

**Appendix 1: Interview with Anandibehn Patel, Education Minister of Gujarat.
(Conducted in the Circuit House Annexe, Ahmedabad), May 9th, 2002**

We have spent over a crore [rupees] supplying text books, guide books, pens, pencils to children from classes 1-12 in all the camps, wherever there are camps – there are 103 camps. We have also started anganwadis wherever there has been a need for them – you must have seen them yourselves. In the same way we taught children of the primary sections, from classes 1-7. Their exams are over too....now the vacations are on, so the teachers have gone back to their homes, that's why classes are off now.....but they taught the children in the camps till the 6th.....Classes were also held for Class X and XII students in the camps, during class hours....yes, teachers would go and teach in the camps.

In addition to this, the third thing we did was for women. Three kinds of work – we did a survey of pregnant women, took care of their needs, took them to hospitals for their deliveries.....secondly, we prepared a project for the rehabilitation of the women, but we can't do that in the camps. We have all their addresses, so when they go back to their homes, we will organize 6 month training camps and classes for them in different areas.....we will teach them the things we do in Gujarat....stitching, embroidery; in addition to this we will also give them some technical training. The government organizes these, NGOs also do so. We've charted out the full plan. But not for the camps...there is not enough place in the camps either. These camps are such that people go there to eat in the afternoon and evening. Otherwise only 100-150 people stay there. The rest all come to eat from the neighbourhood, we can't stop anyone.....they come and eat twice a day and go away....wherever they have work.....yes, this is the case with all camps, most people do not stay there at night. In any case the government is running all the camps, the government is covering the full cost of all the camps, the organizers just manage the camps. The organizers are NGOs, and government personnel visit each camp everyday.

The books and stationery that were distributed, we gave them to children at every level, classes 1- XII, and to college students too. We gave them to every single child, not one child was left out. We gave guide books too....through the education department. We have the complete survey, of how many children there are in each camp and which classes they are in, we have the list. Because we've decided that for a year – before 15th June, when the classes start again, they are to be given kits. They will be given uniforms, shoes, chappals, socks, one dozen notebooks, pens, pencils, compasses. These kits are being prepared. And we have kept aside Rs.30 crore for text books, and all these things.

There are three types of people in camps – one section who have not lost anything, they have come out of fear. There are those who come twice a day, eat and go back – that's because they are poor. This goes on all the time, during the earthquake too. If there is food being distributed, they come and eat. The other category is of people whose houses are intact, nothing has happened there, but there is fear. In areas where there are Hindus and Muslims, one lane is of Hindus, the other of Muslims. There is fear here. And fear

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there should be too, for where there have been stoning, clashes, burnings, then what does one do? So they come and stay there, out of fear. They are ready to go back. But they want protection. They want protection in each and every lane. In one lane there are five houses, in another others....we cannot provide so much protection....so we say go back when the ethos improves. The third category is of people whose houses have been burnt, they have nothing left. They stay here all the time. I've just come back from 68-69 camps. There are 225 people who stay there all the time. The remaining 800 come there only for meals.

Regarding the schooling of thousands displaced as in Shah-e-Alam...

It will happen after 15th June, the schools are starting, they will go back. It's not that they are not going back out of fear, we will have to provide protection. And now they are going to get money from the government. When they get the money, they will clean up their homes and start staying there.

Regarding the amount of compensation for each house, given that during the earthquake the estimated compensation for each house was Rs.45,000.

It is different for the earthquake. In the earthquake the whole house had collapsed, there were no walls left. It is not like that now, the walls are there, they even have roofs above them, the whole house is there, its only inside.....(*regarding the houses fully burnt down as in Naroda Patiya*) those that got burnt down like that, were homes made out of tents....there are houses of different categories.....(*as to how many such houses there were*) the survey is not yet complete.

It's like this, the survey may be done in one lane, then there is trouble in the next, so the survey has to be done all over again. But except for Ahmedabad the surveys are complete in the rest of Gujarat...the rest of Gujarat meaning where there were 2-3-4 camps.....and there more than 50% of the people, wherever they have got the money, have gone back and started work again. Now in Godhra 4000 people have gone back to their homes...in the villages too...In Godhra there are 4000 people remaining in the camps, the rest have gone back to their villages. In Ahmedabad, the situation is different. We are not going to try here in a hurry. The trouble is still on. If we say go back to your homes, it won't be right. While the situation is still bad, it is better for them to remain in the camps.

What will happen when the monsoons arrive in June.

Before that, we will do it. It will be done in 15-16 days.

What about the schooling of those who are too scared to go back, if they stay on in the camps, or with their relatives in other areas or wherever....whether they would be admitted in the schools in these areas.

Yes, yes, they can go wherever they want to.

Regarding the capacity of municipality schools to accommodate them.

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.....the schools are very good, and in each area there will be 20-25 families more, with children in different standards, they can be accommodated. If they are primary school children, the primary schools are government schools, and starting up a new section there is not a difficult matter for us – that we will do. (And whether they would start a new school where there is a demand for another one if the displaced population is large) That we will do, we keep doing that. In Gujarat the education system is quite good. The primary schools are run by the government –there we can start a new section, for this cost would have to be borne by the government, not a private body.

In the 69 riots, the government made a big mistake by creating Juhapura – that is why all this is happening. It gave them all that land in one area, and all those people stay there. Everything goes on there, the smuggling in of weapons, manufacture, storage.....so when we give them land in one place it creates problems. There should always be a mix (of populations).

Regarding letters issued by English medium schools, to Muslim parents asking them to withdraw their children, as they could not guarantee the safety of these children.
Who told you this, tell me! (We said we'd heard this from 5-6 places). I will tell you, when the exams were on, the way the Hindus helped these children, the Muslims have not helped their own children.....they tried to stop the children. And in the good schools where their children study...here in the good schools 40% of the children are Muslims....calling up the principal there, scaring away the children from there, saying you are not to sit for the exams.....Muslim families themselves told us that these people are telling us not to let our children sit for the exams.....But the work of saving...our teachers in these schools said no, you come and sit for the exams.....I tell you it is these Muslim fundamentalists who are harassing these families, saying don't go. And our frustration is that we are trying to get them to the schools, to sit for the exams, and they are trying to stop them. Who should we say all this to? Still we asked them, why are you keeping these children from the exams? They will only oppose the class X and XII exams. They won't oppose the college exams, or the primary exams, or the secondary....so what was the need to oppose the X and XII exams?

And their MLA, the Congress MLA, the Standing Committee chairman of the Congress, Ershad Mirza, an all India minister of the Congress, he takes them away? We tried, we said, come, sit for the exams, we will hold your exams. 85% of the children sat for the exams. And the word goes out that this government does not take their exams....and people like me keep hearing and writing in the media. It went to the High Court, and the Supreme Court. They went to the Supreme Court. We came back victors.

Regarding the verdict of the Supreme Court.....

They confirmed that what we had said was right. We said that 98% of the children were present in the schools...in the last exam....on 18th April....more than 98%....and each year so many children sit for the exams, each year. That too we told them. I'll tell you what their demands were. Their demand was to promote all the children. Promote all the class X and XII children. We said that if we do that then on which basis will these

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children be admitted to the Medical and Engineering courses? This cannot happen. Secondly they said, in that case, examine those who want marksheets, and just promote the rest. How can we decide whom we will examine and whom we won't? This too we said was wrong, we would examine all. Thirdly, they said open up separate centres for Muslim children. We said we could not open up separate centres, but we could make full provisions for all – to and from the centres, for whoever wants it, Hindu or Muslim. And if you do not like one centre, if you say this centre is not a good one, then tell us, we will take them to a different place.

Thirdly they said that the centres we had shifted – we had shifted 41 centres in the urban areas, because of the disturbed situation. We sat down everybody together while shifting the centres – principals, trustees, our MLAs and the leaders of the areas. We sat them all down and said now you tell us, where should we take them. This included Hindu children and Muslim children. We believed that the exams could not be held in Kalupur. If there was trouble even for one day, the children would not come to sit for the exams. That is why we transferred 41 urban centres to the banks of the river. shifted the centres from the Muslim areas to the Hindu areas. We showed them that was not the case. This is Aroma school, this is ...mati school, the exams are going on here. That is how we had to show it there.

Then...how many Muslim children were present for their exams? In Modasa, 100% sat for their exams, in Bogra too 100% sat, only one child did not, one. There were 572 children there, 571 sat for their exams. We showed them this attendance. And the third was that we heard on the first day that in Jamalpur, where there are five schools, the people there are preventing the students from coming. The bus was standing there. Keshav Kumar, our BJP person was there, my officials were there, saying we will take you. But the *goondas* there, they tore up the slips, they did all this. The children were sitting in the bus, the parents were ready, they were ready, but they were not allowed to sit, they were made to leave the bus. How they stopped them. We presented all this in the Supreme...see this is our situation. Then they agreed and just said you don't have to do anything...they praised the arrangement we had made for the exams. And I too had said that whoever has not been able to sit for the first exam, will be allowed to do so the next time. The next day too I announced that if you haven't been able to sit for the second exam we will let you do so later. On the third day too I announced the same.

I also didn't know this, but they told me...2-4 parents called saying that their slips had been taken away. Immediately I had it announced on the TV, that even if one does not have a slip, one should reach the centre – and reach a centre nearby, we will still let you take your exam. This is how we had 85% of the children sitting for the exams.

One more exam is to be held, I'll tell you. We had said in the Supreme Court that we would allow re-examinations for those who had not been present for three exams. The we said this would hold also for those who had not taken one exam. We would hold a supplementary test for them in June. Now let me tell you, I just called the heads of the secondary education board for the number of forms we have received. How many have

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we received? 500. 500 children filled up their forms – for the Xth and XIIth standards, both inclusive. And they made us spend crores for this. And the Supreme Court told them that their demand was wrong, to have separate exams for the Hindu and Muslim children. This demand itself is wrong.

The government runs schools till class 7. After that, in those schools that receive full grants from the government, there is only an admission charge of Rs. 8. There are no other fees. This is the case right up to class XII. Then there are other schools which are self-financed schools. Here they have fees, ranging from 200 to 500 to 1000. From classes 1-7 we give we spend 28 crores, and give all the text books. From classes 8-12 we continue to give to the SC ST students. This year we will give to children of other communities too – to the affected people. And not just text books, but exercise books, pens. Pencils too.

Regarding displaced children who may not get admission in schools in current areas of residence, would she consider setting up special cells to handle appeals.

We have our courts (but courts take a long time to process cases). In the same way as we advertised on Doordarshan, in the newspapers, everywhere, in the camps etc.they have to give us their addresses as to where they will be. Then the education officers will keep in touch with them. Collectors have also been given instructions – like there are five families from Sabarkantha; they are staying in camps in Mehsana. They have their registers too.

Regarding the schooling of these displaced children....

That is our responsibility. We will make full provisions for them.

Regarding the fear in children after having seen such butchery and burning. The ICDS has started counselling for some children, but whether she is thinking of setting up trauma counselling centres in more places - in which camps? Also, the increasing conflict and enmity between communities – how much worse will it become? It's ingrained in children's hearts now. So what is the future of Gujarat? How can one handle it at the level of education?

See, the situation of Gujarat is such – this is not the first time that there have been riots? Every ten years there are riots. There was one in 69, another in 85. There were also riots in 82, then 92, 90, and now too. There are always riots. I won't say solution...after a riot, the fear you see, the fear you experience..... the local people don't [they don't]] get scared. You come from outside, that is why you are scared, how will we go around....I just made my rounds today, I'm not scared. The people who live here, the local people, they don't feel scared. They easily get back together. They live next to each other, and when something like this happens, again....

But the scale this time, its never taken place at this scale before; the riots went on for two months, the scale of bloodshed...doesn't it seem to her that things are becoming worse. That there should be educational programmes, in classrooms, children should be

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educated in such a way that this does not become worse, the hostility, the enmity between communities that is on the increase

This enmity does not exist in children. If there is enmity, it is there in adults. So first we keep saying the schools have to go on, the schools are not to be kept shut.

But the children say we will never play together again. Earlier they say they used to, now they say they won't, they'll take revenge.....

For some time it will remain so..... and they do have the feeling of revenge.....

Regarding creative programmes in classrooms.....

That can only happen once the schools open – no? We can start such programmes only when the schools reopen. How can they be started now? Now the exams are going on.....

In Hindu camps too the children are no less angry. The feelings of anger and revenge are rampant. Seeing this one fears for the future of this country, and this state.

This stays only for a short while – only a short while. Then it becomes “smooth”. We have seen this – seen this for years now. In 69 over 3000 people had died. Over 3000. And for three months there was curfew. I used to stay in Shahpur myself. And the schools reopened after 4 months. I have worked in schools continuously for 30 years. People forget very easily. And they begin to accept things and live again. Like I told you about the villages. Show me one village where riots are still taking place. One village. In my.....is Abasna. 5 people have been killed there. 5 people. But today you go to Abasna, the same people stay there and the others too stay there. We feed them, we say you too eat, stay with us. Such situations are created later.....In Virangar there is no trouble now. In Virangar the camp lasted for 4 days. The Hindu camp and the Muslim camp, both lasted 4 days, then they all went back to their homes. In Mandel too, the work of the camps is over. In Ahmedabad things are different. In villages the committees have been formed. They have been told that the villagers have to get back the families who have left, and the villagers themselves have to provide fully for them, for their homes, they have to protect them and help them rebuild their homes too.

Regarding provisions for those orphaned in the riots.....

For them we have 4 centres. We will keep them there and educate them. And if anybody wants to adopt them, they can. In the Gandhi Ashram there is a hostel, in the Sabarnati Ashram too such kids are there. There are a total of 150 children there. We can keep them with those children too. We will try to keep them there. We will try to educate them there, we will educate them.

In the same way, women who have been widowed....the Rs. 500 that should be given to them, we have already started giving, but the Sardar Avas Yojana housing that we give them from the government.....they do not take it. Wherever there is a close relation....an aunt, an uncle, any close relative....we do not have a single orphaned child with us. They are all in some home.....

Regarding compensation for orphans.

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They will get the amount due to them and in the name of the parents who have died...from the collector...in the bank account.....one lakh rupees. If the house was burnt or burnt down then the money for that too will be deposited in their accounts. When he [sic!] turns 18, he will decide for himself what to do with the money.

For widows, the central government had sanctioned grants to open a refuge. Today, we do not have more than 50 widows who are willing to stay there. They are staying with a brother-in-law, or with their natal families. But we have started training programmes for them. They stay in their family homes, but come for the training. Such is the situation. Otherwise we had thought that we would put together similar age groups of 50 or so – men and women, with some children...we would keep them together, maybe some marriages could have taken place amongst them...but not one woman was ready to stay like this. Did not want to stay in the refuge. They claimed whatever was due to them and preferred to stay with a paternal uncle, a maternal uncle, a maternal aunt, a maternal aunt.

Regarding schools issuing letters to Muslim families saying they cannot guarantee the safety of these children...

See nobody has complained to me about this so far, nobody. Today you are making this complaint. I say, if anybody has done such a thing, you give me the information if you can. Then I can stop them, saying don't do this. But nobody has made such a complaint so far, if anybody does, then I will put a stop to it.....

It could be like this, that the parents themselves are scared that their child....safety.....that is their look out....but if any school issues such a notice, then I will issue a directive – I have already done that before, will send it again....

Have you met Rita Teotia in the ICDS? *(She had to come back to Ahmedabad from Gandhinagar, so we met another official who gave us information.)*

In college, the fees are not more than Rs.100 (But for those who have lost everything) I told you no, that we have made provisions for education, whoever is in difficulty, for everybody.

Would they need to apply, how would they access these funds. Everybody knows. Everybody knows that we are going to give this, according to the records.....in colleges we will give the fees. For fees we have reserved Rs.One lakh, one lakh per family, this includes college, primary, secondary, whatever....

Where they should apply for this money.....

The children do not need to apply. We have the records. And it is our responsibility to reach it to the children, because we are not going to give this to any NGO. Because it never reaches if we give it through NGOs. Because they.....we have a network of primary and secondary teachers. We will send it through them....

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If students apply to college, will they get the fellowship in the college, or would it be sent to the student's home?

When a student enlists in a college and informs the college of his/her affected status, the college will provide the fellowship, and we will pay the college. Every affected person has an ID card. These students will get free education for a year.

But one year may not be enough for the family to stand on its own feet...
Then we'll think again.

Not satisfied with this – You say that there are riots here every 5-10 years.....we are educationists...in W.Bengal, which has not seen such riots, we are already concerned about students, about initiating programmes in schools. We had been hoping to learn something for you in Gujarat, see what kinds of programmes you might have initiated, you have had rioting here for so many years now...

Let me tell you what the mentality here is like. In 69 there were riots. In Jamalpur we have a big *mandir* (temple), a Jagannath *mandir*. During the time of rathyatra, the rathyatra for all of Gujarat, of Ahmedabad starts from there.....Well there, they had slaughtered a cow. That was all. The riots took off from there, from just that incident. Just that.

In Godhra 58 people were burnt, but there it was just that incident.....

But what about the responsibilities of educationists?

The literacy rate is 70 % here, but are you saying that there is a co-relation between literacy and rioting? Fully educated people too come out onto the streets with weapons in hand. There is no such guarantee that if a people are educated there will be no riots.

No, the point is that since the rate of literacy is high in Gujarat, why not use it positively – as to how some sense of harmony can be fostered in children..... What is happening in the country, in the world...makes an impact on every country, every state. What happened in Kargil, people reacted so strongly to it. I don't know what it was like where you live, but in Gujarat people were out in the streets, on the roads. They too were saying "Finish them. Why does this happen again and again?"

Wherever, whenever anything happens the Muslim comes forward first. When Rs. 500 notes were being printed, those who were arrested in this connection – who would they be? They'd be the same. If RDX is brought in, then who are the ones caught? Their names are published in the papers, again it is them. So it's an ingrained mentality now not just in Gujarat, but in the whole country. When cricket matches are played....wherever Pakistan may be playing.....even when it wins outside, crackers are burst in Hindusthan, in Gujarat. This also makes an impression on people's minds.....

Regarding a solution to these problems.

I don't see any solution to them. Because we've been trying for years. These NGO's also don't work any less, the NGOs also do a lot of work. But there's never any improvement. They stay next to each other, next to each other.....this case in Shahpur where a knife

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was plunged into one side and came out on the other.these two also used to live near each other. They go for weddings, stay together, eat and drink together, do everything together, but when the riot starts they forget everything. And kill their neighbours. How it happens, why it happens, how can we

It's now rooted deep in their minds – some other ways have to be thought of....through education?

Do you think it's any use having kathas or dialogues? I too ask this question? See how many kathas our Murari babu holds, our Asharam babu too, lakhs come to these kathas, sit, listen. All this happens, but when such incidents take place, then everything flares up again.

You are an educationist, what do you think is your role?

Providing quality education, fostering harmony, augmenting a sense of brotherhood – this is our work, we are doing all this, but it does not have any effect. This is the way it is with adults. With children, you teach them, you explain to them, till the XIIth but ultimately when they grow older and enter society, then the evil influences of society work upon them.

The solution?

You tell me what is the solution. I have been living in Gujarat for 50 years, yesterday we were each other's enemies, today we even sit next to each other and share our meals.

What is the alternative to finishing each other off?

Some people have also done research.why does this happen? In some places NGOs hold surveys – they ask 1500 people why these riots take place.....and each answers to his/her own accord....

Why do you think they happen?

I don't know either why they happen. I gave you 3-4 instances – this mentality that's taken shape, then people raise the issue of Kashmir, what happened in Kashmir. They evacuated all the Hindus, the government does not do anything, Hindus do not get protection there, this is the mentality, if there are riots, then Hindus are beaten up, Hindus are burnt. And they are the minority, not we. You ask them, they will all say this, that the government does not do anything for us.

What connection does this have with Kashmir and with Pakistan?

It is connected you see, everything comes from Pakistan, where does the RDX come from? Where do so many weapons come from? It is the Muslim organizations that provide these.....

But this time the majority of people affected, the one and a half lakhs in the camps, is Muslim. They were attacked, their houses were burnt down. So how can you say this time too it was sponsored by Pakistan?

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No, no, where did the RDX come from, where did the weapons come from? The innocent people die, but the fundamentalists start riots – see last night we arrested 30 people – all are Muslims.

But this time it was 1,500,000 Muslims who were affected, whose houses were burnt down. Those who come from Pakistan wouldn't attack Muslims.

No no, this is all SIMI's network....

No, come on, SIMI's network is hardly going to render one 1,500,000 Muslims homeless, burn them.....its obviously going on from both sides....all the weapons that were used this time, where did they come from?

.....Were any weapons found with the Hindus? None were found, only those who had licences had any. Private explosives were not found. Whatever explosives were found, were found on their side.

We heard that many Hindus had talwars (swords).

No, no Hindus had talwars. What they had were *lathis* (sticks), nothing else. And if the Hindus are attacked, won't they defend themselves? And when the police comes, it's the police who shoots. Then whether its Hindus or Muslims....

So no talwars and pistols were found with the Hindus?

If they were, then they would have been very few indeed. Read the papers of 2 months. Read the Gujarati papers. Sandesh, Jansatta. In these they report all the names....

But we can't read Gujarati.

That's our situation. The English papers are behind us, and they exaggerate. They are the outsiders, the Dilliwallas. They will represent only the Muslims, Haven't Hindus been shot? Haven't their homes been burnt? They represent only the Muslims. See, see Star News, they too do the same. And they keep showing what happened four days ago.

What about the Gujarati media?

They show all. On Doordarshan, on Gujarati TV. This is what happened in the Hindu areas, this is what happened in the Muslim areas. ...they would have shown you what was found in Millat Nagar, they would have shown you what was found in the Hindu areas. See the Times of India, or the Indian Express, they won't show you this. So how would you know what's happening there?

You said you taught for 30 years, where did you teach?

In a Higher Secondary school. In Ahmedabad.

What are your subjects?

[Pause}...Maths and Science.

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This Abdul Latif was killed in an encounter 2 years ago. Many Muslim extremists like Abdul Latif were nurtured in Gujarat, and by the Congress.This Abdul Latif used to live in Chimanbhai Patel's own home. So he was encouraged. And they are the ones who get elected. I name Faroukh Sheikh, the MLA, Badruddin Sheikh... These people are all anti-social elements. They get elected.they are Congress men. Ershad Mirza, he is from the Congress. And they kept encouraging these people all these years. That's why they dared to do all this. And they start the riots, hurl four bottles and then disappear. But the sufferers then have to suffer. Till date. the BJP government after coming into power, in 95, in 98, it's been arresting extremists. That is why nothing has happened in Gujarat in four years. In the last four years there had been no riots in Gujarat.

Is the ISI here?

Yes, it's here. 145 members of the SIMI were arrested in Surat; 145 of them were holding a meeting in Surat. And, I'll tell you more: during the earthquake, people came from the whole country, specially in Kutch, on the Kutch border. You get in a truck; behind the truck you write "From Simi, From Simi" ..In the truck you would have some bedding, no not bedding, a few clothes, then they came and take up their positions in various places, they would set up tents. When the government came to know about this, it tried to remove them their tents.otherwise if they had come to the border, it would have affected Gujarat quite a bit.

Appendix 2: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MAJORITY COMMUNITY CAMP AND THE MINORITY COMMUNITY CAMPS

The only camps run by the government were the ones set up for the majority community, as was Shahpur, on the 21st of March.. Unlike the warmth with which the community organizers received us in the minority camps, the personnel in charge here were extremely uneasy and suspicious about our presence, and finally made it clear to us that we were unwanted. The person who spoke avoided giving us his name, saying we should talk to the head organizers of the camp, Atul Bhausa, Municipality Corporation Representative, and Jagadish Datanya, when they arrived. However he did venture some of the information we requested. The camp comprised people from Khanpur, Shahpur, Shankarbhavan, Khadivadi, and from behind Bhavan's College, and were mostly daily labourers; some were vegetable vendors. The camp assistants claimed that 1000 people lived there and 300-400 of these were children. The reason why there were only about 30 adults in sight was that most men had gone back to work (unlike the minority workers who were not getting even daily wage employment). The women too would go back home with their children during the daytime and return at night. In response to our query regarding supplies one of them began to answer that they received everything from the government – sufficient, water, medicines etc. but was cut short abruptly by the first one, saying the camp head should be answering this question. It reminded us in no uncertain terms that this was an official government set up.

None of the approximately 30-40 children who sat with us went to school, except one. They all came from extremely poor families. The organizers were reluctant to leave us alone with the children, but finally did so when many of the other adults came and sat around. Unlike in the minority camps, the constant intervention and prodding of parents added to the confusion of the children. Even our driver, a BJP supporter expressed his unease at the attempts to influence the children's versions. After we had talked to the children for about half an hour the organizers came and told us we should leave, we had overstayed our welcome.

Before we left, an old woman came up to a member of this team and said, "We do not even get enough food here – and medicines? This camp has never given us medicines! We just want peace. Please write to the leaders in the government and tell them to allow us to go back to our homes. We want to go back home, but they will not let us. They want us to continue staying here."

Source: Anonymus assistant organizer, and old woman, Shahpur Sara No. 5-6 Majority Community Camp, Ahmedabad, May 9th, 2002

Appendix 3: PERCEPTIONS ABOUT NEIGHBOURS/OTHER COMMUNITY

We witnessed a lot of confusion in the children's heads in both communities. On the one hand there was a definite breakdown of trust and sense of betrayal on both sides, on the other they could not say that all the people of the other community were evil – some were definitely good. Questions of good and evil seemed to fall more clearly along the lines of outsiders being bad, and neighbours being “some good and some bad.” It was significant that none of the children could categorize the “other” community as all “bad”, even after having suffered tremendous losses.

Another interesting aspect was the positive role played by majority community *dadas* and *dons* in certain areas, indicating that a different ethics of the underworld was also asserting itself against that of the communal carnage in some areas.

IN THE MAJORITY COMMUNITY CAMP

Shahpur Sara No. 5-6 Camp, Ahmedabad, May 9th, 2002

The parents told us that in Khanpur, 7-8 of the approximately 1000 houses of the majority community had been burnt. In the Shahpur bustee, which shared a wall with the minority community area, all the houses were burnt on 22nd April. Some houses were also burnt behind Bhavan's college. The children were initially a bit wary, soon they relaxed and were eager to talk.

Sunil Kanubhai: 8 yrs, Shahpur camp, Ahmedabad

A pleasant friendly child, Sunil was pushed forward by his mother to talk to us, and did so willingly:

“About 300 men came to our area. They looted our houses and burnt them. My house was burnt by Mohammedans. I fell sick after seeing the swords in their hands. I do not have any Mohammedan friends. No one died in our neighbourhood, when there is peace we will return home.”

Source: Sunil Kanubhai, in the Shahpur Camp, Ahmedabad, May 9th.

Asha Manilal: 12 years, Shahpur Camp, Ahmedabad.

A lively affectionate girl, Asha too was pushed forward by her mother to talk to us:

“The Mohammedans came at 1 A.M., many of them attacked our homes, saying “*Mar denge, kat denge*” (We will kill you, we will cut you up). We ran away and came straight here, to this camp.” First she said, “No, I did not play with the Mohammedan children. The *miyas* are not good, they will kill us.” Upon further questioning she replied, “We used to play together..... but I have forgotten their names.”

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“You know what happened here the other day?” she suddenly said in hush hush tones. “A Muslim woman had come here, near the camp, to buy vegetables.....we all got together and chased her away...” she said triumphantly, as other children joined her: “You never know, she may have come to attack us.”

Source: Asha Manilal in the Shahpur Camp, Ahmedabad. May 9th

Sagar Rajesh: 10 years, resident of Shankarbhavan, Ahmedabad.

Our houses were looted. The *miyas* burnt some of our houses too. In peace time we used to play together. Now I won't play with them I'm scared....”

When asked why he was scared, he just looked at us without an answer – then looked at the adults.

Source: Sagar Rajesh, Sahapur Camp, Ahmedabad. May 9th.

Maya Bholyo: 12 yrs. Lived behind Bhavan's College, Ahmedabad.

We requested the adults to leave us alone with the children for a while. Maya Bholyo was the only one who spoke to us without the parents around.

“Mohammedans lived on both sides of our colony, we used to talk to their children, but not any more. Our parents are scared, we are scared. In peace time too now we won't talk to them. We heard that those who came to kill us were Mohammedans...no we did not see them ourselves. We were told they had come from outside....*bahar se aaye thhe*”

They said they were not angry, just scared, and they would not talk to Muslim children any more.

When asked if they wanted peace, they all nodded their heads vigorously. Did they believe all Muslims were bad? “No”. Did they believe all Hindus could be bad? “No.”

If we became enemies, then could we bring in peace? All, including Maya, Asha, Sagar and Sunil smiled like it was a foolish question, “Of course we cannot.” But to the final question of how we could then usher in some peace they looked at us questioningly, with a puzzled look in their eyes.

As we left the camp, they followed us to the camp and told us in very concerned, affectionate tones: “*Apna khayal rakhna....take care of yourselves.*”

Source: Maya Bholyo and the other children above, Shahpur camp, Ahmedabad, 9th May.

IN MINORITY COMMUNITY CAMPS

Aslam: Class 5, resident of the Ghachi ki Gali area, Ahmedabad.

The central focus of Aslam's conversation with us was regarding the rescue of his family by a neighbouring Hindu “don”, and the simultaneous distrust of Hindu neighbours:

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“I will not go back - there are only Hindus there. I saw a bakery being burnt. One factory worker was cut to pieces...he refused to flee, he lived alone....later he was burnt...this was narrated to us by a Hindu neighbour. We were saved by my *mama* (maternal uncle)’s friend Dilip. He is a big “don”. He sheltered 20 members of my family in his house for 3 days. He would say he was a don, so we could stay “bindaas” (carefree) in his house, nobody would touch us. We stayed in his house for three days, then he summoned an ambulance and a Tata Sumo. He drove us in the Sumo to the Gandhi Ashram from Ghachi ki Gali, and from there to the Juhapura camp.

He actually saved 120 people. On a Saturday night at 3 A.M., the don Dilip and his friend set out on a Hero Honda, with 3 talwars, 2 guns, and spiky strips wrapped around their fingers. They rode on the Honda all the way down to Juhapura to make sure the road was clear, then they called on the mobile to say that it was safe. Then the rest of the people came down that road, standing in tempos, and reached Juhapura safely at 5 A.M.

The Hindus who came from outside are bad. In our area some are good, some are bad.”
Source: Aslam, in Rang Avadoot camp, Juhapura, Ahmedabad. May 5th, 2002

Minnat: Class 8, from Ekatanagar, Ahmedabad.

“Our house was in Ekatanagar, and we had two garages there too. The tola arrived suddenly one day and burnt down our house, burnt down our garages too. They were all Hindus. We too would not have survived, it was our neighbour Bharat uncle who saved us. Bharat uncle is a Hindu – he is the strongman of our area, “*Hamare mohalle ka dada hai!*”.

Source: Minnat, in Rang Avadoot camp, Juhapura, Ahmedabad. May 5th, 2002

Raesa: Class 9, from Naroda Road, Ahmedabad.

Raesa was helping out with the younger children in Juhapura when we met her. She couldn’t sit for exams because of the rampant carnage taking place at that time. She said: “Our house was burnt down but we all escaped unhurt. Many of our Hindu neighbours participated in the attack, but not the ones immediately next door. They were the ones who saved us.....no, I never want to go back to that neighbourhood.”

Source: Raesa, in Rang Avadoot camp, Juhapura, Ahmedabad. May 5th, 2002

Mohammed Sheikh Mohsin, Cl. 8, and his cousin Faroukh, Cl. 7, residents of Danteswar, Santoshwadi, Baroda.

Faroukh first started talking to us, stammering and with a hurt, lost look in his eyes. His cousin Mohsin sat in sullen silence, with an angry stare that never left his eyes, even when he started talking to us later. Faroukh obviously idolizes his older cousin; that was how our attention was also drawn to Mohsin.

Faroukh:

“My home was in a Hindu area, they burnt it down, then we ran to Mohsin’s house. They attacked his house too, and kept looting it from 11.A.M. to 5 P.M. We jumped across the walls and ran, we spent 5 days in the *khet* (fields), a Patel sheltered us for 3-4 days. Then, while fleeing we entered the compound of a jail. The jailer threatened to kill my father who was leading us. In despair my father said, “The kill my whole family, form the oldest to the 6 yr. old, kill them.....” .The jailer relented and saved us. Once my dad spent the whole night in a water tank clutching the Quran..... ..

My mother and grandfather went back to Baroda recently. They came back and told us that all our houses had been bulldozed and roads had been built over the land. Mohsin’s house will have a temple built upon it. O we cannot go back there... and in Ahmedabad we will get no Government help – the local collector said there will be no help for outstation folks.....in any case they are giving only Rs. 1000-10,000 compensation for those who have lost a lakh or more. Which school will we go to now? Where will our school fees come from? And uniforms? My dad used to own an electrical goods shop, Mohsin’s dad is in the railway service....and dadaji had got his kaccha house made into a bungalow....now... “

In the meanwhile, Mohsin’s mother joins in: “Mohsin is always angry these days. He is used to getting much more, he demands money from me for breakfast every morning, he can’t do with only tea and toast every morning, he is used to omlettes. On the one hand he is constantly angry, on the other his father beats me up in his frustration – what will I do?”

Then Mohsin speaks up in a tight voice: “ I will kill them. I will kill those who burnt my house _ Karan, Thakur, Kodia....” We used to repair their fans for free, now they’ve looted 700 fans from our family.....And our neighbours killed my cat too. I loved my cat..... they used to hate it.....they threw it down from the balcony, then threw a brick down on it to kill it.....

We had some good neighbours too on the other side. They had kept our auto, our scooter, and some of our clothes for us. But then Sachin, the local *dada* found out and made them burn these things under threat....they burnt them with their own hands....they too burnt our things.”

Source: Md. Sk. Mohsin, in Rang Avadoot camp, Juhapura, Ahmedabad. May 5th, 2002

Saira age 12, Afsana, age 11, Naina, age 12, Anju, age 12, Rukhsat, age 9, Nilofer, age 10, Nilofer, age 9, Hena, age 11.

They're all survivors from the horrors of Naroda Patia in Ahmedabad where more than 80 people were burnt alive and many women raped and maimed in what is probably the worst carnage in the current spiral of violence. The girls are young and making sense of

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what they have seen and heard seems impossible. But they have been scarred for life, their trust in Hindus shattered. They speak of 'evil Hindus'. The Hindu who burnt our home. The Hindu who didn't let us escape.

Some of them have seen with their eyes things no child should see. Others have only heard things. But they are still things no child should hear. "Hinduon ne bura kaam kiya"(Hindus have done 'bad things' - a euphemism for rape), they tell us, as their eyes shift uneasily. They look at each other as if seeking silent affirmation of what none of them really comprehended.

Or, did they?

"Balatkaar" (Rape) - they know this word. "Mein bataoon Didi" (Shall I tell you?), volunteers a nine year old, "Balatkaar ka matlab jab aurat ko nanga karte hain aur phir use jala deta hain." (Rape is when a woman is stripped naked and then burnt) And then looks fixedly at the floor. Only a child can tell it like it is. For this is what happened again and again in Naroda Patia - women were stripped, raped and burnt. Burning has now become an essential part of the meaning of rape.

Hindus hate us, they say.

Why?

Because we celebrate all their festivals - we play Holi, we love patakas at Diwali, but the Hindus can't celebrate our festivals. That's why they're jealous. So jealous that this year they did not even let us take out Tazia processions (in fact the decision to not allow tazia processions on the 10th of Moharram was taken by the Muslim community itself, for fear of violence).

These girls became friends only in the camp, although they all grew up and lived in Naroda Patia. Now they will probably share a life-long unspoken bond of victim-hood. But they are children still. Resilient. Survivors. Their eyes still bright and curious. They even giggle occasionally, as they follow us around Shah-e-Alam, scampering easily over human beings scattered like debris around the relief camp. But will they ever forget? Will Naina, who once had scores of Hindu friends, have them again? Will she trust again?

Venue: Shah-e-Alam Relief Camp, Ahmedabad, March 27, 2002

(from The Survivors Speak)

Rehana Yusuf: 18 yrs, resident of Ode village, Anand district. May 11th, 2002.

Ode, where twenty-seven persons have been burnt to death, and 200 homes burnt down, is the worst affected village in the Anand district. Most of the affected people from this village are staying at the Sureily Camp. Sureily does not fit into the conventional image of a camp. 300-350 people have been temporarily accommodated in different houses of the village and come to the camp for meals. Rehana came to see us at the camp:

“It was twelve o’clock in the day when a *ḡolâ* consisting of three to four thousand assailants entered our village Ode. Unlike all the other members of our joint family, my parents and I were not home at that point of time. We were washing our clothes at the neighbouring (Hindu) Patels’ house across the street. The non-resident Patels used to leave the key with my family. From this house, I saw how the *ḡolâ* poured petrol over my dadi (grandmother) and badi amma (elder aunt), and another neighbour, and burnt them. Bari amma was screaming “Save me! Save me!” but we could not save her. My parents and I hid themselves in the Patels’ empty house for three days. At night they came back and ransacked our house. I was shocked to see that many of our old Hindu neighbours, who had celebrated Id with us, had biryani with us just two days ago, had joined the *ḡolâ*. I couldn’t keep myself away from the window those three days even though my parents kept asking me to come away. They came back everyday for three days, dragged out dadi and bari ammi’s corpses, and burnt them over and over again – they wanted to leave no sign of the bodies.

For three days we were too scared to sleep, or eat. I would only see all that had happened swimming before my eyes. The tore our Quransharif too, “*Hamare Qualam-e-Pak ko bhi beizzat kiya.*” Everything seemed meaningless. Now its better, but whenever I talk I see all that again.”



Rehana has filed FIRs against the persons whom she could identify in the plundering mob, but is also still in shock about her neighbours: Earlier, our Hindu neighbours would come to our house, eat with us, invite us to their weddings and festivals. They are the ones who assured us of our safety, and they are the ones who burnt us. I used to spend time with their daughters, they would perform their own rituals, cook their own specialities at our weddings. I don’t want to see them again. I trusted them because we had such relations, but they completely betrayed our trust. Now we can never go back there. I cannot think of living amongst Hindus again.

Yet when one of asked her gently, “But you are sharing your experiences with us – don’t you see us as Hindus?”, Rehana, after all that she had experienced, turned to us with a clarity that was stunning, and said very naturally: “Sab Hindu kharab thorai hote hain?”

Source: Rehana, in the Sureli camp, Anand district

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Appendix 4: GIRLS RAPED AND BURNT (From *The Survivors Speak*, The Citizen's Initiative report on how the Gujarat massacre has affected minority women.)

Mehrunissa: 16 yrs., Naroda Patia, Ahmedabad.

On February 28, 2002

"The mob started chasing us with burning tyres after we were forced to leave Gangotri society. It was then that they raped many girls. We saw about 8-10 rapes. We saw them strip 16-year-old Mehrunissa. They were stripping themselves and beckoning to the girls. Then they raped them right there on the road. We saw a girl's vagina being slit open. Then they were burnt. Now there is no evidence."

Source: Kulsum Bibi, Shah e Alam Camp, March 27, 2002

Farzana: 13 yrs., resident of Hussein Nagar.

"I saw Farzana being raped by Guddu Chara. Farzana was about 13 years old. She was a resident of Hussain Nagar. They put a saria (rod) in Farzana's stomach. She was later burnt. 12 year old Noorjahan was also raped. The rapists were Guddu, Suresh and Naresh Chara and Haria. I also saw Bhawani Singh, who works in the State Transport Department kill 5 men and a boy."

Source: Azharuddin, 13 years. He witnessed the rapes while hiding on the terrace of Gangotri Society. The Chara basti is located just behind Jawan Nagar. March 27, 2002

Children burnt with petrol; unmarried girls raped and burnt. Naroda Patia.

(FEBRUARY 28, 2002) "By now it was 6.30 in the evening.....My sister-in-law was stripped and raped. She had a three-month old baby in her lap. They threw petrol on her and the child was taken from her lap and thrown in the fire. My brother-in-law was also struck on the head with the sword and thrown in the fire. We were at the time hiding on the terrace of a building. My mother-in-law was unable to climb the stairs so she was on the ground floor with her four-year-old grandson. She told them to take away whatever money she had but to spare the children. They took away all the money and jewelry, then burnt the children with petrol. My mother-in-law was raped too. I witnessed all this. Unmarried girls from my street were stripped, raped and burnt. A 14-year-old girl was killed by piercing an iron rod into her stomach....."

Source: Jannat Sheikh, testimony to Citizens Initiative.

A mother's account of her daughter's rape: Village Eral, Panchmahals district.

“My father-in-law, a retired schoolteacher, refused to leave the village with the other Muslim families who fled to Kalol on February 28th. He believed no one would harm us. From the 28th about 13 members of my family sought refuge in various people's houses and the fields. On Sunday afternoon (March 3rd) the hut we were hiding in was attacked. We ran in different directions and hid in the field. But the mob found some of us and started attacking. I could hear various members of my family shouting for mercy as they were attacked. I recognized two people from my village - Gano Baria and Sunil - pulling away my daughter Shabana. She screamed, telling the men to get off her and leave her alone. The screams and cries of Ruqaiya, Suhana, Shabana, begging for their izzat could clearly be heard. My mind was seething with fear and fury. I could do nothing to help my daughter from being assaulted sexually and tortured to death. My daughter was like a flower, still to experience life. Why did they have to do this to her? What kind of men are these? The monsters tore my beloved daughter to pieces. After a while, the mob was saying "cut them to pieces, leave no evidence." I saw fires being lit. After some time the mob started leaving. And it became quiet.”

Source: Medina Mustafa Ismail Sheikh, Kalol camp, Panchmahals district, March 30, 2002

· Medina's testimony has been corroborated by the other two living witnesses - Mehboob and Khushboo. Khushboo in her testimony also recounted how her grandfather (Medina's father-in-law) and Huriben were killed. She also narrated how Ruqaiya's pajamas were taken off and then one by one the men started "poking her in the lower part with their body".

Yasmin: 13 yrs, Village Delol, Panchmahals District.

(March 1, 2002) The extended families of Mohammad Bhai and Bhuri Behn - about 20 people - were chased by the mob to the river. Javed and another boy who managed to escape and hide behind a bush saw the mob kill Mohammad Bhai and rape Yasmin. They were about to kill the mother of the other boy who was hiding with him. So he screamed and ran out from behind the bush and was caught. He was made to walk around the dead bodies that were burnt (as if around a pyre) and he was then pushed into the fire.

Source: Women from Delol at Halol Camp, Panchmahals district, March 30, 2002. Javed, Mohammad Bhai's nephew, had come to Delol to help his uncle. He had narrated this to several of the women from Delol. Javed has returned to his village, Desar.

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Appendix 5: MUSLIM SCHOOLCHILDREN TARGETED IN GUJARAT

The Hindustan Times, Saturday, April 6, 2002

Muslim schoolkids targeted in Gujarat, by Vinay Menon

(Ahmedabad, April 5) The pogrom in Gujarat may be far from over. Intelligence collated by the Gujarat Police reveals that "Hindu activists" are piecing together a survey to identify students from rich, educated Muslim families in some prominent schools here.

The objective, sources say, is to sustain the fear psychosis that has overcome the minority community, resulting in a sharp drop in the number of Muslim students attending school. "By conducting the survey, these religious maniacs are trying to force Muslim families to get their wards to leave these schools for good. A kind of cleansing of the education system, without spilling any blood," said a senior police officer.

The three schools targeted are Xavier's Loyola Hall, Diwan Ballu Bhai and Ankur.

This is the second time since the riots began that a "survey" like this has been conducted. On February 27 (a day before the riots began) meetings were reportedly held in several pockets of Ahmedabad city to identify Muslim properties and houses. This information was then passed on to mobs that attacked the targets.

Several VHP and Bajrang Dal leaders have FIRs registered against them for leading these mobs - a charge both organisations deny.

Intelligence inputs have not identified specific organisations that are responsible for the latest 'survey', but the needle of suspicion points in a familiar direction.

"Our report shows that school staff, bus drivers, and autorickshaw drivers who ferry the children to school have been asked to assist in leaking information about Muslim students," said the police officer. "The idea this time being not necessarily to attack the targets, but to scare the children to the extent that it becomes difficult for them to attend schools without fear of being attacked."

Collecting such information, sources say, is not a difficult task for these 'surveyors' since they have popular support. "It is not strange to see a schoolbus driver, who is also an activist or relative of an activist of one of the many Hindu organisations, assisting these goons in their job," the officer said.

Information, it is reported, is also being collated by the same group of Hindu activists on what remains of Muslim business establishments across Gujarat.

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Such behind-the-scenes legwork continues even as eight areas with some minority presence in Ahmedabad city alone remain tense and under curfew. "The Prime Minister's speech was an effort in confidence building. But today, after more than 36 days of rioting, we still cannot walk on the streets of the city like free men, without fear of communal violence," said Anwar, a resident of Daryapur.

