

Update

Series 19

Narendra Modi's Gujarat:

Fact and Fiction

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Appendix 1: What Happened in Gujarat in 2002?

Appendix 2: New Evidences & State Complicity

November 2013

Introduction

After a two-day's brainstorming session, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS) leader Ram Madhav told the reporters on 10th September 2013: "The country *wants a change* and we also realise it.... It has been *conveyed* to the leadership of the party" that RSS wants Narendra Modi to be declared as Prime Ministerial candidate "contending that he enjoys support and respect of the people".

Soon after this declaration, BJP met at a party conclave and abided by the wishes of RSS. The "country wants" a "change" and so Mr Modi, the three times elected CM of Gujarat and indicted as mastermind behind the genocide in Gujarat in 2002 has been declared as the PM-elect who is said to enjoy "respect" of the people! However, this declaration is not a surprising one. Since the last 2-3 years the mainstream media backed by corporate houses pitched in for Modi as the next PM who could make economic reforms faster and bolder. But now, since the declaration of the BJP conclave projecting Modi as the next PM, a euphoria has engulfed the newsroom of the mainstream media of the country. Volumes of reports have been published during the last two months expressing the pleasure among the business leaders as also members of the rich classes.

Interestingly a frontranking business daily *The Economic Times* conducted an opinion poll among the CEOs of the India Inc just 4 days before the RSS declaration and published a report that told us, "an overwhelming chunk of the country's business leaders..., almost *three-fourth* of the 100 honchos... *want Modi as PM*" [*Almost three fourths back Narendra Modi; less than 10% want Rahul Gandhi as PM*, 06.09.13, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-09-06/news/41835249_1_narendra-modi-pm-candidate-rahul-gandhi]. The same daily jumped with ecstasy immediately after the declaration and quickly went to the CEOs again to collect their views and published a large article depicting how the leaders of the industry and finance of India are waiting for "a change". Some of the startling comments of the India Inc are like this:

“It’s good news for the country. Modi has done a good job for Gujarat. Hopefully, he will *replicate* the same in the rest of the country,” said Gautam Singhania, CMD of Raymond Ltd....

“I would like to look at the economic aspect.... Clearly, the *Gujarat model* is something that we can be proud of... certainly can be proud of... I can’t see why it can’t be replicated because other chief ministers are trying to understand and build on it. (*India Inc welcomes Narendra Modi’s nomination as BJP’s prime ministerial candidate, 14.09.13, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-09-14/news/42062471_1_gujarat-model-development-model-narendra-modi*)

The above mentioned daily quoted some of the comments of the business leaders also which were remarked on several occasions earlier:

In January 2009, Bharti Airtel Chairman Sunil Mittal said: “Chief Minister Modi is known as a CEO, but he is actually not a CEO because he is not running a company or a sector. He is running a state and can also run (the) nation.”

In January 2013, Anil Ambani said, “Narendrabhai literally is the *lord of men, a leader among leaders and the king among kings*.” Mukesh Ambani said he was “*a leader with a grand vision*”, also in January. Ratan Tata, who found a home for the Nano plant in Gujarat when it had to be relocated from West Bengal, has also been effusive in his praise for Modi.

“Today, when investors look for locations to make investments, they would be looking for locations which are investor-friendly. *Gujarat stands out distinctly in the country and the credit for it goes to Modi*,” he said in January. (*ibid*)

So, someone finds “king among kings” in the Modi. Someone gives “credits” to Modi for his role as CM in Gujarat. And Gujarat is portrayed as a role “model” before the people whose ‘development’ story must be “replicated” in the country!

In fact, a majority of the media, business tycoons and big players in the stock market respond overwhelmingly regarding the prospect of “change”. *The Economic Times* emphatically proclaimed that “after a long policy drought, *CEOs are impatient for strong leadership, intent, decisions and action*”. (*Almost three fourths back Narendra Modi; less than 10% want Rahul Gandhi as PM, 06.09.13*). In fact, these statements strongly

echo the voices of the Indian ruling classes. Though reforms and liberalisation of the economy are going on steadily under the auspices of the UPA regimes during the last ten years, the ruling classes are not satisfied at the pace of the reforms. They are *“impatient”*. They need *“intent, decisions”, and “leadership”*.

Sam Pitroda, one of the advisors of the PM Manmohan Singh said in a recent communique:

“When UPA government came to power at the Centre, then the country’s growth rate was eight per cent. During UPA-II, the growth rate started tapering down which had been largely a result of corruption, indecision and *policy paralysis*,” Pitroda said at the SNC-CII event here. “In the last few months, everything seems to be unsettling. People’s perception is that the government is *not taking any decisions* which should have been the case. The public notion is that *there are multiple power centres and nobody knows who is in charge*. At the end it is the Prime Minister who had to take the decisions. But for that *a strong government at the Centre is needed. It is difficult in a coalition framework,*” Pitroda said... (23.08.13, <http://www.businessworld.in/news/economy/corruption-indecision-hurting-india-s-growth-pitroda/1046118/page-1.html>)

Interestingly, these remarks came from an advisor of the PM itself! Mr Kaushik Basu said on April 2012 who happens to be another advisor of the PM:

Reforms are unlikely before the 2014 elections, Prime Minister’s Economic Advisor Kaushik Basu has suggested. Speaking at the US-based think tank Carnegie Endowment meet on Wednesday, Basu said relatively less important bill might go through Parliament. He was addressing *concerns expressed by US corporates* on some recent decisions of the Indian government.

Basu blamed the slowdown in decision making on the spate of recent corruption related scams saying the bureaucracy doesn’t want to take risks now. Basu also *blamed coalition compulsions for policy paralysis*. (20.04.12, <http://ibnlive.in.com/news/reforms-unlikely-before-2014-polls-kaushik-basu/250317-17.html>)

It is noteworthy that these views came from the advisors of the present government led by UPA or Congress Party. They said that the present government is “not taking decisions”; “nobody knows who is in charge”; the nation are going through a time of

“policy paralysis”; they “blamed coalition compulsion”; they expressed the necessity for a “strong government” which will deliver results; thus they addressed the “concerns of the US corporates” and advised them to wait for the parliamentary “elections of 2014”.

Did not the foreign and Indian corporates make largesse of profits during the tenure of two UPA regimes? Did not the rich classes make fortunes during the last 10 years? Yes, they made it. But the concerns before the capitalists and rich section of the population are that they want more quickly. They ask about the speed of the reforms. In fact, there are several dark signs before their eyes. Though the rate of economic growth was hovering around 8% in the last decade, presently there are clear signs of slowdown in the economy. Industrial growth is plummeting. Rate of entry of foreign investment is slowing down. The foreign institutional investors are withdrawing capital from the equity market. Privatisation of the public utilities cannot be done at a faster pace as thought out before. Rupee vis-a-vis dollar is falling breaking the past records. Prices of the commodities are skyrocketing. Rate of agricultural growth is not increasing fast. Lot of bills of major economic reforms are waiting to be tabled in the parliament. Series of scams shatter the business confidence. The foreign investors are waiting too long for penetrating deep into the Indian market. Though contractualisation and casualisation of labour force are being accomplished at much higher pace, the industrial houses want full freedom to hire and fire workers at their will.

These are the concerns of the foreign and Indian corporates which push them for a “stronger leadership” and go beyond the “coalition compulsion” to overcome the “policy paralysis” at the centre. Interestingly, though Mr Narendra Modi is indicted for the gruesome pogroms in Gujarat in 2002, though Mr Modi is known to be a hardcore RSS pracharak – the organisation which perpetrated the heinous genocide in Gujarat, the genocide which ‘tarnished’ the ‘secular’ image of India and which was not supported by the big corporate houses and also by the big brothers like USA and UK administration in 2002 (for which Modi was not granted visa to travel USA and UK), and for which Modi and his organisation are blamed as ‘fascist’ in various quarters – the same Modi now becomes the “king among Kings” and is lauded for his ‘achievements’ in Gujarat! In fact, the goal of the BJP and the team of Modi in coming elections is to garner single majority in the house and to overcome the obstacles of “coalition compulsion” so that the

juggernaut of economic reforms may roll over India with utmost speed. Recently some “Friends of BJP” met in a conclave to highlight Modi as the next PM:

[O]ver 1,000 professionals – engineers, doctors, chartered accountants, lawyers and students – turned up for the ‘Friends of BJP’ conclave to chalk out strategies to achieve their mission of seeing Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi the next Prime Minister.

‘Friends of BJP,’ the group of BJP supporters in social media, pledged to dedicate their weekends for the next 200 days towards ‘*Mission 272+*’, to work for getting *absolute majority* for the BJP on its own to form the next government at the Centre.

Members of the Friends of BJP pledged that they would go to villages to meet voters and convince them about the need to vote for the BJP in the next Lok Sabha elections. The group will enrol new people into the voters’ list, organise group discussions to highlight the failures of the UPA government, utilise social media to reach out to millions of voters with messages and explain voters as to why Modi is the right choice for the Prime Minister’s post under the prevailing circumstances....

The political convention had *more of a corporate boardroom* touch as the gathering was highly educated, with *most of those attending being white-collar professionals*....

However, it was a short film on Narendra Modi’s vision, achievements and selected speeches that sent the adrenaline soaring. The clip featuring an argument between Modi and senior Congress leader Digvijay Singh over the Gujarat riots had the audience in raptures and they clapped and whistled in support of Modi. (*‘Friends of BJP’ pitch in to make Narendra Modi the PM, 21.10.13, <http://newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/Friends-of-BJP-pitch-in-to-make-Narendra-Modi-the-PM/2013/10/21/article1847145.ece>*)

The goal of these “white-collar professionals” termed as “Friends of BJP” is to garner absolute majority for Modi and/or BJP. They “clapped and whistled in support of Modi” over the “Gujarat Riots”. In fact, it is the very section of the population whose class-interests are amalgamated with that of the big corporate houses. It is that section of the population which has generated a high-tech propaganda throughout the country and social networking sites to make Modi as PM. It is not surprising. We remember that in the massacre of Gujarat a sizeable section of the upper middle class and middle class of the society actively participated (see *Appendix*).

Even now the USA is weighing the possibility of Modi's win with keen interest:

The US would be willing to work with BJP's prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi, if the party is voted to power in the next general elections, senior Obama administration officials here have said asserting that the enduring bilateral relationship is to continue irrespective of the poll results.

"We will work with the leader of the world's largest democracy. There is no question about that," a senior US official said on Thursday when asked about the prospects of working with an Indian government led by Bharatiya Janata Party's PM nominee Narendra Modi....

"I think that the United States had a very strong relationship with the previous Indian government when it was under BJP leadership," the US official said.... (US says ready to work with Modi if he becomes PM, blames media for visa row, 08.11.13, <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/us-says-ready-to-work-with-modi-if-he-becomes-pm-blames-media-for-visa-row/1192383/>)

In the same communique, the official of the US administration said they are ready to grant visa to Modi. In fact, he said, "visa issue a media creation"! The Prime Minister of UK David Cameron is in tune with the US official when he visited India recently:

Asked if he would meet the Gujarat CM, Camoron said, "In time, yes. It's good to meet.... He added, "*We have started an engagement with Gujarat already. Our foreign office minister has met with him.... the connection is there, the engagement is there, I think the engagement should continue.*" (*Cameron open to meeting Modi, 15.11.13, Times of India*)

In fact, as far back in 2011, an US thinktank, Congressional Research Service (CRS) predicted the victory of Modi in 2014 elections and praised Modi as "messiah" of economic reforms:

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) announced with great pride and relief excerpts from the US Congressional Research Service (CRS) report that portrayed Gujarat Chief Minister *Narendra Modi as a messiah of economic reforms*. The report, which was released on 1 September, was made public only on 13 September, also went on to predict a "resurgent BJP" that might trounce upon hopes of UPA in the 2014 General Elections.

The CRS is a bi-partisan think-tank, which provides the US senate with reports that help senators make policy decisions on wide-ranging issues including diplomacy. (*What lies on the other side of US' praise of Modi, 19.09.11, http://archive.tehelka.com/story_main50.asp?filename=Ws190911Politics.asp*)

Probably the most interesting is the remarks of the international financial rating agency *Goldman Sachs* which assured big foreign investors about the credibility of Modi as a messiah of economic reforms:

Goldman Sachs upgraded India's rating to marketweight from underweight on the *perception that BJP-led National Democratic Alliance "could prevail" in the 2014 elections* while adding that better corporate profitability and signs of an early pickup in cyclical sectors have also played a part.

"Currently, the macro challenges that India faces in terms of external and fiscal imbalances, high inflation and tight monetary policy are being dominated by expectations of political change," Goldman said in its 18-page report, *'Modi-fying our View: Raise India to Marketweight'*. Narendra Modi is BJP's PM candidate. (*Goldman Sachs bullish on Narendra Modi, upgrades India to marketweight, 06.11.13, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-11-06/news/43733280_1_goldman-sachs-msci-india-prime-ministerial-candidate*)

Moreover, the agency Goldman Sachs said in its report that outcome of the current Assembly Polls in five states would be a pointer for next general elections in 2014:

"Current polls show Modi and the BJP as faring well in the five upcoming state elections, which are considered lead indicators for the general election next year. Even though the actual general election outcome is uncertain, the market could trade this favourably over the next 2 quarters, which argues for modifying our stance," the investment bank had said....

"Equity investors tend to view BJP as business-friendly and its prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi as an agent of change," Goldman's note said. (*Anand Sharma hits out at Goldman Sachs' report on Modi, 08.11.13, <http://profit.ndtv.com/news/economy/article-anand-sharma-hits-out-at-goldman-sachs-report-on-modi-371684>*)

The remarks made by the Goldman Sachs is notable in the context that the foreign investments are seeing in Modi an opportunity of “change” which will bolster the business confidence and will make the ‘reforms’ faster.

Even the RSS – generally recognised as a ‘swadeshi’ organisation – said that they are not anti-FDI and anti-liberalisation:

For an organisation perceived as having an economic vision rooted in dogma, RSS Chief Mohan Bhagwat tried to allay apprehensions about the Sangh’s economic agenda, when he reached out to top intellectuals at a function organised by the RSS in the capital. *‘The RSS is not opposed to liberalisation, privatisation and FDI. We are not bound by dogma or stuck on any -ism. Times change and views should change with the times as well. The RSS is not stuck on any one philosophy.’* The RSS which counts organisations like the Swadeshi Jagran Manch among its affiliates, is known to have a traditional antipathy to Foreign Direct Investment and liberalisation. The Sarsanghchalak’s comments are the first indication of a change in stance in the organisation that acts as the ideological fountainhead for the Bharatiya Janta Party.

The audience at the event comprised leading industrialists, retired bureaucrats, ex-armed forces personnel, former intelligence chiefs, authors, classical dancers and some journalists and was organised to discuss the Sarsanghchalak’s Vijaydashmi address at Nagpur, in which he laid down the Sangh’s views on politics, economics and foreign policy.... *(RSS views now more aligned with Modi’s? Mohan Bhagwat says Sangh not opposed to FDI, liberalisation, 02.11.13, <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/rss-mohan-bhagwat-narendra-modi-fdi-bjp/1/321340.html>)*

So, “time changes” and “views should change”. RSS also ‘changes’ itself!! If we concentrate on the so-called achievements of Gujarat, we would see that their ‘poster-boy’ Mr Modi had been implementing economic reforms and liberalisation vigorously. In fact, “swadeshi” is the mask of RSS. During the tenure of NDA government 1999-2004, and during the propaganda of “shining India” in 2004 elections, and particularly during the last 11 year’s rule in Gujarat, Modi had proved that he is one of the strongest torch-bearers of liberalisation, privatisation and FDI. The business tycoons, media and even the foreign investors lauded the ‘growth model’ of Gujarat and recognised Gujarat as one of the ground where business could thrive. In this series of UPDATE we will dissect the

“miracle” economy of Gujarat model in details. But before the dissection of the ‘growth-story’ of Gujarat, we would like to lay stress on the fact that the Indian ruling class, particularly the capitalist class of India, and the rich classes of the population, including the imperialist capital want to shatter any blockades along their path of making super-profits and bonanza. Apparently they see in the coalition compulsion (which is the order of the day in the landscape of the present parliamentary politics) as the main hindrance on their path. Are the ruling classes of India veering closer to the fascist forces? Under the jargon of “strong” leadership do the ruling classes of the country express their eagerness to roll the juggernaut of economic reforms over the toiling people and common men of the country with more ferocity? Moreover, would the ruling classes of India overcome the compulsion of “coalition” politics which is nothing but the expression of caste, regionality (national question) and communal factors? Could these realities and peculiarities of the Indian politics be overcome? In fact, history shows us time and again that there is a tendency among the Indian ruling classes towards the autocratic rule. Are the ruling classes of India going towards autocratic alias fascist rule? Time will answer these questions.

In this series of UPDATE we will dissect the ‘development’ of ‘Gujarat model’ under the regime of Narendra Modi which was cited as a “miracle” by the media and capitalist class. Moreover, we will unmask the rule of ‘fascist’ Modi in Gujarat where gruesome genocide of Muslims had been perpetrated in 2002.

Mirage of 'Development'

[No Doubt, Gujarat is one of the 'developed' states in the country. It exhibits high growth rate in GDP, high per capita income, high rate of growth in industrial and manufacturing sectors, high agricultural growth rate etc. In fact, Gujarat is one of the frontranking states right from the 'independence' of the country particularly during the last three decades. Even before the pre-liberalisation period Gujarat was recognised as one of the developed states based on different economic indicators. During the liberalisation period, it kept its trajectory of growth. During the tenure of Chmanbhai Patel – a Congress CM – Gujarat registered 15.4% growth rate whereas during the regime of Narendra Modi of 11 years (2001-2011) Gujarat registered 10.3% growth rate. (*Gujarat GDP growth and Narendra Modi's economic record, 26.07.13, <http://such.forumotion.com/t14803-gujarat-gdp-growth-and-narendra-modi-s-economic-record>, accessed on 13.09.13*)

Hence, the 'growth' trajectory of Gujarat is not a 'success' of Narendra Modi.

The source from which we have collected most of the data (*Poverty Amidst Prosperity, Essays on the Trajectory of Development in Gujarat*, Edited by Atul Sood, Aakar Books) reveals that since 1980, the Gujarat exhibited high growth rate (more than 8%). The book states that:

Gujarat has been *amongst the top three states* of India in the growth of per capita income in the last three decades. Recently in the decade of 1990s and 2000s, GSDP growth in Gujarat has been faster than the national average and the growth has been quite robust. Growth in Gujarat has come from diverse sectors, including agriculture, manufacturing and services. In India, bulk of growth, in recent years has come from the services sector, while in Gujarat there is a healthy balance between the three sectors [i.e. agriculture, industry and services – UPDATE]. (*Poverty Amidst Prosperity*, p 4)

Moreover,

In private investment (measured through intentions and proposals both) Gujarat is the *third* most popular destination for investors, after Odisha and Chhattisgarh. Between 1990 and 2011, Gujarat attracted 12 per cent of total investment proposals in the country, and remained a preferred destination in comparison to other states like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. In 2012 more than 26 percent of Industrial Entrepreneur Memorandum (IEMs) submitted in India were based in Gujarat. The high share of IEMs in Gujarat reflects the popularity of the state amongst investors. (*Ibid*, p 5)

Hence, if the private investments (both foreign and domestic) are adjudged to be an indicator of 'development' of a state, Gujarat clearly remains at the top rungs. But still it is not the first, or "miracle" state; states like Odisha and Chhattisgarh occupy the top two positions.

But if we judge this story of 'development' from the angle of actually invested capital, a different scenario has surfaced.

Despite the much-touted Vibrant Gujarat programmes, it is interesting to note that foreign direct investment is *not the highest* in Gujarat. *Maharashtra leads this list while Gujarat is fifth*. Vibrant Gujarat summits have not yielded as much as the State government would like others to believe. According to the government's own "Socio-Economic Review, Gujarat State, 2011-12", the promised investments in 2011 were over Rs.20 lakh crore, but only about Rs.29,813 crore was *actually invested*. In the same year, out of more than 8,300 memorandums of understanding (MoUs) signed, only about 250 became a reality. (*Mirage of development, 08.03.13, <http://www.frontline.in/the-nation/mirage-of-development/article4430889.ece#test>*)

The editor of 'Poverty Amidst Prosperity' writes:

Out of the MOUs signed every year, the share of projects implemented and under implementation have continuously declined over the last few years. The share of projects implemented and under implementation has come down from 73 per cent in 2003 to 13 per cent in 2011 (numbers for 2005, 2007 and 2009 are 62, 63 and 31 respectively). (*p 6-7*)

If we study the growth rates before the inception of economic reforms and after the implementation of the economic reforms (with or without Modi) we will see some

interesting outcomes. Note the *Table 1* and the excerpt cited below. – UPDATE]

Can Gujarat's growth story be attributed to Modi?

After economic reforms, Gujarat doubled its growth rate from 3.67 per cent to 7.41 pc. Most other states saw a more modest step-up in growth rates immediately after reforms. But they continue to accelerate their growth rate at a modest pace and will hopefully catch up with the leader.

After Modi took charge as CM, Gujarat's growth rate picked up from 7.41 pc to 10.28 pc, a step-up of about *40 pc*. In the same period, Maharashtra, which has a GSDP that is 2.5 times greater than that of Gujarat, was able to step up its growth rate from 6.39 pc to 9.90 pc; that is to say by *55 pc*, narrowing the gap with Gujarat. Most other states did just as well except Bengal. West Bengal was placed ahead of its peers before reforms, made modest progress immediately after reforms, but has stagnated since then, falling behind its peers.

For perspective, we added the CAGR for all the above states as per actual data with the Planning Commission for the years 2006-07 through to 2010-11 in the fourth column above. Over the last five years, Andhra and Tamil Nadu have more or less equaled Gujarat's performance, while *Maharashtra*, despite a much higher GSDP base [2.5 times], *has actually raced ahead* at 10.34 pc to Gujarat's 9.34 pc. Bengal continues to stagnate though it too shows a modest improvement.

Given the above story, narrated in hard numbers, it is clear that, (a) the big step-up in growth rates, across all states including Gujarat, came AFTER economic reforms and cannot be attributed to any particular individual chief minister, be it Modi or anybody else. And (b), in the decade that Modi has been CM, Gujarat has done well but so have other states. In fact, some have closed the gap with Gujarat, particularly in the last five years. Maharashtra now ranks as the fastest growing state, well ahead of Gujarat. (*Source: 25.07.12, <http://www.rediff.com/business/column/can-gujarats-growth-story-be-attributed-to-modi-column/20120725.htm>, accessed 13.09.13*)

Table 1: Growth Rate among selected states				
Period	Before economic reforms ('82-83 to '91-92)	After economic reforms ('92-93 to 2001-02)	After economic reforms with Modi ('02-03 to '11-12)	Growth Rate last 5 years (2006-11)
Gujarat	3.67	7.41	10.28	9.34
M'rashttra	5.80	6.39	9.90	10.34
Andhra	5.36	5.41	8.23	9.18
Tamil Nadu	4.88	5.76	8.92	9.42
Karnataka	5.67	6.21	8.39	8.72
W. Bengal	5.36	6.42	6.75	7.46

[After describing the facts above, the authors of the article conclude as below – UPDATE]

As promised earlier, we will return to this debate as we gather more data and assemble them into useful information. Our intention is not to run down Gujarat — may it prosper always — but to show that Gujarat's growth story owes little to Modi and more to its people. Instead it is being used to promote a fascist ideology as if the two, Hindutva and Modi, are a necessary condition for superior economic performance of the sort seen in Gujarat. That is a spurious argument not grounded in fact. Maharashtra's growth story, equal if not better than Gujarat's, shows neither fascism nor a cult figure like Modi is necessary for superior economic performance. (*Ibid*)

[If we study the growth patterns of more states of the country we would observe that some laggards of the country such as *Bihar shows higher growth rates than Gujarat* in

the last few years. The data for the next excerpt is collected from the Economic Survey of India, 2011-12. Note *Tables 2 & 3* and adjoining excerpt cited below. – UPDATE]

Myth of Gujarat's Economic Performance under Modi

Looking at the State NDP figures of the past five years, since 2005-06 to 2010-11, the following facts become self-evident....

- On compounded average NDP growth rate in the past five years, Bihar stands *first*, way ahead of others. Haryana, AP, Maharashtra are second, third and fourth, respectively. Gujarat, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu jointly hold the *fifth* position.
- Other states which had a similar starting NDP base as Bihar in 2005-06 could not grow at the same pace as Bihar. For example, Orissa had the same NDP as Bihar five years ago. Now it is distinctly behind.
- Two states – Punjab and Orissa – which were much ahead of Bihar in 2005-06, are now at the same level as the latter.
- *Some states which had similar or higher NDP than Gujarat, grew at a higher rate than Gujarat.* For example, AP and Maharashtra both had much higher NDP than Gujarat in 2005-06, and yet they grew at a higher rate than Gujarat in the next five years. Tamil Nadu had a higher NDP than Gujarat in 2005-06, and grew at the same rate as Gujarat.
- As a direct consequence of Bihar's NDP growing at the fastest pace, it has closed or is steadily closing the NDP gap with several other states. For example, Bihar was 25-30% lower than Punjab and MP in 2005-06. In 2010-11, they are at the same level. Bihar was at the same level as Orissa in 2005, now it has outgrown Orissa.
- Therefore, based on just the NDP growth performance, Bihar is the clear winner. *Gujarat fares much worse than Bihar, and worse than even AP, Maharashtra and Haryana. Gujarat is even worse than Tamil Nadu, given that Tamil Nadu had a larger NDP in 2005 and has grown at same rate as Gujarat.*
- Among these 12 large states, the worst performers are MP, UP and Karnataka — two of these ruled by the BJP. The next worst performers are Punjab and Orissa — both NDA ruled and BJP supported.

- And all this is just the NDP analysis. Results will not change much even if we do it on the change in NDP per capita, as we can assume that the population growth rate has been similar in these states. If we add the performance on social indicators (changes in crime rate, communal situation, etc), the gap between Bihar and Gujarat will increase even more. (...) (Source: December 2012, <http://www.citizen-news.org/2012/12/myth-of-gujarats-economic-performance.html>, accessed 13.09.13)

Table 2: Major States' NDP and NDP Growth Factor in the Past Five Years (Arranged in the order of Growth Factor, i.e. Growth multiple or growth rate in past five years)			
State	NDP in 2005-06 (Rs crore)	NDP at 2010-11 (Rs crore)	Growth Multiple Factor
Bihar	75203	195050	2.59
Haryana	97496	233310	2.39
AP	229367	510421	2.23
Maharashtra	433559	935222	2.16
Gujarat	172265*	370400*	2.15
Rajasthan	125333	269381	2.15
TN	228846	491049	2.15
Orissa	72103	150868	2.09
Punjab	95750	195901	2.05
Karnataka	174503	353616	2.03
UP	258648	519328	2.01
MP	99940*	192333*	1.92

* NDP data for these states was not available for the last year, i.e. 2010-11, hence their NDP figures of 2004-05 and 2009-10 have been considered (instead of 2005-06 and 2010-11) to allow a five-year window of comparison.
Data Source: Govt. of India, <http://indiabudget.nic.in/es2011-12/estat1.pdf>

Table 3: How other States' NDP stands w.r.t. Bihar (Ratio of other state NDP / Bihar NDP), and how it has changed in the last five years

State	(State NDP/Bihar NDP) in 2005-06	(State NDP/Bihar NDP) in 2010-11
Bihar	1	1
Haryana	1.3	1.2
AP	3.0	2.6
Maharashtra	5.8	4.8
Gujarat	2.3*	1.9*
Rajasthan	1.7	1.4
TN	3.0	2.5
Orissa	1.0	0.8
Punjab	1.3	1.0
Karnataka	2.3	1.8
UP	3.4	2.7
MP	1.3*	1.0*

* NDP data for these states was not available for the last year, i.e. 2010-11, hence their NDP figures of 2004-05 and 2009-10 have been considered (instead of 2005-06 and 2010-11) to allow a five-year window of comparison.
Data Source: Govt. of India, <http://indiabudget.nic.in/es2011-12/estat1.pdf>

[If we return to the question of investor confidence that Gujarat enjoyed in the last three decades, some interesting revelations will appear. In *'Poverty Amidst Prosperity'* the editor writes that:

One important factor that supposedly strengthens investor confidence is 'peace' in the industrial relations or less 'labour unrest' and the belief in the state's administrative capacity to 'control' any undue disturbances, as and when it arises, and maintain industrial harmony at all times. Interestingly, the *Economic Survey of India 2011*, listed Gujarat on the top, as the 'worst' state for labour unrest – 'Gujarat witnessed the highest number of strikes and other forms of labour unrest in recent times on account of various financial and disciplinary issues' (*Economic Times, February 25, 2011*). The survey suggested that though overall the strikes and lockouts are declining in the country, currently 'maximum incidences were recorded in the state of Gujarat. Wage and

allowance, bonus, personnel, indiscipline and violence and financial stringency were the major reasons for these strikes and lockouts'. (*Indian Express, February 25, 2011*). How do we reconcile on the reality of industrial disputes and Gujarat being favourite destination for investment? It appears that the investors consider these incidents as aberrations in the otherwise happy story of growth of Gujarat. Capital is known to have contempt for labour and historically labour is also known as to fight the domination of capital. It is not unusual for capital to strengthen and defend their economic power through what they like to term as the 'rule of law'. This 'rule of law' in Gujarat, has meant more of *'political culture of authoritarianism' and in taking 'brash pride to demonstrate brute force', and in defending and 'worshipping inequalities'*. Gujarat is stripped itself bare of Gandhian humanism, liberal welfare programmes and democratic social engineering of the *KHAM* (an attempted alliance between Kshatriyas, Harijans, Adivasis and Muslims in the 1980s) days. This might explain the high incidence of 'labour unrest' in Gujarat, but interestingly, *it is the culture of authoritarianism, which gives faith and belief to the investor, to invest in Gujarat, even this authoritarianism has manifested itself more recently in spectacular form in acts of violence against religious minorities, scheduled tribes and lower castes....* It appears that the legal and judicial power of the state in defense of the financial, commercial and industrial interests, has worked in favour of consolidating the globalizing development paradigm of the state and faith of the investors in Gujarat. (p 7-8)

The editor of the book called the administration of Gujarat as 'authoritarian'. This culture of 'authoritarianism' woos the investor to invest in Gujarat. Even he wrote that 'this authoritarianism has manifested itself more recently in spectacular form in acts of violence against religious minorities, scheduled tribes and lower castes'. The author here avoids to call the 'authoritarianism' as 'fascism'. We will come back to the question of 'fascist' rule in Gujarat in the latter part of this series.

Under the leadership of Modi, state of Gujarat organised 'Vibrant Gujarat' each two years and showcased Gujarat in front of the investors – both foreign and domestic. We have already discussed that though Gujarat is a 'developed' state and ranked higher than some other states, it is not the topper. Even *Bihar ranks higher than Gujarat* in growth rate. And Maharashtra – which is another 'developed' state for decades – is going at the same pace of Gujarat. States like Tamil Nadu and Haryana are growing neck to neck. An

US thinktank, while commenting on the economy of Gujarat states that it is “impressive”, but not “exceptional”. Follow the next excerpt. – UPDATE]

Top US-based think-tank opines there is nothing exceptional about Gujarat growth over last decade

A top expert with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a foreign-policy think tank with centres in Washington DC, Moscow, Beirut, Beijing and Brussels, has strongly disputed those who tout Gujarat’s growth over the last decade as exemplary, saying whether it is foreign direct investment, overall investment in the economy, or governance, the state has been an *average performer*. Milan Vaishnav, associate, South Asia Programme, and previously with the Columbia University with primary research focus on the political economy of India, neither was there what the Gujarat chief minister called “pro-people good governance” nor “minimal government, maximum governance,” as he claimed before India’s largest business houses.

Vaishnav said, “A closer examination of hard data reveals that Modi’s growth and investment record in Gujarat is *impressive*, in line with the boasts of his most ardent supporters, *but it is also clear that it is not exceptional*”, adding, *even before Modi came to power*, “Gujarat enjoyed the *highest* per capita income growth rate of any major Indian state in the decade immediately preceding Modi’s rise to power in October 2001.”

In fact, *between 1992 and 2001*, “per capita income in Gujarat grew at a rate of 5.5 percent, more than half a percentage point greater than Kerala, the next-fastest-growing state. When one looks at the decade from 2002 to 2011, *when Modi was firmly entrenched as chief minister*, Gujarat again ranked first among states in terms of *per capita income growth*.”

However, Vaishnav argues, “The 2000s were the boom years for India’s economy overall, and all states did better than they had in the 1990s. Thus, the growth gains in Gujarat during the 2000s compared to the prior decade are solid but hardly unheard of; *several states posted larger improvements* (including high-growth states like *Maharashtra and Haryana* as well as traditional laggards like *Bihar and Odisha*). If

other state leaders have engineered greater improvements in their states' growth rates, can Modi's supporters really claim that he is exceptional?"

Saying that "even more than the pace of growth, it is Modi's investor-friendly reputation that has won him plaudits", the expert says, "*From 2000 to July 2013, Gujarat alone received more than Rs 40,469 crore (\$8.8 billion) in foreign direct investment (FDI). The state accounted for roughly 4 percent of all FDI flows into India during that period.*" But while this represents an impressive haul, "*Maharashtra received eight times and Delhi more than four times as much FDI. Gujarat also lagged behind the states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, and it just barely outpaced Andhra Pradesh.*"

Beyond foreign investment, Vaishnav says, the picture is also not that clear-cut for all investment projects, regardless of investor class. "Gujarat's share of investment projects (in value terms) during Modi's decade-long tenure has hovered just above 8 percent, which is impressive given that Gujarat accounts for less than 5 percent of India's population but is roughly on par with Gujarat's share of the overall economy", he points out.

In fact, the expert says, "the share of investment projects under implementation in Gujarat between 2001 and 2011 almost *perfectly mirrors the all-India trend*; there is no clear indication that Gujarat deviated sharply from India as a whole. There has also been a large gap between lavish project announcements made at Modi's biannual investor gathering, Vibrant Gujarat, and the projects that materialize. Indeed, when it comes to tallying projects that actually break ground, *Gujarat is outshined by its neighbor to the south, Maharashtra*" (Source: 11.10.13, <http://www.counterview.net/2013/10/top-us-based-think-tank-opines-there-is.html>, accessed 27.10.13)

[Interestingly, under the much hype created about the trajectory of growth, foreign direct investment and generation of employment, there lie some bitter truths in the sector of *employment* growth. In fact, what happened in India in the post-liberalisation period is *'jobless growth'* and Gujarat is one of the pioneer states in this regard. Follow the next section. – UPDATE]

Jobless Growth and Labour

It is pertinent to point out that, though the share of investment in Gujarat is reasonably high, its ranking in employment associated with this investment is relatively low. Gujarat ranks first in terms of direct industrial license, *but ranks seventh in employment*; Tamil Nadu ranks seventh in investment in IEMs but tops in the country in its share of creating employment from this investment... (Source: *Poverty Amidst Prosperity*, p 6)

[Moreover,]

Gujarat accounts for a substantial share of India's manufacturing gross value added, employment in the organized manufacturing sector, share in fixed capital and number of factories. *Manufacturing* sector in Gujarat has done exceedingly well, *the sector has grown at a faster pace than other states in the country*. The share of the state's manufacturing sector in the national gross value added has doubled between the 80s and 2000s, *however, such growth rate in this sector has not brought about commensurate benefits of employment*. The contribution by this sector in the overall employment in the state is *much lower* compared to the share of manufacturing employment in total employment in India. Gujarat's contribution in India's manufacturing employment remains almost *stagnant over three decades*, while Maharashtra's has actually declined. Tamil Nadu has seen a significant rise in its share in the manufacturing employment over the years. This has happened when the share of the state in value added has doubled during this period. And its share in fixed capital has trebled since the 1980s and has surpassed even that of Maharashtra whose contribution to gross value added is double of Gujarat. What this implies is that growth of manufacturing sector in Gujarat in the last three decades has been accompanied by *increasing capital intensity* in the sector.

The source of this increased capital intensity can be located in the changing structure of the manufacturing sector in the state. There has been a significant shift in the structure of Gujarat since the 1980s in favour of the refined petrochemicals and chemical products, at the cost of the textile sector. In 2000s, these two sectors together accounted for 60 per cent of the GVA, while the contribution of these sectors to employment was much less. Refined petrochemicals, a high capital intensive has negligible contribution in

employment while chemical sector accounts for 23 per cent of employment. The importance of the employment generating textile sector has diminished in India by half since the 1980s. In Gujarat, it's share in value added has *come down from 37 per cent in the 1980s to a mere 7.5 per cent in 2000s*, though its contribution to employment was still 21 per cent in the 2000s. (...)

The low employment generation, slow growth in wages, increasing use of contract workers and overall reduced position of workers in the manufacturing sector, accompanied by increasing profitability and growing investment in the sector is indicative of the characteristics of the industrialization trajectory chosen by the state....

The high growth in Gujarat has been accompanied by a dismal growth in employment, for the state as a whole. Overall in the last five years aggregate employment has remained stagnant in Gujarat, in spite of its high growth performance.

(...) [T]he structural shift in the income structure that Gujarat has experienced does not get reflected in the changes in the structure of employment. There is mismatch between the sources of income and employment across all sectors. Between 1993-94 and 2005-10, income from agriculture has fallen by nearly 50 per cent; contribution by industry has been nearly stagnant (close to 40 per cent now), and service sector contribution in income has increased from by nearly 10 percentage points (currently it is 47 per cent). The changes in employment in the corresponding period in the agriculture has declined only by seven percentage points. It is pertinent to point out here, that in the last five years, the average annual *agricultural growth rate* in Gujarat has *doubled*, while the *employment growth has been negative*. Based on the experience of last five years, the possibility, if any, of absorbing labour in more productive activities within the agricultural sector, appear to be bleak....

Service sector growth in the last years of the decade of 2000, in Gujarat was 11 per cent and 48 per cent of growth in Gujarat comes from this sector. However, whatever employment growth (it was around five per cent during 2005-10) has been achieved in this sector, has happened in the urban areas and this employment has happened on account of *massive growth of casual workers**. It seems that the expected benefits of the service sector boom, in terms of jobs, has not happened in the state so far. By 2009-10,

the SC workforce shows more participation in the service sector, which is mentioned above has essentially meant employment gains through casual employment. What has happened to secondary sector employment? If we compare the growth of employment in industry and manufacturing sector of Gujarat, with the all India average, we find that Gujarat's performance has not been impressive, compared to the level of growth it achieved. Employment in the organized sector rose by 48.6 thousand between 1980 and 2004 in Gujarat after all the efforts at attracting investments. Since 2004, there have been increase in employment in the organized sector employment, both in Gujarat (around seven per cent) and at the national level. *Contract workers, in the organized manufacturing sector constituted 37 per cent of the total workers in 2007-08, from the already high 27 per cent in 2000-01.* The growth rate of contract workers in Gujarat has been slower than the other states in the 2000s, but this needs to be seen in the context of the already high levels of contract workers in the state. (...) (Source: *Ibid*, p 17-18, 23-24)

Table 4: GDP Growth Rate by Basic Economic Activities

	Gujarat				India			
	1980-2010	1980-90	1990-2000	2000-10	1980-2010	1980-90	1990-2000	2000-10
Agriculture	2.85	-0.84	4.44	7.64	2.86	2.93	3.15	2.96
Industry	8.02	7.88	9.89	11.01	6.7	6.88	6.56	8.05
Manufacturing	8.26	8.57	10.81	11.14	6.89	7.3	7.21	8.77
Services	8.02	7.55	8.82	11.01	7.71	6.65	8.04	9.52
GDP	6.77	5.05	8.3	10.5	6.12	5.41	6.21	8.0
	Maharashtra				Tamil Nadu			
	1980-2010	1980-90	1990-2000	2000-10	1980-2010	1980-90	1990-2000	2000-10
Agriculture	3.93	3.13	4.35	4.75	2.74	3.4	2.95	2.8
Industry	6.32	6.1	6.66	10.83	5.69	4.73	6.01	7.55
Manufacturing	6.69	6.36	7.11	11.05	4.84	4.4	5.22	7.64
Services	8.48	6.76	7.11	11.05	4.84	4.4	5.22	7.64
GDP	6.96	5.64	7.12	10.0	6.2	5.18	6.64	8.49
	Haryana							
	1980-2010	1980-90	1990-2000	2000-10				
Agriculture	3.16	3.77	1.57	3.27				
Industry	7.35	9.54	6.12	8.93				
Manufacturing	7.47	11.34	6.77	7.77				
Services	8.88	7.69	7.58	12.25				
GDP	6.47	6.2	4.94	9.17				

Note: GDP at 1999-00 constant prices

(Source: National Statistical Organisation, Retrived from 'Poverty Amidst Prosperity')

Table 5: Share of Selected States in India's Manufacturing GVA, Employment, Fixed Capital and Number of Factories (percentage) and Their Respective Growth Rates

	Share in GVA				Growth Rate of GVA			
	1980s	1990s	2000s	All Years	1980s	1990s	2000s	All Years
Gujarat	7.78	11.57	14.19	10.96	13.07	12.89	13.95	11.56
Haryana	2.96	3.42	4.31	3.51	8.7	11.22	11.2	9.77
Maharashtra	20.34	22.34	21.33	21.33	8.85	8.29	15.81	8.15
Tamil Nadu	9.45	10.49	9.5	9.84	10.12	6.2	10.71	7.8
India					7.05	8.73	13.41	7.78
	Share in Employment				Growth Rate of Employment			
	1980s	1990s	2000s	All Years	1980s	1990s	2000s	All Years
Gujarat	8.54	8.97	9.34	8.92	-1.20	3.24	5.55	1.71
Haryana	2.72	3.35	4.19	3.36	2.65	4.90	8.23	3.65
Maharashtra	15.61	15.45	13.99	15.09	-1.91	2.17	2.57	0.65
Tamil Nadu	9.04	12.8	15.21	12.14	2.36	3.23	6.92	4.01
India					-0.11	1.88	4.56	1.24
	Share in no. of Factories				Growth Rate of no. of Factories			
	1980s	1990s	2000s	All Years	1980s	1990s	2000s	All Years
Gujarat	9.91	10.25	10.24	10.12	0.52	4.04	0.96	1.90
Haryana	2.74	2.96	3.37	3.0	3.23	3.67	0.28	2.81
Maharashtra	14.67	14.48	13.47	14.26	-0.04	2.87	0.40	1.26
Tamil Nadu	11.06	14.45	15.38	13.5	3.47	3.88	1.90	3.53
<i>(Source: Calculations derived from State Level Data, Annual Survey of Industry, 2000-01 to 2007-08. Retrieved from 'Poverty Amidst Prosperity', Ed by Atul Sood)</i>								

Table 6: Growth Rate of Employment by Type between 2000 and 2008				
	Total Employment	Workers	Directly Employed Workers	Contract Workers
Gujarat	5.55	6.24	4.36	10.29 (37%)
Haryana	8.23	9.63	4.53	18.36 (48%)
Maharashtra	2.57	2.84	-1.00	14.26 (36%)
Tamil Nadu	6.92	11.29	9.15	17.25 (30 %)
India	4.56	4.78	2.52	11.67 (31%)

(Source: Calculations derived from State Level Data, Annual Survey of Industry, 2000-01 to 2007-08. Figures in parenthesis show the per cent of contractual workers in total workers in 2007-08. Retrieved from 'Poverty Amidst Prosperity', Ed by Atul Sood)

Table 7: Labour Productivity								
	Labour Productivity				Growth Rate of Labour Productivity			
	1980-81 to				1980-81 to			
	2007-08	1980s	1990s	2000s	2007-08	1980s	1990s	2000s
Gujarat	1.73	0.64	1.62	3.23	9.69	14.45	9.35	7.96
Haryana	1.33	0.72	1.28	2.16	5.91	5.9	6.02	3.47
M'rashttra	1.91	0.89	1.8	3.32	7.45	10.97	5.99	12.91
Tamilnadu	0.98	0.7	1.01	1.31	3.64	7.58	2.87	3.55
India	1.29	0.67	1.25	2.13	6.45	7.77	6.73	8.52

(Source: Calculations derived from State Level Data, Annual Survey of Industry, 2000-01 to 2007-08. Retrieved from 'Poverty Amidst Prosperity', Ed by Atul Sood)

[Therefore, whatever 'growth' and 'development' have been achieved (though in most of the cases Gujarat is not at the toppest) in Gujarat, the workers in Gujarat did not get these benefits of this 'growth' and 'development'.

Each fourth column of *Table 4* shows that Gujarat is the topper during 2000-10 with respect to the compared states and national average. But the compared states are not far behind Gujarat. Gujarat and Maharashtra ran neck to neck in industrial production.

The adjoining *Table 5* shows that the share of manufacturing GVA [gross value added – UPDATE] of Maharashtra is double of that that Gujarat. In Share of employment Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu outperform Gujarat. Even in the growth rate of employment, Haryana and Tamil Nadu rank higher than Gujarat. Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu lead in the share of number of factories. Even in the growth rate of factories, Gujarat is a laggard with respect to the comparable and leading states.

Table 6 shows that Tamil Nadu and Haryana are far ahead of Gujarat in number of workers. Moreover, Gujarat has 37% contract workers in the organised sector which is higher than all India average.

Table 7 shows Gujarat is behind Maharashtra in labour productivity in the 2000s and in the growth rate of labour productivity in the 2000s Gujarat performs poorer than the Indian average!

Some interesting revelation come from *Table 8* also. Follow the next excerpt taken from *Economic & Political Weekly*. – UPDATE]

Labour and Employment under Globalisation: The Case of Gujarat

(...) The first question that has to be tackled is whether the structural changes in the sources of SDP are reflected in changes in the structure of employment. *Table 8*, which presents the relevant data, shows that the higher shares of the non-primary sectors in the SDP are not accompanied by structural transformation in the workforce. Though more than 85% of the SDP comes from non-primary sectors, these sectors provide employment to only about 45% of the workforce (2008-09). That is, the primary sector has 54.4% of the workforce but contributes less than 15% of the SDP. There is a huge gap between the labour productivities in the primary and non-primary sectors, implying that 1% of gross state domestic product (GSDP) is produced by 3.34% of the workforce in the

primary sector whereas 1% of GSDP is produced by 0.54% of the workforce in the non-primary sectors (almost one-seventh that of the primary sector).

The changes that have occurred in the structure of employment and sources of incomes between 2004-05 and 2008-09 are quite striking: Though the share of the primary sector declined from 20.57% in 2004-05 to 16.30% in 2008-09 in net state domestic product (NSDP), *the share of the primary sector in employment has increased from 49.90% to 54.40% during the same period.* This indicates a widening of the productivity gap between the primary and secondary sectors. (...) (Source: by Indira Hirway & Neha Shah, May 28, 2011, *Economic & Political Weekly*)

Table 8: Sectoral Shares in State Domestic Product and State Employment in 2004-05 and 2008-09

No.	Sector	Gujarat SDP % Share		Gujarat % Share in Employment (P + SS)		India % Share in Employment	
		2004-05	2008-09	2004-05	2008-09	2004-05	2008-09
1	Primary	18.33	14.8	49.9	54.4	54.09	57.3
2	Secondary	37.98	37.1	24.4	22.3	19.64	18.7
3	Tertiary	43.69	48.1	25.7	23.3	26.29	24.1

P + SS: principal and subsidiary status.
 (Source: National Sample Surveys (NSS) of 2004-05 and 2008-09 and Socio-Economic Review, Gujarat, February 2010. Retrieved from *Economic & Political Weekly*, May 28, 2011)

[In fact, the above excerpt reveals that more workers are living on agricultural works and employment generation in the secondary or industrial sector becomes smaller (decreasing from 24.4 per cent to 22.3 per cent). The article mentioned above reveals that economy of Gujarat becomes more and more capital intensive and labour-capital ratio becomes negative. Follow the *Table 8* and the next excerpt which is taken out from the same source. – UPDATE]

Table 9: Industrial Growth, Employment and Share of Wages in the ASI Sector						
	1998-99	2001-02	2003-04	2005-06	2007-08	CARD 1998-08
Number of factories	15,455	13,950	12,795	14,055	15,107	-0.23
Fixed capital investment in industry (Rs)	69,47,655	87,07,855	85,78,858	1,19,53,996	1,45,40,034	7.7
Total invested capital (Rs)	87,61,928	1,11,06,001	1,15,02,721	1,63,97,187	2,09,55,836	9.1
Workers in factory sector	6,07,763	5,21,528	5,38,080	6,69,324	7,97,443	2.8
Capital invested per worker (Rs)	11.43	16.69	15.94	17.85	18.23	
Labour/capital	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.04	-5.83
Wages as % of net value added	11.83	14.96	9.66	7.67	8.52	-3.25
<i>(Source: Reports of Annual Survey of Industries, Quoted in Economic & Political Weekly, May 28, 2011)</i>						

Rapidly Rising Capital Intensity of Economic Growth

The increasing capital intensity of the industrial sector is another striking feature in Gujarat. In 2007-08, Gujarat was ranked *first* among the 20 major Indian states in terms of fixed capital investment, *second* in terms of total invested capital and *fourth* in terms of total number of factories, but its rank was *18 in labour-capital ratio*. The employment

generated per crore of capital investment as well as the employment generated per crore of output in the industrial sector (*Annual Survey of Industries* or ASI) has *consistently fallen* in the state. In the factory sector, where fixed capital investment grew by 7.7% annually during 1998-2008 and the total invested capital by 9.1%, the number of workers increased *only by 2.8%* (see Table 9).

The decline in the number of factories by 0.23% in spite of a 9.1% increase in the total invested capital per year indicates that the average invested capital per factory has increased 2.5 times in less than a decade, from Rs 566.93 crore in 1998-99 to Rs 1,387.16 crore in 2007-08. *During the same period, the share of wages as a percentage of net value added declined by 3.25% per year, from 11.83% in 1998-2000 to 8.5% in 2007-08. That is, organised workers in the ASI sector received only 8.5% of the value added and the rest went largely to profits.* It is important to note that Gujarat is ranked **15** in the share of wages in the net value added in the ASI sector. Kerala is at the top with 22.47% share of wages, followed by West Bengal (21.89%), Tamil Nadu (16.37%) and Punjab (15.27%). Clearly, the gains in productivity are not passed on to ASI sector workers in Gujarat.

Wages in the Organised and Unorganised Sectors:

The rapid growth of SDP in Gujarat has been accompanied by a *very low increase in wages*, implying once again that the gains of rising productivity have not been passed on to workers.

In 2007-08, the daily wage rate of casual male workers in rural areas, who constituted 92% of the total workforce in rural areas, was Rs 68.53 and of casual female workers, who constituted 97% of the total female workforce in rural areas, was Rs 58.97. The corresponding rates in India were Rs 75.30 and Rs 62.26. *In spite of the “miracle” growth rate in agriculture during this period, in 2007-08, Gujarat slipped in rank and stood 14th with respect to the male wage rate and 8th with respect to the female wage rate among the 20 major states in India. In the case of urban casual workers, the state ranked 7th with respect to male workers and 14th with respect to female workers in 2007-08. Gujarat slipped from the 9th rank in 1999-2000 to the 14th rank in the case of female*

workers and maintained its *8th rank* in the case of urban casual workers. It is important to note that in the case of the daily wage rate of casual male workers, Gujarat's rate is lower than that in India as a whole.

In the case of regular workers, the situation was slightly better. Regular workers in rural areas constituted about 8% of the total workforce and were employed mainly in non-agricultural ventures, many in skilled or semi-skilled jobs. In the case of urban areas, they were usually in skilled and semi-skilled jobs. In 2007-08, the average daily wage rate of rural regular workers was Rs 152.07 for male workers and Rs 107.60 for female workers, with the state ranking *17* in the case of male workers and *nine* in the case of female workers among the 20 major states in India. The corresponding rates for urban areas were Rs 215.02 and Rs 181.95 for male and female workers respectively, with the state *ranking 18 and 13* for male and female workers respectively among the 20 major states in India.

In brief, the fastest growing state [barring Bihar and Uttarakhand – UPDATE] in India has shown *one of the poorest performances as far as wages are concerned*. (...) *(Source: Ibid)*

Box: Good governance in Gujarat? Labour has “no value”, industry’s wage bill is less than most states

Top Gujarat-based social scientist, Prof Ghanshyam Shah, has accused the Gujarat government of “overtly and covertly undermined the existing labour laws which provide some protection to workers” in order to invite investments in Gujarat. “The state government has amended labour legislations to provide freedom to industry to employ labour on contract basis”, he said, adding, the result is, “Ahmedabad has the lowest labour costs among the major cities in India, with labour costs less than 50 per cent of those in Delhi and 40 per cent below those in Pune.”

Writing in the book “Studies in Indian Politics”, published by the Centre for Study of Developing Societies’ SAGE Publications, Prof Shah’s chapter, “Politics of Gujarat: A Study of Gujarat”, underlines, “The wage bill for industry in Gujarat constitutes only 2.42 per cent of the invested capital. The same figure stands at 4.04 for Karnataka, 4.4 for Maharashtra, 4.94 for Andhra Pradesh, 5.42 for Haryana and 5.5 for Tamil Nadu.”

He adds, “Sizeable labour force is in informal sector without social security and other benefits under the labour laws. Stipulated minimum wages by the Gujarat government are lower in all occupations in Gujarat than Maharashtra and several other states. Not only that but the Labour Commissioner’s office, whose responsibility is to implement labour laws and protect labourers’ interest, has been reduced in its strength— both in number and power. Its functioning is further weakened.”

Suggesting that Gujarat’s governance is meant basically to appease the corporate sector to the detriment of common people, on one hand, and natural resources, on the other, Prof Shah says, this is one major reason why under the neo-liberal regime, the bureaucrats are favourites of the industrial houses. “Most of them come from upper strata of society; hence they can very easily build rapport with entrepreneurs. Money power and social networks of the entrepreneur’s match with bureaucrats’ mindset. Businessmen believe in keeping the bureaucrats in good humour. On the whole the investors, in the past and today, are very happy with Gujarat’s bureaucracy and appreciate its efficiency”, he adds....

(Source: 23.07.13, <http://www.cointerview.net/2013/07/in-gujarats-good-governance-labour-as.html>, accessed on 27.10.13)

[Moreover, the authors write that Gujarat government provided industrial houses huge amount of largesse in the form of subsidies, incentives and other benefits. – UPDATE]

Denying a Fair Share to Labour and Providing Extra Incentives to Capital

In the final analysis, it appears that economic reforms in Gujarat have been translated into denying a fair share to labour and providing extra incentives to capital. As the different industrial policies declared by the Gujarat government from time to time show (it is interesting to note that the state government has announced an industrial policy every few years to attract investments – the Gujarat Industrial Policy 2000, Gujarat Industrial Policy 2003, Gujarat Industrial Policy 2009 and the proposed Gujarat Industrial Policy 2011), industries in the state are entitled to a large number of *incentives, subsidies and other benefits, such as sales tax subsidy, capital cash subsidy, interest subsidy, infrastructure subsidy, support in land conversion, access to water supply, and so on* (website of the Industry Commissioner, Gujarat). The official data show that between 1991 and 2004-05 the state government gave sales tax subsidies worth Rs 52,477 crore and capital subsidies of Rs 769 crore to private industries. In addition, Rs 5,040 crore was given as subsidy under the “Kachchh package”. It is difficult to say whether these incentives were market-friendly or whether they reflected crony capitalism, generally understood to be a system under which the success of private business is determined not by a free market but by favouritism extended by the state in the form of tax breaks, grants and other incentives. (*Source: Ibid*)

[The excerpts discuss the ranks of Gujarat in different sectors and prove that though Gujarat has earned high rankings in capital intensity, GVA, etc – it lies at the mid-way or at the bottom among the 20 states of the country. Why are we providing this data? It's not to denigrate Gujarat or its people. We are countering the myth of 'miracle' economy of Gujarat which is portrayed by Narendra Modi administration and their lackeys. We have seen that claims of them are nothing but worthless. Moreover, we have noticed it that the high growth rate of Gujarat is not the contribution of Modi. The growth rate Gujarat enjoys is the contribution of the last three decades most of which was ruled by non-BJP

parties, particularly, the Congress Party. Will the supporters of Modi and Sangh Parivar call us to back Congress Party for this reason?

In fact, the growth model followed in Gujarat is a typical example of new economic policies and liberalisation incepted in the country. This model is highly dependent on foreign and domestic capital generating very few amount of jobs. This model ensured the capitalist class making super-profits. It ensured the rich section of the population to occupy fabulous booties. It served the imperialist capital (for which Modi government used to organise bi-annual 'Vibrant Gujarat') and domestic industrial majors. If one deeply follows the growth pattern of Gujarat state, it will be revealed that in the rural sector also, agriculture is highly corporatised. Thus the party like BJP enjoys the support of the industrial class, urban upper middle and rich classes and also the aspirants of the rural sector in Gujarat. On the other side, large population of the rural Gujarat are languishing under abysmal poverty. Though policy-makers assured the people about bright days ahead, the policy incepted had developed huge amount of inequality and destituteness among the rural population. Moreover, reforms could not uplift the socially backward sections like SCs and STs and the minorities. In the next part of this series we will see how these sections are systematically neglected.

Firstly, we will note the state of agriculture in Gujarat today with a brief discussion.
– UPDATE]

Corporatized Agriculture

(...) [T]here has been an overreaching and increasing emphasis on the need for corporatizing the state's agricultural policy. The result of this approach has resulted in unprecedented growth in agriculture in Gujarat, making it a much more profitable activity in the state. In the decade of 90s, growth in agriculture in Gujarat was higher than the national average (4.44 per cent compared to 3.15 for all India). However, in the last ten years' agricultural growth in Gujarat has been nearly two and half times faster than the national average (7.64 per cent compared to 2.96 per cent). There are crop specific and area specific challenges that this growth has thrown up for agricultural economists. The share of non food crops has increased in Gujarat in terms of acerage and value added.

Given this agricultural boom and growing need of land for non-agricultural purposes, especially infrastructural development, agricultural land has acquired immense importance in the state. The aggregate numbers do not capture a distinct shift in the distribution of land in the state. However, what is found is that the average size of the marginal holdings is becoming smaller in the state compared to the national average, suggesting more than average leasing out or selling of land in the state by the smallest land owning classes. On the other hand, the largest size category (above 20 hectares) has gained in terms of area, suggesting, perhaps, leasing in or purchase of land in the last ten years. This is further reinforced by the fact that the average size of holding for largest land owning classes has increased over the years. The literature attributes this change in the land market to the legislative changes brought about in the state related with land use (especially the lifting of 8 km ban on purchase of land and allowing non-local, non-farming groups to enter the rural land market) and the overall dynamics of 'profitable' agriculture through *corporatization of agriculture*. The changes in control over land for the marginalised social groups in Gujarat is also distinctly different than the national trend. Over time, the access to land to the scheduled castes and tribes has worsened in the state, contrary to the national average and also in relative terms worsening of inequalities within the marginalised groups. Changes to access to land notwithstanding, it is true that in the state of Gujarat many more small and marginal farmers have found it profitable to continue to cultivate, compared to the national average in terms of land cultivated.

The over arching environment created by the state in the last few years has undoubtedly facilitated liberalization and corporatization of Gujarat agriculture. While these policies appear to benefit the agricultural community at large, the supporting land policies that makes way for the *entry of the corporate agro-industry much more explicitly, result in rolling back elements of 'land to the tillers' to those of 'land de regulation' and liberalization over the past two decades*. Such modification, on one hand, has and is likely to encourage speculative land transactions in the prospective canal commands and urban peripheries, and on the other hand, facilitate conversion of common wastelands lands to private cultivated land. (...) (Source: *'Poverty Amidst Prosperity'*, pp 15-16)

Box: Child labour widely prevalent in North Gujarat farms

Voluntary organisations have estimated that approximately one lakh children from the tribal-dominated southern districts of Rajasthan are trafficked to northern Gujarat to work in cottonseed fields every year. For many years now, there have been reports of sexual harassment, physical and mental torture, long hours and harsh conditions of work, low wages, as well as unsafe and unhygienic living conditions on these farms. “Every year there have been cases of deaths of children; in 2009 there were as many as 11 such reports. Some of these are from snake bites and exposure to pesticides; but more gruesome than these are the rape-and-murder reports,” says a recent report by Pradeep Baisakh in “India Together”.

Gujarat is also among the leading cottonseed producing states in the country. Since much of the work in cottonseed farms is carried out manually, a large workforce is engaged in the work, primarily cross-pollination of seeds. It is estimated that about 2.5 lakh labourers are employed in about 25,000 acres of farm under cottonseed production in the state.

Dakshin Rajasthan Mazdoor Union (DRMU) conducted a study in cottonseed farms in Gujarat, and found that about one-third of the total workforce is below 14 years of age, and another 42 per cent in the age group of 15-18. A little less than half of these children, in both age groups, are girls. Children are also employed in other work in the cotton production chain i.e. in cotton farms and in ginning factories....

Cottonseed farming is carried out in the northern districts of Gujarat - Sabarkantha, Banaskantha, Mehasan and Gandhinagar - by a small number of farmers with very large land-holdings. Labourers in these farms are employed through a system of middlemen, who operate as labour contractors. A two-tier contractor system prevails; the bigger contractors are direct agents of the farmers. The smaller contractors, on the other hand, are members of the same community as the labourers.

The report says, these small contractors bring the children and adult labourers of their community to work in the farms. Both sets of contractors get their commissions for supplying labourers. Payment is made in advance to the middlemen, who then give it in turn to the labourers (or to the parents of the children, in the case of child labourers). This system has ensured the sustenance of the labour supply. By taking the advance money, the labourer makes an unwritten ‘commitment of bondage’ to stay in the field throughout the season.

Cross pollination generally takes place between July and October every year. The children are loaded in vehicles and transported from Rajasthan to Gujarat at night to evade the eyes of the law. At the workplace, the child has to work for about 10-12 hours a day. All children stay in the farm under open tents or make-shift houses, where they are susceptible to snake bites and other such risks. Generally, both boys and girls stay in common accommodations. Due to this unsafe living condition, the adolescent girls have been subject to sexual harassment.

In two-thirds of the cases, the child is sent to work by parents against his/her will. The children therefore miss their homes and their education. The children are usually given roughly two-thirds of the daily minimum wage; they get about daily wages of 70-75 rupees against the statutory minimum wages of 100 rupees for eight hours of work. Several laws like the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act, Minimum Wages Act and Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, Bonded labour (Abolition) Act etc. are violated routinely.

(Source: 19.09.10, <http://www.counterview.net/2010/09/child-labour-widely-prevalent-in-north.html>, accessed on 27.10.13)

[So instead of capitalist reforms to distribute the land to the tillers, the government of Gujarat is following a policy of corporatization of land and agriculture. Under this policy, an aspirant section of the rural population has emerged who extends support to the Modi-rule in Gujarat.

In human development indicators, the position of Gujarat is abysmally poor in comparison to other states. Even the laggards in growth & development perform better in certain cases. Note the following excerpt. – UPDATE]

Number of poor in Gujarat jumps by 39.06% in 12 years

The number of poor families in Gujarat's villages have risen by at least *30 per cent* over the last decade, going by the state government's own data.

In April 2000, there were 23.29 lakh Below Poverty Line (BPL) families in the villages. The number *rose to 30.49 lakh* as on June 26, 2012, as per the "dynamic list" which the state rural development commissioner's office constantly updates.

According to the list, which is based on a survey of 78.06 lakh families living in villages, the increase in the number of poor families in villages was 39.06% in percentage terms. (...)

In all, there are 39.67 lakh BPL families in Gujarat of which more than 9.17 lakh BPL families are in urban areas. (...) (Source: 04.07.12, <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/number-of-poor-in-gujarat-jumps-by-39.06-in-12-years/970191/0>, accessed 16.09.13)

[Planning Commission said that Gujarat is actually *slipped from 9th to 11th position in poverty reduction*. Follow the next excerpt. – UPDATE]

Gujarat slips in poverty reduction rank from ninth to 11th in three years, suggests Planning Commission study

Latest Planning Commission estimates suggest a major setback to Gujarat as far as poverty reduction is concerned. If between 2004 and 2010, Gujarat witnessed 8.6 per cent reduction in poverty, which was higher than the national average of 7.4 per cent, between 2010 and 2012 not only the percentage of poverty reduction come down to 6.4 per cent, it was below the national average of 7.9 per cent, too. Worse, if during 2004-10 Gujarat's poverty reduction rate was higher than in as many as eight states, *the number of states which saw a higher poverty reduction in the 2010-12 phase went up to 10 out of 20 major states*.

The states which have witnessed a higher reduction in the rate of poverty during 2010-12 than Gujarat are Andhra Pradesh (11.9 per cent), Chhattisgarh (8.8 per cent), Bihar (19.8 per cent), Haryana (8.9 per cent), Maharashtra (7.2 per cent), Punjab (7.6 per cent), Rajasthan (10.1 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (8.3 per cent), Uttarakhand (6.7 per cent) and West Bengal (6.7 per cent).

In fact, the trend of Gujarat failing to cope up as fast as other states in poverty reduction was there in the whole of last decade, and it has now continued in the new decade, too. Observing the trend of the last decade, Prof Indira Hirway, a senior

economist, noted in a study she had carried out a year ago, “It is important to note however, that though the rate of decline in poverty during 2004-05 – 2009-10 in Gujarat

Box: The Modi Machine: Makeover gurus

On December 14, 2009, public relations giant APCO Worldwide was hired to promote Narendra Modi’s investment and development showpiece ‘Vibrant Gujarat’. In the four years since, its team of 45 experts in 20 countries has also given the Gujarat CM just the push he needed to open doors globally.

An RTI query shows Steven King as one of the members of APCO’s “global project management team” for Vibrant Gujarat. While APCO claims they don’t work for Modi, and that their brief is limited to promoting Gujarat as a destination for investors, King was named as an official spokesperson for the Chief Minister in a report by The New York Times....

The Modi government signed a deal of Rs 2.25 crore per year at the prevailing dollar rate in 2010 with APCO. An RTI query shows that APCO’s brief was not restricted to building Gujarat as an investment destination alone. “APCO will also gauge the tonality of coverage and identify journalists who can further be Media Ambassadors for Gujarat. The idea is to expand and build on the ‘Friends of Gujarat’ circle so as to have a sustained programme of endorsement and outreach,” the agreement stated.

A grouping of Gujaratis living abroad, Friends of Gujarat, didn’t exist incidentally at the time APCO signed the agreement. According to the filings with US tax authorities, which can be availed from the US Internal Revenue Service website, it was formed 10 months later, in September 2010.

Since then, Friends of Gujarat has often served as a platform to promote Modi and his government’s governance record. It was also used by the CM to reach out to the Gujarati community in the US...

APCO was in similar controversy over promoting notorious Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev through a ‘Friends of Kazakhstan’ group earlier....

(Source: 20.10.13, <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/the-modi-machine-makeover-gurus/1184809/0>, accessed on 20.10.13)

was 8.6 percentage point, the state *ranked 9th* among the major 20 states in India in reduction of poverty. The relatively slow growing states like Uttarakhand, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh etc. have experienced much higher decline in poverty during this period.”

She added, “In fact, Gujarat, which stood 7th in the incidence of poverty among the 20 states in 1993-94, maintained its 7th rank in 2004-05 but *dropped to 9th rank in 2009-10*. In other words, in spite of being the fastest growing state during 2004-05 – 2009-10, Gujarat slipped in its performance in poverty reduction. This shows that the growth alone does not count for poverty reduction, and something more is needed to translate growth into poverty reduction. (...)

No doubt, the percentage of persons below the poverty line in Gujarat remains lower than the national average of 21.9 per cent, standing at 16.6 per cent in 2012, down from 23 per cent in 2010 (when the national average was 29.8 per cent), yet the fact is, the proportion of poverty reduction has gone down, which observers believe is a matter of concern. (*Source: 25.07.13, <http://www.counterview.net/2013/07/gujarat-slips-in-poverty-reduction-rank.html>, accessed 16.09.13*)

[It is noteworthy that these data are provided by the government authorities, which are often making mockery with the poverty statistics. In actual fact, it may happen that the poverty ratio in India and in Gujarat is much higher than projected by Planning Commission. In fact, Gujarat is ranked among the poverty-stricken African states. Note the following excerpt. – UPDATE]

Govt admits, Gujarat hunger development index equal to Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Haiti

In an unusual move, chief minister Narendra Modi’s water resources advisor BN Navalawala has compared Gujarat’s global hunger index (GHI) with that of *Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Haiti*. *Raising alarm over Gujarat being one of the most hungry states, fifth from the bottom in a group of 17 major Indian states*, Modi’s advisor, in a recent lecture he delivered at the Charotar Vidyamandir, Vallabh Vidyanagar, in Central Gujarat,

underlines that developmental factors like quick urbanization and industrialization do not necessarily mean quality of life would improve. (...)

Suggesting that Gujarat has moved away from per day per capita foodgrain availability, which was 400 grams, in 1981, the top CM advisor – who was Government of India’s water resources secretary – further says that food production should at least double by 2020 to reach the 1981 level of per capita per day food availability. Significantly, the United Nations norm per capita per day foodgrains availability is 750 gram.

Navalawala’s calculations are based on a recent discussion paper “The India State Hunger Index: Comparisons Of Hunger Across States” by Purnima Menon, Anil Deolalikar and Anjor Bhaskar, which ranks Gujarat as one of the 12 states where hunger levels are in “alarming” proportions. (...)

The states that have their scores worse than Gujarat are just four. Madhya Pradesh is the worst of all Indian states with an “extremely alarming” score of 30.90 GHI, putting it in the company of countries like Ethiopia with a score of 30.97 and Liberia with 31.80. Jharkhand, Bihar and Chhattisgarh score a little better with a score of 28.67, 27.30 and 26.65 respectively. These states’ hunger index is equal to that of countries like Madagascar, Guinea-Bissau and Mali, in that order.

Then is the turn of Gujarat, with GHI of 24.69. *The countries that are better than Gujarat are Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Haiti, while a little worse off is Bangladesh, Tajikistan and Mozambique.* The best Indian state in terms of GHI with a score of 13.64 is found to be Punjab, in the company of Vietnam, Nicaragua, Ghana and the Philippines. Next is Kerala, which is in the company is Mauritania and Swaziland. The rankings, based on a 2008 survey, significantly suggests that Gujarat’s ranking has gone down since 1994, when 10th in a group of 15 states with five states performing better with a higher nutrition index. (...) (Source: 06.01.11, <http://www.counterview.net/2011/01/govt-admits-gujarat-hunger-development.html>], accessed 27.10.13)

Box: Every third child in Gujarat is underweight, says CAG

Though Chief Minister Narendra Modi has been waxing eloquent about the Gujarat model of development, the latest report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India as well as the State government's own admission speak of malnourished and underweight children in the State.

According to the government's own figures, produced by Women and Child Development Minister Vasuben Trivedi in a written reply to the State Assembly, there are at least 6.13 lakh children in 14 districts who are malnourished or extremely malnourished as of August this year. Not to speak of the rest of the 12 districts, for which the numbers are not available.

What is more, the district of Ahmedabad, considered to be the commercial capital of the State, has the highest – 85,000-plus – children who are malnourished or extremely malnourished. The Minister told the State Assembly that “there are 54,975 malnourished children and 3,860 extremely malnourished children in Ahmedabad city” alone.

Meanwhile, the CAG in its latest report has found that despite the government's claim of “providing supplementary nutrition to the targeted children between the year 2007 and 2012, the monthly progress report as on March 2012 states that every third child was underweight.”...

The Women and Child Development Minister's reply pointed to the fact that malnutrition was not confined to any specific region in the State but was found through and length and breadth of Gujarat. The tribal districts of Banaskantha in the North and Dahod in central Gujarat on the Madhya Pradesh border are next to Ahmedabad district with 78,421 and 73,384 malnourished children respectively. Junagadh district in the western Saurashtra region has the least, 17,263, children who are malnourished.

(Source: 05.10.13, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/every-third-child-in-gujarat-is-underweight-says-cag/article5201963.ece>, accessed on 06.10.13)

[In fact, the poverty level among the backward social groups is much higher. Another report says as below. – UPDATE]

Poverty and deprivation among Gujarat tribals

In their recent research paper for Gujarat Institute of Development Research, “Poverty and Livelihood among Tribals in Gujarat: Status, Opportunities, and Strategies”, two senior Gujarat-based scholars, Amita Shah and Sajitha O.G. have said that sustained *high level of poverty among tribal communities, despite Gujarat’s faster economic growth*, has posed “the most difficult challenge to contemporary discourse on development in the state.” Pointing out that the incidence of poverty among tribal communities is both severe as well as multi-dimensional, they say, it is very high from the overall poverty estimates in Gujarat.

Overall poverty has gone down, but things are very different in 43 designated tribal talukas.

“The tribal communities have been largely bypassed in the process of poverty reduction”, the authors say, adding, “As per the latest official estimates, *slightly more than one third of the tribal population (34.3%) in rural Gujarat is poor.*” Significantly, the percentage of poor among the tribals was 31.4 per cent in 1993-94. As against this, general poverty has shown a reduction from 22.2 per cent to 18.9 per cent in the period in question.” The authors add, “Tribal communities have suffered further since 1993-94, the period coinciding with economic reforms and faster growth. The difference in consumption/expenditure on the basic items like food grains, milk, edible oil, fuel, and education is found to be significantly lower among tribals as compared to rest of the population in the state.”....

“...The difference in the consumption/expenditure between poor and non-poor within the tribal communities is also fairly large.”

Giving figures, they say, monthly per capita expenditure on food items among poor-tribal was about Rs. 148.7 in 2004-05 as compared to Rs. 317 among non-poor tribal population. The expenditure on health and education was significantly lower (Rs. 9.29) among poor as compared to non-poor (Rs.23.62) within the tribal communities. Calculating Human Poverty Index (HPI) among tribal, non-tribal and all population in Gujarat, the authors say, it shows that *HPI among tribal population was*

0.311 as compared to 0.406 among all communities in the state on a scale of 1. "Tribals were found to be fairly worse off in comparison to Scheduled Castes (SCs) for whom the HPI was 0.371", the authors say. (...)

The proportion of vulnerable households among STs is as high as about *62 per cent* as compared to about 35 per cent among non-STs in tribal talukas. The proportion of vulnerable households among all communities in the rural talukas in Gujarat is 34.2 per cent as compared to 55 per cent within the 43 tribal talukas in the state. The proportion of the vulnerable households varies significantly across the tribal talukas; the highest proportion among STs was found in Kaparda and Dhanpur both having more than 85 per cent of the households in this category.

An examination of multiple deprivations by looking at selected variables such as ownership of land, migration, child labour etc. by comparing tribal with non-tribe and all households in tribal talukas show that *almost half of the non tribal (47.62 per cent) get enough food for the year whereas a little higher than one quarter (26.16 per cent) were getting enough food among tribes.* "If we consider one meal or less than that per day as an indicator of severe food insecurity, *one fifth* of the total households (19.54 per cent) in this area are vulnerable to that. Even though food insecurity is high among tribes in this area, landless population is less compared to non-tribes (31 and 37 per cent for tribes and non tribes respectively).

Yet, the fact is, more than half of the tribal households (57.65 per cent) have very small landholding i.e. less than 1 hectare of non-irrigated or up to half a hectare irrigated land. Almost equal percentages of households in tribal and non-tribal communities were in the categories of 'Ganotiya' alone or 'own and Ganotiya'.

Distress migration from tribal areas is a common feature in Gujarat. Almost half of the tribal households (47.9 per cent) reported having migrants either as casual labourers or seasonal workers as against one quarter of non migrant (25.86 per cent) households among the 43 tribal dominated talukas in the state. (...) (Source: 11.09.10, <http://www.counterview.net/2010/09/poverty-and-deprivation-among-gujarat.html>, accessed 27.10.13)

[Under the other human development indicators, the state of Gujarat is not better than other major states. Follow the excerpt cited below. – UPDATE]

Poverty amid prosperity

In the last five years, the rural and urban per capita monthly consumption expenditure in Gujarat grew at much lower rates, compared to the national average and growth in other comparable States. In 2009-10, the average monthly per capita expenditure in Gujarat was Rs. 1,388, much lower than Haryana (Rs. 1,598) and Maharashtra (Rs. 1,549) but higher than the national average. The relatively superior position that Gujarat had in consumption levels in 1993 was lost by 2010....

The situation in inequality levels is also not superior. Reduction in rural inequality in the last five years has been much slower in Gujarat as compared to Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Haryana. In urban areas, inequality increased in Gujarat at slower rates than the national average but increased nonetheless.

Gujarat today is a rich State with poor education and health outcomes. An evaluation of key education indicators over time reveals that the improvement of Gujarat in literacy rates is sluggish as compared to the rest of India. Gujarat's ranking in terms of literacy rate deteriorated from the fifth to the seventh for both 6 years and above, and 6-14 years age group among 15 major States between 2000 and 2008. In terms of proportion of the people who are currently attending any educational institution, Gujarat's rank has deteriorated from the 21st to the 26th (6th to 10th among major 15 States) for the age group of 6-14 years during this period and the gender gap in literacy levels of 20 per cent and those currently attending school (13.3 per cent) in the age group of 11 to 14 is also higher in Gujarat in comparison with other States. Furthermore, in Gujarat the disparity in literacy rate (and among those currently attending school) of the general category and the overall literacy rate is higher than the national average; it is also higher than other States of comparison, namely, Haryana and Maharashtra, though marginally less than Tamil Nadu.

In health, Gujarat ranks 10th in the rate of decline in infant mortality. The rural-urban IMR gap remains unbridged with no change in the ratio between 2000 and 2010.

The gains in reducing the gender gap in IMR are poor and the disparity ratio between the SCs, the STs and others has actually increased between 2000 and 2010. Incidence of under-nutrition in the State for the year 1998-99 was lower than the national average across all social groups. Disturbingly, in 2005-2006, under-nutrition in Gujarat worsened in comparison with the national average. The level of under-nutrition for the SCs in Gujarat is close to the national average and, for the STs, it is higher than the national average. Immunisation of children in Gujarat was above the national average in 1999 and, also in 2006. However, between 1999 and 2006, the social gap in ante-natal care increased. The State ranked 9th in 1990-95, it ranks 11th in 2005-2010. All this when the overall growth rate continues to soar! (...) (Source: 30.11.12, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/poverty-amid-prosperity/article4147478.ece>, accessed 22.10.13)

Box: Narendra Modi's government gave undue benefits to corporates, says auditor

The Gujarat government headed by Narendra Modi has been accused of conferring illicit favours on large corporates, resulting in losses of several crores for the state. The allegation has been made by the state's auditor in a report that was shared yesterday with the state assembly.

The Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) finds that companies like Larsen and Toubro, Ford India and Essar Steel were allotted huge plots of land for their factories at cheap prices, leading to losses for the state.

The auditor also said that Adani Power was allowed to deviate from the terms of an agreement to buy power from a state-run company, allowing the company to benefit at the state's expense.

(Source: 03.04.13, <http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/narendra-modi-s-government-gave-undue-benefits-to-corporates-says-auditor-349506>, accessed on 11.11.13)

[The poverty and deprivation are the most acute among the Muslims in Gujarat. In fact, the Muslims live like second class citizens in Gujarat. Ghettos do exist before 2002 when gruesome massacre of the Muslims is perpetrated. Since then the state of the poorer section of the Muslims are worsened. Particularly the discrimination and divide among the majority and minority communities reach a new high. UNDP says: “United Nations has observed that poverty head count ratio for Muslims is *highest* in the states of Assam, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Gujarat...” (18.02.13, <http://www.financialexpress.com/news/rural-muslim-poverty-highest-in-gujarat-assam-wb-and-up-undp/1075967/0>) Now follow the next excerpt. – UPDATE]

Voice of victims

A report by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), authored by Abusaleh Shariff in 2011, sums up the discrimination best. The report explores “the relative development of Gujarat, followed by the socio-religious differentials in the standard of living in the State”. Shariff, who has drawn data from the National Sample Survey Organisation, the Sachar Committee report and the Reserve Bank of India, provides some crucial and telling statistics that testify to the fact that Muslims in Gujarat are marginalised largely because of state policies.

Says the report: “*Poverty amongst the urban Muslims is eight times (800 per cent) higher than high-caste Hindus, about 50 per cent more than the Hindu-Other Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes [S.Cs/S.Ts]. Note that over 60 per cent of all Gujarati Muslims live in urban areas and they are the most deprived social group in Gujarat. On the other hand, rural poverty amongst the Muslims is two times (200 per cent) more than high-caste Hindus.*”

He observes that educationally, Muslims are the most deprived community in Gujarat. *A mere 26 per cent reach the level of matriculation, whereas the proportion for others, except the SCs/STs, is 41 per cent.* A large number of Muslim pupils drop out around class V. A disturbing trend was noticed in respect of higher education. Muslims who had the same level of education as other categories in the past are left behind compared with even SCs/STs. A startling fact revealed by the study is that upper-caste

Hindus have benefited the most from the public provisioning of higher education in recent years. (...) (Source: 17.05.2013, <http://www.frontline.in/cover-story/voice-of-victims/article4666653.ece#test>, accessed 03.11.13)

[In employment front the condition of the Muslims in Gujarat is not better than education. The NCAER report mentioned above further states as below. – UPDATE]

NCAER's senior economist debunks Gujarat government claim of improvement in minorities' plight in state

Coming to employment, the economist says, "The work participation rate is a common measure of employment; in Gujarat, this is *10% lower for Muslims* at 61% compared to the Hindus who have a ratio of 71%. Gujarat has higher unemployment rates for Muslims compared to say West Bengal. Importantly, the Muslims traditionally are artisan and skilled workers, have relative advantage in handling mechanical and tool work; therefore, they are employed as industrial labour in considerable proportion in manufacturing and organized industry. In most States, Muslims form a higher percentage of the workforce in manufacturing and the organised sector compared to Hindus and *it is only in Gujarat, the reverse is true.*"

Coming to manufacturing and organised sector, including public employment, the scholar says, "There was a time when Muslims dominated the state's textile industry in power looms, textile mills and handlooms; and in diamond cutting and polishing industry not to speak of chemical, pharmaceutical and processing industries. But now Muslims barely make it to the workforce in the manufacturing and organized sector in Gujarat. While at an all-India level, Muslims share in this sector is 21%, in Gujarat it is merely 13, much lesser than Maharashtra at 25 and West Bengal at 21. Note that Muslims generally have better employment amongst the state level public sector enterprises across India. *It is only in Gujarat that Muslims not have access to organized and public sector undertaking (PSU) employment when compared to other communities and other states of India.*" (...)

Box: A class of his own

But there's no need to further scrutinise pre-electoral promises. The actual polarisation of Gujarat's society speaks for itself. Modi's policy, over the last 10 years, has benefited the urban middle class more than anybody else. If Gujarat ranks only 11th out of 23 states in terms of the human development index, it's because groups in rural Gujarat continue to lag behind. Indeed, Gujarat is a case of social polarisation with the new rich in the cities and most of the groups that are at the receiving end concentrated in the villages. There, the number of families below the poverty line has jumped from 23.39 lakh in 2000 to 30.49 lakh in July 2012, according to the rural development commissioner. Unsurprisingly, 9 lakh of the 11 lakh houses without electricity, according to the Gujarat 2011 census, are in rural areas. In terms of education, the excellent report of the NGO, Pratham, shows that rural Gujarat was lagging behind states like Haryana.

Dalits and Adivasis (11.3 and 16.5 per cent of the state population, respectively) are particularly affected. For instance, the percentage of tribal underweight children (0-5 years old) is much higher in Gujarat than the tribal average at the national level (64.5 per cent compared to 54.5 per cent). The under-five mortality rate of tribal children is also much higher. Similarly, the percentage of Dalit participation in the NREGA programme is three times less in Gujarat (7.83 per cent) than in India at large (22.67 per cent). In fact, development has meant socio-economic polarisation, because Gujarat is a typical case of growth without development for all. The Gujarat chapter of the India Human Development Report of 2011 concluded that "the high growth rate achieved by the state over the years has not percolated to the marginalised sections of society, particularly STs and SCs, to help improve their human development outcomes"....

(Source: 17.04.13, <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/a-class-of-his-own/1103615/0>, accessed on 03.11.13)

Coming to petty trade and self-employment, the scholar says, here also "Gujarat also shows a wider gap between Muslims and Hindus... *Fifty-four per cent of Muslims as opposed to 39 per cent of Hindus are self-employed in the State.* The gap is much lower in West Bengal, where 53 per cent of Muslims are self-employed as against 45 per cent of Hindus. *Compared to other States and compared to Hindus, larger share of Muslims in Gujarat are self-employed or undertake petty trade.* This disparity is compounded by

the fact that compared to other sectors; self-employment and petty trade has shown only a marginal income growth during the last two decades in comparison to other sectors of the economy. *Further, at least in Gujarat the FDIs and public investments are channelled into the organized sector where Muslims do not get employed — thus metaphorically speaking, Muslims in Gujarat face a situation — ‘between the hard rock and the sea’.* (...) (Source: 11.05.12, <http://www.counterview.net/2012/05/ncaers-senior-economist-debunks-gujarat.html>, accessed 27.10.13)

[Under the liberalisation of Indian economy the ‘development’ process undertaken by the ruling classes of India is often cited as ‘mal-development’ among the radicals. In fact, in citing the term ‘development’ we have used it under parenthesis. The ‘development’ programmes incepted in Gujarat as well as in India is nothing but a caricature. India is groaning under the presence of vast amount of feudal remnants. Moreover, it is under the thumbs of imperialist powers right from its so-called independence. The big bourgeoisie of India is allied with these dark forces. These forces are perpetrating exploitation, oppression and plunder. Under the liberalisation programmes of the governments these stranglehold of the above-mentioned forces has been tightened. On the one hand, a slow and tardy process of capitalist development has been undertaken. On the other hand, plunder of the imperialist corporations and domestic corporate houses has been accelerated. Vast section of the population is tied with agricultural practices though contribution of agriculture in the national economy is decreasing fast. Industrial development is progressing but not gaining much pace. Hence, unemployment persists in huge proportion. Though the governments take credit about the eradication of poverty, more and more people could not meet their need. On the one hand a market of an aspirant section of the population is growing which are applauding the march of new economic policy. On the other hand, inequality is increasing by leaps and bounds. Number of regular jobs in factories is decreasing. A process of contractualisation and casualisation of the workforce is undertaken without much changes in the existing labour laws. Industrial bosses has led an onslaught on the workers in the factories. These processes in brief are the essence of the ‘development’ mantra of Indian ruling classes. Each parliamentary parties is following this policy with more or less intent. BJP is no exception. In fact, during the regime of NDA government (1999-2004),

the BJP has proved before the ruling classes that they are no less competent in forwarding the liberalisation process than the Congress. Hence the euphoria of the ruling classes is quite understandable at the nomination of the Narendra Modi as the next PM. Nonetheless they are veering to an 'authoritarianism'. In the next section of this series we will see the hatred and divide created and nurtured in Gujarat since 2002. – UPDATE]

Hatred and Divide

[Since the ghastly genocide in 2002, little has changed in the lives of the Muslims. In fact, the divide between the religious communities is complete. The discriminations are made deeper. Though a small section of the Muslims has moved upward in the economic liberalisation of Gujarat (who are engaged in trade), most of the people of the community have been segregated along communal lines. In fact, the victory of Narendra Modi in Gujarat assembly elections thrice in a row has proved that the divide between the communities is the worst. In fact, fielding of Narendra Modi as PM candidate in parliamentary elections of 2014, the Sangh Parivar wants to make the divide between the two communities in national scale more grave and poisonous. Next excerpt portrays the state of the Muslims in post-2002 Gujarat. – UPDATE]

Myth of Vibrant Gujarat

Nearly nine years after the carnage of Gujarat (Feb 2011), a perception has been created that Gujarat is developing with rapid strides, there is all peace and harmony and minorities are happy. Like 'Shining India' a word has been coined, 'Vibrant Gujarat'.

Nothing can be farther from truth. In the aftermath of the violence, the death of over two thousand Muslims, the rapes, the humiliation at the hands of instigated mobs, are still fresh in the air as the state has totally been unjust to the victims of the violence. There was no rehabilitation worth its name, the 'refugee camps' were closed too soon. State totally washed its hands off the rehabilitation process.

Today while the few amongst the Muslim minorities, especially a section of traders, have been won over by the BJP and dominant social forces, the majority of Muslim community has been forced to live the life of severe social and economic deprivation. The trend of *ghettoization* is increasing in major cities and expanding. Juhapura is the showpiece of the fear and insecurity which has gripped the Muslim community. Many a traders are trying to continue with their businesses in old localities while settling their families in the Muslim ghettos like Juhapura. *Most of the Muslim establishments have changed their names and patterns to sound like being the Hindu establishments, with*

the hope that this will prevent their religion being identified in the future pogroms, protect their property, and this move will overcome the economic boycott from the majority community. Incidentally this call of economic boycott of Muslims has been given by VHP. The domination of Modi/BJP in the social and political arena is leading to the situation where a large section of Muslims is forced to hide their pain and anger and carry on with the ignominies of their situations. Remarkably many a social groups from amongst Muslim communities are concentrating their work in the area of education; preparing the youth to take up jobs in the fields that are free from discrimination, and to prepare them to traditional and newer avenues of self employment.

A major study by Abdul Saleh Sharif (Relative Development of Gujarat and Socio-Religious Differentials, 2011) is very revealing about the condition of Muslims. This shows that Muslims fare very badly on the parameters of poverty, hunger, education and vulnerability on security issues. The study shows that levels of hunger are high in Gujarat alongside Orissa and Bihar. Muslims are educationally deprived. Muslim community which at one time was dominating in diamond and textile trade has been pushed behind. Poverty of Gujarat Muslims is 8 times more than high caste Hindus and 50% more than OBCs. Twelve per cent Muslims have bank accounts but only 2.6% of them get bank loans. This study concludes that Muslims in Gujarat face high levels of discrimination, even on the roll out of NREGA, Gujarat is at the bottom of the pile. (TOI, Feb 18, 2011, Mumbai).
(...) (Source: By Ram Puniyani, 22.02.11, <http://www.countercurrents.org/puniyani220211.htm>, accessed 10.11.13)

[There are lots of articles depicting the psychological make-up of the aggressor communities shown during the communal violence in 2002. In the *Appendix* we will describe some of these psyche. Next article narrates this psyche vividly. – UPDATE]

Psyche behind Gujarat riots of 2002

A project report prepared in 2004 by two senior scholars, Lancy Lobo and Biswaroop Das, based on their on-the-spot queries in scores of villages of Central Gujarat's two districts, Anand and Kheda, not only provides insight into the psyche behind the riots but also the reason as to why politics in the state has been behaving in a particular way for

quite some time. It also indicates that, unless fundamental changes come about in the psyche of the majority community, political scenario in Gujarat would remain unchanged.

Called "*Geography of Gujarat Riots, 2002: Causative and Spatial Patterns of Related Factors*", and prepared for the Institute of Social Studies, Surat, its chapter "Muslims vs Hindus: 'Imaging' as Binary Opposites" underlines how Hindus tend to identify Muslims as a group of 'aggressors' — those who have supposedly internalized and articulate 'aggressive' behaviour. "While doing so, what gets projected is a consortium of images that tend to be aggregative rather than differentiated; singular rather than plural", the authors say, adding, "Irrespective of variations amongst respondents in terms of income, assets and castes, riots are perceived to have been always triggered by Muslims. Hindus see themselves as a group retaliating only in defense."

In fact, Hindus interviewed by the authors see themselves as having acted in "revenge and retaliation". Examples cited for this range from Muslims having looted the Somnath temple to the attack on the twin towers in New York. "American 'retaliation' by waging war against Afghanistan is legitimized within the same space", the authors say. By way of example, the authors quote a Chikhodra villager, Parsottam, who has studied up to high school and owns an auto repair unit, to say that "Muslims are creating terror in America and England, and just as America had no choice but to teach a lesson to the Muslims in Afghanistan, the Hindus in Gujarat had to respond in a similar manner to the Muslims". Citing how the Godhra train burning incident opened Hindus' eyes on the need to retaliate, Parsottam is quoted as saying that "Muslims live in India but are loyal to Pakistan and celebrate when Pakistani cricket team wins". Even as justifying widespread riots in the rural areas, this villager believes that the retaliation is also directed Muslims who "destroyed more than 300 temples in India", including the Somnath temple, which was "attacked and destroyed twice".

With bachelor's degree and a follower of the Swaminarayan sect, another villager Krishna Kant echoes a similar feeling. He is quoted as telling scholars that time for forgiving "them" had come to an end. "Even if all of them die there would be no repentance on *our* part, for they can never change", Kant believes, adding, "If they would have been quiet after Godhra, we would have forgotten it all but they keep putting bombs

and creating disturbances time and again. There is no remorse or repentance on their part and so we must retaliate in self-defence”.

Educated up high school, Nathubhai Patel, a farmer and a BJP worker, is quoted as saying that the “aggressive qaum” of Muslims should be entirely wiped out! He says, “When we have money we buy things to decorate and purify our homes, but when they get money they buy arms to kill humans and animals”. The scholars say, “The tone of all our respondents is broadly similar as all of them put an emphasis on the ‘anti-national’ and ‘immoral’ aggressive behaviour of Muslims, albeit as opposed to their own nationalistic and naturally patriotic and moral behaviour.” They add, “All Muslims get similarly imaged as aggressive and attacking, looters and destroyers, violent and sadist, killers and rapists as opposed to Hindus being passive and accommodative, soft and tolerant, respectful and moral.”

The scholars point towards the fact that expressions like “Koran also speaks of Ahimsa and the need for living in peace, but the Muslims do not behave in accordance with the Koran” are common. Another common expression are “five per cent among Muslims being good and the rest is given wrong education at the madaras that turns them potentially hostile towards all Hindus”, and Muslims are “taught that the Hindus are kafirs, making the child nurture anger all through his life”. Then there are expressions as the one by Kanu Rohit, who feels that “90 per cent of Muslims in India support terrorist activities” because of the “defeat of Pakistan during the 1972 war, following which they do not want to fight a direct war but encourage terrorism.” Solanki, who holds a post-graduate degree, believes that “Muslims pretend to be friends and loyal but betray at the first available opportunity. They are emotionally living in Pakistan and only physically in India. Seventy per cent among them are violent and a nuisance.”

The scholars suggest how Muslims are generally perceived as “perpetrators as well as practitioners of violence”, suggesting how Muslims’ “violent behaviour is projected as opposed to other minority groups who are labeled as peaceful like the Parsis ‘who have got mixed with the majority community like sugar in milk’, and the Christians ‘who have worked to provide health and education to all’.” Then, there is the view that all Muslims are united because Islam is monotheistic and has only one Holy Book, and this reinforces

their togetherness, leading to a concerted behaviour. And such a process encourages growth of a 'closed' mindset that is perpetuated by their maulvis at mosques and ustads at madarasas.

Further, there is the view that Hindus have suffered for so long because of lack of unity. The authors say, "At a group discussion at Kapadvanj women pointed towards how after Ayodhya the unity among the Hindus has improved." The women are quoted as saying that "as opposed to us, Muslims give more importance to their religion... They would prefer to die to save their religion and consider every Muslim as their brother. They do not help others except their own people." The authors comment, "General feeling across groups is that the unified and ghettoized Muslims are generally united and facilitate creation of problems related to damage and destruction of otherwise peaceful fabric of the large society in India."

The authors cite several phrases celebrating Hindu revenge, retaliation and the needed articulation of the masculine. Expressions legitimising violence include — "over their black deeds, we will make it red all the way", "Hindus are not sitting pretty wearing bangles", "kicks must be responded only by kicks", "it is for the first time in last 54 years that the trigger has popped out to strike", "wisdom fails when the end nears", "with death coming a camel looks up to Marwad and a Muslim towards Mecca", "a poisonous creeper must be chopped on time", "a brick thrown must be responded back with a harder stone", "a biting dog must be spanked", "the dormant fire is ready to burst", "an injured lion becomes violent", and "even eunuchs would rise to the occasion". (*Source: By Rajiv Shah, 15.07.10, <http://www.counterview.net/2010/07/psyche-behind-gujarat-riots-of-2002.html>, accessed 27.10.13*)

[This psyche made the divide between the two communities so deeper that the ghettoisation of the Muslims in Gujarat is recognised as an absolutely normal one. Follow the next excerpt about Ghettoisation. – UPDATE]

Worlds apart in a divided city

Sajid Row Houses in the Maqdoomnagar locality of eastern Ahmedabad's Vatwa suburb is an unauthorised colony that has existed for nearly 15 years. And so does

Dharmabhoomi Society, divided by a wall nearly 10 metres away. But the similarity ends there.

This is one of the very few mixed neighbourhoods left in communally divided Ahmedabad, with more ghettos coming up over the last decade. Muslims from many areas who used to be scattered across the city are now flocking together in ghettos like Vatwa, a disorganised, industrial suburb.

No isolated instance

And a staggering four lakh-plus of them from all walks of life have moved into Juhapura, considered to be the biggest Muslim ghetto in Asia. Before the 2002 communal riots, Juhapura had an estimated 2.5 lakh people.

Most ghettos have come up on the fringes of the city, away from the Hindu mainstream and lacking in basic amenities.

Sajid Row Houses, that has 150 houses, and Qutb-e-alamnagar with around 500 — in Maqdoomnagar — present a picture of filth, slush and puddles of dirty water. They swarm with flies and mosquitoes. There are no sewerage lines. A foul smell permeates the air. There is *no water supply*, and whatever is drawn is not always potable. The garbage van from the Bharatiya Janata Party-controlled Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) is erratic.

In contrast, if you are perched on the top floor of any house in the Sajid Row Houses and look over the wall on the other side, Dharmabhoomi Society looks quite different. It has almost all the facilities that this neighbourhood lacks.

This is not an isolated instance, and is the same story in other places too. “What more can explain the reality than the fact that ours is a Muslim colony and theirs is not?” quips Subedar Shaikh, a retired railway employee living in Sajid Row Houses.....

Come to Alifnagar in Vatwa, where people veritably live in the middle of garbage, slush and potholes full of turbid water.

“Forget gutter lines, water supply or garbage clearance. The AMC does not even conduct any fumigation in the area,” says Afsana Bano, who runs a small shop here. You need to perform some acrobatics to avoid stepping on the dirt to reach her shop. With no support from either the AMC or the small-time builder who set up the colony, people in the 54 houses in Nazar Park recently pooled small sums of money to lay an illegal drainage line.

Cut to Juhapura on the western tip of Ahmedabad, which throws up not only all the woes that the smaller ghettos like Vatwa and others face, but also a worrying reality. This is that, *if you are a Muslim in Gujarat you have no option but to head for a ghetto, irrespective of your economic and professional status.*

This explains the emergence of two Juhapuras in the area. One that has economically well-off professionals living in plush apartment buildings and bungalows, not by choice but by force — *for nobody would give them a house in Ahmedabad’s mainstream upmarket Hindu areas.*

Tucked away behind these buildings on the main road that leads to a highway towards the Saurashtra region is the other Juhapura, where every colony resembles a huge slum. The civic infrastructure here — or the lack of it — has remained the same through the years, while the population has doubled because of an influx of riot victims and those scattered in other parts of the city.

The contrast between Muslim Juhapura and Hindu Vejalpur, neighbourhoods on either side of a road that is popularly known as Border, is as striking as it is between Sajid Row Houses and Dharmabhoomi Society in Vatwa. One is a story of neglect, another is one of development — split by just a road. *(Source: by Darshan Desai, 28.10.13, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/worlds-apart-in-a-divided-city/article5278661.ece?homepage=true>, accessed 29.10.13)*

Box: On Eid, Ahmedabad mall charges entry fee from Muslims

A trip in the celebratory spirit of Eid turned out to be an experience in discrimination for many Muslims in Narendra Modi's Gujarat. The Himalaya Mall, among the five biggest malls in Ahmedabad, on Friday announced a fee of Rs 20 from visitors from the minority community, to be returned to them only if they bought anything from the mall, and retained if they didn't.

Many felt it was discrimination against a specific group on Eid when footfalls at the mall peaked.

"The security personnel were being selective. We saw people walking past without paying any fee. When we asked the security guards, they said that they have orders to follow and asked us to pay up. We're shocked," said Saiyad Shaikh, a resident of Delhi Chakla, who had come to the mall with his family.

Iliyas Ansari, who stays in Shahpur, said, "We're willing to pay entry fee provided the mall charges it from everybody. Why discriminate against just one community?"

Deepa Bhatnagar, manager (operations) of Himalaya Mall, told TOI that it was a routine move to check visitors on a busy day. "We had employed the same mechanism in the past to keep troublemakers out. We are planning to charge entry fee during the coming festive season including Diwali. The fee is being returned if any purchase is made, so the entry is practically free," she said.....

However, this correspondent observed a distinct pattern in which entry was allowed. Youth from specific age groups of the minority community were being scrutinized and asked to pay the fee while whereas women and many others were allowed to walk in without being charged.

(Source: 10.08.13, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-08-10/ahmedabad/41265948_1_ahmedabad-mall-mall-officials-fee)

[Another excerpt depicts the case of ghettoisation in Gujarat particularly since the 2002 genocide. – UPDATE]

The Truth Behind the Stage Show

(...) On the other side of the city is Juhapura in west Ahmedabad. The area was developed as a colony to rehabilitate flood victims in 1972. It was a mixed neighbourhood till the 1990s but Hindu Dalits and Bhois moved out after communal violence broke out in 1992. Juhapura is now Gujarat's largest Muslim ghetto, home to affluent Muslims — businessmen, builders, retired IAS and IPS officers and journalists. Juhapura is proof of how even money is not a conduit to access for Muslims. Any conversation seems to suggest normalcy but probe a bit and there is a deep sense of alienation and disappointment; a resignation that they have to make do without expecting any cooperation from the government.

“There is no municipal water supply, so we had to dig bore-wells for children to be able to drink water,” says Asifkhan Pathan, who manages Crescent School. The ghetto, which has a population of more than 3 lakh, has only four government-aided schools. woefully short to accommodate over 3,000 incoming students in Class I every year.

“I tried to advertise discounted medical packages on Snapdeal, an advertising website, but a manager turned it down saying he didn't think any of his users would visit Juhapura,” says Dr Saquib Sheikh, who runs a hospital in the neighbourhood.

Juhapura residents complain that areas dominated by *Muslims have been blacklisted by banks for issuing credit cards*. In a telling example, a bank officer was denied a credit card by his employer. “I was surprised when my credit card request was turned down because I work in this bank. My colleagues hinted that I should not expect it to have worked when I have a Juhapura pincode in my address,” says the mid-level private bank officer, on the condition of anonymity.

Scientist Dr HN Saiyed has a similar story to tell. In 2004, an SBI employee approached him with an offer of a credit card when he was living in government accommodation in Hindu-dominated Maninagar. But his application was turned down after he moved to Juhapura post-retirement a few months later. “On the phone, a bank officer expressed embarrassment about the incident and tried to explain it as a mistake by the junior staff. I withdrew my application. I did not want to try a second time,” says

Saiyed who was director, National Institute of Occupation Health, a medical research body, till 2004.

Gujarat boasts of more than 90 percent paved roads to remote villages, 98 percent electrification, 86 percent piped water supply and the best of infrastructure in India. But Juhapura has no streetlights, water supply or internal roads. Residents have regularly paid property and water taxes since Juhapura was merged with Ahmedabad municipal limits in July 2006. Those who can afford it have built bore-wells and paved roads for short stretches.

Residents filed a PIL in the high court, the route that seems to be the most common recourse for groups working for Muslims' rights. They demanded water and sewage facilities and made several representations to the Urban Development Department. After an interim high court order, the government began providing water to Hindu-dominated Sankalitnagar in 2008. However, Muslim-dominated areas such as Gyaspur, Makarba, Juhapura and Vasna are yet to get these facilities.

“Nothing has changed over the past three years. Now that the Assembly election is approaching, and Modi is focussing on Muslim votes, maybe some things may change,” says lawyer Girish Patel, who is representing Juhapura residents in the high court. “Harassment, discrimination — everything remains the same. The only difference is that Modi has terrified Muslims and they have lost their ability to speak against public wrong.”

The senior lawyer's analysis is shared by Farooq Mohammed Sheikh, an autorickshaw driver living in Shah Alam, where more than 15,000 riot-affected families stayed in 2002 for over six months. “Modi is responsible for two things — in the Hindus, he has sown the fear that without him to watch their backs, the Muslims would slaughter them, and the Muslims, he has managed to terrorise anyway since 2002,” says Sheikh. “We have become very afraid of the police; who knows under what case they will have us arrested. Such is the fear that our boys do the namaaz on their own.”... *(Source: By Anumeha Yadav, 01.10.10, <http://www.tehelka.com/the-truth-behind-the-stage-show/>, accessed 03.11.13)*

[Note the following excerpt written about the segregation and discrimination. – UPDATE]

One Side of the Divide

(...) The issue is serious because Muslims clearly note events like Ahmedabad's new rapid transport system bypassing Juhapura. They resent having to rely on interstate buses and the lack of schools or hospitals (though there are several police stations). It's also serious because of how Gujarat's economy works. While Hindu businessmen, for example, tend to be entrepreneurs, responsible for marketing their wares, Muslims tend to work as skilled or unskilled employees for them. Non-Muslims mostly work in higher-value-added industries—foundries, textile units etc. Muslims businesses tend to be home-based—making kites, brooms, bidis, agarbattis, rakhis, embroidery, zari work, apart from skilled work in manufacturing, rickshaw-pulling.

It forms a pattern. “Across the state, to find work, Muslims have to step out of ‘their’ areas into Hindu settlements, but Hindus rarely need to go where the Muslims live. The social isolation implies an ultimate breakdown in business relations,” says Dr Shakeel Ahmad, general secretary, Forum for Democracy and Communal Amity (Gujarat).

Some warn against an overly negative view of Gujarat's development. The Gujarati penchant for success means he's always short of workers in factories, foundries, farms and offices. “There is no caste, community or religion to the Gujarati business interests,” says Dinesh Awasthi, who heads EDI, Entrepreneurship Development Institute of India, located at Bhat in Gandhinagar, a 30-minute highway zip from Ahmedabad. After the 2011 ‘Vibrant Gujarat’ exposition, Modi announced MoUs worth \$450 billion with global investors. Says Awasthi, “We expect a shortfall of 45 lakh workers if the current planned investments come to anything. Where is the room for ostracising non-Hindus in a state desperate for a skilled workforce?”

But in a recent study, Dr Abusaleh Shariff, chief economist at ncaer in Delhi, also identified a less attractive change in employment patterns across the state. *Fewer Muslims are working in manufacturing and organised industry—exactly the opposite of several other large states. “Gujarati Muslims are involved in informal trade or they*

are self-employed—running food stalls etc, or they pull rickshaws, do manual labour. What other than active discrimination explains this trend in a state that signs MoUs worth billions for modern industrial projects? The rich-poor disparity is, relatively speaking, far greater here,” says Dr Shariff.

In Baroda, a two-and-a-half hour drive from Ahmedabad, Dr J.S. Bandukwala says the idea that Muslims will prosper through Gujarat’s industrial development is a myth—“high-end industries rarely employ poor, lesser-educated people”. Bandukwala belongs to a prominent Muslim community of Gujarat: the one-million-strong Bohras are scattered across the globe and are highly educated and well-to-do. The Bohras, Khojas and Memons are among the Muslims who have always done well in business and education in Gujarat. There is a high degree of acceptance for these entrepreneurs in Gujarat. But, says Bandukwala, that’s because Gujarat’s successful Muslims have typically remained apolitical and supported whatever ruling class that happens to be in the lead in the state. For 50 years, Gujarat has employed a high percentage of Muslims in government. In his report, Dr Shariff stresses that public records of more recent jobs haven’t been released....

A wave of mechanisation and modernisation is sweeping through Gujarat’s industrial belts, transforming the traditional crafts—cotton mills, zari weaving—as well as introducing modern industries in electronics, software, petroleum and shipping. EDI assists the smaller units across the state in modernising. Several of the factory owners *Outlook* spoke to say they couldn’t care less about the religion or caste of workers—they just want the job to get done.

But Dr Shariff’s research clearly points to a reverse trend. The likelihood of Muslims being employed in regular wage jobs is diminishing as fast as is statistically possible. Chances of work as agricultural labour are also low—less, in fact, than for SC/STs or OBCs. Self-employment and non-agricultural work (which are the most low-paying and least upwardly-mobile) are decidedly more open to Muslims. (...) (*Source: By Pragya Singh, 11.04.11, <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?271161>, accessed 03.11.13*)

[Hence, in Gujarat now, the Muslims are most likely to be self-employed, where wages have increased the least. Moreover, Muslims are least likely of all communities to get

organised sector as well as salaried jobs. The work participation rate for Hindus in Gujarat is 10% higher, suggesting better employment. And Gujarat does not have a specific employment and higher education quota for Muslims. In all these respects, Gujarat shows some unique characteristics not seen in other states so greatly. Moreover, “There are at least 25-30,000 people who cannot still return to their village homes and farms for work. They are therefore forced to live in such ghettos” (26.02.12, <http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-ghettos-the-painful-legacy-of-2002-gujarat-violence-1655150>)

An argument is forwarded in some quarters of the present electorates that the Gujarat mayhem is a past and the complicity of Modi administration in the ‘riots’ could not be proved yet. Hence we have to “look ahead with Modi as the PM”. These arguments are coming particularly from the young electorates who were at their childhood or at their adolescence during the 2002 carnage in Gujarat. We will present in this series of UPDATE an *Appendix* for these readers to know what had happened in Gujarat in 2002. Actually, the Sangh Parivar has toned down their communal voices to woo the voters on the plank of ‘development’. In the earlier chapter we have dissected the hollowness of the claim of ‘development’ in the Modi-regime in Gujarat. But, though toned down, communal agenda is not altogether absent from the fountainhead of ‘fascist’ forces. The Sangh Parivar is actually moving along a treacherous path. Ashoke Singhal, a topmost leader of the Viswa Hindu Parishad (VHP) recently said that “Modi,... is a creation of VHP” (25.10.13, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-10-25/india/43394311_1_ashok-singhal-vhp-leader-vhp). While commenting on the Hindutva agenda of Modi and BJP, *The Economic Times* writes:

While Modi has carefully and assiduously groomed a development-oriented, corporate CEO-like image for national projection, he would be acutely aware that it may not work to his advantage in the caste-ridden cow belt of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. While the party has a cadre and a base in Bihar, where it was a junior partner in the state government for several years until recently, the task of revival is more difficult in Uttar Pradesh. (*Put aside any doubts, it's Hindutva in Uttar Pradesh*, 25.11.13, <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/et-analysis-put-aside-any-doubts-its-hindutva-in-uttar-pradesh/articleshow/26338896.cms>)

In fact, the recent riots of Muzzafarnagar, the BJP had not concealed its Hindutva agenda. In fact, RSS while declaring Modi as the PM-elect said that four Hindutva agenda are very much alive in their programme:

[T]he RSS has set four conditions for supporting Modi as the prime ministerial candidate

- Modi has been made to pledge to building a grand Ram Temple in Ayodhya.
- He has also been urged to enforce the contentious Uniform Civil Code across the country.
- He has to press for a repeal of Article 370. If done, it will take away the special status accorded to Jammu and Kashmir.
- He has to take steps for the protection of cows. (*RSS sets four Hindutva conditions for supporting Modi as PM, 10.09.13, <http://www.indiatvnews.com/politics/national/rss-sets-four-hindutva-conditions-for-supporting-modi-as-pm-12457.html>, accessed on 25.11.13*)

In fact, Modi clarified that he has no guilty feelings about the Gujarat ‘riots’ and called the Muslims as “puppy” Note the next extract. – UPDATE]

No guilty feeling about Gujarat riots, says Modi

Defending himself against accusations over the 2002 riots, Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi has said his government used its “full strength” to “*do the right thing*” and he had no guilty feeling.

In an interview to the newswire *Reuters*, he said people had the “right to be critical in a democracy,” but he did not have any guilty feeling. He said he was sad about the riots, adding he would be sad even if a “puppy” came under a car.

“... any person if we are driving a car, we are a driver, and someone else is driving a car and we’re sitting behind, *even then if a puppy comes under the wheel, will it be painful or not? Of course, it is.* If I’m a Chief Minister or not, I’m a human being. If something bad happens anywhere, it is natural to be sad,” Mr. Modi said to a question whether he regretted the riots.

“Up till now, we feel that we used our full strength to set out to do the right thing,” he said.

“People have a right to be critical. We are a democratic country. Everyone has his own view. I would feel guilty if I did something wrong. (...) (Source: 12.07.13, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/no-guilty-feeling-about-gujarat-riots-says-modi/article4908704.ece>, accessed 27.10.13)

[Modi said that they “used” their “full strength to set out to do the right thing” during the Gujarat Genocide! In fact, the court cases of Gujarat violence had been shifted from Gujarat to Maharashtra because the Supreme Court felt that proper judgment of the cases could not be done until the Modi administration was there. Supreme Court in its rare indictment made the following comments. – UPDATE]

Modi modern-day Nero: SC

Calling the Gujarat government modern-day Neros looking elsewhere when innocent children and helpless women were burning, the Supreme Court on Monday issued an unprecedented order quashing the acquittal of all 21 accused in the infamous Best Bakery case and directed its retrial in a Maharashtra court....

Allowing appeals filed by key witness Zahira Sheikh and the Gujarat government, a Bench comprising Justice Doraiswamy Raju and Justice Arijit Pasayat gave this landmark order. It's the first time an order for retrial and reinvestigation has been passed even though both the trial court and the high court acquitted the accused.

When Gujarat was engulfed with communal riots in the aftermath of the burning of Sabarmati Express at Godhra on February 27, 2002, a mob set fire to Best Bakery at Vadodara on March 1, resulting in the death of 14 people. Zahira, an eye-witness to the incident, lost her family in the incident.

Lambasting the Gujarat government for its laxity in bringing the guilty to book, the apex court said, *“The modern day Neros were looking elsewhere when Best Bakery and innocent children and helpless women were burning, and were probably deliberating how the perpetrators of the crime can be protected.”*

The court, while directing the Gujarat government to appoint a new public prosecutor, directed the Director General of Police to oversee further probe and ordered the trial be conducted on a day-to-day basis.

The Bench directed the governments of Gujarat and Maharashtra to give adequate protection to witnesses and victims “so that they can depose freely without any apprehension of threat or coercion from any person”.

The court again set a precedent by asking the Gujarat government to consult victims and witnesses before appointing a public prosecutor....

Holding that free and fair trial of the case was still not possible in Gujarat, the Bench said: “Keeping in view the peculiar circumstances of the case and the ample evidence on record, glaringly demonstrating subversion of justice delivery system with no congenial and conducive atmosphere still prevailing, we direct that retrial shall be done by a court under the jurisdiction of Bombay High Court.”

The court also criticised the Gujarat high court for making “irresponsible” remarks against activists, including Teesta Setalvad, and even against the National Human Rights Commission.

Expunging the “irresponsible” remarks passed by the high court, Justice Pasayat said, “The high court appears to have miserably failed to maintain required judicial balance and sobriety in making unwarranted references to personalities and their legitimate move before competent courts — the highest court of the nation, despite knowing fully well that it could not deal with such aspects or matters.”

Taking the entire chronology of events right from the date of incident to the judgement of the trial court and that of the high court, the apex court said, “If one cursorily glances through the records of the case, one gets a feeling that the justice delivery system was being taken for a ride and literally allowed to be abused, misused and mutilated by subterfuge.

“The investigation appears to be perfunctory and anything but impartial without any definite object of finding out the truth and bringing to book those who were responsible for the crime,” it said.

In a stinging criticism of the public prosecutor, the court said he acted more as a “defence counsel” and added “the trial court in turn appeared to be a silent spectator, mute to the manipulations and preferred to be indifferent to sacrilege being committed to justice.”

The court felt there was no seriousness on the part of the state government to pursue its appeal before the high court challenging the acquittal of all 21 accused. (...) (*Source: 12.04.04, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2004-04-12/india/42837146_1_gujarat-government-teesta-setalvad-maharashtra-court, accessed 11.11.13*)

[Shreekumar, one of the former DIG of the Gujarat clearly indicted Modi about his complicity in the Gujarat genocide, 2002. He said:

I found that even though the state intelligence department had received so many reports vividly portraying the role of Sangh Parivar supported by Narendra Modi and BJP workers *in organising, preparing and orchestrating anti-minority violence, nobody did anything...*

I was the first one to note that Muslim complainants were not getting justice, their FIRs are not being taken properly, when they named Hindu leaders as perpetrators of violence, the police inspectors were refusing to note those names, police minimised the intensity of offence while registering complaint and would club several offences as one offence even as the communities were burning. I suggested specific remedial measures. A lot of these officials are culpable of dereliction of duty....

In the Sardarpura case, where 35 people were burnt to death, 31 accused were convicted. *Modi is a programmed robot of the RSS, programmed to hate and discriminate against Muslims...* No chief minister was pulled up by the courts in the past riots.... (*‘Modi is a robot of the RSS, programmed to hate Muslims’, 10.03.12, <http://www.tehelka.com/modi-is-a-robot-of-the-rss-programmed-to-hate-muslims/>, accessed on 27.10.13*)

The Special Investigation Team (SIT) was appointed by the Supreme Court to enquire about the role of Narendra Modi and his government in the communal violence. Note the

following report which throws light on the investigation, indictment and the fake encounters perpetrated in Gujarat during the period of 2002-07. – UPDATE]

Hindutva Marches Ahead as Modi Named Prime Ministerial Candidate

In April 2009, the Supreme Court of India appointed a Special Investigation Team (SIT) to inquire into the Gujarat government and Narendra Modi's role in the incidents of communal violence. The SIT reported to the court in December 2010 submitting that they did not find any incriminating evidence against Modi of willfully allowing communal violence in the state.

On 7 May 2012, the Supreme Court-appointed amicus curiae, Raju Ramachandran, observed that Modi could be prosecuted for promoting enmity among different groups during the 2002 Gujarat violence. His main contention was that the evidence should be examined by a court of law because the SIT was required to investigate but not to judge.

However, on August 31, 2012 *two Modi loyalists Dr. Maya Kodnani, a former minister in the Modi cabinet and a BJP MLA at the time of conviction, and former State president of the Bajrang Dal, Babu Bajrangji were found guilty and sentenced to 28 years and 31 years in jail respectively*, in the gruesome Naroda Patiya massacre. The Naroda Patiya massacre took place on 28 February 2002 at Naroda, in Ahmedabad, capital city of Gujarat. 97 Muslims were killed by a mob of approximately 5,000 people in the incident. The massacre which lasted over 10 hours, the mob looted, stabbed, sexually assaulted, gang-raped and burnt people individually and in groups.

Delivering the judgment the court observed that “as a representative of the people, Dr. Kodnani was expected to serve the people and try to stop the riots. Instead, she has been found to be *involved in plotting and planning the conspiracy along with Babu Bajrangji to attack the Muslims in Naroda-Patiya*” The court said Dr. Kodnani was the “kingpin of entire riots in the Naroda-Patiya area. “She led the mob and incited them to violence. She abetted and supported the violent mob,” the court observed. Dr. Kodnani was elected to the Assembly three times from Naroda. At the time of the 2002 riots, she

was a sitting MLA. She was Minister of State for Women and Child Welfare after her victory in the 2007 Assembly elections, a post she held till she was obliged to resign after having been arrested in connection with the Naroda-Patiya massacre by the Supreme-Court-appointed Special Investigation Team in 2009.

Narendra Modi is also alleged to have organized with his loyal officers a series of encounter killings to boost his political image, including the infamous Israt Jahan case. The Supreme Court on March 2, 2012 entrusted enquiry to a retired Supreme Court judge, Justice H S Bedi, of all 22 extra judicial killings by Gujarat Police from October 2002 to December 2006. In the Ishrat Jahan encounter case, on 21 February 2013 CBI arrested Gujarat IPS officer G L Singhal who was then Assistant Commissioner of Police Crime Branch at the time of the incident, in connection with the *alleged fake encounter*. The CBI in its FIR alleged that Singhal, now Superintendent of Police at State Crime Records Bureau played an active role in the encounter which was later found to be fake by the Special Investigation Team (SIT) constituted by the Gujarat High Court. Besides Singhal, CBI had previously arrested senior police officers, Tarun Barot, J G Parmar, N K Amin, Bharat Patel and Anaju Chaudhary.

On 4 June, suspended IPS officer D G Vanzara was arrested by the CBI, from Sabarmati Central Jail in Ahmedabad, after he was transferred a day ago from a Mumbai Jail since 2007, where he was lodged as he is an accused in Sohrabuddin Shaikh encounter killing case of 2005 as well as Tulsi Prajapati encounter killing case. CBI alleged that he led the team of Detection of Crime Branch (DCB), Ahmedabad, on whose tip off the Ahmedabad Police went ahead with the encounter, and wanted to interrogate him further. *Vanzara is alleged to have organized encounter killings which saw 15 deaths.*

The resignation Vanzara also has created a controversy that is detrimental to the prime ministerial aspirations of Modi. His letter was rejected by the state government on technicalities, saying that his resignation can't be accepted as he is facing serious charges and a vigilance clearance is needed to forward his case to the union home ministry.

In this letter he maintains that between 2002 and 2007, he and other officers of his ilk "simply acted and performed their duties in compliance of the conscious policy of this government" and yet his political bosses betrayed him. The letter targets Narendra Modi

and Amit Shah – who handled the home portfolio at the time. He maintains that the police officers were just implementing the policies formulated at higher level and demands that the policy formulators should also be questioned and punished. (...) (*Source: 13.09.13, <http://www.countercurrents.org/cc130913.htm>, accessed 16.09.13*)

[In each of ‘encounter’ case, it is told by the Gujarat government that Muslim militants targeted Modi and Advani to assassinate and finally died in encounter with the police. But all of these encounters are now proved to be fake. The encounters were staged to glorify Modi at the one end, and to spread hatred towards the Muslim people to serve their ‘fascist’ agenda at the other end. Several top-ranking officials of the police force had been arrested for this fake encounters. Even the present lieutenant of Modi – Amit Shah has also been arrested (now on bail) for the reported fake encounter.

D.G. Vanzara, one of the DIGs of the police (now arrested) opened his mouth with a letter. Follow the extracts of the letter. – UPDATE]

Box: DG Vanzara sings about Haren Pandya murder, says it was political conspiracy: CBI

The CBI is learnt to have got some fresh clues to the sensational killing of former Gujarat home minister Haren Pandya after the agency's officials on Friday questioned deputy inspector general D G Vanzara, who is in judicial custody in connection with a string of fake encounters.

During his interrogation by a CBI team, led by DIG Sandeep Tamagde, Vanzara hinted at a political conspiracy behind Pandya's killing, sources said. Vanzara reportedly spoke about the role of Sohrabuddin in Pandya's murder here in March 2003, sources said.

However, it is doubtful if the CBI would reopen the case, investigated by it earlier. All the accused in the Pandya case were acquitted by the Gujarat high court. The CBI has challenged the acquittal in the Supreme Court. Pandya's family had all along claimed a "political conspiracy" behind his killing.

Vanzara's revelations came during his four-hour interrogation in Sabarmati jail on his recent explosive resignation letter from the IPS in which he had squarely blamed another former home minister, Amit Shah, for a series of fake encounters. Vanzara had also obliquely accused Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi of dumping him and other officials who have been accused of fake encounters.

(Source: 21.09.13, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-09-21/india/42271814_1_sadiq-jamal-encounter-case-tulsiram-prajapati)

Narendra Modi blamed for fake encounter killings policy in Gujarat

A series of "encounter killings" carried out between 2002 and 2007 was in accordance with the policy of Narendra Modi's Gujarat government, DG Vanzara said in a letter sent from Sabarmati Central Prison, where he has been awaiting trial since 2007.

Mr Vanzara, a former Indian Police Service (IPS) officer, is accused of ordering the "encounter" killings of four alleged terrorist suspects in Gujarat....

The “encounter killings” that Mr Vanzara is accused of staging include Ishrat Jahan, 19, and Sohrabuddin Sheikh, a purported gun-runner, who were alleged by the police to be Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorists plotting to assassinate Mr Modi, Gujarat’s controversial Hindu nationalist chief minister, in revenge for his failure to stop a massacre of Muslims in riots throughout the state in 2002.

Mr Vanzara, who was Gujarat’s inspector general of police at the time of the killings in 2004 and 2005, has denied any wrongdoing and remained silent until now. But in a formal letter of resignation from his post to the Gujarat government on Tuesday, *he said that he and 32 other officers in custody on encounter killing charges had acted in accordance with the policies of Mr Modi’s government.*

“We, being field officers, have simply implemented the conscious policy of this government, which was inspiring, guiding and monitoring our actions,” he wrote.

He said he had remained silent since his arrest in 2007 out of respect for Mr Modi, whom he had adored “*as a God*”, but he now felt he and his fellow officers in custody had been abandoned while Mr Modi had used their exploits to present himself as a national leader.

“I, therefore, would like to categorically state in the most unequivocal terms that the officers and men of the crime branch, ATS (Anti-Terrorist Squad) and border range, during the period 2002 to 2007, simply acted in compliance with the conscious policy of this government,” he wrote. (...) (Source: 04.09.13, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/10286774/Narendra-Modi-blamed-for-fake-encounter-killings-policy-in-Gujarat.html>, accessed 07.11.13)

[Christophe Jaffrelot, a renowned author wrote on the fake encounter:

Today, five Gujarat-based police officials — including senior IPS officers — are behind bars, waiting for their trial in Mumbai. They’ve been accused of being responsible for at least one of the many alleged fake encounters that have taken place in the years 2003-2006 in Gujarat. The most famous of these cases are those regarding Sohrabuddin, his wife Kauser bi and their friend Tulsiram Prajapati.

The CBI, in its chargesheet, *named Amit Shah, the then minister of state for home, as the kingpin of the conspiracy.* He was arrested in 2010, spent over three months in jail and, while on bail, was not allowed to return to Gujarat, lest he interfere with the investigators. He came back two months before the last state elections, was re-elected and, by all accounts, has again *become a close aide of the chief minister.* Maya Kodnani, also a former member of the state government, has been convicted for involvement in the 2002 violence in Ahmedabad. The Supreme Court has ordered the transfer of several cases to Maharashtra “to preserve the integrity of the trial”.... (*A class of his own, by Christophe Jaffrelot, 17.04.13, <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/a-class-of-his-own/1103615/0>, accessed on 03.11.13*)

Interestingly, the Congress Party, now in power in the form of UPA, is shedding crocodile’s tear at the rise of Narendra Modi as the PM candidate. Firstly, the Indian politics was communalised right from the pre-‘independence’ era and behind this intoxication the then Congress Party had numerous roles. Secondly, after the ‘independence’, the Congress Party, particularly after the seventies of the last century, followed the path of soft Hinduvta in parliamentary politics and thus paved the rise of Hindutvavadi forces like Sangh Parivar. Thirdly, Congress Party itself was involved in the anti-Sikh violence in 1984 after the assassination of Indira Gandhi. In fact, all the parliamentary parties had hands in fomenting communal hatred either soft or hard. This scenario of Indian politics can be resisted and changed only by the emergence of the revolutionary working class politics in national scale.

In the Appendix section of this of UPDATE, we are reproducing some of the excerpts published in UPDATE 8. Moreover, in 2007, Tehelka did a sting operation among the members of the Sangh Parivar in Gujarat. It would be an eye-opener to those persons who cannot remember and/or does not know what actually happened in Gujarat in 2002. – UPDATE]

Appendix 1: What Happened in Gujarat in 2002?

[Appendix 1 is prepared by arranging some of the excerpts published in *UPDATE 8* (May 2002)]

Introduction

[As we are preparing this issue of UPDATE, more and more reports are coming from Gujarat which are more horrific than the previous ones! In fact, sometimes we have been losing words to express ourselves! Each and every report loudly proclaims: what happened in Gujarat was not a 'communal riot', but 'cold-blooded', 'organised', 'pre-planned'... 'genocide'. It was a 'civilized' barbarity against a particular community, i.e., the Muslims. The saffron brigade was out to annihilate, wipe out a particular section of people from the map of India. And the fascists didn't conceal their targets. Even now the leaders of the RSS and its siblings are justifying the genocide: *"Let Muslims understand that their real safety lies in the goodwill of the majority!"*

Nearly two thousand Muslims were roasted alive, butchered, killed. Women were stripped, gang-raped, chopped off, slaughtered. Children were not spared. Eyewitnesses of the children were so much traumatised that they could not properly narrate what happened to their beloved parents, sisters, brothers! Shops-hotels-businesses owned by Muslims were targeted, looted, burnt with a computerised list prepared beforehand. Houses torched, looted and destroyed. Masjids-dargahs-majars turned into rubbles, plained into metalled roads overnight or converted into 'Lord Hanuman' mandir. All these had been done by a 'saffron-bandheaded', 'shortpant-clad', 'trishul & talwar-waving' mob with 'utmost precision'. It was a pogrom conducted against the Muslims with a 'festive, jubilant mood' enjoyed by scores of onlookers who were not 'actually' participants in this 'holy act'!

And this pogrom executed with the open/naked/active collaboration/participation of the state machinery – the police, bureaucrats, administration, and above all the 'saffron' ministers of the government, including the chief minister Narendra, Modi. Reports after reports indict the state & indicate the utter complicity of the government.

The divisions within the society on communal line had been widened (or, 'almost completed') with well-thought designs – within the tribals in the remote villages, the unemployed youths in the shanty towns, the retrenched workers, the peasants & the farm-labourers, the traders, the petty producers & casual workers, the upper section of society (the doctors, officers, lawyer, etc.). A 'trained militia' was prepared recruiting cadres from this communally-divided society. "It is also mental training in dehumanising of the 'enemy' through ideological hatred that enables men (and women, in some cases) to attack, dismember, de-humanise, kill, burn and then finally enjoy the loot." – writes *'Communalism Combat' (7th March, 2002)*

One fact-finding team concludes: "The *message* was loud and clear: it was 'Hindutva' with all its militancy, out to eliminate a community". (*PUCL report, 26.3.02*) No! The message is something more! Many analysts call this mayhem as a 'fascist act' of the Sangh Parivar directed against the minorities.... but we think it is still more than that. The 'fountainhead' of fascist forces emerged in Gujarat is a threat not only to the minorities, but also the democratic, struggling, downtrodden people of the country. It was an clear outrage on the basic (though 'crippled' in the so-called democracy of the country) freedom/right of the people. Live and let live according to the dictat of these fascists or otherwise perish! They called for 'economic boycott' of Muslims and are now meticulously executed this dictum. They declared that "*Let Muslims understand that their real safety lies in the goodwill of the majority*". They (behind the mask of 'soft-Hindutvavadi' Vajpayee) proclaimed in Goa that "*We have allowed you freedom of worship*". These 'bosses' of the society now dictate the (Hindu) people 'what to do, what not'. In this fashion they taught a lesson to Medha Patkar; to journalists who still cannot be adequately 'Hinduised' (or purchased by Sangh brand of 'Hinduism'); to the 'Hindu' students who should be learnt their 'true (Hindu) history' in textbooks; to the ('western-minded', 'non-Hinduised') historians and artists; to the 'non-Hinduised' democratic-minded people; to the struggling workers and peasants (by the 'great' strike-breakers Shiv Sainiks & BMS) so on so forth.

They have already been making the 'soft-state' India into a state of so many 'teeth'. They have enacted the POTA to curb the simmering voices of the mass of people bulldozered under the economic policies of ruling classes. They have 'empowered' the

state machinery to handle possible threats—i.e., the threats of the discontent of the scores of jobless, unemployed workers and youths; the peasants committing suicides under the burden of debt; the tribals living on the margin of starvation death; and even the salaried people losing fixed jobs and facing an almost uncertain future so on. On the one hand, they have (alongwith several black acts) the POTA-like teeth (which not only bite but throttle legally); on the other, they are making the state machinery more communal, more (upper) casteist, more atrocious (with respect to minimum freedom to have one's own faith-custom-behaviour guaranteed by the so-called secular-democratic constitution)... and *thus a fascist state is in making*. Actually, we think (and also try to elaborate in this issue of UPDATE), what had been perpetrated in Gujarat (as a 'laboratory experiment') was not confined... could not be confined in Gujarat alone, it is still spreading/developing all over the states of the country – from Rajasthan, Maharashtra, UP (the strong bastion of the Sangh Parivar) to the states like Orissa, Tamilnadu, Kerala and even 'left'-ruled West Bengal. In this issue of UPDATE we try to discuss, study and inform about the impending threat of this communal, fascist programme of Sangh Parivar as comprehensively as possible.]

“We Have No Orders to Save You”

Thirty-eight-year-old Mehboob Mansoori lost eighteen family members in the massacre of Muslims in the neighborhood of Gulmarg Society, Ahmedabad. He was interviewed by Human Rights Watch three weeks after the attack. His story is representative of many testimonies contained in this report.

They burnt my whole family. On February 28, we went to Ehsan Jaffrey's home for safety. He is an ex-member of parliament... At 10:30 a.m. the stone throwing started. First there were 200 people then 500 from all over, then more. We were 200-250 people. We threw stones in self-defense. They had swords, pipes, soda-lemon bottles, sharp weapons, petrol, kerosene, and gas cylinders. They began shouting, “Maro, kato,” [“Kill them, cut them”] and “Mian ko maro.” [“Kill the Muslims”]. I hid on the third floor.

Early in the day at 10:30 the police commissioner came over and said don't worry. He spoke to Jaffrey and said something would work out, then left. The wall in front of the

house was broken at 11:30 a.m. When they entered the hall we had lost our spirit, we had no weapons, we couldn't fight back. Other people also came there for safety. When the gas cylinder exploded I jumped from the third floor. This was around 1:30 p.m.

At 3:30 p.m. they started cutting people up, and by 4:30 p.m. it was game over. Ehsan Jaffrey was also killed. He was holding the door closed. Then the door broke down. They pulled him out and hit him with a sword across the forehead, then across the stomach, then on his legs... They then took him on the road, poured kerosene on him and burned him. There was no police at all. If they were there then this wouldn't have happened.

Eighteen people from my family died. All the women died. My brother, my three sons, one girl, my wife's mother, they all died. My boys were aged ten, eight, and six. My girl was twelve years old. The bodies were piled up. I recognized them from parts of their clothes used for identification. They first cut them and then burned them. Other girls were raped, cut, and burned. First they took their jewelry, I was watching from upstairs. I saw it with my own eyes. If I had come outside, I would also have been killed.

Four or five girls were treated this way. Two married women also were raped and cut. Some on the hand, some on the neck.

At 5:30 p.m. a car came, it was the assistant commissioner. They brought us out slowly; some were hiding in the water tank underground. Some tried to get out but were attacked. Sixty-five to seventy people were killed inside. After the police came we told them to take us somewhere safe. They brought us to the camp. We didn't go to the police station. Three patients were admitted in the civil hospital. On March 3 and 4 the police came here to file complaints, but only after camp organizers called them. (*Source: State Participation and Complicity in Communal Violence in Gujarat, Human Rights Watch; <http://www.hrw.org>*)

Ethnic Cleansing in Ahmedabad

(...) The worst instance of such an attack was at Naroda Pattiya where a big settlement of Muslims of about 25,000 inhabitants was completely destroyed by the rioters. Survivors of the attack who are now spread over several relief camps in the city recall that

the local police totally sided with the riotous mob. The Noorani masjid was first attacked and burnt with the help of *LPG cylinders, tyres, petrol and kerosene*. When some of the Muslim youth tried to resist the mob, the police fired at them and even killed some. Residents in the camps claimed that the *Special Reserve Police [SRP] force present refused to provide them sanctuary and forced them towards the waiting rioters*. Once the resistance was broken with the help of the police, the rioters stormed inside the settlement, burning and looting at will. *Eyewitness after eyewitness in the relief camps described gory incidents of children being burnt alive and women being raped. One expectant woman's belly was cut open, her foetus wrenched out and dashed to the ground*. The enormity and ferocity of the attack forced all the surviving residents of the settlement to run away. Every house was looted and burnt and the entire settlement completely devastated.

(...) Many also narrated *how the SRP misguided a large group of people who were trying to escape into a trap, where the mob killed them and threw the bodies into a well*. Most of the dead bodies were charred or mutilated beyond recognition (...).

Another such major organized attack was carried out on a Muslim settlement at Sundaramnagar near the Bapunagar locality. A visit to the affected area, disclosed a *similar pattern of attack*, from the eyewitness accounts. A local madrassa situated near the boundary of the settlement was attacked by a mob of nearly 15,000 accompanied by the police who fired at the Muslims who tried to offer resistance. *Truckloads of LPG cylinders were brought and used to cause explosions inside the buildings*. Trucks were also used to batter down the boundary wall to create a breach for the rioters to enter. A pitched battle was fought here between the Muslim inhabitants and the rioters who had surrounded them from three sides, for nearly 36 hours. *During this period fresh batches of rioters were reportedly brought in luxury buses and fatigued ones taken away*. Finally, the resistance collapsed and the Muslim dwellers had to run away for their lives. The rioters entered into the settlement from all sides and carried out loot and arson on a large scale using petrol bombs and gas cylinders. Most of the dwellings in the settlement as well as private vehicles like scooters, bicycles or auto rickshaws were burnt completely. Even metallic furniture and ceiling fans had melted under the impact of the explosions.

The *graffiti* left behind by the rioters on the charred walls of the completely burnt madrassa at Sundaramnagar boasted of the police support:

Yeh andar ki bat hai, Police hamarey saath hai. [This is inside information; the police are with us].

Jaan se mar dengey, Bajrang Dal zindabad, Narendra Modi zindabad. [We will kill. Long live the Bajrang Dal, long live Narendra Modi.]

(...) Along with the butchering of human lives, there has been widespread destruction of masjids and dargahs. Rough estimates suggest 20 odd mosques being demolished in Ahmedabad alone. As has been mentioned earlier, the major attacks were organized on 1st March and the pattern seems to suggest targeting of mosques in all parts of city, during the Friday prayers. In most of the places, Hindu idols were placed on the site of the mosques after demolishing them, thus converting them into temples a la VHP style. In many cases, liquor was consumed within the mosques and madrassas, and holy books burnt within madrassas. The small Hindu temple within the Muslim locality of Sundaramnagar which remained unharmed while its neighbouring mosque and madrassa were burnt and destroyed, stood in sharp contrast to the vandalism of the VHP rioters.

However, these attacks on the mosques should not be seen only in terms of being acts of provocation meant to incite the Muslim minority by hurting religious sentiments. They were also accompanied by attacks on historical monuments. *The famous 500-year-old masjid in Isanpur, which was an ASI monument, was destroyed with the help of cranes and bulldozers. The famous Urdu Poet Wali Gujarati's dargah was also razed to the ground at Shahibag in Ahmedabad. While a hanuman shrine was built over its debris initially, all that was removed overnight and the plot was metalled and merged with the adjoining road.* No authority claimed any knowledge about the entire episode. It is worth noting here that the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, which is responsible for the maintenance of all these structures, and for the building of roads, is run by the Congress with a near two-thirds majority. (...) (Source: *A Preliminary Report, Sahmat Fact Finding Team, 10-11.03.2002*)

Gujarat: Lab of Hindutva Comes Alive

(...) First time in history, north Gujarat villages — Sardarpura, Kukarvada, Gavada, Sadra, Prantij etc. saw the miscreants and hoodlums with weapons roaming on the streets looting and roasting alive people in their slums and houses.

'We have no more musalman in our village now.' declared a VHP member from Sardarpur, where the charred remains of a house on Sheikh ni Vadi belonging to 28 Muslim farm labourers was torched together with all of them — No firefighter or police reached there nor will it ever. (...)

As if in a well organized manner, the VHP-Bajrang Dal-BJP elements in the crowds installed Hanuman idols (or stones) naming it as 'Hulladia Hanuman' (riotous Hanuman) at several demolished Dargahs, mosques or Muslim shrines, so that the same shrines could not be revived in future. In the same way, scores of truck drivers identified as Muslims from their driving licence, were butchered and their truckloads looted and burnt on several highways of the state, particularly those coming from Godhra to Vadodara — a 90 km road without any policeman around. Drivers of most other vehicles were stopped rudely asking them to repeat Jai Shri Rama and then only allowed to go. Police did not intervene anywhere on such highways.

An eyewitness told this writer that a police officer offered bangles to some onlookers and told them to enjoy the booty when the C.G. Road Muslim owned shops were not yet targeted. Students from a nearby hostel ran in frenzy and looted all the shoes from Metro Shoes, before it was burnt down! Several other luxury stores were too burnt down. Among those who shared the daylight loot of luxury items were some of the elite women and gentlemen driving their automobiles or scooters?! (...) (Source: by B. Vora, www.mnet.fr/aiindex/)

The Making of a Fascist Brigade

[How had the killers 'systematically' targeted, attacked, burnt (& raped) the Muslim men/women, houses, businesses? How had the patterns of the outrage executed had an almost similar design all over Gujarat and even in the remote villages and tribal areas? How had the mob numbering 5,000-20,000 been mustered quickly and made the

'operations successful' within a few hours? These questions are answered by the following reports/excerpts. Harsh Mander, the above-quoted IAS officer further writes: – UPDATE]

(...) In Ahmedabad, most people I met – social workers, journalists, survivors – agree that what Gujarat witnessed was not a riot, but a terrorist attack followed by a systematic, planned massacre, a pogrom. Everyone spoke of the pillage and plunder, being organised like a military operation against an external armed enemy. *An initial truck would arrive broadcasting inflammatory slogans, soon followed by more trucks which disgorged young men, mostly in khaki shorts and saffron sashes. They were armed with sophisticated explosive materials, country weapons, daggers and trishuls. They also carried water bottles, to sustain them in their exertions. The leaders were seen communicating on mobile telephones from the riot venues, receiving instructions from and reporting back to a co-ordinating centre. Some were seen with documents and computer sheets listing Muslim families and their properties. They had detailed precise knowledge about buildings and businesses held by members of the minority community, such as who were partners say in a restaurant business, or which Muslim homes had Hindu spouses were married who should be spared in the violence. This was not a spontaneous upsurge of mass anger. It was a carefully planned pogrom.*

The trucks carried quantities of gas cylinders. Rich Muslim homes and business establishments were first systematically looted, stripped down of all their valuables, then *cooking gas was released from cylinders into the buildings for several minutes. A trained member of the group then lit the flame which efficiently engulfed the building.* In some cases, acetylene gas which is used for welding steel, was employed to explode large concrete buildings. Mosques and dargahs were razed, and were replaced by statues of Hanuman and saffron flags. Some dargahs in Ahmedabad city crossings have overnight been demolished and their sites covered with road building material, and bulldozed so efficiently that these spots are indistinguishable from the rest of the road. Traffic now plies over these former dargahs, as though they never existed. (...) *(Source: Times of India, 20.3.2002)*

[*Sahmat further reports:*]

(...) Similar instances of such pogroms reveal certain common characteristics. Firstly the rioting mobs were huge ones and with a substantial segment properly trained for such activities. *In fact, they more resembled a militia rather than spontaneously mobilized fanatics.* The premeditated nature of the attacks is indicated by the almost exclusive selection of Muslim commercial establishments, residential areas and individual residences. After the experience of earlier riots, most of the Muslim establishments had non-Muslim, mainly Hindu names. *Yet the attackers reportedly had lists, and specifically targeted Muslim properties. In instance after instance, we saw Muslim shops, workshops, and flats burnt and looted while the neighbouring Hindu owned properties were untouched.* The modus operandi was often the same. Vehicles including trucks were brought to cart away the loot. *In the cases of factories and commercial establishments that had strong grills and metal shutters, gas cutters were used to gain access. LPG cylinders were used to blow up residential rooms and shops. Thousands must have been used. Such massive provision of LPG cylinders must have involved official collusion, if not sanction. (...)*

Thousands of shops and business establishments belonging to the Muslims were ransacked and destroyed, often being selectively chosen from within a cluster of shops. A visit to Shalimar Complex where nearly 40 out of 50 odd shops belonged to Muslims disclosed how those were selectively targeted, looted and burnt on the day of the VHP sponsored bandh. (...) Shops owned by Hindus were left untouched. (...) Hotels and restaurants owned by Muslims also came in for this selective attack. *Given the history of communal riots these restaurants were already running under 'Hindu' names like Tulsi, Abhilasha etc. to conceal their Muslim ownership.* However, the information regarding every such business establishment was there with the rioters. *It has been alleged that a local Gujarati daily Sandesh carried the names of all such Muslim owned establishments in Ahmedabad which were running under 'Hindu' names, about a month earlier. (...)* (Source: A Preliminary Report, Sahmat Fact Finding Team, 10-11.03.2002)

[PUCL – a human rights group points out:]

A Communal Carnage? No, It's a Case of Genocide

The widespread violence that engulfed the whole of Gujarat was officially explained as a “spontaneous outburst” or a “backlash” to the event at Godhra railway station. This is belied by the following facts:

(i) *The perpetrators of massive killings were well organized, well-equipped with arms and incendiary materials including petrol, kerosene, solvent, LPG cylinders, cranes, tankers and even a deadly new chemical liquid. This could not have happened overnight. The systematic targeting of Muslims, their homes, shops, schools, masjids and durgahs within matter of hours could hardly be called a spontaneous outrage, that even now (March 26), continues in several districts and in this city itself.*

(ii) *These militants or hooligans shouted the same slogans and seemed to have previous training of house-breaking, wielding of weapons like swords and trishuls, along with deadly tools of arson and loot. They were accompanied by trucks full of this destructive material at many places of arson.*

(iii) *The crowds of hundreds, and thousands at certain spots, moved in different parts of Gujarat, according to well laid down design and plan, concentrating on the Muslim areas and eliminating them and their religious shrines, without any let or hindrance.*

(iv) *There was absolutely no rule of law and there was a planned “breakdown” of administration. Neither the chief minister nor any of his colleagues stirred out either to control the criminal assailants or utter a word of sympathy for those who suffered grievous injuries or outright death. On the contrary, according to a report in The Indian Express of March 24, two ministers remained present for few hours at police control rooms to oversee the operations. According to some victims at Paladi area, the revenue minister who is a former state home minister, Haren Pandya, was found directing the crowds and patting the police officials telling them to go soft on “our boys.” (...) (Source: DN Pathak, PUCL, 26.03.02)*

Misuse of voters list in Gujarat riots alleged

(...) The manner in which the people of minority community, irrespective of their economic status, were attacked first raised suspicion about *systematic misuse of voters list to identify and target them*.

Similarly, according to the victims, *the licence and other relevant papers from the civic bodies were used to target the hotels and other business establishments owned by them*. (...)

“They hardly failed in laying their hands on their target, thanks to the documents like voters’ list,” said a police official adding “the mission was accomplished with *clinical precision*.” (...) (Source: *The Times of India, Ahmedabad, 12.03.02*)

[One of the VHP leaders admitted that they had a list of Muslims and their properties. Though he denied that the list is prepared beforehand, it reveals how they orchestrated the carnage in a pre-planned manner. Follow the next excerpt in which this admission was published. – UPDATE]

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*.

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, 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, “Karvunj pade, karvunj 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 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.” (...)

Asked how he, a scholar and a literateur, 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.” (*Source: by Sheela Bhatt, www.rediff.com, 12.03.02*)

HinduUnity.org Calls for Action!

Dear Proud Hindus:

(...) We Hindus are peace loving and view all humans as equal as we come from the most tolerant religion in the world. But the time has come when we must leave this behind because our survival is at risk. Do not tolerate intolerance under any circumstances.

This incident [i.e., the Godhra – UPDATE] *must be avenged. Tit for tat is the final verdict.* They have killed 58 of our Hindus without any instigation or an attack from our

side. They have attacked first. *Are we going to sit back and let this incident go by? Do you think it is right for us only to burn a few cars or shops to resolve this problem and be content?* 58 Hindus have been burned alive. It is time Hindus started to keep count. I am keeping count. Are you?

(...) I am proud that our Hindu youths in Gujarat and other surrounding areas have taken matters into their own hands. But I am not happy that some Hindu youths are at home locked behind a secure door while they should be out on the streets taking action and teaching these murderers a lesson that they will never forget. I ask these Hindus to come out from hiding and go help our brave Hindu boys who are risking their lives to protect the very essence of our Hindu society and culture. You must avenge our Hindus that died in the murderous act or get ready to become Muslims yourselves. (...)

With this we call on all Hindu youths of India to immediately take matters into their own hands. Your actions today will determine the fate of Hindus in India tomorrow. If we let this incident go by, we will definitely be killed and wiped out. (...)

Jai Shri Ram!

Sanjay Sharma, President: HinduUnity.org, 28/02/02

(Source: www.hinduunity.org; website of Bajrang Dal)

The New Middle Class Mobster

VHP's Gujarat president, Dr. KK Shastri, accepts that the current riots in the state were different from communal disturbances in the past in at least one respect. This was perhaps the first time, he admits, that *people from the middle class came out in the streets on February 28 during the VHP-sponsored bandh and indulged in violence.*

Evidence now available with the Gujarat police also suggests that members of the mighty middle class had participated in the arson and loot, if not murder, in the urban areas. Besides, *sections of the affluent upper castes actively played a part in the riots which spread to the villages of central and north Gujarat. (...)*

The myth that riots take place only in the urban slums and the labour-dominated areas has been demolished with one big swipe. Police Commissioner [of Ahmedabad–UPDATE] PC Pande says: "Surprisingly, *these mobs were being led by educated people – advocates, doctors, and the rich.* It was totally unexpected and completely unprecedented."

(...) Looted goods like bar-code machine, billing machine, tyres, spoons, shoes of mismatched sizes and even singles of a pair have been recovered by police from elite housing societies. Plundered commodities also emerged from the government flats near Xavier's Hall Loyala Hall. (...)

(...) The joint commissioner of police, MK Tandon, says, "These mobs consisted of women, youngsters, middle-aged, bourgeoisie and the poor – a marked shift from usual riot-behaviour. Some big names thus find mention in FIRs. (...) (*Source: Times of India, 31.03.02*)

[It is already mentioned in one of the above articles that the Gujarat Govt. issued circular to the police forces in 1999 to collect the names, addresses, and other data of the Muslim & Christian communities, the mode of which may clearly be understood by readers. In fact, the Update had already published these circular or 'communal census' in its 1st issue. One of the circular (related to Muslims) is re-published here owing to its importance in the present circumstances. – UPDATE]

'A Communal Census'

To All Police Commissioners, All District Police Officers & For Information: Police Ahmedabad All range IGPs/DIGPS

From: Director of Police (Intelligence), Gujarat State, Ahmedabad

Ref.:D.2/2,Com/Muslim/Activity/84/99 of 1/2-2-99

1. *You are asked to intimate the details of persons (Muslims) involved in communal riots which occurred in your city/district during the last five years viz (1) offence registration No. (2) Section (3) Place (4) What judgement by court? (5) How many times the person is booked under CRPC Section 107, 151, 110 or PASA, NASA?*

2. Please submit the dossier of criminals and persons with communal mentality.

3. *Please prepare the complete dossier and send with special messenger about branches of Students Islamic Movement of India located in your district/Cities with the names, addresses telephone numbers of the office bearers and active workers. The details of addresses of offices also be given.*

4. Please intimate how many Darul Ulams are functioning in your districts/cities where the same are located.

The boys and girls studying there belong to which Country/State/District and their numbers.

Details and types of degree awarded. Whether the same are recognised by the Government. and from which foreign countries they receive assistance and quantum of the same.

5. Please intimate the details of existing Muslim organizations in your district/cities with their address and who are the leaders working for their organizations, their names addresses, total members, telephone numbers etc.

6. Please intimate the places where Istemas are organized by Muslims in your districts/cities and total number of persons attending Istemas. Name the participating religious leaders and the names of persons actively involved in the activity with addresses.

7. Please intimate about the *number of Pakistani Nationals in your District/cities*, when they came. How many went back, How many got Indian nationality? What are the activities at present?

8. *Please intimate the details of Muslims in your cities who are involved in narcotic and smuggling activities.* How many times they have been detained under COFEPOSA, PASS, NASA, and deported? Prepare the dossier with names and other complete details.

9. *Please open the dossier of Muslims individuals who are involved in the offence of assault with knives or scissors, rioting and murder with their names and the copy of the same to be sent here.*

10. Please intimate the names of political leaders, with their names and their party, who are supporting these criminals and assist them for release for help in the polls.

Sd/- P.B.Upadhyaya

(Source: The Statesman, 07.03.1999)

Appendix 2: New Evidences & State Complicity

[Tehelka had done a sting operation among some of the members and sections of the Sangh Parivar and published the sensational transcript and report of the interviews in website and television in 2007. Some of these reports are reproduced here. – UPDATE]

A Cold Eclipse

There was no spontaneity to what happened in Gujarat post-Godhra. This was no uncontrived, unplanned, unprompted communal violence. This was a pogrom. This was genocide.

In a planned, coldly strategic manner, Muslim neighbourhoods across both urban and rural Gujarat were targeted. Large sections of Hindus were united under a single objective: to kill Muslims, wherever and by whatever means, preferably by first stabbing and mutilating them, and then by setting on fire what remained, whether dead or alive. During the course of the TEHELKA sting, many accused said they preferred burning Muslims alive over other forms of death since cremation is considered unacceptable in Islam.

For three days after the February 27 fire on the Sabarmati Express at Godhra, Gujarat's BJP government receded from public view and let the armed mercenaries of Hindu organisations take over. For three days, absolute anarchy reigned. Execution squads were formed, composed of the dedicated cadre of Hindu organisations — the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Bajrang Dal, the Kisan Sangh, the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad and the Bharatiya Janata Party. Masjids and dargahs were destroyed across the state. Seventy-three Muslim religious places were torched in Ahmedabad alone, 55 in Sabarkantha, 22 in Vadodara.

The architects of Gujarat's greatest shame were of two sorts. There were the coolheaded strategists, the conspirators, who plotted the carnage from behind the scenes. And there were the foot soldiers, the members of the saffron army, drugged on the vicious agenda of so-called Hindutva, who went out and looted, raped and killed. On occasion, the planners were also sometimes emboldened to go out and participate in the massacres.

Ahmedabad: Carnage Capital

The most horrifying massacre of the Gujarat riots was the one at Naroda Gaon and Naroda Patiya localities in Ahmedabad. A local Bajrang Dal leader, Babu Bajrangi, was one of the main conspirators. He started planning the massacre soon after the news of the Sabarmati incident broke. Starting in the evening of February 27, firearms and inflammable material were collected; Bajrangi also formed a select team, drawn from the cadre of the VHP and the Bajrang Dal. Members of the Chhara community, a denotified criminal tribe, were also roped in. TEHELKA spoke to two of them, Suresh Richard and Prakash Rathod. Both believed, and were made to believe, that by killing Muslims they were doing a great service to Hinduism.

On February 28, 2002, Bajrangi marshalled a murderous mob through the narrow bylanes of Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon. Egging the mob on was also local BJP MLA Mayaben Kodnani, who is also a doctor. Both Richard and Rathod have been recorded on TEHELKA's spycam saying that Kodnani drove around Naroda all through the day, urging the mob to hunt Muslims down and kill them. Kodnani's trusted lieutenant, BJP member Bipin Panchal, was also present with his own small band of followers, armed to the teeth. All through the massacre, Bajrangi and VHP state general secretary Jaideep Patel were on the phone with each other. Bajrangi did not reveal whether Patel was also involved in the planning. However, he did say that the death toll was being communicated to Patel at regular intervals. Several survivors from Naroda Gaon have identified Patel as the leader of the Naroda mob.

At the end of the day the total "score" — as Bajrangi chose to term estimates of the number of Muslims killed — in Naroda was well over at least 200. This figure has not been acknowledged by the state government; officially, 105 people were killed at Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon. Naroda, however, was far from the only Ahmedabad locality to be turned into a mass incinerator. A few kilometres away, VHP leaders were leading a frenzied mob at Meghaninagar. The target was a housing society called Gulbarg, a building inhabited by Muslims.

TEHELKA stung three participants in the carnage — Mangilal Jain, Prahlad Raju and Madan Chawal — all three local petty traders and all three with cases against them for

their part in the riots. They said they and other members of the mob had been led by VHP leaders Atul Vaid and Bharat Teli, both of whom were named as accused in the FIR but were subsequently cleared of all charges when the police filed the chargesheet. Chawal gave a graphic description of how he and his accomplices first hacked former Congress MP Ehsan Jafri apart limb from limb, and then made a heap of his body parts, which they set on fire.

The official death toll of the Gulbarg massacre stood at 39, but the accused told TEHELKA that the actual number of those killed was much higher. Apart from the housing society's residents, the dead also included Muslims who lived in nearby slums who had taken shelter in the building. TEHELKA also spoke to VHP leaders Rajendra Vyas and Ramesh Dave, who planned attacks on Muslims in Kalupur and Dariyapur, among Ahmedabad's most communally sensitive areas. Ahmedabad city VHP president Rajendra Vyas, who was also in charge of the ill-fated Sabarmati Express, said that on the day of the fire on the train that killed 59 karsevaks, he had told the VHP cadre that "the Muslims had played a one-day match and given us a target of 60 runs. We shall now have to play a test match and we won't stop until we score 600."

Vyas, who lives in Kalupur, was recorded on the TEHELKA camera stating that he himself had shot dead five Muslims and had burned down nine Muslim houses. Ramesh Dave was the VHP's point man in Dariyapur. He said he and his fellow planners had targeted and killed Muslims who had been in their sights for over 20 years — "*chun-chun ke maara is baar* (we specifically hunted them down)". Dave also claimed that along with a friend, he had arranged for about 10 small firearms.

Sabarkantha: Nowhere to Run

The maximum economic loss that Muslims suffered was in Sabarkantha district, with hundreds of Muslim houses and businesses razed to the ground. Anil Patel, the VHP *vibhag pramukh* (departmental chief), was among the key planners of the carnage here. He told TEHELKA that after the Sabarmati incident, he had taken a vow to kill at least 500 Muslims, failing which he would relinquish the VHP office he was holding. "Our war cry was 'Lock the door from outside and burn the Muslims from the inside'," Patel told

TEHELKA. He also said he had openly urged the VHP and RSS cadres to go out and kill Muslims and burn their properties. There was hardly a village in Sabarkantha where Muslim houses and businesses were not torched, Patel said. A total of 126 Muslim houses were reduced to ashes in Patel's own village, Dhansura, he revealed.

Patel said there while was no single strategy, the intent was to inflict maximum casualties and damage on Muslims. He also said that Pravin Togadia had been coordinating matters at the district level during the carnage. Patel said Togadia told him to work in such a way so as to ensure that important VHP workers were not booked and sent behind bars. In Sabarkantha, 1,545 houses and 1,237 business of Muslims were torched, and 549 shops were ransacked.

Terror's Proud Merchants

The Viswa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and its so-called youth wing, the Bajrang Dal, were the major groups involved in the massacre of Muslims in Gujarat in 2002. Though civil society groups and human rights activists have been vocal about the role of these outfits all through the genocide, only a few of their members have been implicated on charges of murder and rioting. Babu Bajrangi, a Bajrang Dal zealot, is among the few facing trial for their role in the massacre. By and large, most rioters from the VHP and Bajrang Dal, particularly its top leadership, walked away with blood on their hands.

It's not difficult to see why. The Bajrang Dal and the VHP are nothing but extensions of the BJP, which was in power in the state at the time and also led the coalition government at the Centre. During the investigation, TEHELKA found out how leaders of the VHP and the Bajrang Dal had planned the pogrom. To execute their plan "effectively", they required military hardware, they required weapons more sophisticated and lethal than swords, knives and tridents, arms better suited to hand-to-hand combat. They needed an arsenal that could kill in large numbers.

The TEHELKA investigation found that the VHP and the Bajrang Dal had transformed themselves into terror outfits that manufactured and distributed bombs, rocket launchers and firearms in large quantities after the Godhra incident. This weaponry was then handed over to murderous mobs across Gujarat.

Role of The Police

At around 6pm on March 2, 2002, in Bhavnagar district's Ghogha Road, over 200 Muslim children were sheltering in a madarsa when a Hindu mob descended on it, baying for blood. Rahul Sharma, then Bhavnagar Superintendent of Police (SP), ordered his troops to open fire. The mob dispersed, the children were saved.

Over the next two weeks, after the Bhavnagar incident, the police took similarly courageous action at a few other places. By March 16, eight people had been killed in police firing in Bhavnagar district; five were Hindu, two Muslim. Timely intervention kept the district more or less free of killings. On March 16, however, at 10:10am, Sharma received a call from then Minister of State for Home Gordhan Zadaphia.

“Zadaphia said that while I had done a good job, the ratio of those who died in the police firing was not proper — he was complaining about there being more Hindu deaths than Muslim. I told him things would depend on the ground situation and the nature of the mob,” Sharma said in his deposition before the Nanavati-Shah Commission.

Sharma also told the Commission that when he had called up then Director General of Police K. Chakravarty on March 1, 2002, at around 10:20pm, to request the deployment of additional forces in Bhavnagar, the DGP had said that “though he would send one State Reserve Police Force company the next morning, I should not expect more help as the bureaucracy had been completely compromised.”

The two conversations Rahul Sharma had with Zadaphia and the Director General of Police provide ample indication of the role the majority of the police force played during the 2002 massacre, joining ranks with the mobs that were setting Gujarat on fire. From egging on murderous hordes to go for the kill, to supplying them with ammunition, to transporting bombs between districts, to opening fire at Muslims who were already under attack from Hindu rioters — the police facilitated the massacre in every possible way.

Here are some firsthand accounts from the rioters and conspirators of the help they received from sections of the police in the nightmare days when the upholders of law turned into rioters in uniform.

Justice. Blind to The Victim

It was not just the carnage that was clinically planned and supervised by the State, it was also the aftermath. Even before the riots began, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad had started chalking out a strategy for providing legal assistance to Hindus who were likely to be accused of rioting and killing. Dhimant Bhatt and Deepak Shah, members of the BJP's Vadodara unit — Bhatt also being the chief accountant of the Maharaja Sayajirao University (MSU) and Shah a member of the University's executive body — told TEHELKA that key members of the Sangh Parivar met on the night of the Sabarmati Express incident to constitute a panel of advocates to defend the rioters. The fact that the VHP had a good number of advocates — both private lawyers and public prosecutors — among its ranks, made the task easy. Deepak Shah named many Vadodara lawyers, such as Rajendra Trivedi, Neeraj Jain and Tushar Vyas, who were present in that preparatory meeting.

In district Sabarkantha, Narendra Patel and Mohan Patel — both members of the RSS — told TEHELKA that after the riots the RSS had formed a body called Sankalan to provide legal aid to Hindu rioters. Many of the VHP's lawyers, who had their own private practices, became defence counsels for the accused, and public prosecutors who were either members of the VHP or sympathetic to the Sangh extended indirect assistance to the rioters.

The public prosecutors, instead of taking forward the charges against the accused, actually helped them in the case. So, in many places, both the defence and the prosecution were on the same side — on the side of those who looted, raped and killed. What hope then did the Muslim community have of seeing their tormentors convicted? First the police sided with the rioters through shoddy investigations, and now the prosecution too was ranged against the victims.

Chetan Shah, an active VHP member and a leading Ahmedabad lawyer, was the first to represent the accused in the Naroda Patiya massacre. The government later appointed him as the public prosecutor in the Gulbarg society case. TEHELKA met a Gulbarg case accused named Prahlad Raju, who said that while he was on the run, he was being advised by Chetan Shah about when he should surrender before the police.

In Mehsana district, Dilip Trivedi, general secretary of the VHP's Gujarat unit, is also the senior pleader leading a team of about a dozen public prosecutors working under him. Mehsana was among the worst-affected areas during the riots. Two cases in Mehsana in particular — the Deepda Darwaza incident in Visnagar town and the Sardarpura incident — had shaken the conscience of civil society for the number of people killed and also the barbaric manner in which the killings were carried out. Trivedi, whose job was to oppose the bail applications moved by the accused in these two cases, was accused by civil society of helping the accused get bail. After several representations before the Gujarat High Court and the Supreme Court by the victims, Trivedi was removed from representing them in riot cases. TEHELKA went to see Trivedi at his office within the Mehsana court premises on June 15, 2007.

TRIVEDI REVEALED that in his capacity as the VHP's general secretary, he had coordinated all the riot cases in Gujarat. While the reporter was sitting in Trivedi's chamber, two people walked in to discuss a riot-related case in which Hindus were accused. The men needed Trivedi's help to engage a lawyer who could represent the accused. Trivedi called up a few lawyers and tried to find his visitors a suitable lawyer. After the two men left his office, Trivedi said that the defence lawyer who was handling their case had fallen ill, and the responsibility of finding a new defence lawyer had again fallen upon him. He grumbled about having to manage everything — from coordinating with government lawyers and defence advocates to talking to cops who were reinvestigating the riot cases. He further said that out of a total of 74 riot-related cases in Mehsana, only two had resulted in conviction.....

Legal Subversion

The country always believed that Chief Minister Narendra Modi was the guardian deity of the murderous hordes let loose across Gujarat following the Godhra carnage. This belief had acquired the force of truth not only due to Modi's own pronouncements and to those of other members of his party, but also because of an across-the-spectrum indictment of the Modi regime by the media, human rights groups and independent factfinding teams. The Nanavati-Shah Commission, the official probe into the carnage, has been recording statements for a few years now. But in a serious indictment, Arvind

Pandya, the Gujarat government's counsel, reveals that he's trying to manage the proceedings.

Pandya, the special public prosecutor appointed by the Modi government to defend it before the Nanavati-Shah Commission, too believes, like everybody else, that had it not been for Modi the Hindus could not have taken their "revenge" for the Godhra killings. Pandya is privy not only to privileged state information, he is also aware of Modi's own thoughts on the matter. Leading a battery of lawyers for the past five years to absolve Modi and his government of charges of sponsoring and backing the 2002 pogrom, Pandya told TEHELKA that during the riots Modi had given oral instructions to the police to "be with Hindus".

"A Hindu-based government was there when this incident took place, so the people were ready and the state was also ready... this was a happy coincidence," Pandya said. This reporter met Pandya twice – on June 6 and on June 8. On both occasions, Pandya emphasised that had there been a non-BJP government in power in 2002, the riots would never have happened. He said that Modi was so upset after the Godhra carnage that he would himself had dropped bombs on Juhapura — a Muslim neighbourhood in Ahmedabad — but his position as chief minister constrained him. Pandya said he believed that the mass killing of Muslims in Gujarat should be celebrated every year as "victory day". He said that crippling Muslims was better than killing them, as that would not only invite lesser punishment but a crippled Muslim would also serve as a living advertisement of what Hindus were capable of. Inflicting economic loss on Muslims was as important as killing them, Pandya asserted.

This isn't all. Even as he was defending the government before the Commission, Pandya was also simultaneously arguing the cases of the riot accused. He told TEHELKA that in many cases, the judges had given him their full cooperation and guidance.

"Every judge was calling me in his chamber and showing full sympathy for me... giving full cooperation to me, but keeping some distance... the judges were also guiding me as and when required... how to put up a case and on which date... because basically they are Hindus... so help from each and every class of people came forth... the people remained united and their only motive was the survival of Hinduism," said the lawyer.

According to Pandya, it's not just the judiciary in Gujarat that has been complicit in the victimisation and persecution of Muslims. Pandya claimed even the Nanavati-Shah Commission has been compromised. He says KG Shah, who heads the Commission along with Nanavati, is sympathetic to the BJP. Pandya was also full of derision for Nanavati, who he said was only interested in money. What follows is a part of the conversation that TEHELKA had with Pandya at his residence in Ahmedabad on June 8, 2007.

Babu Bajrangi

Just under 5'3", Babu Bajrangi—whose family name is Patel — is a towering figure in Naroda. Twenty-two years of association with the VHP and its youth wing, the Bajrang Dal, has firmly established him as the most dreaded local thug. Today, Bajrangi lords it over Naroda, and over Chharanagar in particular, where he commands a substantial following. Many Chharas appear to hold him in great reverence; he, in turn, is all praise for the criminal abilities he claims they possess, they are his “weapons”, he says, “just kill, nothing else”.

Bajrangi holds court at his office on the second floor of the Ajanta Ellora Shopping Complex, just off the highway that skirts Naroda. Though he claims to be a big builder with a steady monthly income of over a lakh and a half, his main vocation is beating up Muslims and Christians. “I just hate Muslims and Christians,” he says. And the cause dearest to his heart is to “rescue” Hindu girls who have married or eloped with Muslim boys. A majority of those who visit him each day are the parents of such girls. “When they go to the police, the cops don't lodge a complaint, they send them to me,” Bajrangi claims. “Nine hundred and fifty-seven — that's how many Hindu girls I have saved. On average, one girl married to a Muslim produces five children. So, in effect, I have killed 5,000 Muslims before they were born.”...

The Cover-up

TEHELKA in collaboration with advocate Somnath Vatsa of NGO Action Aid — whose Ahmedabad chapter has been fighting for justice for the victims of the 2002 massacre — carried out a threadbare analysis of the police investigation and the chargesheets filed in

the Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon massacres. We found that far from punishing the guilty, the police were involved in a massive cover-up.

Bodies disposed of to diminish magnitude of crime: Once the massacre was over, the first task before the police was to whittle down the death toll. The larger the number of deaths, the more vociferous the outcry from civil society. As Bajrangi details, the police had the bodies from Naroda Patiya rounded up and dumped at various places across the city. According to Bajrangi, over 200 people had died that day; late that night, then Ahmedabad Police Commissioner PC Pandey came to Naroda and ordered the police to have the bodies removed.

“They were piled up in trucks, it took so many vehicles, some were even stuffed into jeeps.” When the bodies were collected the second time and brought to the Civil Hospital for the post-mortem, they were recorded as being from the area where they were found. In this manner, the police managed to keep the death count down to 105, 97 from Naroda Patiya and eight from Naroda Gaon. The post-mortem records show that even these 105 bodies from Naroda were brought to the hospital piecemeal, with the last few bodies being brought in a full four days after the massacre.

No autopsies on 41 bodies: With one piece of evidence destroyed, the police moved on to the next stage. The bodies — charred, hacked at, bearing shot wounds, stab marks and marks of rape — could have been strong evidence of a brutal massacre and of the administration’s complicity. They might have served as a potent indication of the fact that this was no spontaneous act of rioting but a systematic pogrom. But the police did not carry out post-mortems on as many as 41 bodies recovered from Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon. No explanation has been offered for this act of grave negligence and omission.

Ninety-seven bodies had inquest panchnamas filed, a legal procedure under which the police, in the presence of two so-called “independent” witnesses, or panchas, physically verify the place from which the bodies were recovered and the nature of injuries on them and record their findings in writing. Thus, by their own records, the police recovered at least 97 bodies from Naroda Patiya. But, shockingly post-mortems were performed on only 58. Of the bodies recovered from Naroda Gaon, autopsies were not carried out on

two. Apart from providing irrefutable evidence of the scale of the barbarity perpetrated that day, the autopsies, if done honestly, could have established the time of death, which would have given a fair indication of the total duration of the slaughter. These reports could have been a strong piece of evidence in court. But this is exactly what the police did not want.

Crucial evidence destroyed: The scene of a crime gives an investigating agency its most critical pieces of evidence. In Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon, the accused had left behind a trail that the police set out to systematically obliterate. The pit in which a large number of people were burnt alive was not even examined — no samples were taken of the soil, of the traces of human tissue or of the remains of burnt fuel. On the contrary, the pit does not even figure in the police version of the massacre. The dying declarations of as many as seven victims were not recorded; two of them died on March 11 after prolonged treatment, but no explanation is forthcoming in the chargesheet of why their statements were not recorded.

BJP MLA exonerated: Naroda massacre survivors had named local BJP MLA Mayaben Kodnani as having incited the murderous mob. However, at the time of filing the chargesheet for the carnage, the police dropped her name from the list of the accused, claiming that they had failed to find any evidence against her. But Richard had much to say about the role she had played. Richard and his co-accused Prakash Rathod said that Mayaben patrolled the streets of Naroda Patiya throughout the day, urging the rioters to kill more Muslims....

No proceedings against absconding prime accused: Many main accused went absconding after the police was forced to register an FIR against them. Babu Bajrangi, Kishan Korani, Prakash Rathod and Suresh Richard, for instance, were arrested three months after the FIR was issued. Bipin Panchal was arrested after a year and a half. But the police did not follow any of the usual procedures used when an accused absconds, such as pasting notices outside the accused's house declaring him an absconder, confiscating his properties, etc.

Not one confession recorded: Those arrested for the Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaon massacres were taken in on remand — a period the court grants to the police

to take an accused into custody for interrogation. But the remand and interrogation were a farce. Not one confession has been annexed to the chargesheets filed in either of the Naroda massacres.

Just one weapon recovered: Barring one sword recovered from Bipin Panchal in 2004, the police have not recovered any other weapon either from the scene of the crime or from any other accused. The survivors, however, had testified that their attackers, including the accused, were heavily armed with an assortment of weapons — knives, swords, trishuls, gas cylinders and firearms. In an instance where as many as 105 people, according to the police's own admission, were butchered, the failure to recover any weapon used in the massacre speaks volumes for the quality of the investigation carried out. In fact, the owner of a gas agency had given a written statement that 20-odd persons with a Maruti van had landed up at his godown on the day of the carnage and had looted a large number of gas cylinders. The agency owner said his watchman had been present when the incident took place. But neither was the statement of the watchman recorded, nor was any attempt made to identify those involved in the looting or to track down the vehicle used in the crime.

Not one accused sent for scientific examination: Since not a single statement of any of the accused was recorded under Section 164 of the Criminal Procedure Code, it would indicate that the police failed to elicit any information by conventional interrogation methods. The next step would have been to subject the accused to scientific examinations like a polygraph test or narcoanalysis or brain mapping. The police, however, initiated no efforts in this direction.

No mention made of rapes: Three chargesheets apiece were filed in the Naroda Gaon and Naroda Patiya massacres. However, despite the testimonies of dozens of survivors who had reported that women were raped, not a single instance of rape was recorded. At least one post-mortem indicated a possible case of sexual assault, yet no investigations in this direction were carried out. (It should be noted that since autopsies on 41 bodies were not carried out, there is no ascertaining how many of them were women's and whether they bore marks of sexual assault.) (...)

Mobile phone records of the accused not made part of the chargesheet: After the case was transferred to the Crime Branch of the Ahmedabad Police, the then DCP Rahul Sharma proceeded to collect the mobile phone call records of all the accused. But, a few weeks into the probe, he was unceremoniously taken off it and the case was handed over to Deputy Commissioner of Police DG Vanzara. Sharma, however, managed to make a copy of all the call records and produced it before the Nanavati-Shah Commission. These call records are a piece of strong corroborative evidence establishing not only how all the accused were making frantic calls to each other while the Naroda massacre was in progress, but also that they were present at the spot. Call records have not been included as evidence in the chargesheets.

No mention made of use of firearms: In the chargesheets, the police have only said that the mob was carrying sharp-edged weapons (of which only one has been recovered so far). The police have ruled out the use of any kind of firearm by the mob. The injury certificates of most of the survivors who were treated for gunshot wounds were not made part of the chargesheets; all the same, clear mentions of gunshot wounds did find their way into four injury certificates annexed with the chargesheets. One postmortem report also attributes the death to a firearm injury. The dimensions of the entry and exit wounds in all five cases show that the wounds were inflicted by small firearms and not by police rifles. In any case, though the police have claimed to have fired 91 rounds to disperse the mob, it is not their case that anyone was injured in police firing. As to how these five people sustained bullet injuries, the entire investigation is silent.

No identification parades carried out: In the case of both the Naroda massacres, dozens of witnesses have stated that were the accused to be shown to them, they would identify their attackers. Yet, except for Ashok Sindhi, the police did not conduct any identification parades of the accused. The identification parade is of immense importance in cases of mob violence.

The Invisible Hand

TEHELKA asked Bajrangi this question. In reply, the Naroda massacres prime accused said that Chief Minister Narendra Modi had visited Naroda twice after the

massacre — first, in the evening of the day of the massacre, when he came to the locality but was unable to enter it, and second, on the next day, when he went inside Naroda Patiya. On both visits, Modi had encouraged the murderers, Bajrangi said, and told them that whatever they had done was good and that they should do even more.

Suresh Richard corroborated this account and said that Modi had also visited Chharanagar on the evening of the massacre and garlanded the rioters. Bajrangi said that if Modi had not told the police to stand back, the massacre would never have been possible. But Modi's support to the rioters did not stop at the facilitation of the killings. Bajrangi said after the Naroda killings, Modi kept him in hiding for more than four months and then stage-managed his arrest. If that was not enough he also brought in a favourable judge to hear Bajrangi's bail petition and got him out of jail. (...) (*Source: by Ashis Khetan, 03.11.2007, http://archive.tehelka.com/story_main35.asp?filename=Ne031107Conspirators.asp, accessed 20.10.13*)