RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

Research Response Number: IND34462
Country: India
Date: 25 March 2009

Keywords: India – Kerala – CPI-M – BJP – Communal violence – Internal relocation

Questions

1. Please provide brief information on the nature of the CPI-M and the BJP as political parties and the relationship between the two in Kerala state.
2. Are there any reports of Muslim communities attacking Hindu communities in Kerala in the months which followed the 1992 demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya? If so, do the reports mention whether the CPI-M supported or failed to prevent these Muslim attacks? Do any such reports specifically mention incidents in Kannur, Kerala?
3. With a view to addressing relocation issues: are there areas of India where the BJP hold power and where the CPI-M is relatively marginal?
4. Please provide any sources that substantiate the claim that fraudulent medical documents are readily available in India.

RESPONSE

1. Please provide brief information on the nature of the CPI-M and the BJP as political parties and the relationship between the two in Kerala state.

Street clashes between activists of the Communist Party of India–Marxist (CPI-M) and activists of the *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP; Indian People's Party) are frequently reported from Kerala state. The situation is said to be particularly bad in the Kerala district of Kannur. Activists of the CPI-M's student front, the Students Federation of India (or SFI), and youth front, the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI), are often also involved in such troubles along with activists of the BJP aligned *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS; National Volunteers' Organisation) (Radhakrishnan, M.G. 2008, 'Old battle new ground', *India Today*, 13 March http://indiatoday.digitaltoday.in/index.php?issueid=&id=5770&option=com_content&task=view&sectionid=21 – Accessed 21 October 2008 – Attachment 1; 'Where Reds and Saffron

keep fighting – and killing' 2008, *Indo-Asian News Service*, 30 March – Attachment 2;'CPM activist stabbed by RSS men' 2008, *oneindia*, 26 September http://news.oneindia.in/2008/09/25/cpm-activist-stabbed-by-rss-men-1222413156.html – Accessed 21 October 2008 – Attachment 3; 'BJP targeting CPI-M in Kannur, says Left leader' 2008, *Thaindian*, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 9 March http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/bjp-targeting-cpi-m-in-kannur-says-left-leader_10025704.html – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 13; 'Opposition stages walkout on "RSS attack" on CPI(M) cadres' 2006, Grass Roots News website, source: *WebIndia123.com*, 20 February http://grass-roots.in/cache/index.php/5085 – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 26; 'DYFI leader attacked' 2008, *The Hindu*, 21 April http://www.hindu.com/2008/04/21/stories/2008042161070300.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 28; and: 'Past Harthals' (undated), harthal.com website http://www.harthal.com/php/showNews.php?linkid=3&newsid=204 – Accessed 21 October 2008 – Attachment 27).

The CPI-M often represents its stand against the BJP in terms of secular left-wing values battling the right wing opportunism of the Hindutva movement; arguing that the BJP wages politics by encouraging communal violence between the Hindu majority and the minority Muslim and Christian communities. The BJP, on the other hand, has alleged that while it is indeed a defender of Hindu rights that it is the CPI-M which has encouraged communal violence in Kerala state and elsewhere in India; and it has recently been alleged by the BJP that the spate of bomb attacks which have occurred across India is a consequence of the political alliances entered into by the CPI-M and Congress parties in various states, including Kerala (for alternate accusations of practicing communal politics between the CPI-M and BJP, see: 'CPI(M) discounts RSS-BJP charge' 2008, *The Hindu*, 14 March http://www.thehindu.com/2008/03/14/stories/2008031455891300.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 7; '"CPI(M), Congress encouraging terrorism"' 2008, *The Hindu*, 12 November http://www.thehindu.com/2008/11/12/stories/2008111251830300.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 8; 'Cong, CPI-M helping religious extremism : BJP' 2004, *Times of India*, 1 July http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/cms.dll/articleshow?msid=760925 – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 14; and: 'BJP giving "communal twist" to blasts: CPI (M)' 2008, *The Hindu*, 19 May http://www.thehindu.com/2008/05/19/stories/2008051957111400.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 12; and: 'CPI(M) master minded Kannur violence: BJP team' 2000, *The Hindu*, 11 December http://www.hindu.com/2000/12/11/stories/0411404s.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 9).

Much of the violence which has occurred between the CPI-M and the BJP in Kerala has, however, involved Kerala Hindus; with much of the available reportage attributing this to the way that both the CPI-M and the BJP have competed for the support of various Hindu communities and the support of the lower caste Ezhava (also: Izhava, Thiyya, Thiya, etc) Hindu community in particular (the Ezhava voting bloc which reportedly constitutes around 20% of Kerala's population). The BJP has made some ground in winning the support of underprivileged Kerala Hindu voters, whose communities have traditionally supported the CPI-M, but it has not been enough to seriously challenge the CPI-M and Congress parties at the polls (the BJP failed to win a single seat in the most recent Kerala state elections in 2006). Much of the membership of the Kerala BJP is reportedly made up of former supporters of the CPI-M and some reports were located in which it was claimed that the CPI-M had targeted former members for deserting to the Hindu nationalist cause (Babu, R. 2009, 'The Devil in God's own country', *The Hindustan Times*, 24 January

http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/Print.aspx?Id=46073e68-d645-4d54-9ba4-bfa301168236 – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 5; Jose, D. 2002, 'Kerala BJP fails to attract Ezhavas, Nairs', *Rediff.com*, 30 October http://www.rediff.com/news/2002/oct/30kera.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 15; Krishnakumar, R. 2001, 'A record of sorts', *Frontline*, vol.18: no.11, 8 June http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1811/18110240.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 10; and: Gopa Kumar, G. 1999, 'A race between traditional rivals', *The Hindu*, vol.16: no.23, 6 November http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1623/16230530.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 11; for reports of former CPI-M members joining the BJP, see: 'Karunakaran's move suicidal, says BJP' 2005, *The Hindu*, 6 May http://www.hindu.com/2005/05/06/stories/2005050610110400.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 29; 'Get real, Kerala' 1997, *Indian Express*, 7 July http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/19970707/18850373.html – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 31; and: Bhattacharya, S. 2003, 'Left tempts 'Leader' with red-carpet offer', *Indian Express*, 1 October http://www.indianexpress.com/oldstory.php?storyid=32580 – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 33; for attacks on former CPI-M members, see: '2 RSS youths hacked to death in Kerala' 2002, *The Hindu*, 3 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2002/03/03/stories/2002030303120600.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 30; Philip, S. 2008, 'CPM, Sangh Parivar watermarks on Kannur terror tag', *Screen India*, 8 November http://www.screenindia.com/story.php?id=382913&pg=-1 – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 32).

In spite of the efforts of the BJP it is the CPI-M and the Congress parties which remain the dominant political competitors in Kerala with both, generally speaking, presenting themselves as intransigent opponents of the BJP. In January 2009 the "CPI-M's Lok Sabha member from Kannur, A P Abdullakutty, was…suspended from the party after he praised [BJP] Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi's development model" (though both the CPI-M and Congress have, at different times, accused each other of entering into opportunistic bargains with the BJP for electoral gain) (for the failure of the BJP to make inroads in Kerala, see: Ramakrishnan, Venkitesh 2006, 'Ascendant left', *Frontline,* Volume 23, Issue 10, 20 May http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2310/stories/20060602003700400.htm – Accessed 12 July 2007 – Attachment 4; Chellappan, K. 2006, 'Kerala BJP in a quagmire', *India Interacts*, 9 November http://indiainteracts.com/columnist/2006/11/09/Kerala-BJP-in-a-quagmire/ – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 6; for accusations between the CPI-M and the Congress of collaborating with the BJP, see: 'CPI(M) has ties with BJP: Chennithala' 2005, *The Hindu*, 23 September http://www.hindu.com/2005/09/23/stories/2005092309920500.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 16; and: 'CPI-M alleges Congress-BJP nexus in Kerala' 1999, *Rediff.com*, 5 November http://www.rediff.com/news/1999/nov/05keral.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 17; for the January 2009 expulsion of a CPI-M politician for praising the BJP, see: 'CPI(M) MP suspended from party for praising Modi' 2009, *India Express*, 17 January http://www.indianexpress.com/news/cpim-mp-suspended-from-party-for-praising-modi/411975/ – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 34).

Kerala's most recent state government elections took place in May 2006 and ended as a victory for the Left Democratic Front (LDF) coalition led by the CPI-M. The 2006 LDF coalition also consisted of: "Communist Party of India, Janata Dal-Secular, Kerala Congress-J, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Nationalist Congress Party, Indian National League [a Muslim based party], Kerala Congress-S and Congress-S". The victory of the LDF saw the

Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF) governing coalition removed from office. At this time the UDF coalition also consisted of: "Kerala Congress (Mani), Janathipathya Samrakshana Samiti, Kerala Congress (B), Communist Marxist Party, Revolutionary Socialist Party (Shibu faction) and Revolutionary Socialist Party (Babu Divakaran faction)". News reports have noted that the May 2006 state election result continued a trend wherein the Kerala electorate has swung back-and-forth between the LDF and the UDF at successive elections. A May 2006 *Rediff.com* report noted that: "The BJP-led National Democratic Alliance fielded candidates in all the constituencies; but they failed to make a mark". It is also worth noting that the INC and the CPI-M, though opponents in Kerala state politics, have until recently been partners at the national level, with the CPI-M supporting the Congress led national United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coalition. This partnership ended in June 2008 when the CPI-M, along with four other left wing parties, withdrew its support from the INC led UPA over the terms of a nuclear energy deal being negotiated with the United States (for the composition of the coalitions in 2006, see: 'Kerala's political jigsaw, unravelled' 2006, *Rediff* website, 10 April http://in.rediff.com/election/2006/apr/10pkerala.htm – Accessed 19 January 2007 – Attachment 18; for an overview of the May 2006 state election results in Kerala, see: Muraleedharan, N. 2006, '2006: Political conflicts in Kerala', *Rediff.com*, 20 December http://in.rediff.com/news/2006/dec/20year.htm – Accessed 6 July 2007 – Attachment 19; Iype, George 2006, 'Kerala: Where change is static', *Rediff.com*, 11 May http://in.rediff.com/election/2006/may/11gi.htm – Accessed 6 July 2007 – Attachment 20; Election Commission of India 2006, *Statistical Report on General Election, 2006 to the Legislative Assembly of Kerala*, Election Commission of India website http://www.eci.gov.in/StatisticalReports/SE_2006/StatReport_KL_2006.pdf – Accessed 20 October 2008 – Attachment 21; for an overview of Kerala's LDF and UDF coalitions and their various relationships with national political coalitions, see: Iype, G. 2006, 'Kerala's political jigsaw, unravelled', *Rediff.com*, 10 April http://www.rediff.com/election/2006/apr/10pkerala.htm – Accessed 20 October 2008 – Attachment 22 for the recent withdrawal of the CPI-M from the UPA over the nuclear deal, see: 'Left pulls out, will meet President Patil on Wednesday' 2008, *Express India*, 8 July http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/Left-pulls-out-will-meet-President-Patil-on-Wednesday/332876/ – Accessed 20 October 2008 – Attachment 23; for recent CPI-M plans to oppose both Congress and the BJP in the upcoming 2009 national lections, see: Bhatt, S. 2009, 'Defeat BJP, defeat Congress: CPI-M', *Rediff.com*, 28 January http://www.rediff.com/news/2009/jan/28left-cpim-girds-up-to-defeat-bjp-and-congress.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 24; and 'CPI (M) urges parties to form non-Congress, non-BJP front' 2009, *Thaindian*, source: *Asia News International*, 11 January http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/india-news/cpi-m-urges-parties-to-form-non-congress-non-bjp-front_100140970.html – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 25).

2. Are there any reports of Muslim communities attacking Hindu communities in Kerala in the months which followed the 1992 demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya? If so, do the reports mention whether the CPI-M supported or failed to prevent these Muslim attacks? Do any such reports specifically mention incidents in Kannur, Kerala?

Introduction

As is noted above in response to Question 1 there is extensive reportage available on violence in Kannur district over recent years; with a number of reports relating that the area has been

troubled by violence as a consequence of the manner in which the BJP and the CPI-M have competed for Kannur's population, with the loyalty of the Hindu Ezhava caste community being of particular interest to both parties (Babu, R. 2009, 'The Devil in God's own country', *The Hindustan Times*, 24 January http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/Print.aspx?Id=46073e68-d645-4d54-9ba4-bfa301168236 – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 5; Jose, D. 2002, 'Kerala BJP fails to attract Ezhavas, Nairs', *Rediff.com*, 30 October http://www.rediff.com/news/2002/oct/30kera.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 15; Krishnakumar, R. 2001, 'A record of sorts', *Frontline*, vol.18: no.11, 8 June http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1811/18110240.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 10; and: Gopa Kumar, G. 1999, 'A race between traditional rivals', *The Hindu*, vol.16: no.23, 6 November http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1623/16230530.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009 – Attachment 11).

Very little information is available, however, on the question of whether Kerala's Kannur district was affected by violence in the months which followed the December 1992 Babri Mosque incident. Some reports were located which reported incidents of communal violence as occurring in Kerala during this period but only in a very general way. On 10 December 1992 *BBC Monitoring Asia-Pacific* noted that *The Press Trust of India* had reported that Kerala was amongst "the states worst affected" by the "inter-communal clashes in the wake of the destruction of the mosque in Ayodhya". And on 14 December 1992 the *Associated Press* reported that Kerala was among the states in which police had arrested persons suspected of causing "communal rioting"; noting of those arrested across a number of states that the individuals "included 18 Muslims in two Islamic fundamentalist groups that were banned" while "[t]he rest belonged to the World Hindu Council, which organized the campaign to demolish the mosque, and the more militant Hindu groups Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Bajrang Dal". Neither report gave any specific details as to which areas of Kerala were affected or which Kerala communities were involved (for general reports see: 'Ayodhya crisis latest' 1993, *BBC Monitoring Service: Asia-Pacific*, sources: *Press Trust of India*, *All-India Radio*), 10 December – Attachment 37; 'Police in India Arrest 700 In Crackdown on Extremists' 1992, *Washington Post*, source: *Associated Press*, 14 December – Attachment 92).

It may be of interest that an undated document on the website of the Alternative Law Forum (a Bangalore based legal aid group for human rights) relates that, in the aftermath of the Babri Mosque violence, "peace committees" were set up "in villages in Kannur Mandal limits" (which may suggest that communal violence did occur in the area at the time). The extract follows:

> After the Babri Masjid related riots in Dakshina Kannada, local communal harmony committees have played a major role in the process of recovery. In Katepalla and Krishnapura, two villages in Mangalore district which witnessed the worst violence in the district, the local Yuvak Mandal and peace committee have worked to build an atmosphere of goodwill and harmony in the region. Similar peace committees were set up in villages in Kannur Mandal limits. Ullal has two peace committees. All these committees are also trying to ensure that the victims gain the rightful compensation ('Communalism and Communal Incidents in Karnataka' (undated), Alternative Law Forum website http://www.altlawforum.org/Resources/COMMUNALISM/for%20uplode.doc – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 54).

It may also be of interest that in January 1993 it was reported from Trivandrum that Abdul Nasser Madani (or Maudany, Mahdani, etc) of the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS) (a militant Muslim group "founded in November 1990 in the wake of earlier communal troubles over the Ayodhya mosque") had surrendered to police. A *Frontline* report of November 2002 would subsequently reflect that Maudany's surrender and his announcement of the disbandment of the ISS and a move towards moderate politics was surprising insofar as "[t]he December 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid must have been the perfect opportunity for Maudany's ISS to try and spread its wings, especially in northern Kerala, the Muslim League stronghold, at a time when the League was sharing power in the State with P.V. Narasimha Rao's Congress(I), which fact had invited the wrath of Muslims all over India". Nonetheless, at the same time the ISS was disbanded it appears that other militant Muslim groups were forming, including the Kerala's National Development Front (NDF). The November 2002 *Frontline* report notes "that, with Maudany in jail, the NDF had enticed many of his former ISS cadres into its own fold"; and that Kerala's "State police in 1997 had identified eight extremist Muslim groups operating in north Kerala, which received funds and other forms of support from West Asia". In March 1998 *Frontline* reported that: "Senior police officials told Frontline that some of the Muslim fundamentalist groups that became active in Kerala after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 have the potential for whipping up communal trouble and violence" (for Maudany's surrender, see: 'Leader of outlawed Islamic group surrenders' 1993, *Agence France-Presse*, 27 January – Attachment 39; Krishnakuma, R. 2002, 'The Maudany factor', *Frontline*, vol.19: no.22, 8 November http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1922/stories/20021108002603800.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 40; for the formation of the NDF and other militant Muslim groups in Kerala in the post December 1992 Babri Mosque period, see: Philip, S. 2008, 'Fundamentalist Muslim outfit in Kerala plans a pan-Indian political avatar', *Indian Express*, 27 September http://www.indianexpress.com/news/Fundamentalist-Muslim-outfit-in-Kerala-plans-a-pan-Indian-political-avatar/366323 – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 41; Krishnakumar, R. 1998, 'Concern in Kerala', *Frontline*, vol.15: no.5, 7–20 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1505/15051230.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 43).

No reports could be located, in the short time available to complete this response, which addressed the issue of whether there was criticism of the CPI-M for any perceived failure to protect Hindus during the post Babri Mosque incident. The CPI-M was not in government in Kerala at the time of the troubles and most of the available reportage suggests that those criticisms which were voiced were leveled at the then governing Congress led UDF coalition. It would also appear that much of the criticism was concerned with the Congress Party's perceived failure in terms of providing protection to the minority Muslim community. It may be of interest that the Congress led UDF lost government to the CPI-M led UDF coalition in the subsequent 1996 Kerala state election. It may also be of interest that both the CPI-M led LDF and the Congress led UDF have included different Muslim parties in their coalition ranks at different times. A *Frontline* report of June 2001 notes that, in the lead up to the 2001 election: "the UDF wholeheartedly accepted the support of the People's Democratic Party or PDP (whose leader Abdul Nasser Mahdani is in detention in connection with the Coimbatore blast case) and reaped rich benefits, especially in the southern districts, [while] the LDF supported candidates of the Indian National League (INL) in three constituencies". In the 2006 state elections the support of Mahdani and the PDP would swing back to the CPI-M and would contribute to the LDF's electoral victory. The support of all three of Kerala's major faith communities, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, are considered vital to electoral success in Kerala and both the CPI-M and the Congress led coalitions have sought to cultivate the

support of the Muslim voting communities, as well as the votes of Hindus and Christians, and of different Muslim parties in successive elections (for criticism of Kerala's Congress led state government for its failures during the time of the Babri Mosque troubles, see: Krishnakumar, R. 1998, 'Concern in Kerala', *Frontline*, vol.15: no.5, 7–20 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1505/15051230.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 43; for shifting alliances of Muslim Kerala parties in the UDF and LDF coalitions in the successive 2001 and 2006 Kerala state elections, see: Krishnakumar, R. 2001, 'A record of sorts', *Frontline*, vol.18: no.11, 8 June http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1811/18110240.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 42; and: Mathew, L. 2006, 'Muslims swing to CPI-M in Kerala, Congress worried', WhereInCity website, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 7 April http://www.whereincity.com/news/16/1575 – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 57; for the complexity of the relationship between Kerala's pro CPI-M Hindus and the pro BJP Kerala Hindus, see Krishnakumar, R. 2003, 'An emerging threat', *Frontline*, Vol. 20, Iss. 4, 15-28 February http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=20030228003704000.htm&date=fl2004/&prd=fline& – Accessed 16 July 2007 – Attachment 61; for a 2009 report on the manner in which CPI-M and the Congress are currently competing for the votes of Kerala Hindu communities, see: Nair, N. 2009, 'CPM might just do a favour to the Congress', IBNPolitics.com, 17 February http://ibnlive.in.com/statediary/naveen-r-nair/119/53161/cpm-might-just-do-a-favour-to-the-congress.html – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 62; and: Nair, G. 2004, 'Rise in BJP votes a warning: CPI(M) panel', *The Hindu*, 16 August http://www.hindu.com/2004/08/16/stories/2004081601380500.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 63).

It may be of interest that it has recently been reported that activists of the National Development Fund (NDF) network (a constituent of the larger militant Islamist umbrella group known as the Popular Front of India (PFI)) have clashed with CPI-M workers in Kannur District. In September 2008 *Indian Express* reported that "Many NDF activists were allegedly involved in the recent political murders in Thalassery" [an area of Kannur District] and Thrissur". In March 2009 *Outlook India* reported that: "Hindu-Muslim tension may be rising in Kannur and Malappuram districts but terrorism from Pakistan has never been an election issue in the state" (Philip, S. 2008, 'Fundamentalist Muslim outfit in Kerala plans a pan-Indian political avatar', *Indian Express*, 27 September http://www.indianexpress.com/news/Fundamentalist-Muslim-outfit-in-Kerala-plans-a-pan-Indian-political-avatar/366323 – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 41; Iyengar, P. 2009, 'A Small Pocket Of Rhetoric', *Outlook India*, 2 March http://203.200.89.67/full.asp?fodname=20090302&fname=APolitics&sid=2 – Accessed 22 February 2009 – Attachment 45).

It should be noted that it is very difficult to obtain detailed levels of information about what was reported during the post Babri Mosque destruction period as this era pre-dates widespread electronic publication. Very little reportage is available online for this period and even the holdings of subscription news databases, such as Factiva, are modest insofar as coverage of events in South Asia are concerned. An overview of the available source information informing this response follows below. The little information that is available is presented below under the subtitle: *Hindu–Muslim communal violence in Kannur post December 1992*. This is preceded by background information on Kannur District presented under the subtitle: *Background on Kannur District, Kerala*. Should it be of interest, extensive information was located on the manner in which the CPI-M has sought to cultivate the

support of Muslim voters in Kerala (as well as Hindu and Christian voters) along with the support of some Muslim parties, and this information is presented under the subtitle: *The CPI-M and Kerala's communal vote banks*.

Background on Kannur District, Kerala

The Kerala state government's Department of Information & Publicity provides the following background information on the confessional demography of Kannur in its *District Handbooks of Kerala – Kannur* noting that the "Thiyyas form the majority among the Hindu community in the district"; and that the "Musilms [*sic*], here known as Mappilas, form the second largest community".

> The Hindu community in this district, as elsewhere in the country, is organised on the basis of castes and sub castes. The broad divisions of the community are Thiyya, Nairs, Ambalavasis, Brahmins and Kammalan.
>
> The Thiyyas form the majority among the Hindu community in the district. Though they correspond to the Ezhavas in the southern parts of the State, both the communities disclaim any such connection. The Musilms, here known as Mappilas, form the second largest community. Majority of them are Sunnis.
>
> Maliq Ibn Dinar of Arabia is believed to have founded mosques at Valapattanam, Madai, Sreekantapuram and Dharmadam. Large number of conversions were made into Islam from various sections of the population and before long, it became an influential religion.
>
> The district has the unique distinction of having had the State's lone Muslim royal house – the Arkkal royal family. The royal family played an important role in the political as well as Islamic history of the district.
>
> Though Christianity is believed to have been introduced in Kerala by the Apostle St. Thomas in 52 AD, the religion made progress only with the advent of the Portuguese towards the close of the 15th century. The Christians belong mainly to four Churches; the Syro Malabar Church, the Latin Catholic Church, the Church of South India and the Orthodox Syrian Church.
>
> During the last few decades, there has been a large influx of Syrian Catholics from the Travancore-Cochin area of the State.
>
> The Protestant Missions have been at work here since the first half on the 19th century when the Basel German Evangelical Mission was founded by Dr.H.Gundert. Most of their converts were from the Thiyya community (Department of Information & Public Relations Government of Kerala 2003, 'District Handbooks of Kerala: Kannur', Official Web Portal of the Government of Kerala website, March http://www.kerala.gov.in/district_handbook/Kannur.pdf – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 35).

A map of Kannur District, sourced from the Maps of India Version 3.0 database follows below:

('Kannur (Kerala)' (undated), Maps of India Version 3.0 database – Attachment 36).

Hindu–Muslim communal violence in Kannur post December 1992

On 10 December 1992 *BBC Monitoring Asia-Pacific* noted that *The Press Trust of India* had reported that Kerala was amongst "the states worst affected" by the "inter-communal clashes in the wake of the destruction of the mosque in Ayodhya". No specific figures were given for the number of persons killed and/or injured in Kerala state or of where the incidents of violence took place ('Ayodhya crisis latest' 1993, *BBC Monitoring Service: Asia-Pacific*, sources: *Press Trust of India*, *All-India Radio*), 10 December – Attachment 37).

On 14 December 1992 the *Associated Press* reported that Kerala was among the states in which police had arrested persons suspected of causing "communal rioting". According to the *Associated Press*: "Those arrested included 18 Muslims in two Islamic fundamentalist groups that were banned. The rest belonged to the World Hindu Council, which organized the campaign to demolish the mosque, and the more militant Hindu groups Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Bajrang Dal". No specific figures were given for arrests in Kerala or the location of the incidents ('Police in India Arrest 700 In Crackdown on Extremists' 1992, *Washington Post*, source: *Associated Press*, 14 December – Attachment 92).

On 27 January 1993 it was reported from Trivandrum that Abdul Nasser Madani of the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS) (a militant Muslim group "founded in November 1990 in the wake of earlier communal troubles over the Ayodhya mosque") had surrendered to police.

> TRIVANDRUM, India, Jan 27 (AFP) – The leader of an Islamic group banned by the Indian government after the razing of the Babri mosque gave himself up here Wednesday after eluding the police for more than a month.

Abdul Nasser Madani of the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS) surrendered to police commissioner V.R. Rajivan after arriving at his office in a car in this capital of the southern state of Kerala, police said.

Madani, 32, went underground after New Delhi outlawed three Hindu and two Islamic groups, including the ISS, following large-scale Hindu-Moslem violence following the December 6 demolition of the 16th century mosque in Ayodhya.

Madani told reporters before he was formally arrested that he did not wish to remain in hiding any longer and that he would "gladly accept any punishment, including death, from the courts."

But he denied charges that he was "anti-national."

Police said Madani, who lost his right leg in a bomb attack last year for which Hindu militants were blamed, would be interrogated and produced before a court Wednesday or Thursday.

The ISS was founded in November 1990 in the wake of earlier communal troubles over the Ayodhya mosque, and claimed rapid growth to more than 100,000 members and 2,600 units in Kerala, which has a large Moslem population.

Madani, an Arabic scholar and charismatic speaker with a large following among young Moslems, said the ISS had been founded to defend Moslems but had no animosity towards Hindus, India's majority community.

But sections of the media and politicians accused the ISS of being linked to Pakistani intelligence agencies. Madani has denied the charges ('Leader of outlawed Islamic group surrenders' 1993, *Agence France-Presse*, 27 January – Attachment 39).

A *Frontline* report of 2002 provides the following background on Madani (or Maudany, Mahdani, etc) and the manner in which, in the immediate aftermath of the Babri Mosque incident, he surprised many observers by moderating his militancy into political participation and disbanding the ISS to launch the Muslim based People's Democratic Party (PDP).

UNTIL just over a decade ago, the only claim to fame for Abdul Nasir, who came to be known under the religious title `Maudany', was his oratorical skills as a student in a traditional religious training centre near his home in Kollam district. In the late 1980s and especially after 1990, when Hindu fundamentalist forces started their aggressive strategy of stoking communal sentiments in Kerala, Maudany began delivering his vitriolic Friday sermons in mosques in south Kerala, especially in Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram districts.

Soon he announced the launching of the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS), obviously as an answer to the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh in Kerala. The ISS soon became a magnet for Muslim youth, especially those from impoverished backgrounds, who were provoked by the growing belligerence of the Hindutva forces but were without a platform.

Maudany's organisational capabilities were striking, especially after the ISS began to take out "route marches" in the roads of Thiruvananthapuram a la the RSS, uniforms, hats, sticks and all. The existence of the ISS coincided with a period of communal tension in Kerala, as Maudany's outfit disturbed not merely the aggressive Hindutva elements but also Muslim organisations, from the mainstream political party the Muslim League to the groups on the extreme fringe. These Muslim organisations too were forced to take extreme positions on many issues, which affected communal peace. Then a 1990 bomb blast at Karunagappally in Kollam district cost Maudany a leg. It has been attributed both to the RSS and Maudany's

Muslim detractors. But every blow that fell on Maudany, was used by him to build up his mysterious organisation.

The December 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid must have been the perfect opportunity for Maudany's ISS to try and spread its wings, especially in northern Kerala, the Muslim League stronghold, at a time when the League was sharing power in the State with P.V. Narasimha Rao's Congress(I), which fact had invited the wrath of Muslims all over India. But a day before the Central government imposed a ban on several organisations including the RSS, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the ISS, Maudany announced that the ISS stood "disbanded".

Soon after the demolition of the Babri Masjid, Kerala saw the amazing public transformation of Maudany, from a rabble-rousing, provocative leader of a mysterious organisation to a comparatively moderate public figure, leader of the new Muslim political party, the PDP, which sought to gain for the former ISS chairman the political clout he lacked.

A relatively moderate Maudany was trying to project himself more and more into mainstream politics, first by fighting against Antony and the Muslim League, which supported the Chief Minister in the Tirurangadi by-election in 1996, later leading a clutch of small regional parties under the banner of `backward classes unity'. All these attempts ended in failure but that did not seem to bother Maudany.

It was clear that it would be nearly-impossible for his party to win a seat in the Assembly on its own, that at best the PDP would win a few seats in the local bodies, and that the key to his political survival lay in strengthening his pockets of influence in order to gain political clout with the bigger, mainstream parties. Maudany's PDP entered the fray in every crucial election in the State, spoiling the chances of one coalition or the other. In turn, leaders from both the dominant coalitions started courting Maudany's PDP overtly and covertly during elections. During the Assembly elections 17 months ago, several UDF leaders visited Maudany in jail and sought his support, in return promising to get him released on bail.

Kerala had been interested only in his occasional successes and failures as a political leader, his private activities, especially his alleged links with extremist elements remained at best a matter of conjecture. The chargesheet filed by the Tamil Nadu police is the first time such an accusation is made against him publicly.

FOR the moment, what is more significant than anything else for Kerala is the communal context of the Maudany saga. On the one hand there is the intensifying threat posed by provocative speeches and statements and frequent shows of strength by Hindutva organisations such as the VHP and the Shiv Sena in the State. Just as the RSS had brought in the until-then north Indian Janmashtami ritual as a mobilisation strategy in Kerala after 1990, the Vinayaka Chathurthi day this year saw for the first time a non-entity in State politics, the Shiv Sena, installing and immersing nearly 18,000 Ganesha idols all over Kerala amidst much fanfare.

The VHP too has raised its profile and its north Indian leaders have started descending on the State and making provocative statements. The latest was Praveen Togadia, who while demanding in Thiruvananthapuram that Maudany not be released, said his release would lead once again to "Mopilla violence" in Kerala. Kerala usually takes such things in its stride, but this time competing organisations within the Hindutva fold and also a clutch of virulent Muslim groups that have taken root in the State in the past one decade are imparting dangerous dimensions to the picture.

The State police in 1997 had identified eight extremist Muslim groups operating in north Kerala, which received funds and other forms of support from West Asia. It was also known

that Kerala was turning into a sanctuary for extremist elements fleeing the security agencies in other States and also a centre of arms-running. Police sources told Frontline that even as recently as July, the suspected Inter-Services Intelligence agent Imam Ali Harikumar, (originally a Hindu from Alappuzha district) who was shot dead by the police in Bangalore on September 29, had got sanctuary in the heart of Thiruvananthapuram. The PDP denied that it was involved in the matter, and said that allegations in this regard against it was a ploy to keep Maudany in custody. But police sources say PDP supporters are among those being investigated for providing food and shelter to members of the Al-Mujahideen, the organisation Ali floated.

As in the Hindutva fold, the most disturbing trend, according to police sources, is the proliferation of fundamentalist groups vying with one another for the traditionally peaceful Muslim mind in Kerala. After the disbanding of the ISS, the most disturbing growth had been that of the National Democratic Front (NDF), in north Kerala in particular. It is one of the most prominent Muslim fundamentalist groups in the State, according to sources in the State police. The NDF claims to be a social organisation and denies any fundamentalist tendencies, but the police have no doubt about its intentions and activities, and its ability to attract cadres from other Muslim groups. It is no secret that a majority of its hardcore members were formerly members of the banned Students Islamic Movement of India.

THE NDF was one of the first to form a Maudany Legal Action Council and launch a fund collection drive. Whether the funds collected ever helped Maudany is unclear. According to a top police officer, what really seemed to have happened was that, with Maudany in jail, the NDF had enticed many of his former ISS cadres into its own fold. Significantly, no statement has been issued by any known NDF leader demanding Maudany's release.

The consequence of all this, according to intelligence sources, is that Maudany, who had been keeping a tight leash on his cadres from within jail, is known to have issued a directive for the reactivation of a unit he formed in 1997 in Kollam, Majlis Tarbiyathul Muslimeen (MTM), with his former hardcore ISS colleagues as members. According to a senior Intelligence officer of the State police, the MTM's professed objectives are similar to those of the NDF, namely, `fighting (alleged) injustices against Muslims', `working for the socio-economic development of Muslims', `defending Muslims from the RSS and the BJP and other Hindu groups', among others. The police believe that MTM activists were behind the troubles in three southern districts last December 6. The officer said that MTM cadres have been directed to recruit two members each in every taluk, who are then to form MTM committees at every mosque, "to defend Muslims", or in other words, to prevent further erosion in the ISS-PDP ranks.

It is in such a potentially-volatile context created by competing fundamentalist groups trying to outwit one another and fight "the common enemy" at the same time, that the demand for the release of Maudany has become a headache for the State government.

The question remains as to what difference the release of Maudany on bail can make to the situation in Kerala. A top police officer told Frontline: "Maudany should not be taken lightly, the human rights aspects notwithstanding. How can the State police guarantee his return for trial in Tamil Nadu given the ground realities here and the potential for communal violence that his return would create." (Krishnakuma, R. 2002, 'The Maudany factor', *Frontline*, vol.19: no.22, 8 November http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1922/stories/20021108002603800.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009 – Attachment 40).

A September 2008 report provides the following information on the political violence which has effected Kannur noting the particular affiliations of local Muslim residents. The article appeared in the context of reporting that the "Popular Front of India (PFI), a right wing

Muslim organisation in south India, is planning a pan-Indian outfit to plunge into electoral politics". The report notes that: "the NDF – a key constituent of the PFI – has been involved in political clashes with the CPI(M) and RSS. Two NDF men had lost their lives in recent violence. Many NDF activists were allegedly involved in the recent political murders in Thalassery" [an area of Kannur District] and Thrissur"".

> The Popular Front of India (PFI), a right wing Muslim organisation in south India, is planning a pan-Indian outfit to plunge into electoral politics. The PFI is an umbrella body of Kerala's National Development Front (NDF), Karnataka Forum for Dignity (KFD) and Tamil Nadu's Manitha Neethi Pasaria (MNP).
>
> The PFI's move to form a political party – if it materialises – would have serious implications in Muslim-dominated areas, especially in southern India. At present, the Muslim voters are attracted towards parties like the CPI(M), Congress and Indian Union Muslim League.
>
> The PFI was formed in November 2006 as a common platform of the NDF, KFD and MNP, which have made inroads into Muslim belts in three southern states.
>
> In Kerala, the NDF – a key constituent of the PFI – has been involved in political clashes with the CPI(M) and RSS. Two NDF men had lost their lives in recent violence. Many NDF activists were allegedly involved in the recent political murders in Thalassery and Thrissur.
>
> According to the Home Department, NDF was involved in 101 cases of attempt to murder or murder in the state in 2007. As many as 40 cases had been registered against NDF at Iritty police station in Kannur district. The NDF, a regrouping of mainly SIMI activists, was formed in 1993 to cash in on the disenchantment within the Muslim community after the demolition of Babri Masjid.
>
> The PFI has already tested the electoral waters. It had fielded an Independent candidate from Mysore during the last Assembly elections in Karnataka. Its candidate bagged 10,000 votes and finished fourth in the race.
>
> PFI sources told The Indian Express that though the plan for a political party was a serious one, it is at an embryonic stage right now.
>
> "The Muslim vote is scattered among various political parties and bringing them, along with other backward minorities and Dalits, under one party umbrella would be the PFI's top priority," sources added.
>
> According to one PFI leader, there has been a demand from within the Muslim community for a new political outfit that can address issues affecting the community like insecurity and inequality. As part of the spadework, a national-level campaign will be kicked off soon after Ramzan (Philip, S. 2008, 'Fundamentalist Muslim outfit in Kerala plans a pan-Indian political avatar', *Indian Express*, 27 September http://www.indianexpress.com/news/Fundamentalist-Muslim-outfit-in-Kerala-plans-a-pan-Indian-political-avatar/366323 – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 41).

One report notes as follows of the effects of the incident on politics and voting in Kerala:

> The alienation of communal and caste forces, along with the estranged Muslims after the demolition of the Babri Masjid, played a crucial role in the defeat of the UDF in 1996. This time around those forces worked against the LDF. The Nair Service Society (NSS) and the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Yogam, organisations representing the Nair and Ezhava communities which together account for nearly 50 per cent of the State's population, had obviously drifted away from the LDF.

The result was a vindictive consolidation against the LDF of traditionally pro-CPI(M) Ezhava votes. Riding this wave was the Ezhava-dominated party, the Janathipatya Samrakshana Samiti (JSS), led by K.R. Gouriamma. A minor partner in the UDF, the JSS managed to get four of its candidates elected from constituencies such as Kodungalloor, Karunagappally and Pandalam, long considered Communist bastions. In its short political history, the JSS had displayed its strength thus far only in one constituency – Aroor, in Alappuzha district, Gouri Amma's home turf.

A significant facet of this election was the increasingly blatant tendency of the two Fronts to enter into "unholy alliances" with parties or groups whose secular credentials were once considered highly suspect. If the UDF wholeheartedly accepted the support of the People's Democratic Party or PDP (whose leader Abdul Nasser Mahdani is in detention in connection with the Coimbatore blast case) and reaped rich benefits, especially in the southern districts, the LDF supported candidates of the Indian National League (INL) in three constituencies. Neither the LDF nor the INL benefited from this exercise. The results have once again established the supremacy of the Muslim League over the other Muslim parties in Kerala. The Muslim League's reaction to the PDP too claiming credit for the UDF victory is yet to be ascertained (Krishnakumar, R. 2001, 'A record of sorts', *Frontline*, vol.18: no.11, 8 June http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1811/18110240.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 42).

More recent reports on communal violence fears in Kerala

In March 1998 *Frontline* reported that: "Senior police officials told Frontline that some of the Muslim fundamentalist groups that became active in Kerala after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 have the potential for whipping up communal trouble and violence". And that a group titling itself the "National Defence Force" had come to prominence as a vehicle for uniting Kerala Muslims into a militant network following the Babri Masjid incident. Extracts follow:

THE serial bomb blasts in Coimbatore have put on a high alert neighbouring Kerala, which is clearly becoming a sanctuary and a possible recruiting and training base for some religious fundamentalist groups with inter-State links. The activities of such groups have assumed dangerous dimensions. This is particularly true of northern Kerala, where a significant Muslim population suffers from a broad range of economic and social disabilities and the BJP, the RSS and its satellite organisations pursue an aggressive strategy of stoking communal sentiments.

The seizure of huge quantities of explosives and the arrest of 10 persons from various parts of Kerala following the Coimbatore blasts are but the latest indications of this situation. According to the police, one person who was arrested in Palakkad was involved in the bomb blast at the Hindu Munnani office in Chennai and a group of nine persons arrested in Thrissur on their arrival from Coimbatore are suspected to have had a role in the recent blasts.

Arms and ammunition have frequently been unearthed from different parts of Kerala. The latest seizure and an explosion in a godown in Thrissur, which killed four persons, have raised suspicions about possible links between traders of explosives in Thrissur and Tamil Nadu-based fundamentalist groups.

Senior police officials told Frontline that some of the Muslim fundamentalist groups that became active in Kerala after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 have the potential for whipping up communal trouble and violence. In a majority of such incidents, evidence pointed to the involvement of groups that had inter-State links and had access to funds from abroad, they said.

Significantly, as early as in March 1997, soon after a haul of explosives was made in Chennai, Chief Minister E.K. Nayanar told the Kerala Assembly that five to eight extremist groups were operating in northern Kerala and that they received funds and other forms of support from foreign countries, especially Iran and some countries in West Asia. He also said that the situation was "serious". If things did not get out of hand, it was only because the Government and the police were maintaining a strict vigil, he said.

According to police sources, interrogation of those who were arrested in connection with a series of violent incidents in Tamil Nadu, starting with the bomb blast at the RSS headquarters in Chennai, revealed that some of them had received training in Jammu and Kashmir in the use of modern weapons and the making of bombs; they had in turn trained many persons in northern Kerala. There have also been regular intelligence reports of attempts by certain forces to wrest key positions in Muslim religious and political organisations in the State and to use religious institutions, including madrasas, to spread divisive and extremist messages among Muslim youth.

It is significant that several Islamic organisations and Muslim political groups, including the Indian Union Muslim League, have criticised "the spread of extremist tendencies among Muslims in the State" and warned their followers against taking part in such activities. Some organisations – even those that believe in the ultimate goal of establishing an Islamic society – have passed resolutions against attempts to convert places of worship into storehouses of arms and safehouses for fundamentalists.

Coming from within the community, these statements are evidence of a growing presence of religious fundamentalist forces in northern Kerala. Police officials say they are gaining strength, providing support and drawing on the resources of similar organisations in neighbouring States.

THE growth of fundamentalist organisations in Kerala may appear to be a surprising development considering the State's achievements in the social and educational sectors and its record of social harmony. What has now come to the surface, however, is an attempt by fringe elements to take advantage of the socio-economic problems, especially problems affecting the Muslim community in the State, which have been exacerbated by the post-1990 aggressiveness of the Hindutva forces.

Muslims form a significant proportion of the population in northern Kerala, and the community has from the time of Independence given expression to its need for development and recognition through its own political and social organisations. The Muslim League has used this as an opportunity to gain a prominent place in the State's coalition politics. This satisfied a major psychological need of the community. However, over the years the Muslim League became the cause for much disenchantment because of its failure to find solutions, especially to the community's socio-economic backwardness.

Remittances from expatriates in West Asia provided temporary economic relief but this could not remove the general backwardness of the community. This in fact deepened the divisions in northern Kerala society. The gap between the rich and the poor, and also between Muslims, who got more job opportunities in West Asian countries, and Hindus, who felt discriminated against in the matter of such opportunities, widened.

The dissatisfaction among a section of Hindus was reflected in the statement of the BJP's former State president, K. Raman Pillai, in Kozhikode during the recent election campaign that if voted to power the BJP would ban advertisements that offered jobs to Muslims and Christians alone – and not Hindus – in West Asian countries.

On another front, family life suffered strains, with many male members seeking employment in West Asian countries and leaving women to take up family responsibilities. Simultaneously, materialism and a consumerist culture began to influence Kerala's Muslim society, which had been tradition-bound and deeply religious. Even the religious leadership was at a loss as to how these un-Islamic tendencies could be checked.

The flow of foreign funds, however, began to taper off, especially after the 1990-91 Gulf war. It was also the time when the BJP and the RSS became aggressive in promoting Hindu communal consciousness in northern Kerala through aggressive assertions on the need to resist "policies of communal appeasement" and slogans that called for the upholding of "Hindu unity and pride" and the establishment of a "Hindu India". There were several instances when communal passions and a feeling of insecurity were aroused among the members of both the communities. This made the situation ripe for the extremist elements to step in.

There were significant attempts early enough to contain extreme reactions. The State witnessed a series of anti-social crimes in Kochi, Kollam and Tirurangadi following the murder of a madrasa teacher in Thrissur in October 1990, allegedly by RSS persons. At several places groups of Muslims organised processions and shouted provocative slogans. However, within a fortnight, secular action came from the CPI(M), which organised a remarkable "human chain" that stretched from one end of Kerala to the other symbolising the need to defeat extremist and divisive forces.

However, matters did not improve. **At the time of the demolition of the Babri Masjid, Kerala had a United Democratic Front (UDF) Government, with the Muslim League sharing power with the Congress(I). The resentment of the masses of Muslims over the Congress(I)'s inability to prevent the demolition manifested itself in the form of the community's alienation from the Muslim League. This created the right circumstances for the growth of extremely fundamentalist forces, the most prominent among them being the Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS). The ISS was later disbanded, when the Government banned it along with the RSS; however, its chairman Abdul Nasser Mahdani subsequently transformed his political profile into that of a more moderate leader, and formed a political party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP). There was no inquiry into the activities of the members of the ISS after it was banned.**

The Government at that time apparently failed to realise that just as majority communalism was a major threat to peace, minority communalism too required to be tackled sternly. The police now say that fundamentalist elements within the disbanded ISS regrouped quickly and joined the forces that have now assumed different identities. The prominent ones among such forces, according to the police, are the NDF (the National Defence Force or possibly the National Democratic Front, when it became too much of a focus of attention), Al-Umma and the Jem-Iyyathul-Ishaniya. It is quite conceivable that these organisations are one and the same or members of one organisation are also members of the others.

A senior police officer told Frontline that the NDF had successfully used the sense of insecurity created in the Muslim community by the events that followed the Babri Masjid demolition to find supporters in northern Kerala, irrespective of their political or other allegiances. The officer said: "Initially, no NDF member used to acknowledge openly that he was an NDF member. Always they would say that they were members of other organisations. The truth may be that members of several organisations were members of the NDF also. Now the NDF has several wings and is making a major effort to project itself as a socio-cultural organisation of Muslims."

He said that members of one wing of the NDF might not be aware of the activities of another wing. Although it had embarked on social activities such as organising blood donation camps

and ambulance services, there was no doubt about its fundamentalist intentions and actions, he observed. The NDF seeks support from Muslims by claiming that it will unite all Muslims, help them advance socially and educationally and "defend the community against fascist forces". It is also believed to conduct "secret" camps to train cadres in unarmed combat, as the RSS does all over Kerala.

The NDF now openly seeks funds from the public, and in the Malabar region a poster campaign for this purpose is on. There have been several instances in which the organisation has intervened on behalf of Muslims in disputes. One such was its intervention when the RSS allegedly tried to prevent the renovation of a mosque in Kozhikode district.

The police believe that the NDF received copious funds from abroad and has now established its presence as a "socio-cultural organisation" in Malappuram, Kozhikode, Kannur, Kasaragod and Palakkad districts and parts of Thrissur districts.

However, police officials said that the more serious threat came from Al-Umma which had established itself in Kerala and was behind several violent incidents in the State. Several of its prominent activists based in Tamil Nadu, had crossed over to Kerala when it became too hot for them there. They could find sanctuaries in northern Kerala with the help of their religious links and money power. Over a period of time such links were strengthened, and this led to the organisation spreading its influence among Muslims across Kerala, they said.

Ideologically, Al-Umma was more dangerous as it believed in the annihilation of its enemies, a top officer said. He cited four incidents of murder in Malappuram, Palakkad and Thrissur districts, which had been traced to Al-Umma. All the victims were members of another community, who allegedly had relationships with Muslim women whose husbands were abroad. In all the four cases, Al-Umma had presented itself as an organisation committed to ensuring the "purity of the community", and the message was spread with deadly effect, the officer pointed out.

A senior officer said that the growth of Al-Umma in Kerala indicated that religious fundamentalism did not recognise State or language boundaries. Religious extremism bound its members together and made groups like Al-Umma highly dangerous, the officer said. The strength of such groups is not in their numbers but in the commitment of their recruits, mostly youth, according to the officer.

One of the most significant activities of such groups, which change their name and identities frequently – from "Sunni Tigers" to "Jihad Committee" and so on – is the burning of cinema halls, because they believe cinema is against Islam. More than a dozen cinemas were burnt in the Muslim-majority Malappuram district and the police have found that the photographs of the burning structures were sent to foreign countries. Pipe bombs discovered accidentally from a river were found to be made by trained hands; they were similar to the one used in the bomb attack against film director Mani Ratnam in Chennai.

Northern Kerala districts are also centres of hawala, drug-trafficking and smuggling rackets. These exploit the region's close migrant links with West Asian countries. Inter-State gangs have well-established networks in the region. The police believe that criminal gangs or their individual members could have found it advantageous to work under the garb of religious fundamentalism and thus get more recruits and money for their activities. Or it may be that fundamentalist elements and criminals have found each other mutually beneficial (Krishnakumar, R. 1998, 'Concern in Kerala', *Frontline*, vol.15: no.5, 7–20 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1505/15051230.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 43).

A January 2009 report claims that embers of Kerala's Muslim communities have become involved in militant Islamist groups such as SIMI, noting the involvement of "Kerala's Abdul Sattar, a Kannur resident".

> Incensed by the 2003 pogrom in Gujarat, though, Riyaz Bhatkal travelled to Pakistan to train with the Lashkar. Pakistan-based mafioso Amir Raza Khan, who began financing jihadist groups after his brother was killed by the Gujarat Police in 2001, is believed to have paid for the journey, and arranged for the fake travel documents that allowed Bhatkal to transit through Dubai.
>
> Back in Mangalore, Bhatkal began to recruit the men who would later form the bomb-manufacture cell of the Indian Mujahideen – mostly small businessmen like arrested suspects Ahmad Baba Abu Bakr, Ali Mohammad Ahmad, Javed Mohammad Ali and Syed Mohammad Naushad.
>
> Iqbal Bhatkal drew other circles of recruits, operating through clerical networks. Mansoor Asghar Peerbhoy, the software engineer who helped design, produce and e-mail several Indian Mujahideen manifestos – and is now expected to testify against his one-time associates–was among them.
>
> **Kerala's Abdul Sattar, a Kannur resident** also known by the alias Sainuddhin, and his long-standing associate Tadiyantavide Nasir, also formed a key part of the circle of south Indian jihadists recruited by the Bhatkal brothers.
>
> Both men had cut their political teeth in street battles between followers of the Kerala politician Abdul Nasser Madani – who was recently acquitted of charges of having financed the 1998 serial bombings in Coimbatore by the Islamist terror group al-Umma–and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh activists. Sattar, for example, is alleged to have fabricated the pipe-bombs used in a series of 1993 attacks. Later, the men were alleged to have participated in a plot to assassinate former Kerala chief minister EK Nayanar.
>
> Sattar and Nasir, the police claim, supplied much of the ammonium nitrate used in the bombs built by Bhatkal in Gujarat. Evidence also exists that the Kerala jihad leaders had sent upwards of 40 men for military training at Lashkar camps in Pakistan. In October, four Kerala men training with the Lashkar in the mountains above the north Kashmir town of Kupwara were shot dead by the Jammu and Kashmir Police. One of the four, Abdul Raheem, was Sattar's son-in-law. He had earlier been charged with participating in the 2005 torching of a bus to protest Tamil Nadu's decision to oppose Madani's efforts to secure bail (Swami, P. 2009, 'The Lashkar-e-Taiba's army in India', *The Hindu*, 17 January http://www.thehindu.com/2009/01/17/stories/2009011755310800.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 44).

In March 2009 a report in *Outlook India* argued that fear of Pakistan and Muslim militancy might affect Kerala's neighbouring Karnataka state but was unlikely to affect Kerala state. Nonetheless, the report notes that "Hindu-Muslim tension may be rising" in Kannur district.

> Not so in Kerala, though. Hindu-Muslim tension may be rising in Kannur and Malappuram districts but terrorism from Pakistan has never been an election issue in the state. "It would be wrong to say that Kerala is immune to terror and communalism," says political commentator Moinudin N. Karassery. "But none of the mainstream political parties like to discuss terror as a major issue because it invariably focuses on political Islamist elements" (Iyengar, P. 2009, 'A Small Pocket Of Rhetoric', *Outlook India*, 2 March http://203.200.89.67/full.asp?fodname=20090302&fname=APolitics&sid=2 – Accessed 22 February 2009 – Attachment 45).

As is noted above, reports have appeared which claim that the militant Islamist group SIMI has recruited from amongst the Muslim population of Kerala and there have also been reports of SIMI being active in Kerala state. Nonetheless, it should also be noted that it has been reported that Kerala police have been actively pursing SIMI activists in recent years and reports indicate that this pursuit has become all the more intense following the spate of bombings which have occurred throughout India in 2008 and which have been attributed to a group titled Indian Mujahideen. According to an August 2008 report produced for the Jamestown Foundation's *Terrorism Focus*: "It is now believed that IM could be a front used by former SIMI activists working in tandem with terrorist groups like Lashkar-e-Tayyeba (LeT) and HuJI"; and: "Known sympathizers and friends of former SIMI leaders and workers have been rounded up for questioning" (for the recent spate of attacks and SIMI's links to the Indian Mujahideen, see: John, W. 2008, 'India's Security Agencies Struggle with Probe into Serial Bombings in Gujarat and Karnataka', *Terrorism Focus*, 5 August, vol.5: no.29 http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2374356 – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 46; for background on SIMI, see: Roul, A. 2006, 'Students Islamic Movement of India: A Profile', *Terrorism Monitor*, 6 April, vol.4: no7. http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369953 – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 47; for SIMI's reported activities in Kerala and the response of the Kerala police, see: Unnithan, S. 2008, 'Homemade and deadly', *India Today*, 2 October http://indiatoday.digitaltoday.in/index.php?option=com_content&issueid=73&task=view&id=16681&acc=high – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 48; Srinagar, S.K. 2008, 'Two more Keralites hired by Lashker killed in Kashmir', *Outlook India*, 12 October http://www.outlookindia.com/pti_news.asp?id=619081 – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 49; 'Cops find Kerala connection in terror attacks' 2008, *Times of India*, 10 October http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Cities/Mumbai/Cops_find_Kerala_connection_in_terror_attacks/rssarticleshow/3577891.cms – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 50; 'Kerala police arrest 2 for "SIMI links"' 2008, *The Hindu*, 8 October http://www.hindu.com/2008/10/08/stories/2008100860401300.htm – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 51; 'SIMI meeting: suspect arrested' 2008, *The Hindu*, 15 October http://www.hindu.com/2008/10/15/stories/2008101559410400.htm – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 52; 'Ban on physical training camps' 2008, *The Hindu*, 28 August http://www.hindu.com/2008/08/28/stories/2008082855440700.htm – Accessed 22 October 2008 – Attachment 53).

The Accusations of the BJP

The BJP has frequently accused the CPI-M of fostering and encouraging communal violence and militancy in Kerala at the expense of the majority Hindu community. In November 2008 the BJP's accusations were reported as follows:

> The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has accused the Congress and the CPI(M) of encouraging religious fundamentalism and militancy in the country.
>
> BJP State vice-president V. Muraleedharan said here on Tuesday that the CPI(M) had erred seriously by taking aid of communal and militant organisations to come to power. "The party should show the courage to admit its folly," he said while inaugurating a march taken out by the party to the District Collectorate here.
>
> The march was organised as part of the party's State-wide campaign against religious militancy.

Mr. Muraleedharan said history had taught us how alliance with militants in Punjab had boomeranged on the Congress.

"Learning a lesson from that, the Congress leadership should be ready to keep away from people with militant links," he said.

BJP district president K. Narayanan presided over the function. Party leaders Nirmala Kuttykrishnan, K. Ramachandran, P.G. Anandkumar, Ravi Thelath, M. Preman, K. Velayudhan, C.K. Kunhumohammed and K.K. Surendran addressed the gathering.

BJP leaders Malayil Purushothaman, V. Bharatan, K.P. Gopinath, P.T. Ali Haji, Koneri Ayyappan and K. Manikantan led the march ('CPI(M), Congress encouraging terrorism' 2008, *The Hindu*, 12 November http://www.thehindu.com/2008/11/12/stories/2008111251830300.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 55; see also: 'We are secular not communal: BJP chief' 2006, *Express India*, 26 April http://www.expressindia.com/news/fullstory.php?newsid=66695 – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 56).

The CPI-M and Kerala's communal vote banks

An April 2007 report provides background on the shifting manner in which various Muslim parties have allied themselves with the Congress led UDF and the CPI-M led LDF over recent years. The report notes the manner in which the CPI-M has accepted the support of the Indian National League (INL) but "ruled out an alliance with IUML, which is considered a party of moderate Muslims, saying it was a 'communal party'". Extracts follow:

Kerala's ruling Congress party is bracing for a shock in assembly elections, with at least half a dozen influential Muslim groups throwing their weight behind the Left Democratic Front (LDF).

Apart from the Indian National League, which is contesting three seats in alliance with the Left in northern Kerala, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Jamat-e-Islami and the CH Secular Forum of dissidents in the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) have publicly announced their support to the LDF.

A Sunni group led by Kanthapuram A.P. Aboobackar Musaliar that has considerable support in the Lok Sabha constituency of Manjeri is also expected to support LDF candidates.

And sections of radical Islamic groups may also back the LDF led by the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) in the staggered elections to be held April 22 and 27 and May 8.

The INL, formed by former IUML president Ebrahim Sulaiman Seth who parted ways with the Congress after the Babri mosque was razed in Ayodhya in 1992, enjoys the sympathy of Muslims across the state.

Muslims in Kerala form 25 percent of Kerala's 32 million people and are concentrated mainly in the northern districts of Malappuram, Kannur, Kasaragod, Wayanad and Kozhikode.

If the INL's support to the LDF was expected, the real shock to the Congress was the announcement of the PDP, whose founder leader Abdul Nasser Madani has been in a Tamil Nadu jail on charges of masterminding the 1998 bomb blasts in Coimbatore.

The PDP had backed the Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 2001 elections but it is miffed by Kerala Chief Minister Oommen Chandy's failure to get Madani released.

Knowing the growing Muslim anger over the Madani issue, the UDF-dominated Kerala assembly unanimously passed a resolution last month demanding the release of Madani on humanitarian grounds but Muslims say this is too little and too late.

In a surprising move last week, Madani sent a letter to his workers from his prison cell asking them to work for LDF's victory.

If most Muslims go by the directives of these groups, it is bound to add to the confidence level of the LDF, which is already hopeful of returning to power in a state where voters are known to change governments every five years.

Ironically, the CPI-M had ruled out an alliance with IUML, which is considered a party of moderate Muslims, saying it was a "communal party".

CPI-M politburo member S. Ramachandra Pillai, who hails from Kerala, argued that there was a difference between accepting support from and forming an alliance with a religion-based party.

"The CPI-M has succeeded in creating trust and confidence among the people that it is more secular than the Congress and people feel more secure under the Left leadership," Pillai told IANS.

A worried Congress, which was routed in the 2004 Lok Sabha elections in Kerala, admits that any en masse voting by Muslims in favour of the LDF would be a blow.

A small swing in voting can make a huge difference. In 1996, the LDF took power with 45.88 percent votes and 80 of the assembly's 140 seats. The UDF got a close 44.84 percent but only 59 seats.

Although the LDF's vote percent went down slightly to 43.58 in 2001, its seat tally plummeted to 40. In contrast, the UDF swept to power with 49.17 percent of votes and 99 seats.

Naturally, the CPI-M was desperately trying to win the confidence of Christians, who comprise 19 percent of the population, by forging alliance with parties like the Kerala Congress (Joseph), which has strong roots in central Kerala.

But a Left leader admitted: "The Christians still have a mental block against the CPI-M."

CPI-M leaders say the party's strong criticism of US President George W. Bush's visit to India – which triggered massive protests particularly from Muslims – and opposition to New Delhi's stand on Iran's nuclear programme might also have contributed to the Muslim vote consolidation.

In both the May 2004 general election and the recent local polls, the UDF suffered shocks in both Christian and Muslim strongholds. Now with Muslim groups openly coming out in favour of the LDF, the UDF fears further losses (Mathew, L. 2006, 'Muslims swing to CPI-M in Kerala, Congress worried', WhereInCity website, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 7 April http://www.whereincity.com/news/16/1575 – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 57).

A September 2008 report notes as follows:

In a significant move to placate the influential forward communities in Kerala, the Left Government on Wednesday decided to give seat reservation in colleges and universities for the economically-backward of the forward communities. Chief Minister V S Achuthanandan

said that the reservation quota in colleges would be 10 per cent and in universities 7.5 per cent.

In Kerala, Hindu Nair and Christian (except the Latin Catholic) communities mainly form the forward block, while the Muslims and Ezhava/Thiyya Hindus compose the backward. Nair community and Christian communities have locked horns with the CPM-led Government on several issues, particularly on reforms in the education sector. Nair Service Society, representing the Nair Community, had recently decided to join hands with the Christians to fight against the Left Government's education policies. By ensuring seat reservation, the CPM hopes to mend ways with the Christians and Nairs in Kerala, against the backdrop of the ensuing election (Philip, S. 2008, 'Kerala sop for forward class, gives education quota to poor', *Indian Express*, 4 September http://www.indianexpress.com/news/kerala-sop-for-forward-class-gives-education-quota-to-poor/357019/ – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 58).

A study published by Islamabad's Institute of Strategic Studies in the aftermath of the 2006 Kerala state elections notes the manner in which the Muslim vote bank shifted to the CPI-M led LDF coalition away from the Congress led UDA coalition, and the Indian Union Muslim League, which had won Muslim support in 2001. Extracts follow:

In Kerala, the Left Democratic Front reversed the results from the 2001 State Assembly elections. In 2001, the United Democract Front defeated the LDF 99 seats in comparison to 42 seats. In the 2006 elections, the LDF managed 98 seats to 39 seats of the UDF. This was clear denunciation of the pro-liberalisation policies of the incumbent UDF government. More crucial was the role played by the minorities and caste-based constituencies, which decided to vote for the LDF on the basis of its policies and its issue oriented agenda. Another major aspect was the voting out of the Indian Union Muslim League and the shift of the Muslim vote bank to the LDF owing to its policy oriented agenda (Saeed, A. 2006, 'Emergent Electoral Trends in Indian Politics: Role of the Left and Muslim Votebanks', Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad website, *Strategic Studies*, vol.26, Winter, no.4 http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2006_files/no_4/article/a1.htm – Accessed 5 October 2007 – Attachment 59).

A report published in *The Statesman* in January 2000 notes the manner in which "backward castes, like the Ezhavas, which alone constitutes 20 per cent of the population, form the bulk of the support base of the CPI-M". The report also provides information which may be of interest for the manner in which former CPI-M supporters have switched sides to the BJP:

THE violence between RSS and CPI-M cadres has been widely reported in the media. The homicidal political riots between the two organisations can be traced to the late sixties. However, the Kannur violence is more conspicuous since both red and saffron casualties have been unusually high in the last three years. Although peace has been restored more than hundred workers of both the groups have been killed. The real question which needs to be answered is the reason behind ideological rivalry turning violent.

Politics in Kerala has been a classic example of bipolarity between the CPI-M-led Left Democratic Front and the Cong-ress-led United Democratic Front. Demographically the minorities constitute 43 percent of the total population. Muslims and Christians are 21 and 22 percent respectively. The backward castes, like the Ezhavas, which alone constitutes 20 per cent of the population, form the bulk of the support base of the CPI-M. This enduring equilibrium has been threatened by the expansion of the RSS since the eighties and the subsequent emergence of the BJP, who now poll nine per cent of the vote.

GREAT BOOST

The growth of the RSS in the state is not a sudden and it is beginning to challenge the Left organisations and their social philosophy – particularly their approach to the minorities. The RSS started its work in Kerala in the mid-forties, but could not emerge as a potential force till the late-seventies. One of its senior-most leaders, the veteran trade unionist, Dattopant Thengadi, spent a long time expanding RSS activities there. In 1967, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh session which was held at Calicut in Kerala gave some impetus to the party. It is at this conference that party ideologue Deendayal Upadhyay categorically defined the RSS position on minorities. Mode of worship, he said, did not change the culture and history of a people – he called Muslims and Christians Mohammadi Hindu and Christi Hindus respectively.

Moreover, the grand project to construct the Vivekananda Rock Memorial launched by another RSS leader Eknath Ranade, former all-India general secretary of the RSS, was a great boost to the organisation. It also exposed the Marx-ists' vote-bank politics. The role of RSS cadres during the Emergency was also a shot in the arm.

After the Emergency, the RSS emerged with a new image and moral strength. It charmed even Marxist revolutionaries turned social democrats. Senior CPI-M leader AK Gopalan observed about the Sangh, "there is some lofty ideal which is capable of inspiring such deeds of bravery and stamina for sacrifices=94. Balasaheb Deo-ras, then the sarsanchalak, publicly claimed that the RSS was growing fastest in Kerala. In Kerala, unlike other states, the RSS's social base was the lower strata of people and it could embrace the backward castes like the Ezhavas.

Besides, workers have also turned saffron – the RSS-affiliated Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), has a foothold amongst the fishermen and head-load workers. The growth of the RSS provoked repressive tactics. Marxist governments imposed bans on the RSS at least five times. The fishermen organised shakhas on boats to counter the government order which prohibited meetings in public places.

SMOKE AND FIRE

The ideological impact of Hindutva led the traditional rivals, the LDF and UDF, to look for new social bases. The rigid caste division between the lower and upper castes was also hit by the Hindutva ideology. It negated the EMS Nam-boodiripad thesis that "the Hindus here are so caste-ridden, the caste rules regarding their mutual social relations are so rigid, it is extremely difficult to create a sense of Hindu solidarity' (Kerala – Yesterday, Today and Tomor-row).

The CPI-M's slanderous propaganda that the RSS is anti-minorities could not stop its expansion. Vigorous intellectual activism through three well-organised intellectual and cultural wings also helped it counter the propaganda of the Marxists and to expose them as minorities worshippers. The smoke was not without fire. The CPI-M's protracted allian-ce with the Muslim League proved the point.

The CPI-M also witnessed an exodus of grass-roots workers to the RSS. Induchudan, a former editor of CPI-M daily Deshabhimani presided over an RSS rally in Alwaye and condemned the Communist-led government's ban on the RSS.

The CPI-M, which has grown in the Marxist-Stalinist tradition, cannot identify with political pluralism. Hypocrisy in its ranks increasingly disillusioned the cadres. A large number of BJP office-bearers have a Marxist background. Even the state BJP president CK Padmabhan was an activist of the Democratic Youth Federa-tion of India, the youth wing of the CPI-M.

The defection of party activists has been perceived as a threat to its existence. When legal obstacles failed to check the growth of the RSS, it began to resort to physical liquidation. Out of 50 RSS cadres killed, 48 were ex-Marxists. In the past the Cong-ress and occasionally the Muslim League supporters had to face the wrath of the red brigade. And even recently on 1 November 1999, students belonging to the Congress who were on dharna in front of the state secretariat were ston-ed by the SFI without any provocation. Which is why Karuna-karan once remarked , "a situation has come when the people have to turn to [the] RSS to face Marxist violence=94. Kannur, known as the Leningrad of Kerala, is home to many prominent hardline CPI-M leaders.

SCORING POINTS

Party cadres could not tolerate the erosion of their hegemony there.Violence began soon after the Nayanar government came to power in 1996. It was state-sponsored, as the police played a partisan role. As AK Antony, Congress leader, said on 4 December 1999 "the police force, which is efficient enough, is not being allowed to act. [Its] hands are chained. The RSS responded with all its strength.

The CPI-M's seeming anxiety for peace was due to bad media publicity in the aftermath of the killing of KT Jaykrishnan, a prominent BJP youth leader and school teacher, in a classroom in front of school boys on 1 December 1999, just a day after pact had been brokered on the initiative of VK Krishna Iyer.

Even friendly media could not defend the CPI-M, which is why party general secretary, Harkishan Singh Surjeet said on 3 December 1999, that "the entire country is anxious to see peace restored in Kan-nur. Violence is not going to benefit anyone and I don't think this is time to score points.

The RSS now has 4,000 shakhas with a daily attendance of nearly 100,000 swayamsevaks. Taking advantage of the chain of violence in Kannur the Kerala government has now proposed to ban all drills and parades without prior permission. It finds fault with the shakhas, but none in its own Stalinist traits (Sinha, R. 2000, 'RED AND SAFFRON Political Sociology Behind Kannur Violence', Media Watch website, 18 January source: The Statesman (18 January 2000) http://www.media-watch.org/articles/0100/109.html – Accessed 14 February 2007 – Attachment 60).

3. With a view to addressing relocation issues: are there areas of India where the BJP hold power and where the CPI-M is relatively marginal?

The state of Gujarat is generally considered a bastion of the BJP and an area where the BJP has exerted an overwhelming influence over the running of the state's police force. The CPI-M is generally considered to have very little influence in Gujarat. It contested the most recent Gujarat state elections jointly with the Congress party and the CPI-M dissatisfaction with the performance of this arrangement was widely reported. The election report lists only one CPI-Communist Party of India (Marxist) candidate in the 2007 Gujarat state election (listed in the report as CPM) and no CPM candidates are listed as having been elected to the state assembly (see: Election Commission of India 2007, *Statistical Report On General Election, 2007 To The Legislative Assembly Of Gujarat*, Election Commission of India website http://www.eci.gov.in/StatisticalReports/SE_2007/StatReport_DEC_2007_GUJARAT_after_IC.pdf – Accessed 14 July 2008 – Attachment 64; for the CPI-M's cooperation with Congress in Gujarat, see: 'CPI, CPM to jointly contest 12 seats in Gujarat' 2007, *Times of India*, 4

November http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/2521811.cms – Accessed 12 March 2009 – Attachment 65; CPI-M concerns over the failure of Congress to lead opposition to the BGP in Gujarat see: Nagpal, S. 2007, 'Modi's Gujarat victory has Karat gunning for the Congress', 27 December http://www.topnews.in/modis-gujarat-victory-has-karat-gunning-congress-210053 – Accessed 12 March 2009 – Attachment 66; and: 'Gujarat needs third force: AIFB, CPI(M-L)', *The Hindu*, 25 December http://www.hindu.com/2007/12/25/stories/2007122560951000.htm – Accessed 12 March 2009 – Attachment 67).

The BJP dominates state politics in Gujarat having won back-to-back state elections in 1995, 1998, 2002 and 2007. Following the most recent Gujarat state elections, held in December 2007, the *International Herald Tribune* observed that the "BJP captured 117 of the 182-member state legislature, falling just short of a two-thirds majority", while "the Congress Party, which leads the coalition that governs the nation, trailed with 59 seats" (for an overview of the BJP's 1998 to 2007 electoral success in Gujarat, see: Philipose, P. 2007, 'Is Gujarat the New India?', *Express India*, 21 December http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/ltbgtIs-Gujarat-the-New-Indialt-bgt/252492/ – Accessed 12 February 2009 – Attachment 68; and: Yadav, Y. 2004, 'The BJP's challenges in a traditional stronghold', *The Hindu*, 17 March http://www.hindu.com/2004/03/17/stories/2004031701381200.htm – Accessed 12 February 2009 – Attachment 69; for the results of the most recent Gujarat state election of December 2007, see: Sengupta, S. 2007, 'Hindu nationalist wins in Gujarat election', *Herald Tribune*, 23 December http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/12/23/asia/23india.php – Accessed 12 February 2009 – Attachment 70; Election Commission of India 2007, *Statistical Report On General Election, 2007 To The Legislative Assembly Of Gujarat*, Election Commission of India website http://www.eci.gov.in/StatisticalReports/SE_2007/StatReport_DEC_2007_GUJARAT_after_IC.pdf – Accessed 14 July 2008 – Attachment 71).

The BJP is reportedly also dominant in Gujarat at the level of local municipal government. Following the October 2005 elections for the Municipal Corporation of Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat, it was reported that the BJP had "claimed 96 seats, leaving only 32 to the Congress while a lone seat went to an independent". A number of Gujarat's other major municipal corporations were also won by the BJP in the following month leading *The Hindu* to report that: "the BJP has now established its complete supremacy in urban Gujarat" (Dasgupta, M. 2005, 'BJP wrests control of Ahmedabad municipal body', *The Hindu* website, 16 October http://www.hindu.com/2005/10/16/stories/2005101605480800.htm – Accessed 5 October 2007 – Attachment 72; 'Sweeping victory for BJP in Gujarat civic polls' 2005, *The Hindu* website, 14 December http://www.thehindu.com/2005/12/14/stories/2005121406311300.htm – Accessed 5 October 2007 – Attachment 73).

A wide body of reportage is available in which a variety of news sources and human rights groups have accused the Gujarat police of acting under the direction of, and in complicity with, the BJP state government, particularly with regard to the communal riots that affected Gujarat state in the lead up to the state elections of that year. Since 2002 reports have continued to appear which allege that the Gujarat police force is corrupt, ineffective and highly politicized in favour of the BJP and the Hindu nationalist movement (see: Dasgupta, M. 2002, 'Saffronised police show their colour', *The Hindu*, 3 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/2002/03/03/stories/2002030303170800.htm – Accessed 8 August 2006 – Attachment 74; Dasgupta, M. 2004, 'Ex-Gujarat intelligence chief alleges

political pressure on police', *The Hindu*, 2 September – Attachment 75; and: Kumara, K. 2007, 'India: Gujarat police murders covered up as terrorist "encounters"', World Socialist Web Site, 9 May http://www.wsws.org/articles/2007/may2007/indi-m09.shtml – Accessed 21 September 2007 – Attachment 76; Singh, S. 2002, 'Gujarat police has lost all interest in work', *Times of India* website, 10 April http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/6404701.cms – Accessed 21 September 2007 – Attachment 77; Gatade, S. 2003, 'Lumpens in the constabulary: Gujarat', *Himal South Asian* website, October http://www.himalmag.com/2003/october/report_4.htm – Accessed 21 September 2007 – Attachment 78; Verghese, B.G. 2008, 'Patronising corruption', *The Tribune*, 22 August http://www.tribuneindia.com/2008/20080822/edit.htm#6 – Accessed 13 February 2009 – Attachment 79).

4. Please provide any sources that substantiate the claim that fraudulent medical documents are readily available in India.

In February 2009 it was reported from Canada that "the Canadian visa office in the northwestern Indian city of Chandigarh, one wall is plastered with everything from fake death certificates and doctors' notes to bank statements and transcripts from non-existent colleges". Extracts follow:

> Known to the staff as the "wall of shame," it stands as a daily reminder of what Immigration Minister Jason Kenney portrays as the tough job the mission's five immigration officers have in trying to separate legitimate applicants for visitors' visas to Canada from those backed by phoney claims and documents.
>
> Kenney said he was "floored" to discover the extent and frequency of the fraud perpetrated in Chandigarh by unscrupulous document vendors, counterfeit artists and fake immigration consultants who charge people thousands of dollars to help put together visas that get rejected by officers who are becoming increasingly wise to the fakery. The going rate is between $12,000 and $15,000, officials say.
>
> applications for temporary visas to Canada rejected than accepted. The split was 9,781 rejected, and 8,641 accepted – a rejection rate of 56 per cent, according to immigration department figures. By contrast, the rejection rate in New Delhi, where more than 53,000 applications were processed during that period, was only 19 per cent (Greenway, N. 2009, 'More Indian applications for Canadian visa rejected due to fake documents', *The Star Phoenix*, source: *Canwest News Service*, 8 February http://www.thestarphoenix.com/Travel/More+Indian+applications+Canadian+visa+rejected+fake+documents/1267106/story.html – Accessed 12 March 2009 – Attachment 80).

Examples of reports of faked medical documents also include the following:

- On 9 February 2009 arrests were made in relation to the fabrication of medical documents for a court case in Maharashtra (Choudhury, K. 2009, 'Police to seek druglord's remand', *Yahoo News*, source *Hindustan Times*, 9 February http://in.news.yahoo.com/32/20090209/1053/tnl-police-to-seek-druglord-s-remand.html – Accessed 12 March 2009– Attachment 81).

- On 12 June 2006 it was reported that: "Chandigarh-based medical practitioner J S Bedi, charged with granting false medical certificates to one of the accused in the Jessica Lall murder case, was today granted permission by the Delhi High Court to

inspect the "fake" medical documents which is now in the possession of Delhi Police" ('Jessica case: HC allows doctor to examine papers' 2006, *The Tribune*, 12 June http://www.tribuneindia.com/2006/20060613/delhi.htm#2 – Accessed 25 March 2009 – Attachment 82).

- In October 2008 fake admissions were reported to have occurred in Jharkhand medical colleges ('Probe on fake admissions in Jharkhand medical colleges' 2008, *Times of India*, source: Indo-Asian News Service, 12 October http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India/Probe_on_fake_admissions_in_Jharkhand_m edical_colleges/articleshow/3587022.cms – Accessed 12 March 2009– Attachment 83).

- In August 2003 it was reported that numerous persons had been arrested for issuing fake medical degrees ('Five held for awarding fake medical degrees' 2003, *Times of India*, 26 August http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/147630.cms – Accessed 12 March 2009 – Attachment 84).

The appearance and circulation of fraudulent documents of a more general nature are also regularly reported from India:

- In April 2007 the Research Directorate of the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board has produced an overview of the availability and prevalence of identity documents in India (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2007, *IND102461.E – India: Availability and prevalence of fraudulent identity documents (2004 – 2007)*, 26 April http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index_e.htm?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=451156 – Accessed 28 July 2008 – Attachment 85)

- On 11 July 2008, *The Times of India* reported that a special task force had "busted" a forged document racket in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh ('STF busts fake document issuing racket' 2008, *The Times of India*, 11 July – Attachment 86).

- On 26 June 2008, *The Times of India* reported the arrest of "editor-cum-owner of a weekly newspaper… for allegedly issuing identity cards that resembled police issued ones" ('Weekly newspaper owner held for fraud' 2008, *The Times of India*, 26 June – Attachment 87).

- On 11 April 2004, *The Times of India* reported the arrest of two persons for "making and circulating fake documents essential to obtain a non-immigration visa to foreign countries" ('Fake document racket busted, two arrested' 2004, *The Times of India*, 11 April – Attachment 88).

- On 8 July 2003, the *Hindustan Times* reported that Delhi Police's special cell had "arrested six members of a gang, including two Assistant Sub Inspectors, and is on the lookout for the rest… [t]his gang would fake everything, from Delhi University degree certificates to Delhi Transport Corporation bus passes, voter identity cards, bank statements and even the Permanent Account Number (PAN) cards that are issued by the income tax department ('Fake document makers' gang busted' 2003, *Hindustan Times*, 8 July – Attachment 89).

- On 15 July 2002, *The Times of India* reported comments from the British High Commission in India that it "detects over a hundred fake documents everyday from among those submitted by visa aspirants. These are in the form of fake education certificates and bank statements" ('British official guides visa-seekers' 2002, *The Times of India*, 15 July – Attachment 90).

List of Sources Consulted

<u>Internet Sources:</u>
Google search engine

<u>Databases:</u>

FACTIVA (news database)
BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human
      Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)
RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments

1. Radhakrishnan, M.G. 2008, 'Old battle new ground', *India Today*, 13 March http://indiatoday.digitaltoday.in/index.php?issueid=&id=5770&option=com_content&task=view&sectionid=21 – Accessed 21 October 2008.

2. Where Reds and Saffron keep fighting – and killing' 2008, *Indo-Asian News Service*, 30 March.

3. 'CPM activist stabbed by RSS men' 2008, *oneindia*, 26 September http://news.oneindia.in/2008/09/25/cpm-activist-stabbed-by-rss-men-1222413156.html – Accessed 21 October 2008.

4. Ramakrishnan, Venkitesh 2006, 'Ascendant left', *Frontline,* Volume 23, Issue 10, 20 May http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2310/stories/20060602003700400.htm – Accessed 12 July 2007.

5. Babu, R. 2009, 'The Devil in God's own country', *The Hindustan Times*, 24 January http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/Print.aspx?Id=46073e68-d645-4d54-9ba4-bfa301168236 – Accessed 7 March 2009.

6. Chellappan, K. 2006, 'Kerala BJP in a quagmire', *India Interacts*, 9 November http://indiainteracts.com/columnist/2006/11/09/Kerala-BJP-in-a-quagmire/ – Accessed 7 March 2009.

7. 'CPI(M) discounts RSS-BJP charge' 2008, *The Hindu*, 14 March http://www.thehindu.com/2008/03/14/stories/2008031455891300.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

8. '"CPI(M), Congress encouraging terrorism"' 2008, *The Hindu*, 12 November http://www.thehindu.com/2008/11/12/stories/2008111251830300.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

9. 'CPI(M) master minded Kannur violence: BJP team' 2000, *The Hindu*, 11 December http://www.hindu.com/2000/12/11/stories/0411404s.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

10. Krishnakumar, R. 2001, 'A record of sorts', *Frontline*, vol.18: no.11, 8 June http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1811/18110240.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

11. Gopa Kumar, G. 1999, 'A race between traditional rivals', *The Hindu*, vol.16: no.23, 6 November http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1623/16230530.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

12. 'BJP giving "communal twist" to blasts: CPI (M)' 2008, *The Hindu*, 19 May http://www.thehindu.com/2008/05/19/stories/2008051957111400.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

13. 'BJP targeting CPI-M in Kannur, says Left leader' 2008, *Thaindian*, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 9 March http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/bjp-targeting-cpi-m-in-kannur-says-left-leader_10025704.html – Accessed 7 March 2009.

14. 'Cong, CPI-M helping religious extremism : BJP' 2004, *Times of India*, 1 July http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/cms.dll/articleshow?msid=760925 – Accessed 7 March 2009.

15. Jose, D. 2002, 'Kerala BJP fails to attract Ezhavas, Nairs', *Rediff.com*, 30 October http://www.rediff.com/news/2002/oct/30kera.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

16. 'CPI(M) has ties with BJP: Chennithala' 2005, *The Hindu*, 23 September http://www.hindu.com/2005/09/23/stories/2005092309920500.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

17. 'CPI-M alleges Congress-BJP nexus in Kerala' 1999, *Rediff.com*, 5 November http://www.rediff.com/news/1999/nov/05keral.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

18. 'Kerala's political jigsaw, unravelled' 2006, *Rediff* website, 10 April http://in.rediff.com/election/2006/apr/10pkerala.htm – Accessed 19 January 2007.

19. Muraleedharan, N. 2006, '2006: Political conflicts in Kerala', *Rediff.com*, 20 December http://in.rediff.com/news/2006/dec/20year.htm – Accessed 6 July 2007.

20. Lype, George 2006, 'Kerala: Where change is static', *Rediff.com*, 11 May http://in.rediff.com/election/2006/may/11gi.htm – Accessed 6 July 2007.

21. Election Commission of India 2006, *Statistical Report on General Election, 2006 to the Legislative Assembly of Kerala*, Election Commission of India website http://www.eci.gov.in/StatisticalReports/SE_2006/StatReport_KL_2006.pdf – Accessed 20 October 2008.

22. Iype, G. 2006, 'Kerala's political jigsaw, unravelled', *Rediff.com*, 10 April http://www.rediff.com/election/2006/apr/10pkerala.htm – Accessed 20 October 2008.

23. 'Left pulls out, will meet President Patil on Wednesday' 2008, *Express India*, 8 July http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/Left-pulls-out-will-meet-President-Patil-on-Wednesday/332876/ – Accessed 20 October 2008.

24. Bhatt, S. 2009, 'Defeat BJP, defeat Congress: CPI-M', *Rediff.com*, 28 January http://www.rediff.com/news/2009/jan/28left-cpim-girds-up-to-defeat-bjp-and-congress.htm – Accessed 7 March 2009.

25. 'CPI (M) urges parties to form non-Congress, non-BJP front' 2009, *Thaindian*, source: *Asia News International*, 11 January http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/india-news/cpi-m-urges-parties-to-form-non-congress-non-bjp-front_100140970.html – Accessed 7 March 2009.

26. : 'Opposition stages walkout on "RSS attack" on CPI(M) cadres' 2006, Grass Roots News website, source: *WebIndia123.com*, 20 February http://grass-roots.in/cache/index.php/5085 – Accessed 22 October 2008.

27. 'Past Harthals' (undated), harthal.com website http://www.harthal.com/php/showNews.php?linkid=3&newsid=204 – Accessed 21 October 2008.

28. 'DYFI leader attacked' 2008, *The Hindu*, 21 April http://www.hindu.com/2008/04/21/stories/2008042161070300.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009.

29. 'Karunakaran's move suicidal, says BJP' 2005, *The Hindu*, 6 May http://www.hindu.com/2005/05/06/stories/2005050610110400.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009.

30. '2 RSS youths hacked to death in Kerala' 2002, *The Hindu*, 3 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/2002/03/03/stories/2002030303120600.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009.

31. 'Get real, Kerala' 1997, *Indian Express*, 7 July http://www.indianexpress.com/ie/daily/19970707/18850373.html – Accessed 9 March 2009.

32. Philip, S. 2008, 'CPM, Sangh Parivar watermarks on Kannur terror tag', *Screen India*, 8 November http://www.screenindia.com/story.php?id=382913&pg=-1 – Accessed 9 March 2009.

33. Bhattacharya, S. 2003, 'Left tempts 'Leader' with red-carpet offer', *Indian Express*, 1 October http://www.indianexpress.com/oldstory.php?storyid=32580 – Accessed 9 March 2009.

34. 'CPI(M) MP suspended from party for praising Modi' 2009, *India Express*, 17 January http://www.indianexpress.com/news/cpim-mp-suspended-from-party-for-praising-modi/411975/ – Accessed 25 March 2009.

35. Department of Information & Public Relations Government of Kerala 2003, 'District Handbooks of Kerala: Kannur', Official Web Portal of the Government of Kerala

website, March http://www.kerala.gov.in/district_handbook/Kannur.pdf – Accessed 25 March 2009.

36. 'Kannur (Kerala)' (undated), Maps of India Version 3.0 database.

37. 'Ayodhya crisis latest' 1993, *BBC Monitoring Service: Asia-Pacific*, sources: *Press Trust of India*, *All-India Radio*), 10 December.

38. 'Police in India Arrest 700 In Crackdown on Extremists' 1992, *Washington Post*, source: *Associated Press*, 14 December.

39. 'Leader of outlawed Islamic group surrenders' 1993, *Agence France-Presse*, 27 January. .

40. Krishnakuma, R. 2002, 'The Maudany factor', *Frontline*, vol.19: no.22, 8 November http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1922/stories/20021108002603800.htm – Accessed 9 March 2009.

41. Philip, S. 2008, 'Fundamentalist Muslim outfit in Kerala plans a pan-Indian political avatar', *Indian Express*, 27 September http://www.indianexpress.com/news/Fundamentalist-Muslim-outfit-in-Kerala-plans-a-pan-Indian-political-avatar/366323 – Accessed 25 March 2009.

42. Krishnakumar, R. 2001, 'A record of sorts', *Frontline*, vol.18: no.11, 8 June http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1811/18110240.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009.

43. Krishnakumar, R. 1998, 'Concern in Kerala', *Frontline*, vol.15: no.5, 7–20 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1505/15051230.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009.

44. Swami, P. 2009, 'The Lashkar-e-Taiba's army in India', *The Hindu*, 17 January http://www.thehindu.com/2009/01/17/stories/2009011755310800.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009.

45. Iyengar, P. 2009, 'A Small Pocket Of Rhetoric', *Outlook India*, 2 March http://203.200.89.67/full.asp?fodname=20090302&fname=APolitics&sid=2 – Accessed 22 February 2009.

46. John, W. 2008, 'India's Security Agencies Struggle with Probe into Serial Bombings in Gujarat and Karnataka', *Terrorism Focus*, 5 August, vol.5: no.29 http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2374356 – Accessed 22 October 2008.

47. Roul, A. 2006, 'Students Islamic Movement of India: A Profile', *Terrorism Monitor*, 6 April, vol.4: no7. http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369953 – Accessed 22 October 2008.

48. Unnithan, S. 2008, 'Homemade and deadly', *India Today*, 2 October http://indiatoday.digitaltoday.in/index.php?option=com_content&issueid=73&task=view&id=16681&acc=high – Accessed 22 October 2008.

49. Srinagar, S.K. 2008, 'Two more Keralites hired by Lashker killed in Kashmir', *Outlook India*, 12 October http://www.outlookindia.com/pti_news.asp?id=619081 – Accessed 22 October 2008.

50. 'Cops find Kerala connection in terror attacks' 2008, *Times of India*, 10 October http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Cities/Mumbai/Cops_find_Kerala_connection_in_terror_attacks/rssarticleshow/3577891.cms – Accessed 22 October 2008.

51. 'Kerala police arrest 2 for "SIMI links"' 2008, *The Hindu*, 8 October http://www.hindu.com/2008/10/08/stories/2008100860401300.htm – Accessed 22 October 2008.

52. 'SIMI meeting: suspect arrested' 2008, *The Hindu*, 15 October http://www.hindu.com/2008/10/15/stories/2008101559410400.htm – Accessed 22 October 2008.

53. 'Ban on physical training camps' 2008, *The Hindu*, 28 August http://www.hindu.com/2008/08/28/stories/2008082855440700.htm – Accessed 22 October 2008.

54. 'Communalism and Communal Incidents in Karnataka' (undated), Alternative Law Forum website http://www.altlawforum.org/Resources/COMMUNALISM/for%20uplode.doc – Accessed 25 March 2009.

55. 'CPI(M), Congress encouraging terrorism' 2008, *The Hindu*, 12 November http://www.thehindu.com/2008/11/12/stories/2008111251830300.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009.

56. 'We are secular not communal: BJP chief' 2006, *Express India*, 26 April http://www.expressindia.com/news/fullstory.php?newsid=66695 – Accessed 25 March 2009.

57. Mathew, L. 2006, 'Muslims swing to CPI-M in Kerala, Congress worried', WhereInCity website, source: *Indo-Asian News Service*, 7 April http://www.whereincity.com/news/16/1575 – Accessed 25 March 2009.

58. Philip, S. 2008, 'Kerala sop for forward class, gives education quota to poor', *Indian Express*, 4 September http://www.indianexpress.com/news/kerala-sop-for-forward-class-gives-education-quota-to-poor/357019/ – Accessed 25 March 2009.

59. Saeed, A. 2006, 'Emergent Electoral Trends in Indian Politics: Role of the Left and Muslim Votebanks', Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad website, *Strategic Studies*, vol.26, Winter, no.4 http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2006_files/no_4/article/a1.htm – Accessed 5 October 2007.

60. Sinha, R. 2000, 'RED AND SAFFRON Political Sociology Behind Kannur Violence', Media Watch website, 18 January source: The Statesman (18 January 2000) http://www.media-watch.org/articles/0100/109.html – Accessed 14 February 2007.

61. Krishnakumar, R. 2003, 'An emerging threat', *Frontline*, Vol. 20, Iss. 4, 15-28 February http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=20030228003704000.htm &date=fl2004/&prd=fline& – Accessed 16 July 2007.

62. Nair, N. 2009, 'CPM might just do a favour to the Congress', IBNPolitics.com, 17 February http://ibnlive.in.com/statediary/naveen-r-nair/119/53161/cpm-might-just-do-a-favour-to-the-congress.html – Accessed 25 March 2009.

63. Nair, G. 2004, 'Rise in BJP votes a warning: CPI(M) panel', *The Hindu*, 16 August http://www.hindu.com/2004/08/16/stories/2004081601380500.htm – Accessed 25 March 2009.

64. Election Commission of India 2007, *Statistical Report On General Election, 2007 To The Legislative Assembly Of Gujarat*, Election Commission of India website http://www.eci.gov.in/StatisticalReports/SE_2007/StatReport_DEC_2007_GUJARA T_after_IC.pdf – Accessed 14 July 2008.

65. 'CPI, CPM to jointly contest 12 seats in Gujarat' 2007, *Times of India*, 4 November http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/2521811.cms – Accessed 12 March 2009.

66. Nagpal, S. 2007, 'Modi's Gujarat victory has Karat gunning for the Congress', 27 December http://www.topnews.in/modis-gujarat-victory-has-karat-gunning-congress-210053 – Accessed 12 March 2009.

67. 'Gujarat needs third force: AIFB, CPI(M-L)', *The Hindu*, 25 December http://www.hindu.com/2007/12/25/stories/2007122560951000.htm – Accessed 12 March 2009.

68. Philipose, P. 2007, 'Is Gujarat the New India?', *Express India*, 21 December http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/ltbgtIs-Gujarat-the-New-Indialt-bgt/252492/ – Accessed 12 February 2009.

69. Yadav, Y. 2004, 'The BJP's challenges in a traditional stronghold', *The Hindu*, 17 March http://www.hindu.com/2004/03/17/stories/2004031701381200.htm – Accessed 12 February 2009.

70. Sengupta, S. 2007, 'Hindu nationalist wins in Gujarat election', *Herald Tribune*, 23 December http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/12/23/asia/23india.php – Accessed 12 February 2009.

71. Election Commission of India 2007, *Statistical Report On General Election, 2007 To The Legislative Assembly Of Gujarat*, Election Commission of India website http://www.eci.gov.in/StatisticalReports/SE_2007/StatReport_DEC_2007_GUJARA T_after_IC.pdf – Accessed 14 July 2008.

72. Dasgupta, M. 2005, 'BJP wrests control of Ahmedabad municipal body', *The Hindu* website, 16 October http://www.hindu.com/2005/10/16/stories/2005101605480800.htm – Accessed 5 October 2007.

73. 'Sweeping victory for BJP in Gujarat civic polls' 2005, *The Hindu* website, 14 December http://www.thehindu.com/2005/12/14/stories/2005121406311300.htm – Accessed 5 October 2007.

74. Dasgupta, M. 2002, 'Saffronised police show their colour', *The Hindu*, 3 March http://www.hinduonnet.com/2002/03/03/stories/2002030303170800.htm – Accessed 8 August 2006.

75. Dasgupta, M. 2004, 'Ex-Gujarat intelligence chief alleges political pressure on police', *The Hindu*, 2 September.

76. Kumara, K. 2007, 'India: Gujarat police murders covered up as terrorist "encounters"', World Socialist Web Site, 9 May http://www.wsws.org/articles/2007/may2007/indi-m09.shtml – Accessed 21 September 2007.

77. Singh, S. 2002, 'Gujarat police has lost all interest in work', *Times of India* website, 10 April http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/6404701.cms – Accessed 21 September 2007.

78. Gatade, S. 2003, 'Lumpens in the constabulary: Gujarat', *Himal South Asian* website, October http://www.himalmag.com/2003/october/report_4.htm – Accessed 21 September 2007.

79. Verghese, B.G. 2008, 'Patronising corruption', *The Tribune*, 22 August http://www.tribuneindia.com/2008/20080822/edit.htm#6 – Accessed 13 February 2009.

80. Greenway, N. 2009, 'More Indian applications for Canadian visa rejected due to fake documents', *The Star Phoenix*, source: *Canwest News Service*, 8 February http://www.thestarphoenix.com/Travel/More+Indian+applications+Canadian+visa+rejected+fake+documents/1267106/story.html – Accessed 12 March 2009.

81. Choudhury, K. 2009, 'Police to seek druglord's remand', *Yahoo News*, source *Hindustan Times*, 9 February http://in.news.yahoo.com/32/20090209/1053/tnl-police-to-seek-druglord-s-remand.html – Accessed 12 March 2009.

82. 'Jessica case: HC allows doctor to examine papers' 2006, *The Tribune*, 12 June http://www.tribuneindia.com/2006/20060613/delhi.htm#2 – Accessed 25 March 2009.

83. 'Probe on fake admissions in Jharkhand medical colleges' 2008, *Times of India*, source: Indo-Asian News Service, 12 October http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India/Probe_on_fake_admissions_in_Jharkhand_medical_colleges/articleshow/3587022.cms – Accessed 12 March 2009.

84. 'Five held for awarding fake medical degrees' 2003, *Times of India*, 26 August http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/147630.cms – Accessed 12 March 2009.

85. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2007, *IND102461.E – India: Availability and prevalence of fraudulent identity documents (2004 – 2007)*, 26 April

http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index_e.htm?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=451156 – Accessed 28 July 2008.

86. 'STF busts fake document issuing racket' 2008, *The Times of India*, 11 July

87. 'Weekly newspaper owner held for fraud' 2008, *The Times of India*, 26 June.

88. 'Fake document racket busted, two arrested' 2004, *The Times of India*, 11 April.

89. 'Fake document makers' gang busted' 2003, *Hindustan Times*, 8 July.

90. 'British official guides visa-seekers' 2002, *The Times of India*, 15 July.

91. Deleted

92. 'Police in India Arrest 700 In Crackdown on Extremists' 1992, *Washington Post*, source: *Associated Press*, 14 December.