટ વેઠવું ધડેશે.

અજ્ય કે લહીદ તેઓ સુકાર અન્ય વિશ્વવિદ્યાર્ગ જવાનું મેળવા માથે જ આ ઉત્પાદ્ધ કે દેશના મહત્વનું મુખ્યત્વે માળવે મુખ્યત્વે મેળવા પ ુલ્લામું દેશોલા પુરત્વાણ ગુજા કેદીન કારળોલા કાજિય કિંદુ હોવી દિકાર પ્રશ્ન શરે દુવિતને છે. ગાંદારંક આવે આવા દેશોય, ઉત્પાર લ્ય છે. આ વ્યવસાય તેવે તો નગેરા પશેટું મારછ કે ગાંગીય બુલુના છે." ત્યેનગાને આવેલું દૂધનાંક લુશનવાન નોસ્ટામાં છે છે. આના (તર, મહું રાજ તો મારળમાં જે પાકિસારને અભિનારનેલ કરીએ દૂસવે પ્રતાનું છે. એનું નુ દેવિકા તો તૈયાને નું દોઈ માટું પાસ્ત (VOTE) તર્યક્રમોટું રાજ તો મારળમાં જે પાકિસારને અભિનારનેલ કરીએ દૂસવે પ્રતાનું છે. એનું નુ દેવિકા તો તૈયાને નું દોઈ માટું પાસ્ત (VOTE)

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લતાને છે. આપ કરી આ વેલ દેલને ખરબાદ કરેવું દેવા દિલ્હુઓને જાણવાણી પડી લાસરે અને કાયલે ઉઠાવી ગુરુલવાત ઉમેદવાની સંવેધનમાં દહેલાઈનાં સુરાઇ આપકો.

ં દુક્તુરને વિશ્વરમાં હોય કે એટલે મુસંદર્ભાવીના તેમાં બનાધ્યુંબુન્છે અને પુસાયમાંને એપના કરેલા વ્યવસે દયતો છે એ addition cheerstal speed within વિલ્લા છે. તો બનો દેશ કુલ્લા પણ પણ પણ પૂર્વ મુખ્ય તે આવ્યા પ્રદેશકાલ હતો મહોવા છે . પડે તુમ નાંકનો મ તપાવ માન્ય બોલ તેને કે ઉદ્દ કુલ્લા કે આદેશાં મુખ્યત્વે અને એલ્ટી લોકો મુખ્યત્વે કોઈક્ટ્રોનિયાલમાનો પર પડવા કલ્પાનો લગ્ન આવ્યું છે. કે પૈતી કે પ્રેન્ટ આ ગામમાં મુખ્યત્વે આ ગામમાં આવ્યું છે. તે તે તે મુખ્યત્વે કોઈન્ટ્રોનિયાલમાનો પર પડવા કલ્પાનો લગ્ન આવ્યું છે. કેપ

પણ કરોય કે ચોર્ડ પણ આપ ઓલનાય છે. છે એમનું માટે એ પિટન કાર્યકેટ જે છે છે ગયા ઉત્દુ શેખ ખાવે એન વ છે. એ એ દાંભાવા જેમ્ટ તેમાં વાદી દીસત અને લાકસાર્ય અમેર તમાર પણ વસવારી આવેલ ઉદ્યક્ષેય આવેલા અને સાગદીજવ (તાલુક) અનુવાર્થના કેટલુવ્યતે અનુધિ કુલવા મહેલાયત અને આ કેટ અનાવી ધટના આ દેત ન

૮૦ કરાંક સિન્દુ ચીર જીપ તો આખી દુવિલાયે તાલેલી શકે તેમ છે છે. તમાં દરિય આવે છે. આ થયા આવે અનાનના લોકો કારણે તેલે છું આ લોકોએ સ્ટમ્પ્રેટ સિદેશ અને એન ગુરા છે છે. [- ગયા દરિય આવે છે. આ થયા આવે અનાનના લોકો કારણે તેલે છું આ લોકોએ સ્ટમ્પ્રેટ સિદેશ અને એન ગુરા છે છે. [દાકા આઇ હોયક તામ અને કૃષ્ણ પ્રધા કેમ ? મુસ્લિય કારણના, ગાળવા દાંસનીના પ્રતિથયે તેમકુ હોય તે કારણે મુસ્લમનોના અલ્લામન્ વ રહતા કરતાં છે. તેમ હતા તો સાથે સાથે સિન્દુ પ્રયોધ બધા અત્યાનો શહેલ વૃદ્ધમાં, સેયજે પૈમે તેમ કાઈ દેશના વધુ તપશ્ચા કઈ ુલ્લો ! આ વરવતો પ્રતાણ છે અને એમના સંદાળોને કુદલન દિલ્હુ કે છે કહ્યું તો વેખવ પ્રધાન કહે છે. આ વનવા સિક્તુ વેનો સકવા પ્રદિ [

and this is not the they when we they would be a ready of a going is ેટ્રેનામાં ભગવાન થી કુળ્ય કહે છેલું છેલું છેલાર કે ભગવાનું વાસ્ત્રાપ્ટે કહે નિષ્ક્રિય ન સહી, મહવાનાદીઓનો મુખ્યતો ક્યાં વિન્ત કે મહ્યાવ્યલેએ બન્સે શકીય લહિત પરંતુ હિન્દુઓએ હો એત્યુવ્યારનું શકાલ કરવાનો જ પોતાનો થયે બનાની દીવો છ

ગોન્ટમાં વ્યગવાય શ્રીકૃષ્ણ આવી અનેશહનશીલન: આવે અલ્વતાઉક અુનિશાની નપુરાકાલ કેની અનથી હુટ રહેવાને આપુંત રે આવ્યું છે. ખેંચ્યો કહે છે ર 'અન્લાયારીઓ દ્વાર્થ શુપાલન્દ્રો હરનારાં વીટ્ટે બ્રીટ્રેય સ્વર્ગ છે અધિકારી અને છે.'

ા આપની પાસે આશા

ાનું સંકટપી સંપૂર્ણ દેશવા પ્રીન્દ્રશ્તુની સરવ્ય કરવા ગરગીએ છીએ. યુન્દ્રાર સવવાને અન્ય પ્રસ્ત્ર્યપૂર્ણ માટલે પરંતુ છે 🤱 ત્વર દેશના બોટા ચીરા વેળાંદી અને ઉદ્યોર્ગપશ્ચિક્ષાનોય સામે તો આ દેશને તેએ પણ ભગભાદીથી બગાવી શકાય એવ છે. જે પહેલના [

વર્ચ, સરવાજ આવે દેશની રક્ત માટે કોઈ કરતો તેથી એ ઉન્દ્રને દિલ્હાર છે. પોકપ્રદાધિ, પ્રોધન્સર થોટ છે. આપણે ભારત તો ધોકણવામાં દીધ્યું છે, આપણા અનેવ પ્રધાવના પંતિ ભાષતાં આવ્યું છે જ્યાં દેવ ાયતા કે આવે છે. આ પ્રકાર કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રોથી કરોય પ્રાપ્ય અન્યતા છે. આ પ્રાપ્ય કરોય વાય અન્ય પ્રાપ્ય થયેલું આ પ આવે કે આ પ્રાપ્ય કે આદિવાસ કરે છે. તે કે બેલે પ્રાપ્ય અને વિભોગું છે. આ પ્રાપ્ય અને પ્રાપ્ય અને પ્રાપ્ય અનિ અનિ મુક્ત કે બેલ બનાવી અધિવર્ષ અને સ્ટેર્ગ્સ્ટ્રે છે. તે કે બેલે બેલા વિભોગું છે. આ પ્રાપ્ય અને પ્રાપ્ય અને પ્રાપ્ય લોકે છેવલ દેશને સાધ્યત્રાના અનાવી મકે સુધ, જ લોકો જ્યાં શહે છું ?

ુ આંગરાક્ટર્શા બચવા

ોર ખુવત દિવ્દુએ વિશ્વર છે કે લાવા અનુસ્વર એન્ગ્રેસ્ટ્રેમ ચારે બેસાન અવતાર લેલે વસ પશિવમાં મ્લ્યતર હતી તુ લતા, કંક-દુઃખાંએ જાતરે જ પરિસની ચાલે પરિતના પ્રવન્ધી હતા કરવી પુરશે. ભાજવાય તો જ પરિમાની રહ્યા માટે પૂરેપૂરી બળા કરવી છે એ દુ છતા કુલ છે. ભારિષ્યાથે આ મુશ્લિમ આવ્યું આજના બધા વિન્દું યુવાનોને થયંગળથી પડશે. આદી બધા વિન્દું યુવાનો ગાળવાઈ, ' (ઉચ્ચ-હીન અને આવરકનઇટ વિરૂદ્ધ માંદ્રિદ્ધ થયું કરી કેવળ ડીન્દ્રના નણે અંક પ્રવ_ાદિન્દુ પ્રાથમિક વૈષ્ણ દીરનાં, પ્રવાનો, પ્રિવાર્થીઓઓ)

આપ્યત દક્ષિત હિત્તુઓ સાથે આગાળ આવતું ધેકરી.

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ભાગલાના શાસ્ત્રે પણ કોઈક કહેના મોંગ્રે છે..... .. . 13

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-અલ્લે

ું અથવે ચોકો છે. ઘર થા અંગયાં છું, થાકે આયેલી લોકે અધાયતો, કે વિંતું જશા, અને અલ્લોક તાસ કરવાં તેને હું દેવાવા દાકું દું કે બાળ અથવા આ દુદ્ધાંટન પંચ જુજરાતું કે હોય વધા પાવ ખેતરું પૈવન પંચ જ અને વસે પાન અને પાર્ટ અંદર વિદ an many more than that is many and hear and hear a standard with the set with more than the स्वयत्वे भोदनी केल्याय 🔅 जन्माने सेन्वयम् आहे.हेनुनहीू ह

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ક ચંદ્રાઓ આ ગામ

Š.

અનેમ મળાવતા અને સગોધર દિલ્હુ વિસ્તાદીમાં દેવુંમળાંના તપાસ સાથપેરીટી નાર્તન તાલા છતાં આવતી સાથાનારી તાલા ત રાત અનેને કેશવેલો, ગયાદ, બસાવારી માટે આવેકણારી મુક્લાનો તુમાને કરીવે[છેલળ તાકણા] ગયોશો નામ તમાન બધાતના યતો પ્રદેશ મધ્યત પ્રદેશને મુખ્યતે અને ઉપજીપણ પ્રથમે મહાવું તે ખર્ગે આપે કે દુધિયું દીધનું મહિલાને આપનાં આપનાં આ રાત છે. મોમાન્યોના અનેવ્યામોના લોકો સામુદ્ધિક મુખ્યત્વે કરીને કરતામણે તું પિતા પંચે તાલ છે થાય પંચે અમે છે કે તળ માંગણી આવ્યતા દીને પુષ્ણના પ્રદેશમાં મળી, ખેતીની પૈયિરીદી, અને સાથે પિક્ષિની, તેવા નવી ગાંધતાં એ અને પ્રધાર છે 🦈

n and she chudh ann am ann màraith an màraith an na chudhgh an mar chudh ghlan an an sheann an Pargadha a' chù สารกฎของ และสินกรรม และ สารกษัทยา สินกุษฏิรัฐสำนัก และสะนัญให้เสียนกฎจะ สินกะ กระกาศ เพรื่อมโหะ มาก વાગ્યા છા. આ પીંચે પરિષ્ક તામ છે એક પુરવાલીનું માર્જ પર થઈ પર કેંદ્રોનું છે. છે તેવી પાંચ અને વાપણ સામવારે મળવા જ પશેલો ઉપરાંત જ પ્રદેશને ઉપરાંગ ?

ાં છે. પ્રેટલી છે. જેલ્લામાં આવ્યા પિતાઓનુલ દેશમાં ગઢેલા પુંચ્છું દેશથી અને મન્દ્ર માટે શુક્રિયમ ખુબ દ્વાના સુવત્ન સાથે મહુતનો છું થણી બલન મળબતે છે. વન્દીન પૈયી નામના છે. રાદ્ધી તુંદ્રાવ્ય તે આ વિદ્યું પૂર્ણ દેવામાં અને તથા કેનો આવતા છે. ઉત્તરાત્વે ત સંધયવર્ષ, ભાષા, પહેરવેશ, પુષ્પાત્રનિયં, તરેવર્ષણુંદ્રાણવાન ન્યુન્ટાનફેટ્સ્ટ્રિપ્ટ્ બાનન તે, પડે અને નિદ્ધમાં સંપ ેલમાં પછે શાળકું નહે આને દેશના દુક્તાએ પ્રદેશે દિવસે દુરુપયોલે આવેલીએ પણ શાકુ ગુપ્તાના દેશ નાઉપ્રાન આવે.

ાન ભારત પુરસ્ત પંત નાસી દીધિક અ ઉત્પર્ધ ભાંતના નાસના ગાય વર્ષોનું ભુરૂ તેમણ્ય સંઘેદાવે ગયા તેમભાવાના પાળનાવર ી પ્રથમ દ્વારા આ મારા દ્વારા આ અપસંદ પ્રદેશ પ્ર આ તે તે તે તે પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ મારા પ્રદેશ આ મારા પ આ મુક્તિમાં બેનાવા માં પાકે કે આ ગામ માં પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ માં પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ એ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ પરિવાર ને પ્રાથ કે બેનાવા પર વધુ માં પ્રદેશ પ્રદે પરિવાર ને પ્રાથ કે બેનાવા પ્રદેશ આ તુર આપલું પ્રદેશ પરિવાર માં પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ આ તુર આપલું પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ આ ગામ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ આ પ્રદેશ પ્રદે પ્રદેશ પ્ર પ્રદેશ પ્ર Representation and a model of a second second

ેમજમાનું તેને મેં, આ પણ પુર્વે તેને આ પ્રિટન્ટ્રોઓફોરનોફોન કરી સફળ નૈફિલ્મી કરી નહીં છે. જે જે આવે તેની જે ઉપ વેલેનો નાઢન કે પણ વસી વિશ્વભૂભભૂભ એવનવાં ધુંપુની સવાસથી ખેતા (વિદ્યાન છેલ્લી ન્યા તેને મથક કરીને વિદ્યુક્વેની માંગરાત શતીને તુમરાત પર પર કે પશ્ચિ શ્રાન્ દુશ્વિતાર પ્રદાં જ શ્રીપુંચાનો રાજ નોંધ દેશ માનવામાં પ્રાથમ นทรมูโล มหาย ที่ อย่างสายสอยสาวเหลื่องได้เป็นได้ มีโดยการสานีนี้และ และเลยายาง จำนวกมี 20 มีประการใ લેન્દ્ર પુશ્વધાના એકલાની નાન માત ખનવાર છે. દેશ[છે, દુધી ખેલતો, માતણુપ્રતે, આ બંધ નાટક 🤍 બનાવર છે. પૃશ્વિમીની ગઢદાર માંબંદ કોંદોલન તેલે સાથ્ય છે.

there is a substant of a star way was specified and specified with the star with the specified of the อาราศและประกอบที่ที่ พายเสมันได้ และผู้สู่ผู้ผู้สมันให้และกลุ่ม สมุญนี้ และ และประกิจ และ และ clar ઉત્પુર્વોને દાવતા કે પ્રયતથી જય તજીવ કરોક ફાઈણોની માત્રાવેલાનને નન્ટ્રી ફિંહોનો પણ પડતી પાટી અને પર્ય તેજ તુમના

ે તેમને સિંભા આ પ્રભાગ જ પાસ આવે આપવા તેમે કુલ્લા સિંધ મનવા પ્રજાસ તેમું સામે તેમાં પ્રાપ્ય, વેસાયપ્રાપ્યતા પ્રાપ્ય, તેમવધા જારાય છે. તેમને પરિષ્ટે માટે આ પ્રાથમિક પ્રેસીમી મને મારા પર આવી મુખ્ય માટે પ્રાથમિક પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય આવ્યું છે. રાજ સંદોઈ એ ગુર્ભ પ્રકાર રાજ્ય લાકવિત્રે, પ્રશ્નીશે, દેવી પંચના આપટ્ટી, પંચાયને છે, વિદ્વારો પ્રાથ પર પરંભ મુખ્ય annan wardal fang met and el kara dera armegike gebiet det te alle filmen been eran et daer et metzewal sam b માં આવેલું છે. આ પ્રયુપ પ્રાથમિક મુખ્યત્વે આવ્યું છે. પ્રાથમિક પ્રાથમિક પ્રાથમિક પ્રાથમિક આવ્યું છે. આ ગામ આ ગામ કુલરામાં પશ્ચિત્ર થયા પ્રાથમિક મીળાઓ સાવવારો અર્થ છે. સાથે તેમના ગામ પ્રાર્થમાં વિદ્વાર્થ કરવાના આવ્યું છે. આ ગા Reserve a how we consider a sufficiency of the particular of the particular of the second se Second seco -1¹

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ીયું છે. કે પ્રાપ્ય છે કે પણ ગામાં મુક્લીયોએ આવતાં પ્રાપ્ય પ્રિયુદ્ધ કે કે અન્ય કે છે આ ગામ કે છે. આ ગામ કે પ્ આ ગામ પ્રાપ્ય છે કે પણ ગામાં મુક્લીયોએ આ ગામ પ્રાપ્ય પ્રિયુદ્ધ કે ઉપયોગ્યા આ ગામ કે છે કે આ ગામ કે છે. આ ગામ કે આ ગામ કે બાદ ક મે વાતલુ દુ.ન છે કે આપના પૂર્વજ ૧૫ લાખ સિદ્ધાનુંની મુસ્લાઓએ કલ્યાંટ્રેક્ટ્રે, છે ગુગળવાનો પોતાનો ઉત્તિહાય સુલ્લ ગળ છે તેને કે હરીથી જવારો પર છે. "સિદ્ધાં" સંપોર્ટ્સર્ટીફોનેસેએ" ઉદ્યોહાસના દુંધ્યાંસીવર્તન ખેપ છે.

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દેશના કુરત સ્ટાન સને પાંકિત્વાન બનાવી દીધીં બુંહા, કુંતજે ધરોમાં પુંચ્યું∰દિવસીં,અરીચી થય કરોય થઈ ગઈ છે. સેમ્બે કુત્રણ ભિયોજનગઢ ગામના નથી, તેમને ૪ દશીઓ કદ્દ્વીની હિંદ દેશેલ અને વૈદ્વીદેશે ઓપી છે. તેમની બધા ઉત્સોદક રીતે વધા શહે છે. વસ્તી વસ્તાતનો સંપતો ગમલોઈન્ટ મોનામાંછી જે ઉત્તરી તેમની હોય દેવ કે વેજ્ઝા વક્ષે તે લિવર્ક વિન્દ્રઓની ઉધાર અંદિવ્યવકા થયો. પાજે પાકિસ્તાનમાં હિન્દુનોની ચિંદ્રો છે, નેબરલ નાગણકે દૂધના પાંચ મુકારને લેવા છે તેવી ભારતના તે તુન્તેની થશે. તે મુકારીયો કરીના સંખય અને મધ્યુંની તે કેન્દ્રને દેવમાં દુનું વૃત્તિ પાકિસ્તાન બનાવીને વિશ્વીના ગય કિંગ્ય ઉપર ઇક્સવરની સીતો પ્રાંગ કરાય ત્યાનું છે. જે દિવસે પુરૂરવાવેની બહુપતી શુધી તેવેરેયરો ભારતવે ગેલ્સમાંગ રાખ એવિવ વીતે કરાલે હિન્દુઓને કાલી ભાજોત

અમેરીયને તો એટલા સાદેવે આવેલ્ટામાં પ્રસ્થો ગામીથે મહત્વ હેટલા ફેંગ્રેપ્ટેસ્ટમોને પ્રાપ્ત મહત્વના અધવેલાય પ્રચ્ અને વિદ્યુપ્ત કેરી એટલામાં મુખ્યત્વે છે. આ માન્યુ કુંદુર કુંદુર કરતું આ ગામ છે. તેમ મુખ્યત્વે સાથે મુખ્યત્વે છે ાજાકો ચારાવાલી મુક્તાંમાંગે સમયોન આવી પોટાનો ટ્રિટ્રેલ કરે છે. અમેરિક્રેલ્ટ્રિટે૦૦૦ મોઈલે દૂર આવેલા અઠધવગિસ્તાન ઉપર પુપાલે કરીને પણ કોંગ્રેસ અફતાન મુન્ડોમોને ખાગને સંવેશેલ ગુજરી કરી. આપણે પ્રેન્ટ્રિયરે તો છેલ્લા પાઉલજ લહેલે, મુકલેમ નાસ્ટરન આ ગામમાં આવ્યું છે. આ ગીમના મુખ્યત્વે છે. અને આદેકબાદનો સામની કરી રક્ષા છા.એટ

અનેદિકારો તો એટલો સાથેને ખાટે ખાટી થાયટે એટલતા દેશની ગાંદીએ સંદર્શનો પેટીઆઓમાં તલાગે આદેવી, ધાર્ટન, ધાર લાસીરી, કોલરમ ગૂમ્ય તેઓ એપડ પ્રાપ્ય છે છે. સથા બે ભાગ જેટ્લા મુલ્લા બોબનીઓું છુપ લાગી, મધરેરાઓ, અને મરાજદેવાં દિલ્લાયન ઈન્લાયન્સ ખાસકપાલનું લાગે અલ્પલાદનું લેટ પાછે સ્થા છે. 'સંસી', સરકરે લોઈપ્રેંટિંગને LST જેવા લેકલે ગામાન્યે ખીલ તમાન સલાવે થયા બાસ સાઉ અને આસકારણાં પ્રયુતિઓ કરીઓથી છું. તેમાં પ્રજાર્શ ફેટ્ટ્રીપ્ટ્રો સંહયુદ્ધમાં ભાગો અન્સ લેકલે મધ માન્દ્રન્દ્ર એક્સ્ત બેનાર તુકટીમ પુણકોને તાલીકા આણીએ ઉપર પ્રશ્નટક્ષી નુંણીંદ્વીষ્ટ્રેપોટ્સકર તેમાર કરેલ છે.

દેશના ગહાર અને દેશકોઇ, આસકબાદી અને જેકાણી પુરશીમાંને દુનિવાના પૈણે છેતા. સંપર્ધ મુશ્લીય દેશો પ્રશ્નો અને પેટ્રોડોલા ત્હેક્લ, પ્રધા છે, ચોડા,પક, પોડો,⊿૦ શાળવો, પોટોયેટ્રીક પરિલ્લનને ન્હનો તોયો, રેકિંટ કોન્ચરી, દળતે કોલી આસાડી,યેલ્શ, પ્રેટલે છે.

આખી દેશ શાળતને વનવા ઉપર ખેડી છે. તેલ સિવિગ્લીર અને મુખ્યુત તરેવીવવેવાળી રેલ્લે છે. જ્યારે પાર્વિયતને દેશ ઉપર આકળ્યા કરશે ત્યાર આદરના નવાર સુરચીમાં ખબવ્યો કરશે. તહારદામાં તો વેર્યકીનુંપણે ભોવા, તલવારી અને સાઢકીઓ છે તેની रनाः । ए यरण हिल्तुलोनी राज्य असे, तमे तेम हे पश्चि ख़ाधुनिक व्यतिवासंत्युंद्वें द्वीवी विल्कुणोले मारी भएत गतु पकरत रजग ध्य छ। मेहीमोमां देशवोटी मुख्यीपी आपे जुब प्यानुं छें, इंग्रेनी सनीम्प संम्युद्धिपीतने हिंने अस्मीव विधाननेतन इंगर तुपको યાપ તો દેખના નાચરાંડોનો સવાયતી અને સુરક્ષા કેટલોટો પ્ Υv

ગામ તો દેશના નાગરાં કેવે સવાવતી અને સુરક્ષા કેટલોડ્ડ (ીંગરાં આ દેશવર્થ રાત અન્નનગરાં છે ભાગ અઈનેલુંગામાં રાખ્ય વિદીજ કેર્દ્ધાવુંથી, ખાનકો, મહિલાના નવ સુમદાન જાભાદ સમાનરાત તો દેશોના દ્વતાઓની બી નથી અધેલી સાગુનિ, છોલેને નાનુય અધિકિંદુવંચના નથવા જાશીસ તો નવો લોકો છેલા ે તો પછી સમયેલક તો મું પ્રક્ષ થઈ તેરા ? જેમ બંધેણુંનું આખા ખતે બાતુ કંદુર્મણુંધીક્ષતે થોટી ગયો. ગયત્વ ખાવના ભાળત ગમાં રહેલાએ બાખલી ખાતે મહિલાઓએ તેમાં પ્રશ્નમંદ્રપૂર્ણથી પુરત હતો. દાગનોદુક્તુંપૂર્ણ દમાં ભાગ તેમાં તથા તે આવતા આવ્યો તથા તે જ તમ હિન્દ્રઓ પાસ બની અલા લટ જેટવા પ્રસ્તોપ્રીને પિન્દ્રસ્તાનની પટ્ટકીફેફેફેર જ્યંત પ્રથમથા દેવા

ગાઉભ્યાયમાં પશ્ચિક આંધળાનો લોશક, સુક્ષિમો કરે આ રોમજ સારુપ પ્રકૃતિને મેળતા સમયતા દેશકા રાજ્યતના તુર્ક લ્વા પ્ર ાંદિયો બાંધવાનો પ્રધાનિકે વિશેષ કરે એ કહે રીતે તેંતુનું પ્રક્ષાની સાહિતાક્ષણોંધું, પાક સંસ્થિપોની દતા તેવર જવવાનું છે સ અંગ પક્ષ હિન્દુઓ પુક્લિપીના સુપાય છે ?

રાળેના વિજી નાળવાનો લગે તે માથ દ્વાર્થવાનારીનમાં ધવેલા પ્રાક્ષભાઇ અને આપક્રમાદાના હેન્સરની એક નોક માત છે. આપ્ય રંગુમાં એકેલામી આંગોલાય અને વાયવાદનું કેન્સમ દેશોરી,પૂડ્યું છે. ગોલરા [તોડુંબોણ ટ્રેલર છે, આનું વીકચર પાકો છે, હજારો ચોચસાડાંક થઈવાની તૈયાનો તૈયારી છે.

સાર્કેલ્પોર્ક શ્વાપ્રતા માટે ઈસ્લામને પ્રમાણમાં વાર્ઘટું મે.સર્કમેસ્ટર્ગ સત્તરદેશી ટ્રેડીનાર્ટ સંગેજના ગોગત્વ તુન સુધ્ય જતુ પાસ ઝાવારો ઉપરાં કરવો પછી. તેને સમજબ માટે દ્વચિંતમાં ૧૪૦૦ હવેલા ગુપ્રેશ્વર્પે ઈપ્લિસનો વાની સાંસ્વર્પ વિચાર કરવો વાલો. ઈસ્લાયન્ટ જગ્ય 1 છે. છેલ્લા રહજાવ નવેલા અદલસાનુથી કન્દુની આદલોપ દ્વચાર્પ છે કે તાલ્યલ સલા. અને નાંદ્ર દ્વચ દુવલ હાઈને નિદ્ધાર્થો. તેમનો એક જ આ વાલે કે ઈસ્લાય સીકારો કે પોલે. જેલે ઉસ્લાય ન સર્વાર્થ્યો, તેવા લિવલું, મહારવ, સાંકોને નુર અને સ્ટાર્ગ રાઇને વિચાયત્ર છે. ઈસ્લાય સીકારો કે પોલે. જેલે ઉસ્લાય ન સર્વાર્થ્યો, તેવા લિવલું, મહારવ, સાંકોને નુર અને

રાત ં શહે માટી નાખીનો દેશોનો મુખ શંકપૂરિ અનેપિયને અન્ય તરાવે તે⁸ દુર્વુનો ઉલ્લોમિક શારી બનવાં ના ઈજ્ઞાપના 1.10

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્યું આ ગામમાં આવેલી છે. આ ગામમાં દુધા મુખ્ય પ્રાપ્ય કરવાય કરવાય કરવાય છે. આ ગામમાં આ ગામમાં આ ગામમાં આ ગામમાં આ આવેલું આવેલું આવેલું આવેલું આવેલું છે આ ગામમાં આવેલું છે. આ ગામમાં આવેલું આ ગામમાં આવેલું આ ગામમાં આવેલું આ ગામમ આ ગામમાં આવેલું આવેલું આ ગામમાં આવું છે. આ ગામમાં આવેલું આ ગામમાં આવેલું આવેલું આ ગામમાં આ ગામમાં આ ગામમાં આ ગામ આ ગામમાં આવેલું આ ગામમાં આવેલું આ ગામમાં આવેલું આ ગામમાં આવેલું આવેલું આવેલું આવેલું આ ગામમાં આ ગામમાં આ ગામમાં อประเทศ และ เป็นเป็นหมายหนึ่ง หวัด ผู้ไปหนู่ ประพัฒชา แล้ได้เป็นเป็น เป็นผม่อง อย่านใจ กองจน และ กระโทย สมุทศุกษาสิน (พระสารส์น) สาขารส์นี้ (เป็น โกล์) นักว่าได้ไม่ได้ได้ได้ได้ได้ได้เป็นสายได้ เป็น แปลล์ แป้ สายไ rnad hag në 1849, takat dhe mandari dimësire dak dahriftar ng të njët për as arana në dahrea

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ેમેમ મારણ, આ મારણ, આ મારણ, માર માર્ગ્યા મારણ પ્રયાણ પ્રયાણ પ્રયાણ પ્રયાણ પ્રાણ પ્રાણ પ્રાણ પ્રાણ પ્રાણ પ્રાણ પ નાર્ગ ચાલતી. - ઈંડાકારમાં કેમેમું હાલ કુમાર માં પ્રાણ છે કે બું મુંચલું માર નથી તેમણે પર્ફિયની, તાલું ઉત્તરે માં તે નાં તેમી, તે તુરું તે પ્રાણ કેસ્ટ્રામમાં માં પ્રાણથ્યો 'તે પ્રાણ કે કે બું મુંચલું માર તે રહે છે, તે કેમેનું માં તે પ્રાણ તે તે કે તે તે તે તે તે પ્રાણ તે પ્રાણ કે કે બું મુંચલું માટે કે બું મુંચલું પ્રાણ કે કે બું મુંચલું માટે કે દેવું પ્રાણ તે તે તુરું તે છે. કેસ્ટ્રામમાં પ્રાણથ્યું 'તે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે કે બું મુંચલ તે પ્રાણ કે દેવું મુંચલ પ્રાણ તે પ્રાણ તે છે. તે પ્રાણ કે સ્ટ્રામ પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે સ્ટ્રામ કે પ્રાણ કે બું મુંચલ તે કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે સ્ટ્રામ કે પ્રાણ કે સ્ટ્રામ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણમ કે પ્રાણમ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણમ કે પ્ર પ્રાણમ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણમ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણમ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્રાણમ કે પ્રાણ કે પ્ર

પ્રદર્ગ ઉપયોગ એટલે કે મુસ્લિમ (જેશ્લાઉપડ) કેંદ્રેટ્રા બેનેન્ટલા તે દે જેલાટ્ટેટ્રી હતા. એટલને કારણ સુખે સમસે જેટ લા વ ાયદાના પ્રયત પ્રાત્મિક પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રયત્મ મુખ્ય પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય સામે ઉપયોગ મુખ્યત્માં મુખ્યત્વે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાથમિક પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ્ય કે પ્રાપ તે પ્રાપ્ય કે એક જ પ્રતિવેદ થયે. ત્યારવાય તેમ દુ તેમને છે

มีสาย และ เป็นหลายชาว และสายชาว (Aphab qualitation เป็นหลาย และ และ และ และ จะเป็นสายสาย จะเป็นเป็นเป็นเป็นเป็น પ્રથમનો મારતમાં આ પ્રદુ છે કે મહિમાન આવે મુસ્લિમો સુરક્ષ કે અથવા, પછા પ્રશ્નુ, દેકામાં સામયાતાથી, જીભો આ સાથે જોવા ગામને∺જોવ રાજ્યના નવારના વિવસ્તર આપ હેલાયનું આવ્યું કે તેને તેને સાથ્યું અહીંનું હોયનો વૈસ્તુઓ, સ્ટાર્ગ વે આવ્યું એને વધા ાંગરે માર્ચ જ પ્રયતના સાથે ગામથા સમય પ્રમુખ

તમાં સુધી દિવાના હૈનામાં છે તેને સુધી જેફ્ટ્રેન્ટ્રેન્ટ્રેન્ટ છે. તે નું સુધી સુધી તે તેમાં માટળી અને પર જેવ્યું અને તરન્વતર વન્દ પોલ્ટામાં આવે. આપવાના, શાંભુસિંદ્ર કે ખુરાવાદીમને આવેલીસદિતિષ્ઠા તેમને હતવ, આવેલાને આપવાસા કાર કે તે ગ ાં) જ વ્યક્ષિત દેશનાથ બાજ તે થાના પ્રેશ્વ અને બીપ્રેશ્વમાં કરવાનું તે તરે તુરુ શુક્રતનો તે ગુજરીય કે તે આવે તેમણે કાઉને વે જ ાને પશુપા તથકામ (પાર્ટિસીકન) માપવા છે. ઉજવાણી મુખ્યું કા છેટ્ટે સાન્ય્રયું છું, મુખ્યત્વે છે, સંપર્ધ ઈંગલ જો તથણે છે ત્ય

าประวัติ มีสารทุกษ์ ของจากกับ อีกิสเหละไหล่มีสร้างหมา ก็ค่า หรื่นให้ของสู้ เป็นรู้แก่ การ พ.พ. 6 - หรือ ใหญ่เกิดรู้ได้ช่าหุ่าประวัติ วิที่รุ่นไปกับ โลกสารรายอากราย และสี พ.ศ. 2015 મે જુઓ પરીપ પર પ્રાપ્ત અને જ છે. અપશૈરે શિંજુપુર વે અપને પશુપુરુ પણ મહાવને નાય ખેતાણું મિંગુ વિદુ વધુ ત્યાં and the second second second second for a state of the second second second second second second second second ะว่าเป็นและสาว แกรวย และสาวออก และสาวอีกเอยู่ในและไม่และแก่และอีกให้ปู่เป็นสาวอุปาร์ และสาวอีกว่า และ สาวอีกเป็ પ્રધાન અને તેમ તે કારણાં પ્રમાણ અને પ્રદાર્થ કુશીઓને અને નાંધીવી દ્વારા તે તે તે તે આપવા તે તે તે તે તે તે તે ત ากกลับสังเป็น และ เหตุ และเหตุ แทนเป็น มีโดยสาห์แห่งมี รายาะให้สำนึงระดังและมีมีกิจเหตุ ให้เสียง แต่ไป หรือมาจะเป તાલું, એ લાખનાર પરંત આવ્યું આવ્યું છે. ઉપાયત, તો એફિટ્રેફેન તો નવેતા અને વીઠે દેવનોન પ્રતા પ્રતાણ વિરાળવાનો પર કરી તોતા આપતો ત્યાં ભાગ સંદિર્શ ગયાં કરી છે. કરી તે શ્રી કોર્ટફોર, પ્લિનનું વ્યવનો પ્લાપ્ત કરી તે કોર્ડને વિન્દુપ્રતાર ારતપરંત ઇન્ટરબારો આવશે જેવા શિક્ત કેર્ી સંક્રિય∖પંચાય અપતું દેવુંથ

ગોલાલ કુરણ થયો તો કુલશા દિવસાય ખર્ત દેશુંઓણ પ્રાથયે છે. આદુંદ્ધિનારાત્માનાના ગોલાના પ્લાયત છીએ, આપવી દન ામ પર્ન નર્લનો પ્રચ્ય તેમજ ઉપાજનાની છે. આપૃષ્ટ્વેદ્વિત્યુદ્ધીય પાલેનું ફ્લાપ્ટેફ્ટ્રિકિક્ટેસ્ટે પ્લિપ્રી, સમયનને જીવનુ સાથ તે પ્રેન્ટ્રીન

માં પ્રયત્વ અને અને ગયા પ્રાપ્ત પ્રશ્ન પ્રાપ્ત છે. આપૃત્વું પ્રાપ્ત માંગણ દૂધ અનુસાય અને આપવા વચ્ચા ગયા પ્રાપ્ત આગ, પ્રાપ્ત અને અને ગયાં અનુસાય પ્રાપ્ત પાંચ પ્રોપ્ટ્રેની આપતા મળતા પ્રોપ્ટ્રેમિય પાને સરાવતામાં આવી છે. આપતા પ્રાપ્ત અને અને પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત ને તે પ્રાપ્ત અને સ્વર્થમાં પ્રાપ્ત છે. આપવા પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત ને પ્ અને ગયા પર્તા પ્રાપ્ત અને પ્રાપ્ત સ્વર્થમાં આપીઓ સ્વર્થમાં અને અને સ્વર્થમાં ત્રુપિય પ્રાપ્ત છે. આપવા પ્રાપ્ત સ ર તેમ આ આપવા દિવ્યું આવે કે કે સામ આવ્યું છે. તેમ મુખ્યત્વે મુખ્યત્વે મુખ્યત્વે છે. તેમ જ તેમ જ તેમ આપવા છે કે આવ્યું છે. at ant le la t

ાં ગામ તેને પંચાયતઘર માન્યતાં ઉપયોગપૂર્ણ દુર્શિત્વ પ્રતિય સુદ્દેવનો આપવા પણ પ્રદાર પંચાયત આપવા છે. આ ઉપયોગ ભારત વાલાયોલનું નાહી તથા મળે શીનનાં માંગણ સમગ્ર તેમનું આવતાં પડાવે. તાલું સુધી તેમાં લગાય નામલા આવો નામનાં નાન નામનાં આ

ાર્કું છે. જુમાર છે. પશ્ચના અન્યાં પ્રેમ્પ્લેસ મુંદ્રે તેનું સાથ ખેતી ખેતુ તેઓને ઉપર છે. તે ખેતી અન્ય સંજ ઉપર ઉ તેની ગેમાર પુરુષ તેને પ્રેમ્પ્સ નામના વૃષ્ણ આવ્યું વિશે દિવસ વિશે ગયાવ વિશે તે કાર્યતાના તેને પ્રેમ્પ્સ પ્રેમ્પ્ દેવું છે. આ ગામના મુખ્યત્વે છે. આ ગામના વિશે દિવસ વિશે ગયાવ વિશે તે તે બાળ તેને તે બાળ તે તે તે બાળ તે તે તે પ્

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ે અને કે દુ પરિષ્ઠ દેવ અને ઉપના હિન્દુ કે દુવારે બનાવે કરે છે. તે પરિઝાને શક્તિમાં શવાન છે. ટુંગરામાં છે. જેટલા દળકાઇ કે પંજના નંદી ધંગે જોડીને દુવું ચુલ્લે આપને ડાયર્ગ્યુક કુલ્લોમાં કાલ્ટલ માનોવા પરિષદનું ગળાન છે. ઉપાક જેટલાં સંકટા સમયો છુકો વનવારી વિદ્યુપાણેલું કુનાવે છે. વૃદ્ધિકારી અને દુવામનાઓ આસમપ્રધાણો, દુવામનો અને હજારો આ આ કેન્દ્ર પાંચ પાંચ છે. સવદવા ટ્રેનોએ કેમ્બુહોમજ લાખો બજાર ટ્રે**લુ** લુકા વધુને ઉદ્યુપ્ર દીધા ગાળવા તેમને આંગલા h. અન્યબામાં આવે છે.

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ં ્યુ હિન્દુ પાર્ટ્સિક સિન્દુઓની ગુરકાર સંગઠ તેથી છેલા કરી રાષ્ટ્ર કે સુધાર્ક્સ સ્વકાળ અને શકિમાબી બનાવવાનું નિધાર તુ કરી છે. આતન્મ પાલે સંતર આવિક મહાવે મનુદિ કારણે છે. શેમ અને પોલી સિન્દુઓની સુરક્ષ માટે કે કબલા કેલ્લાક લુપકા તે આ છે. વતીર થયુ છે હતાક ઉત્તર કારણ સારણ સાથે તેમું મેરે દેશો થયુ છે. તેમાં છે તેમાં છે જેવી હજાદેવી તેમને છે. દેશા છે ંગો સમય ઉદ્યમાં પડકુ મહીત તેમણે વ્યક્તિમાં દુક્તીનો તાંતે કોઇ દુશ્વન્યુંદુર્દિયાન મેન્નોથી તમજા, ધર્મ બને શજુ પહે જાવન ાનું છે. તેઓના જેમના અને પામે તેમનો પરિકાર ભૂખેન પર તેની જતાબરાણીતું.સિંગનને તમારી છે. માળ નામે આવે અને સવ્યતુ-પૂડિયો તારી થાયે. પ્રત્યક્ષ આ પોષ અગાવ, આંગણ નિર્દ્ધો કેનાયલે નાથલો દેવી સિંજયૂજ દિવસે ગાઉલર પરે અને ગયતે આવેલ ગતાર આપવા આ પછી કરે. સમાજ પણ માટે પહેલું કરે તેથી રોખતાથી પુંચિત્વ પંચાયત્રભાવી આપવા છે. તેમ ગઢ ૧૯ રજાર ભાગનો પુરી (સપ) પરી રહ્ય વસતા નરામદેવઝનીએ બધાવો મધીર તેમ્પીને પૂર્ણોનોનું ખાન કલેલે રાતર લખા સોમપણન પશ્ચિક હુરતું અને આવ્યા ઉત્તુઓના ક્લબ થયે. આંદુલે અનેસગાત ત્યામ પહેલું દુદ્દીમાંએ આપલને એક વ્લાસ પ્રધાનુવામ રાજ્ય પ્રહતવામાં દેશને ગળીને, તોકોને દેશની અતી ઇનસું મુસ્લંગ સ્ટપ્ટ પાકિસ્તૃંન્ વૃદ્ધિથી ગળ્યો હિન્દુઓની કતવ કરી, અસ્વીસ્વાંથી છેરના દશ વર્ષમાં લાખનો હિન્દુ પઉડતેને મારીને કાઢી ભૂકને હજી પણ આવેલોપુંતીઅક્કલનું ભાવચાની હોય તો આવલને નાગ્યતન ાજ તમી અન્યાયે, હિન્દુઓને સગાદીત થયા લગર હુંટકો નથી. નારોનય જયર્લું પુપોલ બેનાં જશે . લેવે દિવસે આપળો લગાઓ વર્સ ગાવેમાં હું થયાને કહુ છું કે તમે બહિનથત હીટે હું ચોચરાન આપવા હું છું છે તે નિયર્કી કરતે. ત્યિ શિન્દુ પવિચદાર હલ્બ and and all all and a share going and pill hindle and all off and another and a second and a second છે. વિશ્વ ચિન્દ્ર પરિવક પુષસાત માળતો એક આવે જિલ્લાનો કાર્ય બનું પહેંદુ વૈઈન્જરો વરિવર ઈન્સારક અને વેરાશ, લોનગવ રાજ્યદર સરસા છે. તેવે જો તેમળે ઈન્સન્ટેશ્વન બાળક, જેવન ગય છે. દિલ્લુ ફેંયું દુ:બનિલ્લુ તે સમયો દેલક કારેકેટલીનો ગણવા છે สารสาวมี สูงพบและสมัพล์ สอดปปกติสุร,เหมื่อจะกับอย่าง ให้ผู้สี่สู่หลัง สะวบประเทศสารสารสาร જ શાંધુંચુન્ક છે. અને પ્રેન્યુપ્લયો જ દિવાલપુર છે, અને તે કાર તેમ કેન્દ્રે છે.

જણવનતવાર, પાસેશોઓ, સમાયકાલ, ઉત્તિ, વેદાંસીએ તે એકલાય (ચિંગું ફિલ્ટુ સપીસરાગ આરંગ અને, પરિવરની આવ્યું વ્યાલો આપને આવલ સંસ્થાણે સમશે. આ પ્લેન્સે જીવલ વિશેષણાં દિલેમણાં [

તું આવતું અને વિદ્યારમાં દેવ થયું છે. આ ગામ છે. આ દેવ છે. આ ગામ દેવિયામનું અને દુર્શનો થી વિદ્યાર સાથે છે. જ્યાકાર સીવે બનવા ન માંદાજ્યલિંહું આવશાદન કરીને દેશના ગતનાદા પરંતું ધુરે ત્યર્થ આવશાં કરૂં દીધું દુધનાય ડે. અથી છે આ દાય દેહલીયન્દ્ર ગળભ ેલું મુખ્ય પ્રમુખ કે તે તે છે. તે તે આવત અને માં મુખ્ય દેવના મેં આવતાં તુર્વે દુધ છે. આ ઘાદુ, ત્યારણ પ્રધાણિક પ ૨. આવતો જિલ્લા આવતાં તે છે. આવતાં આવેલાં આવેલાં આવેલું તે તે તે તે આવેલું છે. જે પ્રાથથને મનવિત્વનું આવેલમાં અં ૨. આવતો જિલ્લા માં આવેલું છે. આવેલાં આવેલાં આવેલું તે તે તે તે આવેલું છે. જે પ્રાથથને મનવિત્વનું આવેલમાં અંગ ગ તે જ પ્રકાળો જ્વાના સાથે છે. આક્રાના વિવૃદ્ધ દિવસ કે આવ્યું છે. આક્રી તેમાં આવ્યું છે. આક્રી સાથ્યો પ્રાથમ કે આ તરિવરની આ પ્રકાલ જાજ કે સારાજ છે. <u>સિન્ધું ક</u>ેન્દ્રમાં કુઈન્દ્રી હવાજણ કલ્લ્ય પ્રેચ્ચા છે. કેમ્બર્ગ વજર લંગ

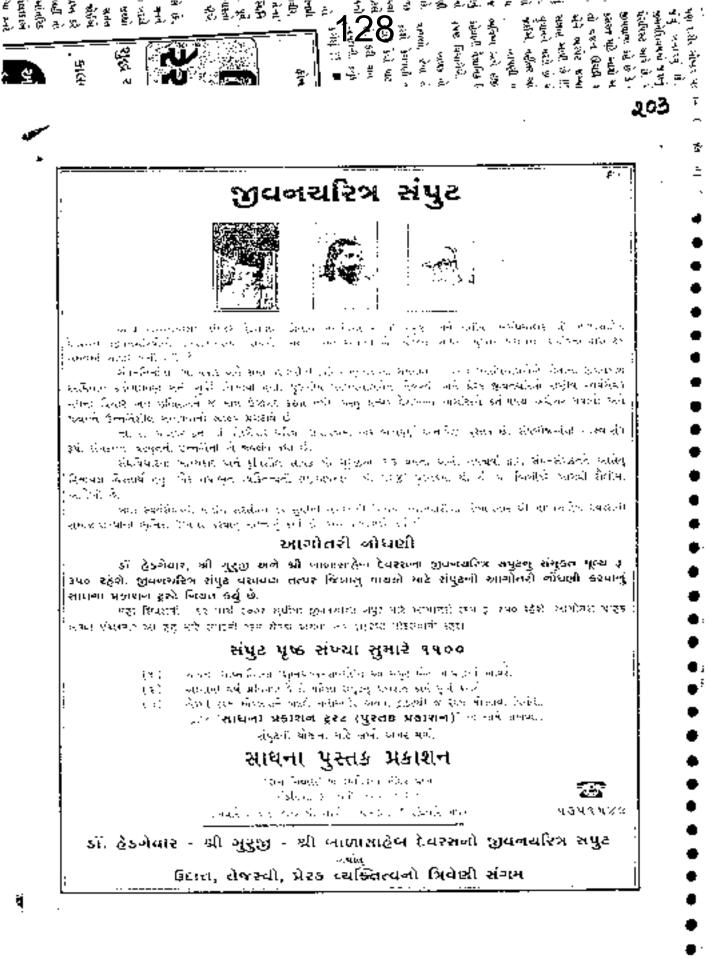
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પશ્ચિત્રો અને અને પ્રતાર પુરવી મનતો આવિત્ર અને અન્યુંજનું અસ્વિત્રેય કુરી, ફ્રેર્યુએસ્પ્રિટિપ્ટિંગ્ અને અને

કહ્ય પ્રશ્નનો ભાગભાવનું કર્યાત કરવાનો સિંજુ તાળું અહેરોત, દેશ અને કાંણિંદુકેલ્બાનાવું છે. સંપર્ભ થાઉ થયત્ર વગાવે આવેલા સામાછક અને આણાતીયક વિદ્યાર અહ્ય થઈ જશે. તેમને ખાવસક રોવોનો છેલા બનાસે, સમય ગણ પણ માલ ધરાવી પરં રાતિ ભાગમાં પ્રયતાના નથી, કરી તેમલીક અને બાદિવરાંગી દિલ્હનો ફેટ્રોફેફિંદ કાલિ સ્થાપ્ત સ્વાલ્ય સાહી સ્ટાર્ટ

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યતાન પ્રદેશ કે દેવીન્દ્ર નાચર જારોમ અન્ય 👘 મસેન્દ્ર આસ

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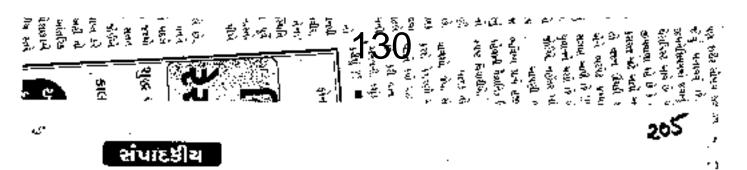
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ગાગપુરતા સીવળીસવાર્કમાં એક પ્રખ્યાત ોતાનુ ગામણ હતું. એમનું પ્લચન ખૂબ પ્રભાવી રહેતુ એ વાત જાણીતી હોવાથી સગાસ્થાને પંદર લીસ કોઝાર લોકો ભેગ્ય થયા ફત્ય પ્રયગનનો પ્રારભ ચયો ક્રોતાઓ એ તેતાના પ્રવચનને તત્મઅનાથી સંભળતા હતા. એવામાં એક દેડકો દોલાના શરીર પર દુદયો, પેલા શ્રોતા ગભરાઈ ગયા, એપને ચયુ કે દેડકા પાછળ જરૂર શાવ રથે જ સાયની કેવળ કાયના કરીને જ ભારભીત થયેલ શ્રોતાએ 'સાપ, સાવ'ની ખૂમો મારવા માડી-બોજા લોકો પણ લીભા ચઈ ગયા અને શું ચચું છે એ વિયાર્થા વિનઃ જ શાપ - સાથ કઠી ગાસથા બાગવા, દૂરના લોકોએ તો કેવળ પશુપાની જ ખૂમ સાંભાગી અને ઠોકાઠોક જોઈ વેરવિએર થઈ ગયત

કોઈએ પૂછ્યુ કે અ. સભા શા માટ વરસિંબન થઈ ગઈ ? લોકારને કહ્યુ, 'શુ થયું એ તો મને ખબર નથી, મરતુ અલ્મો - અલ્મોનો શોરબકોર સાભળ્યી હુ ભાગ્યો ં બોજાને પૂછ્યું. 'અને ! તમે ઊભા સ્ફી પૂછ્યું નાટે કે કોળ આવ્યો ? શુવાલ છે ? કેમ નાસો છે ? તો એ સગ્નજને ગાયાના આપ્યો ંઅરે ભાઈ! ફાતો એકલો હતો. હુ એકલો શુકરુ 🤉

રેવળ લોકો ભેગા થય્ય એ જરૂર નથી, સંગતિ શક્તિ પૈદા ચાય એ પફત્વનુ છે



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'રાખરમતી એક્સપ્રેસ' હારા અગોધ્યાથી શ્રીરાય પહાયલબંધી ભાગ લઈને પાછા ફરી રહેલા પર કારસંગકોને ગોધના દેલવે સ્ટેશન નગો થોડા જ અંતરે ડ્રેનના કબ્બામાં જ જીવતા સળગાની દેવાયા. આ પાસથી હત્ય.કાડમાં મહતા - બહેનો અને નાના - નાનાં ભૂલકાં પણ ભોગ બન્ય: શુ લાંક કતો અડ નિર્દોધ કિન્દુઓનો ? શા માટે એમને જીવતા જલાવી દિવસા ? ગઢ બર્બર હત્યાકાંડ પછી ભડકી ઇઠેલા તોફાન્ડેની આગ. હન્દ્ર કરી નથી તથાં તો ફરી ઢોંગી સેક્યુલરો ઢાસ હિન્દ્ર સમાજ પર લિથવમન શરૂ થઈ ગયું છે. આગ. હન્દ્ર કરી નથી તથાં તો ફરી ઢોંગી સેક્યુલરો ઢાસ હિન્દ્ર સમાજ પર લિથવમન શરૂ થઈ ગયું છે. આ પ્લીઓથી હિન્દ્ર સમાજ બબ્બે બાજુથી મહ ખાતો આવ્યો છે. એક તરફ લિયમીઓનો સરાજ્ય પ્રહારે, બીજી તરફ તેક્યુલર જમાતની ગાળો, અપમાનો, અન્યાયો, એની પર ગમે તેલા પ્રહારો થયા એથો થૂપથાપ મસ્ત કર્યો.. આખરે સહન શક્તિની પણ એક મર્યાદા હોય છે. ડિસેમ્બરના બાબરી ઢાંચાના છોસની ઘટના અલ્ચ અપમાન - અત્યાચારમાંથી જ પેદા થઈ. ગોધરામાં નરપેશ યોજનાપૂર્વક થોજ્યો. એની પ્રતિક્રિયા બિગ ઠારવામાં શિલ્લાની જ હતી, અને એ ઊઠી, આ આગ અફી જ ઠરી જાય એ સીના ફિતમાં છે, પરંતુ આગ ઠારવામાં મદદ કરવાના ખરલે શિલ્લોનો સગક્સ ઓએ હોઠા કેઠળ હવે સેક્યુલરો મેદાનમાં આવી ગયા છે.

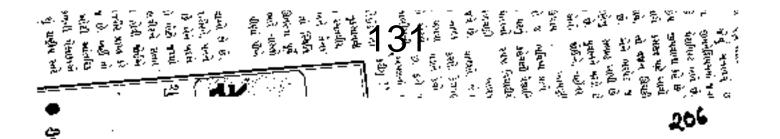
'બદુરાંખ્યક સામદાયિકતા', 'હિન્દ્ર આફ્રમંડતા'ને ભાંડતી વખતે 'નકવી સેક્યુલરવાર'ના અતિ ઉત્સદ્દી' ઠેકેદારો ભૂલી જાઇ છે કે અ! જ બહુમતી સમાજે પોતાની માતૃભૂષિના ભાગલાથી ઉત્પત્ન હૃદયાયેદારક ઘટનાઓ અને ઉત્તૈ?જેત વાતાવરણમાં પણ ભાગલા માટે જવરબદાર પુસ્લિમ લયુમતીના લોકોને આપણા બંદિત ભૂભાગમાં રહેવા દીધાં એટલું જ નહી, પણ સ્વતંત્ર ભારતના બધારણમાં 'ધર્મ લયુમતીના લોકોને આપણા બંદિત ભૂભાગમાં રહેવા દીધાં એટલું જ નહી, પણ સ્વતંત્ર ભારતના બધારણમાં 'ધર્મ લયુમતીના લોકોને આપણા બંદિત ભૂભાગમાં રહેવા દીધાં એટલું જ નહી, પણ સ્વતંત્ર ભારતના બધારણમાં 'ધર્મ લયુમતીના લોકોને આપણા બંદિત બ્યૂબાગમાં રહેવા દીધાં એટલું જ નહી, પણ સ્વતંત્ર ભારતના બધારણમાં 'ધર્મ તિરપેક્ષતઘ'ના આદર્શને પ્રતિષ્ઠિત કર્યો. ભાગલા પણી 'ઈન્ડિયા ઘટ ઈઝ ભારત' નામ ઘારણ કરનાર અટ ભૂખંડમાં ઘરલણ પુસલમાનો જ પાઉસ્તાન લેમાંણ મોટના આંદોલનમાં સૌથી આગળ હતા... એમણે જ આપણા ફિન્દુ બાંધવોની દેદ ઈરછા અને સતત પ્રયત્નો વિગ્રુઝ સ્વિટિશ શાક્રાજ્યવાદીઓ સાથે હાથ પિલાવી મજહબના આઘરે બાભોમના ટુકડા કરીને આછશે વા કરવાં હતો. પોતાની છલ્લી પર લાગેલા હટથાનેદારક ધા ઝીલીને પણ મુસ્લિમ બંધુઓને, સ્વતંત્ર ભારતમાં મોતાના કરતાં પણ વધુ આધિકારો આપનારી આ જ 'હિન્દ્ર આક્રમકતા' છે ! બહુમતી ફિન્દુ સમાજના અત વ્યવણરમાં કોઈ મજબૂરી નહોતી અથવા મુટ્ટેલ્સ ધરેદ્ધ - ગક્તોન. નાનકડા વર્ગને કરશે પણ આપ બન્ચું નહોતુ આ અસામાન્ય ઓદાર્ચ તો હિન્દુ સમાજની યુગો યુગોથી ચાલી આવતી દારશંતિક ફિન્દુ આરથાની અભિન્યક્તિનુ જ રૂપ હતું. મેદિક વર્ગમ્યોએ 'એકપ શરૂ વિગ્રા, બહુધા વાત્તિ' કફીને એનુ.વર્ણન કર્યુ છે.

અત ઢોંગી લેક્યુલરવાદીઓ એ કઠોર વારતલિક્તા પણ ભૂમી જાય છે કે દેશની અંદર અને દેશ બંદારની તમામ પ્રકારની ઉદ્યેજના, એની પર વિક્રિય અલક્રમણ વચ્ચે મણ ભારત ફજી ક્ષ્મીનિરપેદ્યવતાના આદર્શ પર આરચાવાન હોય તો તે માનસ પણ જેને તેઓ સત - દિવસ ભાડે છે એ 'ફિન્દુ પરંપરા' અને 'ફિન્દુ સભ્યતા' જ છે.

એક પ્રશ્ન એ પણ છે - છેમ્બા પાક વર્ષથી 'સેક્યુબરવાદ'નો રાગ દિવસ - સત અલ્લાપતા રક્ષા પછી પણ 'પર્યાત્તેરવેશતા'નો સુર પાત્ર ફિનુસામાજમાંથી જ કેમ ઊઠે છેન્ટ પુસ્લિપ સમાકમાં દર્પાનેરપેસતાવાદીઓની સખ્યા આંગળીના વંડે ગણાય એટલો જ કેમ છે ? કેટલાક સદાપ્રથી પુસ્લિપ બંધુઓ આ દેશખા છે એમ શકાને સ્થાન નથી, પરંતુ એ બધા મુસ્લિમ સમાજમાં સાલ પ્રભ્લ્લફીન અને એકલા પડી ગયક છે. એમનો પુસ્લિમ સમાજ એવા કદ્રસ્પંથી પુસ્લિમોના પ્રગ્ય,થયાં ખેંચાઈ જાય છે જેઓ એમને આવ્યવાયલે કે સુપારન્ત માર્ગ જ્યા દેવા માંગતા નથી

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આ વાત 'ગોધરા ફિન્દુ હત્યાકાડ' દ્વારા ફરી એકવાર 'કુરવાર થઈ છે. એપને ગોધરા જેવા કાંડો સર્જવાયો. ગોહત્યા કરવામાં કે મંદિર ધ્વેસપાં આઈ એસ.આઈ.ન, ફાશા બનવામાં વધારે આનંદ આવે છે સેક્યુલરવાદીઓ.ની કરાય ઈચ્છા પર, એવી જ છે કે મુસ્લિમ સમાજ કટ્રદપંચના માર્ગથી પાછો ન ફરે… આઈ.એસ.આઈ.ને એજન્ડ બની આ દેશને તબાહ કરતો રહે… મુસ્લિમ બધુ ગરીબીની ચુંગાલમાંથી ખફાર ન નીકળે. એક વાત બહુ સ્પષ્ટ છે કે સેક્ડ્યુલરવાદના ઢોલ પર. એક તરફથી ન લગવા જોઈએ. દાર્થતેરપંદ્યતાની પટેલ એકતરફી ન ફોઈ શકે. આપણે જાણીએ છોએ કે કેટલથે ભારતીય મુસ્લિમ દેશભાકત છે. આજે એ પણ ખેર્થન છે. કારણ - એક તરફ એ સ્વાર્થ પોતાના પજફબી સમાજમાં સાથ એકલા પડી



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ગાયુ છે અને બીજી બાજુ ઢીંગી સંકયુલરવાદીઓ પણ એમને અલગણીને કદ્રશ્યથી મજસ્લી નેતાગીરીને. મસ્ત્વ આપીને ચાયલુસી કરવા લાગ્યા છે.

અત્યણે એવું માની ખંઠા કે પુસ્લિમોર્ને આ અત્યતાવારી પશુપ્તે અંતેજોયો મામબત પછો અને રાજ કરો બી નીતિનુ પરિણામ અર્થાત અગેજોએ જ એ વૃત્તિ વેદા કરી હતી. અત્યશને વાજબી આશા હવી કે બિટોક, સામ્રાજ્યવાદીઓની વિદાસ અને હિંતુ – પુસાલમાનના આપલે દેશના ભાલાલ થયા પછી અલ્લાદ ભારતમાં આપણે મુસ્લિમોની અંદ્રાક્ષ અને હિંતુ – પુસાલમાનના આપણે દેશના ભાલાલ થયા પછી અલ્લાદ ભારતમાં આપણે મુસ્લિમોની અંદ્રપૃતિ બદલાવી શકીશા લોકળંગ અને ધર્મનિરંગેસતાના આદર્શા મન્ય વિદ્યાલ અને સપરસ રાષ્ટ્રીય સમાજજીવન બધુ કરવામાં શકળવા મેળવીશું આ આશાવાદથી મળાવિત ફોવાને કારણે જ આપણે દેશવિભાજનની ભિનાશકારી વિપત્તિમાં પડેલી દેવાર ઐતિસસિક ઘટનાક્રમ અને વિદ્યારધારાઓનું ઊંડું અલ્લાન અને વસ્તુલ્લી ભિન્યંલય કરવામાં પડેલી દેવાર ઐતિસસિક ઘટનાક્રમ અને વિદ્યારધારાઓનું ઊંડું અલ્લાન અને વસ્તુલ્લી ભિન્યંલય કરવાનો દેશ્વા અને કરી એવી ભિંગીને સ્પતંત્ર ભારતો અવનાવેલા વૉટન્વ રાજકારણની મજબૂરીઓના ગુલામ અનીને આવશી સંજકીય નેવાગીરીએ 'સંક્યુપ્રેરિઝમ અને 'લંઘુપ્લીની પહેલાન'ના સ્ટિયન નામે પુસ્લિમ સમાજમાં કંદરવર્થી અને આલગળવાથી પ્રદુન્નિયોને પોત્સાહન અને શરસણ આપવાને સ્વર્ણ લીધોનો વિદ્ય કરવામાને અલ્લાઓનો બધી અને અધિકાશ કૉમ્યુનિસ્ટ દેશોએ દુકસવર્થ દોયેલી કાલબાહ્ય શાખ્યાથી વિદ્યત્વારાની ખેતુલજાળમાં ફસ્ટલના ઉત્ત બાબલારો ઉપયો સાર સ્વતી આ તકવાદ સાયતને શંકપુલારિયલ્ય સંસ્વાની વિદ્યારધાના મહેરાનવાની અલ્લાઓ અલ્લાઓનો બધી અધિકાશ સામ્યુનિસ્ટ

દેશવારીઓના મનમ, આપણ, પૂર્વેલ્ડો પ્રત્યે અપના અને સાંક્ષ્ઠુતિક વારસ માટે પોતાવણાની ભાવન અને ગૌરવ હોય ઉપરાંત માતૃભૂમિ પ્રત્યે ભક્તિભાવ ન હોય ત્યાં સુધી સાયુકલી રાષ્ટ્રીય એકતા શક્ય ન બને એ ભાવનાઓને કારણે જ આપણા સાર્ક્ષ્ટોનક વારતાની તપૃક્ષિ અને પાણભૂમિની આખંદિતવાના રક્ષણ માટે જીવવા - પરવાનો સમાન સકરવ પ્રપ્તી શકે શજકોય પક્ષેતા મત ભૂખ્યા શજકારણોઓ અને પ્રમંતરપેસતાવાદી ખૂબિજીવીઓએ અન્દિશામાં આજ પશંત તોઈ પ્રધાન્મે નથી કર્યા. બર્મનિરધેશતાનો અર્થ તમામ પૂજા વહાતિઓ પત્થે સમાન આદરની ભાવના અર્થત 'સર્વમાંસમામાન' ફોય તો ક્યારેય એવો પ્રદ્ કેવ નથી થતો કે 'ઈસ્લામ'ના અનુશાયીઓ એ શ્લોકારવા તૈયાર છે ? રજી સમયાં જ આતકવાદનું કેન્દ્રભિષ્ટ પક વર્ષ મછી ઘણ ભારતની ઘરાઈ પર 'સર્વસ્થન ઉદ્યાપ્યટન પુસ્લિમો આ માટે શેરીઓમાં ઉતરી પડશા સ્તા ? આજે પક વર્ષ મછી ઘણ ભારતની ઘરાઈ પર 'સર્વસ્થન ઉદ્યાપ્યટન સ્ટિસ્ટિમ તરા શું સૂચલે છે ? પુસલમાનોએ જે રીતે એનો ઉલ્લાસભ્યો પ્રતિસંદ આવ્યો છે એ શું બતાને છે ?

પજર્સબના ગામે તેઓ દિન્દુ મકાપુરૂબે સાથેનો નાતો લોડીને મહમદ બિન બાસમાં મહેમદ ગામનો, મહમદ ધોરી, તૈયૂર અને બાબર જેવા વિદેશી કુમલાઓસને પોલોકા સા મોટે થયે. છે કે

આ બના પ્રશ્નોનો ધોડાણરહે વિચાર થયો જરૂરી છે ? દળાય આપવા બુબ્રિજીનીઓને પણ ભારતીય સંદર્ભમ, દર્મતિરદેશતા તરફ નથી દર્ષિથી છોવાની વડર લગાતી નથી એવુ ન થયુ છેત તો તેઓ ભારતના આ સાપ્રક્ષનો જવાબ નવેશસ્થી સોધવાની મોર્ગેશ વસ્તર એ લોધવાની પણ કોશિશ કરતા કે સુશ્લિમ સમસ્યા જ આવશા સુદીર્ઘ સ્વાતંત્ર્ય સંઘર્ધન માર્ગમાં અક્ષણ બનીને શા માટે ઊભી રહી અને દેશના ભાગરવા થયા વસી સ્વતંત્ર ભારતની રાજનીતી વડા આ સમસ્યાની આજુબાલું જ શા પાટે ઘૂપી રહી છે ' પુસલમાનોના જથ્થાબંધ સગદિત મંત્રોએ ભારતના સમય રાજકારળને જાણે કે બાનમાં રાખ્યું છે અને મકલ્પે સંક્રયુલારિઝમની આડમાં આ જથ્થાબંધ વોરની વાલમાં સમય રાજકારળને જાણે કે બાનમાં રાખ્યું છે અને નકલ્પે સંક્રયુલારિઝમની આડમાં આ જથ્થાબંધ વોરની વાલમાં વિચાર શિક્રમાં વાલે સંચાયળી દોટ પૂકી છે એમ કહેવું અંતિશ્વદેક્તિપૂર્શ નહિ ગણાયા સ્વતંત્રતા પહેલાં દિરાષ્ટ્રવાટના સિદ્ધાંતનું કૃપ ઘર્શને દેશને વિચાજનની ગર્તમાં ઘટેલી દેવર 'પુશ્લિમ ઓળખના સ્થળા'ની જૂની સમસ્યા કરી એકવાર હિનુ રાષ્ટ્ર સાથે મોં ફાડીને ખંડી થઈ ગઈ છે. એ વાતનો હવે અસ્વીકાર થઈ શવે તેમ નથી કે કાશ્મીર ખીલવું આવગતાવાદી આંદેલન ભાસ્ત વિભાજનની કંદુરવા - કથાની જ આગળની જુની સમસ્ય કલી બુદ્ધ છે અને બુલ્જીવીઓ અનેક પ્રકારને સમ્સાઈનો બુલ્લા થને એકરાર કરવાને બદલે આવળા અનેક રાજકારણીઓ અને બુલ્જીવીઓ અનેક પ્રકારનો વાણીપૈયલા કરી રહ્યા છે. આ ભાષક પ્રયત્ની આધીને કારણે જ આજે 'બહુપતીનો કોયવાદ' કે 'હિન્યુ અન્દ્રમકારતા' કરીને પીરવજાળી હિનુ સમજને આપ્યાનેલ તરવામાં આવ્યો છે

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s, ≹, g ž 「ぬけ ş તાલોનનો ίĝ, Ē ોંઈક તો પ્રેસ્ટ્રેસ્ટ્રિ 島立 11-12 みた22言 Ζ, ತ್ರ દિવતો 0, TDM (G H (Field yast u ų rucų r 14 17 17 ě Ă,HS, ۶, Net and ş, j. ģ цц. П ě cA? 、 乳 子

> છે. મામ છતાં થયારના તોકો તાવમાં હાથપુડી કેમ ભેતી અન છે. ? અને એ દિન્દુન્વ ડું બુલ કાન ગયું ? આપણે સં. ગેમજી netitis, રાણા,પનાયનો સોવેગ, તાનો સરો કે ભૂલી પધા

> > ાયાએ એમ આગે છે. પર્ચાટનૂન અને દેશ્હાઝ સતો હાર, જ પાછું ભાગી રાકાય તેમ અલ્પે છે. માટે સાવવામાં તાપુ સંસો હતા સેખન પરિસી વર્ષની જાણતિ આપવાનું આવિન્ય આપવામી અને તો ગયશે.

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ં રામદેવ, નીલેશ, તપુ નનુના

્ર ફેબ્રુઆરીના મુખદ્રવ્ય પણ ભાગવાન **સમજીની** તેમગીર વાણી ગણી પાવેલમાં શંકપાલેલા મુદ્રત્વ દિશે ખૂબ અરસ વાળ -તોછા શબદોમા દરી જે પ્લયતેમ્લામાં સામમદિત બનશે કે દેસ ંબરેબર આ સચાગ તળા માટે સરબો ખની ગયો છે

પાંડુરેલ દાઢાની પુલાયાન હતુ, ઘણી બધી મતરતો જાઉભા મળી, સ્વ, ખાસ્કરતાવજીવી પ્રદાંકોલ થાંચી તેમને ચલ્ફ સુમન અર્થક, કરવા જ પૈદા

ં કેંદ્રમારીના ગામ્યા વેલેન્સડેન કે એવે સચોટ માહિની વારતા પછે. આંખ ઉપાકનારી વિપાસે પાંચી 'વેસેન્સાઈન છે. ત Spread we will not a set આવે અહે.

આવતીય સંસ્કૃતિમા શહજ દેશને પદ્ધન કરવા નાટે અનેસ પ્રક્રમો, સહેવારે છે તો પછી પશ્ચિમની નહેલ શા માટે કરવી જેવેએ 🔭 ખાજાવા બાજવ્ ઝોપણું અનુકરણા તરવાનો પંજાગ વધવાં સાગી છે તે નથી પડી મટે ખ્યાન્નક બની છે તેમ લાગે છે. આવી પણ તે બંધ થવી જ જોઈએ. નોર્ડાનો આપણે સંસ્કૃતિ અને ઓળખ ગુમાવી દઈલું. - પુજન, સંસ્કૃતિ, ખરત ખારવા

માંડવી - કચ્છ

ચોદ્યા (નામેલ)

હછે. ઉત્સુધનાજના મંદિદ મનાંદ્રમાં ખાવના સાકાર થશે ? પ્રવર્ષ નુ શુરુવે છે ! નરવાટ કાંગર ઉભાજનો ના વાક્તી છે. i sul (an ing ulma an dhan ana Shina પ્રદર્ભ છે. ત્યારે આપણે છું દેવન કરવા પાગોને ઝોર્ચે ? શામને દિલ્લા તે હોય આજે ગ પ્રસ્થાસને ફાયદો આવ્યો. હમેશાં કાયદા સાહ્ય ?

12 1415 and i આતંકવાદને પ્રોત્સાદિત કરવી અનેક જેણાઈ મસ્પિકો, પહેસ, પ્રદુશ દેશાથી ખાતી થયે. તેના પર કોલેબન પાર્ટી કેવાની પ્રદુશ છે. પશ્ચિત્ર મસ્પિટ અને માળ માકર બને એવાં જ શકતું - ગાસ્ત કામ્પરિયા ગ્રીખલી.

આ દેશમાં હવે શુ થવરતુ ઉદ્ધલામાં સંજ બનાવવાનો ઉદ્ય

- ક્રેપલેશકુમાર પામણી પુરુ માર્ગ ૨૦૦૨

lon B.

ખાય છે ? મહેસાઓના મહત્વાઓ ખુલ્લેમાળ જોયલ પર છે કે બાસાને પ્રયુધાણી

- મક્રતામાઇ મોદી Ωeu 50 g.S. - i

પુન્દ્રસ્થાત્વર, ઉભોતી, પ્રતિની પુત્ર છે. જીવનના સમાપ લેલોની વિસ્તૃત માહિતો સાયના પૂરી

<u>કશ્મીર નહીં બસાચેંગે ક્યા ?</u>

રકત રહ્યત થયું બની છે. બનાસ લસ્ટર લેંદોને મહ ઓધાર પાસ હેરાટે ખોરા, દુરસ્તકો અલગો સોડેરો કથા. સિતાઓ અન્ધી દૂર ઉઠીલી કબી લેકરાથી છે છે. કરા, અલ્લ સિટલ્કેટલા લાગમંદ્રદર્શના નજર લાગને દેખ દિવસ ન माहेल पार्थका इतिहास सन्द्र भनी दकार होया था 5या અને કુલકાની ઘરલ તો જાળો, ઔર તેમર બહાઓએ કધા पुरम्पतने हरूलाल देवर रूपते (संपेठी अन्यादः 🖏 વાળી ભૂતિ કુઈ હરાઈ વલ્લમો નસલા થળાયેલે સ્થળ ઈ દુકાઈ અહાલનિંદી, શેરીકા સંચાઈત કોળ બની કમા રોય-રોય અને અંગ લગી, અનેઓ બેર આઅરો કચ્ય ફેલ ગઢા છે આતક લગકો અભળો હોલો ખેલેળે કરવા, શાક સર્બ ઝાંગ લાગ બચાઓ, જયોર તકો બચાયેએ કયા ં જ્યતિ કથીવિય ∗સીવની

રાજીવનાનો પાંખક હથા છે. એટલું જ નાઉર પણ લાચ્છને જરાઈ શાળે છે. અને વૈચારિક સદિતના સ્વયુપમાં પરિણા જોવા મળે છે. બધા પ્ર ેઓ વાંગવાનું મન ખાવ છ ુ લુવસાં પૈસવા અન્યતારા પ્રાથમ ગાંધી આંગેમનેટના આવ્યત Q.

પણ, લેખોના અથવા ખુભ નાન, સંઘ છે વાંગવામાં તાલીક ં છે. અલુઅર્ગ, ઉત્પન્ન પ્રાથ છે. આંખરે બેંગાય છે માટે અન્દર્સ થોડા મંદળ કરવોડ

1.55 આવતદાય વિશેષોય તોની વિસ્તૃત માટિતી જાણવા મની, બહા સામાચિતો કરતાં સાર અઝગ અક રાતે વિધ્યંસથ,

પાઠનું અહનરત સાખાવેલ છે. ઉનગેત્તર સાધનાનો પ્રયોગ ઇન્ફ્રેલ્ટ્રે પ્રાપ્ત

ાસે ભા છે. ell 🤤 ы જી-યુઓદીના 12

શાળના સામ્યાતિમાં સંપાદકીય ્યનિકાસનો ખોલવાક' ખરેભર બુન જ સુંદર શહે અભિગયકન કરવામાં આજપી છે. અધિમમગદ ી પણ ગાય,સાહિતનો પડકારોનો કુતુમાનો ત્રામાનું પૈદાગમાં પૂરું ધોડે છે. કરેલ્લામાલ મુજરીનો અન િતેમનારા નનવામાં સર્વે પણ ઉલીપ પ્રાનિસી જાણવા મળી..

ોબડની ખાવ પ્રતિબાસ લોનથીની સામે તાસમંત્ર મેળવીને લખવાની ગળ બરબર દક માની કે લેવે. છે. Conception.

- દ્રંજે ણાની પ્રોચ <u>фъ</u>н.

ર છે. દેલું આવેલા ગઇ પર પ્રાથમિકનો ગુસવીર અને બાજુનાં સમયોદર પ્રતાજી છે તે જોઈ પશુપાસ સમજી ગયો કરે રામબદિસનો દિવાળો આ લેખ ખુબ શંદક અને પોરુષ સાચ્ચેટ માગમગ્ર થદ સાનમાન એકમાં પાંધેયમાં કુન્તાનક, ઉત્પાદ્ધાનક ઉત્પાદી શબાજ માટે ખૂબ 500.00

> ્ર સ્ક્રમીમાંસ ક્રમગર મેરાન્ડ્ર

મહમ્મદ્ર માલ્લીઓ કાઈને John Brit Matana Park HILAN ELANDAUM FRAS સમાજને લટકારવાનું જ ચલ પુર્વ છે. ખાતનમાં આવ્યા મોઢકે તિદ્વાર પર તો વા એ દેશવાલ કોઈ માસ માર્ગે તેમણે, પર્વ ્રક્ષ, સંબંધ પુજરાજની અભિ ાતના દેશમાં નામાય તકાંગ માટે રાગંદન છે. ગામોખ, અને પહેરેલા સાથે એકારીય પ્રયુવેલાયો ું હતો છે. પ્રેશ્વોની સ્ટ્રાંગિ નથી િતાનું મેં પ્રેલીસને અંગો એ છે - ભિલાની ખેલા

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Mga, Site Georgia de Report.

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તલવા સોક

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ઈઝચચલ્લા પૂર્વ વડાપ્રધાન મી જે જામિત નેત-ચાતુએ ૩ ઑક્ટોબર, ૨૦૦૧ના દિવસે ઈઝરાયલનાં 'સરકારી સુધારા સમિતિ' સમક્ષ એક ગલચન આ પ્યું રહ્યું એનો મુખ્ય મુદ્દો આનંકબાદ ન્ટરો. એપના આ ભાષણના કેટલાક એશો -

તામણી તમયત્વન જ શાવમાં મુકાઈ છે. ખેતાં આઢળતામાં પહેલત આવેલ્લાંડ માટે માંચી લાંદ પ્રથ્વો અભિયલોક્તિ બાદી બાદામાં હતો. પરંતુ તમે તેવું ભારત સ્થી, આજે આપણે તથા અત્યત્વનના મિત્રાન છીએ આપણા ધારેક નાસુરોઇન છે.

માર્જ અપથકો બધ્ય ચઢના, અવેદના અને પ્રદાશનો પશ્ચિત્ તેએ પ્રતિષ્ઠે કે દેશના એ સાથે કે આવેલાસાના કેટલાવી કેનલાંક લેકાવ્યાં દે રાખતા બાજરા ખાનશ્વાયના પણ વેઠશે છે.

સ્વતંત્ર વિશ્વના આપણે બધા નાગરિકો

આપણી સુરશ્ચિત અનનશાંકોનનો ઉપયોગ કરીએ

🗣 આગણત સ્વાનગળપ્રેમાં કોર્પ્સેન્ટ કડા નિધિગણને દ્વપુત્રાન 40

🔹 આવ્યું આવ્યું છે. ઉત્પ્રધાયનને દિવસોન્ટ બનાર છે તો

બાબનો આ અભિયનો પશ્ચનોથી નાય કરી સાહલે પંચની તેનનુ આ પ્રિયમને પૂરી પાટ આવ્યું ત્વનેક પ્રશ્નોના જ્વાઓ પ્લાપ પ્રદ્રો

- 🗢 બગેર અન્નકથ્વર માટે હવાબદાર તેણા ગોધમ જ
- 🗢 આ નાસમાંભ પછાળ કઈ મહેરછા હતી છે. ? અને
- 💌 આ તાસ નાસાનોને ધરાનન પ્રગત કું શું કરતું મહદ્દ ન

તો પહેલાં સમગ્ર સમજ્ઞ લંદ પડતે કે દાનુસના sinet. રેલ્ટેન્ટ સરવર્ષન વિનાગ ટાયરસાટ્ટીન ગામકાયાલ ગાળા તકે સાગ બંધની વિદય શક્તે એકના પંચલાન દિવ્ય આપરાજીમ ભગવાના ગુપાલ વાના માટે પેળવી - પ્રાથી - ફ્રશ્ન સંકે જ મહિત ના આસ્વનારો તેઓ ખેતાનો તથા તુનીકાત અનુ અનુધી આજનવાડીઓને પ્રદિલ્ણના મહય છે. મુંચ આપથી આવે છે. દ્વારા ગુજનાઓ, તેવા અને સ્ટુરી ગુજરા mail and an intervention of the second states of the second states การสี่งการสารรถ พุฒ. 6131 - อกประกอได้นี้การการสังวาก จริก the section and section and sections and Provincial de progé fogical Réport Sona la chair que gour વિશ્વર, કઢેલે પોટલા શકે છે

ામેનર વર્ષો પ્રાથમિક શાળવા પ્રાથમિક છે. તેનું આવ મહલ્લ પ્રજયન પઈ થયે. વૃષ્ણ નથી જરો, જારોમાં આવ્યા છે જેશના દેશકા સંદેશના મહ્યાનિયનમાં તાલના દિવેદનાન મને સુચન જેવા આવે ખરબ દેશો. આ દેશો જ આતંત્વાણે રાષ્ટ્રસંત ે બાંધવ આવે છે. અડધારિસ્તારમાં ભોરાત્વા વિત્ર લોફેસ, ભોરેવરણ દીમોટ કેટીલવામાં લેમજાતમાં લિંજનુસ્તા જેવું ચંચ્છા તમાન ઈલ્લામિક પ્રેણક અને ફ્લામ્સીએ દેવોમાં તાજવરમાં જ પ્રક્રિય પાંચ ંકલકો અને ગતંદીમાં જતાં સગકતો, મહેરાય અને ભારતમ જતી રાજ્યાન્ટર્સ્ટનાં આપવા અનેય આતંદનાઈ, પંચકની ચેના હતાવણી, એ આ બાદકવાલી દેવલે અને સંગયનીએ ભેરત માટે આવલાવના જાર મામની છે. એના નિવિધ આપલી પરંચક વૃદ્ધવિષ્ઠાન કે કે છે.ઉપ बन्दर्भवन्त्र प्रदेशका विवास के के क्रम्सी रहे की प्रति से जात માન્યનિ આગાળવા પડેકો વાકલા પ્રિયા પર ઇશવાનનું પ્રગુપ્ત માનસાવડું)

ସ୍ଟର୍ଯ୍ୟ આતંકવાદને નાચવો นระ ■ બંજામિન તેતાન્યાહ્

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રવાઓ પંચ્છે છે. અન્ય કરવા માટે એ તે માન્ય ઉભાગ તેમણ પંચનતે (રવામિકે પ્રદાર્થ કેટલ નહેં પણ પોતાના લગ્નનો નાગ પર તેવ પ્રશાસ મેન્દ્રને છે. આ ગામના નિયમાં આવ્યું આવે છે. તેમના વિજ્ઞાના વિજ્ઞાન ad the fait of the R. A. Costa and standing strengt ા મારા શેળા છે. તે પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય આવેલી એન્દ્ર માનવારી નેવા નિવસ સ્ટિટ્સ there is an an an an and a second second second 1.526 શાળે જ ગામમાં અનુસિન્દ છે.

ર્વત માટે અને અનેતાનો અને સમાન વિષ્યુ તર આદિવાસ કરવાય તે ંગ્લે છે. આ તને તાલોકનો સંસ્કૃત પરંત પ્રતિત માટે ત્યે છે. પરંતુ પ્રવેશીઅને એના પાંત તમે સંસ્થા હત્યો અન્યનાને છે. ઉચ્ચાળો સર્જવાભા ત્યાં પરંચ તથે. તેઓ એક સ્ટેલીન બહુલી પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત એ આ દર્ભ્યાન રોકાઇ બેળાં માણનના જિંદગા વડે કોઈ સમગાન જાણવા તથે. તેઓ જે પોતાના જીવન અને પણ પ્રસાણ પ્રત્ય પણી તને ખેશના સંયુદ્ધોના જીવનો પણ તથય તે તેના તેવી?

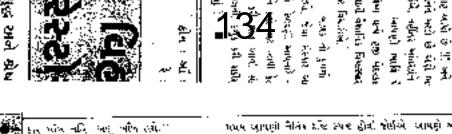
મહલ્દયનાં આવેદનાય સાથે પૂછ તમારી માન પુસ્તરના પૈ ચરેશું આજ્યમાં છીમાં વર્ષના રૂપે પશ્ચિમી દેશમાં પ્રાથાઈ સંદુત્ત ઈસ્ટ્રાન્સ કુઓ માટે તેમનાનો આવે હતો. તે સ્પષ્ટ પણ છે ઉદ્યાપન બાળખવાથી અનેતિકામાં જ રહી બધોનકાલી જ વિદ્રુદ્ધ જેવાદવા, દેજના પ્લેસમાં છે. આ આ દાને સાથુપી છે, પે કે વાનું હતું ગયા ender Alexan - adopted our of the course happen related

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208 આપણે અને આપણા શહેરો અસલાયત છે ત્યારે

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આપણા મુપ્રતા પરિષ્ય માટે અન જોબમ છે. અનાકપાદીઓ, માતે દાસાવણિક તેમજ જેવેલક યુદ્ધ સામગી ગય ાર દેવલાય સંયુદ્ધના નવાવય જોવા છે. આ દેશને પાસે પ્રાપ્તિમાં ભારતંકભાઈ

પ્રતિનિધ્યમંત્ર મુખ્યત્વે અહીં કુટ દ્વારે પ્રોથી એવી મુખ્યત્વે કે દરમાના છે. તે જેન્દ્ર પરં તામમાં ન રાકે છેમ નથી આપણને નટકમાંથી માં સેન્વણી પણ મધી છે. તેર સીએ, સર પ્રેણ : ગંગાય પહેલા આપવા મંગર એકલિન પડે ન છે. વનો આ પુરાઈને નુસંદેશ કે છેમ નામે છે છેમ મહાવા પડેલું છે.

survey lage state solution which are well and છે. અનકવાદીઓની ઇન્ડસ આપણે નામ કરવાની છે. ઘરનુ ખેતના મહ્યે મુક્તી તામને નથી, આગણી માટે એમનો નથા કરવાની મુદ્ધન તપરાસ છે. એટલાં ડોઇ શાળ તથી તેને ખાત માટ દેવવાવણું વાખે કે and search consists from the de-

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આ માત્ર ઓપણે શું વ્યવુ જોઈએ જ

ાસ પછેલા તો આતંધવાથી તો અને એમને ' બહારો આવત દેશો વચ્ચે કોઈ વેહ સમાવે જેઈએ 🛩 🍀 🖬 💼 and mean methodelich and well there was not જ પુરુષ્ટ્ર મહિલાય, આયદી ને, આન્કવારની યુંદનુર્દ 🗗 👪 પ્રતાનો જ નાસ કરતો પાર્ટ, છે એને, પોર્ટી પરંતું 🖡 ભાગ પણ થણે. તપાસ્ત પણ પત્રો તો કે ફદમાં ng galah berdari deli namini hini ndin ยังพบ ระบรณ์พบ สินปิยับ - กระบบไป અક્લાઉત્સારનું અક્લાસિયના-પ્રદે તુરાય અને કરી પ્રાપ્ત અક્ષયતિકરાના આવી નવે. આપી નાયથે આનંદવારના સંઇ પણ આમારને સાથે સવામન રાજ્યનો પોલીએ મહિના આ પ્રોથાની આવિત માટે છે.

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મહય આપણાં મીતેય કાંજ કપાર હોવાં જોઈએ. આયણે આવેય માથે મુદ્ધ કરવાનું છે. જ્યાં પણ હોય, અને ત્યારે હોય, આપણે સ્પષ્ટ મોંગણા કરવા પડશે. ં આતંકવાર, એ પાનવતા માટે આપસાય છે 🗇 ચોરપણે ગ વેકવારીઓને માન્યભાજિત્ય વ્યકુદ્ધે જ આવચા પડશે.

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અન્યત્વાર અનેની તિલગાડોની ચિંત્રિન્ન કાર્યચાહીના ભેઠ શોર તળી તારાનુભૂગોના આંગરે કેટલાકને પંચ્યા અને કેટલાકને આંગેલ્પાટેસ્લીશું તે વગેલ્ય માટે માટે આવેલાક એવી મેટિક દંધની ત્યધ્વન જ બોર્ક વેસાણું. ''

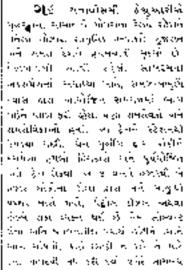
- અનાકવાર મળવેય દેશીને (આતંકવર, નાજ કરી કે પછી સ્વતંત્ર વિષ્યુતા કોયના ગામોદાર બનો.'' એવી સ્પષ્ટ ચેતવણી આપી તેની જોઈએ. ીસના પ્રયત્ન કઠીલ અને સમસ્ય રાજકોયાં આદિવ તેમજ પ્રેમ્બ્ય પ્રાપ્તિએમ મુદ્રો દેવા જેલંઘે, વેલી દેવા માનકવાડ વિશેષો જેલલમાં જોડાયા માગને. ોય તો તેને માટે પણ એક શરૂન પુક્રવી જોઈએ : "સૌ પહિલો વધારુ ઉલ્લાદના અન્ય હત્વા જળા ખેલે. ⊢ોને ભયુવગી નજી કરો,"

anniae autor સ્વાનગય પર બાદનણ કરે છે. ગેવે પુરા દરતો એ આપણાં ગામિતની પશિષ્યાં છે. આપો સ્વેચ્છાએ એ પરિદિધા સમાં જાપ 💻



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નોફાનોમાં કટ્ટરળગોમાં ડાસ સૌથી વધુ ખાનગી ગોળીબાર દસ્ત આવ્યો જ એક સૌથોનો . ______________________________પૈસીસ કેન્ટેરિયા અન્યુ ભરવાડ

ગોધરામાં હિન્દુ હત્યાકાંડ અને તોફાનો…

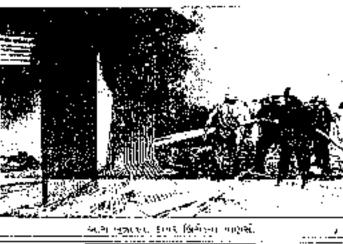
📕 ભગુભાઇ ઠાકર

સમારાની પ્રતિવિધાનાથી અચાનક તેરા થયેલી ઉત્તરાનું પરિદ્વામ છેલ તેર્ચ કોઈ વિંધારકોટ અદીતેને બનાવવાનું અવરુ છે જીવતા અર્થને અદીરા ભાજેને ન્યાર્થ આ દુષઆવી ભારત્વા જેવી કરે છે ગળ અદિવાસો અને દાર ઉપરાંત ભાજોને વહિલ પર જેવલા પુનાકને વેરા બનાં થયે વ્યક્તિ અને અદિવાસને અવત છે ખેતી શાહ કારણો તેરા બનાં વસે સ્થાન વિંધાર્ગ ત્યારે ન કરીવાને વિંધાર કે વ્યુક્તિ

પાસી ખેલા કલ્વાસ તાલ તાસવારા, સ્વતંત્રી ચાઈ, દાવાર, વુજરાત્માં વાલેની ગણ સરાહ્ય વુજરાતમાં વાલેની ગણ સરાહ્ય વુજરાતમાં સાથ વુલ વાલુ સુધ્યું સ્વાર્ટ કરે ? તેલા દુધનાર્થ તે લીધારથી સરાંદ ર

યો જ ના મહા હુમલો

ાં પ્રથા છે. છે. રાજ્યાનું ગાઇવાનું ગાઉનામ માનસ કલાનાં પિત પ્રદાર છે. તેનું દેશકામાં તે કન્દ્ર ઉત્તુ પતું છે. તમે તમારા કરવાને ાનદલે પરિવાસ વિસ્તાં કરવાંચર પ્રશીધકે ગજાવાંગ બીચારી વડાવવાનો વાર્ટ્સાંગ કરી છે તે આ વેશની એક કુસ્તાલોઓ છે. બીચા દિવસે તે કવેરાના ં તરીય ગંગે અવલદ પ્રોપ્ત દિવાસ ગુજરાતના લિવસો દુધ આ બીચા તે ત્યાં અવલોએ, વર્ષોટા એલને એવીસ કુલાક સરાધા ! બીસ વેરાને સવક જત્વ આદાસ કારી નીકળવા પછી અંગણપૂર્ણાનું દુધ કેલરો વર્ષ્ણ કે કે કારણાંગે સ્ક્રીટ અનેક દાવામાંગે અધાનોના અન્યુધાનોન્ટ વર્ષ્ણ કે કે કારણાંગે સ્ક્રીટ અનેક દાવામાંગે અધાનોના અન્યુધાનોન્ટ



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STOPE 32-130 APRIL 20 RECORD MARKER oracult est filia-षणे जोगो श्रमे, प्राप्तः से सम Sache Lagaration ખેરતરાક્ષી પ્રમાનન છે. રાજ્ય વર્ષેક ખોટા સંગો with case of the lina madi sater s मेरे मुख्यिम् जन्मक સંબદ્ધ પશેરણ આ હુમબામાં બચી પંચલ બંધ множа нени болен. હસાયતાથી એટલે સુધા થઈ રીયું કે ફેનમાં સુરોચન છે. સીટ મારેના ઝપડા, સંદેશન

...હિસા તાલ્કાલિક બંધ થવી જોઈએ ગોધરાની બર્બરતાપૂર્ણ ઘટનાથી રાષ્ટ્રમાનસ ક્ષુબ્ધ <u>ુવ, તી. 5</u>દરાંગ (સવસંઘવાસક, સ.સ્ત્ર, સંઘ)

> આપય _દિસ્કાર્ટ કરવારાઓને જાટકપણ મોકરે ત આપે અને વ્યરસ્તચાન્ડના મધ્ય જ મહાનાંના તમરે છે નહીંચારો છે તેને અલ્પ અપરંગ કે

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ાયતના કારણવા અને સાકચોની કરવાથીને 🖓 પણ પાસે અન્દીય છે કે ટકાનટ આપક સ્થાનો પરથી અલ્કેમ્યા જારે aller out thread an assume call and protection with ાં છે. દુવરાનું મુખ્યત્વે અર્થ મુખ્યત્વે વ્યવસાય નાં જેવવા અન્યત્વા જ પશુપાલ દાખે સમનાના બોલાઇલિક આદિધાર્સનું હતવા વા પંચ they manually accor warned and evening the second second second second and she was a રાકે નો એટલા જ અપેક્ષા છે કે શાંસવુએ દેવની તેમાનો પાર્મિક નામને કરો કહેલા માનલપૂન્તોની સુરક્ષા માટેલી વિશેષ ત્યવરાત પરે અને જ્યર જ અવશીમાં સરવાનોને : અન્યાબામાં પંચ શાળે આવેલ સરવિષ્ટ્રાને આદિક કાર્યક્રમાંસ નિષ્ટિ વૈ

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at an i stat der kunskelei near 3 is they and man wh रतहरत्वनी सेन्ट्रजो जेतलेख कार्य অগ্ৰন্থ আৰু উপৰাদি চালা 🕹 নেই। อาซาร์ก พื้นสะสาร์ เป็นโหว่า มีสาวาน เป็น Wysen &

ાં કરતાં છે. આ ગામ છે. આ ગામ છે.

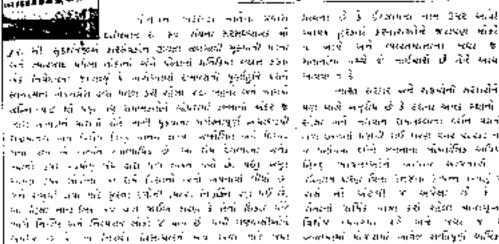
ા મુખ્ય છે. તેનું છે. આપણા ગામ છે. આપણા ગામ

આ લોમબાજી છોડો : ઇમાધ વિધારો

પુજરાતના મુખ્ય મહેતા પર માણ જવ stratic star base to show a વિચર્ય એક સુસાર સાંગર લોળ્યોલાન લાગ আলা হৈছে ব্যায়ন কৰন কথকেও nales, and see see a read of a ાતને એટલ દિવસે આ ગામ ગામ ગામ erest, and east, come, and the deal wild from a series of the

વિયોગમું મહતું જ તામને પૈયું એ કેટલું કેના ઉપે કેને ગામને પ્રજાણેલ્લાં ગાળથી માર્ગ છે. કરેક પુરંગ માન તેવે મેજી કેટનમાં આવ્યમાં માર્ગ્ય ના યાક છે - સાર કબાક તો પાલના જ પણ તોલાવતો આવ્યો અન્ય વરપાર પણ તૈયાર વર્ષો, મુન્યમંત્રીએ જ વળ્યો ત્યાંથી અને કરો, તમ આદેશ આપલ અને પાસ યોલીલ લોલીબહમાં. આ લખવા છે ત્યાં મુકોમાં લોક હોયો પ્રયોગો, તો પ્રદેશના પ્રશ્ન ત્યાંય ત્યારા મન્ય ગ કરી શકાર, પોલીસ ગોળોધનારમાં મુખ્યુ પ્રાથમાહાળોથા દિવસનોની જ સંચ્યા વધારે છે. સોધવાઓ અને સમઢ પુષ્ટમનમાં મોટી શે આપો CRASS REPARED.

પણ પ્રથમ પ્રયુદ્ધ ના મનપર તેવે પણ ગામ છે. ત્યાર પુષરાત્વા પ્રદેશનું શાસન તનું અને મુખ્યમથી આ ગી દિવેલ્સ આવે. આ ગયનાઓના પણ સમસ્વીલા વખતે ચયેલા સમાપતાની પોયોલા અપ્રયત્વે આવે છે. જે અન્સદાર પંચિતની આપી કાર્યો નામવામાં મહમવામાં કરવાદાએ કેમનાંડેલું કર્યું હતું. તમારે વિશ્વ દેશનું પરિષય અનેઓ અનેજેમનું પણ અદિનદય નહીંગું કે પ્રેગ્નાદી - પછી ગાંદળ ગયાં સામેપ કે દેવનાય



and a second A. Secondaria Sec. 12.1 and word anterio que nome dente de भाषाः अन्तः अनन्त्र करी राखा ही लेवना agreens asked men in the અન્યત્વે કરવાય સંપર્ભના માને the factor magnification will άL આવી અને છે છે છે. આ આ સામી બધા મુજ્ઞાન્ય કે છે. આ દેવનાએ બાળ સમય છે. માન્ય આવ્યાં આવ્યું છે. આ ગામમાં આવ્યું આવ્યું આવ્યું છે. ેએ પ્રતેશના ટામી માનવા જ વેલ પાકલા a ann ann à anns ----dan periodi anti seri di seria arti

angewang ang menerikan eti sér atil sé kajisa diserté પુરુષ પ્રદેશના પ્રાથમિક સાથે કે વિચાર કે સ્ટીપરિટની નાજપાસ્થાના સ્ટીપ an an ann a bha bha an an channa cùth achtarail queens is an entry construction for any strategic accession યું જ માં અનુનો તાલ અનેને દિવાદી છે. આવે, જેવી ગયર 'ઓપવારના એક કવાનિક અપનાક્ષક એન્સ મુકાઝના ઇલ્લા પછે. รรณุปี ซึ่ง พระเพราะ เป็นสุขารถึง ทั้งส่งจนที่ได้มี ๆช่วยว่า ชได้ બોસ્ટ ને કરવાના પંચ છે. વનસભ એટલ્પી જ વિષકુ અલ્પીકા જુ તાલ્લાની વિશ્વ તિન્દુ પાક્ષિય પ્રાથમિક તેમાં આવે ઉપર આવેલ કરવાલા પાસ પણ પાસ પ્રકાર્ણ દિશેલ્લનું તેરે કરે છે. તેમનિ સ્થાપના, ખેજાવારનું (કર, કોનોન્સર, મળેવાની લીધાન, ભાવપંચક આવી પરાચ્યનોનું પુનસ્તર્ભન તે પાંચ તે ગાંગ ગળાર વિચરણત અને ઉપાયોની ખેજ ું કરવાને અરાવે આ દરિયાન ઉપનગરપાદાવિકો અને અની એકે તમ awayah walkandi kamala awana ƙwali ƙasarat wate ƙalƙa 49-6-20 D

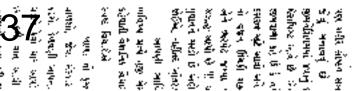


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अमना ■ <u>२</u> मार्थ २५/२३ ■ १८





રુવયંસેવકો શાંતિ સ્થાપવાના કાર્યમાં લાગી જાય

મોહુનરાવ ભાગવત (સરપ્રયંગાત, ગામ્ય, સંઘ)

quille mailline dure desidant 60 પ્રદેશનજી ભાગવતી દેશની માત્રે એક અનભારી 1035041 (4).

าน มหาย คละ ยางมาที่ได้เ કંધુદીદેલ બહુઓ અને ગામાન્ય વિદ્વાર કરી ભાઇઓને અન્યુવાન કરે કું દે દેશના સમય્ય

પરિકારણતેને સ્વાનમાં શાળોને કરેક ત્યરિત કેન્સીશાબાર સ્પત્ન હેલ્સ કોઇ શકુ પ્રકારનો પ્રાથમિક ભાગ કરવાની કાર્યવાલી, પારંભાજી કે! પર તથાવું પંચ પુનર્વાને શેરવા મહેલા મળાવેલા નવામ ગળવા પ્રયાઓ હતો. હારણ કે વખ્યવસ્થા અપાન રહેવામાં રાષ્ટ્રજિયોપી વ્યવસ્થ⊘ ઝાઉન-સેને તેમ બધ બધે છે.

ાતમાં પ્રસારસ સંવેશકારણાં ભારદીઓએ પ્રદા તું જોવેલળ વર્તુ છ ો કરેદીપણ આનકાવકા વ્યુક્તિ કારતાન સંદોર્ગ્સ ભાજવાયનાનું વિદ્યાર લગાનું ઉત્ત આગણા 🦉 દેશકુ વ્યાઉઓમાં આવે એક જ દેશમાનામાં અલાકો બાહા જ સુધુમાં શીર્જ એવી વિચ્લામી વ્યવસાય મદ

આઈ એવા પૂછી વિશ્વાસ છે કે વિશ્વ શિન્દુ પરિપર્કના ાત્રાણાનું દેવક આવેલ્યા પ્રમાણ માળશાક ભાશીઓ, મહીંમાં, માળવો અને સમયકો અનુક આ બાદ સુપ્રદીનો આપવી ભાષિત પર્વપાંડ અસાહી પુરા પ્રભાગ ગયે. અર્થગ્યામાં તેવા વગાવરણ ગયાત્રીએ જેવાલી ત્વરા પૂર્વ તરસ

છેલ્લે કુ કેન્દ્ર સરકાર પણ ગણ્ય ગયમાંથેને સામ્પ્રસ્થો ાતનોય કરે છું કે અનેટ પંતિસાધી ત્રકારાઓ ગોમમામાં અમેન્સ પ્રાન્કમાં જાઈ શોધના મધ્ય જ વાગાળ)નોની પાગામય કેટરી પુરસ્તાની અવરતાં કરે તેમ જ આવેલામાં કોઈલ્ફા પ્રકારનાં પુરક્ષેલા છે. તેમ છ રે આવ્યું તે હતું છે. આ તેમ કરવા છે છે 🖞

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ું તુકારા હપદાએ, આયરેશ પેલા કરતી, આકોરાઓ, મધાન પર માટે બનાવો ઉપરંગ કરશીજ નથી, કચ્છુ દેશમાં અંધલો ભાગમાં અધા ભ સમાણોને બાહ્ય મહુમ્તીએ અને પ્રથંત દર્શપૂર્ણ પ્રભુનદેઓ પ્રજ આ પ્રાય એ તેવું અનેક આ પ્રયત્વેના આદેશઓ ભોલે છે. વિધારનો વારતનું આવા પહેલ્ટીનું પ્રદેશ આપના કપૂરણી સ્પૂર્ણો કરો

પ્રદર્ભ, આ કોને, માનમનું કારક, બુ છે 🖱 🗟 વે પાછી *ંગ્લ્ટ પ્રવાજ શબ્દન્ય શેવે તોવજાકુ મગામ છે. તેમજીને તો કેને ભીક હોતો પસ્તુ well interations in a contract whereas which a વર્તાવ એ પ્રસંભાગ મહત્વાથી તામ મગાવાનું એપીએ. ગામ પ્રત્યોદી પ્રાથમના પ્રતિપાર્થી પ્રાથમી ઉઠેલ પ્રાપ્તાને નગા, અને પ્રતિદિધાન્યક દિવસનો અચલ ્રાએ ઝાલે એનું રહે કેઈ મહેન મત અલ્લામની પણના પ્રશ્ના છે. પણ્યુ પ્રતિષ્ઠભોત્તે, લિમાર વર્ષ Real and configurations that would would ્યત્ર કોટ આ સ્માન્યણો મુચ્ચિમોએ શરૂ કર્યા તેમ ુએને એ સ્પનાણ હમતે પણ ગયાન આવે. મહાંચનો માટીમ ત્વેલાં, તે વખતે સરાક ખોલાવાન પછી પણ તુમલા અને તનવાઓ આવ્યુ રહેલીન પ્રજીવરમાં પંચ ગી તો ગેમજે પંચયજ્ઞ ના

ગોધરા જેવા હત્યામાંડો સર્જનારું મુસ્લિમ માનસ ક્યાંથી પેલ થાય છે, એનું પ્રેટકબાળ કે કેન્દ્ર બિદ્ કર્યા છે તેની તપાસ કરવાને બદલે કહેવાતા બિનસાંપ્રદાશિક પક્ષોએ રાજકીય ખીચકી પકાવવાનો શરૂઆત કરી છે સે આ દેશની એક કમનસીબી છે.

યુનકોનો આવ્યું ગયાવ્યા જેટલી હોવાનું કોલી ત્યારે પણ બધુપણી મમુદ્યાને ૬ થોય. ત્યું મુખ્યત્વે ચાટના આદિવે ચોલ્ય સ્વયંત્રે છે. જન્મદાવાન કરીનેના સરકાર, સામે અને આગાદી માજપાન મહત્વર આવે] ચાર એ સંચ પ્રાપ્ય સંચોધનો કરેલા, પરંતુ તે પ્રથતે તે સામસ્તર સંસ્થળો . ઓફન નહેલ પોંચી રસ્તા છે. તેમ છે, ઉપરાંત છે તેમ આવ્યું છે. તેમ સરમો છે. અને તજી અપના પરિતામ નેવાઓ કે ઓપર વે સુધ મુખ ya Austani

આઈ. એસ. આઈ. ની સંકોવણ્કી અશક્ય નથી

માન પ્રદુષના આંદીસભા માથે પરંતાન પરનાને જોવારી તે પણ પીરવ મળે, તમ મહિનને, ખિલનમામ પ્લાનને પોપણાને પ્રત્યું, તેનુ કનુમાની સરકારવા, પણ જેવન, તેણોએ ઉપયો સ્વયત્વ પુરુષ છે છે. અહેલ, વેચ, તો પ્રાપ્ય, શેચ તો, પ્રાથમક્તીની શાક્ષણિક દ્વારાને તાણ અનેસ વેલા ના વડી શકે છે અનેમ્લા મુદ્યાને બેલ્સા અને તે પ્રદેશના મનાએ માર્ગ ગામપ્રસાટ છે તિનુ ત્સનીય મન્ટે પંછે જ સંચલવર્ગ મધ ઝાય હોય તેવે જિલ્લો છે.

પ્રાપ્ત અન્યત છે. 'તરાવળ પ્રતિદેશવાઓ આપવી એ પણ જેમની રીય છે. તેલાત નગરપાસિક્રન્સ પ્રયુપ્ત મહેમદ દુર્શન કોલાકાળી લોધન sides and this areas and find stated place with each engent. શેલના કન્યાના પણ તેમણું પદાવ બાળ્યુ છે તે ખોલાં મહામ શેલ અને દાઈન દાઈદરા માળવું છે પણ મળેલીની પ્રચાર પ્રાપેલી એક મીજી મહત્વ વખતા ગામમાં વિસ્તૃત કારણ અન્ય નાજની કરે છે. ડોમરાભી રાત્રા મહાજાવના અપસાળ કોર્યું છે. તે મેં પ્રેન્સ અન્ય સામે દીને સંચ

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hanasalanan menyantah keladar એ શહે તેનું સાણ પ્રથમનાં અવલ્લા કરેલ્વા દેશના અન્યુઓ શકામ્યાંગ પ્રેરીમ છે. लको जाएगम् उन्ते एक फिल्हे प्रयाली પ્રકુત છે. પ્રદુત્વ ત્યુપતને ગુપ્તાને છે. and we will do not be the નાની આંગ જોઇએ કરતનો ગણી શહે છે. જની છે છે એવં, તુરું ધાલા આગળ છે balandan manya dan yang bahara र के के जन्म न रोगके इन ल an series of America details as والمتعارية المعرفة والمعادية والمعارية આ પ્રાપ્ય અનેલ પુષ્ટે પ્રાપ્યત્વ આવ control weather they want to fail any rener cat wert of succession. ત્વન તેમ આ આ વ્યક્તિ આ તમાજય વિજયોધનાને વધાવે રાખે અને છે એવા રાખ્યોના વડે પ્રધા

ઈક પ્રાપ્યમાં શીકને છે. કેરબાક પ્રાપ્તિ છે ને મંદર પ્રત્યાર અને દુનિયમના સ્ટાપે જવાદેશ દેશ છે. આ દાર્ગ્યનું એક પ્રદાશથીની with an and prime we share the State of April 10 years of the ર્જનોદા સિંદ સંદર્ભને ગામના પ્રગાસમાં પ્રાથમિક નિર્દાર્ભને આવ્યું અને આંગ president and the second states of the વેમ પ્રતારકારી તે કહે. વ્યુકારના માં પડે વ્યુકે

available on the second second second second care manager as he should be treated as

ade factor contracting a stration. રેવાના અનેક પ્રોકોએ પણ ને ભાગમાં કોરોક માં ગોયો, આપી છે. આ દાયભા તાવની ખાવને લીધે પ્રિન્ફાર્ભનું કામ served sensibles remained and of the તોથી મોટી મુંગીમી છે. સિન્દુ ત્વેનું સમ અનું છે. સંપદ્ધાં કરે તેને સમજવું કરે mà d િન્દ્ધમ પ્રદેશે આદ્યને જેવે પર્ન પંચાય

પ્રવાશ માર તે પછે. એમ કઠેવાય છે. ્યતથી ચર્મનો, નખપ સુદિતી ધારણા કરત ર ગળાવાના આવે છે. તેણે પૈયું તેનુ ા દેવનાન પદ્ધનિ પાંચ ચર્મના કે વાળ

ા લગ્ન છે. પુરુષ) થાંચલ પર્ય નારો નામે તે દેશમાર નામે તે પશ્ચિમ્બાલિયાં તમે આ દારમાં પાસને આવે પદ છે. તે અપરિપ્લન્કોરા છે. દેશ and the drive show as a price of the form analasan nang bahar nake basar ara, 🛪 lakak sama અને નાપરિઓન્ટીલ છે. મંદ્રાનો નાહેલ પ્રસ્તારના હોયે પણ પ્રથમો, หนึ่งไปๆ ครั้นประเทศ (ประวัติจำนักธุตร ปรื่อนักที่ได้ สาของต માં વૈશ્વિક આવે સ્વયતિ ખેતા પ્રશ્ના પ્રાપ્ય દ્વાર્થન દ્વેષ્ઠ પ્રાપ્ય render to see one and an inclusion which we want a set a source of source of source of a probability of source of source of the sour Sy ana ini kana mangi kina angi al-mite kal linna.



김 전 영국 후 문 ~ 4. 巴尼西巴斯美国豪美国 Ħ Ĭ Fi ai ig 2 2 E 13 પેરાવિસ્તર બુદ્ધ જીમવાલ્યા કું કું નારાવાલ્ય 51(44) ž Ē ę, 31 áthai Eile Sta li u li e É È ድ : ć 5. Ž 🖾 ≥ii π.

> અધ્યાય આપવાર વરીકે ધિવસ્થા ભરાયર છે. સંપ્રધાયના નામ ઉપર ચંઘર્ય એ હિન્દુધર્મ થણે વિદેશી વાત છે.

عەد

અનેક વડીઓએ) આ દેશમાં સ્નિકુલર્પના અનેક સંવાહોના લોકો એ છે. પરંતુ વોતાના સંવદાય કે પતની સ્વાયના કરવા માટે સંવર્ષ કર્યો હોય. સામો ઉઠાવ્યા હોય, બીજા સંગ્રદાયના મંદેરો તેહવા તેલ, તેવું સિન્દુસ્થાયના સંપૂર્ણ ઉતિસ્વાર્ય કચારય બન્દુ નઈ.. તેથા & સેન્દ્રશ્વના વામ લેવર સ્પૂર્ણ બે સિન્દુનમાજ માટે જેવી સત છે

આ દેશભાં સહાન દર્શવર્શન, ચંદ્રપુપ્ત મૌર્ચ, મમુદ્રપુપ્ત, પુશ્તેથી, મહાવાદ્ય વિકલ્પટેન્સે મહાન વિજયો મેગરમાં હતા. આજીવાલ બીજાની સેના કાલુસના મહાર સુપો પહોંચી હતો. રાશ્કિંદન નજામનું તલગર અક્ષ્યતિસ્તાન ગુમી વિજયપ્લક ભટેશવની થઇ હતી. દુનિહામ: બેક વિકલ્પ, દ્વરાષ્ટ્રો કે આ ગેલાએ એક પણ મસ્ટક્ટ તોવી હોય તને એક પણ વિપયંતિ અદજમશીદી પોતાના મતમાં સેવાનો દ્વારાન્તો કમાં હોય. વિય અને હિન્દુકુમાનને સંઘટાય કે મતના નામે આપવેના એક એ ઉત્સાસ ને ઈશાઈ વતુની એક છે.

ાઈ માં ચોદી ગદીમાં સેમન શાકાજ્યને તાહમાં કાઈ ઈરતાઈમલે જિલ્લી પ્લાથી સ્પાયન: કરવા માટે પુરોષ અને અન્ક્રિક, સંદર્ભ છું મંધર્મ કર્યો તે મળારંગ થણા ભારત્ય લેખ નદી, ઈરતાઈમલે રોગના અક્ષપ્રધાની મથ્દથી ધુરોધને છુટલેને પર્ધની સાથ સ્વીકારવા દ્વારનો કર્યો ત્યારેલી જ આ વિષ્ટમાં સંપ્રધાનના નામે સંઘર્ષનું આરંભ દ્વોન

િંશાઇપનની કાર્યન કોવી દેવા મનાંય ઉસ્તાર્ય સાનકો અઢીદી અખ્ય વિશ્વને શરૂલ ઈસ્લામમાં (ગુસ્તિથ અનમાં માનનાર) બહસવા એક હોયમાં નલવાર ને વીજા કાયમાં કુરાવ લઇને ઉરાન, અસ્પતાન, વીંગોલીવા ને તુરંખ્યત્વમાંથી નિંકળેલા ઇસ્લામના વાડાઓ વુરીય, આદિરા ને બેહેલાભેલ્યા કરેલા અત્યાવાદોધી ઈલિંપાલ્યું થણું વર કારમાર્ચ સૂકી જુ ટરી, ઉરલાયના સાવેચ્ય થય બ્લાકાનો આદેશની કે સુધવા થયાલે આ છેલાવતો પ્રસ્તાર થયા બ્લાકાનો આદેશની કે સુધવા થયાલે આ છેલાવતો પ્રસ્તાર થયા બલાકાનો બેન્દ્રાર પરન્ય જેલ્લા વીટલે તોટીને બખાલેલો મસ્તવર ઉલ્લાયના આદેશે, પરન્ય જેલ્લા વીટલે તોટીને બખાલેલો મસ્તવરો ઉસ્તાયના બાદારે, પરન્ય જેલ્લા વીટલે તોટીને બખાલેલો મસ્તવરો ઉસ્તાયના બિન્દ્રાર પરન્ય સ્વચ્ચ સુક્રોવિયસિયનો પ્રસ્તાપુરી કુનેપ્રચિત અને જુલ્લાસિક્ત બાદ્ય શ્વર સુક્રોવિયસિયનો અનાપુરી ક્રતેપ્રચિત અને જુલ્લાસિક્ત બહીવનુ કિલ્લાનો વિચ્લાય છે. હિન્દુઓ પર ઉલ્લાનો દેવનો ઉતિદ્વાર બાધ્ય ચોલ્યાની વાસ્ક્રાયક અન્યવે છે.

ભાભરે ગોરેલું થોરામ જન્મકથાના ઔદેશલેબે ગોલું, ારીપિયનાથનું ગંદેર, મહ્મદ ાલ્નવીએ તોરડઘ હોયનાથના ચંદિર - ઈસ્બામનો માંબદાધેક થતોવૃતિ અને અલ્મરણની તલાકીએ પુરી પણ છે.

હિન્દુ અર્થાન સેક્યુલર

અભાજ તરીકે વિચાર પ્રસ્વામાં આવે તો સિન્દુ મધાજ જ દુનિયાનો એક પાત સમાજ તરીઓથો સેક્સુકાર છે. તેવો જ હિન્દુ અથવે સેક્યુસર, સિન્દુબપાજમાં સંઘદાય-ઉપાયના પહરિતા, આયંદ અયરેય સંદર્ધ ગયો નથી. એક જ પરિતરમાં સમાતનો નાહ સરફોક વ્યતિનગત રીતે મોહ સંગાય અપીકારે. તેનો એક યુગ્ર અને પુત્રી બીહ બિલુ ખને અને એક પોત્ર જૈન માપુ અને એ તો હિન્દુસમાજમાં જ રાક્ય છે. એક કુટુંબેમાં એક વ્યક્તિ શાહિત સ્વાસ્ક હોય, બીજી બીજી સાથ બે. એક કુટુંબેમાં એક વ્યક્તિ શાહિત કે વિસ્ક હોય, બીજી બીજી મહાયજનો સેવા કરી સ્વામોનનાથયણ સંઘદાયના માનનો હોય તો વિત્યજા ઉપ-થયમાં જઇ મહાવીર સ્વામોન આશ્વમાં કરી જૈન સંગદાયમાં માનતી હોય એવી પદેયરા સેન્દુસમાજમાં જ સંબાથી શકે છે.

િન્દું ગમાવે અનેક લદકરી વિજયો પ્રાપ્ત કર્યો છે. વરંતુ પંગાના નેક સંસરકારના પ્રયાર મહે નકલવાર ઉઠાવો હોય, તેનું ઈનિહાસમાં અંગ પણ ઉદ્યક્ષરના નથી કારણ કે બિન્દુ એટલે જ એક્યુલર બિન્દુસમાજ

સાતમી સદીથી આખા વિશ્વને દારૂલ ઇસ્લામમાં (મુસ્લિમ મતમાં માનનાર) બદલવા એક હાયમાં તલવાર ને બોબા હાથમાં કરાન લઈને ઈસન, અરબસ્તાન, મોંગોલીયા ને તુકસ્તાનમાંથી નીકળેલા ઈરલામના ધાડાઓ યુરોપ, આફ્રિકા ને એશિયાખંડમાં કરેલા અત્યાચારોથી ઇનિહાસનું માશું પણ શરમથી ઝૂકી જતું હશે.

ઈસાઈચતની કાર્બન સોપી

જેવા મતાંધ ઇસ્લામે

પરવામાં આવે છે. આયણે ત્યાં વ્યક્તિયમંગ્લેમાં યુજી ડેયાસના વિવેરે છેલા છે. કુટુંમાર્ચ, હાઇલા જાય પર સંદયદાવે, માનવાન, અનર વર માનવામાં અને વિચલા સાર પર વિચલર્થ હોય છે.

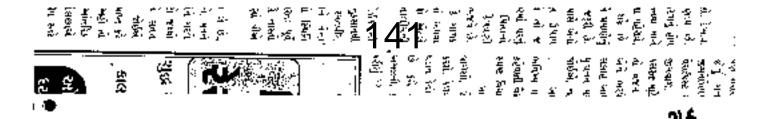
ધાર્મમાં અનેક સંપ્રદાય

. સરલેશલન બન્યારે અને કરશે હોય તો અપલો ત્યા સપદાય, , મળ કે પંચ જેવાં થઈ શકે. સિંજુબર્ચમાં આવા અનેય મતા પ્રથ કે અક્રાય છે. તેલોજીપત કે અપ્રદાયમાં (૧) કોઈ તેના સ્થાપક હોય છે. નાપણે ત્યાં કહેવાનું છે કે અપ્રદાયમાં પુરૂક્ષાર અવેશ તેના સ્થાપક તે પુરુષોની કમ્ય તે અપ્રદાય છે. 1 ર! અપ્રદાયનું કોઈ એક પુરસ્ત હોય છે. 1 ર! તે સંપદાયની લિલેમ ઉપાયત્વા પદ્ધતિ હોય છે. કારા મોઢ બનવા સ્થાપેલ બનવાન બુદ્ધ આપવા તેમનું પુસ્તક અને ભૌહ પિયરાયમાં નેમનો લેપાયલા બુદ્ધ આપવા તેમનું પુસ્તક અને ભૌહ પિયરાયમાં નેમનો લેપાયલા, કવામાં નાસપણ, અંગદાય વ્યવસાય સ્થામીનગાયક તેવા અપાયક, શિક્ષાપણ પશિવસથે અને તેની લેવામના પદ્ધતિ સેન્દ્રપ્રધા સમય પછીને કોણ છે. કિલ્દુમપંચ સાથ કરીએ ત્મારે તેલે એક અપ્રદાયન્ય વગ્ય પશ્ના નથી.

હિન્દુધર્મ અને તેની સાથેના સંપ્રદાયો

ોલ્ટ્રપ્રસ્તો અંતર આદંગક અને બાર્કિક પણ આવે છે. ગાળકે જેવા નાત્મિક પણ સિન્દુ છે. બોહ, જેન. સીખ, સત્તારાં, વૈયરાય આગત વૈદ્ય વિગો મુખ્ય સંવરાયે છે. હિન્દુધર્મનો વિશેષના તો થશે છે કે વ્યક્તિ પોતાની વિગણ પ્રવાશે ઈચરનો ઉપાયના કરી પેલે તે માટે અનેક સંવરાયો છે તેવી હિન્દુધર્મ તંત્રસાયોનો સ્વક્તિ કર્યો છે પરંતુ વાસ્ટાપિક્તાનો લેન્દ્રસ થયો છે અને તેથા જ સિન્દુધર્વનો સેથે તે માટે અનેક સંવરાયો છે તેવી હિન્દુધર્મ તંત્રસાયોનો સ્વક્તિ કર્યો છે પરંતુ વાસ્ટાપિક્તાનો લેન્દ્રસ થયો છે અને તેથા જ સિન્દુધર્વનો સેથે તે માટે અનેક સંવરાયો પણ એવું નહેલ છે અને તેથા જ સિન્દુધર્વનો સેથે બંધ વાસ્ટ સ્વર્થ્ય ક્લોય પણ એવું નહેલ પ્લાકો આપણ દ્વારા ક્લિક કે સંદર્ભો ઉપાયન્સ કરશો તો જ મોલ્ય પ્લાકો આપણ કરવાથી પંચ્ય થયે છે તે જ મોલ બ્લગલો તે તમારા સંદર્શની ઉપાયના કરવાથી પંચ્ય વાય વિગે વેલો વાસ જ આંકદાહેન્ડના છે, તે સિન્દુધર્વનો અનેક સંદર્ભાયનો સ્વરાય કરવાયો આવ્યો છે પણ સંપદ્યાવિક્તમાં છે છે. સંદર્ભાયનો સ્વરાય કરવાયો આવ્યો છે પણ સંપદ્યાવિક્તમાં છે છે. એટલે જ સિન્દુધ્યનાજની પ્રયુક્તિ માધ્યકારિક વની શે છે સ્વરી સુરજને

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વેદવુલર કરી છે તેવા પ્રભાષો અદેવની રોઝોનિક ભૂચિકા સૌથી છે. ્રભાજન**મ**ે હિન્દુસમાજ સદીઓથી સેવ્યુંનિય તેલે નેમજ વ્યવગાવના ્રેન-સાપ્રદાયમાં છે કર્યો છે. આ ઉપરાંત મુશ્લિમ અને મહમ બારો -તેરવનો સિંહનો શાસન ભારુ કરતો કાળાય તેમથત ઉલ્લાહકાલિક રેલા ાર આ માસન ફિન્દુ તેલું પ્રાપ્તલ તનું તેલી જ ગિનસપ્રકાર્યત્ર કલ્પ્ ત્વું ભારતની આસામી વખને આ દેશમાં મંઘારણનો ગિયત અથતો રતો તમારે પ્રાથમાંમાં આદ્રપતો પ્રશ્ન બધાની શામલ સંબંધ આવે, એન્દ્ર યુસ્ટિંગમાં અને અંગ્રાન્સ ઉજરતી શાળતને બાદ દરભાં આ દેશભા ટ્રિન્ટ્રસમાજની **પ્રકૃતિની** લોકો જ પ્રાપ્યત્ર બિનસોપ્રદાવિક હોવ્યથી વધાવણ પણ વિનસોસરાવિયતાનર આદવીને અનુક્ષય બન્યું.

ગાળવાના થયું શુપ્રી મુસલમાન્દોએ આ દેશના કેઈને કેલે ભાગમાં શાસના કર્મ તેનું પ્રાપ્યત્ત શાળવાદિક - ઉજવાદિક અધ્યત્ત તનું સિંહ સમાવનો સ્વાયનન પહલે બંબળ તોવાએ દેશભા અન્યદ્વાદ્વોની પદ્મકા મજાવે તનો. આ દેશમાં કપાદેય પણ ત્યવ્ય ranged and an even of each safe is not some โครงสมมาคม แห่ง ชัดอาการจัดปี สาคม สารารได้ สาราสาราศ ત્રસંગ્રદ્ધમાં ભાગતો, ગોલવાર્થ સિન્દની સંચયકાય ગાળવાયથાં (જિલ્લુકાળ) ગળવે. ચોધાન્ક ઉન્દુઓ પર અન્યત્મારોની પ્રત્યર રાજોઈ ચેનાંના રાજ્યતને ાંગદાદિક પ્રાપ્તન ખુલશો દેવાથી અથવ ઉપાણના પ્રતારિયળના દિલ્હ and the extent optimization while given while their મગુજરાત પુરદ્ધા, પોલવી અને પાદરીઓએ આઝાળી પછી ગણવાના રહાણ મળે કેલવાઓ મુપાલમ કરી દાવી.

બંધારણ દેશના જીવનદર્શનની રાજનૈતિક અભિલ્યક્તિ

શેર્ક પણ દેશનું બધારળ એ દેશમાં સમજ્ય ચંતરૃતિ અને લાવનદર્શનની સંજયોગના અભિવ્યત્તિ છેવા છે. હવાદેવરોગના આધારે ેવલુકેના પંચારત ઉતરત્વીને સુધી શે છે. (૧૯ શેલન અને ૩૦૯૭) ાનેશા અનગા જ શો (૨) રાજ્યનો લોગો નજાવવામાં આ ગોવ ાં - રાજ્યમાં મહેર જાણિવને ઉપરંત વધાણે ઉપરંતનાની અન્યયંત્ર એર આ દિન્દુ જવનદર્શન કનું, ખાજનો નદેભાવામાં ખેતે સેકપુગદીવળ ઉત્તરાદ્રદાવિકાના તામથી ઓળખાતનો આદે છે. ભાજાના ્ય શેરાના અને બાંધાનું આવે ભારપુર

પંચારણની પ્રચલ હતાં છે. ઉપર વધારાવ્યું ઉપયોગ્યન્ક જિલ ્રકે દિવસ્થાન એને છેને છે છે છે. જેમજરની જાન يردونه و ું દુધ અને પણ પ્રદાર્ણ દોઈ શ્વક્તિને ભયુક પ્રયંગ પંચન 'હેમલ કટતા માટે ટ્યા ભરવા મજબૂર કરી સંકાય નહીં. રાજકોય હાથ બનપાન ે અને એકલેલ સરસામાં કરે પણ પ્રકારનું આવે કારણ આવે. we would save an an an an again that A will રીકોફેક સંચ્યાનોના જે પાસિક બિયણ આપતું તેમ આપુ તે ઉત્પાન સવાલન સિવાસ તંમવાઓ તો તેમાં એઈ વ્યક્તિકે ખાવે છે. કેન્દ્ર

will apply add someoff and a se અને દુવ તપુમાનનું સ્વતૃષ્ટિ વાર તો . ્યુપારે પ્રાપ્તિ પણ પ્રદાશના અન્યામ તેનો સિદ્દોપ પર તેને પાળિય લગુપાતીને અન્યત્વાર ≂ો ભંદભાવ હિંદુ≞ સ્વરૂપ પૂર્ટ કરે છે. નમાંત્યું ભારતભા ભાષાશ્કુર કરેના જાઉતિને nobers maand aanoo we hiterood



મળદેવામાં પરીપૈક મહત્વ સંખયત, ધર્મનું આવરણ, કરવા, મસાર કરવા ાને માહિત સંસ્થાઓ સ્થાપપાની અને એન્ડ્રે સન્દાયન કરવાની છુટ નનો છે. સમય કોઈ સંચદાનમાં નિરોધ રક્ષ અધ્યત્રો નહી કે કોઈ. એક સંઘટતાને શંકપણ આવે, પંત્રપારન આપવે, નહી

ંસેક્યુલાનીઝમ'નું ખોટું અર્થલટન અને તેના દૃષ્પરિણામ

માંગ્રેસ્ટ પ્રગુર્વમાંથી એક ડુલાર પ્રમુખ કરવામાં પ્રતાનમંત્રકો છે. એકપૂરાઓલ્પ કારણ પશેવમાં વિશાપ વાતાવરણમાં ગોમને ઘડો, જમન સંસ્કૃત મંત્રાનીમે અને સંપન એક પણ ઉત્સવને સંદર્ભાય અસ્ટિંગ ાનો અને એ ગામમાં આવે સામમાં મન્યત મથે જેજનાનું દર્ભવાનું કરવાનું હતું આ પોર્ટિંગનિયો જન્સનો વિદીસ પર્યો સમયતના શાક્ષનમાં રાસવેલ માને પશ્ચિતનો વિત્રસારીય અથવી ભાગના તકારાજકાર તેવી. MARY VERSION STATEMENT CONTRACTOR (STATE

ાળીવર પ્રવારસવાર પ્રચલસ્થા શેરસુરાષ્ટ્રીપ્રધ અહીંત વિવેધ ાળોનેસનર≐ - તથાય ગાસમયાથા ખાત્યો અર્થ થણ ગામરકાયક થયો. હતો. હતાણ દે શાકદાની પત્ની શાકભાજની નવમાંગ વિનાય છે. realization as realizing contract, allowed meaning Traces. અસર્ગ ઉપરાદ છે

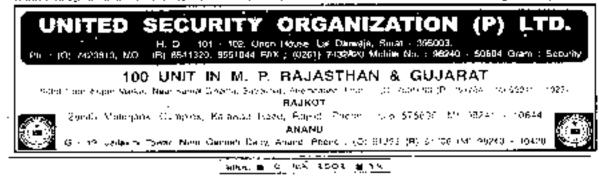
સેક્યુબારીઝમ અર્થાત ધર્મનિરપેલ

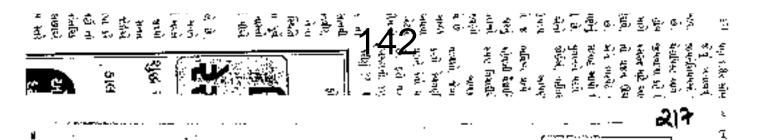
પે આ સોનોએ સેક્સ્પ્રાઇસ મનો અર્ગ ઉન્કો સિસ્ટામનું દરકારથન રતવાર, એટલે અને આ ઉપયોગ પ્રધાનના વિચારનો જેવી નવાશનવા તો છે. આ પણ માણ માથે બોલ્કે જેવાં આવલે સામજની પણવુડ પણ છે તેનો ઇન્પ્રસ પરિતે સજી બનો સમજાને સૌથી મોટું નુકલાન કહું છે. આ પડાકનો વિશ્વર કરૂ પ્રક્રમાર લોધો થયે અને સાગરાયના , ખેશ પણ જણાવા નહે , તમેનો દાનમાર કરીને અન્ય, સ્વર્દિય, અને ેતિમારા ખેતર વર્ષેલ્ડ પ્રદેશના ભારતથી ત્રાવે ઉત્પન્ન કરી દીધોર

વિયના દેશોમાં સેક્યુલારીઝમનું અર્થઘટન :

ી લગાવા અમે રક્ત જેવા ચિત્રાના અનેક દેશોએ બંધારણા અને તુ પ્રવિધરના સેન્વલાડિકાયનું પ્રવીકાર અને છે. ઉપાસન નવનિના આવામે નામકરિયો પંચય પ્રદાયતા આવતાં આવ્યનો મહીત ઉપાસના 🕯 (અનુસંધાન પૃષ્ટ ૨૪)

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મત હોચ તો જ હસજો

'*ત્રંપ્ટી સુપ્રેં

ઉપરી અને પ્રાથમીજ અન્દર ત

an alwayar takina tarahé treating can be an or the second છે. અને માન્યર લખ લખવા વ્યત્ર નથી વસતે કના ? નાનાનનાના બાદીનો દાવાળાએ ઘરા લધ શાળા છે અને તેને અન્યાસ્થક કુલન ખોધારે મેરી, Via Pri

એક સામાન્ય સારમાંગળે આકોલ પ્રોમનીજીના સમ્બોલ, અસ્તા પ્રતેશ તેવે, એટલે છે. વેમથી અમહાવવ તે પ્રધાસ કરી કે, વ્યાગો ! કુનિયત ંદ્રવાનું કહ્યું કરે તમારે જાણીઓનું પશેલ થયું છે. છે. કલોમ ઉપયોધનાં મહજ શાળા સ્વયત્ર છે. ગોલોપ ગુરૂપાલ આગલો સેખાયો માટે સરાજ્યમાં હોય છે. મુકુલાય એ કોલામ તબન્દર તે જેવી ખેલ ઓપણી પછે. ઓઈન્ડાઓટ કટ્રોડા છે. વિયંત્રણ રેખા છે. વરસિંહ પશુપાન પ્રગામમાં પડ્યો ગાણેબા હોય તેણે પૈન રાખામથી, સંપન્નાની નોય નો જેવા પંચ ગ

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' પંચના મોટના અનવાના હોય તે એમ લખવા ના માટે પણ ખેતનું ગાળ ખેળાય છે. આદીઓ તેમ જેમ દેવતો તે અંગણાય તેમ બેલી જીબતમાં માંગદોની, મહેતોની, સ્ટાર્ગમાં સ્વચ્ય શભાજને તમે કહેરતે કે તળવે 👘 પ્રથમે સંગળ્યે ? કટ્ટરમાદી ખેતમાં અદ્વાર કરા વચ્ચે તમાટું હાગ્યુ ચારમ રકરો 1 જેન્દ્ર કરતા ભાજી મળતે મળ્યતના ected were the receivery bourse show તો મહત્વન વર્ધાપ્રતા થણ સેંચલા ચાલી તેમના Information Provide States and an and familie and the providence of the o -parte "

આપ છે. પ્રથમ ઉપયોગી સ્થિતિ જાણવાના નાફતમંત્રી જેવી ત્વેય છે. આપક તરીઓ બેઠાઉ ભાષપંચનો સ્થિતિ પથ્યે હતારા વિચાયની કુલ્લુલામાં કરવન્ય સ્ટ્રાક્સ્ટાની સૌન છે. જેમ હામ્ય લેખકે ત્યાપા સ્ટ્રાપ્ટ્રાંગ્સ અને નિરંભણાઓ સ્પર્ધ સમય પ્રેમ સમારાત્વ તો માટે અને આવે આ ara 6, 0.

which shows and right and show છે. ક્યારેક હો કાર્યોમાંબ પણ એમલાઇ જ મળે. ાઇ, ઘટરાયની જાલબધારી તોઘ, યાએ એન્ટના મંચ્રેયલ છે. સમાયતે રહ્યાના મુકળા જવાનો ીમ એવા મધા કામ અને ટેન્શન વચ્ચે તાલા ોલ્પર વાયરોની પ્રયત્વે છે પણ અન્દર્ભત નવાલ પુરા હતો. આજના માનભાઠતા જુલી હતો. અહુંનનો જગાવન સંદે તું લખવાના પંચાનમાં તો અભી ચર્ચ પણ પાલી વિપન્ન નવો

પ્રત્યોએ તેમને આ સર્જ પ્રચાર પ્રવસ્થા Same in the time district to approxithe same that the set of the set

meaning an (સેમબિસ અદ્યાદક કર), સંખય મેનું અધ્યાણે, 'ગો ખબર પણ અગળ અલ્વો

અને લખ્ય છે. પંચાય સ્થયે જેશનની રદ્યાં દા મોલીવાની જેવાને પણ ગણવાર તેણે હતો. Month an Mary and the Manakasharaa abata da que a se para de મુકો દહેવા, ગતના અથવા સમયે જાન્યાણીપીઓ પ્રથમ શાક્ષે છે. અને મુક્તિઓખો દેશ પૂરે છે. એબકોએ મંદેર નહારા ખતવું જોઈએ.

ખાસ દેવવાયનું કરીય સ્ટાર પ્રાપ્યતન્ત્રોએ વિશ્વ દેવનું ગાંધવાનું અવનોદય સિવાણ મુદ્દો વેકારે મુકલા ખેતીએ કરે છે તેણે શું ખેતારે સમજોને મેન કરામ કરતી ગુક્લા અનુ અપીસ કરી છે. ?

ખત્વા, તું તું અરહકો અંગળી છે. તે નેલાઓનો માયેલ પને પરે છે. બરે પ્રચનો કર્મથા ઉપયોગ પણ ગામિક સામેનું વહેર પોતાન, મનતુ કહ્યું છે છે અને હું છેમક રોવા (30), L. S

ાય નાં દેવસારાં દા અગણતા એને તેનાઓ tanan Den kulo beru meningkan ang di કાદથીર મુર્જે મન્દ્ર પછો મુખ્યાના અન્યત્વ પ્રચ્છે 🧠 બાદ છે તરે એટા દર્ભ મહેલમાં સ્થળજા પર તુમનો પ્રયોગો ત્યારે દેશવાડ નાત્ર પ્ટુચ્કિશાળીઓને સ્થળભા પડની મુકલા ઉપનાદેખ 🗄

an input to see tongo weller પ્રશ્ન બના ચર્ચ કે ગયુ તુન્વાત પશ્ચિત્ર **પ્રશ્નેલા પ્ર**ક્ષેત્ર પ્રધારત તેલું તે કેન્ટે કે વિદ્યુપ્ત કે છે. તેનું **પ્રક્ષેત્ર** કેન્ટન વ્યત્રામાં ભાગમગઢ છે. શે બોલી કાર્ય પ્રાયં eene oo oo

્યું નું આવ્યું અધ્યક્તી અને મહી પ્રાંત્ય ક કરત છેવી મેટલ છે છે તેમ સાવે છેવું પરંતુ gélo ?

ાના દેવના મહુણ કુલ્લાનંદ ઉત્પાદન તુ ાસ્ય તોની નગળ દોક્રંભર્ટ જેમ ખાકેટના સાહી નાપ્ય એમ છે. આ તેને પ્રેમે છે. એ આ તેનું કર્મ છે. અપોર્ટ્સ કરવા એ નવાળી એ વર્ગ છે. આવેલી રકાયલોઓ દાવવાઓએ મળે છે. છું આવી વાળો પરી રમુજ તેની કરે, કરતું એ તેને તેવે છે. કદરવાદીઓના અહલ્લસ્ય વચ્ચે છું નિદોષ સાસ્ત નાઈ રેલાયે તો લોકોનો સાથય વિયેતો વિચાર મથલાઈ જુલે

ંગણકો દેશનાં ગુંસનો માટ જ ભાઇનોને કટેવાય કે સ્ટલો પૈયે તેથી દાદ્ધા ક્લિકોમાં અનુ પ્રધાન ગામ તેટલા હુમારા અન્ય તેવ ભારત મેટે મહાવાયમાં કહેવા માત્રુ મધ્ય અંગ

of a characteristic પ્રોય, પંચલી-સામાના નહે નુપ્રધાનું સંપોર્ટ external destance in the set of an extern છે. આના બેહાલ મહે તાલે લખ્યાનું છે (તુ તુ જર માટે કે કે અને પ્રચાર્થી એવી ઉત્પાદના કે દેવના હતું તુનું તથા પ્રાપ્ત મહુવારો

રુજ્લીપક માને છે કે તાલ નની સંજયાથી તે બહુ મોટુ બોલ્યાન મહપ્યું બહારો ? બફે તો સરિયાર્ગ એ પ્રધા કે તું વૈવર્ત્સ વેલ દર્શદીએ હોય. and and

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🗖 કપ્રતિકેમ ભજૂ,

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ાં પ્રકારિ સીપ્ટેસ્ટ્રેએફ પ્રાપ્તું ગુસ્તાને પર્વે માત્રણે મુજિશ કરો ઓપ્સની જુણ પડતા મુક્રો પછ. જે, કેગી શ્મુક ફેસ્ટ્ય છે. તું હત્ય કે વર્ષોથી માર માળી તેટું પછાને શાંત એવાનો જ્વીએ કરવાશનાં તેનત ખો**ક સુ**પર પર તને રહેદ à L

ં જ્યાં તું પ્રખુ કે ગોપથતી થયતા વધુ મદદા એટલા બના દે તે કેઈન તામી, માટે આવ્યું ત કેઈનમાં ખારતવાવર ને કરવી? તો તુ ગેમ પણ ા તે પાંચ કે આ રેલવે વ્યવસ્થાનું ખાનગીક્ષણ ્વી ગુપ્તો, તરકારના દ્વાપાં સ્વે ત્યાં મુખી આવ્ હ માટાશે ¹ બધા પાછી તો પટકીનંશનાવ્યુપણ મહ્ તને મદદ કર્યો અરે છેક અમેરિકારી બુશખાઈ તારી પીઠ આવતાં -

તું લાખ કે ભાગમાં તે, નામે થકી ખાનવુ તોઓ અને કોરી એબાહતના નામે ક્રોમ તે જે (પેરમ એટલે દેશ) ખરવશ કરી નાખો..

તું હતા કે બધ્ય દેશ સેન્સર પશ્રમો હુમલો માનવજીને હરતો સુમળો છે. જ્યારે ફેન વરનો ુમલો કારતોથકો પત્નો પુત્રલો છે. અમેરિદામાં ચર્ચલા હુમલા આનંકથાથી ઘટના છે જ્યારે ભારતમાં યત્વે હુપરા તંદ્રાની અલોની છેલ્લાના છે. ખુશ બારબો તેને કહે શક છે કે ઉછી ગેમાં પ્લેશ, પ્લીનું પ્રસ્ત ભારતમાં આવ્યું કોઈ મોટી તો તેને there was along the go have be બાકબરેલક સીમ દેખા મને લિવરહેલ દેશનો જ છ \$2.13 maximum userant more with St. ખાંદીયા શાળભો અર્થરતો કરે છે. મહતનીંગા તુવ્યો 病的

માટે વસ્તા નુ સમય છે. માટે મુખ્યત્વે જેવનું [ગે રાખ્ય **સ્વારે, વર્ષ પરેલાં મે આવું** તે કુદ્ધરું તે કબ્ય ગાંચને કહે ચલ્રદે ભાણ કરે તો ધુ⊍ાએ **જ** series !

ોબકો ને કરો પ્રસંધ કલ્પ Equival and A basis more



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3 ඉංදිබ්බේ ම ව වේ. а. NA PLAN 218 G, ۰. સોસ -૬ ડબ્બો Ψ. અને પાશવી 3 ° • • • • • હિન્દુ હત્યાઓ

ડબ્બામાં ઘથાપેલી બરોનો…

રાદ ઉતુઆરીના સ્થિતે સુજરતમાંથી (ગરમકાવાદ) કણતેવતી અને નહેલાય દેવ્યે ત્યેશનેલી ૩ ત૦૦ જેટલા સમસૈવકો અહેલ્યા જવા ગોકબળ હતા. શયદેવકોમાં વ્યાતંત્રીની શાળે બહેનો પણ હતી. બધારે ગુમ ઉત્પાદમાં હતા. ^કરવે કરે દાનથી બામ જ સમસંચયો ાનો નામ જય શામ જય ગામાંથી મુખ્ય અને દેશભક્તિમાં આવે. બાના આવા ત્તંપગ્રમાં હતું, ગાંદાં ગી, ડેલુઆરીના દિવસે સવારના દેશ વાગ્યો અમોધ્યા પક્ષીયથાં, અર્થાવ્ય, પક્ષિયાં સાયજન્મઆયુંબના સંદર્ભનનો મન્યા અને પક્ષાદેક માર્યમનોમાં ઉત્સાહમુદ્દીય અહય 20દી અમેદમાનું પાતાપ્રક્ષણ અન્યત પ્રતિષ્ઠ અને શરશ હતું. ગમમેળમોએ અમોળદમાં આવેલ પ્રદિશેમાં જોતે. ભારપૂર્વક કરીન કર્વા, શાંજે છે – વાન્ને ગળાનું આવેજન હતું એવાં € તથી કરતાં ફરિયુસ્ટ અને છે. મળે આપતોનું પાસંદર્શન મથયું, આ મછી

સાબરમતી એકરાપ્રેસનો એસન્દ કર્યાકનો ડબ્બો… કારસેવકો સહિત એ ડબ્બામાં મુમાઇરી કરતાં ૫૯ હિન્દુઓ બળીને ખાખ થઈ ગયા. આ ઘટના લખતાં હાથ પણ ધ્રુજે તેથી ઘટના હતી. તા, ૨૨મી કંધ્રુઆરીના રોજ સાબરમળી એક્સપેસમાં અવોળ્યા થી રામયજ્ઞમાં સહભાગી થવર નીકળેંગર અર રામભક્તોને સ્વયને પણ બપરલ તહોતો કે રાયલ્લ્લ્સના દર્શન કરી પાછા કરતાં માર્ગમાં મુસ્લિમ તરાયનો પાશ્વવિક્ષિણ આંપરશે. અયોધ્યા ગયેલા શમભાકનોમાં એક હૉ. મુક્લાભદ્વેન મકાઇદી પણ દ્રત્વા. આ આખ્યો કાંડ નજરે નીહાળયો છે એવા નહિંચાડના સુમ્લી મોં, મુક્રતાબદેન પશ્ચણી અહીં કારમી મથા રજૂ કરે છે.

■ ડૉ યુકનાબટેન પકાણી

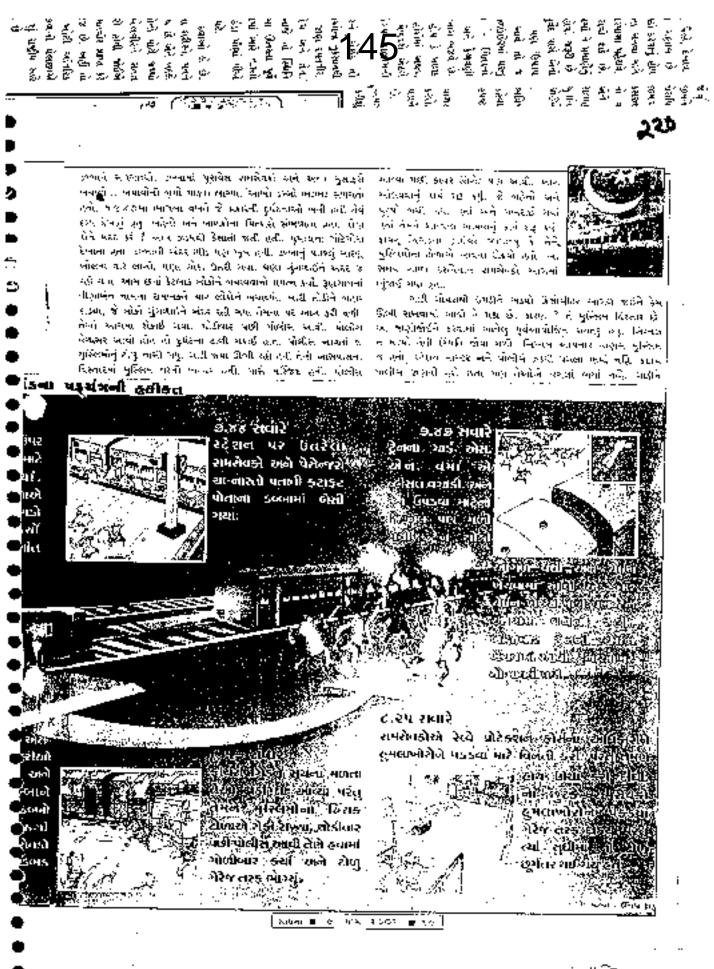


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એક બાબત કપજ છે કે ગળીના હમ્મ્યા પર બાહમણ પ્રવાનો મુસ્લિયમેલો અપના પૂર્વ આપોજિત હતો. મત્યરમાદી થયો અને ટ્રેન દ્વીલી જ ન અને દોત તો મહામણામાંર મુસ્લિમો છબ્યાને આગ લગાડીતેજ ચકમર ન સેવત પરંતુ તેઓએ ટ્રેનન, પ્રદુધરને પાનમાં લાઈને ટ્રેન ઊલા ગ્યાથી અને ઢન્બાને ખાન ઘણાડી

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ત્રીજુ મત્વસ ગમે મુસ્લિમ માનસમાં ઘણો ફેર છે. સિન્દુઓ ગોધરા હત્યા કાંડ અને ક્યરેય લોશ શરે શહેત પર ક્યરો પ્રના ત્તથો, ગામારી સાથે ૪ ડાવનામાં એક મુસ્લિમ પ્રયતી હતું. ઉભ્યામાં આટેલ્ટ બધ્ય શામમેલકો ોવાનકમાં તેમને કોઈ કરાન કતો, તેઓ સ્વંતિથી | ેટાં સમાં અપારી સાથે વાસ વામાં સમંદ અભરો સાથે ટેન્દ્રે વધુ શકામનાં, નનુમવનું હવે. જ્યારે બીજી તરક ગોધદામાં ફિન્દુઓ મરળે ભર્મદ મુસ્ટિમ તુમલો તેમની નાનગિયતા ગતાલે છે.

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જે મહત્વા ભાગી તેની માટિના કલેફ્ટર અને આઈ જી. તે મળતા તેઓ દોડી આવ્ય… મુખ્યમંત્રી કરી નદે-ત્રમાઈ પોલીને આનં, જીદુ, હેનાં ૪ તેઓ ગોવસ દોડી બાળ્યક સળગી અપેસ, ઝળ્યમાં ૪૦ બધું જોયું, પ્રગ્નામાં હિન્દુ રુમહેવડેનો ખળી ગયેલી લાશો દેખાતી તની આ એક કમકમાટા ગયો કે તેવું દશ્વ હતુ. આરોગ્ય મંત્રી અશ્લેકભાઈ બદ્દ 🦾 જયદીવભાઈ પટેન પણ ગામ્યા, મુખ્યમન્નીઓએ મટતા સ્પર્થ આવીને તેનો તેમ લીધો. ાંધરા-દે હોંસિંગ્લામાં અર્ગ, સપેસ સોકોને

અપ્લય કર્યો ત્યાર પડા, અબ્લામાંથી બારતોને ખેતરાર કાઢવાનું કાર્ય કાબર સિંગોડે કર્યું. રખનામાંથી ઘટ જેટલી શાક્ષો નીકલી માટે સંગળવી વચેસા ાબ્યમ જોવું હતું. મે સ્લંડકરને કહ્યું કે મારે મંદર જાઉને જોવુ છે. ગંગથો મુને કહ્યું કે તળ જોઈ કડ્યું અંદર જોઈને જોવું તો ગ્રોકમાં સ પર લાશોન્પ્રે ખલાલો હતો. આપોને કણાંદગાની સિધિલ હોંધિકલમાં મહેલી દેવાજ આવી. જુદ્ધ ગામેલ પટમંઘી ઉપ શયકોવાને તના બાહોના પેએન્જરી ટુના

શેકથી, ગાઈ ઊભી સ્ટેતાની સાથે જ તેની ઉપર પચ્ચમારુ પત્રો, મોટી સંખ્યતમાં મુસ્લિયોનું હોંચ્યાર હઇને અન્યી જેવું. ચિલ્નલ મથ્વમે નહિ, આપી પ્રાઇવરને બાનમાં બાઈ એવાં, અ. બધી ખાખતો પરથી ચયણ જેણાઈ, ખહ્યે છે કે આ પૂર્વ આવે.જિંત

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ત્યાર પછી થયેલા

તોફાનોના ખલનાચકો

હુર્ય તે તે તેવારા

મહંમાર

અંધ દિવ્ ક્રિમેકાર્લ્

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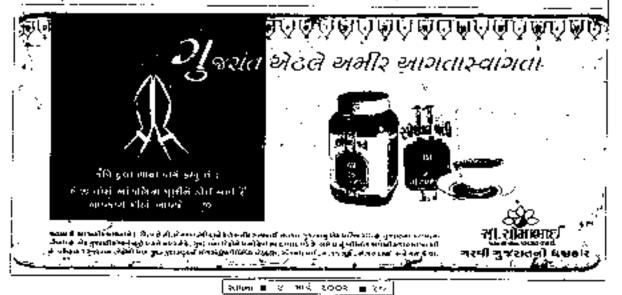
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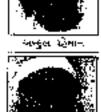
હિન્દુ માનસ અને મુસ્લિમ માનસમાં ઘણો કેર છે. હિન્દ્રઓ કચારેય ખોટી રીતે કોઇના પર <u>૬</u>મલો કરતા નથી, રામારી સાથે જ કલ્ભામાં એક મુસ્લિમ દંઘતી હતું. અભેમાં આટલા બધા રામસેવકો હોવા છતા તેમને કોઈ કર ન હતો. તેઓ શાંદિાથી એઠા હતાં અમારી સાથે વાત કરતાં હતાં. અમારી સાથે તેઓ વધ્ સલામતો અનુભવલાં હતાં. જ્યારે બીજી તરફ ગોધરામાં હિન્દુઓ પરનો અનેર યુસ્લિમ હુમલો તેમની માનસિકતા બતાહે છે.

કાળનકું હતું દેશના પ્રતાપીર અને અન્ય ભાગ્લેમાં દિન્દુનો લખર યુધિયમો દાસ જે

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સલીમ ગેખ મહારે ખર્ભર હુમલાઓ હાથ છે તે જ મહારનો આ તુમલો હતો. તુમલ પછી પણ પોસીસે જે રીતે શાંધ અનું જોઈઅ તે દીતે તે સ્વંક્રિય જણાઈ નાંદે ફાળ્યત્વ થી ઉતદેશી કેટલાક બહેનોએ જણાવ્યું કે અમુક અહંજો ગુપ છે. કદાર મુસ્ટિમો તેમને ઉઠાવી ગયા ત્રપે મેળત્મે ભેગા મળીને પોભીસને પણ પણ બધું કે તેઓ મુસ્લિમ ચિમ્તવરમાં જીવિ તપાસ કરે કે કાલ્ય મળી આવે અને વચી જાવ.





<u>igrae</u>, Fersure

<u>શ્રી રામજન્મભૂમિ પંદિસ્તી વ્યયા - કયા - ૩</u> શ્રી રામજન્મભૂમિ મંદિર તોડવામાં આવ્યું ત્યારે હિંદુઓએ પોતાના પ્રાણોની હોડ લગાવી દીધી

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મચાય પ્રચાલત્વ કળેલાંએ એને ત્યા ફાલસ્ટર્સ્ટ્સ્ટ્રિસ્ટ્રિટ્સ્ટ્રિટ્સ્ટ્રિટ્સ્ટ્ર્ટ્સ્ટ્રિટ્સ્ટ્ર્ટ્સ્ટ્ર્ટ્સ્ટ્ર્ટ્સ્ટ્ર્ટ્સ્ટ્ર્ટ્સ્ટ્ર્સ્ટ્ર્સ્ટ્ર્સ્ટ્

કરવાડું કરવાડું મુખ્ય થયું મુખ્ય થયું

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નામક આ કામ એવા મંચે મંચે માર્ગ્સ થયો થાળે કરી પછે આપસંસ્ટરના અનેન કેશ્કી ગયા તથે એકને એપના ત્ય તુનિયન દિવાને મારે પ્રચારત તથા દૂધ પણ થયુ દુઈનો ત્યા એવું અને શુધું, હણ ખુન તેટું શી માં ત્યું, ખ્યાસ શ્રીક્ષાઓ પણ દુનિયાને સરવ સ્ટેસ્ટ થપાસો ખાકે થયે કિલ્લાઓ કંડે જ્યાન અપો શાહી લાક્ષ્ટમાં વર્ષો પછી આ ચુક્રર કેશ્કે શાંધી ક્રિટિયા સાચાર્ક્સ વર્ષો સાથે નગીકેટાંગ લાગ્ય સાચાર્ક્સ વર્ષો સાથે ત્યાં પ્રતિય સાચાર્ક્સ વર્ષો સાથે ત્યાર્ક્સ શાંધી

અંગર તા દોરામ જન્મન્દ્રમિ ગધ્દરે) તાં) સાગસાનાં આરંગ સાથી ચાંદો કાંદ પરંતુ આ સાથ વ્યવસાય ના સ્તુ જેવાયેલ્લા સામો સેફા આ દુસારો દિશેલ દરસા એટલેલાં! પાંડે પ્રધાન સંપર્ધનાદાને પૂજા કરેલું ધરલ 1 પૂજીરીઓ તથા સ્પષ્ઠો સેન્દ્રુઓની શાકો રાખ્ય પૂછી પ્રાયં સે સામકેન્સ્ટલૂમિ પંદેશને એ તું પાંચો સ્ત્રો

પ્રદાશ અન્યદેશ ગામના એવ તંત્વાર્શને ઉઠ્યુનિયંથે જ કારતી વિવિધ સંબાધન તથા ગોથે વૈમના પ્રથવેલ કાર્ગ મહેરવાનું ગામનું એક દાર્ગ કરવાન ગગ્ય ગામ્યું હતુ. આ કરવાનમાં ધોરાય અન્ય ભૂતિ તેવી પાલ્યાની આદેશ અપ્યાનમાં આપ્યા કર્ન દ જુભાઈ, પ્રભુપાર ના (મોર્ટને દેવ્યુ) ના અડ્યો પ્રયાયેલ કરવાનના ફિન્દી અયુપાર ના દાર્શનો છે

ં શાહેલાનું દિન્દ અદિવૃક્ષ ૨૦૦ આક્સાનું આખર કે તુક્રમ તે સુપ્રકા જભાવનાસ દે હુક્રમ કે બુગુજબ, અસંધ્યામે સમજનવભાષિ કો હિંમબુદ કરતું દેશકા જ્યાર પર દેશકો

📕 નસિન છો. પંજપ



એમાં તે સકત સ્પાં ૧૬ માર્ચ, ૧૫ રહતો એ દિશાન, સિંદુસ્તાનના ભાષાનો તે દેવમે કેંશાને આ ત્રથે, તફારાદ્વા શહેર થયા અને નાનવ જુત્વો, ગુલામની કાળ્યા શૈલી ભારતવા ભાલે સાગો માટે જીતેએ પાગર જલાલગાનો મળવા દુકૌરા વચરાક (યુગલ્પ સંદર વાંગ નગે? આ ગાઓ વાંચરનાપાનો લોધ છે કે સિંઘરી સંઘત લંદર (ઉંચ ૧૫ દાંગ્યા માંચીઓ બાળ્યે અપેરળ નજીક પડા આવે હતો. અપેરપાના માંગેમની વ્યવસ્થા કરી હતી.

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ઉત્ અને પ્રંતુ કરે પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ બદલા પર આવળકો દર્ષ ત્વારે એવાડ પર મહારાવા માધાનું નજવ હતું, તેઓ મહારાવા હતાવવા પૂર્વજ સ્વા, બાહ્ય તેમની માથે ટર્સ કાક્યો નડિંદ સ્ટવ કાઈ બાદ્યો અને બાદકનો બ્લેસ્ટો બદજી બંગાણ મુસા બાદિવાન અને જલાજકાણના દારવામાં ચૂટ્યુ નીરે બાધી પહોંચ્યો

ા ક્રહાંગ પ્રાપ્ત પ્ર સંસ્વાધ્ય સંસ્વાધ્ય સ્વાધ્ય

> ાતરમું તારે એક આદગાયિક યુટ્ટમ સ્ટેગ્ય ્યા આમાનેકજ એસ્ત્યુ નામ, એમને, કાર્લિ ∣ સહયેર ફેસર્સ હતું. તો સમજન્મગીય મહેર ્ય બેનના બધિબર હતો. પેક દિવસ પ્લિચ્ચ અચ્ચાલ મુંતર આદિવાસ નાયથી મુંતલવાડ ડરાત એમની પાસે આવી પહોંચ્યો, એએ દ્વિત્તા બનાવવા અરજ કરી અને કવામાનોક્ટરને ને અન્દર સ્વાકસ નીમાં નેણે આપનાનાજને હોય, મહત્વનું ગોભવવા વિસંતો કરી મન્દ્રે એ મણ મયુર હતે બઇ, મંડડ વર્ષોયા આપ્રાન્ડ્સ્સ્સ ઝાવવવે બેળે વે.ઉત્ક વિદેવ A CH ERE SHE MAN MADE MANAGED નાયના ફકીરે પણ ગયાન-તકજીને દિલ્લાન આવલી લોધુ આ અંગે અન્ક્રમમાં જ રહેન certain animpissioni kita dhan anal આ ખર્ગનો માર્ગિ મારેએર કેલ્પઈ સ્વીત

ાન મંદે કુદ્ર ઘમંચ વૃચ્ચભાયં હવા દ્યામાર્ગદાજ જેવા ગોમનામાં સર્વિચ્છુલા વ તેના ચૌલ્ડ ધર્મનો ઉપરાના દ્વાર્ય મેમ્બર્ન ભાવે લકાર હતો. ખેતે થાનમાં કે ઉસ્લામ વર ઉમાન ન ગયો તે કાકિરો છે. સ્યામાર્ગદાજ પાસ કાર્ક્સ મેહવો તેઓ 'સો સમજનમાનુમિ'ને તોડવાના સ્વપ્યતે લેવા લાગ્યા, ખને આપે હરાતામાં દહેઓ બાબર એથની કુસ લેવા મંદે તેણે બંહર શિક્ષ્ય મેળવે છે તે પછી 'સી ગયજનબ્લૂમિ ચીલ્ટ તેણે સેથની જોયું ભાબને વહાય આપ્યું અને એક વર્ષની લેથ્ટા કરે. કુસાય અન્યવાદા સાથા પર ગામમાર કર્યુ અને

활동 장 리 (કેમગણી , મ્પ્લે છે 5. ų ą,¥., 19 ē. 6 **W** а 1 1 ¥, é વડમળો, જ ગ્રોો, તેલક્સ્ ને મર્વો ક ત્રિક **પ્રકા**મકો જેવામાં આવેલ્યું આવેલા અંગ્રે મન્ન્ય્યુન્ટે વીધું ર? ž Ĩ Ē 튶 50 별고 w . 3

> પછે કરવા દેવાના આવે. મેં એમનો સગાહ ક્લોકારી કરીથી ત્યારે જ મતજીર બંધાઇ કરી !' એવુ તે તે સંયુ પૈ સિંજુઓએ કોઈ પ્રતીવાર વર્ષો ના હતો. ક્લાંને પંચલે મુચ્લિમોનો પ્રતોશન થયો જ હતો. મત્યાક્રમણ પણ થયાં જ હતો. તેર સંદર્ભમારે ભાગમાંકીઓ રંદકોકપદમાં ફેરેમારને નોંધ્યું છે એ વ્યાનનાં ! લેવા જેવું છે. ''જલાલસાણે પ્રેન્કુઓન્ડ, ગૌનોળા ગાસાથી આપ્યોસે છેટી પ્રસાડવનો પ્રાથમને મુવોટિ

ան հ માનવે ઉત્પુદ્ધોની બધી જ શક્તો સ્વીકારી સૌથી સુખી, એ સિન્દાય ખેતી જેઈ બાજો આવેલન હતો. ૧૧.ચ બેલ્ટ્રી નર્વપૂર્ટ લોગિ અપલાનો હોય પણ આ શતને પ્રમાણે જ મસ્તુદા અન્દી મિનાસ તોઈ નામવામાં અદયતા

પ્રયોજ હતર પર મુટિયા અને દુક્સીમાં ામી સૌદ્ય પાઠી લખવામાં અલ્લું, તેન્દુઓવે તરવે,જ પુજા - પાક કરવાનો, દેજી, અન્યવામાં બાર્ટી, મુસ્લિમોને કેવલ શુક્લએ જ નમાજ પ્રયાનો ગંજૂરી આપવામાં આવી. કંજબ રુકબાસ અને જાજીવવાટનો પણ આટલેથી જ સંદેશ અન્યો પ્રજ્યો

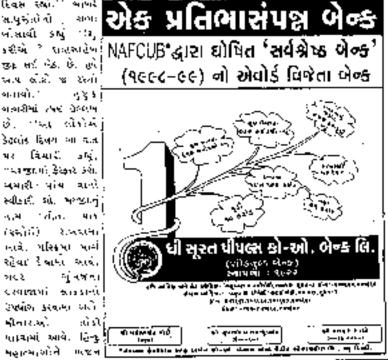
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તજારની સરાક્ષક્ષેળા મુદ્ધ માટે નૈયાર થઈ ગઇ. સતર દેવસ હુઈ અધિકા યુદ્ધ ભેષાયું. યુદ્ધના મહારાજ રૂટના ગાયતાર જેવા ગામના સ્ટર્ગ

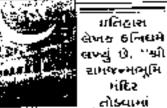
ખારેલ્લમાં પડે સપર્યઓ ચાલતો રહીય મોદબાદીને, ત્રીજા ભાગ કરતાય થયુ ભાગની સેન્દ્ર પ્રજાટ - મુખ્યત્વે જેમ કપાઇ ગઇટ મહારાજી પોત્તેય સ્ટર્ગ સિમાળ્યા .આ પછી જ મોરબાંકી પીકરને તોયજા એવાથી તોઈ શક્યો. થીરામ જન્મગણાંગ મંદિર તોક્યાં ગશી

તુલે એને સ્થાને પુરજીત ખોરવાની શરૂઆખ કરવામાં બાલી, બહાં પણ વિશ્લો જાળત મક્સ્ટના રોવાલ રહતા, ખાપી આપ હુટી જતી હતી. પીરબાંકીએ આ અંગે અલ્વતને રાખ્યું, વાસ્તરે જાણ્યું, "કામ પંચ કરી પાછા ાલી જાઓ: સામુએ, પોરખોદીને સમજાવના હતા, ''ધીર શાહેલ ! હવે બસ કરો, તમે કાલે તેટલુ દ્વાર અજમાવાો તે પણ અને આરો પસ્છય નાંગે બનવા દઈએ. અમારો સાથે હતુમાનજી છે. બેમનો સહાય છે ત્યાં જેવી અહીં અજીવ નહિ બની તહે.'

્રગણનવે જસાસવાટે બાબરને એમંડપર અન્વવા શબ્દું હું ગુગપાર દનો ખાવાન બંદીજ અસિદાસકાર ખેલે છે. અપ્લેખ્યાની મણ, દ્વીત દૂધ સિંહ્યા અને ધાયુકળ મંગમ પર પ્રાપર પડિયા નામથી અને ત્યાં સગા આદ

દિવસ સ્વયં 😳 બાળને સાયુક્તિથે તો 📜 સાગા 🔃 બોસાથી કહ્યું 'ગ્રુ જી કલાઈ એટ. છે. હતે આ પા લોકો જ રસ્તો બનાવો. ' 133 N I બાબરીમાં તપર હેલ્લામ છે. "આ લોકોસેનું કેટલોક દિલય આ વાસ પર વિશ્વાર કહ્યું, ાયત જીવનાં, ફેરફતરા કરવા, અ,મારી પાંચ વાળો , સ્વીકારી છો. મલ્લાનું (4.8 S. A. 415 (ssàii) -2.563(4) ખાવે, પશ્ચિમાં માર્ગ રહેવા દેવામાં આવે. બું તેમના NCC contrari scast-ù રપદ્યાંગ કરવામાં અને -તો કર થીના રાજ્યો હતાલામાં આવે. ટિન્દ્ર મહાત્મ, ઝોને ખજન

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્ તોકવામાં આવી ત્યારે હિન્દુઓએ પોતાના પ્રાણોની હોડ લગાવી ટીધી, એક લાખ સિતેર કંપાર હિન્દુઓની લાશ ટળી ત્યાર પછી જ મીરબાંકી મંદિ?ને તોપના ગોળાથી લોક્યમાં

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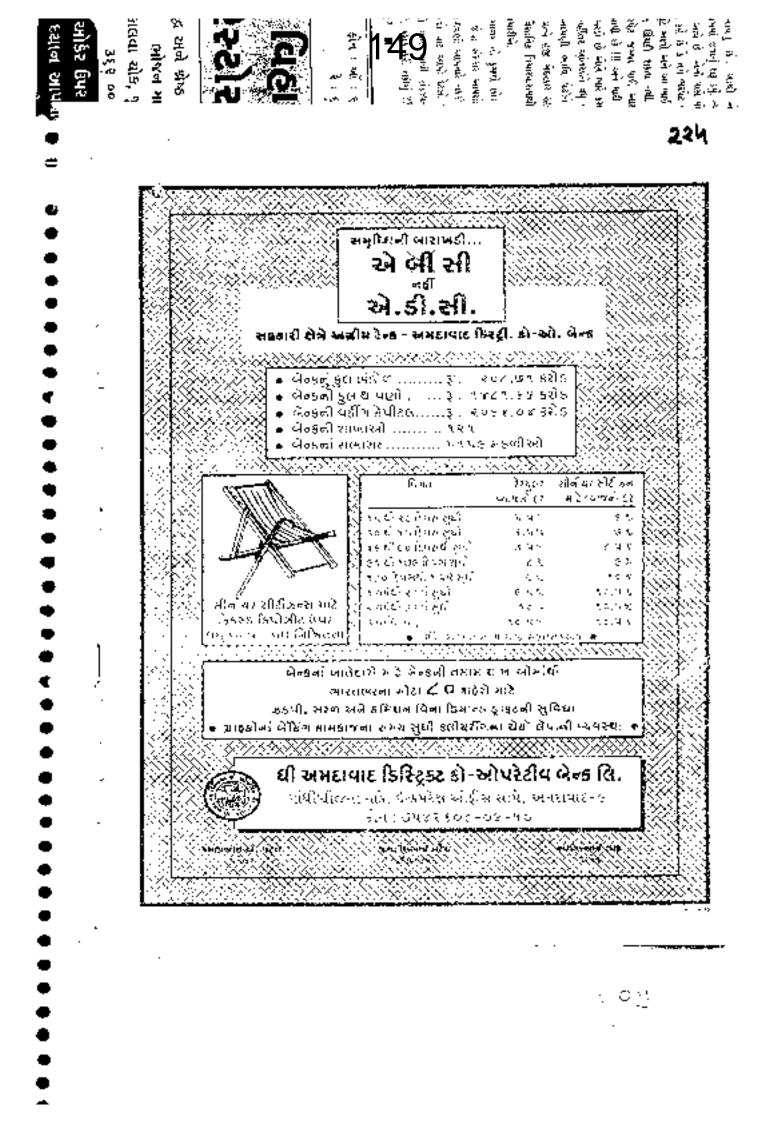
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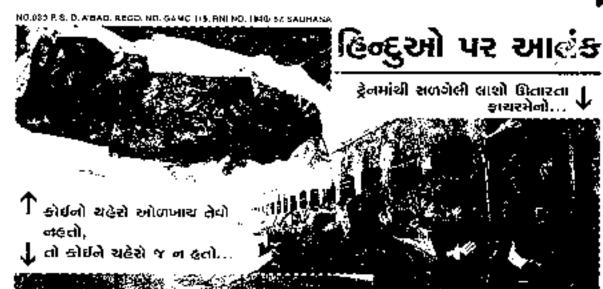
તસવે ગ પસાળેલો પરજીદ તામીર કરતેલી ્ઇપ્રજય તે હી આઈ સે અજ્ઞાદને ઇસે હુકમળાયે કે તુમકો અહેર ઉત્તિલાયે **ખા**તાનું ઉપા જીવા ્યું છે. ઉત્પરસ્તાન કે વિસી સુસંધે થોળે હિન્દુ અર્પોયના ના ભાગ માથે જીવા પાયલ પર ધુલકો હો 👍 થયું જાણાં પ્રાથમ છે. ગયે દોરાય ્રાસ્ટ્રનાર પડેકે પ્રાથમિકી જાણા કર વિચા જાવે. ટ્રક્સ, કરવનોરં તાલેલ હો કરે સમજકર " માનર કરે છે. 'તલવા કથલ અન્યોસ પુત્રા અહેદાન કરતર સાહેમનો ર્યજીજનથી જામ્પળું મેદિર તોરી પૈકી એવા હાટમાહામાંથી છે. આ મસ્જીય બંધાવી છે.'' 🖬 ઇન્દ્ર વ્હર નેવિસ ખાન, સ્વયંત્રમાં લખે છે. 'દિન્દુ મંદિર હોડી થાળી, લેની આવટીવાની અને ઉપરજીવા એવાની છે. પ્રશ્વાસ ભાર (૧૨) અને દરપાયે એ સ્વા કુઓટીઓ રહીઓ છે. કેવળ આ સ્તંભો જ દિવે આશ્ચીય ગંધરના સ્થારક રૂપે ખાસી ગયા છે. આવા એ આખો ઉજાબાદના અજાયમઘરમાં છે. હન્દિયાત સંબંધ પ્રતિથમે સખ્યું છે. ''મી સમ જન્મળુમિ મંદિર તરે આપ્યાં આવી ત્યારે દિન્દુઓએ પંજીના પ્રાણોન્^તે છે. બજાવી દ્વાઈ એક સામ સિતોર હજર ફિન્દુઓનો લાય, તેથી ત્યાર પાકી જ બીરખાંકી પંદિયને તે,પ્રતા ગોગાથી નોટવામાં સફળ થયો.

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ગૌહીના તત્કાલીન તહેલા મહારાજ મહત્વમાં પ્રિયુ પ્રત્યુપા મેટલા સાથે અપરીયાયના માત્રાએ નોક્રમમાં હતા. વ્યતામાં જ એમનો શ્રોદામજ મન્દ્રષ્ટિ મહિલ તોડી પાડવાનું છે. એ પ REMARK ROLL STOR TAST 244. રું બુબું દી્્ર જે પ્રાપ્ત વરસવા લાખ્યા. ખદરીભાષનાં પાત્રા શીસમાં લાન્યનું કે મંદિરુ તરક હળી: માટેકોર ઈસકારો કોડાવવામાં બાહ્ય, 'શ્રીવાસ જન્મ'નૂમિ પશેરાહ તો ૮૦

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ું દ્વાલ છે. કાલવા ચો

સાબરમતી એક્સપ્રેસના ടംപേലി બારીઓ એસ-૬ મુસ્લિમોએ તોકી નાંખી. પેટ્રોલ બોમ્બ અને એસિક બોમ્બ ईं डवानी श ३ छ। त કરી, રામસેવકો ભરવા માટે કંઈ પ્રયત્ન કરે તે પહેલાં પેટ્રોલ ાકાંશ મુસ્લિમોએ કલ્લામાં સલગતા કાકડા ફેંક્યા. બસ, માત્ર ચાર-પાંચ મિનિટમાં જ એસ-૬ નંબરનો કલ્લા ભડકે અળવા લાગ્યો. કલ્લામાં રહેલી માતાઓ, બાળકો અને ચુવાનો બ્રૂમાબ્ર્સકરતો હતા.

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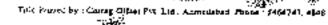
छ । अ (ମ ଥାଗ କ રૂપધારણ કર્યું. નિઃશસ્ત્ર હેવાનિયત કारसेवडो પર ઊતરી આવેલા કરરવાદી 🚓 મુસ્લિમોનો શેકે તે સાંમનો જ કરી સ્થિતિમાં નહતા. અને પંદુ દિલ્દુઓ બળીને રેખે ઘઈ ગયા.

સળગી ગયેલી હિન્દુ માતા. માતાના / દેલથી બાળકનો દેહ છૂટો પડી ગયો.

રડતી હિન્દુ બહેનો

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છાતીએ જલ્ડી રાખેલા બાળકની સાથે



શ્રીષદ ભગવડુ પોનાના દલમા આવ્ય ક્વિના ભાગભાના સૌકૃષ્ણાએ પોતાના વિસ્ત અનુવન્ દર્શન દશ્વના પહેલાં ૨૩ના જ્યોરમાં નજુનને કહ્યું હતું, ' આવેલ્ઝાવા કામન

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ામાંત છે કાળનો કપારેલ અંત તમા, જેનો સ્પારંગ સઘ તથા જે કાળાતંકા છે. એ મ્વનને પણ હુ કાર છું. સમાવમ શાકિકવારે જેની મહયા નથી, તેની પણ કોઇટ અલ્લ છે, પહેલ સર્જન - પ્લેમ બે પરનાગ્યાલા અનિયાર મંત્રની પાત છે. માનવીનું એમાં લઈ મહ્તુ નથી, એની ભુાટના ક્લનથાથી પ્રથમ હુલ કરો છે. અંધેલી પ્રયો જેના પર ઉતરે છે યોનો, યુખ્ય પણ પોયો અને નાર્થપ

વાઢ દિશેમનારે સંસરમાં જે હયલિયન હના,- વિક્રોમ કરીને જેઓ સગાતવગ્લ્લો પર શ્વન સમ્પે છે. એમને કેરળ એક જ વેન કહેલ. માવું છું. જે એક પણ ઉપવાદી એ વિવસે કુ-ફોન કુકા શુપ્ર પહોંચી બધો હતા તો એકળણ આમના કે તેલી ભાગવાની તાલગણ જેવે છે.

મોરામાં પુરેસ અપટી તેમમાનો ોય ત્વીર ગઇ જામ તો છુ થાય છે. ગામથા છે. પંચાલી ચાથ માજ કરા થશે કે એગમાં છે છે. પર દ્રમ નિશ્વેષના, એકના કે અબંગેતના કે ખાઈસાની ખાત તની કે વણી તેઓ બીજા કોઈને algebra det 211

પ્રયત્નમાં પુપ્ત થઈ ગાઉ, બંધન છા કુના પાછળ છુપાયેલ સંદેશ છે. ''નને ગંઉ ાનમાં, જીવન અને મરણ એ છે કારી ચોલા છે. આપી છે કોઈ થયલ છે, એવ્યે સફાય્યોન કુમાં છે હોફોને એ ઉઠાને સંગળમાં છા ું હતું કા માટે, તો કરવા પર અપ ભૂપ્રીએ કરે કુ વાર્તમાણ છે, પછી કોવનત મનિતમાં કર્યું. ultador els 21

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🛎 સંદર્શીય સંદર્શીયમાં છે. કેની ગીત લોધો ટે 🛎 સમુદ્દ પર અજીગણના ભાષાદે શે.

 $\sin c^{2}$ ● કલ્પનોસ્તો પદ્ય પૈલી શને ઉકેનીએ 🤺 સંઘર્ધ કહેલા અને વિચારવાની અન્ ત્વે આ છે. કે જે પુરસ્તત છે, એનું કોઇ અસ્થિ નકો, ઉલ્લ, પશુ અને દુર્ઘન્સ અકુશને પછ પ્રદિય ફોલ છે. પણ મુશર્વકાસુર, અનારુક્ષુર ે પ્રવિદ્યક્ષય જેવા ભારતોને કોઈ મરિબ નથી. ્રેઈ દીન મજરૂન તથા, લેઈ વાનનું કેઈ મુલ્ય તથી, આ મહાલકો છે. મલામાં આવી ગંધા પશુ ભેષની પ્રત્વેક વગામાં છત્વ -વ્યટ છે, અન્ય દુશ્મનોને આગણે મંત્રવા છે. માયણે એઈ વગ્ન્ય દેશના આદયદેલું યુદ્ બહવા નળો, પરંતુ એ ગુડાઓ સાથે આપવાં

સ્વાભિમાનની રક્ષા તો કરવી જ પડશે 🔳 અપિયનીકુમાર

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ુકારી જેના કાલ્દેલ્ટની માન્યતા વિધા ખેતવા માટે 🛠 બાવી સ્ટુ છે કે અમેટિશાએ એવે માન્દન, હાની છે. અમેરિયા એને વેડમાં ગઈ એએ પોતાનો સ્વદ્યો હવે ત્યાં સુધી જ કરવે. રાયપ્રેસના પ્રયત્ને સાથે વખતે છે ત્યાં શુધી પાક્કિસ્તાનનો ભૂમિક કેવલ આવ્યો છે : ાતરેઓ કુલાન હાર બાલ્લો, પંચ કાઈક છે ana-ao.

ગાંદુની પ્રત્યો છે. ભારતમાં એવ મહીલ મિટીનીકરણ થયું પછી ભારત જેવા દેશ પ્રેટલાય અહન્દનિક પંચારત ભૂતભાષમાં બદેવી રાયમાં નોય, મંતન છે એની જાણી જોયને કેલી ખુલ અને ખેતા છે. સંગ લોક -ચિંગણ જેવામાં કોઈ દાયતો નથી. આ ભુલ વાલી સંયુપ્ત રાજ્ય પ્રસ્તાબના ભાગ અને અને આગ ખાતે સમયગર યુટ્ટે ન કરવાથી પાંડ, વ્યવિક્રમ પ્રદર્ભર એક તેમ સુમાર્ગ દેખી રતએ છે તપ છે ગંદેવના છે ખાલનો છે કે અના પ્રાથમનાના નના દેવોણ પ્રનદીલામાં શાસભ હ્યું છે. પુરંદ પાલેલ કરી છે કે કારણીય તો બન્નર નોટીમાં છે. આજે પ્રજ્યાસિંગ ದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂದಿ ಎ

🔹 તેલું લોક અઉત્કાર કારમાર એક બનાવશીલ સંતાલેલ અનુસાર ભારાજો એક ભાગ છે.

🔹 ંતના પર પાકિશ્નાને ગેલ્લાપ્ટેસ્ટ પ્રયત્વે જાયત્વી સૌથી છે.



 ભારત આજ સુધી એને થાટે. વિશ્વસભાની એટલે છોડતું અલ્યુ છે 🛎 પહિસ્તાન આજ સુધી 'આલપક'

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વેલ 11.6%) દ્રાંભ્ટ ૨૧૬ ૧૯૯૨૬: ફિદ્યાપ્રે છે Ŧ

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છે. એની સ્થિતિ ત્યાં 'આક્રમણ' વિન્હ મંદી -ભ્યંત

ગીનના પશ્ચને સખ્ય છે ત્યાં સુધી હો બારતે તુરકાર પરિપાને જે દિવસે કર્ણ. ાપ કિસ્તાન ન ત્યાંથી બસેવી એક ત્યારખી જ આ બામલો સિવલીય બની મળો છે. દીધન રતને જીરિને ગુરક્ષ પરિષદમાં કરેલા સબ્દો ભુશના તથી ખેતે ભાગ તો ભારતનો જ એક ગુમ્હાર હતું. સેના દ્વરા અહ્યલય કરી એને પાણ માઈ લેવું જેવન સ્ટુપ

man assists the deg and વિદ્યને દેખહવા માગમાં હતા કે નેઓ સોઈ. હતુંનડાવવ: માન્કદા તથી, ગોવિ પશક કરે છે. ોને સિંચ પ્લુકાય છેલી ખાવે મેં આવશે શે રશેલ ૬ એ પરિસ્થિતિયાં એ ગુપ્લાયન ખાકમદ્દા કરે: ગાપણામાં ભેળવી ગળેએ કે સુધિકો કેળવી સઈએ તે જ સ્વાલિમાલની આ હતી. સંદિત્તે અર્થ છે : આતરવાઈ ધ મતુરણે ગુમરા મહિન્દ્રીય જોઈ એ ભિર્ણય કરવાનો કરે કે કાબ્લાદ પર માહિસ્તાનનો કાનજો. ો તો ગેદાળકે ક્યારે પ્રત્નર એક સુરુદ્વે કરતાં કોઈ વિશેષ નવેલાં '

ગાયતો વિદ્યતિમાં ગાંગક્ય થયો ગામી ભારત મારો એક જ વિકલ્પ છે. અહ્યતા હરી આપણે એ ભૂભાગને મુક્ત કરતી. મહેલે. આજે તથા આક્રમણનું નામ આવે છે ો તુરુત જ વરવાના વિભીષિતનો વાળ આવી. ક્ષાર્થ છે. આ માટે જ વડતનો પ્રાડેશ પ્રીમફ બાયત્વર ગોનાથી કર્યો હતો. સુજય ગ્લેને સંહારના નિયંતા હોણ છે, બે વિશે શકા એવી બોલેલ્ટ નથી

ો જો વિવસ જ ઈચ્છે છે તો પછે! ગામણે એને ગંધ પશ્ચેશું ખદા ચાર ગામપણ ત્યતથી (પાકાળા) ચર્ચા એક આંક્રમણ આવેલા પ્રાપ્ત, સીમ, પર સમાગમાં પ્રાપ્તન શહે. અમેરિયદ દેવ્યુદેવ્યું રાખે કે પાછે.સ્પ્લાન પરમાળા ઊજાંને સુધ ન અડલે. પરિણાય તો ખેતે પડા બોનલમાં જ પશ્રી, પાકિસ્તાન સ્વાનથી ગોમનો, અને બદલો બવશ્ય લઈણો ચ્ચાર્જિયાનની સમા તો ગયે તે ભોગી કરવી જ



a de la contra da la contra da ఇందర్శ్రీ కి. పి. లికి లికి లికి లికి 宮毛があるごさんみ 156 લુલનેતિહેલ્લા દેવીલ્ટ અભ છુસ્તાઓ કડ્ડ દ તો હાજન કે સંતે કરવેટ મુશ્વાસ્ આપી શિવાનો મહોદ 581 (19) 5) aufi ž Ţ Ē. :3 흔 વિચારી બે joan) ē. Ξ, 900 à al Fr 5142 ¢ ž Ş, Ē ł Ē. * ŝ Ę. Ë



(પૃપ્ઇ: ૧૫નું ચાલુ))

પદ્ધતિ અસર સાથા પ્રકાર પરિયત્તે સમાગ પ્લાવિકાર વારણો છે. છતાં પણ ગય રાષ્ટ્રીએ પોત્સનો પ્રદેશકા મહુત્રકામ અને પ્રકુષના જનતાની સાધ્યપુર્વને કપારેપ કેક્કર પછી તથા ઈલ્લેન્ટ અને અમેરિકન મકાદની સ્ટ્રસ્તાન જિસ્તો પાર્થનાથી થાય છે. ઈન્ડોનલમાં વડાપ્રધાલન અને અમેત્રિકમાં

પ્રમુખને પણ ખિલ્લોદર્ગના નામની સોરોપ લેવલ્ય છે છતાં અન્ય છે. મેક્સ્ટ્રસર છે એપ કરેવામ છે.

ં તેલું, સુપ્ર અને વ્યવસાયના દિયમાં છે. સપ્રોચે ેમનાતાવડાનિક્સાઓ આંગણ પર્યો છે એનવી પણ પોતાના વજની દેશન્દુ છે. દુકલાસનના પ્રેહમિ વનુદ જેની એક ભાગા છેકે નાચે નાસરાજ્યકા હેરોની પડાણ, ન અપનાયક્ત સંપૂર્ણ સરકારા પૂર્ણસમયેલ આપ્ય પડાય , અપનાર્ગ છે -

ં સ્વતંત્ર ભારતમાં નકારત્મક સેક્યુલારીજમનાં કુમ્પરિશ્યમ :

વૈદ્યાદક પ્રવર્ણ પશ્ચિમના નગરાત્માર શેકભૂલારિઝનનો ત્વીકાર કરતી વર્ત્તા આ દેશના તમારાત્મક એકવુસ્તીદક્ષમનો વર્ગો પૂની પરપરાજો ીંકતા ન કરવાના પાંધણાથે અનેત પ્રશ્નો ઉત્તર થયા. આ દેશાનાં ધીરે ગાંદ આવાદી મળવામાં ગિમ્સો ગયાલ દેખાયા ભાગમાં ત્યારે મુસ્લિમ અને વિસ્તાર માર્ગ્લેક રાષ્ટ્રમાંદીએ સંગોધના સાધિવે વધુમહોવા પ્રકોની સ્થાન, નામે ભૂપાયુપ કરવા મોટી, દિલ્હન લિશ્ની સીબીને વેસનુ સતારે જનગળાજ ઉપર મળાથ પાડવાનો મંચલ્ન રહે કોઈ. આ એ જ લોકો હતા શેનણે પંચતા પાસ્તમાં ઉત્તું અર્ધના લોકો તેમ અધાયારી કરવામાં એઈ બાળો રાખ્યું ન તેણું ગઢીઓ સુધી દિવસુઓ પુરુ પુર્વતું નાથે, જ અન્યાયત્વ પ્રત્યાસ પુરાસવામાં ત્યાં જિલ્લો શેલો પુત્ર પુત્ર કરવા માંડો કે દિન્દુઓનો પ્રાથમ પડધેનાં પ્રયુત્તનો પુરસ્થિત રાષ્ટ્રી વાસી કાર્ય, તેમાં રક્ષણાનો અવસંગયાં કરવામાં મન્દર્વ

સ્વતંત્ર ભારતમાં સંક્યુબારીઝમનો અર્થ હિન્દ વિરોધી.

અન્યત્ર ભારતમાં દક્ષિમના નકારાત્મક શેકપુરાદેલ્થનો ભાગન માથ દિન્દુત્વનો મધ્ય જ અભયોમો વિદેશ તથી ઘવો, દારે દીરે દેક છે. દેશાવર ટીઝળ, દિવસ દિરંગ તો પર પાસના ગામો છે. અમેરિકા ને દ્વારોન્ટમાં આવ્યતો પ્રકારનાર વિવસ્તા પ્લેની પાર્ચનાથી, થઈ પ્લે પાણ બાદનવા, પીંચાલા કરવાં જે તેમથા વાયરાજ જ સાથે પંચે સારસ કે બોના ફિન્દુનનાજનો સંગ છે. બિન્કો દર્સની દાજના છે સામયનો પ્રાર્થના છે. ગોંગાના સંઘળ પ્રાર્થ સંગ્રાય આગે ગોનમ નથી, તિન્દ્રત્વ તાપુરત સમય એટલે તેઓ દિવેપ તે જ રહેલ્યુસાદિવર્ગ નેથી વર્તોનો

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િન્દુઓ ગિનસપ્રદાધિકોના અન્યાય, અભ્યાસર, અપ્રધાનનો ભોગ પ્રતી εa. 6. 1

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હિન્દુ રાજ્ય બિનસાંપ્રદાયિક રહ્યું છે.

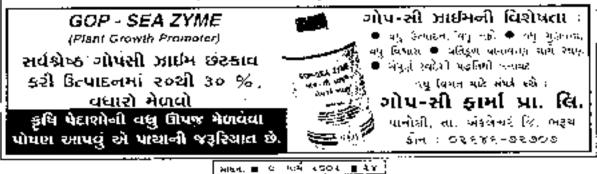
દિલ્હ પરપણ મહતું રાજ્યનો કોઈ ગામમાં નગી હોતી... દાજરતો પોંધોરતા સંગ્રહાસ તોવા છે. પરંતુ તે આગ તેનો સ્પષ્ટિતગરા સંઘરાય રહે છે. પરંતુ રાજ્યને નવાયણ સંઘરાય ક્યારેક રહી તપા. હિંદુમ્પાનન કાનનના કાંગલવા પણના નવીપણ દેશના હોટીન કોઈ પણ શંદથ એવું ન હતું જેને સનાયાર તજવનો ગંમણાય હોય બને સંઘટાથને રાકવનું સ્વાહ ઘડન્ટ છોય, અથકેન ઉત્કુઓનું રાક્ષ્ણ એટલે ં બિનગોડસાવિક રાહ્ય, તેઈ પણ સાસન તેના સમજન્દી ખાવનાને પ્રતિવિધ્યત તરે છે. દિન્દુ મમાજ જ મિનસાચદાવિક છેલાથી આઉ આતન નુનેશા ઉત્તસભાષ્ટ્રાધિક જ મહું છે

ં રાષ્ટ્રીય અપનેલેપક સમજા અરુવેપાયલક હ્યાં પાલસ્તાટે'તજી દેવરસ એટલે તો કરે, છે કે આ દેવમાં વિનસાધારીયેલ્લા ત્યાનસુધી જ ટકી સંગ્રેસે જાણાં થુપી, દિન્દુઓનો બહુમની તરો માનલ ગળતો કારોકાર ઉત્પુર્વ્સને આવેલ છે. જે ઉપરંતિત્કનો રામુંઘતોમાં પુથાયે તે દિવસાય ખિનગામાં દિવસાં રાજ્યો નહીં. ઉદા સીપ્રધાન ને પીસ્તાબિક સ્પષ્ટ ભાગે કારણ મુસલમાનોની પણમવા સવ્યો જનનસારદારીયકલાનો ઉત્તરિક ભાષાથે હોય તો ઈરાલ અને અકગરનાનમાં જઈને આવે. એવને જરૂર છે, નહીં કે સેન્દ્રસ્થાનને

મહમદ પગળમક સાહેલે ત્વરમસ્તાનમાં ઈસ્ટામ મંગદાનનો રુપાયના કરાના મુસ્લામાન સપાલની સ્વતન્દ્ર કરી, આજે સિન્દુશ્પાલમાં (สาวสาวแข่งให้หาวาท พาพิศ) ผู้หัว การสนารทั่วที่ ผู้เร็วแห่ง และหมาศาสน રપ્રોદ્ધામાં જણાં તપામને લાગ તો તેમણે મુખ્ય પણ મદલસલન તથક જ મહાણે પડતે પ્રગુભયાન, તનાજ તરીકે તહેમદાચિક શુનિનો સમાજ છે. j ગુદ્ધો એ પોતાના જ ગણવામને પ્રેષ્ઠ માને છે. બાધોન્ડ પધા જરૂ પ્લાદાય લેખના માટે દ્વસ્તા પ્રતાનમાં છે. અને તેમાં સપૂર્ણ દુનિયાને તે પણન ઇસ્તામ' - એક્સી પુસ્લામના સમાયઓ કેરવવાની ઈમથા રાખે _ન છે આ જ પામપારિકામ છે ઇસ્બરમથા જા માજ્યન પંચમાં લોકોનો, સમાજ તેમના માટે વ્યારૂલ તથવા છે. અને દાક્સ મળ્યને જીવ્ ીટલાનમાં ફેરવ્યાનો મુખ્યત્વાનની કરજ ગામના છ

તહેરતાનું અને પોજાતેલમાં સિન્દુઓને મુસ્ટક્સનો જેટકા anne addetal each taleente koeinaataan wege datg ool કારણો નગી, ગાંદનાસ્તાનન, અનેક વિશ્વીમાં ગીનક સેવા બાર્નિક દાસો પ્રથમ પાઇ અને તેવે પ્રત્ય પ્રતાસ કરે આંધરાં આંધરાનો પ્રતિઓધ છે. દુનિઆનંદ મુન્દ્ર અન્ય અનુસર્વા વેકલેનો અન્યતઘર સંયુદ્ધોરણે આયાવાપિક છે.

આ દેશના રાજરોય વસોની સાચ્ય અર્થમાં સમયદને ચિંદેવ પશું કેશની નિનક્સદારમાં છે. જાણાંદે નાજવાનો જાતવાદી છે. વસ્તુ અહીં દરમમાં વિજયમાગ્યતિ અને કે અનુમનો સેમ્ટ્રાપ્ટ વાક્સ્પે





ને રાજકોય થયો માટે વ્યાનયનો મુદ્દો નથી પશ્ચ લ્યુમતીના મળે કઈ ગુને નગાને શાળુહેક શેને ખળે તે જ તેમનો અગત્મનો મુદ્દ છે. તેએ અપમાંતા બનો પંચાયતાનો તોડમાં ભયમતી કોમગાયને ભુજ્ય દ્રાંત્વાનન તને દિન્દુમર્ગનો વિદીધ તે આપવા દેશના રાજપ્રવાગી nalle G.

કેશના સંજયોગ પશે. લંખુયની નગા માટે લંખુયની કોંગપગરે માન્યતઘર આવે. આરતના ગાઉદ વિભાજતના બીજ વાદી તેમાં છે દેશમાં મજારોય પ્રયોગ્ને ભૂમિલમ કોમવાઇને એ રીતે પોઝરાજન આપતું ાં તે મહાતે માટે મંદિ મનાવ વિશ્વાલનમાં બેલા દેવી શઉ છે. ભારતના વિભાજન વહેલા મુચ્છિક બાલનાના તાથે અલગ મંતરાર માળ, ગલાગ થક મુરુવાય લોગ, ભિલાડન પ્રથળને કોંગ્રેને કેમે આપેલે કોંગ્લાગી ચુક્તિમ તેણત્વને જાણે અદાવયે પ્રોતસાવના પાંચ પંચે અલગા દુસ્તિય

સંદય પ્લીકેસ્ટાનની મામણો ઉભી થઈ જેવા ભારતનું શિભાજન કહું. આજે કોંધેશ, મામ્યતથી સમાહવાને પ્રસ્થામનું સહકારણા વેલ્લે દેશના મહોંગ્ય આવે દેશ કરી તેમાં છે. આ દેશમાં રાષ્ટ્રીય થયોળી ભાસ ઝીલે ા કેસ, જાનના દળ અને સામ્પવારીઓએ ્વિયસાદન વિસ્તાર્ગ અવ્યાગમાં જેન્દ્રવિશેષો અને સંયુપના કોયવામાં નજીકરણનું ગરવું રહ તાણા શાક્ષ છે. આ વેલામાં કોર્ને બહા દોમવાલને કરાન નાં) તેનું પછે ને સંપુષ્તા કોંગલા ાત કે વ્યુવસ તેમવારા આ વિચારન બદલે

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લાયમની કોમવાદનું તુરંદકરક્ષ એ જ ચિત્રમાંપ્રસાય પ્રાપ્ય આવેલું આવેલું અને 📮 અમુ છે.

ચેળવાથા Formiszulation of appoint unity plates સંયુપત્રીય. મનો અન્યુ છે. તારી કે પંચાલેલ્ટ મુલ્લા ગયાવન પ્રાપ્તું હયુપ્રતીઓ તેમ સામ



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વિન્યતાઘર, વિક્રમાનો પ્રશ્નો મેં વ્યવસાય કરતાં કરતાં કરે સાવસાયિકને મે રકાજન મહત્વકે સ્થુ છે. દેશના રાજકોય પશ્ચે મનોવન and Full and the agent was broken from the factor નાયે ઉનેજન ન બાહે છે જોવાની આ દેશના દરેક નાગરિકની 503 Ó. 🔳



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ਸਦਤਸ - ਭੁਝ

રમુંટથી રાત્રે શાંતિ પોતાના આ**ચ્યમો** નગર તરફ જવા નોંકળી, ત્યારે જીવાનંદ વર્ચા જ હતો. શાંતિએ જીવાનદને કહ્યું હતું, ''હું નગરમાં જાઈ છું, મહેન્ટની પાનીને સાથે લેની અલ્વાસ્ત નર્મ પહેન્દ્રને કહી દેજો કે તેની પાની જીવે છે.''

કરમહ્યોનો લાસ બચાવતા વિધે જીવતનેદ ભાવાનંદ ધારોની બધુ જ જાણી ચૂક્લ્યો હતો. કલ્વાણી કરતું શ્હેતિ કાર્તિ અંગણ શાંતિ હાસ જાણી લોધું લતું ગ્રાંતિ બધે જ ભાવતો હતી. આગી, તેને મધી ૪ માહિતી સ્ટ્રોની, જીવાનંદ ધંસિ - ધંસિ એ કહ્યું મહેત્વને સ્ટ્રોલ, ભાગ્યો.

મહેત્વન પહેલાં તો વિશાસ જ ન ભોગે, પણ પછી. આનંદથી અભિભૂત થઈ મંત્રમુચ્ય થઈ ગયો.

રાત ચૂંતી, ખારભાષ્ઠળુ પ્રતા સાતિના ઘઠાથી પરોત્સ અને કશ્વાણીનો મેળાય થયો. એ નિસ્તાબ્ય સ્તમ્યાં, સાનના ચાક વૃક્ષોના અધારી છાવામાં, પશુ - પક્ષીઓ જારે એ પકેલા જ પકેલ્દ અને કરાતણી એકબીજાનો મળી ગાળવા. ત્તીલગગતત્તા જાખા પ્રવેદ્ય નાસ અને શાંત ઊભિલા સાગનો અસંખ્ય વૃક્ષો એ મિકાનનાં સાથા તુર્વો દૂરે ક્યાંક કોઈ વાનકંદી નદીનો થહેશો ભેખકો સાથે જાટકાઈ પધુર ખળ - ખળ થ્યાંને કરતો હતો. પૂર્વ ધ્યતિજે ઊપાન, ગુગરની સગઢમાં, જ્યોતે જોઈ ક્યાંક વેઈ આવંદન કોયલ સફૂટી દીઠી

ં દિવસનો એક પહોર ચડ્યો, ત્યાં તો શાંતિ અને જીવાનંદ આવા પહોરણા, કલ્પાસીએ શાંતેને કહ્યુ, ''અધે તો વિનાસૂલ્વે નિયાસ થઈ થયાં તુવે અપાસ દોક્સીનો પતો જણાવી આ ઉપકાર પૂર્વ કરો ''



રહેનિએ છવાઇદ તરક શોર્ડ કહ્યું, ''હવે હું સુવે જવર. આગ મહોરલો લેકી નથી અને બે સનથી સુવી નથી. સંઘણ-ક્રતપારી વાર હવે હું જાઉં ''

કલ્પાણી મંચમંદ કરતી હાદ

પડોન્સ તલા જોઈ છાવાનદે કહ્યું, 'એ જવાબદાદી કવે પારી, તમે લોકો પડમિક્ર જાળ, લગતે ત્યાં જ લગારી ઈંડની થયો જેવો.''

છવાનંદ નિમાઈ વાસેથી શ્લેહકી છોવા ભટ્ટગુર ગયો તા. મરો, પરંતુ એ કામ તેને સરગાત હાળ્યું

નિયાઈએ પહેલાં ઘૂડો વાખ્યું પછી એકવાર એ.બંગેય જોયું. શાળનરમાં તેમાં મરાકોરા અને હોક ફૂસી ગયા. તે કરી પડી. આ.બરે તેણે કહ્યું. ''છેંકરી મહી અલ્યું.''

િમાઈ ગોળ - ગોળ કહેળી આંખો પર કેરલો, આંધુ! ગુંદી રહી ત્યારે છાવાનંદ એટબો, ''મરંતુ દેકે છે શા માટે અહેન ? ' એમનું ઘર કંઈ બહુ દૂર નથી, તું કથાદેક - બ્યારેક એમના પરં ઝઇ પ્લેકરીને જોઇ આયજે.''

મોં દુલાવી નિમાઇએ કહ્યું, ''ગ્રા, તમાસ સોકોની છેડકી છે તે ! તમે લોકો કેમ ન લઈ જાય ! મહું શું છે ?''

ં અ.મ કહેતી નિમાઈ સુકુમારીને કાર્ત આવ્યો ગુસ્સાની મારી મખ્ય દઈને તેને જીવાનંદ આગળ ફેકો અને પોતે થય આંગા કરી દાવા બેઠી, આવ્યો ઉત્યાનંદ તે થેળ, આ વિશે કર્યુ પણ ઝોક્સા થયર આદીઅવળી વાલો કેટવા બાગ્યો, ગઇલુ નિમાઈનો ગુસ્સો ઓછે ન ગયો

ારેબાઇ ઊઠા આગ્ય માટે અને ગુદ્ધાર્ટ્સના કપાયની પોટલી [પરેણાંનો દાયકો, ગોટલો ગુરુવાનું હુમનું અને સ્વાપાની હીગલો લાવી - સલ્વીને રહવાતંદ સાથે ફટાફટ ફેંકવા લાગી. ગુકુયારી એ મથી વસ્તુઓ એએી કરવા લાગી. વાદેવાર પૂછતી હતી. ''કહેને માં આગણે કરવા જવાનાં ?'

્રહ્યે નિપાઇથી સંદેશભું મહીં, તે સુકુમાદીને ગળે લગગાઈ. રહતો - દક્તી ચાલો ગઈ.

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પકચિક્રમા થયા કુર્ગમાં મહેત્વ, કબ્પાણી, જીવલવંદ, આંતિ, ત્રિમાઈ, ત્રિમાઈના પતિ અને સુકુમારી ખર્ધા આસમથી લેઠાં હતાં. બધા મરસ્પર મળીં ખુભ હતાં આંતિ નગીતાલંદના દેશમાં આવી હતી. સાંતિ દક્ષ્યાણીને પોતાનો ઝૂંધકોંમે લાવી હતી, મંગ ગયે જ તેવે કલ્પણીને એવી વાસ દક્ષી દીધી હતા કે કલ્યાણી તેન. પતિ મહેત્વને એવુ ન કરી યે નવીતાલંદ એક સ્થી છે.

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્ર જાતવીર મુત્રે તે કુ ⇒⊳⊴⊭೯ Ĕ,Ĕ ఎంది**కర్ లి** కిల్లి లేశి లి \$3 통 및 4 (inclu-્રા પ્રિંડ માનસમાન છેર વધા vi-lief 5%

ંદ્ર પ્રત્ય કામણીએ રાંસિંક એવરનમાં એચાલા 🗍 તર્જનાનંડના જેલમાં આંધો અને પ્રેસના જોવા લોધી 🕴 and in the methods, bearly શાંદરન નેવલ્કી પ્રાન કાન્ક્ષ છાટે 🕁 ાય, તૈયાંને, પ્રથમ કોર્ટને પ્રિયોધી, ્યત્રે દેવ બોલસ્ટ છે ? ાલ્વાણી ખોલી, મહજ inala kalend<u>a ky</u>in sedih

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પ્રથમ કે માટે સાથે મુક્તાન પશે. તેવાં એન્દ્ર થયો સંસ્કૃત્ and I and all the man which the most of 152

્યાંત મુખ્ય પ્રવાસ લેવ he would be added हेबुना कर नहें कर के Hell, seally and man point de la

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menances through the balls is a set of ાના શાસ્ત્ર મહેલ અને સાથે પ્રસ્તુ પુરુષો, જેવલ પ્રદેશ જેવલ સ્થળ ુન્દી હતાં તુપ પ્રાથમિક ભાગની શ્રી કેલે

અનુમું મહેતા સ્વીસાસ્ટે સરવાડીના હાથ પકડી મીંપત પ્રયોગન ખેતમાં સામેદ

માં એ કરતું, તેઓ મું જેવ

મથાનામંદી થયે. જેમની મારા બધારતીયદ્વાસ કરે, લોકો છે. તરફ વડવાની તે તેમ દેવો દેવે અવિધાર્મ કરી શકો જેવે.

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ંગે તેમ તે ભાષા માટે પણ દક્ષતાણે પંચાય પંચા પતી.

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inter our period des sobres ણું મધ્ય કરત હતો. આ તમાર્ક વર ા ગય દેવવાય સમય આવ્ય પ્રાપ્ય છે. તે સ્વયુષ્ટ્રપ્રેલીસ

also all add જેન્ટ જ સ્ટીત તે હતું જો સમજ પ્રશ્તે ખોતો અને મધ્ય પાની કોઈ અપ્લાયોની પાની Same store react પ્રક્રમ હોતના દેશનોએ એઈનેક પ્રદુધ Calence stands the base for an and the stands and the second states of the પર્વે તેવર છે. આ જીવન થયું, ્યત્વનું વે પ્રોને ન ધાનું તે કો en la service - જેવા પ્રાથક ગામનું સ્ટ 带 自己 开车 法保证的 感到 and Alicentic

ાન આ આ અનું દિવસી energy and second at असम्बद्धाः स्टब्स् अस् and the second second states where the second se

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્યત્વનું અને છે. આ સાંગળા પશ્ચિમભાની જ ગામી ગયે.

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કાળમાં આજી છે. ખેલા ા આ પ્રાથમના સિંહી છે. <u>5 H8):</u>

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રા. સ્વ. સંઘના સરસંઘમાલક થી સુદર્શનજીનું કર્ણાવતીમાં જાહેર ઉદ્ભોપન

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ષકલ 러버군간[6] પ્રખર રાષ્ટ્રભક્તિ

કર્યા ? પ્રયાય કર્યા જયો ? બીજે જવા હેલુ છે ? પ્રમાં? આપણી પાસે જ આવશે. સરકારને એ કહીએ છોએ કે ગેળને પાછલ નુ મોકલવડો, પહેલ મોકલ્ટવો તેવું મેદન સિવાલ ગોવું છે. પણ હું દે કપાદે પશ્ચિમોન્સર સરહલને પાઉઝાલને સોંધી દીધી ત્યારે તો એ સમયે ખાન અન્દ્રલ ગણાટબાને કહ્યું કે અમને વરખોને સોંધી દેવામાં આવ્યા છે. આજે આપણે પણ એમને ન્દ્રાઓના દલાલે કરી દોધા છે. જિમ્લાસ જીવ ભગવવા આવી શક્ત છે. અરકારને કહ્યું કે એમના માટે ઉપયિદ ઉપય કરો, ખેળને હોવા છે. સરકારના લોકોએ કહ્યું કે શરહ્યાઓ ચિનિદો ચસાવોય, તો જેટલા છે એટબા બધા રહેવા આવી થયે. આવત દેત - આવેલ આવી ૬ ૨૫, છે. ચોરી છુવોથો આવી સમય છે. વાસ્તુહાસ સામેતિન, માય્યમથી અને અનેક પ્રદેશે શારી સંઘર્ક કરતે છે. એમને આવ્યક વગેરે વિજયમ કરી રાખ છે. તેવ કેન્દ્રો આવે છે. મહુદન શહુ તંપને હુટે હે જુઓ તરણકારોએ માટે આવી સાત છે.

્ર સુધ મહામચ્ચ દ્ર શાળામાં સ્વાપ્યિક આ માનામાં પ્રિત્તિક કે દાવામાં કોરોય માને બાળામાં જે

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માં માર્ચ્સ કે છે. આ પાંચી કે કે ગોડી છે. આ પ્રોટી કે કે ગોડી છે.

એપના પર અન્યત્વારો થઈ દક્ષા છે. એવનો સાદસભાગ તમે રાખો, જેવું રીતે -અક્ષયનિક્સ્પ્રેનના સમાખ અક્ષ્માથીઓનું સ્ક્રાપ્ સંયુક્ત શજી કરે છે તેમ અપપના માટે પણ મયુ છોઈએ. આમ થઇ તો પાંગ્લાદેશનો શરમત્વ પદ દગાણ હતવે દ્વાણવી કરે તો માને તો ભારતમારી ગામતા માજલી, મોસા ુંગળો, મટાટ, વગેરે ચોજો ખાન્લાદેશમાં જીમ છે તેને મંચ કરો છે. નાન જ એની સુદિ શ્કાર્ય આવી જારો અન્ય છપરંત માને નો ફરાકાનું પાણી અટકાવી છે. જ્યાં સુધી નાક જાઈ દમ્પાયો ત્યાં મુખ્ય મોં નહી ખુલે, કંઈક તો પરંતુ પડ્યો ગોમ ના માને તો સરવાર પરેલે જે માળ કરી હતી તે મક્તણે છે-દુમોને ગસવર માટે જાવીન જોઇણોટ દાઉનનો ભાષામાં પાનચીન કરવા પાકી, આખે, ગાયણે જો માન્દ સંગતનથી જીવતું હશે છે. મજા-અજ્ઞતા મામબામાં તૈયવર રહેવું ઘટવો..

્યાલય માં આવેલું, પરમાજ, વિસ્કોલ કર્યો, પરંતુ આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય ઘમાણ હેઠળ વાસાજ્ કાર્યદ્રમ આગળ પ્રવાદી શક્રયા નહી.

મનિંદિનાં એન્ટ સોકોને રાખવામાં આવ્યા જે એટો અચ્ચારમાં સામેસ હતા, ગુડાગીરીમી તપાસ પાટે નુંડાઓ નાખનામાં આવે તો તપાસ કેવી રીતે ચાળ ? વિચાર્શ હિન્દુ શુ કરે ? છેવટે કેટાબીને ભા*સમાં મ*ાતી હતો છે_. પ્રંતુ ભારત માથે તો કટેહામ છે કે તહે તે, આંગલાદેશી હો ગામ જ કરે છે. પરંતુ આંગલાદેશી તનાવ્યા કોણે ે આપણે જ અન્નાઓ છે 'દેશનું વિન્યાયન થયું ત્યારે મસમયથ્યાલી ઝીણાઓ પશું હતું કે વસ્તરીના અથલા મહાલ કરા છો, માઇન્ટલેટને

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> [សារីនគោភេឡា ીવ નવે ત્ય કરવામાનો માણસ જ માર્ગ્સ્ટ મેરના . فوک માઇન્સમેટને સરિકાર્યુ છે કે માઇસ્ટાનનું નિર્માણ મેં જ કરાવેલું, તું ઈંચડનો તુનો કે પાટિસ્ટન્સ પાર્ટિનકાની મને મને મળર ૪ તના ો કુર્વભાગ પ્રાપ્તુઓને છેલે. સંપાને નહે. માટો જ તુ ઈન્સ્ટની હતી કે પ્રશ્નોક

પાકિસ્તાનને કરો કરશીઓ તથામ અસ્વકૃત્ મુજામાં માળ-ટલેટન છે, નહેરુ એમના ાર્ટિસમાં ફરાવ્યા, પરંતુ સરકાર પોલે કહ્યું કે દિલ્ફાન ગુસ્કાયતને વકારોની અલ્લા તાઠલી કરી લોક વગેતુએ તા પછી, હિન્દુઓનું સ્ટલા ત્યા થયો અને ક્લ્∖ીના યુસલ્માનોનું સાણ આપણે કરીશું. માપણે એટલું તો સરૂપ દરણા પુરુ પાજ્યું કે છે. સમયન્ત કે કરેક પુથિસમાં મ્લાયે ૧૪ કરે, બન્યા છે, એમને તપાક પ્રકારના ગાઉદ્યારો આપવામાં આવ્યા છે. ચૂટણીઓ હેલ્લા શહે શકે છે. ચૂંટાઈને અહી માં છે. મુખ્ય અન્યાવિક મની માટે છે. હાલપાસ અને કરે છે. ઉપરાષ્ટ્રપણ બની શકે છે. તમતમ મેબેલને જઈ શકે છે. અમુક અધિકારો તો સિન્દુઓને નહી અને પુરાક્ષયત્વોને છે. પરંતુ શાહે પદ્ય મહસ્તાનમાંથી તમામ ઉત્તુઓને મદેલ મુક્યામાં આવ્યા પ્રાથમિકાના સાહકારી પણ ખગાવતમાં આવી રહ્ય છે. સિન્દુ જર્સ HIX-LE & C. KINI BOOR - RA

રાષ્ટ્રીય સ્વયંસેવક સંઘના ૫ પુ. સરસંઘચાલક થી કુપ. ખી. સુદર્શનજી પ કેલુઆરીથી ૧૬ કેલુઆરી ૨૦૦૨ કર્ણાવની પ્રવાસે હતા.

. મહીં સાંગ કરે સાંગ કરે

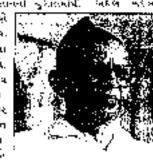
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ન્ય સમય દરમિયાન તેમણે વિવિધ મેઠકમાં ં ઉપસ્થિત ં દેહી કાર્યક્રત્રઆપે માર્ગદર્શન અવર્પ્યુ, ઉપરાંત ં સ્વયંસેયકોને માર્ગદર્શન થયે તે હેતુ તેમનું અહેર ઉદ્બોયન ૫ કેલુખારી, ૨૦૮૨, ห่วงของสะ พีซ สเช้ 3 - 50 เมณ์นี้ મુજરાત કોર્લેજ મેદાનમાં ધોજાયું. અહીં મવચનનો ગીએ અંદર રજૂ કર્યો છે – ગાન્યા દેશ એ પહેલા પ્રાટેમ્પાલનો ભારત હતું, આંગણવેલા પર વાહિસ્તાને ખૂબ જ ાન્યાસાર કર્યો. જેવું તહોવ ન ગઈ કહે તેવા જયન્ય અભ્યલયો સાથે પારતે માનવવાના મોરણો ગતમાગાથી સામે માં-લોદેશનું સ્થણ ેકળું. આંગ્રાદેશનો અહિસ્તાનનો ગુરાજમાંથી

યુક્ત કરાવ્યું. આપણે [ચિલ્લામાં આવેલાદેવાં 🙀 માપણી સાથે ઓછાવા stig lease di Figuria. મરંતુ આવેલું અનુનવ ໂຊຈເປດ ન્યત્ર છે. બાંગસાદેશમાં કોન્દ્રુઓ વર ગન્દ્રગહે કરીને સંતન 🔛 ભાષાની મુક્રમામને આપી હતા છે. બારસ દેશ, આદ્રવક ચર્ચ ાતરે બારસાયેલ્લા સંત્યારકાં દુ

સિંજુઓ તમાં આવે પટાને ૨ ટકા થઈ ગયા ાંકે, આ જ દકાનું છાવન પણ સ્કૂપ્ય નવા ગાજેતળમાં બહારતેમર મહમ્માં પુરણીઓ પોષાઈ ત્યારે મેં તે અભિદા લોવાના જોડાણમાં ઈન્લ્લાંગક મોરવો સામેલ હતો. ઉસ્લામિક મારમના મેનલ્સે કેર કેર ખાખણ આપતા કહ્યું ે ં તમ જેન્દ્રઓ દ્વાણિયા સરસ્વતી વદના પ્રે છે, - પરિસ મત્રાથે છે - મહુ સાબવો તો આ મધાને મારી મારીને સાધો ડસકળા ચિક્રહે આવેલા આવું મોળવાર અહિંદ આજે ં હેવા બનીને એકે છે. આવેલ નથી સરકાર મન્મ પાછે હેન્દુઓ પર કરત થયા વડ્યુ છે. ધરીતે આંગણવામાં આવ્યા સેત્રાદેના ઉભા મહત્વુ બંધાણ કરવામાં આવ્યું. કહિમાઓ સાથે લગાહાર વર્ધો, માના પિનાની સાથે દીક્રીઓ પર મળાત્કાર દ્વા, ઉત્વહતો લુંદળવના આવી, પરંતુ આગલોદેવાની સરવત્ય કર્યુ કરી થાયો નથી. આંગલાદેશ સરકારે ં અન્ય ચરચેનો સંયોગ સારે સંપિતિ અન્યાથી



કામનું ખતાં) છીતો, સંતરમાં અનુવાદ જિલ્લાઓ S. - ou Rouch, six same pro-ચ્હરિહાર, નાજપડમાંદે ગાકસ્થનો, દુવાવાર, આવે વળાને આપણા લગ્દર ભળ્યા મુખ્યત્વા વગેરવા રક્ષમાં અલ્લ હોય તે પ્રદાર્થ થયે. તેને માન્યુઆરીના દેશ કોલકમાળી અલેક્સિન તેન્દ્રસ પર હુમમાં હતાં. આક્રમણ ખોર આફ્રમામ અન્યારી કરી કરવાન કપાઈનો સામાની તેને તે અસ્લાદાના સુરાધક હતો. તેલો પાસે ભારતાય મારાવડે હતો તે કવડવો આવ્યો કે ભારતોય પાસ્ટ(શ્રી ચિંહાસ્ત, ત્યાદામાંથી મનાવ્યો, તપાના, મંદ્રીસ ગુપરિટનેટન્ટે પાસમાટે આપી છેલે… ોની તમારા પણ તે મહે કે માળવા રહ્યું વસે અને છે કે પશું કે છેલે મણ સમય છે યત્વર તોકારણ સરવાનું આવે આવે સાધ આને મહેર માથે લોકોલ ફોંચ્યાની વચ્ચે પ્રચી છે. માત્ર પ્રાપ્ત ફરિયામાં દેશણું સંસ્થય છેલું વેલે કે અન્ય માણતો પોલા લેખ તમાર આપણે ગર્મ તેટલા અચલન શભા રાખીયું છે. કામાટે કે જયવાદની પ્રચલ એપ તેણે ચાલ તથી સુધી શહ્યો હોય. કંપને પંચાયન આજનો ¹ હાશું, જુગુલાની પરંતર બદનવા અને બંધન નપુંચર્કતે દેવા છે.ઉપે સપૂર્ભાયને સવવા માટે એવી સિવલુપવાસિ ગળત પ્રસંધ પછે. કમરા:

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આપણે ગમેં તેટલા અધવન શસ્ત્રો રાખીલું શો ફાચરો ં જરાસંદલી પરઘરા બંધ બહીં ચાલ ત્યાં ભુધી શસ્ત્રો હોવા છતા પરાજ્ય ચાખવો પ્રક્રશે, જયસંદન્તી પરંપરા ભરભવા

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માટે પ્રખર રાષ્ટ્રભક્તિ હોવી જોઈએ સમ્ટ્રભક્તિ લાવવા ગારે એવી વિદ્યારામજલિ દાખલ કરવી પડશે.

provide descent proved somethic controls สโรกษา ว่าสิ่งสับเทพีราสับ พ.สิรรณภัย આદીએસ.અઈ.વે મુખ્ય સ્ટમ્પો આપવા -પ્રદાર્થ છે. એક જેલકો પુરા માં બાલ્મી તેવ ખાયદ્વી પછે એટલી ખેત આગળા

શભ્યો તરી તો પણ ગામેમાં પ્રધાર તાહુપણ્લિ ણેની જોઈએ. દાજબસ્તિ પ્રગત આપણા દાજો દુર્વતનોના ગામમાં આવી ગય છે. આ મહાનના દેશલોહાઓ આજે પણ આગળત કેલન, જેલા મને છે. દિશાબા પકુ લાખો સંજક્રમાંગ ગળાવે મેલા અધિકારી તેઓપ્રદેશ મહુબ હતી. તે આદીએમાંઆઇ.તે આપણી લોકા સંજાળ અનેક મુખ્ય હાસ્ય આપવા પ્રકારણ ગયો, અને જેલમાં પુરવામાં આવે. તે ખેતી મામદ્વામાં જર્વને

Constraint SC Meaning Reader and internet aney parisis alicati energi testan દેશનો*શબ્દાર દ્વી નહીં આપી અવ્યકો પ્રેલક પ્રશ્નો અમાળી સ્વત્ય, સ્વચ્છે પણ કે તુવે છે. તે પરંપરનું પાસ પાસના સંબં ફેરીએ, પશુ આપણે બાજામન માળ્યું છે કે તનું વસવાણો તેણે કેઈને, મીટી બીટી, વર ્યત્રવાદ્ય નાંગે સ્વોય્સે, પશ્ચુ પ્રવેશનથ ત્યાં પાય, - પ્રં હોરોન્ટે મહિલ્યો તો, પર પ્રસ્તુલન કોલા છે છે ગાયએ તમામ સંગુના તાલાવ્યત પ્રદેશણા કરેલા છે. આજે પણ ત્યલ યે રાજ્ય કે પંચાયત ગયનોનો મહાય સમસ્ય And Later and Conserver band we તુપ્રનાત્મક પ્રશીક્ષક નવા જાઉએ કે સેનો કાઓને, માગમ સમતા વગાવી બનાવે

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ાતભાર આદિ પણ શાસ વિરાસ પ્રથમે, inter the contrar second coefficients. માલ છે.) આદી આપણે વિકાસ વ્યવસાય છે. ก่อนหนึ่งไม่สะุณหน้ามาจำเห็น (สะคมจะก and applied for the set of a second દેશના સહાળ કબર રાજનવિત્ર પણ હોવી સંબંધના આવતારી પાક્તે એકથી એવા વડિયા વ બન્નો અર્થ હોય, પરંતુ રાષ્ટ્રભાઉત તરી હોય તો આ માલો કાલુઓના તાલમાં પણ આવી પ્રોફ કરત છે. હવારમાં દેશકો સામે, આપણે જેવે



જીશ કલ્પર થયેલો આપણો ાનિંદ સંખયલે છે કે દુનિવાભવર્યોથી લોકોએ આપણા પર દુકલાઓ કર્યો ેમણે બહેલી ભૂમિ પર કેમની મેળવ્યો, આપણા દિયાસ પર કલજો કર્યા સિક્લદ પાછે મુનતના, તુંકે, મુગળ, ખેડુંગળ, ગંદેજો, કાર્જ્સાસો અને ડથ આત્માં અને આપણને લુટના કે બામતું હતું ગુટી ગયા. આવેલે ક્લોનેય કોઈની પ્રાપ્તે આવે અપલાય કરતું નખોં, આપણે કુમુદ્રેય કોઇ પર હુમકર, નથી હતાં, આપણે, ઝપરેય કોઈની ગુમિ છોનવી નગી. યોઈની સસ્કૃતિ, પ્રોઈનો હતિફાસ 🛱

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અદયક્રી નહીં અને ક્રમાદેય આવેણી જબન્યદ્ધનિ ભીજા કોઈ ૬૪ હોયવાનો મુખ્યત વાઈ કરતો પણ માટે ? કેમ કે આપણે બીજની સ્વયંત્રનાની વિષતનું સન્પાસ કરીએ લીબે.

ભારતના અધિષય ઉપર પાસે અન મ્હબનેઓ છે. પટેસાં મુખ્યતા સ્વતંત્રતાં સમંઘી છે. મને ત્વિચાન છે કે ભારતે તેનું અલ્લોહન ૨૮૬૭ માં કર્યું, ધરારે આપણો પટેલર, પણ તેનો સ્વોકાર કરતા નવા કા માટે ઉદ્દાર સ્પાર્ગગ્યસંદાખ શરૂ જાયોત એ સ્વારંગ્રાન્ડુ સ્લાહ પોલણ કરીને એને આગળ પ્રયાધવાની છે. આવિયો અન્યંત્ર તે દકીઓ તો કોઈ આપવું -

ભારતન ङल्पनास

મારી ગીજી કલ્પના ભારતના ઉપયોગો છે. પંચાસ વર્ષથી આપને એક લેકાસરડિંત માજ દરિશ્વે કરવે સમય ભાગી ગયે. છે, કે આપણે પોતાને એક ઉંચાંધત વાકુના રૂપમા જોઈએ કુલ રાષ્ટ્રીય ઉત્પાદન હવવાય માં આવે ભાષણે દુનિયાના માથ શીર્વરહ દેશોમાં છીએ. મણાં કેળીમાં આપણો રાષ્ટ્રીવસિંસસ હર દસ ટકા છે. આપણી ગરોની ઘટી રહી છે. આપણી ઉપરાંત્મઓને ઉપયો મહ્યમાં નહે, તો પણ ગામણાઓ પોતાને ઉદ્યવિત રાષ્ટ્રના રૂપમાં લોબાળા આત્મલેલાવાનો અભ્યાત છે. કુ આ પોરવ છે ?

મન્માન કરતો મહી

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મારી લીજી મલ્મના છે તમારમ વિમોમાં લ્કાઇ સાથે ઉત્પી 💩 માટી એ વિચાર્સ છે.'કે ભારત વિશ્વમાં જાવ શુધી દક્તર તાથે ઉલ્પો નહીં અને તથા સુધ્ય થોઈ આપણા ખન્માન નહીં કેરળ શૈ-વર્શાક્તમાં નહીં હણ 42

- એ. પી. જે. અબ્દુલ કલાય

ાળવાઓ શામને ત્યાયલંગી બનાવી દીધું છે. અભો પણી લેપલબિલ્મને, મહન્મતાએ છે હતુ. સુયના માધ્યમો સાને સમાજના તુર્ણ કોવો એને પાન્યલા આપીને એની વિશિષ્ટતાની ઉલ્લેખ કરતા નથી.

નું એકવાર નલ અહીવમાં તનો અને ઈઝરાયલનું છાપું મોમનો હતો. એ એવી દિવસ

enો જે હિંદસંબનો) હુમલાઓ, અન્યમતરે પ્રથી હતો. મહાર સૌથે આમાં ગામ, રત્ય તપાસથે તુપરતે ઘર્વે રહ્યો, પણ આપના પટેલા પાને એક મહુદી સંસ્થયનની ફોટો દેવાળ જગીવને હરિયાળો ગવલો હતા, તે છપાયો હતો. કરેક આ પ્રેરણ્ટારપણ ચિત્ર જોયું માસ્કાર, બોંગવાથી, મોલનું ભોગાન્સ વાર્તન અદરભા

યાને અન્ય અપાસમાં દસાયેલું હતું. [ભારતમાં આપણે, અતંત્રવાર, સંગુઆવી, પ્રત્યું, અપરાયન, સ્વાગાસે કર્યવાં તોએ છીએ આપણે આગમાં નકારતન્મક સાં માટે વિશ્વાસીઓ છી એ ?

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આ ભાષણ ગાયમ માટે હ તેલામતક ગયો હતો ત્યારે એક છોકરીએ нй eralas (Autograph) sear<u>i</u> 15. h thờ 403 (Sand) day લમ્ય શું છે ?', સેમણે લગામ ખાવ્યો હું ત્યકાંસન ખાન્યમાં સંદેશ માન્યું છુ. ขติ พร่า สหเจ้ เป็นรูป หรือ ทั้ง વિકલિયત વ્યવસાય નિર્ભાણ પરવાનું છે. 👔 અદળશે ઢઢતા આવે કહેવું મારદે કે ભારત

એક મહેકસિંગ શાપ નહીં પણ બહુ ત્યકલિન ay 6.

તમે મહે એ કે અપથી સ્ટક્સ ડામ કસરો ગાંધી, તમે કરતે છે, કે આવવણ કાંગદાઓ મહુ જૂજા છે. તમે કરી છે. કે ટેસ્પ્લોન પ્રસાબદ કામ બધી કરતો, વેલલેમાં પણ ભાગ છે, ાર્કેલમ વિશ્વમાં તાલુવાં ભારામ છે, પંચ 915 મથ્ય પર મળતા નળી, સવાસ આ છે કે તમે આપ્ય માટે કઈ કરે છે. ?

ઉત્પર્ધક જવત્વામાં એક આવ્યતુ ગાહરણ જુઓ, એમનું નામ એજ છે જે નવતું

છે. એમનો અહેરી એજ છે જે તમારી છે, તમે પોલે વિભાગી મથકની મહાર આવો ત્યક્ષરે સર્વાસમા અભરદાષ્ટ્રીય રૂપમાં તોવ છો. ઉત્સાનુરમાં તથે સ્ટિમ્પ્રેટના દુકેશ થયાં ફેકના કે દુલાનો પર ઊભા ીંગ્ય જયના થયે, એમની ખુસર્ગ દેશને પટે

એટલો જ ગયું શાય છે જેટલો એવને માહિમ મોજબે સાથે ગુભાગ કરવા સાથક ઓર્ક્ટ શેડ ઘર ભારતના ભવિષ્ય વિશે મારી ત્રણ કલ્પનાઓ છે. પહેલી કલ્પના સ્વતંત્રતા સંબંધી છે. પને

વિશાસ છે કે ભારતે તેનું અવલોકન ૧૮૫૦ માં કર્યુ, જ્યારે આપણો પહેલો સ્વાલંગ્યસંશામ શરૂ થયો. એ સ્વતંત્રતાનું જેમણે પાંચ વર્ષના પોતાની રક્ષણ, પોષણા કરીને એને આગળ ધપાવવાની છે. આપણે સ્થતંત્ર ન રહીએ તો કોઈ આપણું સન્માન કરશે નહીં. મારી બીજી કલ્પના ભારતના વિકાસની છે. મારી ત્રીજી કલ્પના છે

ભારત વિશ્વમાં દઢતા સાથે ઊભો રહે. આપના 🚛 ૯ માર્ચ ૨૦૦૨ 🗰 ૩૦

જોડામેલાં છે.

ચ્ચ માટે છે ? ભાસ્ત એક વિશાળ શબ્દુ છે. અગારી મોટી - મોટી રહળતાઓ મેળવી છે. ઉત્પાદનમાં આવશે સંદુર્થો અહલગ લીએ, વર્ડ અને મોબાના ઉપડાલમાં વિશ્વમાં આવ્યું ખેતી કમ છે. શે, મુકારોનને જીઓ, એમણે મંડ

અલ્પણે આપણા સારો વાનો, ખુપણી

અધિકરાજિતના સુપ્રમાં પણ આવણે મજબૂત

બજ્યું મુપ્રદે, ખેતે પાસાં એકબીજા સાથે

ંપજબિયઓનો સ્વીકાર પ્રસ્થામાં એટલો શંકોય

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િકોએ દાયદી શયે આદ મુખ્ય ગાંડી મહાલમાં પટ તુલે પાંચ સિપાયુરી ડેસર (એ) દ્વિવાથી હતાં છે આવે છે. તમારા જે તે તેમવા હોય તે ત્વ દોક દેવકોરેલના દોકાઈ જાય અથવા અર્થતી કુરવામાં સુધ સાથે તો પછિના માટે વધારાન પંચા નુષ્ણો છે. સિંગાનુકનો ગોદ થેઇને ટોકન ત્રવ્યું નહીં શેરી તમે,

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ત કહી તોય છે. જિંદાનિનોનો

લ્યવસ્થાપાલન

zanna an annea arbhain an જાતેરમાં દેવે આચાર્ય તેમના તેણે કરી સાથે. જેન્દ્રાપ્રમાં નવે સવાકુ અન્યુ ચંદ્રવર, વગેર ભરાવ weard than all show them ેલિકોન્ડ એક્સરેપ્રિંગ જર્દને કોઈ કર્મચાનોને રજ લાઉન્ટા દાસાન્ય સામનો સુધિયાર આવેલે ાતનું એસ શાળી તું આવે એસ કોર્ડ, તેવા વાંચાન, નામે કરી છે. મહેતમું લહેલ મધે નહે કરો તહે. લો.શે.સ્વનમાં પંચાયત મહ્લ્ય ્રંગ્ય કાર્યદ્વા પ્રતિ ત્યારથી ત્યારે પતિષ્ઠ ગાંદી વસ તમે ફાંડિંગ પોલામને વર્ષ થોય તાઉ વધ શકે ''ઓનને હતું કેસ કુ'', ટોકિમેના તેઓ પર સંદેશપાલના વિશ્વનથી નાંદી માર્ચ પ્રધાર ઓક્ટ્સમાં સર્ક ગામના પ્રમાણભાવળી ્યુપ પ્રાથમિક શાંકો છે. તે આ જે વાળો પર પ્ર ો તમારો જ બની કરે રખો છું. તમે ગોલ્લ રેલોના એ દેશની જે ગવરત છે તેનો િત્રાચ્યુએ આંક્સ કશને છે. પ્રમાણે આપવા ત્ર છે. પણ પોતાના દેશમાં તપા થઇ શક્યા જે તે કરીને સાંદ આવ્યું આવ્યું છે. ત્યાં દરમાળાં કારણકા ઉત્પતિસ કેકબા લાખો પણે તેળે અન્ય રોય દેશમાં છે. દ્વાનગઢ અને વ્યવસાય લ્લામાં શેરતાં અને પાસે છે. તો ભાજામાં ાંગુ કરા તે કરા સર્કો જ

alash manananan manya the contemposition of the second second second વાન કરી, તેમણ કરવું વ્યવસાયનાં વાંકોંગ્ય quality groupsh from the story there are in મને વાલી વેલ સૌથે દોય સવાદ માટે કાઉલ્લાના and the second star (B) is a second પ્રત્યત્વર પ્રાપ્તેમના ગાઉભાગીયો પાસે શું when all a first of the mean about અધિકારીઓ તેણે સરીતે તેમના પાછના દનીને છે હોયરી શહ્ય કરેના જાય ? અમેરિકાનો પાર્ટભા કુતર, નંદય, દંદ નો બેના માર્ગ્સિને બે સાહ દેશું પૈકાર્ટ જાપાનમાં મગા મેળું જાાઉં મે બારતના વાગોસમાં અને અને માટે. 🗥 એમની વાન વધુ સારો છે

ખેત્રારે મહિલાઓ અનેજ, આગાંકઓ ગાઢ બંદળના જેવા નાયલંજન પુદ્યાનોનો સ્ટાર્થ્ય આવે છે ત્યારે આપણે પાણે તો મોદા પોઠો પશ્ચને સાથે, પણ ઘટલા આવતાર એનાથી વિયસન કરીએ છોએ, કાદકા શું છે ે અ.

સંપુર્ણ અવસ્થા જ ખેતી છે જેને બદલવી છે તું મારા રોકરના દફેજ અધિકારને બન્દે કરું છે એનાથી શું કેર પડશે, તો ત્યવસ્થા કોણ બહલશે ? આવારે કોઈ વસવાય કેવી છેને મને છ આવતવા પણ એ આવવું બહુ સુધિવાજનું છે હેયે અનુવામાં મુખ્યત્વે પ્રતિથયે. શાન્ય કહેતી, અન્ય ગણવાળી અને સરકાર તનાવે છે, પણ નિર્દેશ તમારા ભારતથે મની

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સંકોધી નહીં જ ઉત્ત સિમ્માં, હિંદેલ, બેહી લ્મફોલ, બહીફથ પેળવ લગ, કિસ્ટરે સોગ્ય ,

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જવાબદારીથી છટકવે

المرارة المريد درجه والاسك الأروابي ચ્છારલ્વા પોલરાનનો પ્રશ્ન બાથે છે ત્યારે પોતાનો ખાતને પરિવાર શહે, તુનપિન સંગ જાણના કુરીને કુરના બોજા દેશને નથકો બેલા જેવી છે. entrol memory and was due by આવશે એન્ટ્રાંગ્સ સંતે કરા છે. તે તામ ફેરલીવે જાણવાં અનું શાંક થઈ દેશ, સવાયણે માટલ દેશ, છે. દાર્ગ્ય છે. ચું કે ખેત્રી કરવે છે. દોતાઓ આપવેલાઓએ બસ્લા, (ગળાલુ, આવે રેટલુકની લેખ અમેરિક ખાલી ખેડીએ જીતને. મહત્વી સુત્વ સગવડોથી બુધ વર્તનો દીવી લાખે એસના ચત્વાર પ્રદાનો દીવને અવલે ત્યું તેમેલા જ્ઞોનન ધાનુ તાત વ્યક્ષે ઉલ્લેખ્ય ખાલીને વીધે. મનારે તેને અને વેરે જેવલે છે. છે. તેને વ્યુકોના દેવીમાં જાઉંએ છે.તેને આવે વસ્તી થેમ યુદ્ધથી મુખ્યત્વિત થાય છે ત્યાર માધણી કરોઈ હેલ્લી કે આવત સરવાર આપવે બચાવે અને અહાર કો, દ્વેક સાણગ દેશનો કુદુધથો અને મેર તેટલા બાળ વેલાવ્યા પછળ પાટલ છે. છેલ દેશવૃષ્ટ્યાનું મહત્વનું સન્યવ્યા ગિયર્ટનો જ થયદ શતઘણી અને ચેલના પેટ્સ નાટે પ્રાથનિય પૂર્ણ ્યું નું મહેલ્દ દેવેલીના બાનર વસ્તોથી પાંચ રણાજી ત્રણને મહત્વ મહાનાયોને ના દ્વાન કરવા માનું છું. આ ઉત્તે કે આપનું માટે આપને સ સ્કૃત્ય ગીએ અને સ્ટ્લા છેવું જ તેને સ્ટીએ, એ ોતી પૂર્વતો કે નવે છે તે કેસી, ખેળા તે કરીયું ન પ્રાપ્યું કરતું જોઇએ 🕻

અનુગ્રદ હિટરિંગ દેશમુખ્ય

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રાજસ્થાન પોર્ટોની ખુબિ કહલાય છે. અહીંના રહેઓએ શેહર કરીને ખેલાની વીરતના ઉદાકરાતો પૂરા પાલ્યો છે. તેવી જાવ્યા ખેક સન્ય ઘટના છે

રાજસ્થાનના એક માનાસા ગરૂથમાં પલનસિંહ કાલ રાજ્ય કરે. પર્વતસિંહના ત્વાં લાલબાઈનો જન્ય થયો. દીકરીની સતને વર્ષો લાલનાવાલન શું ? પણ ના અ. તો દેવવો દોયેલ અપ્સા હોય તેવા, દૂપ ફપના ગંભાર સરખી માં વ્યવાની જેવી તેજગ્વી લાહભાવી હતાં તે હશે ત્યારે ફુઝ ખોલે તેવી તો વાયકા એના પાટે ચાલતી

કાલબાઈ મોટી થઈ તેન ફ્રપ્તી વાતો ડૂંત દૂર સુધી ધલા લાઇટ તે મળતે મોધલંતા આઢમણો ભારત પર તમ્ પંચા હતા. સિંધ માન્તના અહમદશાહ બાદરાહના કાને દરબારીઓએન્સાન પૂર્ક કે '' જહોવનાત્ર જો કુદરતનું નુદ જોવું હોય તો પંચાસિંહ અલના વધી અલ્લાહે હુસ્તની પરી પરિક્ષી છે. આ પરી તો અકારના જનાન તનામ જ સૌળો, તાનો હવે તો પણ દેખાય નૈયો ચરમેનુન છે '' બાદરાહે આ થત સોળાઓને લોહબાઈને લોક્સ માણશો માહ્કવા

પર્વગાંસેસ હિંત્યુ સાજી હતો. બાદરસ્સાતા ઘેદા 'શાયળ' ૮ તેને નોકર્સનું આપવાન કર્યુ ને ત્વું તે રાજપૂત કત્યર કઈ એરલી બંચે બરતા નથી કે કાઈદોને આપાંચે ! તે ત્યા નાનો ગી ચાતે લેહું દૂધ લોધુ સરકર સાથે ગાસ્વરદ્યદા પર્વનરિંદ્ધ પર ચટાઈ કરી પર્વનરિંદુ તેને, સાયનો કરતા દરિયાલ પાયલો પણ તેને ગાલબાઈને પેલાના દિયના ચેર ચોક્ક! લેધી હતી. હાંતરિંદ્ધ ચોરત્રાંતે પેલાના દિયના ચેર ચોક્ક! લેધી હતી. હાંતરિંદ્ધ ચોરત્રાંતે પેલાના દેવ્યવા સંદેધાલિ પાયલો હતો. વ્યવસાય સાલબાઈને પેલાના દેવ્યવા સંદેધાલો, પણ સહાબાઈ ન થળે. તાસ કરી તો વગાર પછે કે લોવખાની તો પ્રયોગસિંદ્ધના ચિત્રને ત્યાં છે. ત્યાં સિપાઈને પ્રોક્લ્યો પણ આપવા તેમ સન હતો. વિયત્સ તમે પણ વિશ્વનો ચાયણ આપવા તેમ સન હતો.

અહબાર્થએ જેવું કે લાણધી હોવી એસાએ તેવી તે ખરાવ આવીને કહે ''જીઓ તમારા બાદવાહને કહે કે લાલભાઇ તેમાં સાથે નિમાહ પડ્યા તૈયાર છે.'' મિલ પુંઝાયું લારાભાઇને બહુ સમજાથી પડા તે મહાય હતો.

ંગ્યા સમાચાર મળતા બાદરતાલ ખુલ થયો. નિકાસ માટે તિથિ નવેલે થઈ લાગભાઈ લગ્રામાં સ્પત્રં પોતામા સ્વયમીથી ફલ્ટાર સરાજ્યના બનાવશે? એવ લાહસાવ્યે



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સમાચાર મોઢાવ્યા. બાદસાહ તેને આ સાંભળી ખુદા થયો. અન્ય પણ પ્રાથમિક રોજવાની વિજયાં છે. આ આવે

સતપ પંતા રાજ્યહેલમાં તૈયારીઓ ધવા લાગી, હલાયહીએ બિઝાઝના દિવસે દુલ્હાના કપડો ચોક્ટવર્ષ ને કપ્યું, ''જહાંપત્તમહત્વા સીવેલા કપડો પહેરીને નિકાર પડ્યા આવધો તો આ દાસો ખુલ થશે,''

નિકાર માટે ૪ના બારતારે આલગાઇના પ્રોકલેલા ગાલ માંશ્વે આવ્યું * મહામાંથાં શૂળ ભોંકાનો હોય તેમ તેના ગઇરમાં કરશે. વેરના ઉપક્રીને બાકશાહ જમીન પર આશોટવા સગ્યો. જોન જોલામાં તો તેનો પ્રાપ્ત પણ ઉંડે. ગયો,

લાડભાઇએ પિતાના ઉંગ્રને કહ્યું ''પ્રકા કાંઠાથી કાંઠો નીયળે, અદ્ધાદરાહને આપણે પુષ્પત્ન મેદાનમાં જીતી શકીએ તેમ ન હત્ય તેથી યે લઘતું નાટક રથી આ કપડામાં મંતિલ છેર એળલ્યુ હતું જેમી કપ્તું દારીરને સ્પર્શ થતા જ આ છેર તેને સ્પરવર્ષો ફેસ્ટઈ લઘું ને છેરે તેનું કામ થયું.

ચીર છે તને લાલગાઇ પત્થ છે શક્ય સાવસ્થાનને કે આવી લેલંગના પૈયા કરો

∎ ડૉ. વિક્રમ ભાટુ

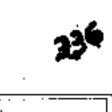


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દીવાલ ઘડિયાળ	પ્રસંગકથા
🦨 ડીવાલ પશ્ની ઘડિયાલ કહેની	આશીર્વાદ પાછા વાળ્યા !
એકપળ પણ ના અઠકો. 👘 📔	એકલાર એક પ્રેનની સ્થામાં ચહુહ લોકોએ જા
કામ તમારુ ભાગી આવે છે	ં સૌધો, કબાની પૂક્તીડુટેને ઘઈ, મુખ્ય મહાસોની, અલ
અધુરા મુક્રી ના છાટકો.	465 44
[રૂપને પળતી તા અંહાશે.	હેત મહત્વમાં બધાને આશીર્વાદ આપ્યા, ંતમાં
એ તો છે મહામુલી,	ચંચી રોજગાર દિન્દ રાજ પ્રાથમ કરે
ઘાડ કેટાળો શાળે તો પણ.	પૈ જણા ઊભા થય. સંતર્શાન, ચરણોમાં નમ
ધ્યેલ જશો નાંભુલી:	કરી બોલ્યા, "મહારાજા આવના આસીવાંદ પાછા છ
આ જીવનનો હેવુ છે કોઈક	ରା "
(દ્વેશ વગર ના ભારકો, દીવાસ	્રાંતગ્રીને અમર્થ થયું. તે વોલ્યા, ''ભાઈએ, મન
ટાપે ટાપે સરવર છલાયે	્યા અંતરાજ્ય ગામવા લુકુલ્લ મહત્વા ગામવા છે. તાલ
પ્રાવર કોંગ પે ખાળા,	ેલા ગણાવ્યું કે ગળાવ્યું છે. સ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટેસ્ટે
જીવ ડામમાં સદા રાખજે	ં અને જણાઓ કરીથી થયું. "પણ અમે આશીર્વાર
દુર ધાર્શ સઘળાં આવ્યા	લાય તથી.'
ખાણી - ગાણીને પડિન બનવું	સતકાએ તુણ્યુ, ંગોવું તે ગું છે. ''
હેવે સમાં એ ખટકો,	ગાંક જણા ગોરમો. 'હે રપશાનનો પ્રાપ્ત વે
કીવાલ પરની ઘડિયાળ કહેતી	States and the states of the s
ગોક પગ પડા ગાગ્યટકો. ં	જે. પીજી વ્યક્તિ બોલી ''હું પ્રોકટર છું.
અટક માળ મહુર રાષ્ટ્રભાગ્યત્વા - હ€ાય પડા ય	ગાઝ પ્લાન્સ બાલા હુડાકટર છુ. રજૂકનાંઃ હીંગ્રભાઈ ખમ
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કુ સ્તી પ્ર પ્રસ્તીની પછી પ્રદીકારોએ ગામ છે. પણ મર	
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ક સ્તી પ્રસ્તીની ઘણી દ્રશંકારોએ ગામ છે. પણ મર અગિરો એ શક્ય નથી. ઘરઆવણે એવે પ્રમાગમાં મગાલવા જઈએ તો હાથ દેશાય પ્રશ્મીના નમાંચા પર ગાવા પડે, માટે પ્રશંક મુલ્લી જગ્યામાં સ્થવા જવું.	
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કુસ્તી કુસ્તીની ઘઢું! દ્રદીઢાયંએ ચામ છે. પણ મર અંગણે એ શક્ય નથી. ઘરઆવણે એવેં, પ્રમાગમાં બગાવવા જઈએ તો હાથ દેગાય પ્રશ્વમાં સ્થવા જવું. હાં, આપણે ખાલી મરની જ પરવાના છે. તે પણ સૌથી માટી બે જણ એમ્બીજના સાથે ચહેરે રહે તેમ સુઈ જાવા એમના જમદ્દા ઝુથની વેણાં કરાં પર રહે એ રીતે હાથ ઠેકવો, પંજ ઊંચા રહે. એ પછી બંનેએ સાયસાસ પંજી પિસાયવાના છે. પછી કરવાનું છેર જોર કરીને મામાં ખેલાવીનો હાથ જમીન પર પાઈ દેવો, એ વેળા વેણાં જમીન ઉપર ટેકવોનો જ રહેવા	216E
इस्ती ક્રસ્તીની ઘટ્ટી દ્રશેકાર્યએ ચામ છે. પણ મર દ્રસ્તીની ઘટ્ટી દ્રશેકાર્યએ ચામ છે. પણ મર આંગણે એ શક્ય નથી. ઘરઆવણે એવે પ્રમાગમાં મગાવવા જઇએ તો હાથ દંગાય પ્રમ્યીના નમાચા પર ખાવા પો, માટે પહાર ખુલ્લી જગ્યામાં શ્યવા જવું હાં. આપણે ખાલી મરની જ પરવાની છે. તે પણ સૌથી માટી બે જણ એમ્બીજાની સામે ચહેરી રહે તેમ સુઈ જાવા એમના જમદા હથની કોણી કરવે પર રહે એ રીતે હાથ ટેકવો, પંજ ઊંચા રહે. એ પછી બંનેએ સાયસામ પંજી પિલાવવાના છે. પછી કરવાનું છેર છોર કરીને થામ ખેલાયેનો હાથ જ્યાન પર પાર્ટ દેવો, એ વેળા મેણી જ્યાન ઉપર ટેકવેલો જ રહેવી જોઈએ આ નિયમ ખાસ થાર સપવો જરૂરી છે.	AIGE 1
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Date: 14-07-2009

Further statement of Shri R.B. Sreekumar, IPS(Retd.) s/o, Shri R. Bhaskaran Nair, aged about 62 years, permanent r/o, 'Sreelasyam' Ooruttambalam P.O. Distt. Trivandrum, Kerala. at present residing at 'Sreelekshmideepam' Plot no. 193, Sector-8, Gandhinagar, Gujarat

In continuation of my earlier statement dated 13-07-2009, I further state that certain specific intelligence data about the possible communal trouble was provided by SIB to the jurisdictional police officers particularly CP, Ahmedabad city because the communal violence persisted in Ahmedabad city even after the incidents from 27-2-2002 to 3-3-2002. In this connection my D.O. letter dated 15-4-2002 addressed to Shri P.C. Pande, the then C.P., Ahmedabd (Appendix-22) annexed to my first affidavit dated 15-7-2002 filed before the Commission, may please be referred. In this letter I reported that radical Muslims who nurtured extremist exclusivist, fundamentalists and sectarian ideas had vehemently opposed the search and combing operations by the police in housing colonies and localities predominantly occupied by the minority community and that in case of large scale combing operations, the resistance may be offered in the form of counter attack on police by pelting stones, throwing of acid bulbs, use of lethal weapons and even by use of the fire arms. The Commissioner of Police was requested to keep these inputs in mind at the time of executing mass combing operations in predominant Muslim localities like Juhapura under Vejalpur Police Station. The C.P. was also intimated that information received from unconfirmed sources indicates that radical Hindu elements were keen to organise a mass assault on Juhapura by encircling the locality in large numbers. It was further intimated that these radical elements had been procuring lethal weapons like swords, petrol bombs, other traditional weapons and gas cylinders. Lastly, it was mentioned that the crowd may adopt the similar modus operandi of attack on Juhapura as adopted earlier in case of Naroda Patia and Gulberg society.

In addition to the aforesaid information I had also conveyed certain intelligence inputs about the emerging communal scenario in Ahmedabad city to the C.P. Ahmedabad with a copy to DGP vide my D.O. letter dated 26-4-2002. It was reported that Bajrang Dal leaders were likely to distribute lethal weapons like swords, daggers, acid bulbs and petrol bombs etc. on Hanuman Jayanti i.e. 27-4-2002 to their active workers. It was further reported that VHP and Bajrang Dal activists had plans to launch massive assault on the members of minority community from 28-4-2002 onwards with a view to create panic amongst them. I also pointed out that localities like Dariyapur, Kalupur, Shahpur, Ramol, Bakramandi, Muslim localities in Paldi area, peripheral localities of Juhapura, Muslim housing localities near Mitha-Khali cross roads are likely to attacked. Information that one Ashok Maganlal Thakore, a VHP supporter of Ranip area was likely to lead the attack in Bakramandi was also reported. Another information that Islamic militants belonging to Iqbal Mirchi and Dawood Ibrahim group were planning to dispatch sophisticate weapons to fundamentalist Muslims was also furnished. I also sent a report about communal incidents reported on 21&22-4-2002 in Gujarat State to the Union Home Ministry with copy to Addl. Chief Secretary (Home) vide my fax message dated 22-4-2002. However, in spite of these specific intelligence inputs no reply was received from C.P. Ahmedabad.

After taking over as ADGP (Int.) on 9th April, 2002, I sent my first analytical note on "Current Communal Scenario in Ahmedabad City" to Shri Ashok Narayan, Addl. Chief Secretary(Home) vide my D.O. letter dated 24-4-2002 with a copy to DGP. In this report, I mentioned that of late the minority community was found to be taking an increasingly belligerent posture as they feel themselves a section of population left at the total mercy of the radical communal elements of Bajrang Dal and VHP. It was further mentioned that the loss of life and property was heavily weighed against Muslims in as much as 636 Muslims were killed (including 91 killed in police firing) as against 181 Hindus (76 killed in police firing), 329 Muslims injured as against 74 Hindus and loss of property of Muslims came to Rs. 600 crores as against 40 crores loss to Hindus. It was also mentioned that in Ahmedabad city 278 Muslims were killed in the riots (including 57 in police firing) as against 91 Hindus (including 30 in police action). Further, the figures amongst Muslims in Ahmedabad was 408 as against 329 Hindus victims of incidents of stabbing and arson. I had further observed that the Muslim communities, being the major victims of the riots had developed a severe grudge against the Criminal Justice System, which they feel is highly biased against them. In addition, it was mentioned that the Muslims alleged that the police officers were not fair in recording the FIRs lodged by them in as much as they had used pressure tactics to dissuade the complainants from giving complaints, reduced ingredients of an offence and some times the police officers themselves became the complainant and also omitted the names of specific accused persons with a view to favour them. Further, many different acts of crime pertaining to different transactions were clubbed to register a single FIR which affected the process of Insurance claims. I had further mentioned that the majority of Muslims complained that the police officers avoided the arrest of Hindu leaders, though they had been named in the FIR and made no efforts to recover the property. Further, on account of the partisan attitude adopted by the public prosecutors they were released on ball immediately even in non-bailable offences. I had also reported in the said note that certain VHP and Bajrang Dal leaders had started extorting protection money from the businessmen of both the communities and were pressurising the merchants and general public not to employ the members of the minority community, which finds corroboration from the letter dated 15-4-2002 sent by Shri P.C.Pande, C.P. to the DGP. It was further reported that both Hindu and Muslim communalists had been inciting violence by your of diately steel

the names of publisher/printer and that VHP had issued a pamphlet containing elements of communal instigation for which a proposal had been sent to DGP with a copy to ACS (Home) for examining the legal action against them. A copy of my letter dated 16-4-2002 addressed to DGP proposing legal action against VHP/officer bearers for publishing inciting pamphlets is produced herewith. The material in the pamphlets was meant to generate anti Muslim feelings by resorting to selective reference to various books, newspapers, etc., referred to gang rapes, cutting of breast of Hindu woman and similar provocative information, economic and social boycott of Muslims and exhorting the Hindus to take retaliatory action against Muslim violence in an organised manner. I had also reported that the inability of Ahmedabad police to control the violence by the communal mob had eroded the image of police as a law enforcing agency of the society and the media attacks on the police had a demoralising impact on the police personnel. It was also pointed out that the Inspectors in charge of the police stations had been ignoring the instructions given by the senior officers and complying with the direct verbal instructions from the political leaders of the ruling party who ensured their placement and continuance in their choice posting which find corroboration from the inquiry report dated 21-8-2001 of my predecessor in Vatwa police station Cr.No.398/2001. I had also suggested the remedial measures such as restoration of faith amongst the minorities in Criminal Justice System, replacement of present incumbents from executive posts at the cutting edge level, the spiritual leaders of Hindus and Muslims should launch a state wide campaign to expose the politicalised pseudo religious leaders, action at social level through non-political leaders, intellectuals and NGOs to restore mutual trust between the Hindus and Muslims, improvement of security in the riot affected areas to facilitate the rehabilitation of riot victims and purposeful legal action against publication and distribution of pamphlets inflaming communal passions etc. In the prognosis, I had highlighted the sense of insecurity and fear amongst the people. I had specifically pointed out that reports indicating that extremists of VHP and Bajrang Dal were planning mass action against Muslims in their strongholds and that the tactics of the assault would be generating fear psychosis in the Muslim population causing migration of the minorities from the riot hit areas. Lastly, it was mentioned that the trend towards ghettos formation would become source of recruitment of extremists/terrorists to the ranks of Pan-Islamic and Pro-Pakistani organisation.

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During my tenure as Addl. DGP (Int.), the Intelligence Bureau had furnished certain intelligence inputs which had been enclosed by me vide Appendix-25 (pages 94, 96, 98, 100 &102) to my first affidavit dated 15-7-2002, but all these reports pertain only to threats from Muslim groups to Hindus and no information about any plans by Hindu radical groups to attack the minorities had been received, though by that time the minority Muslim community were the major sufferers.

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165 I would also like to state that I specially brought out the role of media including electronic media in Para 36 of my first affidavit dated 15-7-2002. The

media had played a decisive role in keeping up the communal tension. The provocative role of the media have been reported to the government by Addl. DG (Int.) through different reports dated 28-3-2002, 1-4-2002, 2-4-2002 and 6-5-2002. Till I left, no action had been taken against anyone of them by the higher authorities. During my cross examination before the Nanavati Commission on 31-8-2004 I had also given the details of my letter dated 16-4-2002, about which I have already stated above. I had also furnished a copy of the relevant publication 'Sadhana' dated 9th March, 2002 to the Commission.

I had filed my second affidavit on 6-10-2004 as per the orders of the DGP conveyed vide fax messages dated 16-9-2004 and 21-9-2004, covering the additional term of reference to Nanavati Commission issued by the State Government on 20th July, 2004. In the second affidavit I had mentioned about a marked decline in communal violence in May, 2002 as compared to April, 2002 due to the change of the jurisdictional officers in Ahmedabad city area as recommended by me in my report dated 24-4-2002 submitted to the Home Department. The transfers of officers at cutting edge levels was done, after the arrival of Shri K.P.S. Gill who had been appointed as an advisor to the Chief Minister of Gujarat on Law & Order situation. During the meeting with Shri K.P.S. Gill on 4-4-2002, I had submitted an unsigned note captioned "Actionable Points" (Appendix 3 of my second affidavit) in which replacement of present incumbents of executive posts at cutting edge level, from those cities and districts, where police either remained inactive during the riots or played a collaborative role with the rioters was insisted upon. I also mentioned in my affidavit about the meeting convened by Shri Gill of senior officers on 4-5-2002 in his camp office at CRPF Group Centre, Gandhinagar which was attended by Shri K. Chakravarthi, DGP, Shri P.C. Pande, C.P., Shri Maniram, Addl. DG (L&O) and Shri M.K. Tandon, JCP, Ahmedabad beside the staff officer of Shri K.P.S. Gill. At the request of Shri Gill, DGP and CP, Ahmedabad gave their assessment of current situation as normal due to effective police measures. Shri Maniram, Addl. DG totally disagreed with the assessment given by the DGP and CP. He stated that the police personnel were in the state of demotivated demoralisation particularly, of Ahmedabad city on account of constant extraneous pressures on their operational duties, both in handing of communal incidents and investigation of riot cases. He added that in order to energise the police force and for ensuring effective policing, including purposeful investigation of riot related cases, immediate transfer of all jurisdictional officers from CP to Inspectors, i.e. those in charge of police stations was quite imperative. I had fully endorsed the appraisal of Shri Maniram, Addl. DG and delineated my analytical report dated 24-4-2002. I also added that the assessment regarding Ahmedabad city was generally relevant to other communal sensitive localities like Vadodara city and rural areas. I handed over a conv of the stores

studying the same asked me to prepare an unsigned note captioned 'Actionable Points' which I handed over to him on the same evening. On 8-5-2002, Shri K.P.S. Gill held discussions with me and informed that suggestions and remedial measures indicated in my note were quite relevant and added that soon most of the officers at the decisive rungs of jurisdictional (executive) of police hierarchy in Ahmedabad city will be transferred and a new team of officers posted. He added that he would be discussing about the desirability of implementing other suggestions and initiation of appropriate feasible matters at government level so that normality could be achieved soon. He asked me to go for collecting of advance, preventive, actionable and real-time intelligence on the designs of militant communal elements so that the police can launch fruitful action against them.

SIB had provided many useful intelligence inputs to the field officers and jurisdictional officers. These nine reports covered plans of Muslim and Hindu communal elements who disturbed peace. On 10-5-2002, a review meeting was called by Shri K.P.S.Gill, Advisor and it was attended by Shri O.P. Mathur, IG (Admn.), Shri E. Radhakrishnaiah, DIG (Communal Branch), Shri Sanjeev Bhatt, SP (Security) and Shri Rajendrakumar, the then JD, IB, Ahmedabad. The SIB officers endorsed my note dated 24-4-2002. Later at the request of Shri P.S. Shah, Addl. Secretary (L&O) Home Department, a review of Law & Order situation was done and a report prepared by the Intelligence Branch was sent to him on 15-6-2002. A copy of the report is enclosed with my second affidavit as Appendix-4. In this report I mentioned about an unprecedented degree of revengefulness of the majority community resulting in massive and ghastly violence against Muslims in a period of five days since Godhra carnage mentioning that the communal violence is still continuing. I strongly recommended for implementation of remedial measures for containing communal violence and neutralising the fundamentalist elements in both majority and minority communities as suggested in my analytical note dated 24-4-2002.

On 9th August, 2002, the Central Election Commissioner Shri J.M. Lyngdoh along with other two members convened a meeting to assess Gujarat Law & Order situation to decide on the pre-poning elections in the state. This meeting was attended by Shri G. Subbarao, the then C.S., Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS(Home), Shri K.Chakravarthi, DGP, Shri K.R. Kaushik, the then C.P. Ahmedabad, Shri C.K. Koshy, the then Revenue and Relief Commissioner, Shri P.S. Shah, Addl. Secretary (Home), Shri K. Nityanandam, Home Secretary and myself. The Chief Secretary Informed that two presentations, one on the Law & Order situation by Shri K. Nitynandam, Home Secretary and other by Shri C.K. Koshy on the rehabilitation of the riot victims were ready. The Chief Election Commissioner said that they were not interested in any presentation as the ground situation was different from the items presented earlier to a team sent by the Election Commission. Thereupon, the Chief Secretary said that total

normalcy had been restored throughout the state and no tension was prevailing anywhere. The CEC Shri Lyngdoh was visibly annoyed by hearing this and in an irritating mood said that the Commission visited certain riot affected areas in Ahmedabad city and therein the victims made so many complaints against the authorities particularly the police. He added that the victims were still intimidated by a section of people with the backing of the Administration. There was an instance of a wall constructed in a locality in Ahmedabad city, wherein the right of passage of the minority community was blocked. Again the CS intervened and said that these were stray cases and that rehabilitation was almost complete and that most of the riot victims had gone back to their habitat prior to riots. Hearing this, the CEC became visibly angry and expressing displeasure said "Mr. Chief Secretary you have temerity to claim normalcy but everywhere we got complaints of threat from criminal elements voiced by the victims of riots". Shri Lyngdoh added that the Gujarat Govt. should give different data on communal violence.

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DGP Shri Chakravarthi in his presentation gave an account of the communal violence. He said that the Hindu mobs attacked the minorities in areas which were not affected by communal tension. He asked for additional Paramilitary forces for the election.

In my presentation I said that there was only modicum of apparent normalcy and there was latent tension in all those areas affected by the recent communal riots. The CEC interjected at that juncture and questioned the CS and asked him to reconcile the demand for additional forces and the claim of the administration about prevailing normalcy. Thereupon, ACS said that what ADGP Sreekumar meant as apparent normalcy was about communal tension in certain places. These comments by ACS had visibly annoyed the CEC who said "Did ADGP require any interpreter or translator?". Continuing my presentation I stated that there was only apparent normalcy because tension is prevailing in 993 villages and 151 towns which had witnessed riots during the period from 27-2-2002 to 31-7-2002. The above affected areas covered 284 police stations and 154 of 182 assembly constituencies. In these places there was no communal amity and due to gulf created between the Hindus and Muslims, any petty issue would ignite communal riots. This was one of the major reasons for demanding additional forces. The Chief Election Commission passed an order on 16th August, 2002 in which it was mentioned as: "Significantly, Additional Director General of Police, Shri R.B. Sreekumar, stated before the Commission that 151 towns and 993 villages, covering 154 out of 182 Assembly Constituencies in the State, and 284 Police Stations out of 464 Police Stations were affected by the riots. This evidently falsifies the claims of the other authorities that the riots were localised only in certain pockets of the State. It was further mentioned in Para 32 of the order that "Before the Commission, the C.S. and DGP painted a similar picture of normalcy in Gujarat. But Add. DG (Int.), Shri R.B. Sreekumar, whose views were supported by the new C.P., Ahmedabad, Shri K.R. Kaushik, stated

before the Commission that an undercurrent of tension and fear was prevailing beneath the apparent normalcy in the State. He further added that there was no interaction between the two communities even though moderates were trying their level best, as there were hawks in both the groups. He added that additional forces would be required to ensure that there were no communal clashes. And the state Govt. have on the Commission's queries subsequently been avoiding giving a clear picture on the number and identity of persons complained against, similar details of persons included in the FIRs, similar details of persons who have been arrested, similar details of persons enlarged on bail as against whom appeals have been filed for cancellation of their bail bonds. The Full Commission was of the view that the Law & Order situation in the state was far from normal and there could be backlashes from the minority community due to the slow progress in relief and rehabilitation work and due to non arrest and non punishment of the guilty. The Commission further observed that the similar feelings are shared by the persons from the majority community and that people have lost confidence in the local police, civil administration and political executive. Finally, Commission was of the view that in this environment election campaign evoking passions would only shatter the fragile peace unless adequate confidence building measures are taken up with urgency. The Commission also suggested the ways and means to build up the confidence building measures. A copy of the Commission's order is submitted.

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(To be continued on 15th July, 2009)

Read over and admitted to be correct.

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Before me

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(V.V. Chaudhary) Superintendent of Police Special Investigation Team Gandhinagar

Henda SiT. Gruckingen

No.L.I.B./Press/1094/2002 Police Superintendent Office, Bhavnagar. Dt.09/03/2002.

To, Director General of Police and Main Police Officer Shree, Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.

<u>Sub:- A heading of News Published – Hindus burnt alive in Godhra, stone pelting during Bandh</u> at Bhavnagar, Hindus leaders speak of aakrosh (anger) and urge those with 'Hindutva' ideology.

Shree Sir,

As per above mentioned reference, I would bring to your attention that, on dtd.1/3/2002, the "Sandesh" daily newspaper, published in its Bhavnagar Edition on page.11, Columns No.1,2,3, the abovementioned news. Reference is the news article related to the Godhra incident that took in plate on dtd.27/2/2002 at Railway Station. In reaction a "Gujarat Bandh" was called on 28/2/2002, and in this connection, the Bandh Call was also given for Bhavnagar district.

Related to this, the news item published in the "Sandesh" newspaper aggressively proboked their readers and urged the 'Hindu public' and 'Hindu organisations' to retaliate. The peace and harmony of Bhavnagar City/District is in danger by this act of publication. So, under the provisions of the press council Act-1965, you are requested to approach the the Govt. to take action against this sort of publication.

((In context of the above incident the news published in Sandesh Newspaper that would provoke people as well as provoke Hindu Organizations and by publishing such news it had provoked "Hindu Organizations' and thereby had committed breach of communal harmony. Therefore it is requested to initiate steps under "Press Council Act 1965" and inform the government accordingly.))

> Sd (Rahul Sharma) Police Superintendent, Bhavnagar.

Copy to:-

- Addl. Secretary Shri, Home Department, Sardar Bhavan, Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar-382010.
- (2) Addl. Police Director Shri, Intelligence Guj. State, Gandhinagar.
- (3) Spl. Police Director Shri, Junagadh, Dept. Junagadh.
- (4) Dist. Magistrate Shri, Bhavnagar.

021443 00400 ા સંસ્કૃત કું સુતાનું કે તેમેકોલ 2) **1**: Ē G, $< l^{\beta}$ ન એન અઈ નાંડ્રોસ્ટ ટેંગ ^{દ્વાર}ા સરભર યુપ્ત ાં લોકો અલ્પેલ કરી કલે શે. an II **202**1. MARKER (1997) 403. વે,સંદ મહામિદેશક અને મુખ્ય પોલીસ અધિકારીથી, બેન્સ્ટ ને જોવી તગર SGP. વિષય :– " સિન્દુ ત્વેયતદ્વાદાને વળગલા વ્હાવળી ત્વિદ્ધોનો અહાંશ" ં એ.પેરે.આ ચિત્ર્સે કે જીવના સંજયાવાની અને ભાષનંગગ્યા જોયદ વાલે એક પ્રથાર કેરના પણ વિવાસ પાસ કર મેનાઓ?" ઉત્પંદ તળે BRANCH ??ئ ئىرە પ્રદેશમાં થયેલ સમગ્ર અમે 176 16 Y 1 \$6,800,

(กร้องสารีสารสารสร้างสีของการสารสารสารสารสารสาร การที่ 25 มีมาการสารสารสาร ખાયન્ગરનો આય્તુનિયા પ્રાપ્ય નસર – ૨૦ પર પ્રચન્ન ૧.૨. કારક નરાગે આ સિર્જન વર્ષના સન્યાયાર પરિષ્ય થયેલ છે. ઉપરોક્ત સમાધાર ખેતા તાલજીભરાયભ્રદ્ય છે. તે છેલ ગોમના ખાતે કેરલે સ્ટેશન ઉપર બનોવ માનાયના સંસર્ભ તા સ્ટલ્ટેસ્ટાટ૦૦૨ ના ગોલ '' મુખ્યપતા બંધનુ જેવલા આપવામાં આવેલા કરે સાદલે ભાષનગઢ રાગ્યુ પક્ષ શેલાન આપવામાં આવેલ

ઉપરોક્તા બનાવના સંદર્ભ શહેશ દેવીકના પશિષ્ય થયેલ સમાચારે લોકોનો સૌથ ભગ્ની ઉદે તેવા તથા િન્દુ સગઢનોનો ઉશ્કેરથી કરે તેવા સભાચાર પશિષ્ય કળીને હિન્દુ સગઢનોને પ્લક્તિવાઉ અને આગનગઢ અહેર! જી સાની લાગે અને કોગી એબસાબમાં સિન્દ્ધ થયાનું કુન્દ્ર આવલેલ છે. પ્રેલ કારણ્યીલ છેક્ટ – ૧૯૬૫ ની જોગલાય તો હેક્ય તેની સાથે યગણ દેવા માટે મળવાદ થોયા લખાયે જવા !ચસતે છે

> (क्रिड गर्न्) વોસોસ અધિકાર Q:1-1-1-1-2

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નકુલ ગયિત્વ સ્વાત્તા અનેયર મુખ્ય દક્ષિપ્રક્રી, (n)ગુન્દ સિંભી અન ર, ગુસ્ટ્રાસ્પ્રેલન, સંકેલ્પલાય ગામોનગર -સ્ટાર્ટ્સ્ટ્રિટ V(0)

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eicha),

અભિક્રે પોલીસ મહાનિયેશકથી, કો છે. ગુરુદા લાભીનવર, ં બાસ પોલં, સુમારા નિરીધકર્થો, ્યુનાએ વિભાગ, ભૂતામક and the straight the

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No. 1/Press cutting/564/2002 Addl. D.G.of Police, (Intell) Gandhinagar.

Dt. 1/4/2002

To

Addl. Chief Secretary, Home Department, Sachivalaya, Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.

> Subject:- Regarding news items published in local news papers.: Reference: DSP, Bhavnagar letter No. LIB/Press/1094/2002 dtd. 9/3/2002

The DSP, Bhavnagar has addressed the aforesaid letter under reference containing news item published in 'Sandesh' dtd. 1/3/2002, Bhavnagar edition, to the Director General of Police, Gandhinagar and the copy of the said letter has been forwarded to this office.

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Therefore, I request to kindly grant necessary permission as per the Para-3 Rule 53 (10) of Gujarat Police Manual to take necessary action.

Sd/-

P.B.Upadhdhya Dy. Commissioner of Police, 'C' Division on behalf of Addl. Director General of Police Intelligence, Gujarat State.

Date: 16 & 17-12-2009

Statement of Shri K. Chakravarthi, S/o, Shri Krishnasami aged about 65 years, R/o, Flat no.12, 6th floor, Tahiti Co-op., Housing Society, Juhu Versova Link Road, Andheri (W), Mumbai-53.

I originally belong to Tamilnadu and had completed my education there. I joined Indian Police Service in the year 1965 and was allotted to Gujarat cadre. In Gujarat, I remained posted in different capacities at different places. I became Director General of Police on 1-4-2001 and retired from service on superannuation on 31-1-2004.

I took over as DGP of Gujarat State on 1-4-2001. At that time Shri Rama Subba Rao was the ACS (Home). Later on 1-1-2002, Shri Ashok Narayan took over as ACS (Home). At that time Shri G.C. Raiger was posted as ADG (Int.) and Shri P.C. Pande was posted as Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad. Later in April, 2002, Shri R.B. Sreekumar took over as Addl.DG (Int.).

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It was some time in February, 2002, that we had come to know that some karsevaks from Gujarat would be going to Ayodhya in connection with the Ram Maha-Yagna to be held on 15-3-2002. It was further learnt that before going to Ayodhya, these kar-sevaks would hold Yagna at various temples in different districts of Gujarat between 7-2-2002 and 17-2-2002. Accordingly, a fax message was sent by Addl. DG (Int.) on 7-2-2002 to all Commissioners and Superintendents of under intimation to me as well as Home Secretary to ensure all necessary bandobast so that no untoward incident takes place during this period. A copy of the said fax message has been seen by me today and the same bears the signature of P.B. Upadhyay, DCC in the officer of ADG (Int.). On 20-2-2002, another fax message was sent by Shri P.B. Upadhyay, DCC to SP, Western Railway, Vadodara under intimation to me and to Home Secretary that in connection with the construction of Ram Mandir at Ayodhya, a delegation under the leadership of Shri Dilipbhai Trivedi of VHP comprising of 3000 kar-sevaks would leave by Sabarmati Express from Kalupur railway station on 22-2-2002 at 20:00 hrs and that the necessary bandobast be made to avoid any untoward incident. Simultaneously, information was also sent to DGP, UP, Lucknow vide TP message dtd 12-2-2002 about the arrival of 3000 kar-sevaks of Gujarat at Ayodhya on 23-2-2002 to participate in Maha Yagna programme to be started from 24-2-2002 at Ayodhya.On 21-2-2002, another fax message was sent to all the Police Commissioners and SsP including SP, Western Railway, Vadodara under intimation to me and Home Secretary that the VHP and Bajrang Dal activists would be going to Ayodhya by train upto Faizabad from different place of Gujarat in connection with the construction of Ram mandir to be started on 15-2-2002. All the aforesaid officers were instructed to make necessary arrangements at their respective places as well as railway stations and to ensure that no untoward incident takes place. On 21-2-2002, another message was sent by Shri P.B. Upadhyay, the then DC(Communal) to SSP, Faizabad, UP under intimation to IG (Communal Intelligence), Lucknow, UP, Home Secretary and myself to the effect that 3000 VHP and BD activists under the leadership of Dilip Trivedi would be leaving for Ayodhya by train from Gujarat between 22-2-2002 to 27-2-2002. A similar message was again sent on 23-2-2002 to the effect that 2800 VHP and BD activists (2400 males & 400 females) under the leadership of Shri Dilip Trivedi, General Secretary, VHP, Gujarat and Ku. Malaben Raval, President, Durga Vahini, Gujarat would leave for Ayodhya by Sabarmati Express from Ahmedabad on 22-2-2002 at 20:50 hrs. On 25-2-2002, another message was sent to SP, Faizabad, UP under intimation to IG(CI), Lucknow, U.P. that 1900 VHP and BD activists under the leadership of Shri Vijay Pranami, Secretary, VHP, Shri Haresh Bhatt, President, VHP, Gujarat and Khemrajbhai Desai, President, VHP, South Zone from, South Gujarat would leave from Vadodara by Sabarmati Express for Ayodhya on 24-2-2002 at 23:10 hrs. A similar intimation was sent by another fax message on 27-2-2002 regarding the departure of 1500 VHP, BD and Durga Vahini activists (1200 males and 300 females) would leave by Sabarmati Expreses for Ayodhya on 26-2-2002 at 20:40 hrs. It may be added here that a specific intelligence report sent to IG (CI)UP, Lucknow by SP, Western Railway, Vadodar vide fax message dtd 16-2-2002 that Shri Prahalad J. Patel, President, BD Mehsana would lead a group of 150-200 people of BD and leave for Ayodhya for Maha Yagna on 22-2-2002 from Mehsana railway station at 15:40 hrs by Delhi-Ahmedabad mail for Ahmedabad and further on 24-2-2002, from Ahmedabad to Ayodhya by Sabarmati Express of 24-2-2002 at 20:25 hrs. It was further intimated that the said group would return on 26-2-2002 from Ayodhya at night for Ahmedabad and would reach Ahmedabad on 28-2-2002 morning. It was also intimated that the group would be carrying Trishuls with them. Despites all these informations reports and prior intimation to SSP, Faizabad and IG (CI), Lucknow about the movements of kar-sevaks from Gujarat no specific information regarding their movements on return journey was received till 27-2-2002. It was only on 28-2-2002, at 08:15 hrs that a wireless message dated 27-2-2002 was received from IG (CI), Lucknow that the Ram Bhakts/kar-sevaks were returning to their respective places daily by train/road and that in view of the large movements of Ram Bhakts/kar-sevaks back home request take special precautionary measures be taken at our end. It may be mentioned here that though this message was dtd 27-2-2002 yet it was transmitted only on 28-2-2002 at 01:26:47 hrs and was received by the Intelligence Branch on 28-2-2002 morning i.e. almost 24 hours after the Godhra incident.

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On 27-2-2002, I received telephonic information from State Police Control Room that a mob had stoned Sabarmati Express at Godhra railway station and subsequently set fire to a bogie in the train. I contacted Shri Dipak Swaroop, the then IGP, Vadodara Range and directed him to proceed to Godhra immediately. I further, gave instructions to State Control Room to rush one platoon available at SRP Group-V headquarter to Godhra railway station to assist the SP. I also gave instructions to rush one SRP company each from Vadodara and Ahmedabad to Godhra. Keeping in

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view the gravity of the situation at Godhra, an emergency meeting was held with the Chief Secretary and ACS (Home) at Gandhinagar. It was learnt at about 12:00 hrs that a burnt railway coach had been detached from the main train at Godhra Railway Station and that the train had proceeded on its onward journey for Ahmedabad via Vadodara. It was further learnt that the passengers of the train were highly agitated due to the trauma undergone by them. It was also learnt that on the way when the train stopped at Vadodara railway station a Muslim vendor had been stabbed on the platform. Stray incidents of stabbing of Muslim vendors had also been reported at Anand and Ahmedabad railway station when the train had halted there.

In view of these developments instructions were issued through control room to sound red alert and to place the entire police machinery on round the clock duty with immediate effect. Shri V.V. Rabari, the then IGP (Inquiry in the office of DGP, Gujarat) had filed an affidavit under my instructions before Nanavati Commission of Inquiry and Para-11 of the same give the details of other arrangements made by me on 27-2-2002 (A.N.). Shri Maniram, the then ADG (Law & Order) and Shri Vipul Vijoy, the then IGP (ATS) was sent to Godhra for the supervision and investigation. Since, Shri Deepak Swaroop, the then IGP, Vadodara Range was held up at Godhra, Shri M.D. Meena, the then IGP was sent to Bharuch under Vadodara Range to look after the law & order situation as the same was communally sensitive area, in place of Shri Deepak Swaroop. The post of IGP, Surat Range was lying vacant and as such Shri P.P. Pande the then IGP, Communication was sent to Surat Range for supervision. Further Shri P.P. Agja, the then IGP (CID Crime & Railways), Gandhinagar was deputed to Godhra for supervision of the investigation of the case. It may be added here that Godhra incident come under the jurisdiction of Railway police which were under the supervision of Addl. DG (Crime & Railways) and as such Shri Agja was made the supervisor of the case.

Considering the seriousness of the Godhra incident, all Commissioners of Police, SsP and Range heads were instructed through a fax message dtd 27-2-2002 to take precautionary measures to avert any fall out effects in their jurisdiction and that strict vigil be kept at all sensitive points, their forces mobilized and vehicles requisitioned. They were also instructed to promptly attend to the minor incidents in order to nip the trouble in the bud. Another crash fax message was sent to all the jurisdictional officers to thwart any attempt on the part of communal or anti-social element to prevent communal trouble under their jurisdiction. All these officers were instructed to make preventive arrests of such elements so that they might not take undue advantage of the situation to spread communal hatred and jeopardize the law & order situation. On 27-2-2002 evening, VHP had given a call for Gujarat bandh on 28-2-2002. On 28-2-2002, I came to know from news paper reports that the bandh was supported by BJP. On 27-2-2002 night itself, I had given an interview on Doordarshan

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in Hindi and English and appealed to public to maintain peace during the Gujarat bandh on 28-2-2002.

On 27-2-2002, the Chief Minister went to Godhra and returned late in the night. While I was at Doordarshan studio at Ahmedabad, I received a message from the Control Room that CM had called me for a meeting at his residence, Gandhinagar at about 22:30 hrs. I reached CM's residence little earlier and waited there. Subsequently, Smt. Swarnakanta Verma, the then acting Chief Secretary, Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home), Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP, Ahmedabad City, Shri K. Nityanandam, the then Secretary, Home Department had also arrived there. The CM held the meeting at about 23:00 hrs for about 20-30 minutes. Dr. P.K. Mishra, the then Principal Secretary to CM and other staff of CM also joined. In this meeting, the CM first asked me as to what to arrangements made by me for the bandh call by VHP on 28-2-2002. I narrated the arrangements made by me and the instructions given to the jurisdictional officers and also about the mobilization of forces. I also informed the CM about the appeal made by me to the public on Doordarshan for maintaining peace. Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) spoke about the 10 companies of RAF requisitioned from the Central Govt. at my instance. The CM mentioned that the Godhra incident was very serious and bound to affect the people at large and hence, adequate arrangements should be made. He also mentioned that it was a Govt. decision to transport the dead bodies of kar-sevaks from Godhra to Ahmedabad by road. He further mentioned that Sola Civil Hospital was on the outskirts of Ahmedabad City unlike the old Civil Hospital which is located in the crowded city area. No other instructions were given by the CM.

- Que. Did you inform Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) on 27-2-2002(A.N.) that Shri Rajendrakumar, the then Joint Director, IB had come up with a theory of ISI conspiracy behind the Godhra incident and had cajoled you to pursue the investigation by treating the Godhra incident as a preplanned conspiracy?
- Ans. I do not remember to have discussed any such thing with Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Armed Units.). However, Shri Rajendra Kumar, the then JDIB used to share the intelligence inputs received by him in this regard with me, but I do not recollect the exact details about the same at this point of time. However, whatever actionable intelligence inputs had been received from Shri Rajendra Kumar, the then JDIB same would have been communicated to the concerned officer for further necessary action.
- Que. Did you discuss the matter relating to this meeting with Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG on 28-2-2002 (A.N.)?
- Ans. No, as I was heavily occupied with my work. I did not discuss this matter with him.

- Que. Did you tell Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG on 28-2-2002 that the CM had said in the meeting held on 27-2-2002 night that in communal riots police takes action against Hindus and Muslims on one to one basis and that this will not do now- allow Hindus to give vent to their anger?
- Ans. No.

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- Que. Did Shri Sanjeev Bhatt, the then DCI attend the said meeting called for by the CM on 27-2-2002 night?
- Ans. As far as I recollect, he did not attend this meeting.
- Que. Did you tell Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG that this posture of the CM was a major obstacle of the Police Officer in initiating action against Hindu elements who were on the rampage against the minority and that the act of parading the dead bodies of those killed in Godhra train incident was highly objectionable and this may make the atmosphere more volatile the rage of Hindu communal elements against the minority community?
- Ans. I did not tell any such thing to Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addi. DG.
- Que. Did you tell Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG that Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP, Ahmedabad had objected to the parading of the dead bodies in Ahmedabad City, but his objection was overruled by the CM?
- Ans. I did not tell any such thing to Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG.
- Que. Did you tell Shri R.B. Sreekumar in March, 2002 that the ruling party supporters were attacking the minorities and the CM and Cabinet Ministers were responsible for such a situation?
- Ans. I did not say any such thing to Shri Sreekumar at any point of time.
- Que. Did you at any time tell Shri R.B. Sreekumar that the presence of Minister namely Shri I.K. Jadeja in your office was adversely affecting your supervision of the riot situation?
- Ans. No, I did not tell any such thing to Shri Sreekumar.
- Que. Did you tell Shri R.B. Sreekumar at any point of time that the officers at cutting edge level in the field were carrying out the verbal orders of the ruling party leaders instead of directives of the jurisdictional officers?
- Ans. No, I did not tell him any such thing.
- Que. Did Shri R.B. Shreekumar advise you to approach the Gujarat High Court through a PIL under Article 226 of the Constitution of India, so that the Court would know the reality of the situation and issue the directives to the Hon'ble CM and political hierarchy heading the State Govt. and you were perplexed about this suggestion and told Shri Sreekumar that the State Govt. was all powerful and one will not succeed in a PIL like this and that you would not like to have a confrontation with the CM?

Ans. No.

Que. Why did you not file a second affidavit in the revised terms of reference to the Commission?

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- Ans. I had filed the first affidavit on 31-1-2004 which covered the riot incidents between 27-2-2002 and 30-4-2002. I retired from my service on 31-1-2004 and subsequently shifted to Bombay. I was not informed by anyone to file a second affidavit as per the revised terms of reference of the Nanavati Commission of Inquiry. It may be added here that neither I was asked by the Commission to file a second affidavit nor I was questioned/cross examined about it during the course of my deposition before the Commission on 16/17-8-2004.
- Que. Was there any meeting on 28-2-2002 morning at CM's residence, in which directions were issued to you as well as CP, Ahmedabad, Addl.DG (Int.) that Shri I.K. Jadeja and Shri Ashok Bhatt the then Ministers would sit in the State Control Room, Gandhinagar and Ahmedabad City Control Room respectively and assist the police in controlling the law & order situation?
- Ans. I don't remember the 28-2-2002 meeting. However, I was told by Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) that, it was decided by the Govt. that Shri I.K. Jadeja, the then Minister would be in my office on 28-2-2002 to get information about the law & order situation in the State, as the State Control Room was located in my office. Shri Ashok Narayan also informed me that Shri Ashok Bhatt, the then Minister would similarly sit in the office of CP, Ahmedabad. I then told him that it would be better, if the Ministers get the information through Control Room in the Home Department, as we were bound to report all information to the Home Department. Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) however, informed me that no such facility was available in the Home Department and therefore, the Ministers would visit our offices. Shri I.K. Jadeja, the then Minister did visit my office on 28-2-2002 (F.N.) and sat in my chamber for 15-20 minutes. I did not have much conversation with him, as I remained extremely busy with telephone calls being received by me from various police officers. I, therefore, asked someone to shift him to an empty chamber in my office and this was done. I did not know what Shri Jadeja did in that room, as I remained awfully busy with the telephone messages and follow up actions with the prevailing bandh situation in the State. I later came to know that Shri Jadeja had left my office. My inquiries to my staff officer and officer of the State Control Room revealed on that day to me that there was no interference from Shri Jadeja side on the functioning of the State Control Room on that day. Shri Jadeja did not visit my office subsequently to the best of my knowledge. As regards, Shri Ashok Bhatt to Shahibaug Control Room, I have no personal knowledge and CP, Ahmedabad would be in a better position to clarify the matter.

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The Godhra train incident was repeatedly being telecast by the electronic media on different channels which affected the psyche of people at large. Consequently, on 28-2-2002 morning onwards, unprecedented crowds started pouring in into the streets all over the State. These mobs had started targeting members of the minority community and their property on a large scale. Traditionally, the hyper sensitive areas of Ahmedabad were affected during the communal riots, but on this occasion even outline areas were adversely affected. The violence got spread over even to the remote villages and the tribal areas were also affected. The mobs had also obstructed the roads by putting barricades to prevent the police from reaching the scene of occurrence promptly. In this extra ordinary situation, the police first used teargas shelling before resorting to firing. The tear smoke shells got exhausted quickly and additional stock of teargas ammunition was requisitioned from the MHA. The details of the teargas shells/rounds fired, the no. of persons injured/killed, details of criminal cases registered, preventive and substantial arrest made have been given in Annexure-II to my affidavit, a copy of which is being furnished today. In all 852 persons (190 Hindus & 662 Muslims) died during the period 27-2-2002 to 30-4-2002 during the riots in the whole State, out of which, 80 Hindus and 103 Muslims died in the police firing.

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On 27-2-2002, I remained in the office till late in the night and instructions were being regularly passed on to the concerned officers. On 28-2-2002, I came to office early in the wake of bandh call made by VHP. A close watch/vigil was kept over the incidents being reported from all over the State. I was constantly in touch over telephone with the concerned officers and giving instructions and specific guidance with regard to all major incidents. The assistance demanded by the field officers was immediately made available to the maximum extent possible, subject to overall constraints. I also received a number of distress calls over my landline/mobile phone from the affected persons of the minority community and I immediately responded to the same by sending the available force with me. Late Ahesan Jafri was not known to me and he did not contact me over phone for help. However, some Muslim whose name, I am unable to recollect had telephoned me on 28-2-2002(A.N.) intimating about the attack on the house of Late Ahesan Jafri. Consequently, I sent a written message through control room to CP, Ahmedabad about the incident and asked him to take immediate action in this regard. I also spoke to Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP, Ahmedabad city over his mobile phone and conveyed the above message to which Shri Pande informed me that he had also received a similar message earlier and that officers and men had already been rushed to the Gulberg society, where Late Ahesan Jafri was residing. Sometime late in the evening, Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP informed me that before our extra force could reach Gulberg society the mob had over powered and killed many persons including Late Ahesan Jafri. It may be added here that as regards the Naroda Patiya incident, a telephonic message had been received by me about serious communal disturbance in Naroda. This message was

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conveyed by me to the CP, Ahmedabad who informed me that the jurisdictional officers of the area were already dealing with the situation. It was sometime very late in the night it was learnt that some people had been burnt alive in Naroda Patia.

The Local police had rescued the affected members of minority community to safer places the details of which had been incorporated in Annexure-III to my affidavit. During the communal disturbance numbering around 6000 Haj pilgrims had returned to Ahmedabad and as such, special arrangements were made for their safe escort, transportation from railway station/airport to their respective places all over the State. Further, the SSC/HSC board examinations were conducted all over the State in March/April, 2002 and it was due to police bandobast that around 98% students could appear in their examination without any untoward incident. A number of other religious Hindu/Muslim festivals could also be celebrated during the same period without any major untoward incident, due to the alertness and vigil exercise by the State Police.

On 28-2-2002, the situation deteriorated through out the State due to the Bandh observed in the State and as such instructions were given to all the jurisdictional officers to take effective actions to book the persons creating communal disturbances. On 1-3-2002, the jurisdictional officers were again alerted in view of the Friday Namaz to be held on that day. On 2-3-2002, instructions were issued that the police should not be a silent spectator to the criminal acts of the lawlessness and that any negligence in this regard would be viewed seriously. On 3-3-2002, the instructions were issued to all the officers that the cases were registered should be investigated properly and impartially and the concerned accused persons arrested. Officers were also instructed to take preventive action to prevent the further escalation of riots. Directions were also given to the officers to escort the convoys of truckers and to clear the highways of obstructions with the help of PWD vehicles. On 4-3-2002, further instructions were issued for proper investigation of the offences registered during the riots and that the unknown victims be got identified by getting DNA test conducted. On 5-3-2002, instructions were given to all the officers to promptly arrest the accused persons responsible for the crime. It may be added here the law & order situation had improved by 6-3-2002 and as such instructions were given to all the officers to be alert, so that some antisocial elements could not disturb the public peace. On the same day, instructions were issued by the Home Department to take strict action against the rumour mongers and to activate Peace Committees/Mohalla Committees to organize a peace march in their areas. On 7-3-2002, again instructions were issued for prompt registration and impartial investigation of the criminal offences which had taken place. Besides, the officers were instructed to implement the guidelines for communal harmony which had been issued by the Home Department vide their letter dtd.13-10-1998. It may also be mentioned here that some attempts were being made to create a case conflict between adivasis and non-adivasis, patels and darbars and in view of this, all officers were instructed to identify the affected areas in their jurisdiction

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and to intensify the patrolling to avoid any untoward incident and also to take strict action against rumour mongers. On 8-3-2002, instructions were issued to all the officers to concentrate on the arrest of the accused persons involved in the offences registered during the riots. On 9-3-2002, the bandobast at the various relief camps and hospital was reviewed and instructions given to the concerned officers for proper bandobast at the places where the victims had been lodged. The Mohram festival was to be celebrated on 25-3-2002 and as such Tazias were to be kept at the various places from 16-3-2002 onwards and in the light of the ensuing festivals the officers were alerted on 14-3-2002 to ensure that the antisocial elements did not create any communal disturbance during this period. On 16-3-2002, fresh set of instructions were issued to the all CsP/SsP to ensure that the investigation of the criminal cases was conducted properly and the concerned accused persons arrested. . It may be mentioned here that general complaints had been received from the affected parties that their FIRs had not been registered/clubbed, names of the accused persons omitted, while in other cases some of the influential accused persons not had been named and the accused persons had not been arrested. In the light of these complaints, on 24-3-2002, special police teams were sent to the different relief camps for personal contact with the affected persons to record their complaints/statements and take further action as per law. Directions were also issued to the supervisory officers to keep watch over the actions to be initiated. On 31-3-2002, instructions were given to all the officers to give adequate protections to the victims staying in the relief camps as and when they decide to return to their places of original residence. On 5-4-2002, instructions were issued to all officers to collect the DNA samples of unidentified dead bodies, send them to FSL for matching with the relative's sample and to obtain the photographs of the missing persons and get it broadcasted over the electronic and published in the print media with a view to ascertain their present whereabouts. Copies of the instructions issued by me form a part of my affidavit as Annexure-IV. It may not be out of place to mention here that I was in close touched with all the jurisdictional officers for handling of the law & order situation and oral instructions were regularly being given, depending upon the situation in their jurisdiction. In addition, video conferencing was also held on at least 2-3 occasions by CS, ACS(Home) and myself with all the DMs, SsP and CsP/Jt.CsP or any of their representatives. During these video conferencing, specific instructions were given for handling the law & order situation, in addition to getting feed back on various issues. The gueries made by the concerned officers were answered and their doubts clarified. I was constantly in touch with the ACS (Home) and kept him apprised of the latest law & order situation in the State.

Today, I have seen a copy of a D.O. letter dtd 19-4-2002 sent by Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP, Ahmedabad with a copy to ACS (Home) and Addl. DG (Int.). In this letter, Shri Pande had mentioned that on 15-4-2002, near Ambamata temple, (near Kapadia High School) a mob of Hindus had assembled at about 09:30 am when

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Shri Bharat Barot, the then Minister came in a private white car, had some talks with the some persons in the mob and went away and that subsequently, incidents of arson took place outside Delhi-gate and near Idgah circle. Shri Pande had requested that the matter may be brought to the notice of the Govt. to restrain the Hon'ble Ministers in the Govt, from indulging in such activities. On receipt of this letter, I spoke to Shri Pande and asked him as to whether there was any evidence available against Shri Bharat Barot in the criminal offence registered subsequently and it being so, legal action could be taken against him. Shri Pande denied any evidence against Shri Barot and informed me that the intention behind sending this letter was to restrain the Ministers from indulging in such activities. I, immediately telephoned Shri Ashok Narayan and informed him about the matter to which Shri Ashok Narayan had promised to bring the matter to the notice of Govt. I have also seen another D.O. letter dtd.22-4-2002 sent by Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP, Ahmedabad to ACS (Home) with a copy to me and Addl. DG (Int.) about the conduct of VHP and Bajrang Dal activists regarding extortion of money from businessmen under the pretext of giving protection from minority community and also putting pressure on businessmen of majority community not to keep the members of minority community at their business places for work. On receipt of this letter, I spoke to Shri Pande over phone and asked him that on receipt of any such specific complaint legal action be taken against the persons concerned but Shri Pande informed me that the affected parties were not willing to come forward with a written complaint and as such the matter needs to be brought to the notice of the Govt. to control such nefarious activities of VHP and BD activists. I immediately spoke to Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) and apprised him of the views of CP. Ahmedabad to which the latter assured that he would bring it to the notice of the Govt.

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Shri R.B. Sreekumar took over as Addl. DG (Int.) with effect from 9-4-2002. Sometime in the 3rd week of April, 2002, law & order situation had come under control in the State, except some stray incidents being reported from some pockets in Ahmedabad City. In view of this, a decision was taken at Govt. level on 23-4-2002, that I should supervise the law & order arrangements in Ahmedabad City. Accordingly, I camped in the office of CP, Ahmedabad City and inducted a number of police officers of IG's rank to supervise the law & order situation in the affected areas of police station of Ahmedabad city. A copy of the order dtd.25-4-2002 issued by me in this regard forms a part of my affidavit as Annexure-V. As a result of these efforts and focused attention made by the senior officers, the law & order situation in Ahmedabad City came under control by 30-4-2002.

I have seen an analytical note dtd. 24-4-2002 on the current communal scenario in Ahmedabad city sent by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) to ACS (Home) with a copy to me. In this connection, I would like to add that most of the points and issued raised by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) had been

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effectively dealt with by me in the months of March & April, 2002. As regard the undesirable activities of VHP and BD in indulging in extortion of money and publishing/distributing pamphlets containing the elements of communal instigation, a report was sent earlier in point of time by CP, Anmedabad and I had discussed with ACS (Home) who said that he would bring it to the notice of the Govt. Even a sitting Minister was not spared. As regards the loss of faith of the minority community in criminal justice system, adequate steps were taken by me to instruct the concerned police officers to be fair to ensure proper registration of FIRs, to name all the concerned accused persons, arrest them and to proceed ahead with the investigation, as per law. Subsequently, teams of police officers were sent to the relief camps for direct contact with the affected persons and to proceed with the investigation in a fair manner. Senior Officers were also instructed from time to time to closely supervise these cases to avoid any allegations of this kind. As regard the migration of the affected persons from the riot hit areas, specific instructions had been given by me to all the police officers to provide suitable protection to those who chose to return to their original residence/business. It may be added here that the observations made by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) were totally general in nature and no specific instance had been cited by him which would have called for an immediate action on my part. This matter was also discussed by me with Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) who assured me that this would be brought to the notice of the Govt.

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Today, I have seen a D.O. letter dtd. 26-4-2002, addressed by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) to Shri P.C. Pande the then CP, Ahmedabad with a copy to me about the likely disturbance on Hanuman Jayanti Day i.e. 27-4-2002 when BD activists would distribute lethal weapons to their workers and that VHP and BD activists had planned to launch massive attack on the minority community from 28-4-2002 onwards with a view to cause panic amongst the minority community. At this point of time, I can not exactly recall the action taken by me. However, in all such important communications received from ADG (Int.). I used to immediately talk to the officer concerned. I am sure in the instant case; I must have spoken to CP, Ahmedabad who would have taken appropriate action in the matter.

In the first week of May, 2002, Shri K.P.S. Gill, retired DGP, Punjab had been appointed as an Adviser to the CM. Shri K.P.S. Gill held several meetings with the police officials from 4-5-2002 onwards. It is a fact that a meeting was held with Shri K.P.S. Gill which was attended by me along with CP, Ahmedabad, ADG (law & order), ADG (Int.) and Shri M.K. Tandon, Jt. CP, Ahmedabad. In this meeting, we talked about the then prevailing law & order situation in Ahmedabad. Shri Pande and myself had expressed that the situation was under control based on the fact that there was no overt communal violence in Ahmedabad city at that time. The individual grievances of any police officers were not discussed in this meeting. Shri Maniram, the then ADG

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(law & order) had apparently expressed his personal views. In any case, he had never discussed these views with me earlier. It may be mentioned here that during initial discussions with Shri K.P.S. Gill, Shri Ashok Narayan and myself, were given to understand that the CM wanted to transfer the senior officers of Ahmedabad city and wanted alternate proposal. Accordingly, I had only given my suggestions to Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) who prepared a note and submitted the same to the CM for his approval. Shri K.P.S. Gill had asked me about my views on these transfers to which I informed him that I had given these suggestions. This note was approved by the CM and the transfers came into force in the first week end of May, 2002. The matter relating to the shifting of jurisdictional officers was already under consideration and it was not taken up at the instance of either Shri Maniram or Shri R.B. Sreekumar.

I have seen the letter dtd.15-6-2002 of Shri R.B. Sreekumar in which he had assessed that Rath-Yatra should not be taken out in the near future till an atmosphere of durable peace and goodwill between the majority and minority community was established. In this regard, it may be added here that adequate steps had already been taken to bring normalcy in the State. These views were the personal views and perception of Shri R.B. Sreekumar which were duly considered by the Govt. After due consideration, it was decided by the Govt. to hold the Rath-Yatra as per original route and schedule. Accordingly, Rath-Yatra was held on 12-7-2002 and the event passed off peacefully without any incident.

On 9-8-2002, the full Election Commission held a hearing with a view to assess law & order situation in the State and also as to whether the atmosphere was conducive to conduct elections early. This hearing was attended by Shri G. Subba Rao, the then Chief Secretary, Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home), myself, Shri R. B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) Shri K.R. Kaushik, the then CP, Ahmedabad Shri P.S. Shah, the then Addl Secretary (law & order) and Shri K. Nitynandam, the then Home Secretary. I don't recollect as to whether someone else was also there in the said meeting. It may be mentioned here that before the meeting Shri R. B. Sreekumar did not meet me and apprise me about his presentation before the Commission. At the outset, it may be mentioned that when Shri K. Nityanandam, the then Home Secretary wanted to start his presentation at the behest of the CS, Shri J.M. Lyngdoh. Chief Election Commissioner interrupted him by saying that they were not interested in such presentation but would like to hear the views of the individual officers. Shri G. Subba Rao, the then CS mentioned that normalcy had been restored in the State and no tension was prevailing anywhere to which Shri Lyngdoh disagreed and said that ground situation in Ahmedabad City was different. I had also given my brief presentation about the communal violence which had occurred in the State including non traditional pockets which were also affected by the riots. I pleaded the need for adequate Paramilitary forces to be deployed at the time of election. Shri

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Sreekumar did not wait for his turn and intervened saying that he disagreed with the views of the Chief Secretary and projected that the situation in large number of Constituencies was not normal and that tension was still prevailing. Shri K.R. Kaushik, the then CP, Ahmedabad City mentioned about the communal divide between the two communities in Ahmedabad City and pleaded that more forces would be required to ensure that there were no communal clashes during the elections. To the best of my recollection, the Commission observed that there was no need for complacency and proper arrangements will have to be made for peaceful elections. The Commission finally desired that the DGP along with ACS (Home) should come to Delhi and make a proper presentation of the arrangements to be made for peaceful conduct of election in the State. Accordingly, I prepared a presentation and went to Delhi along with Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) and Shri Rahul Sharma, the then Commandant, SRP as I needed his technical help for the power point presentation to be made. My subsequent presentation before CEC was fully approved by the Commission who had agreed to provide Central Paramilitary forces as our demand for the peaceful conduct of elections in the State. An order was passed by the Election Commission on 16-8-2002. Finally, the Elections were held in the State of Gujarat in December,2002 and the event passed off peacefully.

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I have seen a copy of letters dtd. 20 & 28-2-2002 sent by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) with a copy to me. In the first letter, he had given the then prevailing law & order situation in the State. In the second letter, he had given some suggestions most of it pertain to Revenue and other departments. So far as the Police Department was concerned, I had given appropriate directions based on his suggestions. As regard the current law & order situation in the State, the same must have been brought to the notice of the Govt. by the ACS (Home).

On 10-9-2002, a fax message was received from National Commission for Minorities asking the Chief Secretary to send full text of the speech made by Shri Narendra Modi, CM against the minority community during 'Gaurav Yatra' as per the press report. A copy of the said reference has been shown to me today and the same bears an endorsement made by the Home Department to my office to furnish the information. The reference in question appears to have been endorsed to the office of the Addl. DG (Int.) in the normal course. Subsequently, on 12-9-2002, ACS (Home) informed me that no report in this regard need be sent. I asked the office to inform Addi. DG (Int.) accordingly. Subsequently, I recalled that such a report had been sent by AddI DG (Int.) to ACS (Home). I don't remember the details of the telecast made subsequently by Star News, but at the instance of either ACS (Home) or CS, I had contacted Shri Sreekumar as to how the report sent by them had leaked out to the electronic media. However, Shri Sreekumar denied any such leakage by him or his office. Shortly thereafter, the transfer order of Shri Sreekumar was received from the Govt. Archano

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- Que. Please see the entries dated 1-5-2002, 4-5-2002, 8-5-2002, 26-6-2002, 1-7-2002, 9-7-2002, 6-8-2002, 8-8-2002, 9-8-2002, 2-9-2002, 10-9-2002, 12-9-2002, 13-9-2002 & 15-9-2002 made by Shri R.B. Sreekumar in a register claimed to have been maintained by him in normal course of duties regarding the various events and confirm the authenticity of these entries.
- Ans. In this connection, it may be added that Shri R. B. Sreekumar holding the rank of Addi. DG (Int.) was not required to maintain any such register in the normal course of his duties: He did not take either my or Home Department's prior approval to maintain the so called register for recording verbal instructions from higher officers i.e. DGP and above. This register had never put to me or ACS (Home) or even the Govt. during the relevant period for information. Shri Sreekumar was free to make entries in his personal register as per his whims & fancies and bias. In view of the aforesaid position, I don't want to comment. upon the entries made by him in a register which had been maintained in an unauthorized manner without our knowledge and the contents thereof are also guestionable.
- Que. It has been alleged in the Complaint made by Smt. Zakia Naseem that no action was taken on the supervisory officers i.e. SsP, Range DIsG/IsG, CsP and DGP who violated rules 24, 134, 135 and 230 of Gujarat Police Manual, Volume-III by not supervising the investigations of serious riot related crime and thereby committing culpable, omission and grave misconduct. Please explain.
- Ans. At the outset, it may be added that duties of the IGP (presently DGP) have been defined in Rule 22 of Gujarat Police Manual, Volume-III. The DGP is responsible for overall supervision of the whole police force in the State. Other rules quoted by the petitioner are not applicable to the DGP. However, in view of the gravity of some of the offences reported in the State, I had given clear cut instructions to all the jurisdictional officers which form part of my affidavit filed before the Commission.
- Que. Did you receive any call from Naroda Patiya and Gulberg society pleading for help in the face of a mob?
- Ans. I had already stated that Late Ahesan Jafri did not telephone me, but someone else had telephoned me at about 14:00 hrs on 28-2-2002 that Late Ahesan Jafri's house was going to be attacked. I had also stated that from Naroda Patia someone had called me up about the serious situation there. Both these informations were passed on to CP, Ahmedabad for further necessary action.
- Que. Did Shri Rahul Sharma, the then SP, Bhavnagar contact you over phone on 1-3-2002 and ask for additional forces? If so, what were the talks held with him?
- Ans. I only recall telling Shri Rahul Sharma that I would send him whatever available SRP and other force. So far as the demand for additional force is concerned, I only remember having told Shri Rahul Sharma that the Bureaucrat in MHA was

not in a position to send any additional forces. I did not tell him that the entire Bureaucracy had been completely neutralized.

- Que. Did Shri R.B. Sreekumar submit the draft first affidavit proposed to be filed before the Commission to you in the third week of June, 2002 for approval and you added Paras 33, 34, 37, 39 and 40 to the same?
- Ans. It is incorrect to say that Shri R.B. Sreekumar submitted his draft first affidavit to me for my approval. I deny the allegation the Paras 33, 34, 37, 39 and 40 were added by me in the said draft first affidavit.
- Que. Please see the call details of your government mobile phone 9825048301 for the period 27-2-2002 to 4-3-2002. Please identify the calls made/received by you on these days and also give the details of talks held with the various individuals.

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Ans. Today, I have seen the call details of Govt. mobile phone no. 9825048301 for the period 27-2-2002 to 4-3-2002. On these days I had spoken to MoS, Home, CP, Ahmedabad City, AddI.DG (CID Crime), AddI. DG (law & Order), DCP Zone-I and Shri Anil Mukim, PS to CM and some other police officers whose numbers I am not in a position to identify at this stage. All these talks were purely official and were concerning the law & order situation in the State. However, I do not recollect the specific talks, I had with them. As regards the other landline and mobile numbers, I am not in a position to identify at this stage to whom they belong to.

As the head of the Gujarat Police, during the relevant period, I had issued clear directives to all the police officers in the State for proper maintenance of law & order, impartial investigation into all the cases by exercising effective supervision by the respective jurisdictional supervisory officers and for rendering due protection to the affected persons not withstanding serious constraints of manpower with the State Police and non-availability of CRPF companies, which are very effective to deal with the riots. The officers of the State Police including myself had worked continuously round the clock for several days and months together, without any respite, against heavy odds.

I would like to mention here that during the year 2005, I was residing with my family at Khar (W), at Mumbai, I don't recollect the exact date but I do recall that Shri R.B. Sreekumar had telephoned me and asked me to help him in his case for a promotion. In this context, he informed me against his supersession by the Govt., and that he had moved the CAT. Shri Sreekumar requested me to file an affidavit in support of his petition before CAT. While expressing sympathy against his supersession, I had told him that in view of my domestic commitments in Mumbai, I was not in a position to come to Gujarat to file such an affidavit. I recall that Shri Sreekumar had requested me 2-3 times for this purpose, but I had declined to do so.

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In view of this, I feel that he was aggrieved with me and therefore, leveled all such baseless allegations against me. Moreover, in his first affidavit filed before Nanavati Commission, he had not made any such allegations concerning me, but did so only at a later date, which clearly go to show that the same are afterthought, to support his claims

Read over and admitted to be correct.

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Arhabelo (Jeron 17/12/2009

Before me TA. K. MALHOTRA Member, SIT, Gandhinagar

Typed by me

(A. K. PARMAR) PSI, SIT, Gandhinagar

Meghaninagar P.S. I Cr. No. 67/2002

Date: 24-03-2011

Statement of Shri K. Chakravarthi, S/o, Shri Krishnasami aged about 67 years, R/o, Flat no.2/C, 1st floor, Bharati Bhuvan, Plot No. 79, S.V. Road, Khar (W), Mumbai-52 u/s 161 of Cr. P.C.

- Que. During what period you remain posted as DGP of Gujarat State?
- Ans. I joined Indian Police Service in the year 1965 and was allotted to Gujarat cadre. I became Director General of Police on 01-04-2001 and retired from service on superannuation on 31-1-2004.
- Que. Who were the ACS (Home), Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad City and Addl. DG (Int.) in the year 2002?
- Ans. Shri Ashok Narayan was posted as ACS (Home) with effect from 01-01-2002. Shri G.C. Raiger was posted as Addl. DG (Int.) and Shri P.C. Pande was posted as Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad City. However, later Shri R.B. Sreekumar took over as Addl. DG (Int.) in April, 2002.
- Que. When and how did you receive the information on 27-02-2002, regarding the Godhra train burning incident?
- Ans. On 27-02-2002, telephonic information was received from State Control Room that a mob had stoned Sabarmati Express at Godhra Railway Station and subsequently set fire to a bogie of the said train.
- Que. What were the steps taken by you to deal with the Godhra situation?
- Ans. On receipt of this information, I immediately directed Shri Deepak Swaroop, the then IGP, Vadodara Range to proceed to Godhra, rushed one platoon of SRP Group-V Godhra headquarters to Godhra Railway Station and issued instructions to rush one SRP company each from Baroda and Ahmedabad to reach Godhra. I remained in constant contact with IGP Shri Deepak Swaroop, State Control and SP, Godhra through mobile phone. Looking to the gravity of the situation an emergency meeting was held with CS and ACS (Home) at Gandhinagar. Around 1200 hrs, I came to know that the burnt railway coach had been detached at Godhra and the train proceeded on its onward journey to Ahmedabad.
- Que. What were the steps taken by you to ensure that Law & Order was maintained and no untoward incident took place in the Gujarat State?
- Ans. In view of these developments, red alert was sounded by me and the entire police machinery was put on round the clock duty. Senior Officers from HQ were sent to strengthen vulnerable areas. All the SRP coys were deployed in vulnerable areas. 4 RAF companies were deployed. Home Department was asked to move MHA for more RAF companies. All the CsP, SsP and Range

Heads were given instructions through a fax message dated 27-02-2002 to take all precautions to avoid any untoward incident as a repercussion of the Godhra incident, to keep strict vigil at all sensitive points and get their forces mobilized and vehicles requisitioned. Instructions were also issued through crash wireless messages to all the jurisdictional officers to make preventive arrests of communal elements, so that they might not take undue advantage of the situation to spread communal hatred. An appeal was also made by me to the general public through Door-Darshan and All India Radio on 27-02-2002 night, to maintain peace during the Gujarat bandh on the next day i.e. 28-02-2002. Copies of all such messages were given to the Commission & SIT earlier.

Que. When did the Chief Minister go to Godhra and return?

- Ans. On 27-02-2002, the Chief Minister went to Godhra in the afternoon and returned late in the night.
- Que. Did you attend a meeting called by the Chief Minister on 27-02-2002 late in the evening at his residence? If so, who else were present in the said meeting?
- Ans. On 27-02-2002 late in the evening, while I was in the Door-Darshan studio at Ahmedabad City, I received a message from State Control Room that CM had called for a meeting at his residence at Gandhinagar at about 2230 hrs. I reached CM's residence alone a little earlier and waited there, as the CM had not arrived by that time. Subsequently, Smt. Swarna Kanta Varma, the then acting Chief Secretary, Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home), Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP, Ahmedabad City and Shri K. Nityanandam, the then Secretary (Home) also arrived there. The meeting was held for about 20-30 minutes around 2300 hrs or could be a little earlier.
- Que. Did Shri G.C. Raiger, the then Addl. DG (Int.) also attend this meeting? In case he was on leave, who was holding the charge of State IB in his absence?
- Ans. Shri G.C. Raiger, the then Addl. DG (Int.) was on casual leave, therefore, he did not attend the meeting. Since he was on casual leave no one was holding the charge of State IB.
- Que. When did Shri G.C. Raiger, the then Addl. DG (Int.) return from leave? Did Shri Raiger contact you over phone on 27-02-2002 and seek instructions? If so, what were the talks held with him?
- Ans. I do not recollect at this point of time about the return of Shri Raiger from leave and also as to whether Shri Raiger contacted me over phone or not.
- Que. Did Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) accompany you in your staff car from DGP's office and attend the said meeting under your instructions, as a representative of State IB?

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- Ans. I categorically say that Shri Sanjiv Bhatt did not attend that aforesaid meeting on 27-02-2002 night, at CM's residence nor did he accompany me to the CM's residence. I did not give any such instructions to him. In case, Shri G.C. Raiger, Addl. DG (Int.) was available at Ahmedabad, I would have given instructions to State Control Room to call him rather than asking Shri Sanjiv Bhatt to attend the said meeting. Even otherwise, Shri O.P. Mathur, the then IGP (Admn. & Sec.) was available and could have been called in the meeting instead of calling a junior officer of SP level.
- Que. Did any of the Ministers/MLAs/Politicians attend the said meeting?
- Ans. As far as I recollect, none of the Ministers/politicians attended the said meeting.
- Que. What was the duration and agenda of the said meeting?
- Ans. The meeting lasted for about 20-30 minutes and the agenda was the developing Law & Order situation in the light of Godhra train burning incident of 27-02-2002 morning.
- Que. What sort of discussions took place in the said meeting? Please give the details of the same.
- Ans. In this meeting the CM had asked me about the arrangements/bandobast made by me in the wake of bandh call given by the VHP on 28-02-2002. I gave a brief account of the arrangement and also about the instructions given by me to the jurisdictional officers about the mobilization of the forces and about the additional requirement of forces. I also informed the Chief Minister about the appeal made by me to the general public on Door-Darshan/ All India Radio to maintain peace. Shri Ashok Narayan gave the details of the ten RAF companies requisitioned from MHA at my instance. The CM said that the Godhra incident was very serious and bound to affect the public at large and, therefore, adequate arrangements be made. He also informed about the Government's decision to transport dead bodies of the Godhra victims Godhra to Ahmedabad City by road. The CM also said that the bodies would be kept in Sola Civil Hospital on the outskirts of the City and not in Civil hospital, which was located in the thickly populated City area.
- Que. Did you or any of the other participants oppose the proposal of the CM to bring the dead bodies of the victims of Godhra incident to Ahmedabad City? If so, what was the reaction of the CM and other participants in the said meeting?
- Ans. No. As far as I recollect, since a large number of the victims belonged to Ahmedabad and nearby places, which were approachable via Ahmedabad, therefore, the decision of the Govt. was not opposed by any of the participants in the said meeting.
- Que. Did you or any of the other participants oppose the support given by the BJP to the bandh call given by VHP on 28-02-2002?

Que. Did the Chief Minister impress upon the participants of the meeting held on 27-02-2002 night that for too long the Gujarat Police had been following the principle of balancing the actions against the Hindus and Muslims while dealing with the communal riots in Gujarat and that time the situation warranted that the Muslims be taught a lesson to ensure that such incidents do not recur ever again. Did the Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi express the view that the emotions were running very high amongst the Hindus and it was imperative that they be allowed to vent their anger?

- Ans. The Chief Minister did not utter any such words during this meeting.
- Que. Are you aware as to whether any minutes of the said meeting were prepared or not?
- Ans. As far as I recollect, no minutes were received by me either from the Home Department or from the CM Office.
- Que. Did your express any views in the said meeting? If so, please give the details of the same.
- Ans. As already stated, I had briefed the CM about the arrangements made by me for 28-02-2002 and also about the additional staff requirements. No other views were expressed by me in the said meeting.
- Que. Did the Chief Minister give any specific instructions to the police officers present in the said meeting to be communicated to the subordinates?
- Ans. No other instructions were given to me apart from what has been stated by me above.
- Que. Did you record the details of the discussion held in the said meeting?
- Ans. I was not required to record any minutes/details of the discussion, as the subject matter of the meeting related to either Home Department or CM office.
- Que. Did any of the participants leave the meeting early and some officers continue to be seated in the CM's camp office at his residence?
- Ans. The meeting was over after 20-30 minutes and everyone left thereafter.
- Que. Did you attend any of the meetings called by the CM on 28-02-2002? If so, please give the agenda and the details of the participants of the said meeting.
- Ans. At this belated stage, I do not remember distinctly, whether I attended the meeting at CM office on 28-02-2002 morning. It may be added here that on 28-02-2002, many ghastly incidents were reported from all over the State and as such I remained fully preoccupied with my work. It is, therefore, not possible to recall the said meeting and also about the other participants who attended the

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said meeting. However, all such important Govt. meetings were being attended by me along with Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home).

- Que. What discussions took place in the meeting held at CM's residence on 28-02-2002 morning?
- Ans. As I do not recollect about such a meeting distinctly, I am unable to recall the discussions at this point of time.
- Que. Did any discussions take place regarding the requisition of force from other States or deployment of the Army?
- Ans. I do remember that in one of the Govt. meetings, both these issues were discussed and requisitions were sent to Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Out of these states, only Maharashtra responded and sent some force. The issue relating to deployment of Army was also discussed, but since it was too early, it was decided at Govt. level to watch further developments.
- Que. Did you keep the records of discussion of the said meeting?
- Ans. As already stated, I did not maintain any records/minutes of the meetings held.
- Que. Did the CM give any instructions for the placement of the two Ministers in State Control Room and Ahmedabad City Police Control Room on 28-02-2002?
- Ans. I do not recollect having received any such instructions directly from the CM in any of the meetings held on 28-02-2002. However, Shri Ashok Narayan, ACS (Home) informed me that it was decided by the Govt. that Shri I.K. Jadeja, the then Minister would be in my office to secure some information about the Law & Order situation in the State as State Control Room is situated in DGP's office. He further informed that Shri Ashok Bhatt another Minister would sit in Ahmedabad City Police Control Room. Since, I had my own reservations and, therefore, I advised the ACS (Home) that it would be better, these Ministers got the information from the Control Room in the Home Department. However, Shri Ashok Narayan informed that no facility was available with him in the Home Department and, therefore, the two Ministers would come to the respective Control Rooms. Shri I.K. Jadeja, the then Minister came to my office in the forenoon of 28-02-2002 and sat in my chamber for about 15-20 minutes. I could not attend to him, as I was awfully busy with the telephone calls being received by me from all over the State. As far as I recollect, I had asked someone to shift the Minister to an empty chamber in my office and this was done. I am not aware as to what Shri Jadeja did while he was in my office as I was extremely busy with my work on that riots day. Later, I came to know that Shri Jadeja had left my office. However, my enquiries with the staff of the State Control Room had revealed that Shri Jadeja did not interfere with the functioning of the Control Room in any manner.

- Que. Did the Chief Minister call for any mid day review meeting on 28-02-2002 afternoon? If so, who attended the same?
- Ans. I do not specifically recall having attended such meeting.
- Que. What was the agenda of the said meeting? Please give the details of the discussions that took place in the said meeting and the decision taken?
- Ans. As already stated, I do not recall any such meeting, but in one of such meetings on 28-02-2002 afternoon, a decision was taken by the CM to call the Army to take charge of the Law & Order situation in the State.
- Que. Did you keep a record of the instructions given in the said meeting?
- Ans. I have already stated, I never kept the record of such meetings and it was either for the Home Department or CM office to maintain the same.
- Que. Did Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) in any of the meetings held on 28-02-2002, inform the CM about the ongoing developments at Gulberg Society, an imminent threat to Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP and other residents of the society and also about the complete police inaction at the Gulberg Society and other location across Ahmedabad City? Did you impress upon the Chief Minister in the presence of Shri Sanjiv Bhatt that the curfew was immediately required to be strictly enforced as the situation was getting out of hand?
- Ans. I categorically deny that Shri Sanjiv Bhatt gave any such information in any of the meetings held on 28-02-2002. It may be mentioned here that imposing curfew was to be decided by field officers; curfew had already been imposed by the CP, Ahmedabad City and it was for the jurisdictional officers to enforce the same effectively. Since Senior Officers were closely monitoring the situation in Ahmedabad City. There was no such occasion for me to raise such an issue before the Chief Minister in the meeting as alleged by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt.
- Que. Did Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) submit any State IB report with regards to any of these meetings?
- Ans. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) could not have submitted any such report to me nor did he do so. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt never spoke to me either on landline or mobile phone about the Law & Order situation in the State. Similarly, he was not supposed to submit a report to me directly, as the same was required to be done by the Addl. DG (Int.), if necessary.
- Que. Did the CM take a decision in the mid day review meeting to requisition Army to control the Law & Order situation? If so, did the CM speak to someone in the Central Govt.? Was there any written requisition sent to the Central Govt. in this regard? If so, when and who sent the said requisition?
- Ans. As already stated, CM took a decision in one of the review meetings of 28-02-2002, to call Army to control the Law & Order situation in the State. However, I

do not recollect whether he personally spoke to someone in the Central Govt. As regards the written requisition, the same was the duty of the Home Department and, therefore, I can not recollect who did so.

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- Que. Did Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) inform you on 28-02-2002 around 1130am about the developing situation at Gulberg Society?
- Ans. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt never informed me personally about any incident at Gulberg Society in the forenoon of 28-02-2002.
- Que. Did Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) inform you in the afternoon of 28-02-2002 that a mob consisting of few thousand people had assembled at Gulberg Society and were attacking on the houses situated therein?
- Ans. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt did not inform me about any such incident. In fact I came to know about a mob having assembled at the Gulberg Society from a member of public who had telephoned me. Immediately thereafter, this information was passed on by me to Shri P.C. Pande, the then CP, Ahmedabad City over his mobile phone and also through VHF wireless message. Shri P.C. Pande came back to me and informed me that he had already sent reinforcements along with officers to Gulberg Society.
- Que. Did Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) serve as Staff Officer to the DGP, Gujarat at any point of time?
- Ans. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt was never posted as a Staff Officer to DGP, Gujarat at least during my period.
- Que. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) has stated that he was not directed by DGP or Addl. DG (Int.) to file any affidavit before the Nanavati-Shah Commission about the facts and the evidence available with him. Please state as to whether any such specific instructions were given to any particular individuals to file the affidavits before the Commission?
- Ans. In this connection, it may be stated that the Home Department of the Govt. of Gujarat had issued a circular to all the police officers and Collectors to file affidavits in connection with the riots which took place in the State following the Godhra train burning incident. Accordingly the Addl. DG (Int.) had filed the first affidavit on behalf of the State IB. If any other officer, who was privy to any sensitive information/evidence relating to the said events he was at liberty to file his affidavit before the Commission at the relevant point of time. No further directions were required to be given in this regard to anyone.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

Before me

tween (Himanshu Shukla) DCP & I.O. SIT. Gandhinagar

Meghaninagar P.S. I Cr. No. 67/2002

Date: 30-01-2012

Further statement of Shri K. Chakravarthi, S/o Shri Krishnasami aged about 68 years, R/o Flat No 2/c, 1st Floor Bharti Bhuvan, Plot No 79, S.V. Road, Khar (W), Mumbai-52 u/s 161 Cr.P.C.

In continuation of my earlier statement dated 24.03.2011, today, I have been shown photo copy of office copy of a fax message in English bearing No. D-2/2-COM/Alert/100/2002, dated 27.02.2002 purportedly sent by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, as Deputy Commissioner (Security). To the best of my recollection, no such message was received or seen by me on 27-02-2002 night, though a copy of the message appears to have been marked to Police Gandhinagar. In all such Law & Order matters normally senior officers of State Intelligence were expected to telephone to their superiors immediately and thereafter follow it up with such written message. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt did not contact me telephonically or in person during the night of 27/28-2-2002 in this respect.

As already stated in my earlier statement, Shri Sanjiv Bhatt was not present in the meeting held by the C.M. on the night of 27-02-2002. The said message is addressed to CP Ahmedabad City, who was already present in the said meeting and was aware with all the deliberations that had taken place. This message refers to local cadres of BJP being massively mobilized for the VHP supported Gujarat Bandh. At that point of time there was no intelligence received by me to this affect.

The CP Ahmedabad City was already aware of the decision of the State Government to bring the dead bodies to Sola Civil Hospital. He had therefore, taken appropriate steps to deal with the situation. If the purported message had actually been sent, as claimed by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, then, the same should be supported by relevant records at both at Transmitter's and Receiver's end. It is not understood why Shri Sanjiv Bhatt failed to produce such important message before the Nanavati Commission along with his affidavit, especially since the Home Department, Govt. of Gujarat and myself, as DGP of Gujarat State, had given instructions to all officers in this regard at the relevant time.

I have also gone through a photo copy of another fax message in english bearing no D-2/2-COM/Alert/174/2002, dated 28.02.2002

purportedly sent by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt as Deputy Commissioner (Communal) on behalf of Addl. DGP (Int.), which is addressed to PS to CM, Gandhinagar and PS to MoS (Home) with information to Home Secretary, Gandhinagar, Police Gandhinagar and CP, Ahmedabad City. No such message was received by me at the relevant time. Shri Sanjiv Bhatt did not also contact me on the phone or in person at the relevant time.

The message refers to his having informed the Hon'ble CM whereas Shri Sanjiv Bhatt was required to inform CP, Ahmedabad City on telephone first and thereafter, follow it up by the Fax message.

As mentioned in my pervious statement, a member of the minority community from Ahmedabad had telephoned me at 1400 hrs on 28-2-2002, about late Ahesan Jafri's (Ex MP) house being attacked by a mob. I had immediately telephoned to CP Ahmedabad City in the matter. He had then told me that he had already received similar message and that he had sent officers and additional reinforcements to deal with the situation.

Further, I wish to state that in all such important matters, it was the Addl. DG (Int.) or the DGP who would personally telephone and inform the CM and other high functionaries in the State Government. Shri G.C. Raiger, the then Addl. DG (Int.) was present in his office on 28-2-2002, therefore, Shri Sanjiv Bhatt did not have any locus-standee to directly call and inform the CM in this regard, as such action tantamount to violation of rules and conventions of the state police. As per the said message, the action was required to be taken by CP Ahmedabad City primarily and therefore it should have been addressed to him, which is not the case.

It is rather unusual, considering the circumstances prevailing in the state on 27 & 28th February, 2002, that the dispatch number of both the messages had been printed on the computer, which raises serious doubts about genuineness of the said messages.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

Before me

(Himanshu Shukla) DCP & IO, SIT, Gandhinagar

Date: 24-03-2010

Statement of Shri P.C. Pande, S/o, Shri Prakash Chandra Pande, aged about 61 years, R/o, Bungalow No. 22, Govt. Officers Quarters, Duffnala Shahibaug, Ahmedabad City.

I belong to U.P. and completed my education there. I joined Indian Police Service in the year 1970 and was allotted to Gujarat cadre. In Gujarat, I remained posted at different places in different capacities. I retired from service on 31-3-2009. I was appointed as Chairman, Police Housing Corporation in August, 2009, which is an honorary post.

During the period 13-4-99 to 10-5-2002, I remained posted as Commissioner of Police in Ahmedabad City. In the year 2002, Shri K. Chakravarthi was posted as DGP, Gujarat State. Ahmedabad City has got an area of 491 sq.kms. with a population of about 39 lakhs as per the census of 2001. In addition, a part of area covered under Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority with a population of about 15-16 lakhs is also covered in the Police Commissionerate Ahmedabad City. Around 17% of the population is Muslims with their accumulation at Dariyapur, Shahpur, Kalupur, Karanj, Jamalpur, Rakhial and Gomtipur police station areas. Ahmedabad City has got a history of communal riots. Communal riots had taken place in the State of Gujarat. Major riots took place during 1969, 1985, 1986 and 1992.

Ahmedabad City has been divided into 30 police stations each headed by two PIs with an average of 12 PSIs and a total strength of 150-200 policemen. Further, an ACP (Dy.SP) is supervising officer of two police stations. Above ACsP, there are DCsP (rank of District SP) to supervise the work of 4/5 police stations. The DCsP fall under two sectors headed by Addl. CP/Joint CP (DIG/IG). In addition, there is a Crime Branch in Ahmedabad City, meant for the special investigation and also for the prevention of anti-social activities, which is headed by an officer of the rank of DIG assisted by other staff. In February, 2002, the sanctioned as well as actual strength of Ahmedabad City was as under:

Sr. No.	Rank	Sanctioned Strength	Actual Strength
1	Deputy Commissioner of Police	9	7
2	Asst. Commissioner of Police	21	19
3	Police Inspectors	85	85
4	Police Sub Inspectors	507	220+80
5	HCs/PCs (in police stations)	5252	(Localy HCs) 4739
3	HCs/PCs (in other branches like Crime/Traffic/Spl.Branch etc.)	1193	1062
A	HCs/PCs (in Armed Branch)	2716	2000

In addition, a large number of police pickets/points from SRP are positioned all over the city in order to maintain communal peace. The details of these deployments had been incorporated in my affidavit submitted to Nanavati Commission of Inquiry.

On 27-2-2002, the news relating to burning of a railway coach of Sabarmati Express near Godhra Railway Station was first received by me from the news in TV channel. After sometime, it was learnt that many people had lost their lives. However, no details were available and it was not known at that time, as to whether the kar-sevaks belonged to Ahmedabad City or some other places. It may be mentioned here that these kar-sevaks had gone by train from Ahmedabad City only around 25-2-2002. Looking into the gravity of the situation necessary arrangements were made at Ahmedabad Railway Station though it did not fall in the jurisdiction of Ahmedabad Police Commissionerate. In nut shell, police patrolling was intensified in all the traditionally sensitive areas, auto rickshaws and shops and establishments belonging to minority community around the Railway Station were got removed to minimize the chances of confrontation with the kar-sevaks and arrangements were made by the Revenue Department for buses for the transportation of kar-sevaks to their respective places.

Later in the evening of 27-2-2002, an information was received that VHP had given a call for 'Gujarat Bandh' on 28-2-2002. Subsequently, on 28-2-2002, I came to know from a news paper report published in "Gujarat Samachar" that the bandh was supported by the ruling party. Looking into the history of the previous bandhs held in Gujarat, it was anticipated that there may be violence, stone pelting, arson and stabbing etc. In view of these appropriate steps were taken to mobilize and deploy the available manpower across the city particularly in traditionally sensitive areas. In brief, the following steps were taken:-

- A stand-to was ordered for the police force.
- Six companies of additional SRP were requisitioned from the State.
- (iii) All routine duties were suspended.
- (iv) 95 vehicles were hired to improve the mobility of the force.
- (v) Question of imposition of curfew was examined pre emptively but the idea was dropped due to the shortage of police to enforce the same and moreover the same could have created unnecessary tension.

On 28-2-2002, sufficient bandobast was made in the walled city, where the communal riots had taken place in the past. Some of the staff from the other police stations was also deputed to these traditionally sensitive police stations.

On 27-2-2002 late in the evening, a meeting was held at Chief Minister's residence around 22:30 hrs. after the return of the CM from Godhra. This meeting was attended by Smt. Swarna Kanta Varma, the then acting Chief Secretary, Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home), Shri K. Chakravarthi, the then DGP and I. I

do not recollect as to whether Shri K. Nityanandam, the then Secretary in the Home Department had attended the said meeting or not. I also do not recollect as to whether any of the Secretaries to the CM were present in the said meeting. I am not in a position to recollect that whether Shri G.C. Raigar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) or anyone on his behalf attended the said meeting. I do not recollect whether Shri Sanjeev Bhatt, the then DC (Int.) attended the said meeting or not. However, none of the Ministers, MLAs or any other politicians were present in the said meeting. This was purely a Law & Order review meeting. I can not recollect the exact talks which took place in the said meeting but the sum and substance of the meeting was that the dead bodies were being brought to Ahmedabad City with a view to facilitate the relations of the deceased persons to identify and claim the dead bodies. The Chief Minister was of the view that there could be repercussions of the Godhra incident and as such sufficient police bandobast should be made and all other necessary steps to maintain peace be taken . The DGP and my self had raised the issue of requisitioning of extra force to control the situation. The meeting lasted for less than half an hour.

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Q. Did the CM say in the meeting held on 27.02.2002 night that in the communal riots police take action against Hindus and Muslims on one to one basis and that this will not do now. Alow Hindus to give vent to their anger?

No such statement was made by the CM.

I did not attend any meeting at CM's residence on 28-2-2002 morning. It is incorrect to say that Shri Ashok Bhatt, the then Health Minister was stationed at Shahibaug Control Room on 28-2-2002 to guide the police force in controlling the Law & Order situation. It may be added here that Shri George Fernandes, the then Defence Minister arrived at Ahmedabad on 1-3-2002 and directly drove to CP office from the airport to find out as to whether the Army had been deployed in the State or not. Shri George Fernandes arrived in my office around 10-10:30 hrs and asked me about the deployment of the Army, to which I informed him that the Army had arrived only late last night as well as early in the morning. I also suggested to Shri Fernandes that we could check from the Police Control Room and as such both of us went to Police Control Room. In the meanwhile, Shri Ashok Bhatt, the then Health Minister, who had been waiting for Shri Fernandes in the Circuit House also came to CP office to meet Shri Fernandes and entered the Control Room, where the Defence Minister was present. Both the Ministers remained in the Control Room for about ten minutes and then left CP office. During this visit to the Control Room, some of the press and media persons were also present and as such it was somehow made to appear that Shri Ashok Bhatt had come to monitor the Control Room. In fact, Shri Ashok Bhatt was never deputed to Shahibaug Police Control Room to guide or advice the police.

On 27-2-2002, I remained in my office till late in the night as well as in the sarry hours of 28-2-2002. During this period, I had informally discussed the Law &

Order situation and the arrangements to be made on 28-2-2002, with Shri Shivanand Jha, the then Addl. CP, Sector-I and Shri M.K. Tondon, the then Jt. CP, Sector-II. On 28-2-2002, I came to office around 08:00 hrs. After about sometime, I came to know that the dead bodies of victims of Godhra incident had been brought to Sola Civil Hospital and that some kind of dispute/altercation was going on and the atmosphere was tense at Sola Civil Hospital. Accordingly, I went to Sola Civil Hospital around 10:00 hrs and found that the doctors were under pressure to complete the documentation whereas the relatives of the victims were in a hurry to take the dead bodies. However, I did not find anything alarming and as such I returned to my office at about 11:00 hrs. On the way, I found that the mobs had assembled at many places in large numbers, but they were not violent and most of them were spectators. While I sat in the office, the reports started pouring in from all parts of the city about stone pelting, arson, looting and damaging of properties. I don't exactly remember, but whenever any information came to me about any incident or any distress call was received from any individual the same was promptly attended and the information immediately passed on to the concerned officer with instruction to attend to it on priority basis. The Control Room was flooded with numerous numbers of calls for help and as such with the available force it was not possible to effectively deal with all the situations. It may be mentioned here that on that day many distress calls had been received from Police Station areas like Satellite, Navarangpura, Ellisbridge, Bapunangar, Amraiwadi, Meghaninagar, Naroda and Odhav, which had comparatively faced lesser communal problems in the past. A few calls had been received from walled city as well namely Shahpur in particular, but the extent of damage was much less. Keeping in view the gravity of the situation curfew was declared in many parts of the city from 12:20 hrs onwards.

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As far as I recollect, I had instructed Shri M.K. Tandon, the then Jt. CP, Sector-II on 28-2-2002 forenoon, to go to Meghaninagar as some calls of crowds gathering and stone pelting etc were being received in the Control Room about the from Meghaninagar P.S. area. I did not know Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP till 28-2-2002 evening and also did not have knowledge that he was residing in Gulberg society.

Shri M.K. Tandon, Jt. CP, Sector-II had reached Naroda Patiya around 12:30 hours and had spoken to me over mobile phone that the situation was alarming and recommended that curfew may be declared in the Naroda P.S. area. I concurred with the advice of Shri Tandon and curfew was declared in Naroda P.S. area at about 12:30 hrs. It may be mentioned here that the Ahmedabad City was totally disturbed and communication as well as transport system had come to standstill. The additional force, wherever sent was unable to reach in time because the roads had been obstructed by the rioters and large crowds had collected making movement difficult by putting different kind of obstacles.

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On 28-2-2002 at about 12:20 hrs, a message was received from PI Meghaninagar P.S. in the Control Room that Gulberg society in Meghaninagar area which is a Muslim society had been surrounded by a mob of 10,000, which was pelting stones and also setting fire to shops nearby and rickshaws. He requested for additional officers, police personnel and SRP immediately. On receipt of this message three officers namely Shri G.D. Solanki, Dy. SP, Group-vii, Shri Ajitkumar Gupta, Dy. SP, Group-xii and Shri A.B. Qureshi, PI, CID Crime were deputed to go to Gulberg society for the assistance of PI Meghaninagar. At about 13:45 hrs, one section of CISF was also sent to Gulberg society, Meghaninagar. At 14:05 hrs, Shri M.K. Tandon, Jt. CP, Secor-II sent a message to the Police Control Room that the people and Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP had been surrounded by the mob in Gulberg society and extra force and PI, Sardamagar be sent there to shift them. At 14:14 hrs, another message was received from Senior PI Erda, Meghaninagar P.S. in the Police Control Room that a mob of about 10,000 persons had gathered at Gulberg society/Kalapinagar and were about to set fire to the entire society and as such ACP, DCP along with additional force be sent immediately. At 14:45 hrs, Shri K.G. Erda, Sr.PI Meghaninagar sent a message to the Control Room that in the Gulberg society in Meghaninagar area, the Muslims had been surrounded by a mob of 10,000 persons from all the sides and even the police force had also been surrounded and that the mob was about to set fire. He requested for additional SRP and police force to be sent as the situation was critical. Since, two Dy.SsP, One PI and one section of CISF had already been sent to Gulberg society, no additional force was sent as nothing was available as reserves. At about 15:45 hrs, Shri M.K. Tandon, the then Jt. CP, Sector-II sent a message to Ahmedabad City Police Control Room asking as to whether there was any incident relating to loss of life at Gulberg society at Meghaninagar and thereof a detailed report be sent to him. No other information was available with the Control Room at that time. It would not be out of place to mention here that Shri K. Chakravarthi, the then DGP had also informed me that a mob had surrounded a Gulberg society and that reinforcement should be sent there, to which I had informed him that extra force and officers had already been sent to Gulberg society in Meghaninagar P.S. area. However, I did not know as to when, the police force had actually reached the Gulberg society. I had come to know about the incident at Gulberg society sometime in the evening and as such I made a personal visit to the society sometime between 19:00 hrs to 19:30 hrs. I found that the houses were ransacked and belongings set on fire and some wooden articles/furniture etc. was still smouldering. Since, the Jt. CP had already shifted most of the inmates of the society in vans to safer places, I gave instruction to the Sr. PI and other staff present over there to go ahead with the inquest and send the dead bodies for post-mortem examination. I returned to office thereafter, Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP did not contact me either on my landline phone or mobile phone on 28-2-2002, seeking help. No one else from Gulberg society contacted me

either on my landline or my mobile phone seeking help on 28 0 2000

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through the call details of my Govt. mobile phone no. 98250 48303 for 27/28-2-2002 and the same does not contain any call from Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP from his landline no. 079-2125166. As per my information, Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP did not have any mobile phone and there was no other landline in Gulberg society.

As regards the Naroda Gam and Naroda Patiya incident, the police dealt with the crowds outside, but unfortunately could not know the killings that had taken place inside, not visible to the police outside. The police came to know about the incident only after the killings. When I visited the Gulberg society in the evening, I had no knowledge that a serious incident had taken place at Naroda Gam and Naroda Patiya. I remember to have visited Naroda along with the Jt. CP and other staff sometime late in the evening of 28-2-2002. It may be mentioned here that the survivors of Naroda and Naroda Patiya incidents were promptly shifted to safer places during the early hours of 1-3-2002 with the help and cooperation of Shri Badaruddin Sheikh, Corporator. It is absolutely incorrect to say that few hundreds calls were made to me from Naroda Patiya and I did not respond to the same. The allegation made by Smt. Zakia Naseem in her complaint that over two dozens survivors of Naroda Patiya had made over hundred distress calls to me is absolutely false and baseless, in as much as I had responded promptly to the hundred of the distress calls received on my landline/mobile phone from all over the city.

I would like to add here that on 28-2-2002, requests were received from different police stations areas seeking additional force/SRP and whatever resources were available with me the same were dispatched to them. However, I found that no feedback had been received from anyone of them. This led me to presumption that the additional force reached them in time and that they were able to control the situation. Similar was the case of the Gulberg society where initially three officers, two Dy.SsP and one PI and subsequently one section of CISF was sent by me. In fact, the police Control Room received messages and responded to the same in numbers far exceeding its peak capacity.

It may also be added that on 28-2-2002 around 2 o'clock, I heard a noise outside the CP office. I immediately checked to find that a dargah adjoining CP office had been attacked by a mob. Since, there was no other force available with me, I personally came down and went to the spot along with my gunman. I managed to disperse the mob almost single handedly and waited there for sometime to ensure that the mob did not reassemble. By this timely action, the dargah could be saved from the rioters.

It has further been alleged by Smt. Zakia Naseem in her complaint that I had claimed a memory lapse before Nanavati Commission of Inquiry about what exactly had transpired on 28-2-2002, vis a vis Gulberg society and Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP. In this connection, the messages and calls received from Gulberg society and other are

a matter of record in the Control Room log which also contains the action taken by me. As regards the other telephone calls and messages received over mobile phone and landline phone, I took immediate action but it was physically not possible to keep a log of calls received personally and hence there is no record of the same. I was summoned by the Commission for my examination on 17/18-8-2004, i.e. after a lapse of about 2½ years of the incident and as such it was humanly impossible for me to recollect each and every incident reported to me on 28-2-2002. It is with this background that I had informed the Commission that I was not in a position to give minute to minute account of the work done by me on 28-2-2002. As already stated, the circumstances did not exist on 27-2-2002 or even 28-2-2002 to warrant the imposition of curfew and any hasty action would have led to the panic in the city. Even otherwise with limited force available enforcement of curfew poses serious problems and large scale breach becomes common. Further, as and when the sector commanders reported over phone about the seriousness of the situation at any place, I immediately concurred over telephone and ordered for the imposition as well as enforcement of the curfew. In view of this, almost the whole of the city was under curfew by noon time. It may thus be seen that there was no deliberate and gross negligence on my part. It is absolutely incorrect to allege that I had aided the

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It's a fact that the mobs had swelled to such an extent that they openly defied the curfew orders and as and when they were challenged by the police, they hid themselves in the lanes and after the police left they regrouped. This had happened due to the inadequate number of policemen on duty and those present could not leave the places where they were deputed and as such, if the police force was engaged in a particular area the mobs concentrated on other areas. Similarly, the fire tenders sent to Gulberg and Naroda could not reach there in time resulting in loss of life and property in these areas. It may also be mentioned here that the Meghaninagar and Naroda P.S. had never been communally sensitive in the past and as such the attacks in Naroda Patiya and Gulberg socieity were beyond our expectation.

mobs in their murderous task.

It has also been alleged by Smt. Zakia Naseem in her complaint that I had visited Gulberg society on 28-2-2002 and had spoken to Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP. The allegation is without any basis, in as much as I did not visit Gulberg society on 28-2-2002 forenoon, as neither I had known Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP nor the Gulberg society before the incident. However, in view of the informations received in the Control Room Shri M.K. Tandon, Jt. CP, Sector-II was asked to go via Meghaninagar to take stock of the situation.

The allegation that I did not suggest to the CM or higher officer about the possible adverse repercussions on Law & Order about the parading of dead bodies of the victims of Godhra in Ahmedabad City, it may be stated that there had been no parading of the dead bodies whatsoever. The convoy carrying the dead bodies under police escort reached Ahmedabad City sometime between 03:30 hrs to 4:00 hrs on 28-2-2002, which means they must have started from Godhra at least three hours back and as such there was no one to see them on the highway at dead of the night. In Ahmedabad City, the dead bodies were kept in Sola Civil Hospital, which is situated on the outskirts of the City and most of the dead bodies had been handed over to their relations after proper documentation by the morning of 28-2-2002. However, it may be mentioned here that 10 of the victims of Godhra incident belong to Ramol village and two to the adjacent Khokhra village and as such all of them were to be cremated in the nearest cremation ground at Hatkeshvar situated at about 4-5 kms. Shri M. K. Tandon, the then JCP Sector – 2 had contacted the relations of these 12 victims and succeeded in persuading them to go to the cremation ground by vehicles as a result of which the cremation of these 12 victims

could be done without any incident. No parading of dead bodies took place as

alleged in the complaint.

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As regards the sequence of events during the period 28.02.2002 to 30.04.2002, the same has been incorporated in my affidavit at paras 6.1 to 6.43 which form part of my-statement. On 28.02.2002, itself police fired 961 rounds and burst 3103 tear gas shells apart from lathi charge resulting in death of 17 persons and injury to 25 persons. During the period 28.02.2002 to 30.04.2002, 780 cases were registered in which 2862 accused persons were arrested, which included 1755 Hindus and 1107 Muslims. During the same period, 3761 persons were arrested under the various preventive sections of law, which included 3039 Hindus and 722 Muslims. 54 persons were arrested under Prevention of Anti-Social Activities Act both for criminal and anti-prohibition activities. During the riots, 3 policemen and 1 Homeguard jawan were killed. The City police made efforts to defuse the tension and arranged for peace committee meetings at City level and police station level. These efforts were supplemented by some NGOs and other bodies including a peace march on 28.04.2002 under the leadership of Shri George Fernandes, the then Defence Minister. Besides, several NGOs played constructive roles in bringing peace in the City. As a result of efforts made by the police, NGOs and others major events could be held successfully during this period without any mishap. One of the major events was SSC/HSC examinations, in which 1.5 lakh students appeared and the event passed off peacefully. Several entrance examinations including the examinations held by UPSC were also held peacefully. Similarly, Mahashivaratri festival, Moharrum, Holi, Good Friday, Ambedkar jayanti, Ramnavami and Mahavir Jayanti were also celebrated with the same fervor. Several dignitaries including the Prime Minister and the leader of opposition also visited during this period but there was absolutely no disturbance. Also about 6,000 Haj pilgrims, who had arrived during this period were safely escorted to their respective places of their residence.

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Shri K.P.S. Gill, retired DGP Punjab was appointed as an Advisor to the Chief Minister and he visited Gujarat on 03.05.2002. Shri Gill reviewed the law and order situation. I had attended one of the meetings held by him in which he was apprised of the latest law and order situation in the Ahmedabad City. It is incorrect to say that I painted a colourful picture about current situation. It may be added here that Shri R. B. Sreekumar has recorded this fact in a diary purportedly maintained by him in the discharge of his official duties. However, I do not place any credence on the same. Thereafter, I was transferred on 09.05.2002 as AddLDG (Armed Units) and I relinguished the charge of the post of Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad City on 10.05.2002.

During the period, when I was posted as CP Ahmedabad City, mobile phone number 98250 48303 was allotted to me. Today I have been shown a copy of call detail reports of the aforesaid Mobile phone. On going through the same, I state that mobile phone No. 98250 00977 was my private mobile phone, which was being used by my family members. Any calls received from this mobile phone are purely personal phones. In addition, I had received the various calls from Shri K. Chakravarthi, DGP (Mobile No.98250 48301), Shri M. K. Tandon, JCP Sector - 2 (98250 48316), Shri Shivanand Jha, the then Additional Commissioner of Police Sector-1 (98250 48308), DCP Zone-I Shri V. M. Pargi (98250 49194), DCP Zone-6 Shri B. S. Jebalia (98250 49199), DCP Zone-4 Shri P. B. Gondia (98250 49197) and DCP Zone-3 Shri R. D. Makadia (98250 49196), which were strictly official in nature. I had also called some of these officers to convey the request for help received from various individuals during the riots. Besides these calls, I had made and received calls from Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home), Minister for Food & Civil Supplies, Collector Ahmedabad, Shri Gordhan Zadafia, MoS (Home), Shri Anil Mukim, Secretary to CM, Shri Tanmay Mehta, OSD to Chief Minister, Shri A. P. Patel, Govt. of Gujarat, Shri Ashok Bhatt, the then Health Minister, which were official in nature. I do not recollect the talks held with them but the same were in connection with law and order situation in the City. Several press reports and media persons like Zee Telefilms Limited, NDTV, Shri Brijeshkumar Singh (ZEE TV), Shri Dhimant Purohit (AAJ TAK), Shri Bharat Desai (Times of India), Manoj Bhimani (Editor of Aarpaar weekly), Ajitkumar Srivastava (Sahara), Girish Dani, President of Karnavati Club and V. Sheth (ISRO) also contacted me on 28.02.2002 presumably to know the latest situation of the riots in the City. Several calls from personal friends had also been received. Shri Jaydeep Patel had called me for 30 seconds on 28.02.2002 at 19.31.54 hours. According to my recollection, he had asked me about the prevalent law and order situation in Ahmedabad City. It may be added here that I had not known Shri Jaydeep Patel and he also does not know me personally. He had made this call to me as a CP.

I have seen copy of my DO letter dated 19.04.2002 addressed to DGP with a copy to ACS (Home), Addl. DG (Int) and a letter dated 22.04.2002 to ACS (Home) with a copy to GP and Addl. DGP (Int). These reports were sent based on the inputs received from the local police. However, I do not know the action taken thereon as I relinquished the charge of CP on 10.05.2002. As regards my comments which were telecast in the News Hour Bulletin of Star News on 28.02.2002, it may be mentioned that my remarks had been given in the piecemeal and the question put to me and the complete answer given by me were not quoted. I am therefore, not in a position to comment upon the same. Regarding my interview of 02.03.2002, I stand by my remarks that the situation was well within control and the City was fast returning to normal and I expected the peace to be restored within next 12-24 hours. It may be mentioned here that on 01.03.2002 written directions were issued by me to all the subordinate police officers in lower formations to ensure strict implementation of curfew and to resort to effective firing. These instructions were also conveyed through all Mobiles. These instructions were once again reiterated by me on 16.03.2002 through Control Room. I would like to add here that Ahmedabad City was by and large peaceful after 03.03.2002 and only stray incidents were reported thereafter. A copy of my affidavit and deposition before Nanavati Commission of Inquiry are being handed over to you today.

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As regards the allegation leveled by Smt. Jakia Nasim that I was inducted in the Central Govt. in the prestigious post of Addl. Director, CBI in March, 2004, it is preposterous to say that I was shown a favor and appointed as Additional Director, CBI in March 2004. I had at no stage asked for a central deputation. It must have been the Central Govt.'s decision to take me in the CBI, where appointments require selecting persons of outstanding merit, efficiency, integrity and previous experience of the CBI and in any case no appointment is done without the approval of the CVC. The panel invariably consisting of empanelled officers duly cleared by a top level screening committee. I had previous experience of CBI (1981 - 86) and also my ACR's of the last over 30 years have all been nothing less than outstanding.

In February 2005, I was promoted to the rank of DGP by the State Government and posted as Director ACB (which I joined in April 2005 only). In fact along with me was also promoted an officer two batches junior (Shri Kaushik, 1972). In fact, I was already empanelled to hold a DG level post in GOI by an order of empanelment dated August 2004. The State Government had shown no favor by promoting me along with my junior. In fact, the Supreme Court had in Writ Petition 147 of 2004 filed by Teesta Setalvad passed an order which reads, "the learned Solicitor General states that it has been decided to laterally transfer Shri P.C. Pande from the post of Addl. Director, CBI to another assignment in the MHA " This submission was preceded by taking consent of the CVC for premature release from the CBI, as envisaged in the relevant Act. This consent of the CVC was obtained

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after informing them that since, I was empanelled and due for promotion and there being no position in the CBI in that rank, therefore, I was to be shifted out of CBI. It is thus clear that neither was I shown a favor by induction in the CBI nor was castigated and made to leave the CBI with a taint. In fact the Writ Petition 147 of 2004 could not have survived, if the GOI had contested and not obtained the consent of the CVC for premature release from the CBI.

I was Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad City till 10th May, 2005. It is incorrect to say that 1000 people lost their lives in Ahmedabad during the riots of 2002. The actual number of deaths between 28th February' 2002 to 30th April' 2002, was 442, of whom were 113 Hindus and 329 Muslims. These figures includes over 100 dead in Police firing and over 33 in Private firing. During this period 780 criminal offences were registered and in these 2862 persons were arrested, of whom 1755 were Hindus. During the same period over 3761 persons were arrested under preventive provisions of law. This includes over 3039 Hindus. In the police firing on 28th February, 2002, 17 persons died of whom 11 were Hindus. In fact, in all instances where crimes were committed offences were duly and properly registered including by sending police officers to relief camps and therefore no important crime remained to be registered: Investigations into these crimes began in right earnest immediately after registration of the offence and as the figures of arrests show over 2800 people were arrested in various crimes. It was too premature for any prosecution to begin and therefore, there could be no question of favoring any party in matters of criminal prosecution.

That "Policemen are part of society", is a mere factual statement applicable to the police in the whole country. On the face of it nobody can deny it. In many States committees have gone into this issue right since after independence. The Govt. of India has also been equally concerned about insulating the Police /Paramilitary from the influence of the Society as such. The wider selection in the Armed Forces is done keeping this in mind. The media channel has only taken a phrase out of an answer given in response to a specific question and tried to present a distorted view of the same.

My deposition before the Nanavati Commission is a matter of record which is open for inspection by any agency. The affidavit filed is also on record and is available to be accessed by anybody. It is not for Zakia Nasim to question whether I "pretended amnesia" or that I did not reveal basic facts about 2002 riots in my affidavit or my cross examination.

That I favoured "Hindu Communal Elements" in registration of cases, arrests, prosecution, etc. and thus the Supreme Court ordered a review of 2000 odd riot cases is a preposterous and wild allegation made only to malign, tarnish and taint my image and in the process advance their own thesis. As regards the review of

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2000 odd riot cases ordered by the Supreme Court, it may be clarified that a quarterly progress report was being submitted to the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India and also placed on the website created for the purpose. The progress reports submitted to the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India had never been adversely commented upon and were accepted. As already clarified till 30/4/2002, 780 criminal cases registered in Ahmedabad city (details already given in affidavit before Nanavati Commission). Over 2862 persons were arrested in these offences till the time I was in office in Ahmedabad City!!! The review of over 2000 odd cases by the SC includes 349 cases pertaining to Ahmedabad City. After sustained investigation of these 349 cases only a miniscule number (4/5) could be charge sheeted in the court. It is part of a design to assign the entire lot of cases to Ahmedabad City so as to paint a grim and adverse picture and thus further their own argument and to falsely make their case sounder before different fora like the NHRC, SC, etc.

It has also been alleged by Smt. Zakia Naseem that in 2002, I was the Chief of Ahmedabad police and then DGP and in pyramid of authority the man from the police administration responsible for ensuring that the rule of law is preserved in the State, that constitutional requisite of protection of life and property as well as the IPS/IAS rules that every officers abide by the constitution and hence, in some sense answerable for the utter collapse of constitutional governance and that the affidavit and deposition filed before Nanavati Commission of Inquiry not conducive to transparency and exposure of what went thoroughly wrong in 2002 violating the Commission of Inquiry Act. I am unable to understand the allegation and the same appears to be absurd. However, the allegation is categorically denied.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

4/3/2010

Before me 24 3 2000 (A. K. Malhotra)

Member, SIT, Gandhinagar

Typed by

(A. K. Parmar)

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Date: 07-05-2010

Further Statement of Shri P.C. Pande, S/o, Shri Prakash Chandra Pande, aged about 61 years, R/o, Bungalow No. 22, Govt. Officers Quarters, Duffnala Shahibaug, Ahmedabad City.

In continuation of my earlier statement, I state that the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India in Crl. MP No. 3740/2004 in Writ Petition (Crl.) No. 109/2003 filed by National Human Rights Commission Vs. State of Gujarat & Ors. vide order dated 17-08-2004 made the following observations:

".....we made it clear to all parties appearing before us (including the state of Gujarat) that in this matter we are not going to proceed on the basis that the entire investigation machinery in the state has failed; that there should be further/more extensive and in depth investigation into cases numbering 2000 in which "A" summary reports have been filed resulting in closure of cases at the threshold and that the State should consider further/extended investigations through its own high-ranking officers to which none of the concerned parties (including state of Gujarat) had any objection....."

The Hon'ble Supreme Court of India had also directed the Govt. of Gujarat to set up a Cell, which would consist of the following:

- Seven Range Inspector Generals who was supervising the 30 Districts in which the communal riots have admittedly taken place;
- (ii) The Range Inspector Generals should look into the FIRs, the existing material in support of those FIRs, any other material found or brought to their notice and then decide in connection with each of the 2000 cases-whether further investigation is necessary. In the event of their coming to the conclusion shall be recorded and put on the Internet for the purposes of informing anyone who may be interested in brining the matter to the attention of the Court.
- (iii) The Range Inspector Generals would report to two Additional Director Generals to be nominated by the State Government for the purposes of overlooking the work of the Range Inspector Generals.
- (iv) The Additional Director Generals would ensure the correctness of the reports to be submitted to them by the Range Inspector Generals and submit the same to the Director General, who will be in overall charge and would report to this Court as to the outcome of the status of the matters considered by the Cell operating his supervision. The Director General should give such status report to this Court quarterly (every three months). The first of such report shall be submitted within 90 days. In this report, the Director Generals will give the status report of cases in which the Cell is of the opinion that further/extended investigation is warranted. The Cell will also in its report state the particulars of cases in which according to the Cell. In other words, a great fresh look must be given by an independent officer.

(v) In cases where further investigation is necessary, the same shall be carried out by the Officer to be nominated by the Cell after forwarding its report to the concerned Authorised Magistrate. However, in this connection it is clarified that the Cell should no nominate Officer for such investigation who has in the past submitted a Summary Report. In other words, a fresh look must be given by an independent officer.

Pursuant to the directives of the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India a High Level Committee (Riot Cell Committee) comprising of the DGP, two Addl. DGs, seven Range heads, one lady officer of the rank of Dy.SP was constituted at the State level to review the 2017 riot related cases in which 'A' final summary was sought for. Even before the directions given by the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India, the then DGP, Gujarat State had on 07-12-2003, directed all Commissioners of Police, in charge of the Cities and SsP in charge of the Districts to scrutinise 'A' final murder cases u/s 302 IPC by senior officers of the respective Commissionerate/Districts and wherever lapses in earlier investigation were found reopen and reinvestigate such cases by an officer not below the rank of Dy.SP under their direct supervision and monitoring. The Riot Cell Committee under the DG and IG of police had issued directions to all the committee members to earmark three competent police officers of which one should preferably be a Muslim to help them implement the directions of the Supreme Court. Extensive publicity was given through Press Notes as well as through public address system whenever the Committee Members visited the site of offences about the exercise being undertaken as per the directives of the Hon'ble Supreme Court and people were advised to come forward to register offence and/or to give evidence in relation to riot related cases without any fear or pressure. A website (www.riotcell2002.gujarat.gov.in) was created as per the directives of the Apex Court. This site was being updated on a regular basis.

The following steps were also taken:

- (i) The Committee Members were also directed to prepare maps of places of offence and to record statements of people residing in the vicinity of the places of offence so as to facilitate detection.
- (ii) Frequent meetings of the Riot Cell Committee were convened and the Members were asked to submit regular monthly reports about the action taken by them.
- (iii) In order to maintain continuity, transparency and effective supervision, special care was taken to ensure that the composition of the Committee remained name specific event though some of them were promoted and/or transferred.

(iv) Directions were also issued that officers of the rank of IGP would visit and interrogate complainants/victims/witnesses in cases relating to murder, ⊖⁴ attempt to murder, dacoity with murder, kidnapping and crimes under the Explosives Act; officers of the rank of Dy. IG of Police would undertake similar action in relation to cases of dacoity, robbery, grievous hurt, serious riots and police firing and officers of the rank of SP/DCP would initiate such actions in relation to the cases of riots hurts damages to property through arson and looting as well as other cases.

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(v) It was also emphasised in respect of cases, where offences were registered u/s, 153-A, 295-A & 505 IPC and in which prosecution would require Govt. sanction, the same should invariably be investigated by officers not below the rank of Police Inspector.

In this connection, quarterly progress reports were submitted to the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India starting from November, 2004. Further, 108 applications (24 in 2004, 25 in 2005, 46 in 2006 & 12 in 2007 upto 11-04-2007) had been received by the DG requesting for reopening of the cases which were sent to the concerned committee members for necessary action and proper reply to the applicants.

As a test case 59 cases, where fool proof investigations had been carried out earlier, which according to the Committee were not worth reopening, where floated on the websites with reasons thereof. However, no NGO or any individual had ever approached any of the committee members or DGP against such a decision. As a confidence building measure a conscious decision was taken to reopen the remaining 1958 cases, which included certain cases, where flawless investigation were carried out at the relevant time. Of the 1958 cases, only 53 cases were converted into charge sheet, which comes to only 2.6% of the total number of reopen cases. As a result of in depth review and scrutiny, the Committee could register 15 fresh offences relating to murder case, out of which only 10 cases were charge sheeted. In all 63 cases had been converted into charge sheets. One Shri M.L. Mehta, Addl. District & Sessions Judge, New Delhi, who had been appointed by the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India to critically analysed the transfer petition and submit a brief for facilitating a decision by the Apex Court, had in his report hailed the efforts made by the State of Gujarat. Shri Mehta had categorically opined in his report that no objection is seen to have been filed by any party against its progress reports of the State as well.

The aforesaid Committee headed by the DGP is reconstituted as and when the need arises due to the reshuffling in the police department. The Committee had submitted quarterly reports to the Supreme Court periodically and the Supreme Court had never adversely commented upon same. As on 31-03-2010, out of these 'A' summary cases 117 cases have been charge sheeted and 1276 persons arrested, departmental actions have been initiated against 149 IOs and Supervisory officers, while actions are contemplated against 40 IOs and supervisory officers. As regards the allegation that the victims of riots and police firing were predominantly of Muslim community will establish the rioters, the administration, cohorts of the ruling party were moving in collaboration to achieve the satanic objectives of the CM, it may be clarified that during the riots it is difficult for the police to identify as to whether an individual belongs to a particular community. It may be mentioned here that on 28-02-2002, seventeen (17) persons were killed in police firing in Ahmedabad City, which included 11 Hindus and 6 Muslims, which would go to show that there was no discrimination on the part of police. In the succeeding days, the retaliation started from the Muslim sides also and therefore, wherever force was used by the police casualties resulted on both the sides. It is incorrect to say that the administration and police were moving in collaboration with the rioters and were targeting the persons from the minority community with an intention to achieve the alleged objective of the CM.

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Read over and admitted to be correct.

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Before me 2010 প্র A. K. Malhotra) Member, SIT, Gandhinagar

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Typed by

7.5.10 (A. K. Parmar)

Date: 05/10/2010

Place: SIT Office, Gandhinagar.

My name is P.C. Pandey, aged years 62, occupation – service, Chairman, Gujarat Police Housing Corporation, resident of 22, Dafnala, Shahibaug, Ahmedabad.

Being interrogated, I state that I have been residing at the above address and at present working as Chairman, GPHC, Gandhinagar. I have been read over my statement recorded which I find to be in order as per my statement and correct.

You have been carrying out today investigation under Section 173(8) of Cr.PC. The cases of Naroda Police Station I CR No. 98/02, I CR No. 100/02 and Meghaninagar Police Station I CR No. 67/02 pursuant to the order of the Hon'ble Supreme Court and in the said case, while asked as to whether I am willing to get my statement video-graphed, I state that I do not wish my statement to be video-graphed.

Today in reply to your question, I state that I was working as the Ahmedabad City Police Commissioner from 13/04/1999 to 10/05/2002.

- Question-1: In the year 2002, while you were the police commissioner, Ahmedabad city, then in the wake of the attack launched on the Sabarmati express train at Godhra, Vishwa Hindu Parishad gave a call for Gujarat Bandh and out of the police stations of Ahmedabad, Dariapur police station is considered to be a very sensitive police station and so, did you instruct any senior police officer of Ahmedabad city to keep supervision at Dariapur Police Station or not?
- Reply: There are some police stations in the walled city of Ahmedabad holding very much communal sensitiveness and out of them, Dariapur Police Station is also a very communally sensitive police station. Therefore, on the same day, both the in-charge officers of the sectors were instructed by me that more and more attention be paid to the very communally sensitive areas. So that in case of any communal incident taken place there could be contained immediately.

- Question-2: The then IPC Shri M.K. Tandon has stated in his statement that on 28/02/2002 at about 12.20 hours, he rang you up and appraised you about the situation of Naroda Patiya and also requested to impose curfew there. Is it true or not?
- Reply: It is true and I asked Shri Tandon to declare curfew and instructed to implement the same firmly.
- Question-3: The then IPC Shri M.K. Tandon in his statements states that on 28/02/2002, you instructed him to go to Dariapur Police Station while the situation at Naroda Patiya was so grave, then for which reasons, did you instruct him so? You are being shown mobile call details of that time. Please clarify from the same.
- Reply: When I am shown personally call details of my phone for 28/02/2002, I state that on the same day at 12.37 hours, there was a phone of the then IPC Sector-2 Shri M.K. Tandon and as far as I recollect, he told me that curfe3w had been announced at Naroda Police Station area and DCP Zone-4 was present there and ACP 'G' Division was also present there. Therefore, as I was aware of the past history of Dariapur Police Station there was some senior officer required there. Therefore I suggested that instead of DCP and JCP being present at the same place, that is at Naroda Police Station, one officer be present at Dariapur. The purpose of making this suggestion on my part was that Dariapur is such a police station where a petty issue can turn into a major, incident and as a result thereof, there could be probable serious echo of the same all over the city.
- Question-4: The then Deputy Police Commissioner Zone-4, Shri P.B. Gondiya has stated in his statement that you was informed by the police control at 13.30 hours for going from Naroda Patiya to Pitaliya Bamba. So did the control room seek for any permission from you for sending Shri P.B. Gondiya to Pitaliya Bamba or not? Was your instruction obtained or not for the same?
- Reply: Today after a lapse of 8½ years, it is extremely difficult for me as to whether permission about the

suggestion was obtained by the control room for sending DCP Zone-4 from Naroda to Pitaliya Bamba, but while I was as police commissioner in 1999, then in July 1999, communal incident started from Pitaliya Bamba and the adjoining area and hence the city control was aware that Pitaliya Bamba area had been communally sensitive and hence the control room incharge might have instructed DCP Zone-4 to go to Pitaliya Bamba. Further, the control room did not have its own independent source for assessing as to which area of city had seriousness to what extent and hence they had to rely on wireless and telephone messages coming from outside only for assessment.

- Question-5: You are being shown call details of 28/02/2002 of your mobile of that period and you have spoken six times on the same day to the then Minister of State, Home, Shri Gordhanbhai Zadaphia and as per the Rules of business, maintenance of law and order was not within the purview of the Minister of State, Home and then for what reasons, did you talk to him constantly. Please state.
- Reply: During the same period, Shri Gordhanbhai Zadaphia was looking after the charge of Minister of State, Home Department and from the call records shown to me of 28/02/2002, during the day six calls – the first call at 11.31 hours and the last call at 19.11 were made as appearing clear from the call details. I cannot give any comment on the Rules of business, but at that time, Shri Zadaphia was also the elected MLA from Rakhial area at the relevant time. He was also holding charge of the Home Department. In that context, regarding the incidents taken place on 28/02/2002, for being informed about the situation, he might have made calls.
- Question-6: On 28/02/2002 the then Health Minister Shri Ashok Bhatt and the Road and Building Department Minister Shri I.K. Jadeja were giving instructions at the police control room, Ahmedabad city of which are you aware or not?

- It is false that the then Health Minister Shri Ashok Reply: Bhatt and the Minister. Road and Building Department, Shri I.K. Jadeja came to the police control room, Ahmedabad city on 28/02/2002 ad were managing law and order situation from there. It is further state that the Union Defence Minister Shri George Fernandez arrived at the office of the Police Commissioner, Ahmedabad city at around 11.00 hours for obtaining information as to whether the deployment of the Military had commenced or not and he was obtaining such information from the control room. Then Shri Ashok Bhatt was waiting for the Defence Minister at the Circuit House, Annexe and he arrived at the office of the then Police also Commissioner and both these dignitaries stayed in the police control for about ten minutes and then left. During the said period, Shri I.K. Jadeja did not come to the police Commissionerate even for once.
- Question-7: The then Joint Police Commissioner Sector-2 Shri M.K. Tandon has stated in his statement that as per his discussion with you on telephone on 28/02/2002 at 14.25 hours, you had instructed him to stay at Dariapur. What have you to say on this?
- Reply: I do not recollect anything clearly now about this and as a support I do not have any base or evidence with me and yet, if Shri M.K. Tandon has stated so in his statement, it would have been true which I can tell and there are no grounds to believe the same to be untrue.
- Question-8: On 28/02/2002, two in Naroda Police station area and on in Meghaninagar police station area – thus total three incidents of serious intensity took place in Ahmedabad city. Both these areas are within the jurisdictions of the Deputy Police Commissioner, Zone-4 and the Assistant Police Commissioner, Sector-2. In no other Zone or sector of Ahmedabad city, such serious incidents have not taken place. Sector-1 and 2 are equal in size. Do you hold the Deputy Police Commissioner, Zone-4 and the Joint Police Commissioner, Sector-2 responsible for the above three incidents or not?

28/02/2002. Reply: riots broke out in On the entire Ahmedabad city and most of the police stations and incidents took place even in the police stations considered to be non-sensitive. Since very morning on that day, in protest against the incident taken place on 27/02/2002 at Godhra railway station, men, women and children came out on the public roads on that day, messages of telephone, mobile and wireless used to pour in almost from each police stations continuously and it became difficult for the control room or any other senior officer as to which of the incidents were serious to hat extent and required what sorts of police response. It is true that such serious incidents took place at Meghaninagar and Naroda Police stations and both these police stations are within the jurisdiction of Deputy Police Commissioner, Zone-4. When an incident takes place in any area, the officer of the same area may be held responsible, but the seriousness about the incidents of Meghaninagar and Naroda could be presumed / assumed only after the incident actually took place and messages were also being received frequently by the control room and the top officers regarding the situation being serious from other police stations also. It cannot be said to be proper and responsible to hold responsible the Deputy Commissioner fully for the same. Police The responsibility of any area should go from the police station right upto the top, but the officers who are preset on the spot and their staff may be held responsible prima-facie.

- Question-9: Out of the Kaar Sevaks killed in the incident at Godhra railway station on 27/02/2002, 12 Kaar Sevaks were residents of Ramol, Khokhra. Despite Cr.PC. Section 144 being in force on 28/02/2002, on which grounds, was the permission for taking out cremation procession granted?
- Reply: In Cr.PC. Section 144, General exception has been provided wherein there are provisions for permitting cremation processions. It remains the general feeling or sentiment of the family of the deceased that their relative who is dead be taken for his / her last rite

with due honour and respect and for this, such permission might have been granted. Further, as a result of the requests and efforts made by the police, for the last rites of these corpses procession was taken out on foot instead of on vehicle to which their relatives agreed.

- Question: On 28/02/2002, you were the Police Commissioner, Ahmedabad city. So, are there any notes / entries of the messages received by the control room or not? And if there is any, then do you want to submit the same or not?
- Reply: We got the entries of the messages received by the control room on 28/02/2002 prepared for my purpose for my records which I hereby submit.
- Question-10: Do you want to inform anything in special or not?
- Reply: No, I do not wish to inform anything in special.

The above facts are true and correct as stated by me.

Before me Sd/- illegible (Himanshu Shukla) Deputy Police Commissioner Crime Branch and SIT (Godhra Riot Case), Ahmedabad City.

Date: 23/11/2010

My name is P.C. Pandey, aged years 62, occupation service, resident Bungalow No. 22, Shahibaug Dafnala, Officers Quarters, Shahibaug, Ahmedabad.

Being interrogated personally, I state in addition to that I got my statement recorded regarding Godhra riot cases before the Special Investigation Team on 05/10/2010 and in the year 2002, I was working as the Police Commissioner, Ahmedabad city. At that time, for the messages received in the Ahmedabad city control room regarding the communal riots taken place in Ahmedabad city on 28/02/2002 were got scammed and at the relevant time, I got CD prepared of the same. Regarding the said CD, I had discussions with Shri Himanshu Shukla, the Investigating Officer on 19/11/2010 on telephone. On receipt of the same CD, I am submitting the same, straight which may please be included in the enquiry case of SIT.

The above facts are true and correct as per my statement.

Before me Sd/- illegible (P.G. Vaghela) Police Inspector Investigating Team, Godhra Riot cases, Gandhinagar.

Date: 23-03-2011

Statement of Shri P.C. Pande, S/o, Shri Prakash Chandra Pande, aged about 61 years, R/o, Bungalow No. 22, Govt. Officers Quarters, Duffnala Shahibaug, Ahmedabad City u/s 161 of Cr.P.C.

I belong to U.P. and completed my education there. I joined Indian Police Service in the year 1970 and was allotted to Gujarat cadre. In Gujarat, I remained posted at different places in different capacities. I retired from service on 31-3-2009. I was appointed as Chairman, Police Housing Corporation in August, 2009, which is an honorary post. I was posted as Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad City from the period 13-04-1999 to 10-05-2002.

- Que. Was there any specific message/input from State IB regarding communal tension at Gulberg Socety received by you on 27-2-2002?
- Ans. There was no mention of Gulberg Society in any of the messages passed by State IB.
- Que. Did the Chief Minister call any meeting on 27-2-2202 for review of communal situation in the state? Kindly specify the name of the individuals who had attended the meeting and give the details regarding place and timing of the said meeting? What were the deliberations that had taken place?
- Ans. Answer to this question had been furnished by me on previous occasions at more than one place including the Nanavati-Shah Commission, the SIT inquiry into Jakia Nasim Jafri's complaint and also in the present case i.e. Cr.No. 67/02. However, since the question has been asked again that I would like to clarify that this meeting took place on 27-02-2002, at the residence of the Chief Minister, Gujarat State at Gandhinagar somewhere around 2230-2300 hrs. The persons who were present included the acting Chief Secretary Smt. Swarna Kanta Varma, Shri Ashok Narayan, Shri K. Chakravarthi, the then DGP and I. I do not recollect if Shri K.Nityanandam, the then Secretary (Home) was present or not. To the best of my knowledge, there was no other person present in the meeting and the meeting lasted barely 15-20 minutes. The discussions centered around maintenance of the Law & Order in view of the bandh call for next day and likely repercussions, availability of forces was generally discussed.
- Que. Was Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, the then DCI (S) present in the aforesaid meeting on 27-02-2002 night?
- Ans. This has also been answer earlier, but I reiterate to the best of my knowledge and recollection, no person other than those mentioned above was present in the said meeting.

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- Que. During the course of investigation it has been alleged that the Chief Minister in the above mentioned meeting had said that "for too long the Gujarat Police had been following the principle of balancing the actions against the Hindus and Muslims while dealing with the communal riots in Gujarat. This time the situation warranted that the Muslims be taught a lesson to ensure that such incidents do not recur ever again. The Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi also expressed the view that the emotions were running very high amongst the Hindus and it was imperative that they be allowed to vent out their anger". Did the Chief Minister say so in the said meeting?
- Ans. This is categorically denied and no such instructions to allow any freedom to any law breaker were given by the Chief Minister.
- Que. Do you recall any discussions regarding bringing of the dead bodies (victims of Godhra train incident) from Godhra to Ahmedabad City in the above mentioned meeting?
- Ans. I can not recollect the exact talks which took place in the said meeting but the sum and substance of the meeting was that the dead bodies were being brought to Ahmedabad City with a view to facilitate the relations of the deceased persons to identify and claim the same.
- Que. Do you recall any of the politicians whom you might have met or seen at CM's residence on 27-02-2002 late evening?
- Ans. I don't recall having seen any politician, when I had visited CM's residence on 27-02-2002.
- Que. Did you receive any message/telephonic call from State IB regarding serious trouble at Gulberg Society on 28-02-2002? What actions have you taken to handle the situation?
- Ans. I do not remember to have received any message from the State IB with regard to the situation at the Gulberg Society. However, Shri K. G. Erda, the then PI, Meghaninagar P.S. had sent a message at 12.20 hrs to the effect that Gulberg Society in Meghaninagar area, which is a Muslim society had been surrounded by a mob, which was pelting stones and setting fire to the shops in the vicinity. Shri Erda requested for additional force, officers and SRP immediately. I took immediate action and deputed three officers namely Shri G.D. Solanki, Dy. SP, Group-VII, Shri Ajitkumar Gupta, Dy. SP, Group-XII and Shri A.B. Qureshi, PI, CID Crime to proceed to Gulberg Society immediately. Further, at about 1345 hrs a section of CISF was also sent by me to the Gulberg Society. Again at about 1405 hours a message was received from Shri M.K. Tandon, Jt.CP, Sector-II through Control Room that Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP and some others had been surrounded by a mob in Gulberg Society and that extra force was required to be sent there to shift

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them. Since, I had already sent three officers and a section of CISF to Gulberg Society, no further action was required at my level. Two more messages were received from Shri Erda, Sr. PI, Meghaninagar P.S. at 1414 hrs and 1445 hrs about the surrounding of the Gulberg Society by a mob of around 10,000 persons and requesting for additional police force to be sent to tackle the situation. Since, 2 Dy.SsP, 1 PI and 1 section of CISF had already been sent, no additional force was sent as nothing was available as reserve. Around 1516 hrs., I rang up Shri P.B. Gondia, DCP, Zone-IV that Muslims were being burnt in the Gulberg Society and that he should reach there immediately. It may be mentioned here that I had not received any feed back from either Shri K. G. Erda, Sr. PI or any other officer as to whether the additional force and officers sent by me had reached them or not. In view of these it was not possible to assess the situation.

- Que. Were there any instructions from the Chief Minister to allow any of the Minister to sit in the Control Room on 28-02-2002? If so, whether any Minister sat in Ahmedabad City Police Control Room on that day and interfered with the functioning of police?
- Ans. This is denied. I am not aware of any instructions given by the Chief Minister to allow Minister to be seated in the Control Room and on 28-02-2002, none of the Ministers visited Ahmedabad City Police Control Room or the Police Commissioner's office.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

Before

(Himanshu Shukla) DCP & I.O. SIT Gandhinagar

Date: 14-01-2012

Further Statement of Shri P.C. Pande, S/o, Shri Prakash Chandra Pande, aged about 63 years, R/o, Bungalow No. 22, Govt. Officers Quarters, Duffnala Shahibaug, Ahmedabad City u/s 161 Cr.P.C.

In continuation of my earlier statement dated 23.03.2011, today, I have been shown today photo copy of office copy of a fax message in english bearing No. D-2/2-COM/ALERT/100/2002, dated 27.02.2002 purportedly sent by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt, as Deputy Commissioner (Security). After going through the same, I state that though this message is addressed to me yet the same was never received or seen by me. The said fax message does not contain any classification and the dispatch number had been typed, which is unusual. In this connection, it may be added here that State IB is not directly responsible for local intelligence in Ahmedabad City, which is being looked after by the Special Branch of Ahmedabad City. In fact, such a message should have been directly addressed to DGP i.e. Police Gandhinagar with at the most copy to me as the bandh had been announced through out the State of Gujarat and the said apprehension was for the whole of State.

As already stated, I had attended a meeting called by the Chief Minister at his residence late in the evening of 27.02.2002 around 2230 hrs on his return from Godhra. The sum and substance of this meeting was that the dead bodies of karsevaks killed in Godhra incident were being brought to the Ahmedabad City with a view to facilitate the relations of the deceased persons to identify and claim the dead bodies. It may be added here that the fact relating to the decision taken by the State Govt. to bring the dead bodies of kar-sevaks to Sola Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad by road was already known to me. In view of this situation, there was no occasion for Shri Sanjiv Bhatt to send such a message. The Chief Minister was of the view that there could be repercussions of the Godhra incident and as such sufficient police. bandobast should be made and all necessary steps taken to maintain peace. On completion of the meeting, which could be around 2300 hrs or so, I returned to my office at Shahibaug, Ahmedabad. In the office, Shri Shivanand Jha, Addl. CP, Sector-I and Shri M.K. Tandon, the then Jt. CP, Sector-II were already present. I discussed the bandobast made by them in the Ahmedabad City and also gave instructions to ensure that peace was maintained and no untoward incidents take place. Various other issues relating to law & order situation were also discussed in this meeting, which lasted till about 0100 hrs on 28.02.2002. During this period, no such fax message was received by me. On going through the message, I find that I had never seen any such message sent by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt on behalf of Addl. DGP (Int.) during my tenure as Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad.

I have also gone through a photo copy of another fax message in english bearin No. D-2/2-COM/ALERT/174/2002, dated 28.02.2002 purportedly sent by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt as Deputy Commissioner (Communal) on behalf of Addl. DGP(Int.),

Gandhinagar and PS to MoS (Home) with which is addressed to PS to CM information to Home Secretary, Gandhinagar, Police Gandhinagar and CP, Ahmedabad. In this connection, it may be added here that the said message does not bear any security classification and the dispatch number had been typed on the computer. Further, as per this message CP, Ahmedabad was supposed to take immediate effective action about the attack on Gulberg Society, Chamanpura, Meghaninagar and also to provide a situation report to State Control Room under intimation to Addl. DGP (Int.), but the message had not been addressed to CP Ahmedabad and instead sent to PS to CM and PS to MoS (Home) with information to others. As already stated, that on 28.02.2002, at about 1220 hrs a message was received from Sr. Pl, Meghaninagar that Gulberg Society in Meghaninagar area, which is a Muslim society had been surrounded by a mob of 10000, which was pelting stones and setting fire to the shops nearby and rickshaws, through which he requested for additional officers and police force immediately. On receipt of this message three officers namely Shri G.D. Solanki, the then Dy. SP, Group-VII, Shri Ajitkumar Gupta, the then Dy. SP, Group-X and Shri A.B. Qureshi, the then PI, CID Crime were deputed at about 1230 hrs to go to Gulberg Society to assist PI, Meghaninagar in handling the situation. Further, at about 1345 hrs, one section of . CISF was also sent to Gulberg Society, Meghaninagar for the assistance of PI, Meghaninagar. At 1405 hrs, Shri M.K. Tandon, Jt. CP, Sector-II sent another message that late Ahesan Jafri and other had been surrounded by a mob at Guiberg Society and extra force and PI, Sardamagar be sent to shift them. Two more messages were received at 1414 hrs and 1445 hrs from PI, Meghaninagar requesting for extra force, but as two Dy. SsP, one PI and one section of CISF had already been dispatched to the Gulberg Society and no other force was available with me, no additional force could be sent. Though I do not recollect specifically at this stage, but it was quite possible that the DGP might have spoken to me about the situation in the Gulberg society and also about the declaration of curfew. It may be mentioned here that curfew was declared in Chamanpura chowky area, under whose jurisdiction Gulberg Society is located, at 1220 hrs.

After going through this message dated 28.02.2002, I state that no such fax message was ever received or seen by me from Addi. DGP (Int.). Further, no situation report as demanded in the said message was sent to SCR or Addi. DGP (Int.). Had there been any such message the same would have definitely been put up to me and necessary situation report sent to the State Control Room and/or Addi. DGP (Int.). Both these fax messages false and fabricated documents.

I have also been shown a photo copy of another fax message bearing No. C/D-2/BANAO/178/2002, dated 28.02.2002 handwritten in Gujarati, signed by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt and sent to Home Secretary, Gandhinagar with Information to PS to CM, PS to MoS (Homa), Polica Gandhinagar and Police Commissioner, Ahmedabad City on behalf of Addl. DGP (Int.) intimating about an attack by a Hindu mob on Gulberg Society located in Chamanpura, Meghaninagar, Ahmedabad City resulting 534

in the death of Ex-MP Ahesan Jafri and 18 others and that the attack by the mob was still continuing, which might have widespread repercussions through out the State. I do not remember to have received such a message. However, it may be pointed out that this message does not contain any reference to the earlier message No. 174 purportedly sent by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt earlier during the day, which goes to show that the earlier message claimed to have been sent by Shri Sanjiv Bhatt was not a genuine one and appears to have been manipulated subsequently.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

Before me (Himanshu Shukla) DCP & I.O. SIT Gandhinagar

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Dear Sir,

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The incident of torching the coaches of Sabarmati Express and burning innocent people was extremely unfortunate for the entire state and for humanity at large. Following this inhuman act, the peaceful atmosphere in the state was disturbed. The state Government had immediately tried its level best to restore peace. The newspapers of the state played a decisive role as a link between the people and the government. You have served the humanity in a big way.

It is state Government's primary duty to restore peace, security and communal harmony when violence takes place. In this case also the state Government had taken prompt action to restore peace in the state. The timely measures taken by the Government turned out to be effective and normalcy returned within a short period. It is noteworthy that the newspapers of Gujarat gave their full support to the state Government in undertaking this difficult task.

I am happy to note that your newspaper exercised restraint during the communal disturbances in the wake of Godhra incident. I am grateful to you.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Narendra Modi

To,

Gujarat Samachar, Sandesh, Janasatta - Samabhav, Jai Hind, Financial Express (Gujarati), Western Times (all from Ahmedabad), Phoolchhab (Rajkot), Akila, (Rajkot), Sanjh Samachar (Rajkot), Kachcha Mitra, (Bhuj), Des-Pardes ni-Aajkal (Rajkot), Gujarat Mitra (Surat), Saurashtra Samachar (Bhavnagar), Navbharat (Jamnagar), Gandhinagar Samachar (Gandhinagar).





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GOVERNMENT OF QUARANT

Dr. Ashok Narayan Indon Administrative Service Additional Chief Secretary Hortale Displatituments Socialistinge, Block No. 2, Gandienegor - 362 (10 Temphone : 079-3220042 Four : 326(56))

DO NO. 3 6 II - COM - 10 tocz - 5/4

Date: 20-3-2002

Yours sincesely,

(Ashok Narayan)

Dear star chadymethy

I unclose herewith the points jotted by me regarding the information to be submitted to the National Human Rights Commission as discussed in today's meeting. You also have been given a copy of points jotted by CS.

It is requested that the information may be collected as soon as possible preferably by tomorrow.

CZ.

With regards,

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Shti K.Chaktavatthi, Directo: General of Police, Gujarat State, Gandhinagar..

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INFORMATION REQUIRED BY NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Mentioned by the Rapportear

- Copies of messages sent by Home Department and DGP instructing about preventive measures to be taken effer the Godhra incident.
 - Kow the sensitive areas were advered by deployment of forces
 - Lists of incidents pertaining to Police firing Arrests and FIRs filed community-wise.
 - Date-wise figures of arrests community-wise.
 - Looting incidents how many cases are registered and how many of the cases are known and un-known (CM suggested that in this connection, the details of the insurance claims filed by members of both communities may also be relevant).
- Details of Dargahs and Mosques destroyed cases registered and arrests made.
- Telephone calls responded to community-wise with specific comments on the allegations that calls were not attended to though repeatedly made.
- Casualties in Police firing, name-wise...
- Details of migration in villages, houses destroyed and security arrangements made for migrant population.
- Details of CM, Ministers, other leaders and senior officers who have visited places other than Godita.
- Break-up of injuries, community-wise and the details of relief given to them people in hospital and now their conditions are progressing.
- Police personnel injured.
- Identify those officers who have excelled in their duty.
- Mentioned by the Secretary General:
 - · Dates on which normalcy was reached date wise.
 - Arrests made, date-wise, town-wise and community-wise.
 - Curfew imposed, town-wise and community-wise."
 - Deployment of forces at Dargans, Mosques, etc.
 - Names of important leaders included in the FIR.
 - Preventive action taken in Godhra.
 - Whether the State Government now feels that the situation is normal and if not upto what time normalcy will be restored;

Date: 23-03-2010

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Statement of Shri G. Subba Rao, S/o, Late G. Kamoji Rau, aged about 67 years, R/o, Plot No.188, Sector-8, Gandhinagar.

I belong to Andhra Pradesh. I did my graduation from Madras University. Subsequently, I had done my Post-Graduation in Economics from Andhra University, Vishakhapattanam. I joined Indian Administrative Service in the year 1965 and was allotted to Gujarat cadre. During my service, I had also obtained a M.A. degree in Rural Development from the University of East Anglia, UK and did Post Graduate Diploma in Public Administration from IIPA, New Delhi. While in the IAS, I had gone on Central Deputations and had worked inter-alia as Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Forest and Environment. According to my recollection, I remained posted as Chief Secretary, Govt. of Gujarat from 2001 till April, 2003. I retired from service on 30-4-2003, after having been granted extension for a period of three months. I was appointed as Chairman, Gujarat Electricity Regulatory Commission some time in May, 2003 and held that office till January, 2008. At present, I am leading a retired life.

In February, 2002, I was deputed abroad for official work relating to Gujarat State Petroleum Corporation Ltd. to USA during the period 22-02-2002 (A.N.) to 02-03-2002(A.N.) and in my absence Smt. S.K. Verma, the then ACS and Commissioner of Health and Family Welfare Department was appointed to officiate as Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Gujarat. Accordingly, I handed over the charge to Smt. S.K. Verma on 22-02-2002 and proceeded to USA. It was either on 27th or 28th February, 2002, that my PS informed me over telephone about the train burning incident at Godhra. In view of this incident, I decided to cut short my tour and returned to Gandhinagar. I returned to Ahmedabad and took charge of the post of Chief Secretary on 1-3-2002.

At the outset, it may be mentioned here that the Chief Secretary, as the Administrative Head of the Govt. has only an overall guiding and coordinating role. The primary functions in any administrative area are to be performed by the concerned line departments. Such departments route matters through Chief Secretary as and when necessary. Law & Order matters are handled by the Home Department, DGP and Police formations. Relief and rehabilitation are handled by Revenue Department, Health Department, Panchayat Department and Urban Development Department. These activities are also carried out by field functionaries like Collectors, District Development Officers, Municipal Commissioners, Municipalities and by various State Govt. Departments at field level. Within this frame work, all departments and officers including senior officers like CS, ACS, Home Dept., DGP, ACS(Revenue) and various field functionaries responded to the post Godhra situation effectively. These details had been brought out in the affidavit CC filed by ACS (Home) on 1-7-2002 and by DGP on 31-1-2004 before the Nanavati Commission of Inquiry. Bur

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On my arrival at Gandhinagar on 1-3-2002, I took stock of the situation and found the matter to be serious. On 1-3-2002 itself, I sent a detailed message to all Commissioners of Police, District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police and gave directions that effective actions should be taken including implementation of communal riots scheme. I personally directed all of them not to hesitate to use whatever force was necessary to bring the situation under control. I also gave directions that if the situation deteriorates beyond a point, beside imposing curfew even 'shoot at sight' orders should be given. On 1-3-2002 itself, I along with ACS (Home), ACS (Revenue), Secretaries of Health, Urban Development and Social Welfare, Ahmedabad Municipal Commissioner and Collector Ahmedabad took round of various relief camps, where the persons of minority community had taken shelter. The State Govt, proactively helped out the inmates through cash and supplies. Arrangements were also made for drinking water, health and hygiene. On 4-3-2002 and 11-3-2002, I along with ACS (Home) held two video conferences with the CsP, DMs and SsP and other concerned officers and reviewed Law & Order situation and current violence in the State. The concerned Administrative and police officers were instructed that no stone should be left unturned in bringing the situation under total control. Various measures to be undertaken to maintain communal peace and harmony were brought to the notice of the District officials. They were directed to act in a manner best suited to the situation and to maintain peace at all cost. It was also impressed upon the concerned officials that the violators of laws should be effectively dealt with and no laxity shown and maximum force used to suppress and contain the violence. It may be added here that I had constantly held meetings with the ACS (Home), DGP and other senior police officers and monitored the situation. I also held separate meetings with high level Army Officers on 7-3-2002, 18-3-2002 and 23-3-2002 to review the Law & Order situation.

According to my recollection, the intensity of the riots lasted for first three days. Thereafter, sporadic, isolated, minor and stray incidents continued for a while. Due to the strong and effective measures taken by the State Govt., large areas of Saurasthra, Kutch and most of South Gujarat remained by and large peaceful. By third week of April, 2002, the Law & Order situation had come under control in the State except for some pockets in Ahmedabad City. In May, 2002, I had attended a few meetings with the Chief Minister, which was attended by ACS (Home), DGP and Shri K.P.S. Gill who had been appointed as an Advisor to the CM.

Que. Kindly see DO letters dated 19-4-2002 and 22-4-2002 sent by Shri P.C. Pandey, the then CP. Ahmedabad City to ACS (Home), DGP and Addl. DG (Int.) regarding the alleged involvement of a Minister Shri Bharat Barot in a riot incident and also about the undesirable activities of Sangh Parivar activists like VHP and BD. Were these matters discussed with you at any stage? If so, kindly give the details of discussions held, if any and actions taken thereon.

Ans. To the best of my recollection, these letters were not brought to my notice and appropriate action must have been taken by the Home Department.

Que. Kindly see a copy of DO letter dated 24-4-2002, sent by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl. DG (Int.) to ACS (Home) regarding the current communal scenario in

Ahmedabad City. Was this matter discussed with you at any stage? If so, kindly give the details and actions taken thereon.

Ans. I do not remember having come across any such letter or having discussed the same with ACS (Home) or any of the police officers.

Que. Kindly see the Law & Order assessment report by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then AddI.DG (Int.) on 15-6-2002, to Home Department. Was this matter discussed with you at any stage? If so, kindly give the details and actions taken thereon.

Ans. I do not remember to have seen this letter or discussed the contents thereof with ACS (Home) or any other officer.

Que. Kindly see a copy of letter dated 20-8-2002, sent by Shri E. Radhakrishna, DIG to ACS (Home). Were these matters discussed with you at any stage? If so, kindly give the details and actions taken thereon.

Ans. This letter was not put up to me at any stage according to my recollection.

Que. Kindly see a copy of letter dated 28-8-2002, vide which the Law & Order assessment report was sent by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) to ACS (Home). Were these matters discussed with you at any stage? If so, kindly give the details of the discussions and actions taken thereon.

Ans. I do not recollect to have seen this letter. Shri Ashok Narayan, the then ACS (Home) did not discuss the issues raised in this letter with me.

On 9th August, 2002, the Chief Election Commissioner Shri J.M. Lyngdoh along with other two members of the Election Commission had held a meeting to assess the Law & Order situation in Gujarat State with a view to decide the holding of Elections in the State. In such meetings with CEC, the Chief Secretary normally makes introductory observations and presents an overview. The presentation on law & Order was prepared by the Home Department. The presentation on relief and rehabilitation of the riot victims was prepared by the Revenue Department. My remarks were based on the inputs provided by these two departments. Our views that it would be possible to hold free and fair elections were based on factual data. I indicated that the State Administration was fully ready to discharge any task which might be entrusted by the August Election Commission. Our presentations were factual. I recall having referred to the following points as indicative of normalcy:-

- (i) The Law & Order situation had more or less stabilized. The statistics showed that the State remained relatively incident free.
- (ii) The number of inmates in the relief camps declined from 1,33,000 to about 10,000. Even these were in the process of returning to their original residences.
- (iii) Through a process of confidence building measures and dialogue between community leaders and village elders, many of the camp inmates could be sent to their respective places of original residences.
- (iv) All Board Examinations (including UPSC examination) were held without any hitch with normal level of attendance.
- Panchayat Elections to nearly 1700 villages were held without any major incident.
- (vi) All Haj yatries from the States (numbering 6,000) went back safely to their villages and were received with traditional fervour.
- (vii) All religious festivals including Rath-Yatra in Ahmedabad City passed of peacefully. A mention might be made particularly of Maha-Shivratri, Moharrum, Poonam mela at Ambaji/Dakor and Urs at Bhaliyad Pir Dargah.

Based inter-alia on the aforesaid indicators, it was submitted to the Election Commission that the State Administration was ready to discharge any task, which might be entrusted by the Election Commission. During the meeting with the Election Commission, Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) gave his own version and assessment of the situation which was different. The senior officers like ACS (Home), DGP and others were trying to address the queries and concerns of the Election Commission. As a member of disciplined police hierarchy, Addl. DG (Int.) can provide inputs and advice to DGP and ACS (Home), but can not force his views upon them. In preliminary remarks, I went by the assessment and the judgment of ACS (Home), ACS (Revenue) and DGP. In any case in judicial/quasi judicial proceedings the matters are decided either way based on evidence and law. The fact that a particular decision was taken in a particular manner can not lead to any adverse inference. In any case, the elections process started within 3 months time and the elections were held peacefully in December, 2002. 419

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Que. After the meeting did you shout at Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) and say that the latter had badly let down the Govt.?

Ans. No, I did not shout at him and did not utter any such words.

Que. Were you consulted about the transfer of Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) on 17-9-2002?

Ans. I was not consulted in the matter. However, I do not recollect as to whether the file concerning his transfer proposal passed through me in routine.

It has been alleged against me by Smt. Zakia Naseem in her complaint that I was given three months extension and was also favoured by posting in Gujarat Electricity Regulatory Commission for a period of 6 years from May, 2003 as I coerced the officials to support the illegal policies of Modi Govt. and had even instructed to eliminate minorities. My extension was a decision taken by State Govt. I was not involved in it. In this connection, it may be clarified that I was appointed as Chairman, Gujarat Electricity Regulatory Commission for a period of five years or attainment of 65 years of age and not six years as alleged in the complaint. Further, I demitted the office of the Chairman on 6-1-2008 (A.N.) when I attained 65 years of age and thus, worked for 4 years and 9 months. It may also be pointed out that this appointment has to be made in accordance with the relevant provisions of Electricity Regulatory Commissions Act. There is a selection Committee, which is chaired by a sitting or retired High Court Judge and as such, it can not be said that any favour was bestowed upon me. I totally deny ever having instructed eliminating any minority community individual. I was never party to any illegal policies or acts.

Que. Kindly see entries dated 17-4-2002, 22-4-2002, 1-5-2002, 28-6-2002,9-8-2002 and 19-9-2002 made by Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then AddLDG (Int.) in a register said to have been maintained by him in normal course to record the oral instructions given to him by the various bureaucrats and politicians during his tenure as Addl. DG (Int.). Please confirm the authenticity or otherwise of the same.

Ans. The so called diary or register is an unauthorized illegal document without any validity under law. An official diary has to be authorized under Government's orders and has to be in the prescribed format. It has to be submitted periodically to the superior officer for his perusal and comments. The so called diary/register consists of baseless, faise and malicious statements. The details of these entries are not only outrue but also baseless, absurd and unethical. Publication of details which are untrue and purportedly made before many years and which attribute statements to

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people who had no access to nor any inkling of the so called diary, is unwarranted, unethical, unfair and motivated.

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Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) seems to have filed four affidavits before Nanavati Commission of Inquiry on 6-7-2002, 6-10-2004, 9-4-2005 and 27-10-2005. He added the details of this diary in the third affidavit filed before the Nanavati Commission of Inquiry. This itself shows that the diary is fabricated and an after thought. Had the allegations being true, Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) would have included the same in the first affidavit. It is significant that his promotion was with held sometime early 2005 and he is apparently trying to hit back at those in the State Govt. Last but not the least, this is a personal register of Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) and he is free to right anything he likes without the knowledge of the concerned and as such no reliance can be placed upon the same.

As regards the entry dated 17-4-2002, it is not true that the CM had asked the DGP to book Muslim leaders who were likely to disturb the holding of an examination on 18-4-2002. In an entry of 22-4-2002, it has been alleged that I had said that arrest of Hindu leaders involved in the heinous crime committed during the recent communal riots was not possible, as it was against the State Govt. policy. I deny having made any such statement. It is common knowledge that the arrest of the accused is the discretion of the investigating officer based on the available evidence. Obviously, this can not be a matter of State policy. In fact, the DGP had issued necessary directions in regard to investigation of riot cases and the same had been incorporated in para-12 of his affidavit. It is also alleged in this entry that in Shri Sahu had raised the question of early apprehension of Hindu goons, who massacred the Muslims. He added that the CS replied that in the Mohalla meetings, if such a question is raised by anybody, the Secretary should answer that it is a matter of legal procedure and so this Mohalla Committee cannot do anything. In this connection, I would like to clarify (though I do not recall the discussions) that 'the matter seems to have presented in a distorted manner. It is common knowledge that Mohalla committees are drawn from elderly respective community leaders. Their role is to establish peace and influence the hot headed elements with in their respective communities. Naturally, such committees have no role to play whatsoever in the arrest of the accused persons, which is the prerogative of the police officer investigating the case.

In another entry dated 22-4-2002, about Mohalla level meetings, he claimed to have raised the question of arresting culprits named in the FIR and made some observations about my response being reflective of Govt. policy of evading, delaying or soft pedaling, the issue of arrest of accused persons belonging to Hindu organisations. These are his own comments and he had deliberately tried to create a false impression that I was trying to prevent arrest of criminals belonging to a particular community. This is far from truth and I had not given any such instructions whatsoever.

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There is another entry dated 28-6-2002, in which it has been recorded that I have informed the administrative and the police officers that there was no question of cancellation of Rath-Yatra, as CM had taken a firm decision to permit Rath-Yatra through the traditional route. In this connection, I would like to clarify that the decision in respect of Rath-Yatra was taken by the Govt. after considering the views of the Home Department. It is common practice for the Chief Secretary to preside over a co-ordination meeting on Rath-Yatra. The Law & Order aspects along with bandobast and precautionary measures are handled by ACS (Home) and DGP. The Chief Secretary has got a limited role in the matter. The statement that I suggested that any person disturbing the Rath-Yatra should be eliminated is totally false and absolutely preposterous. No Chief Secretary in his senses would say such things. I never issued any illegal or inappropriate orders.

Again in another entry of 9-7-2002, it has been alleged that the CS informed that any body trying to disturb the Rath-Yatra should be shot dead. As already mentioned above, this statement is totally false.

As regards the entry dated 9-8-2002, the same has already been dealt with in detail above.

In another entry dated 15-9-2002, it has been alleged that I had asked the DGP to issue a denial statement in respect of a speech made by the CM at Becharaji. I did not give any such instructions to the DGP. The other part of the entry that I was highly annoyed about the leakage of the State IB reports is also untrue.

In the last entry dated 19-9-2002, It has been alleged that Shri R.B. Sreekumar, the then Addl.DG (Int.) met me after his transfer from the post of Addl. DG (Int.), in which I had opined that he should not have spoken in contravention of the State policy before the Election Commission. I do not recollect either meeting Sreekumar after his transfer or having made any such remarks.

It has also been alleged that I, as Chief Secretary, being the bridge and link between the political echelon of the Govt. and the bureaucracy including the police did not care to file any affidavit so far presumably before Nanavati Commission of Inquiry. In this connection, it may be noted that the formulation about the role of the Chief Secretary as the bridge and link between the political echelon of the Govt. and the bureaucracy including the police, is somewhat misleading. The Chief Secretary is the head of the Administrative set up in any State. Broadly speaking, the duly constituted government as distinct from administrative apparatus consists of the CM and the Ministers. Govt. is carried on in the name of the Governor, who is the constitutional head. There are linkages at various levels between the elected Govt. members and Administrative personnel. Thus, the Ministers as members of the Govt. interact not only with the Chief Secretary but also with Secretaries of the department, Heads of the Department and also at times with the field functionaries. The Chief Secretary interacts with the elected members of Govt. and not with any

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political echelon. My relations with the Members of Govt, have always been based on professional Civil Service Rules.

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It may be added here that the ACS (Home) had filed a detailed affidavit on 1-7-2002 on behalf of the Govt. before the Nanavati Commission of Inquiry, which covered following aspects in detail:-

- · Police Set up
- History of Communal Riots
- Causes of Riots
- Army deployment
- Role of Media
- Communication System (Police)

State Govt. Administrative response including the action taken to control the riots

In addition, the DGP, Gujarat State had filed an affidavit on 31-1-2004 covering aspects of Law & Order and investigation. A Spl. IGP had also filed an affidavit giving the deployment of forces in the State during the riots. Besides these, affidavits were also filed by the concerned jurisdictional Police Officers including the Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad City.

As all the relevant aspects had thus been covered, it was not necessary for me to file a separate affidavit. Moreover, the Hon'ble Commission of Inquiry also did not consider it necessary or otherwise they would have directed me to file an affidavit.

It has further been alleged in the complaint that a high level meeting was convened by the Chief Minister in which my self, ACS (Home) and senior policemen were summoned and clear instructions were given 'not to deal with the Hindu rioting mobs'. In this connection, I out rightly deny having attended any such meeting, in which the aforesaid instruction were allegedly given by the Chief Minister.

It has also been alleged that in 2002, I being the top man of Gujarat bureaucracy and responsible through the constitution, criminal law and the IAS/IPS service rules to scotch any political attempts to subvert the constitution and fundamental rights of every citizens had allegedly participated in a meeting with the Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi, where illegal instructions were issued by the constitutionally elected Chief Minister and that I had not filed any say before the Nanavati-Shah Commission not conducive to transparency and exposure of what went thoroughly wrong in 2002, violating the Commission of Inquiry Act. These allegations are vague and absurd. I have always acted within the frame work of rules and regulations and as per the prescribed official procedure. Further, the larger issues, which the complainant has in view, fall within the purview of the Constitutional Authorities. As already mentioned, I returned to Gandhinagar from foreign tour and resumed duty on 1-3-2002 and as such I was not present in the meeting allegedly held by the Chief Minister on 27-2-2002. I have already stated

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earlier the reasons for not filing an affidavit before the Nanavati Commission of Inquiry.

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Que. Did Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP contact you and request for help during the riots?

Ans. As already stated, I returned to Gujarat only on 1-3-2002, after the incident and as such the question of Late Ahesan Jafri, Ex-MP contacting me on 27-2-2002 does not arise.

Que. Why were the minutes of the Law & Order meetings held by the CM from 27-2-2002 onwards not prepared and kept on record?

Ans. As the administration was handling a severe crisis, numerous meetings were being held and various actions taken. Actions were taken based on the meetings by the concerned departments. Although, they may not be formal minutes, I believe that there will be necessary paper work in the files of concerned departments either at secretariat or the field department.

There is an allegation in the complaint about the callousness and discrimination in handling relief and rehabilitation work. As already mentioned, I personally visited various camps along with the concerned senior officers on 1-3-2002. The progress of relief and rehabilitation was being regularly monitored by the Revenue Department. I remember that the Cabinet Secretary of Govt. of India had also reviewed the progress in this matter on some occasions. Various other agencies like NHRC were also looking into the matter. In the wake of the riots, massive relief and rehabilitation operations were launched. A few factual details will convey the scale of efforts made by the State Govt. The State Govt. provided cash and supplies and arranged for shelter, drinking water, health and hygiene, which assistance amounted to Rs. 14 crores. The State Govt. provided Rs. 16.20 crores to the families of the dead besides Rs. 1.70 crores for assisting the injured. An assistance of Rs. 10.09 crores was provided for house hold kits and Rs. 63.90 lacs as cash doles. For long term rehabilitation, Rs. 29.53 crores was paid to 28,947 families. Under economic rehabilitation package, 16,990 families were assisted for rebuilding earning assets. An assistance of Rs. 10.08 crores have been sanctioned to 3014 small businesses and Rs. 57.68 crores for 2846 industrial units, hotels and shops. I am giving these details based on some old notes (of 25-2-2003), which I kept. These are approximate figures and exact figures can be obtained from the State Revenue department.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

(A. K. Parmar)

Before me EN SINH (A. K. Malhotra) Member, SIT, Gandhinagar



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COMMISSION

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inequalities and whose systems fail to provide any hope for justice are fertile breeding grounds for terrorism, which, more often than not, thrives in environments where human rights and more particularly Economic, Social and Cultural Rights are denied by the State and Political rights are violated with impunity, both, by the State and non-State actors. Systemic denial of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, like Right to food, health, education etc. are causative factors of conflict and terrorism. Any worthwhile strategy to resolve conflicts and terrorism will have to ensure enjoyment of the full range of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

2.9 While inquiring into complaints of serious injuries or death due to electrocution as a result of victim coming into contact of live transmission wire hanging at a low level or fallen on the ground, the Commission while applying rule of strict liability observed that a State professing to be a welfare State is expected to ensure liberal constructions of benefits and benevolent legislation like Section 18(3) of the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993, to promote the philosophy of the Constitution and the statute. The Commission also observed that the loss of human life by fact other than natural death is not capable of being calculated in term of Rupees. The Commission emphasized that object of granting "immediate interim relief u/s 18(3) of the Act of Constitutional Human Rights – right to life – is only in the nature of an immediate help to the next of the kin, in their hour of distress, by applying balm to their wounds. The grant of immediate relief is only a palliative for the act of instrumentalities of the State, which result in infringement of the fundamental rights of the citizen. Grant of relief is only a step to enable the State and its instrumentality to repair the damage done to the rights of the victim.

2.10 The National Human Rights Commission firmly believes that protection and preservation of Civil and Political Rights is possible only if there is an efficient and effective criminal justice delivery system in the country, which enables fulfillment of the mandate in Part-III of the Constitution. With a view to evolve some effective guidelines to ensure fair trial as well as proper protection to the victims and the witnesses of the crime, the Commission approached the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India by way of Special Leave Petition (which was later on converted by the Supreme Court in Writ Petition) against the judgement dated 27.6.2003 passed by the trial court in the famous case, known as, Best Bakery Case acquitting all the 21 accused, as a result of witnesses turning hostile due to external pressure, resulting in mis-carriage of justice. The details of the case from the stage of filing SLP and other appeals in the case, till passing of the order dated 12.04.2004 by the Supreme Court allowing the criminal appeals and setting aside the order of the acquittal of all 21 accused, have been reported by the Commission in its Annual Report for the year 2003-2004. The Supreme Court further directed re-trial of the case outside the State of Gujarat. The trial of the case before the trial court in Mumbai is at an advanced stage, at present. The larger issues touching upon the credibility of criminal justice delivery system, such as, protection of witnesses and victims of the crime and the need to lay down guidelines on account of witnesses turning hostile at the trial, are still under consideration of the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India in Writ Petition of 109 of 2003.

2.11 Major events in Gujarat, court proceedings and the Commission's orders in Case No. 256/6/2003-2004-WC (Case of Ms. Bilkis Yakoob Rasul) leading to the orders passed by the

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Supreme Court of India for fresh investigation into her complaint by the CBI have already been reported in the previous Annual Reports for the year 2002-2003 and 2003-2004. The Supreme Court had also transferred the trial of the case from Ahmedabad to a Court in Mumbai in the "interest of justice". In the meantime, the Commission also received a request from Ms. Bilkis Yakoob Rasul for assistance from the Commission during the trial of the case in Mumbai. The Commission acceded to her request and also undertook to bear the expenses for engagement of a competent lawyer on her behalf. The trial of the case is still continuing before the Trial Court in Mumbai and, is at an advanced stage.

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2.12 Growing concern in the country and abroad about issues relating to human rights and, the rights embodied in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 are substantially protected by the Constitution. Nevertheless their changing social realities and emerging trends that require the government to review the existing laws, procedures and the system of administration of justice, with a view to bringing about greater accountability and transparency in them, and devising efficient and effective methods of dealing with the situation.

2.13 As Child labour practice still continues in most parts of the country, the Commission has been examining the draft legislation on child labour prepared by an institution under the Ministry of Labour. The Commission also continues to monitor the implementation of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 as directed by the Supreme Court. The Commission is also sensitizing and educating District Magistrates, Police, NGOs and other field functionaries involved in the implementation of this Act.

2.14 It is observed that inspite of the provision in the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995, most of the States have neither instituted the mechanism nor have they used the existing arrangement to undertake systemic review of the service rules, building bylaws etc. The situation is comparatively better in the states having Commissioners of persons with disability. Although Disability is a state subject, but, not even a single state in the country has embarked upon a disability policy or, plan of action despite the fact that Disability Act mandates the central and the state coordination committee to develop a national/ state policy to address issues faced by the persons with disabilities. The NHRC, Canadian Human Rights Commission and Indira Gandhi National Open University had collectively undertaken the project on human right of persons with disability. The aim of the project is to increase the capability and strengthen both the Commission and their associated partners to cooperatively address major human rights issues in relation to persons with disabilities.

2.15 The Commission has been deeply concerned about the violation of human rights of the communities designated as Denotified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes. An advisory group was also constituted by the Commission to examine the issue. Detailed recommendations were suggested by the group, to improve the conditions of the communities. The Commission referred the

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Internally Displaced Persons

(xiii) Regarding updating the building by-laws, some action has been taken, but a lot remains to be done. There is no qualification required to become a builder. The structural engineers hardly verify whether the structures are properly put up. They do not have the time to check the quality and adequacy of the materials used.

d] Rehabilitation of Gujarat Riot Victims

11.14 In the Annual Report for the year 2003-04, the Commission had mentioned in detail on its interventions on the issue of relief and rehabilitation of victims of the communal violence in Gujarat which took place in the year 2002. A report was received from the State Government, in February, 2005, inter-alia, detailing the measures taken by it on the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of the Gujarat riots. Further clarifications were sought from the State Government, in March, 2005, with regard to the total number of families displaced due to the riots, the number of families rehabilitated, both, temporarily and permanently and, the number of families still left to be rehabilitated along with reasons for the same. A reply has been received, after reminders, in the middle of September, 2005. The Commission has sought the comprehensive views and comments of its Special Rapporteur, on the report of the State Government, before deciding on the further course of action.

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Annexure 14

Para 14.1

Statement of Chairperson, NHRC at the 60th Session of the Commission on Human Rights at Geneva on 14th April 2004

Mr. Chairman,

Thank you for giving me the floor.

I rise to speak on behalf of the National Human Rights Commission of India of which I hold the Chair.

Ten years have gone by since the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the Paris Principles, aimed at constituting National Human Rights Institutions in conformity with them. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of these Principles, there is a need to address challenges to the independence of National Institutions and also address constraints, which come in the way of their effective operation. The Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, in his programme to strengthen United Nations human rights activities, has called for greater attention to be given to the strengthening of national human rights protection systems in each country. All concerned, both in the Government and outside, need to be sensitized about the need to scrupulously adhere to the Paris Principles.

Mr. Chairman,

We are living in difficult times. The recent terrorist act in Madrid on 11 March 2004 and prior to that a number of international terrorist acts including the assassination of the then High Commissioner for Human Rights, Sergio Vieira de Mello in Iraq were issues of deep concern to all of us. India also has been a victim of terrorist attacks, with attacks occurring against democratic institutions like the Parliament, the Jammu & Kashmir State Legislature, places of worship and other facilities used by civilians. These bring into sharp focus the need to balance security concerns and the protection and promotion of human rights. The National Human Rights Commission of India examined the issues both of terrorism as a factor that inhibits the enjoyment of human rights as also adherence to human rights standards in the fight against terrorism, on several occasions.

I believe that the oft-repeated saying, 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' is but one manifestation of the widespread confusion about the morality of terrorist forms of violence and even goes to encourage terrorism. It is wrong to be selective about violation of human rights

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Annexure 14

and the perpetrators of terrorism. Such selective approach leads to double standards. It also indirectly lends support to terrorists and terrorism. All nations must, therefore, co-operate to relentlessly and without any compromise fight terrorism. But let me emphasize that in doing so, the approach should be human, rational and secular. It must be consistent with democratic principles and the Rule of Law. We need to strike a balance between the liberty of an individual and the requirements of security of state and sovereignty and integrity of the nation. It requires respect for the principles of necessity and proportionality. We must avoid a descent into anarchy - in which the only rule is 'might is right' - combating terrorism should not be used as an excuse to suspend all the rules of international law and domestic civil liberties.

The Acting High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. Bertrand Ramcharan, in his address on 15 March 2004 at the opening of the 60th Session of the Commission on Human Rights observed: "At the end of the day we must all continue to strive for the universal realization of Human Rights through constructive cooperation. International cooperation for the effective protection of human rights is the call of our time." The National Human Rights Commission of India shares the view that sustained cooperation at various levels including at the international level could go a long way in the protection of human rights and in addressing the challenges faced by the international community. The National Human Rights Commission of India, as the Chair of the Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions in 2003, contributed to this effort. In addition to cooperation at the regional level, the Commission has also taken up bilateral cooperation projects with the Human Rights Commission of Nepal involving technical assistance in Complaints Management System and investigation techniques.

Recognizing the crucial role of National Institutions, the United Nations has involved them in its efforts to draft a new convention on the rights of persons with disability. The Indian Commission, as Chair of Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions in 2003, co-hosted an international Workshop of National Institutions from Asia Pacific and Commonwealth Countries between 26 - 29 May 2003 in New Delhi to deliberate on the rights of the disabled. The Workshop called for a paradigm shift from a welfare-based approach to a rights-based one. The Workshop concretized a proposal regarding the nature, structure, principles and elements of the proposed Comprehensive and Integral United Nations Convention to Promote and Protect the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This proposal was submitted to the Second Ad Hoc Committee of the United Nations. There is a need to further develop such cooperation between the National Institutions and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, treaty bodies and other UN agencies working on human rights issues. The National Institutions must be given their rightful role.

The National Human Rights Commission of India, the Canadian Human Rights Commission and the Indira Gandhi National Open University have taken up jointly a project on the rights of

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the disabled. The project seeks to build the capacity of legal practioners, disability rights and human rights activists to address problems of discrimination, marginalization and exclusion of persons with disability.

Mr. Chairman,

In the past one year, the National Human Rights Commission of India faced a number of challenges and took several bold steps to protect the rights of persons belonging to vulnerable sections like minorities, dalits, the disabled, women and others.

The Commission has continued to play an active role in regard to communal disturbances in the State of Gujarat, beginning with the tragedy that occurred in Godhra on 27 February 2002 continuing with the violence that ensued, and the process of establishment of justice and due rehabilitation of the victims. In the year 2003, the Commission issued notice to the Government of Gujarat on the matter of the protection of victims and witnesses. Convinced that fair trial is a constitutional imperative for victims, witnesses and accused persons alike, the Commission viewed the acquittal by the Trial Court of persons who were accused of burning alive 14 persons in what has come to be known as the 'Best Bakery case' as `miscarriage of justice'. It filed a Special Leave Petition in the Supreme Court on 31 July 2003 with a prayer to set aside the judgement of the Trial Court and sought directions for further investigation by an independent agency and retrial of the case. The Supreme Court by its verdict dated 12.4.2004 has set aside the judgment of acquittal in the said case and further directed fresh investigation into the case and its re-trial outside the State of Gujarat in the State of Maharashtra with a further direction to appoint Public Prosecutor for prosecuting the case.

The Commission has also filed a separate application for transfer of four other serious cases which had been identified in its proceedings of 1 April 2002.

Besides, the Commission has extended legal assistance to Ms. Bilkis Yakub Rasul, a victim of alleged mass rape in Gujarat during the post-Godhra communal disturbances. Following this, the Supreme Court directed the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) to investigate the case. The CBI has succeeded in arresting a number of accused persons including certain police officials in this case. The proceedings in all these cases are continuing in the Supreme Court.

The Commission took up the issue of enforced or involuntary disappearances in Jammu & Kashmir. On 14 May 2003, the Commission directed the Government of J&K to furnish the following information:

i) whether the State Government has established a system to record allegations of enforced or involuntary disappearances and, if so, the nature of that system;

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- ii) the number of such allegations recorded by it, the details of the system established thus far to investigate such allegations and the results, thus far, of such investigations;
- iii) the measures that are being taken to prevent the occurrence of enforced or involuntary disappearances; and
- iv) the measures that are being taken to bring to book those who may have been involved in such disappearances and to provide justice to those who have suffered.

Not satisfied with the response of the Government of Jammu & Kashmir, further information has been asked for by the Commission. The proceedings are continuing.

Mr. Chairman,

Under-trial prisoners constitute almost 3/4th of the jail population in India. Their plight has, for long, been a matter of concern for the National Human Rights Commission. As Chairperson of the Commission, I have suggested to the Chief Justices of all High Courts to regularly hold special courts in jails for relief to undertrials particularly those accused of petty offences. The response from the High Courts has been encouraging with relief accruing to many under-trials.

Mr. Chairman,

During the preceding year, the Commission took a number of initiatives for the protection and promotion of economic, social and cultural rights and in particular, the right to health. Recognizing the importance of access to health care, and especially, access to emergency medical care, the Commission constituted an expert group of eminent medical practioners to prepare a blueprint for restructuring of the emergency medical care and also evolve guidelines regarding trauma care. The group has submitted its report to the Commission on 7 April 2004. Similarly, recognizing the implications of sub standard drugs and medical devices on human rights, the Commission held consultations with authorities in the Union Government, concerned States and NGOs. An expert group has been constituted to go into this issue. The Commission also proposes to hold five regional and one national public hearing on access to health care followed by a National Consultation on Primary Health Care and Human Rights in the course of the current year.

The Commission has been concerned about the protection of the rights of those affected / infected by HIV/AIDS. Based on the outcome of National Consultation in this regard held in 2000, detailed recommendations were made to various authorities. Besides, in various individual complaints alleging discrimination in access to education and in access to health care, the Commission intervened to set right the wrong and thereby secure relief for the affected persons. The Core Group on Public Health has recommended certain measures to prevent mother-to-child transmission of HIV/AIDS and follow-up action has been taken by the Commission. The

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Commission has taken up multi-media campaign to spread awareness about human rights and HIV/AIDS. The Commission has designated a Member of the Commission as the Focal Point on HIV/AIDS related Human Rights issues.

The practice of 'organ purchase' has acquired the dubious dimensions of 'organ trade' with touts operating as middlemen. Concerned by the illegal trade in human organs, which is unethical and often involves exploitation of poor people and violation of their human rights, the Commission has suggested a number of remedial measures to be adopted by the State to check this pernicious practice.

The Commission has been concerned about the plight of dalits and has taken steps towards protection of their human rights. The Commission has been redressing individual complaints of atrocities and has been recommending the payment of compensation and action against negligent public servants, wherever appropriate. The Commission also participated in the Durban Conference. It has set up a Dalit Cell in 2003 which is looking into complaints of alleged atrocities against persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes.

Steps for preventing trafficking in young women and children has continued to occupy a high place on the agenda of the Commission. The Commission and UNIFEM jointly began an Action Research Programme on Trafficking in Women and Children in India. With the assistance of the Institute of Social Sciences, a Survey has been conducted in twelve States to study the extent and magnitude of the problem. Through the Action Research, the Commission proposes to sensitize the public and the law enforcement agencies to the grave dangers inherent in trafficking and the need for its prevention. It is the endeavour of the Commission to strengthen laws and law enforcement processes, punish traffickers, revamp rescue and rehabilitation programmes, and help NGOs to take advantage of the National Plan of Action of the Government of India for this purpose. It is also endeavouring to create an authentic database so as to strengthen the vulnerable groups in the supply zones both economically and socially. Besides, i) a Manual for the Judiciary on Trafficking in women is being prepared to sensitize Judges on issues related to trafficking and ii) a joint Project for Combating Cross-Border Trafficking with the National Human Rights Commission of Nepal is under consideration.

Mr. Chairman,

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In exercise of its statutory responsibilities, the Commission has been reviewing legislations which have an impact on human rights. For instance, the Commission reviewed the draft Protection from Domestic Violence Bill, 2002 and gave its detailed comments for modifications to the Department of Women and Child Development, Government of India. The Commission is presently reviewing the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000. The Commission reviewed the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 and suggested many amendments in the form of the Child Marriage Restraint Bill, 2002 to restrain the practice of child marriages.

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In order to strengthen and consolidate the relationship between the Commission and NGOs, the Commission has been holding a series of consultations with them, on a regional basis. This has proven to be of considerable value both to the Commission and to the NGOs, reinforcing their understanding of each other and their capacity to work together in the furtherance of rights across the country.

Pursuant to the Commission's efforts, human rights have been introduced in the curriculum of educational institutions from school level to the university level. The Government of India also finalized the National Action Plan for Human Rights Education as part of the observance of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education 1995-2004. In so far as mass awareness programme is concerned, the Commission is pursuing the matter with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to have follow-up action initiated on the Action Plan. Seven dossiers on economic, social and cultural rights were developed by a Bangalore based NGO. The Commission has extended financial support to this NGO for developing source material for human rights education in Indian universities and at the school level and for use by grass-root level organizations.

Keeping in view the need to build capacity, change mindset of public servants and thereby create a human rights culture, the Commission established a Training Division in September 2003. In the period October 2003-March 2004, eleven training programmes have been organized for the police, civil servants, administrators, university teachers and other key stakeholders. In the period April-June 2004, seven more training programmes on different facets of human rights have been planned.

Mr. Chairman,

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I am conscious that the struggle for Human Rights is an arduous one. It not only requires vigilance by various agencies but also sustained cooperation at regional and international levels. Our finest hour would be reached when human rights are made the focal point of good governance and are actualised by all and when justice eludes none. Permit me to remind ourselves what the apostle of peace, Mahatma Gandhi said:

> "Peace does not come out of a clash of arms, but out of justice lived and done."

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<u>Report of the National Commission for Minorities' visit to Gujarat, October 13-</u> <u>17, 2006</u>

On August 29, 2006, complaints from social activists were received by the National Commission for Minorities (NCM) on the plight of persons displaced as a result of communal violence in 2002. They pointed out that more than 5,000 Muslim families in Gujarat are staying in makeshift colonies in four districts of Gujarat. In view of the tense situation in their original place of residence, these people are unable to return. In the absence of basic amenities like safe drinking water, drainage, health education, etc, the condition of those living in these colonies is pitiable. They therefore requested the NCM to make a first-hand assessment of the entire issue by visiting the camps and to issue suitable directives to the government on the basis of their findings.

The matter was considered at a formal meeting of the commission held on September 7, 2006. At this meeting, it was decided that a three-member team, consisting of the vice chairman and two members, would visit Gujarat for this purpose over a period of three days (in the case of the vice chairman and member one) and five days (in the case of member two). The team visited a large number of camps. Member two visited 17 colonies in the districts of Panchmahal, Dahod, Sabarkantha and the city of Ahmedabad while the vice chairman and member one visited colonies in Ahmedabad and Sabarkantha. The team had an opportunity to interact with members of civil society, NGOs, groups involved in rehabilitation and with inhabitants of camps as well as those who had suffered as a result of the riots. On the third day the team had a long meeting with officials of the state government led by the chief secretary and finished up with a session with the chief minister of Gujarat. The main findings of the team are summarised below:

Observation, complaints and demands of residents of rehabilitation colonies

1. During its visit to the rehabilitation colonies, the NCM team was accompanied by district collectors in each of the four districts as well as by local government officials concerned with development, including district development officers (DDOs), *taluka* development officers (TDOs), officials of the revenue department, including *talatis* and *mamlatdars*, and by officials of the municipal authorities in *nagar palika* areas and the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation. The NCM team found that

these colonies have come into existence after the violence of 2002. They house people who, prior to the riots, had lived elsewhere. Several colonies were found to be housing people who are witnesses in major legal cases.

2. The NCM team noted with concern that not a single colony was constructed by the state government, nor was any land allotted by the state government. All the colonies were built on land purchased at commercial rates primarily by a range of Muslim organisations and NGOs, including the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, Islamic Relief Committee, Gujarat Sarvojanik Relief Committee, etc. During the tour of the camps, members observed that residents were denied the most rudimentary civic amenities. They are deprived of potable water, sanitary facilities, street lights, schools and primary health care centres. The poor condition of the approach roads was repeatedly highlighted and the team heard reports of how in the absence of such roads even adolescent boys were drowned in the water that had collected near the village after the monsoon when the roads are submerged under several feet of water. The accumulated garbage, the slush and the puddles of water are a source of debilitating diseases, including some infectious ones.

3. The residents were frustrated by their inability to earn their own livelihood and to support themselves in the manner to which they were accustomed. Before the violence many of these people were small self-employed traders, artisans or industrialists. The violence put an end to their means of livelihood since their old clients were unwilling to use their services. The impression the team received is that very few of them were employed in service. In the new environment, they are unable to resume their earlier professions and because of this they find it difficult to survive.

4. NCM members examined the homes in several rehabilitation colonies and found evidence of abject poverty. With some exceptions, the houses contained little except for bedding and kitchen utensils. Despite these signs of poverty, the NCM found that many residents did not have ration cards. Even when ration cards were issued, most of the residents were given above the poverty line (APL) ration cards instead of below the poverty line (BPL) ration cards. This makes a big difference because BPL ration card holders are entitled to get food grains, cereals, kerosene and other basic consumer items at subsidised rates. Indeed, in several camps, especially in rural

areas, the women without exception had just one major demand: they wanted BPL ration cards to be issued to them.

5. Interaction with members of civil society, NGOs and those affected by the riots threw up several problems. Residents complained about the atmosphere of insecurity in which they had to live. The team received several complaints about the hostile attitude of the police towards the residents of these colonies or their representatives who have taken up their problems with relevant authorities. In addition to the palpable sense of insecurity in which most of the victims continue to live, there were several complaints that compensation given for the extensive losses suffered by riot victims was completely inadequate. The team was told that the state government has restricted compensation in respect of damage to houses to a maximum of Rs 10, 000. Other complaints referred to the absence of suitable rehabilitation facilities since the state government concentrated only on immediate relief. Since the remit of the team was to look into issues of rehabilitation, we concentrated more closely on these.

6. During interaction with the state government we raised the question of the sum of Rs 19.10 crore that had been returned by the government of Gujarat to the government of India since it had not been utilised. Government officials explained that there were no further demands under the particular heads under which these grants had been advanced by the Centre. As a result, auditors had pointed out to the ministries concerned in the government of India that the money should be returned if it could not be utilised for the purpose for which it was intended. The NCM team pointed out that if more people were covered under the relevant schemes it would be possible to utilise the entire amount allotted. In the course of our visits to the camps we found several people who are in need of funds under different schemes. If the state government was able to identify such people and extend the benefits of the scheme to them they would be able to utilise the entire money allotted.

7. The team noted with concern that the state was not in the forefront of the move to provide rehabilitation to those who could not return to their homes after the riots. As pointed out elsewhere, the state government has not been involved in constructing houses for the violence affected thus leaving the rehabilitation process to private organisations. If these private organisations were NGOs whose brief was to serve the riot affected that would still be appropriate. But this is not so. Some of the organisations

that are active in the field are not purely philanthropic or service oriented. This space that should have been occupied by the state is now being held by bodies which have a definite agenda of their own. The implications that this has for the severity and wellbeing of civil society as a whole are extremely serious.

8. The NCM team received repeated demands by the victims as well as NGOs for a policy package that would be applicable to all displaced persons. In our view, the time has come to look at this question very seriously. Riots, disturbances or other calamities occur at regular intervals. If, as a result of such occurrences, people are displaced and are unable to return to their usual places of residence, some responsibility for their welfare must devolve on the state.

Main findings

Having visited several camp sites and interacted with members of civil society, victims and activists in the field, and government officials, the NCM came to the following conclusions:

1. The NCM found overwhelming evidence that there continue to be large numbers of internally displaced Muslim families in Gujarat who are living in subhuman conditions in colonies constructed entirely by NGOs.

2. They are not there by choice but because they are unable to return to their original place of habitation.

3. There has been no support from the state to compensate them for their loss of habitual place of residence and normal livelihood or provide basic services and livelihood options to allow them to live with dignity in their present location.

4. There has been no attempt to secure a safe environment or facilitate their return to their homes.

5. Local Muslim organisers who have tried to procure some rights and entitlements for these displaced survivors have found themselves the targets of threat and harassment by the local police.

6. Far from admitting that the inmates were in fact 'internally displaced persons', the authorities argued that they have chosen to willingly remain in the camps even after some of their family members had returned to their original habitation where they continued to live and ply their trades in absolute security. The NCM team found such reasoning to be erroneous. It noted that the residents of these colonies fear to return to the places they had fled partly because they have nothing left back home to return to and partly because many of them are eyewitnesses to murders, arson and looting during the communal violence.

Recommendations

The NCM would like to make three sets of recommendations to the state government and central government to improve the lot of residents of the makeshift camps: (1) Basic amenities and livelihood issues; (2) Central government economic package; (3) National policies on rehabilitation of internally displaced due to violence.

1. Basic amenities and livelihood in the rehabilitation colonies

Basic amenities must be provided in the camps of displaced victims. These would cover provision of safe drinking water, street lights, approach roads, etc. This should be done by the state government.

The government of India should agree that for a period of five years or until they continue to live in camps, whichever is earlier, all the inhabitants of such camps should be given BPL ration cards without going through the formalities laid down by the government for the issue of such cards. Similarly, widows should be allowed to claim their pension even if they have not applied within two years or even if they have sons above the age of 18.

The state government should prepare a special economic package for those displaced by the violence with a special focus on livelihood issues. For the self-employed, special efforts should be made to provide inputs like easy credit, raw material and marketing assistance. We strongly believe that this is a vital element in the rehabilitation scenario and that for it to be successfully implemented NGOs should be involved in it.

Wherever possible the state should take advantage of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme to cover able-bodied people in these camps and give them employment.

The government of India should return the amount of Rs 19.10 crore given back by the government of Gujarat. The state government should be asked to cover more beneficiaries under the schemes in an attempt to utilise the entire sum.

There should be a monitoring committee, consisting of representatives of the state government and civil society, which will be charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the schemes described above are properly implemented.

2. A special economic package for rehabilitation of internally displaced Muslim families in Gujarat

There is an urgent need for the central government to design and implement an immediate special economic package for the rehabilitation of internally displaced Muslim families in Gujarat. The package must include a set of inputs that would address the totality of livelihood concerns. In particular, attention must be paid to the availability of credit, raw material and marketing support, where necessary, with the help of NGOs.

3. A national policy on internal displacement due to violence

There is a need to design a national policy on internal displacement due to violence. Populations displaced due to sectarian, ethnic or communal violence should not be left to suffer for years together due to the lack of a policy and a justiciable framework for entitlements.

The preamble of the new Draft National Rehabilitation Policy 2006 (NRP 2006), which incorporates recommendations made by the National Advisory Council, provides a precedent and sensitive understanding of how displacement due to any reason affects people. It describes displacement in the following terms, "...displacement of people, depriving them of their land, livelihood and shelter, restricting their access to traditional resource bases and uprooting them from their socio-cultural environment. These have traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences on the displaced

population..." However, the NRP 2006 pertains only to planned displacement due to development imperatives. When displacement takes place due to mass violence, entailing loss of life, property, family and loved ones, and a total destruction of the fabric of the socio-economic and cultural community, then the rehabilitation of the internally displaced population calls for a new framework of understanding.

When displacement takes place under conditions of fear and under constant direct threat in violation of Article 21 of the Constitution (guaranteeing the protection of life and personal liberty), the trauma and the conditions under which survivors face the future is considerably worsened. Further, when the threat of violence is perceived to be continuing (as it currently is in the state of Gujarat), in the absence of justice, and in a situation of discrimination and exclusion, the protection of people's constitutional rights can only be sought through a national policy which clearly lays out a non-negotiable framework of entitlements. Any national policy on internal displacement due to violence must be designed to include provisions for immediate compensation and rehabilitation. A national policy on internal displacement due to violence must further take into account the displaced populations' aspirations to 'return to their home' and make provisions to facilitate the return, if it is possible under conditions of safety and security, and to restore the displaced families to their original conditions of living.

A national policy on internal displacement due to violence must also lay down specified time frames for the implementation of a rehabilitation plan, and include an effective grievances redressal and monitoring mechanism.

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March 19, 2007

To,

The honourable Supreme Court of India,

Subject: Non-implementation of food schemes in the relief colonies of people displaced in Gujarat by the disturbances of 2002.

The commissioners of the Supreme Court had received disturbing information about acute food and livelihood distress of people who were internally displaced by the disturbances in Gujarat. They were informed that many families continued to live in relief colonies in very difficult conditions with acute problems of food and livelihood security. It was brought to our notice that the directions of the honourable Supreme Court of India (in CWP 196/2001) on the food and employment schemes, including the ICDS, MDMS, PDS, NREGA, Antyodaya and Annapurna Yojana, NOAPS, NFBS and NMBS, were being violated.

Since we are mandated by the honourable Supreme Court to monitor all the food and employment schemes in Writ 196/2001, we subsequently wrote to the government of Gujarat requesting them to look into the matter and ensure that food schemes were implemented by the government of Gujarat as per the directions of the honourable court in Writ 196/2001.

The government of Gujarat responded back to us that there were no relief colonies of people displaced by the violence of 2002 in Gujarat.

Shortly thereafter, the National Commission for Minorities (NCM) deputed three members to visit the state from October 13 to 17, 2006 and they went to 17 relief colonies. Their report is annexed in Annexure 3. They observed the difficulties that were faced by the residents of these colonies and the non-implementation of state programmes. In relation to livelihoods and food schemes, the commission made the following observations:

"The residents were frustrated by their inability to earn their own livelihood and to support themselves in the manner to which they were accustomed. Before the violence many of these people were small self-employed traders, artisans or industrialists. The violence put an end to their means of livelihood since their old clients were unwilling to use their services. The impression the team received is that very few of them were employed in service. In the new environment, they are unable to resume their earlier professions and because of this they find it difficult to survive."

They add, "NCM members examined the homes in several rehabilitation colonies and found evidence of abject poverty. With some exceptions, the houses contained little except for bedding and kitchen utensils. Despite these signs of poverty, the NCM found that many residents did not have ration cards. Even when ration cards were issued, most of the residents were given above the poverty line (APL) ration cards instead of below the poverty line (BPL) ration cards. This makes a big difference because BPL ration card holders are entitled to get food grains, cereals, kerosene and other basic consumer items at subsidised rates. Indeed, in several camps, especially in rural areas, the women without exception had just one major demand: they wanted BPL ration cards to be issued to them."

The report of the NCM clearly established that the government of Gujarat had misrepresented the situation to the commissioners of the honourable court by denying the existence of these colonies. It also established prima facie evidence of the fact that the directions of the honourable Supreme Court with regard to food and employment schemes were being violated.

My colleagues further completed a full survey of the state and found similar conditions in 81 such relief colonies across the state of Gujarat. The report of this investigation (guided by senior academic, Dr Ghanshyam Shah, and state adviser, Dr Indira Hirway) is appended in Annexure 4, It found 4,545 families comprising around 30,000 persons still living in very difficult conditions in 81 relief colonies.

The study found that none of the colonies had been set up or assisted by the state government. Only five of the 81 colonies had government or government recognised schools and only four served midday meals to the children. Only five had ICDS centres, of which four served supplementary nutrition to the children, and one to nursing and expectant mothers. Only three had PDS shops and only 725 out of 4,545 families were recognised as BPL although their intense poverty as internally displaced persons facing economic boycott was acute. People who had APL cards are reluctant to apply for a transfer of the card because they fear that this may be cancelled. It is therefore proposed that the following steps are immediately undertaken to ensure state accountability for the food and livelihood rights of its citizens who remain internally displaced nearly five years after the 2002 incidents.

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 Contempt of court notices are issued to the chief secretary and other officials of the government of Gujarat for misrepresenting facts and furnishing incomplete and inaccurate information to the commissioners appointed by the Supreme Court.

All families who continue to live in relief colonies must be given Antyodaya cards as internally displaced persons who lost all their belongings, face fear and economic boycott, and are too afraid to return to their original homes.

3. Primary schools with midday meals should be opened in all 81 relief colonies immediately and in any case before the next financial year. The location of the school should be such that it is accessible not only to the residents of the camp but to the surrounding host communities, to promote integration.

 All 81 colonies should have fully functioning ICDS centres, with the entire contingent of nutrition and health services, within two months.

PDS shops should be opened in all colonies where these are not available within a distance of three kilometres.

There should be a drive within three months to ensure that all eligible persons for NOAPS and widows pensions receive these.

Job cards under NREGA should be issued in all NREGA districts to all residents of relief colonies who are desirous of these.

8. The chief secretary should personally certify that all these steps have been undertaken in an affidavit to the Supreme Court within three months of the passage of the order.

Dr NC Saxena

Commissioner of the Supreme Court

SUPREME COURT OF INDIA RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

Writ Petition(Crl.) No. 109/2003

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Petitioner (s)

VERSUS

STATE OF GUJARAT & ORS. Respondent (s)

(With appln. For directions and exem. From filing OT and inervention and office report) WITH CRLMP 4782/04 and CRLMP 6581/04-for impleadment (With Note dated 27.2.04 filed by Ld. Amicus Curiae to provide protection to the witnesses involved in Major Trials in the State of Gujarat) With SLP(Crl.)No.3770/2003 and SLP(Crl.)No. 5309/2003.

Date : 12/07/2004 These Petitions were called on for hearing today.

CORAM :

HON'BLE MRS. JUSTICE RUMA PAL HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE S.B.SINHA HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE S.H.KAPADIA

For Petitioner (s) in WP 109/03	Mr. H.N.Salve,Sr.Adv.(A.C.)
	Mr. S.Muralidhar,Adv.
In 3770&5309:	Ms.Aparna Bhat,Adv. Mr.P.Ramesh Kumar,Adv.
In CRLMP 6581:	Mr. Ram Jethmalani,Sr.Adv. Ms. Aparna Bhat,Adv.
	Mr. P.Ramesh Kumar, Adv.
For State of Gujarat	Mr. Mukul Rohtagi,ASG. Ms. Hemantika Wahi,Adv.
	Mr. J.S.Attri,Adv.
	Mr. Bimal Roy Jad,Adv.

For UOI:	Mr. G.Vahanvati,SG. Mr. A.Mariarputham,Adv. Mr. P.Parmeswaran,Adv.
For intervenor	Mr. C.D.Singh, Adv.
For RR Nos.2-10 in SLP 5309/03	Dr. Kailash Chand, Adv.
For Pondicherry: For Haryana	Mr. V.G.Pragasam,Adv. Mr.Vinay Kumar Garg,Adv. Mr. Anil Kumar Thakur,Adv.
	Mr. Manish Mohan,Adv. Mr. Gopal Prasad,Adv.
In WP 4782	Ms. Kamakshi S.Mehlwal,Adv. Mr.Aditya Bahadur,Adv.
For Assam	Ms. Krishna Sarma,Adv. Mr.Sanjay V.S.Chaudhary,Adv. Mr.Niraj Kumar,Adv.for Corporate Law Group,Advs.
For Sikkim	Mr. A.Mariarputham,Adv. Mrs.Aruna Mathur,Adv.for M/s. Arputham, Aruna & Co.Advs.
For Tripura	Mr.Gopal Singh,Adv.
For Intervenor	Dr. N.A.Siddiqui,Adv.
In CRLMP 11668/03	Mr. Salman Khurshid,Sr.Adv. Mr. Imtiaz Ahmed,Adv. Mrs. Nagma Imtiaz,Adv. Mr. Kamran Malik,Adv. Mr. V.N.Raghupathy,Adv.
For Arunachal Pradesh	Mr. Anil Shrivastav,Adv.
For Maharashtra	Mr. S.S.Shinde,Adv. Mr. Mukesh K.Giri,Adv.
For U.P.	Mr. Sunil Kumar Gupta,Adv. Mr. R.P.Mehrotra,Adv.
For Kerala	Mr.K.R.Sasiprabhu,Adv.
In 3770:	Mr. P.H.Parekh,Adv. Mr. Lalit Chauhan,Adv. Mr.Sumit Goel,Adv.

UPON hearing counsel the Court made the following ORDER

The Registry is directed to complete service on the unserved respondents within three weeks. Service on the Standing Counsel representing the States in this Court will be deemed to be sufficient service.

The matters are adjourned for six weeks at the end of which thelearned amicus curiae will submit a proposal as to the criteria or norms for affording protection to the witnesses as well as the nature of protection that may be afforded. It will be open to the States or any other authority or NGO to forward any suggestions that they may have to the learned amicus curiae within a period of three weeks from today. As far as non appearing States are concerned this order must be communicated to them.

The Union of India will make available to the learned amicus curiae any information that may have a bearing for the preparation of the proposal by the learned amicus curiae.

As far as the application of impleadment is concerned, since the applicants are petitioners in SLP (Crl.)No. 5309/03 it is not necessary for them to be formally added as parties.

I.A.No..../04 given in Court by learned amicus curiae...

A note submitted by the A.C. for directions today is treated as an application. Notice is issued to the State of Gujarat to respond to the allegation that despite specific prayer for furnishing copies of orders of all courts, be it the trial court or the High Court relating to the grant of bail to the accused <u>the State Government had withheld the</u> information relating to the High Court orders. Notice returnable on 26.7.2004.

SLP 3770/03

In view of the subsequent developments including the decision of this Court setting aside the acquittal of the accused, no further order need be passed in this SLP. The SLP is disposed of in terms of the orders already passed.

[SUMAN	WADHWA]	[MADHU	SAXENA)
COURT	MASTER	COURT	MASTER

W.P(Crl.)No. 109 OF 2003 ITEM Nos.1-5 Court No. 2

SECTION PIL & XVIA A/N MATTER

SUPREME COURT OF INDIA RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

Crl.MP No.3740-42/2004 in Writ Petition(Crl.) No. 109/2003

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Petitioner (s)

VERSUS

STATE OF GUJARAT & ORS.

Respondent (s)

(With Appln(s). for directions)
With
Transfer Petition (Crl) No. 194-202&326-329/03
W.P(Crl.)No.11-15/2003,W.P(Crl.)No.216/2003,
W.P(C)No.310/1996,T.P.(Crl.) No.43/2004,SLP(Crl.)No.4409/2003,
T.P.(Crl.) No.6672/2004,SLP(C)No.7951/2002,W.P(Crl.)No.D17953/2003,
WITH
TP(C)544/2004,WP(C) 221/02,37-52/02, 530/02 and 284/03

Date : 17/08/2004 These Petitions were called on for hearing today.

CORAM :

HON'BLE MRS. JUSTICE RUMA PAL HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE S.B. SINHA HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE S.H. KAPADIA

For apparing parties: Mr. Harish N. Salve, Sr. Adv. (A.C.) Mr. B.V.Desai,Adv.(A.C.) Ms. Meenakshi Grover, Adv. Ms. Aparjita Singh, Adv. Mr. Sanjeev Kr. Singh, Adv. Mr. Imtiaz Ahmad, Adv. Ms. Nagma Imtiaz, Adv. Mr. V.N. Raghupathy, Adv. Mr. S. Muralidhar,Adv. Mr. Somiran Sharma, Adv. Mr. Amit Sharma, Adv.

in WP(Crl).D17953/03 Mr.Umed Singh Gulia,Adv .

In TP 194-202/03	M/s. Nitya Ramakrishna, Anita Shenoy, Naveen R.Nath,Lalit Mohan Bhat, Hetu Arora,Shila Ditya,Advs.
in SLP.7951/02	Mrs.Jayshree Wad,Adv.for M/s JS Wad & Co.
in WP(Crl).11-15/03 & TP(Crl)No.66-72/04	Mr. Ram Jethmalani,Sr,.Adv. Ms.Aparna Bhat,Adv.
in WP(C)No.310/96	Mr.Prashant Bhushan,Adv.
in SLP(Crl)No.4409/03	M/s. H.Ahmadi,Ejaz Maqbool, Nakul Dewan,Abhimeet Sinha, Minakshi Nag,Gaurav Kejriwal& S.Arbab,Advs.
TP(Crl)No.43/2004	Mr.Anand Grover,Adv. Mr.Farheen Syed Kapra,Adv. Mr.Naveen R. Nath,Adv.
WP 221/02	Mr. Anand Grover,Adv. Mr. Manish Agarwal,Adv. Mr. Farheen Syed Kapur,Adv. Mr. Manu Krishnan,Adv. Mr. E.C.Agrawala,Adv.
WP 530/02	Mr.Chandra Prakash,Adv. Mr.Ravi Prakash,Adv. Mr.L.R.Singh,Adv. Mr. Prashant Venkatesh,Adv.
For State of Gujarat	Mr. Mukul Rohtagi,Sr.Adv. Ms. Hemantika Wahi,Adv.
For UOI	Mr. Gulam E. Vahanvati, S.G. Ms. Sushma Suri,Adv. Mr. A. Mariarputham, Adv. Ms. Aruna Mathur, Adv. Mr.Anurag D. Mathur,adv.
	Ms. Aruna Gupta, Adv. Ms. Archana P. Khopde, Adv. Ms. Sadhna Sandhu, Adv.
For Intervenor	Dr. Nafis A. Siddiqui,Adv. Ms. Sushma Suri,Adv.
State of Haryana	Mr. Vinay Kr. Garg, Adv.

	Mr. Anil Kr. Thakur, Adv.
	Mr. Praveen Kumar Rai,Adv. Ms. Kavita Wadia,Adv.
State of Kerala	Mr. K.R. Sasiprabhu, Adv.
State of West Bengal	Mr. Tara Chandra Sharma, Adv. Ms. Neelam Sharma, Adv. Ms. Tarun Sharma, Adv.
State of Rajasthan	Mr. Aruneshwar Gupta, Addl.AG
State of Sikkim	Mr. A. Mariarputham, Adv. Ms. Aruna Mathur, Adv. Mr. Anurag D. Mathur, Adv.
for State of UP.	Mr. Sunil Gupta,AAG. Mr. R.P.Mehrotra,Adv. Mr. Garvesh Kabra,adv.
For Assam	Ms. Krishna Sarma,adv. Mr. Niraj Kumar,adv.for Corporate Law Group,Advs.
For Orissa	Mr. R.S.Jena,Adv.
For Orissa In WP 310/96	Mr. R.S.Jena,Adv. Mr.Shri Narain,Adv. Mr.Sandeep Narain,Adv. Ms. Anjali Jha,Adv.for M/s. S.Narain & Co.Advs.
	Mr.Shri Narain,Adv. Mr.Sandeep Narain,Adv. Ms. Anjali Jha,Adv.for
In WP 310/96	Mr.Shri Narain,Adv. Mr.Sandeep Narain,Adv. Ms. Anjali Jha,Adv.for M/s. S.Narain & Co.Advs. Ms. Kamakshi Mehlwal,adv.
In WP 310/96	 Mr.Shri Narain,Adv. Mr.Sandeep Narain,Adv. Ms. Anjali Jha,Adv.for M/s. S.Narain & Co.Advs. Ms. Kamakshi Mehlwal,adv. Mr. Satish K. Agnihotri, Adv. Mr. Harsh Kumar Puri, Adv. Mr. Ujjwal Banerjee, Adv. Mr. S.K. Puri, Adv.
In WP 310/96	 Mr.Shri Narain,Adv. Mr.Sandeep Narain,Adv. Ms. Anjali Jha,Adv.for M/s. S.Narain & Co.Advs. Ms. Kamakshi Mehlwal,adv. Mr. Satish K. Agnihotri, Adv. Mr. Harsh Kumar Puri, Adv. Mr. Ujjwal Banerjee, Adv. Mr. S.K. Puri, Adv. Mr. Shiv Gupta, Adv.
In WP 310/96	 Mr.Shri Narain,Adv. Mr.Sandeep Narain,Adv. Ms. Anjali Jha,Adv.for M/s. S.Narain & Co.Advs. Ms. Kamakshi Mehlwal,adv. Mr. Satish K. Agnihotri, Adv. Mr. Harsh Kumar Puri, Adv. Mr. Ujjwal Banerjee, Adv. Mr. S.K. Puri, Adv. Mr. Shiv Gupta, Adv. Mr. J.S. Attri,Adv. Mr. Bimal Roy Jad,Adv.

For Pondicherry	Mr. V.G. Pragasam, Adv.
State of Kerala	Mr. K.R. Sasiprabhu, Adv.
For Maharashtra	Mr. Ravindra K. Adsure, Adv.
State of Tripura	Mr.Anurag Sharma,adv. Mr. Gopal Singh, Adv.
For State of Chhattisgarh	Ms. Suparna Srivastava,Adv. Mr. Rajesh Srivas tava,Adv.
State of Nagaland	Mr. U. Hazarika, Adv. Mr. Riku Sharma, Adv. Ms. Sumita Hazarika, Adv.
State of A.P.	Ms. D. Bharathi Reddy, Adv. Mr. B. Vikas, Adv.
State of Arunachal Pradesh	Mr. Anil Shrivastava, Adv.
State of Punjab	Mr. Kuldip Singh,Adv. Mr. Raj K.Pandey,Adv. Ms. Naresh Bakshi,Adv.
State of Meghalaya,	Mr. Ranjan Mukherjee, Adv
State of West Bengal	Mr. Tara Chandra Sharma, Adv. Ms. Neelam Sharma, Adv.
State of Jharkand	Mr. Gopal Prasad, Adv. Mr. Manish Mohan, Adv.
State of A.P.	Ms. D. Bharathi Reddy, Adv. Mr. B. Vikas, Adv. Mr. G. Venugopal, Adv.
	Dr. Kailash Chand,Adv. Mr.Nikhil Goel,Adv.
	Mr. P.H. Parekh, Adv. Mr. Lalit Chauhan, Adv. Mr. Sumit Goel, Adv.
	Mr. Shri Narain, Adv. Mr. Sandeep Narain, Adv. Ms. Anjali Jha, Adv. For S. Narain & Co., Adv.

Mr. Huzefa Ahmadi, Adv. Mr. Ejaz Maqbool, Adv. Mr. Nakul Dewan, Adv. Mr. Abhimeet Sinha, Adv. Ms. Minakshi Nag, Adv. Mr. Gourav Kejriwal, Adv. Mr. Saquib Arbab, Adv. Mr.Gopal Singh, Adv. Mr. R.M.Vithlani, Adv. Mr.Anis Suhrawardy, Adv. Ms.Sandhya Goswami,Adv. Mr.T.V.Ratnam, adv. Mr.K.R.Nagaraja, adv. Ms.Revathy Raghavan, adv. Mr.Ashok Mathur,adv. Mr.G.Prabhakar,Adv. Ms. Malini Poduval, Adv. Mr.Rajan Narian, Adv.

Mr.P.H.Parekh,Adv.

Ms. Neeru Vaid, Adv.

Mr. Nikhil Nayyar, Adv.

UPON hearing counsel the Court made the following

ORDER

Crl.M.P.No.3741/2004 in WP(Crl)No.109/2003:

This application has been made for the setting up of a Committee for overlooking a Special Investigation Team to be set up by the State Government of Gujarat to enquire into those cases in which final reports have been filed by the local police stations closing the same. The State Government has filed an application in which it is stated that the State Government has already authorised high ranking officers to monitor each and every investigation which has been carried out in connection with the communal riots which have taken place in the State. It is submitted that the communal riots which have taken place, have taken place in particular Districts of the State and throughout the State. It is also stated to this Court by the State that the particular police Districts in which there have been communal riots are under the supervision of Range Inspector Generals.

At the outset, we may point out that today when the matter reached hearing, we made it clear to all the parties appearing before us (including the State of Gujarat) that in this matter we are not going to proceed on the basis that the entire Investigating machinery in the State has failed; that there should be further/more extensive and indepth investigation into cases, numbering 2000, in which "A" Summary Reports have been filed resulting in closure of cases at the threshold and that the State should consider further/extended investigations through its own high ranking officers to which none of the concerned parties (including State of Gujarat) had any objection.

Having heard the submissions of the parties and having regard to the extant procedure in the State relating to the monitoring of investigation, in order to provide for a more integrated approach to the issues raised in the application of the Amicus Curiae, we direct the State Government to set up a Cell which would consist of the following:-

(1)Seven Range Inspector Generals who are at present supervising the 30 Districts in which the communal riots have admittedly taken place;:

(2)The Range Inspector Generals shall look into the FIRs, the existing material in support of those FIRs, any other material found or brought to their notice and then decide in connection with each of the 2000 cases- whether further investigation is necessary. In the event of their coming to the conclusion that further investigation is not required, the reasons for their conclusion shall be recorded and put on the Internet for the purposes of informing anyone who may be interested in bringing the matter to the attention of the Court;

(3) The Range Inspector Generals will report to two Additional Director Generals to be nominated by the State Government for the purposes of overlooking the work of the Range Inspector Generals;

(4) The Additional D.Gs. will ensure the correctness of the reports to be submitted to them by the Range Inspector Generals and submit the same to the Director General of Police who will be in overall charge and will report to this Court as to the outcome of the status of the matters considered by the Cell operating his supervision. the D.G. should give such status report to this Court quarterly (every three months).



The first of such report shall be submitted within 90 days. In this report, the D.Gs. will give the status report of cases in which the Cell is of the opinion that further/extended investigation is warranted. The Cell will also in its report state the particulars of cases in which according to the Cell, further investigation is not warranted;

(5) In cases where further investigation is necessary, the same shall be carried out by the Officer to be nominated by the Cell after forwarding its report to the concerned Authorised Magistrate. However, in this connection it is clarified that the Cell should not nominate Officer for such investigation who has in the past submitted a Summary Report. In other words, a fresh look must be given by an independent officer.

The Non-Governmental Organizations which have been participating in this entire process, will be at liberty to draw the attention of the Range Inspector General to any particular case within the District of a particular Range Inspector General and the Range Inspector General will consider the same before deciding whether further/fresh investigation or what action, if any, needs to be taken in connection with the FIRs filed. The Range Inspector General shall see whether the FIRs already filed are defective/deficient or faulty in any manner.

Crl.M.P. No.3742/04 In WP(Crl)No.109/2003:

The application is adjourned till Monday i.e. 23rd August, 2004. The Advocate General, State of Gujarat will be present on that day to make submissions with regard to the procedure relating to the filing of appeals arising out of acquittals in the cases which are the subject matter of enquiry before this Court at present. The State Government will make available to this Court the details of the number of acquittals up to Thursday i.e. 19th August, 2004, the decision and date of the decision to file/not to file an appeal therefrom, the nature of the case involved (i.e. the Sections of the Indian Penal Code or any other statute alleged to have been violated by the accused) and the date of the filing of the appeal. The State Government will also indicate in detail the departmental steps involved in the procedure for taking a decision whether or not to file an appeal from a judgment of acquittal.

CRLMP No. 3740/2004 in WP(Crl)No.109/03 & WP.No.530/02, TP.No.544/04 & WP.No.221/02:

The I.A. as well as the other matters being disposed of by this order relate to the payment of compensation to the victims of the communal riots which have taken place in the State of Gujarat.

There is no dispute that the issue of compensation to the victims of the Godhra grade is the subject matter of writ petitions by victims and a non-governmental organisation before the Gujarat High Court. In addition, the Gujarat High Court is also in seisin of a petition filed by Citizens for Justice and Peace in Special Civil No. 3217/2003 in which the question of implementation of a Rehabilitation Scheme framed by the State is in question. It is however pointed out to us by the learned amicus curiae and the petitioners that while the High Court is monitoring the implementation of the Scheme framed by the State Government for payment of compensation to the victims, the Scheme itself is questionable in that many aspects of the Scheme are deficient. For example, it is submitted, the Scheme does not provide for a realistic compensation in respect of damage to property. It is also submitted that the Scheme limits the compensation payable only to death or permanent disablement while excluding cases where the victim may have otherwise suffered grievously, for example It is also submitted that the victims of by burning, etc. sexual offences have not been brought within the purview of It is also submitted that the scheme the Scheme at all. should be according to the one formulated by this Court in connection with the Cauvery riots reliefs as reported in 1999 (6) SCC 26 (Ranganathan and Anr. vs. Union of India & Ors.).

In our view, these all are issues which can be raised in the pending writ petitions before the High Court since the High Court would have the jurisdiction to consider each of the grievances raised. In fact, having regard to the nature of the claim it will be more appropriate, that the High Court should deal with the issues raised in the first instance.

Since this order disposes of several petitions, those persons who have approached this Court will be entitled to apply to the High Court to intervene in the pending petitions.

Accordingly, Crl.M.P. 3740/2004 is disposed of. The further issues of law raised by these petitioners before us in connection with payment of compensation to the victims of the Gujarat Communal riots which involve larger Constitutional questions are left open.

Crl.M.P. No. 3742/2004, TP(Crl.)Nos. 194-202 & 326-329/2003, SLP(Crl.)No.4409/2003 and WP(Crl.)No. 216/2003, T.P.Nos 66-72/2004, TP(Crl.) 43/2004, WP(C)Nos. 37-52/2002, WP(C)No. 284/2003 and Crl.M.P. 6864/2004 in WP 109/2003

List all these matters on 23.8.2004 after the hearing of matters listed before this Court is over or at 2.00 p.m. whichever is earlier.

WP (Crl.) No. D17953/2003 and SLP(C)No. 7951/2002

To be heard alongwith WP 109/2003.

WP(Crl.)No. 11-15/2003 and WP(C)No. 310/1996

These matters are delinked and to be listed before any other Bench.

(USHA BHARDWAJ) SUMAN WADHWA) (MADHU SAXENA) P.S. TO REGISTRAR COURT MASTER COURT MASTER