BROKEN PEACE

FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE FIRST COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN GOA

PANAJI, APRIL 2006

ALL INDIA MILLI COUNCIL, NEW DELHI

INTRODUCTION

The All India Milli Council requested me to investigate into the communal violence which took place in Goa in the first week of March. I deem it to be a honour that the Council should have reposed their trust in me on such a sensitive matter. The only way I could prove myself worthy of that trust was to ensure that the enquiry into the incidence of communal violence is carried out objectively and without any fear.

I learnt that the Milli Council had requested me because the Government of Goa had refused to accept the demand of the Goan Muslim organizations for a judicial enquiry into the whole incident. They wanted an enquiry into the process leading to the demolition of the Guddemol mosque despite the fact that the Directorate of Panchayat had given a stay order against the demolition notice. They also wanted an enquiry into the causes of the violence against Muslim community of Curchorem and Sanvordem on March 3 and 4, 2006.

Obviously I could not carry out the investigation on my own and therefore I requested three other persons to join the fact finding team. First of all I requested Vinod K Jose, an award winning young radio journalist working with an alternative radio station in the USA. He has been reporting on the war against terrorism and exposing how this war has been used to erode human rights of citizens.

I also requested Gauri Lankesh, Editor of Lankesh, a widely circulated political weekly in Kananda from Bangalore. She is known for her courageous stands on political issues and has been the backbone of the movement against communalism in Karnataka. And I also requested Bilidale Eesha, editor of Guide, a Kananda magazine. He too has been active in the movement against communalism.

Some people have asked why we did not include any one from Goa. It is true that there was no Goan formally on our team but without the active support of the Goans we could never have carried out our investigation. The Goan Muslims community and their leaders were extremely helpful in collecting documents for us without in any way trying to influence our findings. We would like to thank Iqbal Mohidin for providing transport and also for his warmth and hospitality. Mohidin sahib and Ussein Gazi encouraged us to seek the truth.

Ramesh Gauns provided us with information and perspectives on the rise of communalism in Goa. Ulka Lotlikar helped us with the media coverage and provided us

with hot meal when we most needed it. Sabina Martins of Bailancho Saad shared her experiences during her visit to the violence-affected areas.

We would also like to thank Vidyadhar Gadgil for sharing his documentation on the communal violence, Arun Pandey for insisting that I do the investigation and to Preetu Nair for introducing us to some people who proved invaluable to our investigation. I would also like to thank Sujay Gupta of Gomantak Times for inviting me to participate in the discussion on the communal violence.

Our attempt in this fact finding was to try and understand the root causes of the communal violence. Therefore, although we interviewed many victims of the violence we have not documented the pain, suffering and loss felt by the Muslims. We hope the Muslim community will understand why we have done that.

All the members of the fact finding team feel a deep concern about the growing attacks on Muslim community and the deprivation of their constitutional rights in the name of fight against terrorism

One of the objectives of the Council established in 1992 is to mobilize public opinion against the growing trends of fascism, communal hatred and violence, to promote strengthen goodwill and fraternal relations among all the communities and restore the atmosphere of mutual trust among them and try to protect the honour, lives, properties and culture of all Indians, specially the minorities.

We sincerely hope that this report will go towards fulfilling this objective.

Nandita Haksar

Nandita Haksar is a human rights lawyer who has been fighting for the rights of the minorities, whether it is the Muslims of Hashimpura, Sikhs in Punjab, foreign refugees and more recently Kashmiri Muslims. She has taught human rights in various institutes and universities. She has several publications to her name. At present she lives in Goa.

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Fact Finding report on first communal violence in Goa Panaji: April 2006

On Friday, March 3 and 4, 2006 Goa witnessed what has been called by the first-ever incidence of communal violence. According to the English language newspapers the chronology of events was like this:

March 2

- *Illegal religious structure razed at Sanvordem
- *Seven arrested and later released
- *Tension prevails in the area

March 3

- *Residents urge Quepem deputy Collector not to give permission to hold morcha
- *Locals gather at Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Chowk to oppose morcha
- *Rioting mob pelts stones, damage vehicles, shops
- *Police fire teargas shells
- *Five injured

— Gomantak Times, March 4, 2006

This simple chronology of events does not reveal either the complex factors that led to the attack on the Guddemol mosque or the long struggle of the Muslim community in Guddemol, Sanvordem Panchayat to acquire land for a mosque, a madarsa and a cemetery. We found that the Goan civil societys response to the violence that took place on Friday, March 3rd and 4th was also premised on the understanding that the violence was an aberration, not a part of any pattern. There is a feeling that this was just a bad incident and if everyone forgets and forgives Goa will go back to being the paradise portrayed by the tourist pamphlets. However, our enquiry into the violence in Sanvordem and Curchorem has revealed that the damage to the mosque at Guddemol was not a sudden, spontaneous attack on the Guddemol mosque nor was it an isolated incident but a well planned part of a strategy to communalize Goan society. We also discovered that this was not the first mosque to have been attacked.

Therefore, the attack on the mosque at Guddemol cannot be explained without an understanding of the rise of communal politics in Goa. Without going into the historical roots of this communalism we cannot begin to understand how the Goan society and state have tolerated attacks on mosques in Goa and the culprits who instigated such attacks and the people who actually damaged or demolished these mosques have not been punished. This is not only a blatant violation of the criminal law of the land but also a violation of the letter and spirit of the Indian Constitution.

Rise of Communal Politics in Goa

Our team interviewed a cross section of Goans from different religious and political backgrounds. A majority of them trace the root of communal politics to the beginning of electoral politics after liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule in 1961. Two years later Maharashtra Gomantak Party came to power and Dayanand Bandodkar became Goas first Chief Minister. He was widely respected for his progressive ideas inspired by the socialist movement in Maharashtra. His anti-Brahman, pro-Marathi and pro-merger with Maharashtra stand made many Catholics uncomfortable. As one of the intellectuals we interviewed told us: it was a mild and soft communalism but the MGP campaign against the United Goan party did play the communal card by saying that after 450 years of Portuguese rule we should be cautious before voting in Catholics.

On January 16, 1967 there was the Opinion Poll in which Goans were given the opportunity to choose whether they wanted to be an autonomous State or be merged with Maharashtra. Shaikh Nisar of Curchorem recollected how as a child studying in seventh standard, he along with a van load of children campaigned for the United Goan Party which wanted Goa to be a separate state. MGP symbol was a rose flower while the UGP had two leaves. He and the other children went to Ponda to campaign for two leaves and were shouting Don Panak Matain Diya when the MGP supporters appeared and shouted Marad maratha Chi Madad Kara. Then the MGP people beat up the children with lathis and Shaikh Nisar was one of them. He remembers running away and found himself without slippers.

The United Goan party never came to power but many prominent members got elected as MLAs including the first Muslim MLA, Abdur Razak.

Although MGP lost in the Opinion Poll because the majority of the people voted against a merger with Maharashtra the language issue became one of the main tools in the hands of the majority community to consolidate their base.

The Language Controversy

Till the time of Portuguese rule there could be no popular movement for Konkani since it was a demand of the Saraswat Brahmans. But when the question arose of Goa getting full statehood then came the question of official language. On February 4, 1987 the official language Act was passed making Konkani in Devnagari script the official language of Goa. According to Ramesh Gauns, schoolteacher and long term fighter for secular values, the Hindutva lobby has organized a base in both the pro-Marathi and pro-Konkani supporters. Subhash Velingker a spokesman for Marathi always delivers his speeches in Konkani. Moreover, he has a regular column in the only Konkani daily, Sonarprant.

Unfortunately, the editor of Sonaprant claims he is both secular and leftist. But many Goans, including Ramnath G Naik, and Dr Pratap Naik, S. J.have expressed their concern about the growing communalization of their society because of the language issue have expressed their anger at the Editor for publishing the vicious anti-Catholic and anti-Muslim articles by Subhas Verlingker. Father Pratap Naik, a linguist and in charge of the Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr wrote to Ms Sonia Gandhi informing her that the Sonaprant which is owned by Dattaraj Salgaoncar, mine owner and staunch Congress supporter, was sowing seeds of communalism and linked it to the violence in Sanvordem-Curchorem. We are enclosing his letter as Annexure A.

Ramesh Gauns told our team that the RSS had learnt a lesson from its experience in Punjab where they had instigated the Hindus to declare Hindi their mother tongue. This time they packaged their ideology under the banner of Konkani nationalism with the BJP Chief Minister, Manohar Parrikar, declared 2003 as the Shenai Goebab Asmita Varsha. Parrikars Konkani nationalism excluded the Catholics, even though they had contributed to the development of Konkani language in Roman script.

School Education

In 2001 the BJP came to power for the first time and Manohar Parrikar became the Chief Minister. One of his first steps to consolidate his ideological base was to hand over 51 government primary schools to the RSS. It was an ingenious move. A list of primary schools was made with less than 12 students. Under the law such schools are to be amalgamated with the nearest schools. The Chief Minister maintained that he had amalgamated the schools but handed over the empty buildings to private organizations which applied.

We quote his statement during the debate in the Legislative Assembly on 16th July 2001:

Speaker Sir, he is confusing between school and a building. What has been handed over, is a building, not the school. The Act very clearly defines. Let him read the Act properly. The very order clearly states that the schools to be closed, amalgamated will stop functioning on the last working day of the academic year 2000-2001. That means on 30th April the school does not exist. The moment the order, the date is or it is not superseded by any order what he is confusing, his question is directed on privatization of schools. I have not privatized any school. The schools were already amalgamated and the children were supposed to go to other schools. It is their choice whether they go or not. Meantime, if someone for an application in a particular area, it is a different issue. It is a new permission which is granted. It is not privatization of Government schools.

Unregistered village bodies acting as fronts for the RSS tried to take over the primary schools. The schools are in Marathi medium were handed over to Subhash Velingkar who was then the Vice president of the Vidhya Bharathi Education Trust. Velingkar, a RSS functionary, was inducted into Parrikars new Education Advisory Board.

There was a great outcry against this move and a Committee was formed to protect the government primary schools called Sarkari prathmik Vidyalay Bachao Samiti. Many parents told the Press that this move was a way of inculcating a fascist ideology under the guise of protecting Marathi. (Deccan Herald, Saffronising primary education June 11, 2001) Parents did manage to get organized and prevented 10 schools in three talukas (Bicholim, Sattari and Pernem) from being taken over by the RSS.

However, the Sangh Parivar continues to spread its pernicious ideology through schools and its shakhas. According to Ramesh Gauns they have organized the parent-Teacher associations and the associations are regularly invited to the RSS school at Porvolim.

More recently the Congress Education Minister, Luizinho Faleiro, took steps to restore the schools and make them into English medium schools. The Sangh Parivar immediately dubbed him anti-national.

Cultural Nationalism

The Hindu right defines its nationalism by attacking symbols of Western culture such as festivals, monuments and even places of worship. In Goa the Catholic community

becomes easy targets of their attacks. The Sangh Parivar attacks the catholic community by reviving memories of the horrors of Portuguese rule. Portuguese rule being equated with Catholic rule. The most insidious part of the campaign is that they have appropriated the writings by great Goan nationalists such as TB Cunha and used it for their vile politics. For instance they translated his Denationalization of Goans and distributed it to instill hatred of Portuguese and of Catholics. This is a distortion of history and insult to the courage of Catholic nationalists who so courageously attacked the role of the Church during colonial rule precisely because they felt it was violating Christian values.

The RSS also made CDs on Goas freedom struggle but mainly focused on forcible conversions and distributed to all the schools. After widespread protests the CDs had to be withdrawn.

One of the people we interviewed (he did not want to be named) told us that the Sangh Parivar has even made inroads into the Bahujan Samaj and have even hijacked Brahmanad Swami. In the past he used to preach in the tradition of the Bhakti saints about God residing in every human being but under the influence of the BJP he has started supporting the building of Ram Mandir in Ponda under the aegis of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Our informant said the sad thing was that no one opposed the swamy or protested against his change of stance.

The Sangh Parivar supplements its ideological work with vandalizing historical monuments in the name of cultural nationalism. They attacked the festival organized by the Goa Heritage Action Group for promoting Portuguese culture. They called the organizers Pakhleancheput referring to the feather the Portuguese wore in their caps. They vandalized the Tonca memorial put up to commemorate the construction of a road from Panjim to Dona Paula. The Hindutva goons tried to remove the inscriptions.

There have been increasing incidents of vandalization of Catholic crosses. C B Vaz of Assolna has calculated that with the vandalization of the cross at Combo, Margao the number of catholic places of worship that are being damaged, robbed and vandalized has arisen to 14 since February 2005.

The Sangh Parivar even attacked activists opposing the Konkan railway on the ground that the activists were opposing development project merely because it would endanger Old Goa, the world heritage site of old churches, including St Xaviers Church.

This year the festival of Gudi Padva (the Goan Hindu new year) was celebrated for the first time with leaflets and flags being distributed in every home and processions taken

out. Several people we interviewed, including Hindus in Bicholim Mupusa, and Panaji told us that this was the first time that the Gudis were all in Saffron instead of the traditional ones which were in a myriad of colours. This was a fortnight after the attack on the Goddemol mosque and the first communal violence in Goa.

Muslims in Goa's History

The most shocking part of our fact finding was that the Goans were totally unaware of the role of Muslims in Goas history, and this included the Goan Muslims themselves. We were given a brief outline of this hidden history by Prajal Sakhardande, history teacher at Dempo College.

It was in the eighth century A D that the Arabs came to Gopakputtna on the banks of the Zuari River. They brought with them horses and from that time Goa became an important place for trade in horses. Arabs came to be called Moors and to this day Muslims are referred to Moar in Konkani.

The Arabs settled down in various parts of Goa and some people have distant memories of their origins. It is possible that Anjuna Beach was in fact a Arab settlement called Anjuman Nagar.

From the 11th Century to 14th Century A.D. there was Kadamba rule in Goa. The Kadamba Kings appointed Arabs in their court and at least two of their prime ministers were Arabs. One of them Chhadam helped the Kadamba king to build his navy. The King gave his Prime Minster land to build a mosque at Laghumoruambiks (Merces). Although the mosque is no longer there the inscription is in the Bombay museum. He was also given the village of Chimbel.

Then there were a series of invasions in Goa by Muslims including a general of Allauddin Khilji of Delhi in 1310 and Mohmmad bin Tuglak in 1327. Vijaynagar Empire and Bahmanis fought each other over the control of Goa because it was an important port.

Majlis-i-Rafi Yusuf Adil Shah, a Shia Muslim and the founder of Bijapur Kingdom ruled Goa from 1498 to 1510. It was in 1498 that Vasco-da-Gama arrived at Kapad-Kozhikhoda (modern day Calicut) and 1510 was the year that Albuquerque conquered Goa. Adil Shah constructed a palace at Ela (near St Cajetan Church in Old Goa). When he visited the small fishermens island villageof Panaji-halli he immediately fell in love with the beauty and began construction of a palace cum fortress on the banks of

Mandovi River. Near the construction of the palace were three temples. Adil Shah was tolerant and allowed the temples to flourish. It was later that they were razed to the ground by the Portuguese.

Adil Shah built many mosques. The one built at Old Goa was demolished by the Portuguese who built a chapel on the site. Ali Adil Shah also built the Safa Masjid at Ponda and there were 27 other mosques which were all demolished by the colonial rulers. Goa is also dotted with Mazars and Urs is celebrated at several places such as Kakara.

The last of the Adil Shahs was Sikander Adil Shah who ruled between 1672 and 1686 when the Mughal Emperor annexed the Adil Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur. A small Idgah was built by Aurangzebs son in 1683. The Idgah still stands and twice a year Muslims offer namaz here on the occasion of Id. This is also a link with Goa pre-colonial past. It was on this Idgah that the Sangh parivar hoisted a saffron flag some years ago.

Coming of the Portuguese

Goa was taken over by Afonso de Albuquerque on March 1, 1510. He posed as a liberator of Hindus from the Muslims as a part of his divide and rule policy. The savagery of the Portuguese is described in his own letter written to King d Manuel on December 22, 1510:

In the capture of Goa and the squandering of its farms and entry into the Fort, Our Lord helped us much, for He wished that we should perform so great a deed and ina better manner than we could ask for there were killed over 300 Turks and from there up to the passage of Banastry and Gundaly, on this way lay many dead who had escaped wounded and fell there, and many others and many horses drowned while crossing the river: I then burnt the city and put everything to the sword, and for days continuously your people shed blood in them, wherever they caught and found, no life was spared to any Mussalman and their mosques were filled up and set on fire; I ordered that the tillers of the soil and the Brahmins should not be killed: we calculated 6000souls to have been killed, Mussalmans. Men and women and of their militant archers many died; it was, my lord, a very great deed, well fought and well finished. Besides, Goa being so great a thing and so important, vengeance has not yet been taken for the betrayal and wickedness done to Your Highness by the Mussalmans, but this shall be heard all over, and through fear and astonishment will come great things to Your obedience without conquering and subjecting: they shall do no wickedness, knowing that they shall pay for it with great price. (quoted from T B Cunha, denationalization of Goans)

The Portuguese married fair skinned Muslim girls and every Muslim converted to Christianity was given the name of Maria. That is how the Muslim population in Goa declined and at the time of liberation of Goa it was negligible.

The Sangh Parivar has continued the fascist political tradition of the Portuguese by playing the politics of divide and rule, instilling fear in the minorities by physical attacks on them. Till recently they attacked the Christians but in more recent times they have turned on to the Muslims in Goa. The events at Sanvordem-Curchorem have been especially disturbing because they took place during the Congress rule. It seems that the Hindutva ideology has permeated into the Congress partys secularism.

The Outsider

The Goan Muslim has never been thought of as an outsider in Goa. The Muslim community has done fairly well economically and have been a part of the Goan society. However, in recent years Goa has attracted a large number of Migrants, mostly from neighbouring Karanataka. These migrants have been contributing to the prosperity of Goa by building roads, homes and hotels. They are the best artisans available. The Sangh Parivar has always made the outsider the target of their violent politics of fear.

It is true that the Goans felt a discomfort with the outsider but now the Sangh Parivar has zeroed in on the outsider being the Muslim. They have even whipped up a fear that the number of Muslims is rising. If we look at the census figures we see that there is a rise in the Muslim population but the rise in Hindu population is much more and the percentage of Christian population is declining. The Sangh Parivar plays on the fear of the Christians.

The migrant is the vulnerable member of our society and are victims of exploitation. They are not organized and become easy targets of communal politics. We were disturbed to see how deep the fear of the Muslim outsider has entered into the Goan psyche despite the attempt for saner elements who have pointed out how Goans are themselves migrants in so many parts of the world.

In the past the outsider in general was the target, then it became the Karnataka Muslim and sometimes the Kashmiri Muslim but this violence turned inwards and targeted the Muslim, including the Goan Muslim.

Human rights violations of the Muslims in Goa

Our investigations have revealed that from the nineties Muslims in Goa have been systematically denied their human rights guaranteed under the Indian Constitution. We were shocked to learn of the extent of discrimination against Muslims by the State and the prejudice within society. The Muslim community has tried to bring this matter to the attention of the Congress Party, both in Goa and at the Centre but it seems their appeals have fallen on deaf years.

The attacks on mosques have been violent including setting on fire a mosque at Porvorim during the Ramzan month and burning of the pages of the Quoran some three years back; a hand grenade was thrown at the mosque in Mardol, Ponda and the floor mats were set on fire; and Muslims were made to abandon a mosque in Sanquelim. Our team was not able to investigate into all these incidents in our brief visit but we have documented some incidents of discrimination and violence.

Azaan, the call for prayers

Our team was shocked to learn that in the majority of the mosques there is no Azaan over the loudspeaker. For instance in Chimbel which is largely a settlement of Muslims the loudspeaker is connected to speakers in the homes so the azan can be heard inside the homes but not disturb non-Muslims.

One Muslim leader we talked to in Vasco said when they built a mosque they did not have Azaan but a Hindu friend asked him why they did not have Azaan. The Hindu friend said he would like to hear the azan early in the morning because it was soothing for him. However, some others objected so the Muslims decided not to have the early morning azan as it disturbs people. But soon after another person objected on the instigation and kept filing complaints in the police station and harassing them till the Muslims decided to stop the azan altogether.

Another Muslim leader in Curchorem told us that he thought it was rather unfair that Muslims could not have their Azaan. After all the call is for four minutes, five times a day which would mean altogether 20 minutes in the day. None of the Muslims mentioned the fact that Hindu temples blare Hindi songs over the loudspeaker every day and on festival occasions even for a week for several hours a day.

Kabrastan Issue

The Muslim community at Margaon has been demanding land for making a cemetery because the old cemetery on top of Pajifond Hill has become saturated and Muslims are being forced to dig up old graves to make place for the dead. The present cemetery is on top of a steep and rocky hill donated by a Muslim family some 120 years ago. With the rise of the Muslim population there is now no space and it is very traumatic for the relatives when the old graves are dug up.

In a letter dated February 10, 2004 Ref No 20044:400 the former Congress Chief Minister of Goa, Luizinho Faleiro, to the president, Masjid-e-Causia, Sirvodem, Navelim wrote:

While attending the funeral of late, Shri Shaikh Siraj, at Pajifhond Kabrasthan I was pained at heart to see the pathetic condition of the Kabrasthan and the hardships suffered by the people attending the funeral.

I thought of writing this letter to you, so that you and the Muslim brethren are informed about the decision taken by me, when I was the Chief Minister in 1999. A resolution to allot the land for the purpose of burial was unanimously passed on 16th July, 1999 and accordingly the land acquisition proceedings for acquiring the land admeasuring 99,500 sq.mts situated at Aquem and located under survey No 52 PT. sheet no 228, was notified for acquisition.

Enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution along with debates held in the legislative Assembly of Goa.

It is shocking that the vested elements in the succeeding Governments chose to cancel the said land acquisition notification thereby adding to the hardships and difficulties of the Muslim brethren.

Digamber Kamat, a member of BJP who became the Congress candidate in the last Assembly elections last year, promised in his election manifesto: Pre-acquisition formalities for a large area of land for the purpose of a burial ground for the Muslim population of Salcete have already made good progress. This long standing need of the Muslim community will become a reality within the next six months.

The Kabrasthan issue has become a major issue in the elections but then promises made are not kept. In the meanwhile the Muslim community is doing the rounds of various departments hoping to be able to bury their dead with dignity. We are annexing an appeal by the heads of the Jamats of all masjid from Margaon dated May 19, 2005 along with a copy of Kamats election manifestos Annexure B.

When we asked the Collector of South Goa about the kabristhan issue he said that politicians may make promises but the administration is not under any obligation to give land to any community for a religious structure of a cemetery.

Mosque at Soccorro Porvorim

The Times of India dated December 18, 2001Bangalore edition carried a story on the front page Tension in Goa. Datelined Panaji the story states that some miscreants burnt copies of a religious book at a place of worship at Sukur.

The story went on to state: The chief minister, the deputy speaker of the Goa assembly, along with a team of senior police officers, rushed to the site on Monday where the miscreants had struck. The incident caused apprehensions as it happened within several hours of the attack on the Union Minister of State for Shipping, Shripad Naik by two motorcyclists Ayaz and Ifran over a road skirmish at Old Goa.

The police did register a FIR dated 17.2.2001 Number 164/01. The FIR states: On the D.T.F.C. mentioned above some unknown person deliberately effected entry into the prayer place (masjid) by breaking open lock of the main gate compound and thereafter set fire to main door of prayer house thereby deragged (sic) the religious Holy books ie Qurana (sic) and articles and caused loss to the property thereby deliberately trying to disturbed the communal harmony which may cause enmity between the Hence an offence registered u/s 457, 436, 293, 427, 153-A IPC.

The FIR is annexed as Annexure C

Mosque at Ekta Nagar, Mapusa

The Popular Educational Trust, a registered Muslim dedicated to the upliftment of the Muslim community purchased a bungalow admeasuring 253 sq mts along with the adjoining area vide deed of sale dated 1.08.2005 registration under No 3572, at pages 188 to 204, Book-1, Volume 1375. The property was bought for the benefit of the Muslim community. The Muslims living in Ekta nagar Housing Colony wanted a place to pray since the nearest mosque at Mapusa was at a distance. The secretary of the Trust wrote to the Addl Dy Collector that they would be using the building for praying on September 20, 2005.

On October 5, 2005 the local residents offered namaz of Taravhi, which is offered late in the night. After the Muslims left the mosque was attacked and demolished the compound wall, destroyed the toilets, broke the main door, broke the window glasses and set fire to the plastic mats. FIR 192 dated 6/10/05 was registered Mapusa police Station.

On the next day the Deputy Collector passed an order stopping the Muslim community from offering namaz in the premises and since then they have not been allowed to pray together in their own building.

Our team was really shocked to read the Order of the Dy Collector directing the Muslims not to pray in their building because some unknown culprits had set fire to their building! The report of the police Inspector also states that if such activities as offering namaz continue there is likelihood of communal riots. He makes this report on the basis of a letter from the local Hindu residents. We are annexing all the documents as Annexure D.

Building Madarsas

Many Muslims we talked to said that the community is having great difficulty in acquiring land to build a madarsa so that their children can be taught Urdu and Arabic and given religious instruction. In Goa the madarsa is not a substitute for the normal schooling but a supplement to the school. However, many times when Muslims acquire land and build a structure local people object or are instigated into filing an objection with the Panchayat and then the Panchayat does not issue an occupancy certificate and thus the structure becomes illegal. We are annexing the letter written by a Sarpanch of Village Panchayat Corlim, Tiswadi on 28th September 2002 to Mr Abdul Gani stating the occupancy certificate cannot be issued because of objection from residents, as Annexure E.

We began to see a pattern in all these individual incidents.

Wherever a settlement of Muslims comes up they need a place to pray together and a madarsa for the children. The Muslims have in each case tried to buy land and construct their own building, most times these have been very small structures. They have taken great care to build in accordance with the law . It is only after the community has spent money and constructed the building that a small number of residents write a letter to the sarpanch objecting to having a religious institution in their residential area and invariably the administration gives in to this pressure and either sends demolition notice or stops the use of the building for which it was constructed. Most times the building in question has

been built by economically poor Muslims who have pooled their resources to build the mosque or madarsa.

It seems that the administration thinks that a mere objection by the majority community or even by the Christians to a mosque or madarsa is a good enough reason to deprive the Muslim community of their constitutional right to freedom of expression and freedom of religion. The Muslims have filed FIRs or lodged complaints with the administration but so far they have not protested against this injustice in any other way.

The incident at Guddemol fits in with the pattern except that this time the Muslim community did come together to protest against the demolition of the mosque but even before they could register their collective protest they became victims of the first communal violence in Goa.

Mosque in Guddemol

Guddemol is a wada (hamlet) under Survey No 37/1 and 37/2 of Rumbrem Village under the Village Panchayat of Sanvordem. The majority of people living here are very poor and they belong to all three communities, Hindu, Muslim and Christian. According to the Secretary of the Panchayat there are altogether 138 houses in the hamlet which pay taxes. There are approximately 60 Hindu households, 50 Muslim households and seven Christian families. These people eke out a living by working in the mining industry in the twin towns of Curchorem and Sanvordem. A large number of the residents, both Hindu and Muslim are originally from Karnataka but have been living in Goa for 20 to 35 years. The Panchayat is a nine member elected body with eight Hindu members, one Christian and no Muslims. The Muslims in Guddemol told us that they had always supported Ulhas Bhandari and Baptista Fernandes, the Panch and Sarpanch respectively.

The Muslims congregated in a small house to offer namaz but felt the need for a proper space for offering prayers. Since there was no mosque in the area the Muslims had to go to the Jama Masjid at Curchorem for Namaz but it was not possible for them to go five times to such a distance and public transport is also not affordable. It was for this reason that the Muslim leaders of Guddemol have been trying to construct a mosque in the area since the 1990s. On one occasion they acquired land and were trying to build a mosque when one Gunwa Dessai objected and on his objection and intimidation they had to abandon their dream of a mosque.

More recently the Muslims in Guddemol formed themselves into a Society called Ahle Sunnat Jamat-ul Islamiya. The president of the society is Syed Ashraf and the secretary is Bashir. The society applied to the Government for land for a mosque, madarsa and a cemetery in 1999. The matter went upto the Chief Minister who forwarded Syed Ashrafs request to the South Goa Collector vide letter no 1-4-99/CM/49 dated 3/9/99. Syed Ashraf kept reminding the administration of his request and on January 1, 2005 he once again wrote to the Collector. A copy of the letters is annexed as Annexure F.

We met Syed Ashraf and he told us that since he got no response from the administration he and the others of the community decided that they would renovate an old structure and use it as a mosque and madarsa. Syed Ashraf went to see Ulhas Bhandari, the panch who has enjoyed Muslim support all these years. Ulhas Bhandari encouraged Ashraf to renovate the 120 square metre-mosque cum madarsa and even offered to donate money towards its construction. With these assurances the Muslim community was able to build the small structure with a tin roof and they were looking forward to inaugurating it on the occasion Id in January this year (2006).

However, around December 22, 2005 approximately 200 to 300 people gathered outside the Panchayat office and protested against the building of the mosque. The Sarpanch, Baptista Fernandes, called the members of the Ahle Sunnat jamat-ul Islamiya. According to Ashraf most of these people were not from the village but were outsiders. When we interviewed the Collector of South Goa he confirmed that it was true that three months back Hindu community had protested against the mosque-cum-madarsa. He was not willing to state whether the mob was instigated by any political party.

This mob gathered outside the Panchayat and demanded that the Muslims demolish the mosque otherwise they would bring people from eight villages. The Muslims said they wanted a little time to think about this.

A day or two after this the Muslims were suddenly blamed for doing voodoo (jadoo-tona) and bringing lemons into their houses to ward off the evil. This caused even greater tension and then the local police man, PI Kadam, called five members of Hindus and five members of Muslim community to reach some kind of compromise on the issue. On that day the Muslims were forced to agree to rent out the building they had renovated to the Hindu community for the purpose of running a Bal wadi and a Marathi school. The Muslims then went to the temple and assured the Hindus that they did not put any lemons.

Two days later, on December 24, 2005 a mob again gathered outside the Panchayat office and threatened to demolish the mosque. That night the Secretary of the Society, Maulli Hatni was dragged out of his house and beaten up by three persons, Subhas Naik Shekhar Rawat, Gopal Warder. The PI took him to hospital and arrested the three. They were released the next day on bail.

Soon after this the Panchayat served notices on the Society. And ultimately the Panchayat sent a Show Cause notice on January 23, 2006 to which the Society replied at length but their arguments were summarily dismissed and a demolition notice was served on February 24, 2006. Against the demolition notice the Society got in touch with Advocate Amira Razaq and she obtained a stay order from the Directorate of Panchayat at Panaji on March 1, 2006. Further the Directorate fixed the date of hearing the Appeal for June 28, 2006. The Stay Order is annexed to our report as Annexure G.

Having obtained the stay order the Society went to serve it on the Panchayat. However, the Panchayat did not accept the Notice. They tried to serve it on the clerk, Pratibha and phone the Sarpanch Fenandes but no one wanted to listen.

That night some 12 persons belonging to the local community attacked the mosque, a structure which had existed for some 35 years and recently renovated with the oral permission of the panch. Seven persons were arrested. According to the newspapers their names are:Pramode Shrirodkar, 29, Vishwas Diwar, 24, Nandan Naik, 25, Prakash Naik 33, Manjunath Wadar, 56, and Jitendra Naik under sections 143, 147, 148, 427, 295, 451, 337, 447 and 149 of the Indian Penal Code.

The next day the newspapers reported that an illegal mosque had been demolished by some miscreants. Niraj Naiks SMS-based news service reported on March 2, 2006 at 10.29.07 IST:

Miscreants demolish disputed masjid at Goddemol, Sanvordem last night. Five arrested. The masjid was declared illegal. But court had stayed its demolition.

The language of this short cryptic message needs to be analyzed. The word disputed seems to suggest that it was a dispute between Hindus and Muslims which there is none. No one has disputed that the structure belonged to the Muslim community. Everyone agrees that the land on which it was built was government land. And that the structure had been there for more than three decades. It is true that the structure was illegal in so far as the land still belonged to the government on record. However, in addition to the mosque which was demolished there are on the same land a temple, hotel, a house

constructed by the Sarpanch Baptist Fernandes within 150 metres of the madarsa-mosque that was demolished.

The Question of Law

The question whether the demolished mosque was a legal or illegal structure needs to be adjudicated. In his appeal before the Directorate of Panchayats the Muslim Society has placed very important arguments based on facts.

First of it is an admitted fact that the structure stood there for more than three decades. It was being used to impart religious instruction to the children who were also attending regular school.

Second the Muslim Society decided to renovate the building and this was done with the express permission of the Panchayat.

Third no one from the majority community had ever objected to the Muslims either praying together or teaching their children the values of their religion.

Fourth the building that was demolished was 120 square metres and is located party in Survey no 37/1 and partly in Survey no 37/2 of Guddemol, Village Panchayat of Sanvordem. The entire survey land consists of revenue land which is recorded in the name of the Government. In other words the entire area is illegal then why was a small building used for a mosque and madarsa chosen to be demolished?

Fifth our investigations reveal that the real reason why the building was demolished was because local residents were not happy with the recent renovations. The Collector, South Goa, Mr J B Singh, also told us that the residents had protested at the renovation of the building. When we asked whether that was a legal reason for demolition of the mosque he got angry and said we should not interrupt his story. Pressed further, he said the demolishment notice was justified because it was illegal structure on government land but the attack on the mosque was not since the Muslim Society had obtained a Stay order.

When we talked the secretary of the Panchayat he informed us that the Panchayat had taken notice of some other illegal structures and given demolition notices but the person concerned had got a stay order and the matter was kept pending for years.

Sixth the Collector admitted that the site had been given to the residents as a part of the 20-point programme in 1975-76 to Anarabi.

We are annexing the arguments made before the Directorate of Panchayat on the basis of which a stay was granted. Some of the people we interviewed seemed to suggest that the Stay was not based on any legal grounds but reading the Appeal it becomes clear that the issues raised need proper adjudication by a trained judicial mind since it concerns the rights and liberties of the Muslim community of Guddemol and of other Muslims. The Appeal is marked as Annexure H.

Right to Protest: equal right for all citizens

On Thursday, March 2, 2006 the Secretary of the Ahle Sunnat Jamat-ul Islamiya, Bashir Ahmad, put in an application before Pratapsinh Velip Kankar, the Deputy Collector, Quepem for permission to hold a meeting and rally the next day in protest against the demolition. The deputy collector asked the local PI Gurudas Kadam of Curchorem police station for his report.

PI Kadam wrote that the proposed rally may provoke Hindu masses and there was a danger that there could be a breach of peace and a law and order problem. In addition there was a representation from the Hindus signed by one Chandrakant and eight others stating that they feared that Muslims from outside were coming. Our team saw both of these letters in the original.

Taking into account these two facts the Deputy Collector decided not to give permission to the Muslims to protest. The Municipality of Curchorem also refused permission for the rally.

The Deputy Collector held a meeting with the Muslim leaders and persuaded them to cancel their rally. When we asked the Collector, South why only Muslims had been called and not the Hindu leaders he said it was no point calling Hindus since Muslims were the cause of action. The Collector denied that the PI of Curchorem had warned about the threat of the Hindu masses not Muslim outsiders. The Collector asked us rhetorically who is the PI to say Hindu masses?

In the meanwhile the police had arrested seven people on the charge of demolishing the mosque and about 150 people collected outside the police station demanding the release of the seven. They said that the authorities had not taken action against Muslims for years for construction of an illegal mosque but against the Hindus action was taken immediately. This was obviously a false argument because no action has been taken

against the illegally constructed temple in the same area as the mosque at Guddemol was attacked.

This mob dispersed only after the seven were released on bail by the judicial magistrate.

The Muslims had gathered together at the Curchorem mosque on Friday prayers. Many had come from other parts of Goa. The impression was created that outsiders had come and then some people began spreading the rumour that Muslims had come in buses armed with swords and AK 47s.

When our team asked the Deputy Collector, Quepem and the Collector, South whether there were any reports at all about Muslims coming from Bhatkal or Hubli from Karnataka they said it was all a rumour and there was no substance at all in these allegations. Both of them made categorical statement. The Superintendent of Police, South Goa, Mr Shekhar Prabhudessai also told us that no Muslim came from Bhatkhal and there were no weapons of any sort recovered from the Muslims.

In view of these facts we found it was strange that the Collector stated that the administration had already got a promise from the Muslim community that they would cancel their morcha (rally) and they would have a meeting inside the mosque. The Muslims kept their word and remained peaceful through out. But the police bandobast was made in order to control the Muslims, they were seen as the cause of action by the Collector, South. He told us there were around 120 policemen present at the mosque to control the 500 to 600 Muslims who had collected together to the demolition of a small mosque despite a stay order stopping the demolition.

Violence Against Muslims of Goa

While the Muslims were inside the mosque on Friday having their meeting a mob had gathered at a distance and had started pelting stones on their vehicles. They heard the sound of glass breaking, police firing in the air and a commotion. The Muslims who had gathered inside the mosque were trapped inside and it was only late in the evening that they were escorted back to their homes

When they returned to their homes they saw that their vehicles had been badly damaged and glass shattered. Their shops had been targeted. That night when they slept they thought it was all over and the next day would bring peace and a return to normal life. They had not realized that the peace had been broken and they would not be able to return to normalcy for many years to come.

On Saturday, March 4, 2006 the violence against Muslims took a virulent form. It was planned and systematic. A mob went from one Muslim house to another, shop to another and broke open the locks, looted and burnt vehicles belonging to Muslims. We interviewed a cross section of Muslims in Curchorem and they described their experience of those two days. In the short time available to us we decided not to document the actual experiences of the Goan Muslims during the two days of the riot since our brief was to understand the causes behind the riots. However, we are reproducing some of the experiences to illustrate the problems in understanding the cause of the violence and the possibility of it happening again.

Shaikh Rafiq is 40 years old who owns two shops, one battery shop and another auto electrical works. He is totally non-political person and he said I do not even read the front page of a newspaper. He has grown up in Curchorem with good Hindu friends and has Hindu and Christian employees. It was while he was in the mosque his shops were attacked and looted.

The local police escorted him back home on Friday . Then around 7.30 p m a mob came towards their house. They locked themselves inside the house and watched the mob from behind closed door break his garage. He phoned his brother who gave him the telephone numbers of the DIG and the SP. He phoned the DIG and told him that his garage was being broken and he said the police would be coming. Rafiq again phoned after some time and again the DIG assured him that the police was its way. This time Rafiq realized that the DIG had been giving false assurances since he had not even bothered to ask him his address and so he clapped down the phone.

Rafiq saw the people who attacked his garage. They were all local people and all in their twenties. He could identify each one of them but when he filed his FIR he did not name anyone out of fear. The police has still not reached him to ask about the rioters and Rafiq says he would probably not tell them the names because they cannot assure his safety.

Rafiq is not an isolated case. The SP Shekhar Prabhudessai told us that altogether there were 44 cases registered with the police with regard to the violence and loss of property but none of the complaints registered have name a single person. This is despite the fact everyone knows the names of the looters and attackers. The SP told us that they were arresting some people on the basis of a CD provided to them by the local Intelligence Bureau (LIB).

After the mob left Rafiq came out and inspected his car. It was beyond repair. A neighbour lent us his Maruti van and I took some 15 women and children and drove them to safety to Margaon. Then I came for the men.

Rafiq estimates that he has suffered a damage of around four to four and a half lakhs and he has received compensation of Rs 3.60 lakhs.

Shaikh Rafiq went for a meeting called for the restoration of peace but he felt it was meaningless so he did not go back to the follow up meetings. He said that those people who had attacked his property had come back to ask him to repair their cars.

Kabir Shaikh is the younger brother of Rafiq and he is 33 years old. He studied in an English medium school and is married and has an eight year old son. Kabir was very disturbed on the day we interviewed him because his son and announced that he thought Hindus were bad. Kabir did not know how to erase the thought from his mind.

Kabir is a mild-mannered gentle soul who has joined the Tablighi jamat. In the tradition of the tablighis he wears a white kurta-pyjama and white cap and sports a small flowing beard. His change of dress has caused a lot of commotion among his friends, both Hindus and Muslims. One of his Hindu friends who used to study with him in school told our team that people had started calling Kabir Bin-Laden.

We informed him that Tablighi Jamat was anything but an extremist group. It was founded by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas in Rajasthan to teach the Meos the real meaning of Islam because he felt that though they had converted to Islam they did not really understand the message of Islam.

Kabir told us that people thought he was from Karnataka because of his dress and he was aware that people feared him because of his dress and beard but he feels that this is a reflection of their ignorance and in time they will understand that he or his group are no threat to anyone.

Kabir felt that the atmosphere had got communalized after the Ayodhya movement and several people from Curchorem had gone from the RSS programme. He looks at the communal violence as a part of a process and an attempt of the BJP to consolidate its base in the Cancona-Quepem-Sanvordem-Ponda-Bicholim belt.

Kabir felt that the attack on the Guddemol mosque was a reflection of the deep seated prejudice and ignorance about Islam. He remembered the time when as a child there was

no mosque even at Curchorem and they he went with his father to perform namaz at the house of station master Abdur Razak. It took a long time for the Hindu community to accept the mosque and they objected to its construction at each step. In 1973 it was a small wooden structure, and it did not even look like a mosque, or did they give an Azaan. He said Azaan only lasts a few minutes and could not understand why it should give offence to anyone.

Kabir thinks that the Guddemol mosque is being looked at an illegal structure only to justify its destruction. He said when he went to Germany he found there were 3,800 mosques and all of them were illegal.

Shaikh Kabir felt that the Muslims should not have planned a morcha in protest against the destruction of the Guddemol mosque and his group had opposed it. Kabir said having large rallies even the one protesting against the cartoons of Prophet Mohammad in Margaon did not serve any purpose, according to him. These views did not seem to be the views of an Osma bin-Laden.

Kabir's shop was looted and when people tried to tell him the names of those who looted it. He said he did not want to know because it would spoil his relations with those people. One of his Christian employees tried to save his shop by locking it but they broke in six times.

The interview with Hanifa Khan, 45 years old housewife who helps her husband with his business revealed another kind of point of view. Hanifa said she had grown up with both Catholics and Hindus and she had good friends in both communities first in Vasco where she grew up and then in Curchorem where she came after marriage.

She was sitting on her verandah with her husband when she saw the mob come towards her house. From her terrace she saw them pull out Muslims from a restaurant called Karisma and beat them. Then they beat another Muslim, kick him and he fell into the drain outside her house. The mob stoned her house and broke the window panes. The Air conditioner also broke and then the mob entered her compound and attacked their vehicles. They turned the car upside down and burnt it.

She said she could recognize some of the members of the mob and later they told her they had come to protect her.

Hanifa said one of her neighbours was a Muslim woman with four children. Her husband was away in the Middle East. The woman was thrown out on the road by her Hindu tenant.

Hanifa has had friends among the Hindus who have been family friends and one of them who are also friends of her son insisted on taking her entire family into their home. In the end there were 30 to 40 Muslims taking shelter in that Hindu house.

For Hanifa her only identity is as an Goan. She blames the trouble on Muslims who come from outside and also says that since Muslims are such a tiny minority they should just remain silent and not organize meetings or rallies. She felt the Muslims must accept their fate.

Shaikh Abdul Kadar a business man living in Carriamoddi in Curchorem told us that all the 35 to 40 houses scattered in his neighbourhood were attacked. He feels that the attack was meticulously planned and executed. He said it could not be a reaction to the proposed rally by the Muslims otherwise why did they systematically attack on Saturday from 2.30 pm to around 4.30 pm.

Shaikh Abdul Kadar feels that the administration could have stopped the attack if they wanted. He is a staunch Congress supporter so he cannot understand how such a thing could have happened during Congress rule. He said it was true that BJP has influence on the police force and they had admitted many hundreds during their tenure. He said it could all be a part of an attempt of the BJP to consolidate its base but when we asked him who would suffer as a result of this he replied without a moments hesitation: humanity will suffer.

He could not understand why people were trying to form a peace committee when there is no war. All that the Muslims in Guddemol were guilty of was of wanting a small building in which they could offer namaz and teach their children the tenets of their religion.

Another Muslim business man (who did not want to be named) who was sitting in Shaikh Abdul Kadars house said that these were bad times and he would tell his people to have patience, and to suffer in patience because what ever they would do or say would be twisted out of context and made into an excuse to penalize or punish Muslims. He felt the Muslim community had no real friends or allies. He felt there was no democratic space for voicing their grievances. He said that in the guise of cultural nationalism and national integration the BJP and Congress were destroying democratic institutions and bringing in fascism into the country.

When we visited Guddemol on Tuesday April 4, 2006 the Muslim shopkeeper told us to leave immediately. Fear writ large on his face. He said we are not members of the jamat. Please leave.

Then when he saw that he had been rude to people who had come to show their concern he looked at us and said please pray for us, we cannot speak out at present.

The tension at Guddemol was palpable. Some young men and a woman took us into a house. In the middle of this tension they did not forget to be polite and hospitable. Before speaking to us they brought chairs and cold drinks. This gesture itself was touching.

There were three young men and a young woman who risked speaking to us. They said every night the same goons pelt stones and abuse the Muslims. The young womans father works in the telecommunications and he had brought several new instruments. They also had a STD booth. During the violence on Friday and Saturday the mob looted her house, burnt a part of it along with the STD booth and took away the phones. She said they also took the motor from the sugarcane pressing machine.

The others sitting told us of the extent of the damage in the Guddemol hamlet. One of the young men told us that his driving license was taken away and this has deprived him of his means of livelihood. In the hamlet nearly every young man becomes a truck driver in the mining town.

We showed them the list made by the Collector of the victims of violence and estimate of loss of property. We were shocked to learn that the administration has not bothered to give compensation to the Guddemol Muslims except for two persons.

Is this another way of diving the Muslim community by giving the rich Goan Muslims compensation and denying the outsider Muslims of their rightful share even though they were the primary targets of the communal violence. It was looking more and more like a violence instigated entirely by political parties and the administration for some cynical purpose.

These young men and women go to a Marathi medium school nearby and then to Curchorem and are fluent in Konkani, Marathi and Hindi with a smattering of English. They do not know Kananda and have no links with their place of origin. Today they are responsible for creation of wealth for Goa and Goans so they cannot understand why those people who shared their food on Id could turn on them with so much hatred and violence. They said they saw the people who attacked the mosque even though they had

cut off the electricity and some of them were people who shared meals and sat together. What had happened to communal harmony in Guddemol?

Hindu Perspective

In the background of the demolition of the Mosque we thought it is important to talk to the Hindus living at Guddemol to assess their mood. We wanted to know whether they justified the demolition of the mosque, whether they were now feeling any remorse and what, according to them, was the reason for the sudden flare up of emotions along communal lines. And importantly, we wanted to know if three decades of harmony among different communities was now a thing of the past from their perspective.

We thought it essential to assess the cause and result from the majority Hindu standpoint of view since the events at Guddemol will certain to have far reaching effects on not just the secular culture of Goa but also how it is assessed and viewed in future.

We thought it is better to assess the mood of the Hindus living at Guddemol from two different realms. One: whether the increased involvement of outsiders in the affairs of Guddemol led to the fissure among the people of the area. Two: whether disaffection had been brewing among the people of Guddemol for a long time which culminated in the demolition of the Mosque on March 2nd.

Backgrounder

As has been mentioned earlier in this report, the entire Guddemol village or settlement comprises of settlers from outside the state. Nearly three decades ago, they moved to Goa and settled here for various reasons. What is pertinent is that most of todays generation of Guddemol has no connection with their parents or grandparents places of origin. The first generation of settlers does converse in their mother tongues while the second generation is multi-lingual. What is significant is that the present generation of Guddemols children are not only unaware of their ancestral states, they not even have linguistic attachments having become natural born Goans over a period of time.

For nearly three decades, people of different linguistic and religious denominations have been living cheek by jowl at Guddemol. Unlike various other towns/cities of this country, at Guddemol the homes of different communities are not segregated. Instead, they are easily and naturally interspersed giving no room for caste, community or language to act as a barrier between people. In other circumstances, the people of Guddemol (though

poor and destitute) could have been a good example of a secular Goa, rather, India. Unfortunately, today that is not the case.

Trouble Begins

What is interesting is that at Guddemol the Muslims efforts to establish a place of worship have been continuously thwarted for the last one decade. In comparison, the Hindus had not only built a temple on government land, last year they succeeded in building a new temple closer to the village. It is pertinent to note that neither the administration nor the general public in any way hampered or questioned the setting up of these temples. Unfortunately, the same has not been the case with the Muslims and their rights to have a place of worship. The communitys two earlier attempts to build a mosque were stopped by the administration upon receiving complaints from the general public.

After speaking to the people of the village, we found that the committee administering the newly built Krishna Temple and the village committee have both contributed in large measure to the events that occurred at Guddemol recently by creating fissures knowingly or unknowingly among the people. Built about a year ago with money pooled from Hindus of both Guddemol and surrounding areas, the Krishna temple committee has introduced new practices which has helped boost Hindu identity in the village. Today, this temples committee is being viewed as a prominent decision making body vis a vis the Hindus at Guddemol. Incidentally, there are a significant number of non-Guddemol residents who are part of this committee.

One of the noticeable things about Guddemol in the first week of April was the innumerable triangular shaped saffron flags atop the Hindu houses. Without even entering the village, one could pinpoint the Hindu households by just scanning the skyline above the village. When enquired, the villagers said the saffron flags had been distributed by the Krishna Temple as part of the Gudi Parva celebrations held on March 28th. The Hindu villagers claimed that the distribution of saffron flags as part of the Prasad on Gudi Parva had been a prevailing custom for long. However, when we enquired elsewhere we found that the distribution of saffron flags on Gudi parva is not only a new custom, we found that it is of no religious significance.

We would like to point out here that so far we have not seen any Hindu religious festival in which saffron flags were given as part of the Prasad. In this background, we have no option but to come to the conclusion that the Sangh Parivar, which has made the triangular saffron flag as part of its various fascist programmes, has insidiously slipped it into Guddemol too in the name of worship and temple practices. Today, the fact that the majority Hindus of Guddemol are proudly displaying the flags from atop their houses indicates a consolidation of Hindu pride. We fear this is will have long term repercussions on the syncretic culture of Goa, which has made the state a unique one in the country.

The role of outsiders - meaning from outside of Guddemol - in the events of Guddemol cannot be stressed enough. The list of persons arrested given to us by the SP South shows that except for one person all others were from outside Guddemol. We are annexing the list as Annexure I.

The presence of outsiders was also mentioned by a few Hindu residents of Guddemol during their discussions with us. However, since these outsiders where in some way or the other involved with the construction of the Krishna temple and with its administration, the locals did not see anything unusual.

But one can only speculate on the role the outsiders might have had on the sustained disinformation campaign around the mosque of Guddemol. For, even though the residents of Guddemol had for years seen the Muslim children been taught, the elders offering Namaaz, and the Muslim community gathering together on important occasions at the spot where the Mosque stood, they now collectively argue that no such thing had ever taken place prior to the construction of the Mosque. What is also of importance is that the Mosque is right at the front of the village and that no activity going on there could have missed the notice of the Hindu villagers.

It is a fact that the Muslim used to pay Rs 40 per child to be taught at the makeshift Madarasa, that other than Fridays (when they prayed at the Sanvordem mosque) they gathered at the Madarasa to offer Namaaz, that they started the construction of the Mosque only after getting the requisite permissions. Yet, the Hindus of Guddemol claim that the structure is illegal, that the Muslims managed to get a stay order on the basis of false claims, that Muslims started gathering there wearing fez caps only after the new structure became a reality.

These, incidentally, are the same arguments being put forth by the Hindus of Sanvordem, Curchorem and other surrounding places. We can only once again speculate on the similarity between the arguments of the Hindus of Guddemol and elsewhere in total contradiction of facts and ground reality.

Another fact that the team discovered was that none of the Hindus were in any way surprised or shocked at the destruction of the Mosque. Some of them even declared openly that they were expecting the demolition to take place any moment. What is crucial is that while most of them expected the demolition to take place any moment, none of them went out of the house to witness it. They all admit that they heard noises, they also admit that they realized what was taking place, but they say they did not venture out of the house. As a consequence of which, they claim they are in the dark about who actually destroyed the building. Which of course, does not bar them from saying that the youth of Guddemol were not involved the action against the Mosque and that outsiders might have indulged in it.

Rumours and Witchcraft

Baseless rumours and prejudices also seem to have played a major role in the events leading up to the destruction of the Mosque. Sometime during the month of February, a rumour has spread in Guddemol that some Muslims were indulging in witchcraft/ blackmagic against Hindus. Soon after this, lemons and chilies strung together were discovered in front of half a dozen Hindu households including the home of the priest of the newly built Krishna Temple, Chandrakanth Achari.

The needle of suspicion has pointed towards the Muslim Babulal Allahabaadi who lives two houses away from the Hindu priests house. A confrontation of sorts has taken place between the two communities regarding the practice of witchcraft. Babulal Allahabaadi and his wife Sayeeda Sheikh run a kind of faith healing centre in their tiny house which is visited by people of all religions. In our presence a Hindu mother and her two daughters had come from nearby Savali village to receive the blessings of Babulals wife who, he claims, is the medium for the Shanooru Wali Baba of Chikkodi, Karnataka. The mother had brought her daughters Priya and Sonia in order to help them pass their exams. What was remarkable is that the mother and children had come even after the demolition and the communal riots which had taken place in connection to Guddemol. Incidentally, Babulal hails from Uttar Pradesh while his wife is from Goa.

That Babulal Allahabaadi and his wife Sayeeda run a faith healing centre in their house is nothing new to this region. The Sufi tradition and faith healing centers are common in these parts right down to Hubli-Dharwad of Karnataka. It is a blind faith transcending both linguistic and religious barriers with no rationality attached. In fact, Babalals centre is well in keeping with this tradition since he has placed a diya, flowers, etc belonging to

the Hindu tradition in front of what are apparently motifs belonging to Islamic religious traditions.

Regarding the practice of witchcraft, Babulal had this to say: If lemons could have such an effect on people and places, Pakistan would have done the same and occupied India a long time back. Jokes apart, the Muslim community does not seem to have taken the allegations of witchcraft too seriously. Instead, both Baba and another Muslim (Ali) of the area dismissed the allegations saying If someone has placed lemons in front of your house, take it and make lemonade. That is what we would have done.

As to who was behind the rumours of witchcraft and the appearance of lemons in front of Hindu households, no one seems to have a clue. But that this took place just before the demolition of the mosque cannot be a mere coincidence. As Sharmila Chandra Achari, a beautician and daughter of the Krishna Temple pujari, said, Our relations with our Muslim friends have deteriorated. These days, we do not talk to one another. All that has happened in the village is very sad. She was one of the very few in the village who expressed deep dismay at the destruction of the Mosque and the subsequent atmosphere of distrust which has enveloped the village.

In the end, these rumours, blatant misrepresentation of facts and general atmosphere of mistrust all seem to have helped the people of Guddemol mentally prepare themselves for the inevitable. To such an extent that a Christian, Ronald Yamarthy had no compulsions saying What the Muslims did was not right. So, we were expecting the demolition to happen. The administration will not be able to do anything in the face of a stay order. So, the people took care of it. The motivation to do that came from both our village and outside.

Incidentally, rumours also seem to have played a major role in the events of March 2nd and 3rd at Curchorem. Mr Pandurang Desai, president of The Merchants Association of Curchorem says that on that day, rumours spread saying thousands of people from the minority community were gathering together with weapons, arms, knives, etc. We also heard that they were mobilizing people from outside. Naturally, we were alarmed and tried to confirm the rumours and contacted the police. Mr. Desai however, could not say from where the rumours originated or who spread them. But he was categorical in saying that by outsiders he did not mean people from outside the Curchorem town but from outside the state such a Karnataka and Maharashtra.

By five p.m. the same evening the rumours had thickened. Word spread around the Curchorem market that nearly three thousand Muslims were gathering at the Masjid and

they were armed with stones, etc. Office bearers of The Merchants Association held an impromptu meeting at Mr. Desais Anubhav electronics Showroom and decided to down shutters. Word of this decision too spread through the market within a few minutes and all the shops downed shutters.

Mr. Desai found it objectionable that Muslims should gather at Curchorem. The Mosque was destroyed at Guddemol which does not even come under our district. Even then, why should they gather here for a show of strength? he repeatedly asked. When asked who he thought were responsible for the riots, he said he did not know. When it was pointed out to him that perhaps the clue lay in the fact that only Muslim businesses and vehicles had been specially targeted and destroyed (as it had happened in Gujarat) he remained silent for a while and claimed it is only loss of property, there has been no loss of life. Whenever Mr. Desai was faced with an inconvenient question he would revert to saying But the Guddemol mosque has nothing to do with Curchorem.

The power of such rumours and disinformation campaign can be long lasting as was evident in what Mr. Desai maintained even well after the riots. Even though it has subsequently become clear that it was the Muslims of Goa and not those from outside the state who had gathered at the Masjid on March 4 (evident in the fact that the vehicles which were destroyed by the Hindus all bore Goa number plates) Mr. Desai maintained even a month after the events that it proves that what we had heard about outsiders coming was right. But now, of course, he meant people from outside Curchorem instead of outside Goa. When quizzed further about this, he said we heard that the people from Karnataka were shifted from Karnataka vehicles to Goa vehicles at the states border.

Guddemol and the Aftermath

The destruction of the Mosque at Guddemol and the subsequent communal events only go to prove how a double strategy of baseless rumours and deliberate disinformation campaign can irretrievably ruin the secular fabric of a society. Unfortunately, this strategy is not new to those who have been watching the machinations of communal elements in Indian society for a long time.

For far too long, communal elements have adopted this double strategy to great effect. First, they let loose a set of unfounded rumours and follow it up with a set of deliberately distorted facts. This deadly combination has always led to the death of truth. What is unfortunate is that the state has time and again played into the hands of such communal forces by being a mute witness. Had the state played a more pro-active role in controlling

the situation, aided dissemination of proper information, taken confidence building measures among the victimized community, deployed adequate security personnel on time things would not have come to such an unhappy pass.

But time and again, the state has failed miserably in controlling communal elements and in the process disappointed civil society. It is at such times that civil society needs to take conscious steps in order to ensure that events such as the demolition of the Mosque at Guddemol will not convert Goa to another Gujarat.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our investigations have revealed that the attack on Guddemol mosque on March 2/3 night and the violence against the Muslim community living in Curchorem, Sanvordem and hamlet of Guddemol was a part of well planned strategy by political forces to communalize Goan society. Our investigations also revealed that there was not a single instance of the Muslim community retaliating either by word or deed. In fact they have been deprived of their fundamental right under the Constitution of India to protest against the demolition of a mosque despite the fact that the Directorate of Panchayat had given a stay order on the demolition.

Hate Speech is a crime under the penal code.

We have also found that the BJP members, including the ex Chief Minister Manohar Parikkar and the local MLA Ramarao Dessai and the sympathizers of the Sangh Parivar continue to spread the disinformation not only about the actual incident but about Muslims in general. They are fueling hatred and anger against the Muslims by telling blatant lies, spreading false rumours and making defamatory statements.

We quote from an article by Subhash Veringkar, Principal of Vidyabodhini, Porvorim published in Gomantak (Marathi) on March 8, four days after the communal violence entitled: Do not play political games with public sentiments.

In Bicholim, sanguem, Quepem, canacona, Tiswadi and ponda talukas, it has come to light that illegal mosques and madarsa are being built with great speed by bribing with large sums of money and with support of politicians.

Signs have been coming in that some places mosques and madarsa are being converted into centre for terror, violence and communal attacks. One almost gets the impression

that the Intelligence Bureau has wrapped itself in the political black-hole as far as this issue is concerned. The same kind of centres of Pakistani terrorism and storehouses of weapons that were found in Bhatkal, and in Hubli, Bijapur and Hyderabad are steadily penetrating into Goan society and politics and wielding increasing influence. The increased presence of outside Muslims in our marketplaces, rural areas and hitherto untouched areas is noticeable.

This has had a tremendous oppressive effect on social life and social sentiments in Goa. What happened in Curchorem was but one manifestation of this. The political assurances to legalize illegal mosques are totally counter to public sentiment. How public anger can explode and how it is beyond anybodys power to control was demonstrated first in Saleli and now in Curchorem.

All we can do is pray that in Goas interest our selfish leaders do not fall prey to evil ideas of playing with public sentiment.

We are shocked that Subhash Veringkar can write column after column spreading fear and hate in a respectable daily and there is no action taken against the writer, editor and publisher for their hate speech. Such communal, prejudiced speech is not covered under the right to freedom of speech and expression and is a crime under sections 153 (wantonly giving provocation with intent to cause riot), 153-A (Promoting enmity between different groups on grounds of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language etc doing acts prejudicial to maintain harmony); and section 153-B (Imputations, assertions prejudicial to national integration).

Subhash Veringkar spreads this poison to generations of school children and this is the man who was part of Manohar Parikkars education board.

We also heard Manohar Parikkars speech that he gave on Saturday, March 4, 2006 while the violence against the Muslims was continuing. We have a CD of the whole scenario and we quote his speech.

See, it is the failure of the government to prevent outsiders from coming to Curchorem in spite of known condition of tension. People had no objection for the local people to protest. But people are worried about goonda element who came from other parts like Bhatkal, Hubli and Margaon also. People are also alleging that even the minister in Margaon alos was responsible for sending people. But people were apprehensive about outsiders coming here with weapons which happened yesterday which should not have been allowed to happen. And therefore the administration is totally responsible. We

demand that deputy collector and collector both should be removed from the place, suspended and someone has to be placed in that place.

Secondly, action against those who came yesterday with weapons, and who started this rioting yesterday against their leaders should be taken. Those who arranged the morcha should be arrested and charge-sheeted for creating the tension first.

The former chief minister does not even say a single word of consolation to the Muslim community which had witnessed such violence. His speech is sending a message that the people responsible for the violence are the victims themselves, that the Muslims brought it upon themselves. He is continuing to spread the lie that Muslims brought people from outside and he is demanding the punishment of Muslim leaders who organized a protest morcha which never came out.

Framing the victim

What is the most disturbing and shocking fact we have found in the course of our investigation is that there seems to be a conspiracy by some people in the civil administration to frame Syed Ashraf and members of the Ahle Sunnat Jamat i Islamiya in some case to show that the violence originated with the Muslim community of Guddemol. Till the date of writing of this report Syed Ashraf has not been able to return to his home because the local policeman has threatened to teach him a lesson. When we went to the Curchorem police station and asked to speak to PI Kadam we were told he has gone on leave and the next man was not available.

It is strange that when we ourselves saw that PI Kadam warned that there was a threat of breach of law from the Hindu masses in the official files the Collector shouted at us and asked who is Kadam to say Hindu masses?

The BJP MLA Ramrao Desai said in a round table discussion organized by the Gomantak Times that the Muslims were heard saying kal ham unko dikha denge, bakri jaisa katange. Hubli, BhatkalDharwad se hamare log aa rahe hain. Even behind closed doors the MLA maintained that the Muslims had brought people from outside even when the civil administration categorically denied that a single outsider from Karnataka came.

We have seen a CD of the rioting on Saturday given to us by a media person. In that video we saw Parikkar, the former Chief Minister and member of the BJP demanding that action should be taken against those who came yesterday with weapons, and also

who started this rioting yesterday, against their leaders should be taken. Those who arranged the morcha should be arrested and chargesheeted for creating tension first.

The BJP leaders have continued to spread false rumours and no one has been arrested for spreading false, baseless rumours designed to cause tension and instigate violence. We were shocked that the SP (South) told us that everything was back to normal and that there was no fear among anyone. He is refusing to even recognize the fact that the Muslims in Guddemol have no sense security and the administration and government has not taken any steps to assuage their feeling. All the people who have been arrested are roaming in the same area.

The role of the Administration

The civil administration has not acted with responsibility that is expected of them. It is true that the police did offer protection to the Muslims gathered inside the Curchorem mosque and trapped inside when the violence started. The police took them home and no one was hurt. However, they failed to protect the property of the Muslims. It is true that the administration moved in quickly to assess the damage done and award compensation. The Collector gave us a list of those who are to be given compensation and we are annexing the list as Annexure J. We were shocked to learn that the people at Guddemol were not given any compensation for their losses, except for two families. Can this be a part of the politics of divide and rule by which the Goan Muslims are given compensation and the outsider Muslims are deprived of their rights?

It is also strange that every time the police made arrests a mob gathered demanding the release of the criminals and each time the administration gave into the demand and released them.

In December 2005 the mob gathered and demanded that the Muslims of Guddemol be stopped from renovating their mosque and the local police and Panchayat gave in to their demand even though before that time there had been no objection.

On Thursday morning a mob gathered at the police station demanding the release of those who had allegedly attacked the mosque and they were released on bail forthwith. It was after that the mob left and was not dispersed before that.

On Friday a small group of nine Hindus demanded that the Muslims should not be allowed to peacefully protest against the demolition and the SP told us that although it

was a small group they represented the sentiments of the entire community so the Muslims were denied their right to peacefully protest.

On Saturday the police arrested 70 to 80 persons for violating curfew orders under section 144 but they were released when a mob of 200 gathered and demanded their release. From the CD we saw that the ex chief minister and along with MLA had a mob behind them violating section 144 with absolute impunity from the law.

The collector, South told us that there was no co-relation between the dispersal of the mob and the release of the arrested people.

Barely a few days after the violence was the Shigmo festival. The Curchorem Municipality wrote to the District administration that since arrests were being made the situation was tense so the procession should not be allowed. However, a few days later the Municipality again told the Administration that it would be alright to take out the procession the Administration decided to go against the advice of the Municipality and thus creating suspicion in the minds of the Hindus that the Muslims were responsible for not allowing their procession.

We talked to Betty Pierara, the Municipal Councilor of Curchurem and she said that after the violence the language of the people had changed. The moment the Hindus heard that the Shigmo procession was not being allowed they were heard saying we wont allow their urs.

When we asked the Collector, South what the administration can do to allay peoples fears and prejudices and fears he said it was not the job of the administration. He said the administration only moved in when there was a question of law and order. This sounded more like the attitude of a colonial masters than the civil administration of a democratic republic.

Role of political parties and organizations

What has most shocked the people in Guddemol and the Muslims of Curchorem and Sanvordem has been that such violence should have taken place during the time when Congress party is both at the Centre and in the State. The central minister even came but he did not bother to go to the spot.

According to the Muslim community of Guddemol it was the Congress Panch Ulhas Bhandari and Sarpanch Baptista Feranandes who are responsible for the violence because they prevented an initiative to form a nagrik ekta on the issue of the mosque. The young Muslim men and women we talked to told us how the initiative taken by the Muslim Jamat in December 2005 was sabotaged by the members of the Panchayat. The Panchayat members also seemed to know something about the plans to demolish or attach the mosque because they refused to accept the stay order and asked the jamat people to bring it next day.

The Congress Party has no programme for countering the communalism and many of its MLAs and members are former members of the BJP.

We have already discussed the role of the BJP above.

The left trade unions also did not react with responsibility. The AITUC has a presence and its leaders are capable of mobilizing people on the question of communalism but they have not taken any initiative and had a rally with barely 30 people in Azad maidan.

We would like to state that the role of the Goa based Muslim organizations has been negative. One of the organizations is headed by a Muslim who is a member of the BJP. In fact many Muslims told us that they would support BJP because that would ensure that there is not violence against Muslims. Muslim leaders feel a certain helplessness because they find they do not have any political party to turn to and there is no democratic space for them to take their grievances. Electoral politics itself seems to be closing the democratic space available for democratic protests and dissent.

Goan Civil Society

It is true that the Goan civil society did come out and protest against the political violence. The women were perhaps more active on this front. However, none of their interventions on the issue of communalism can be effective unless they recognize that Goan society is divided along lines of community, caste and religion. The emphasis on the past history of communal harmony is very important but the present problems have to be acknowledged.

When we talked to the members of the civil society they had no plan for fighting the communal politics in Goa. There is a need to have greater clarity on the issue and not gloss over the harsh reality that Goa has got integrated into the Indian and world political scene. The communalism in Goa may be largely a result of electoral politics but it has got a fillip because of the rise in Islamophobia unleashed world wide by the US President Bush and his war against terror.

War Against Terror and Islamophobia

After the violence in Curchorem a few professionals, mainly from the majority community took the initiative of calling a meeting to pass a resolution on the event. One of the persons organizing this meeting told us that he felt really ashamed to be a Hindu because Goan Muslims had been attacked. He said he remembered how many lives were saved when the sheikh brothers opened their pharmacy and provided medicine or the owner of the petrol pump which was damaged provided crucial credit to a Hindu in need.

At the meeting of some 70 to 80 persons there was an attempt to pass a resolution. We talked to several persons who said that everyone agreed to pass a resolution to condemn the violence done on the Muslims. However, before the resolution could be sent to the press there was a report that a Kashmiri terrorist had been caught at Margaon and immediately most people wanted to modify the resolution.

The original paragraph read We wish to express our sincere deep regret for these series of unfortunate events which have befallen primarily upon our Muslim brothers and sister. But after the Kashmiri was arrested the people in Curchorem decided to cut out a part of the sentence and so the paragraph read: We wish to express our concern for these series of unfortunate events.

The arrest of the Kashmiri terrorist

When we asked how come the police told the media within minutes of arresting a man that he was a terrorist and subjected him to a media trial the SP (South) said that the media happened to be present at the railway station when the arrest took place.

The man arrested was not given an opportunity to call a lawyer and the media presumed him guilty even without any evidence. The media reporting and the attitude of the police had the direct result of putting fear into the Hindu minds in Curchorem. They became victims of politics of fear. The Hindu professional who had initiated this peace initiative told us he lost five friends who called him pro-Muslim and have stopped talking to him.

The challenge before the Goan civil society is to first acknowledge the ugly reality that the Sangh Parivar along with the Congress party are using the war against terror for their own electoral politics and communalizing the society and state machinery. This has resulted in the large part of the media to become party to this insidious politics leaving very little democratic space for open discussions and debate. The only way to save Goa is

to fight the politics of fear and speak out against all those who are responsible for trying to turn Goa into another Gujarat.

Recommendations

- The Government must bring out a white paper telling the people the truth about the communal violence in Sanvordem-Curchorem
- The government must take a programme against communalism
- The government must initiate a public debate on the issue of outsiders
- The government and civil society must ensure that Syed Ashraf can return home and is not framed in a false case
- An atmosphere must be created that the Muslims in Goa feel secure and are able to name the real culprits
- The Muslims of Guddemol must be allowed to offer namaz which has been stopped by the local police
- The Muslims in Guddemol must be provided with land (which they will purchase) to build a mosque so that they can exercise their right to freedom of religion.

List of Annexures

Annexure A: Letter from Dr. Pratap Naik, Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendra **Annexure B:**

- a) Letter from Sunni Jamiya Masjid Malbhat, Margao to Minister, Urban Development, Government of Goa regarding allotment of Communidade or government land to be used as kabrasthan or burial ground for entire Muslim community from Margao
- b) Election leaflet of Digambar Kamat, ex-Urban Development Minister and Congress candidate from Margao constituency including a promise to make arrangements for a burial ground

Annexure C: First Information Report regarding vandalism of Succoro masjid **Annexure D:**

- a) First information report regarding vandalism of mosque at Ekta Nagar, Mapusa
- b) Letter from Secretary, Popular Education Society, Mapusa requesting permission to conduct teaching and prayers in building purchased for community hall
- c) Order from SDM, Mapusa, asking Popular Education Society to stop prayers
- d) Report from Police Inspector, Mapusa, to SDM, Mapusa, regarding use of said building for prayers
- e) Letter from Residents of Ekta Nagar to Police Inspector, Mapusa protesting against use of building for prayers
- f) Letter from Residents of Ekta Nagar to Chairman, Popular Education Trust, requesting that prayers be conducted in said building

Annexure E: Letter from Village Panchayat, Corlim, refusing occupancy certificate to Madrasa Furqaniya

Annexure F: Letter from Undersecretary to Chief Minister to Collector, South Goa, regarding acquistion of land for kabrastan (with representation from President, Sunnat Jamaatul Islami attached)

Annexure G: Order from Directorate of Panchayats in Appeal No. 18/2006 granting stay on demolition of Guddemol mosque

Annexure H: Detailed appeal filed by Shri Ashraf Sayed against demolition notice/order by Sanvordem village panchayat

Annexure I: List of Accused Persons Arrested in Curchorem

Annexure J: List of victims in Curchorem riots and compensation sanctioned

तॉमास स्टीवन्स कोंकणी केंद्र

THOMAS STEPHENS KONKNNI KENDR

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Estd. 29-03-1982. Reg. No. 33/Goa/82 March 9, 2006

Mrs Sonia Gandhi President of Indian National Congress Party 10 Janpath Marg New Delhi – 110 001

Subject: Congress Party office bearers and supporters sow seeds of communalism and hatred in Goo

Madame,

After the liberation of Goa for the first time in some parts of Goa there was communal violence from $3^{\prime\prime\prime}$ to $5^{\prime\prime\prime}$ March 2006. The Muslim community was the target of violence. You are aware of this fact. Unfortunately this incident took place when the Congress Party is in power. Politicians always try to put the trame on other politicians. Goa will never more remain a peace loving place. What has happened in Goa is not on isolated event. It is a planned strategy to disfigure Goa's image of communal harmony and secutarism.

I am a researcher in Konknni and academician. I do not belong to any political party. Yet, on 27^{th} February thad invited at Thomas Stephene Konknni Kendr an academician from the Muslim Community and showed him a number of Konknol articles written and published against his community in the only one Konknol dality Sunaparant. I had warned him soon in Goa his community might become the target of hatrad and violence. i am not a prophet. But what I had foreseen materialized within two days. Who are responsible to sow the communal seed in peaceful Gos? The answers are many. One of the culprits is Konkani daily Sunsperant. For the past one year, this Konkoni daily has been publishing a number of articles, reports and other material against Catholics and Muslims. Every Thursday this daily publishes an article written by Mr. Subhash Velingkar, the chief of VHP and RSS in Gos. He is the headmaster of Vidya Prabhodhint Higher Secondary School, Porvorim. Besides him your own party officials Mr. Uday Bhembre and Mr. N. Shivdas write regularly to this Konkruni daily sowing the seed of communatism and hatred among the minorities. You might be under the impression that this Konkoni daily belongs to the supporters of the opposition party. Sunaparant delily belongs to your staunch supporter Mr. Dattarat Salgacoccar, mine owner and well known businessmanl -Last month I lead a delegation and met Mr. Daltaraj and brought to his notice the harm done by his daily. He promised us that he would take necessary actions. We sent him a reminder. But so far no tangible results could be seen. For your information since its inception for the test 19 years Sunaparant is used by pseudo secularists as a weapon to criticize the minority community and its members.

As an academician and a concerned citizen, I request you to bring pressure on Mr. Selgeoncer to stop immediately the articles of Subhash Velingkar and others, which promote communalism in Goa. For your ready reference I have enclosed herewith xerox copies of a few earnples of articles which promote hatred and burt the sentiments of the mixority community in Goa. I expect that for the good of Goa and to retain power for your party in Goa you would promptly act without delay before it is too late.

Thanking you,

Yours truly.

Dr. Pratap Neik, S.J. Exegutive Director

Enclosed: 1. A flat of Konkoni articles published in Sunaparent and their English translation of the titles.

Xerox copies of a few Konknni erticles published in Sunaparant

Annezwie-B

MUNICIPALITIES

From:

Carol Abdul Matin, Masjid – A- Gansia, Sirvodem - Navelim,

Goa

To,

The Minister, Urban Development, At Government Secretariat,

Panaji – Goa,

Address:

Carol Abdul Matin, Daud Electrical (Margao), 26 New Market, Margao - Goa.

Ph.: 2731026 Mob.: 9422390700

Ref.: LETTER FROM SUNNI JAMIYA MASJID MALBHAT, MARGAO, GOA DT. 19/05/05 ADDRESSED TO CHIEF OFFICER MARGAO MUNICIPAL COUNCIL REF. NO. 2397 DT. 19,05.05

Sub: Request for alloument of sufficient Communidade or Government Land around Margao to be used as Kabrasthan or Burial Ground for entire Muslim Community from Margao.

Respected Sir,

è

We the undersigned HEADS OF THE JAMATS OF ALL THE MASHDS from Margao representing the entire muslim community from Salcete Taluka would like to bring to your kind notice that the muslim community from Margao was allotted communidade land behind Se Sebastian Chaple at Aquem, situated at on top of the hill adjoining present kabrasthan or burial ground used by the muslim Community. Above land allotted is to be used as kabrasthan or Burial ground, admeasuring 99.513 Sq.mtrs. under Survey No. 52 PT Sheet No. 228 of Margao City Belonging to Communidade of Margao. Above land was allotted to us by the Resolution in GOA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY Resolution 26/05/05 (3) dt. 16-07-05 (3) dt. 16-07-99, moved by then MLA Shri DIGAMBER KAMAT of Margao constituency. Above resolution was unanimously passed by the house.

Minister for Urbitardship faced by entire muslim community are mentioned in the resolution. We would velopment. Fisheries like to put up our difficulties to your office for your kind consideration.

— Canventional Energy.

glevarament of Gos-1. Kabrasthan or Burial ground is being used by the entire muslim community from Salcete Taluka and is located at Pajifond, Margao on top of steep & Rocky Hill was donated by a muslim family to the muslim community more than 120 years

- Road reaching the kabrasthan is a very narrow single road with a steep gradient without any corpus end one cannot reach the kabrasthan on cycle, motor cycle or motor car due to steep gradient.
- People with advance age, or with heart element i.e. sick and old age people cannot reach the kabrasthan to offer their prayers or to observe or to carry out last rites to their near and dear one's.
- Due to the steep gradient it is very very difficult to take the Zanaza up the hill to the kabrasthan for burial.
- 5. Entire kabrasthan or burial ground is of hard rock. Since there is no proper approach road one cannot transport any machinery in order to dig the fresh grave. Even sometimes it takes more than 24hrs, to dig the graves. After digging the graves in hard rock there is shortage of mud to burry the body. One cannot transport mud up to kabrasthan due to bad approach road.
- 6. There is no place to dig fresh graves as there is scarcity of land Dead Bodies are being buried in graves were partly decomposed bodies exist un decomposed body parts such as bones, hairs, parts of organs are removed part by part and fresh bodies are buried with parts of undecomposed body.
- 7. Whenever dead bodies is taken for burial it so happens that the relatives of the previously dead persons are also present to attend the burial on realizing that the graves of their near and dear ones are reopened for another burials, there are objectives and many times exchange of words takes place, and it is very difficult to handle such situation.

Finding of the resolution: On hearing the condition of the burial ground and listening to the grievances of the muslim community put forward by the MLA SHRI DIGAMBAR KAMAT. This house has passed the resolution unanimously and this house strongly recommends the government to allot the communidade land admeasuring 99.513 sq.mtrs. under survey No. 52 PT Sheet No. 223 of Margao city belonging to Margao communidade to the entire muslim community of Margao under resolution No.: 26/5.05 (3) dt. 16.07.1999.

But till date no land for kabrasthan for burial ground is being allotted to muslim community.

We there for request THE MINSTER-URBAN DEVELOPMENT to look into the matter and request the chief Officer of Margao Municipal Council to carry out the inspection of the kabrasthan to find out the facts and details as regards to the scarcity of land and other material facts mentioned in our letter.

We further request THE MINISTER-URBAN DEVELOPMENT to take up the matter for acquisition with the Collector South Goa, kindly acquire the same and hand over the land to the Heads of the Jamats of all masjids from Mergao – Goa.

We there for request you and your good office to look into the difficulties and problem faced by the entire Muslim Community from Margao in particular and Salcete in General and do the needful to earliest.

Thanking you. CABOUL MATTIN CAROL) Yours faithfully, panaj, Place: Date:09/08/05 Attached copy of application dt. 19.05.05 bertai Jamptul Muslamia (Adk I. Banduoda) MOUHAMMAD SHARIF 2 Monte 3 Doggor AQUEM SULENDNICHOUR (
adrassa
velin

CABdulwahad Gokak) For Sunni Almadina Islamiya Madrassa - Housing Board, Dayorlim Navelim SECRETARY BUDICE 3 CHEANT , SO



A GLANCE AT THE DEVELOPMENT WORK IN MADGANV

AREA OF WORK	COLUMN TO SETAILS TO A COLUMN TO SETAILS
A. ROADS	 The roads listed below have now been widehed, thus making commuting along them easier, fester end safer: Madgany-Aquem Road Eastern Bye Pass Entrance to Madgany from Verna Road from Kadamba Circle to Fatorda. Storm water drains have been constructed for all major roads in Madgany. This will avoid water logging and will eneure that roads last longer. The road connecting Verde Valaulikar Road to Pedre Miranda Road is fest nearing, completion. Work on the Ring Road has alreedy commenced and will be in full swing soon. Land acquisition proceedings for the Western Bye Pass are nearing completion and construction work will be taken up very soon. A number of halfic Islands have been constructed to regulate and systemise the flow of traffic in Madgany. All the important footpaths have been re-fald thus ensuring the safety of pedestrians and smooth traffic flow.
B. FLOOD CONTROL	 During the rains floods have always affected Old Market and other low-lying areas in Madgany. The following measures have been undertaken to counter this: Desirbed natiahs and have constructed, special water channels to drain excessive floodweters, at Old Market and Majibhat. Work for another such natiah at Colcondem is in progress.
C. BRIDGES	 The construction work on the following 3 important bridges connecting Madgany has been undertaken and is needing completion. Along the Madgany-Benaulim Road at Khareband. Along the Madgany-Guepern Road at Rewarford. Along the Madgany-Colve Road at Mungul. All three of them will be commissioned before the onset of the monsoon.
D. ELECTRICITY	 The Monte Hill sub-station has been commissioned, which is instrumental in reducing breakdowns and in improving the quality of power to the citizans of Madgans. This has been connected to Verna by a new 33 KV double-circuit line to provide another backup source in case of amerigencies. Madgans is now serviced by 3 sub-stations and a fourth one is fast coming up near the Korkan Railway Station. Improved comminication, delivery and support systems have made it simpler and fester for electrical consumers to get prompt and effective service in case of breakdowns. The following measures have contributed to this: Fully equipped Mobile Repair Squads with dedicated vehicles and wireless communication equipment to attend and reality faults at short notice. Mobile transformers to ensure immediate revival of power in case of transformer failures. Well-married Control Centres to monitor all repair and maintenance works thereby reducing the response time to complaints. Practically all areas of Madgans have been provided with superior Halogen street lighting, which has added to the security and comfort lavels of the citizen of Madgans. Computerisation of billing procedures is a very major step in the modernisation of the Electricity Department, making it possible for the power consumer to get regular and accurate bills. Work on the Underground Distribution System for Madgans city under the APDRP scheme has almedy been awarded to "Larsen & Toubro". The project will cost fis, 37 crores and will be completed in 1 Vs year.
D. SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT	 A Memorandum of Understanding has been signed with "Gos Foundation" to treat solid waste at the existing site at Sonsordo. The site will also be converted into a green area, thus removing a festering blot from the face of Madgany and achieving a permanent solution to this perennial problem.

}	TAANSPORT	An ultra-modern bus terminus and
:	·	An ultra-modern bus terminus at the present KTC terminus has been proposed. Land has already been acquired and the detailed Project Raport (OPR) is under Land ecculation. Land ecculation.
ı	G. PERMANENT EXHIBITION	Land acquisition to the
	GROUND	 Land acquisition to the tune of 38,000 sq mts for the public exhibition ground to be end will also include a direction.
:	H. SEWERAGE	Though the analysis of displaced to the rehabilitation of displaced to terminus
	ļ	Complete asserberage network and seizertine trial
		Unidertake a chick of
i	I. DISTRICT HOSPITAL	A new pite 4
. 1	J. BEAUTIFICATION	to load game, Pre-scruletten a service load of the property of the service services and the services are serviced as the service are serviced as the serviced are serviced are serviced as the servi
1	`	The beardings and squares in Madragov have have
, t	K. CULTURE	The beautification of Anatonta is progressing at a rapid pace. This will be one of the city and the pride of avery citizen of Medgany. Construction work at the Pose.
1	vocidne	and the facility of the Hawndra Bhaven she is not
· } L	BURIAL GROUND FOR MUSLIMS	
h#		Cong-
, J.,	. MOCK TEHMINUS	Land for a truck terminus with all support sendon.
i		Land for a truck terminus with all support services has already been acquired near the whotesale fish market. The Detailed Project Report (DPR) is under preparation and
- 1 N.	WATER SUPPLY	The water represent
. [and connected to the existing water supply network; has proved to be a boon for all
. f	-	To solve and the solve like control in the solve to the s
- 1	<u> </u> *	and will be constructed on Words fell constructed of Gapacity
ļ	7	Senctioned and the sent the se
		sanctioned and tenders have already been called for. This work will also been on a wait footing, so that supply of water to all Madgariy will set be interested by the called for.
0.8	PORT	on a war foculing, so that supply of water to all Madigariv will also be taken up in the ventuality of extended disruptions in the supply from Salaulim.
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1	1 1	Madgany with a dedicated area for walking, logging and exercising to botter health, he early morning. Laying of the track surface for the convenience are night and in so being compared to the track surface for the convenience and night and in
·	j a	so being compared by the track surface for the conventions and in
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ļ	• Pi	Storde with modern technique have been initiated for the proposed strificial lake at opposels for land sequisition have been and other water sports.
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1	of	the Electronic Committee objects has been been been been been been been bee
ļ	i an	
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ÁME	ENTRES toli	ariy 700 free water supply taps, 300 free electric connections and 350 community shifting of the water supply taps, 300 free electric connections and 350 community.
f	* The	ets have been provided to the needy end underprivileged to the citizens of Madgarw, shifting of the wholesale market to its new site has removed a major traffic tension of the centre of the city.
1	I * Stre	Amiliation of the city.
	town	Memilining of the functioning of SGPDA Market and decongestion of the city by and a line general bottompert of Medgamy.
		made at made and made at the state of the st
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VOTE FOR DIGAMBER KAMAT

VOTE FOR CONGRESS

FIRST INFORMATION REPORT Annexus C

. (Under Section 154 Cr. RC.)

(iii) *Act: *Sections *Sections (iv) *Other Acts & Sections: 3. (a) *Occurrence of Offence: Mitting Acts * Sections (b) Information received at P.S. Date (c) General Diary Reference: Entry No. (s) Time (d) Time (e) Time (e) Discretion and Distance from P.S. (iii) *Address: **Section (iii) **Address: **Section (iii) **Address: **Section (iiii) **Address: **Address: **Section (iiii) **Address: **Address: **Section (iiii) **Address: **Addr		i) *Act:*Soctions
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8. Reasons for delay in reporting by the Complainant/Informant:	7. I	\$9 \$ \$\$\$\$\$

	CONT.
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10.	*Total value of properties stolen, involved:
	*Inquest Report/U.D. Case No., if any:
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	Address
13.	Action taken: Since the above report reveals commission of offence (s) u/s as
	mentioned at Item No. 2, registored the case and took up the investigation/
	/directed* to take up the
	Investigation/transferred to P.S
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i,	F. I. R. read over to the Complainant/Informant, admitted to be correctly recorded and a copy given to the Complainant/Informant free of cost.
i,	F. I. R. read over to the Complainant/Informant, admitted to be correctly recorded and a copy given to the Complainant/Informant free of cost.
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:. 14.	F. I. R. read over to the Complainant/Informant, admitted to be correctly recorded and a copy given to the Complainant/Informant free of cost. Signature of the Officer-in-charge, Police Station
	F. I. R. read over to the Complainant/Informant, admitted to be correctly recorded and a copy given to the Complainant/Informant free of cost. Signature of the Officer-in-charge, Police Station Signature/Thumb impression Name: White A. Complainant/Informant of the Complainant/Informant.

" Annexwe-D

INFORMATION REPORT

[Under Section 154 Cr. P. C.] Day 10 of 10/05 Time 11.20 115. *Written/Orgi mother and Distance from P.S. 2 Je m. into Police Station, then the name of P. S. . (d) Nationality . Tridian grown accused with full particulars (Attack separate sheet if the Completengt, Inferogent .

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9. Particulars of proportion stolen involved outlied separate sheet, if recess

10. *Total value of accounting and
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13. Action taken. Since the above report reveals commission of offence to u. s. as many
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S. Dis

From:-Nizamodin Aga, Secretary, Popular Educational Trust, Ektanagaar,

Mapusa-Bardez

Şir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that our Trust has purchased one house at Ektanagar for the purpose of using it as community building for the benefit of the community members in general.

Dated 20th September, 2005.

The members of our community residing nearby have approached us with the request to start in the said building teaching of Urdu and Arabic languages and learning of prayers for their children.

In this connection, we are pleased to inform you that we do wish to start teaching of Urdu and Arabic languages as also teaching of prayers to the children of our community, as desired by them.

Further, we wish to inform you that, from the ensuing Holy month of Ramzan, we wish to allow, as per the request of the residents of the area to offer their prayers in the said building, as it becomes quite tedious for them to walk a long distance in order to attend their prayers in the mosques of the city of Mapusa.

We will be highly obliged if Your Honor will kindly give us permission to hold teaching of Urdu and Arabic languages and prayers of Namaz in the said building for the benefit of the residents of the area.

Thanking you in anticipation

Yours sincerely.

((Nizamodin Agu)

IN THE COURT OF DY.COLLECTOR AND SDM, MAPUSA-GOA Case No.SDM/MAP/MAG/ 1/ 2005

STATE :-

· Complainant

Rep. By P.I. Mapusa-Goa

V/s .

I) Shri Nizamuddin Aga,

Secretary, & Other Members
Popular Education Trust,
I.T. No. 9/285/B Ekts Nagar, Mapusa, Bardez-Goa.

 Girish Kunkolkar and other residents of Ekta nagar, Mapusa-goa.

.....Respondents

ORDER

This office had received a report from P.1 Mapusa, vide report No. Pl/MAP/10432/05 dated 6/10/205 wherein, the P.I. Mapusa has reported that on the intervening night between 5/10/205 to 6/10/205 at 22.30 hrs to 6.00 hrs at H.No. 9/285/B/ Ekta Nagar Mapusa, that some unknown culprit trespassed into the said house and set fire to the plastic mats, damaged the compound wall constructed structures etc. belonging to the respondent No 1.

It is also been reported in the said report of P.I. Mapusa that he also received one written application from the residents of Ekra Nagar, Mapusa on 5/10/2005, requesting to step the illegal Madrasa/Masjit Activities in residential area of Ekta Nagar and they have also stated in the complaint that there is every possibility of religious conflict between the two communities.

Pe

and it is revealed that the said the first that the conducted the entainment it is revealed that the said that the said that the said that the said was being used as a community building vertex and the place in view of Plans.

At the first that continued at this said there is hardined of communal tension of the locality as there is strong the basic premises.

The Police Inspector, acquired to make members of the trust not to conduct any acquired in the said to make the trust not to conduct any acquired in the said to make the said order problem and conduct any acquired in the said the said stick said groups

Both the groups was remained on 6/10/205 at 4.30 pair. The first section of the hearing. Sindiagonal to the hearing sindiagonal to the hearing sindiagonal to the hearing.

Both the parties was observed that the needs activities to slop the activities, which asserted.

Mapusa, however, he of a special to the state of the continued there is going to be disturbanced.

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From the perusal of overall facts and circumstances in the matter 1 on sanisfied from the report of Police Inspector. Mapage and also after a series both the porties, the possibility of law and order cannot be ruled on and therefore to avoid any law and order and to avoid any communal tension, and to maintain communal harmony peace and transporting. I was forced to pass the following order:

OPDER

The Secretary of Nizamuddin Aga & its members of Footiles and a 11-18-19 78538 Ekta Nagar, Mapusa are directed to stop the admittee which are alleged to have being started in the premises of respondent No. 3 mater Conferenceders.

monounded in the presence of both the parties

while on under my hand and seal of this court on this 6th day of October

2008

* Dy Corjuents:
Dy Collector & SOM
Mapusa-Gog

Kiroth the above Respondents, to comply with the above order strictly

tivities to the

FrSDPO Mapusa-Goa NFT Mapusa-Goa

No. PMAP/ 10432 (2011). lebipusa Police station,

The Sub - Divisional Magistrat Мириза - Сод.

NOTOS NO TO BOTT 500 & 50M

Šub : Report....

Ref. Mepusa P.S. Ct. No. 192705 and

90 COLUMNIE

Sá,

06 0CT 2005 Today offence vides this P.S. Ct. No. 192/05 u/s 447 435 427 IPC is registered on the complaint of shel Nizamuckin Aga, secretary, Popular Education Trust, H.No. 9/285/B Elita Nagar, Mapusa Bardez Goa., that on intervening night of 5.10.2005 in 6.10元第5万法 \$2.30 hrs to 06.00 hrs at H. No. 9/285/B Bkta Nagar Mapesa sound making war chilprits trespass in to the H.No. 9/285/B and set fire to the plastic mais, damaged the compound wall, constructed structures etc. belonging to above mentioned Arust,

On 05/16/2005 received uritien application from residents of Ekuta Magar. Mapusa, requesting to stop illegal Madrasa / Masjid Activities in residential area of Ekate roger. They further stated that there is every possibility of religious conflict petween the two communicies (Copy of the application enclosed). On 20%2/2005 Shri Nammodin Age ,Scardary , Popular Eductional trust, Electrospe-Mapusa made written application to the Addi. Collector Mapusa Bordez responsing to give permission to hold receiving of Urdu and Arabac language, and learning of prayers. for the benefit of the residence of the area (copy enclosed).

Conducted a quiries and it is reavented that the said premises belongs to one $\mathbb{N}a.$ Roy Fermandes and was purchased by the above Trust, and was being used as a Constituting building centre and Prayers I Namez are carried out at this place in view of Ramzan . If such activities are continued at this place there is likelihood of communal riots in the locality. As there is strong objection by the residence of Ekta Nagar in respect of Cus

It is therefore kindly requested to order the said Nizamudia Aga and other members of the trast not to conduct any activities in the said place, which will load $E\in\mathcal{E}$ anajor law and order problem and communal tension.

Yours forthfully

Inspector, Mapusa Police Station

Copy submitted to SP (M) Pervering SDPO Mapusa ;

PROMIS RESIDENCE OF EXTENDISHOR , MARINER GOAD OF ...

70.

THE POLICE INSPECTOR HAPUSA POLICE STATION. MAPUSA- GOA

SUB: REQUEST TO STOP ILLEGAL HADARSA/ MASJID ACTIVITIES IN RESIDENCE AREA AT ELTA MAGAR

Dear Sir,

the Religious Muslim Madaisis cum Masjid is stantise in Residential house at Extender colony Mapuer.

As here are the objacity of flow new idents are. Indus, it will be body affected in near Fature. There is a every possibility that this will lead to religious conflict in between the two communities.

You are therefore Kindly requested to Enquire whether the neccessary permission from Competent Archaette have been obtained for starting such above activities in the residential house. As per our knowledge this residential house bunglow was belong to one No. Key Fernandes and Suprisingly it is conveited into Madaisa folas jid.

Further it is informed that there is adverty. One Hosque existing nearby our colony (extension) within one kilometer. As Such we feel that there is no need of such Maders af Masjid at this Residential area.

In order to Avoid the disturbances intertween two Communities, it is kindly requested to take recreasing action to prevent such types of illegal activities going on ... We topse you with do the medfull in the matter at the contest as possible.

P.To.

Kindly treat This issue as a Somes matter or Yours Faithfully Residents Or Extending Polling - Light 763 5-R. Some and 65 Nilly Solder Omask ! Eddison of Gare Mount V. G. chalanna Glich Kurkolkar Navanally Vernetar Booksn x con N.S.K. Kongwikac 5.6 Sammen. C. C. Kaibetka 5. 5. Shittown 1.5 look M. B. FrAnci Pulle L. pers De Hackoll

To The chairman, Popular Educational Trust, Ektanagar, Mapusa-Sardoz.

Date:-20/00/2005

Sir.

Wo, the undersigned residents of Housing board & Ektanogar understand that your Trust has purchased one community building in this locality for the baneat of our community in general.

In this consection we would like to inform you that there is an urgent need to provide study of prayer and Quran for the community residing nearby. Also the resident of this area have to walk a long sloppy distance in order to attend to regular prayers in the mesques of the city of Mapuse.

As such,we would be highly obliged if you permit us to start teaching of Guren and learning of Prayers in one of the half of your above said building and also to offer prayers from the ensuing hely month of Ramazan.

We earnnessly hope that our request shall deserve your due consideration and we thank you in anticipation.

Your Gr.N	o słocerejy, O Mamo	alita adam
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Annexure E

VILLAGE PANCHAYAT CORLIM

TISWADI ~ GOA Ph. No. : 286455

Kel. NO. NP/CORIO2004 - 4003/ (3-16) 676-

Date _28/09/2502-

Is, Mr. Abdul Gami, P/A. Holder to Madrasa Furqaniya, Akshay Nagar, Çorum, Thas - Goa.

Sub: Occupancy Cortificate.

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With reference to your letter dtd. 29/07/2002 and received by this Office on 01/08/2002, it is to inform you that the said letter is incomplete (i.e.) it does not bear proper derivey Number. On the letter it is shown as Survey No. 21 and on the Xerox legg of Livense issued by this Fanchayat it is shown as Survey No. 25/1. Also the interletion Contificate issued by the Architect Sandeep S. Gaonkar it is shown as Ground Floor Building constructed by Mr. Madrasa Firquinya at P.D.A. Plot Corlin in Survey No. 23.

The matter has been checked with Diffice records and it does not fally with the Diffice records.

The matter has been placed before the meeting. This Village Panchayat has received objection from the residents of Corlin complaining for construction of a religious structure in the residential area.

In the meeting hold on 28/09/2002, having gone through the objections from the villagers of Corlin this Panchayat has decided to call for a Gram Sabha inorder to know the purpose of public in general which is connected to your religious institution

With the objection on record, una Villaga Panchayst cannol consider your signs. So Occupancy Cartificate to the project designated as Construction of mid-raint fromst in Sy. No. 25/1 by Mr. Modrasa Purganiya.

The Occupancy Certificate requested by you is kept in abeyance for the reason that me documents submitted by you are incomplete and not related to the License issued by this Village Panchayat and due to the objection from Residents of Corlim

Yours faithfully

(Purificitian R. Dhuley

4-20-02-02-02



NO:1-4-99/CM//49

Office of see Chief Minister.
Consented of Cons.
Secretarial.
Panelli Gos.

Pated:0/9/09

 $\begin{array}{c} \mathrm{Phenos}_{\mathrm{B},\mathrm{T}} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \mathrm{725070} \ \mathrm{eOst}_{\mathrm{B},\mathrm{P}} \\ \mathrm{731709} \ \mathrm{eOss}_{\mathrm{B}} \end{array} \right. \end{array}$

To,
The Collector(South),
South Goa Collectorate Office,
Margao-Goa.

Sir,

I am directed by the Mon'ble Chief Minister to forward herewith a representation from the President Sunnat Jamaill Islami, resident of Guddemol, Savordem regarding acquisition of land for a Khabristan and Madarasa Masjid with a marginal remark from Hon ble Chief Minister for necessary action.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

(PATRICK MENDES)
Under Secretary to Chief Minister

Encl:a/a

C.C: to The President,
Sunnat Jamatul Islamia,
Guddemol, Sanvordem-Goa.

Date: 20/1/2005

To The Collector (South), South Goa Collectorate Unrice, Margao, Goa,

-Sir,

11 de 17

Sub: Acquisition of land for khabristan and Madrass/has jid, at Guddemol, Savardem, Gos.

this has reference to the letter No. 1-4-39/Co/149 dated 1.9.1999 of Non'ble Chief Minister, Covt. of Goa, edgressed to you and copy tome. But I regret to state that nothing has been heard from your end as yet though the period of more than 5 years passed. The copy of the said letter is annexed herewith for your ready reference.

Since the matter is pending for long time, we hereby request you to kindly look into the matter and alot us send for above purpose.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully .

(Sayet Ashraf) Fresident.

Maximo

Macained on April 105

Shri Ashraf Sayed Major, married,

2. Alile Sunnat Jamat I'l Islamiya

A Society registered under the Act

Societies Registration Act at pamajist iss. Through its President Shri Ashraf Sayed

Both with address for service at

House No. 1083/30, Guiddemol

Village Panchayat of Sauvordem,

Spavordem-Goa, 🐇

V/\$

The Village Panchayal of Sanvorden Through its Sarpanch Sanyordem, Sanguem-Goa.

Take notice that the above named Appellant has filed an Appeal under Section 66 (7) of the Goa Panchayat Raj Act, 1964, (Copy coclosed),

On hearing the Advacate for the Appellant, the ACM Directors I has passed the following Orders-

Order

Heard Adv Amira Razasi daly authorized, enemted and advanced her case for grant of an ex-panic stay, she stated that the structure slated for demolition bare H.No. (023 30 and lay at Confidence! Sanvorders for the last 35 years or so, House tax is regularly being paid. Frima facie there appears to be no case for funnediate demolition, hig- prate stay is hereby granted until further unders against demolition Notice under VPS 3.4 NV Demolition Notice 2005-06/1018

The Adv. for appellants underlied, to serve copy of the appeal mentional notice to the respondent.

lasiro notice for attendance on 28 6-253M at 3.100 p.m. at 3.00 p.m. Fixed for teply on appeal mento.

WIREREAS frequing has been fixed in the above fination on 28-5-2006 at 3,00 pant in the chamber of the Additional director of Panchavat-L, Innia House, $3^{\rm rd}$ Lift, $3^{\rm rd}$ Fluor,

You are, therefore, required to remain present in person or BS your duly authorized agent pleader on the aforesaid date time and place failing which the matter will be

Given under my liand and the seal of this office on this 1.1 day of Mirroll 2006.

Beth the parties,

To,

Through the Black Development Office Sammon to the Village Panchayat Secretary, Village Pan-flayat Sanyordem for service and relin-

REFORE THE DIRECTOR OF PANCHAYATS, JUNTA HOUSE , III'^{RO} FLOOR, PANAJI

Panchayat Appeal no. /2006

- SHR1 ASHRAF SAYED Major, married
- 2. AHLE SUNNAT JAMAT UL ISLAMIYA
 A society registered under the Societies Registration
 Act, at Panaji Goa
 Through its President Shn Ashraf Sayed
 Both with address for service at
 House no. 1083/30, Guddemol,
 Village Panchayat of Sanvordem
 Sanvordem, Goa

Appellants

V/s

The Village Panchayat of Sanvordem Through its Sarpanch, Sanvordem, Sanguem - Gos

Respondent

APPEAL UNDER SECTION 66 OF THE PANCHAYAT RAJ ACT, 1994 AGAINST DMOLITION NOTICE/ORDER BEARING NO. VPS/SANV/DEMOLITION NOTICE/ORDER 2005-06/1018 DATED 24/2/2006 PASSED BY THE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT OF SANVORDEM.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR

The Appellants state and submit as under;

- The Appellants impugn herein the demolition notice /order bearing no. VPS/SANV/DemolitionNotice/Order 2005-06/1018 dated 24/2/2006 passed by the Village Panchayat of Sanvordem, Sanguem, Goa. The certified copy of the same is annexed hereto as EXHIBIT A.
- 2. The said order was passed pursuant to Show Cause notice no. VPS/SAN/Show cause Notice/2005-06/697 dated 23/1/2006, which was replied to by the Appellants. Copy of the notice and reply are

annexed hereto as EXHIBIT B COLLY. The Appellants also challenge the show cause notice dated 23/1/2006.

- 3. The Appellants state that by the impugned notice and order, the Village Panchayat of Sanvordem, Respondent herein, has directed demolition within 7 days, of the madrasa (school), where prayers are conducted and also spiritual education is given to the children of the muslim populace of Guddemol for the past more than 35 years. The said structure admeasures about 120 square meiers and is located partly in Survey no. 37/1 and partly in Survey no. 37/2 of Guddemol, Village Panchayat of Sanvordem.
- 4. The Appellants state that the entire locality in the said survey nos. 37/1 and 37/2 consist of a small hamlet of poor and down trodden sections of society of various religious denominations, who have been living in harmony for more than 35 years. The entire survey no. 37/1 and 37/2 consists of revenue land which is recorded in the name of the Government. There are more than 300 families living in the said hamlet. There are hindus, Christians as well as muslims living in peace in the said locality.
- 5. The Appellants state that most of the persons living in Guddemol are landless labour who are working in the nearby mining concessions and at other places in Sanvordem and Curchorem.
- 6. The Appellants state that the nearest masjid and madrasa is located at Curchorem at a distance of about 6 kilometers, from Guddemol. At that time is more than 35 to 40 years ago, there was no public transport available to the inhabitants of Guddemol, and due to poverty the inhabitants could not afford their own private transport. Therefore, the Appellant no. I along with the other persons had started the madrasa / religious school for the purpose of convenience of the muslim community in Guddemol, in the said structure bearing

House no. 1083/30, which is being carried on peacefully since more than 35 years. The Appellant no. 2 is the Jamat (urdu expression) which means local community, for the benefit of which the said madrasa and school was started.

- 7. Eventually, the said jamat was formally registered as a society under the Societies Registration Act, in 1860, in the year 2004. The registration address of the said society is also clearly mentions the address as House no. 1083/30 of the Village Panchayat of Sanvordera. A copy of the Memorandum of Association is annexed hereto as EXB C.
- 8. The Appellants state that similarly, about 6 months back, in order to cater to their spiritual needs, the hindu community of Guddemol, have constructed a temple within a distance of about 300 meters of the said madrasa. The said temple is a new structure which was constructed by filling up an old excavated quarry which existed at the said site. The remnants of the said quarry are still visible at the site.
- 9. The Appellants state that there are various other structures that have come up in Guddernol in the past 2 years. There is a house constructed by the Sarpanch Baptist Fernandes within 150 meters, of the said madrasa. There are liquor bars and hotels besides other commercial establishments and residences, all in the same survey numbers within a radius of 300 meters of the said madrasa. The Appellants state that some of these structures are old ones, but there are several new structures which have come up close to the said madrasa, within full knowledge of the Village Panchayat and the authorities.
 - 10. The Appellants state that the structure of the said madrasa was a kutcha structure which due to passage of time, had become extremely dilapidated. The Appellant no. I therefore applied for permission for

repairs of the same. Thereafter, the Appellants with the contributions of the local muslims carried out minor repairs to the structure within the original plinth area, a few months back and much prior to the issuance of the said notice. These are facts which are well within the knowledge of the Respondent/Village Panchayat and the authorities. The Appellants annex hereto the No objection certificate for bouse repairs in respect of House no. 1083/30 issued to the Appellant no. I by the Respondent, as EXB D. Copy of house tax receipt is also annexed hereto as EXB E.

- 11.Despite knowing all these facts and knowing fully well that the said structure stands registered for house tax in the name of the Appellant no.1, the Respondent deliberately issued the notice bearing no. VPS/SANV/Illegal construction/2005-06/628 dated 27/12/2005 dated 27/12/2005, to one Anarbi Adam Khan.
- 12. The Appellants state that the said Anarbi Khan replied to the said notice stating that no illegal construction was carried out by her and further stated that the madrasa was an existing structure where the local muslim community was conducting educational activities and teaching the Holy Quran under the banner of "Ahle Sunnat Jamat U!

 Islamiya". It was clearly stated by Smt. Anarbi Khan that the said facts were well within the knowledge of the local people. The respondent was also requested to refer the matter to the Appellant no.

 2.
 - 13. The Appellants state that, inspite of the knowing all the abovementioned facts, the Respondent, issued the notice dated 23/1/2006 (EXB B) to the Appellant no. 2. The notice was not handed over to the Appellant no. 1 but was left outside the door and at the foot of the notice, the Respondent made a hand written note that that they had enclosed a copy of the alleged "panchnama, sketch and drawing etc."

show cause notice, the Appellants state that they learnt of the said panchnama, sketch, drawing etc which was purportedly carried out behind their backs. However, no copy of the panchnama, sketch, drawing, or any report etc accompanied the show cause notice. It is not even known as to what the expression "etc" mentioned in the nonce refers to. The Appellants replied to the said notice by their reply dated 27/1/2006. However, despite receipt of the said reply and despite having all records regarding the said structure in their custody, the Respondents have issued the order of demolition at EXB A. The time of 7 days period stipulated in the order expires on 2nd March, 2006.

15. The Appellants state that about 6 years back, in order to improve health and sanitation, and to cater to the basic necessities of the muslim community, the Village Panchayat has also renovated the old existing toilet annexed to the said madrasa, which is located on the southern side. Though at present the said toilet is also badly in need of repairs, no repairs have been done to the said toilet due to lack of funds. A bare visit to the said locality will reveal that the structure of the madrasa has been repaired, but the toilet continues in its old state.

16. The Appellants further state that it is also fully within the knowledge of the Government and the authorities that the Appellants have been pursuing the issue regarding their madrasa and burial ground (kabarastan) for the past more than 7 years.

17. The Appellants state that taking into consideration, the needs and requirements of the backward and poor persons living in Guddemol, the State Government has also started a 20 point programme in Guddemol, which is situated at a distance of about 4-5 kilometers from Sanvordem main center.

- Survey no. 37/2 just adjacent to the road, at about 50 meters from the said madrasa. The government has also set up a water tank, electricity and telecommunications etc. in the locality. The offices of the Forest Department are located on the opposite side of the road in Survey no. 37/1.
 - 19. The Appellants state that on 9th April, 2004, the residents of Guddemol, had represented to the Hon'ble Governor, the Hon'ble Chief Minister and also other authorities requesting for the regularization of their houses and plots situated on the said land.
 - 20. The Appellants state that the entire problem has arisen because, of , late some persons have been trying to inflame communal tensions in the area and have filed a false complaint against the Appellants herein.

 The impugned demolition order arises out of the said false complaint.
 - 21. The Appellants state that the impugned demolition order is contrary to the facts and the law and is clearly made with the ulterior motive of instigating communal violence in the locality where hindus, muslims and Christians have been living peacefully for more than 3 decades.
 - 22. The Appellants challenge herein the impugned show cause notice dated 23/1/2006 and the demolition order dated 24/2/2006 on the following amongst other grounds which are urged without prejudice to one another.

The impugned order of demolition is not founded on the records and is in fact contrary to the records maintained by the Respondent.

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The impugned order is purportedly based on the complaints of certain persons which were never furnished to the Appellants berein. The said correctness of the said purported complaints was never investigated by the Respondent. The Respondent has presumed that the said purported complaints were true and correct and has proceeded to issue the notice (Exb B) on the presumption that the structure is illegal.

IV

The Respondent has carried out a purported panchuama, sketch, drawing relied upon by it, behind the back of the Appellants. The same is an absolute violation of the principles of natural justice. No copy of the purported panchuama, nor of the purported sketch or drawings etc. was ever furnished to the Appellants herein.

V

The Respondent has in its records clear mention of the House no. 1083 in the name of the Appellant no. 1 herein. Despite having the record in its custody, the Respondent has not bothered to verify the same and has proceeded to act upon the purported complaints and instigations of some people.

VI

The Respondent has acted with a mind that is clearly made up and with an inherent bias against the Appellants herein, for reasons best known to it.

The Respondent is fully aware that the survey no. 37/1 and 37/2 are recorded in the revenue records in the name of the government and that all the structures existing thereon are occupied by poor landless persons. The Respondent is also fully aware that it has even allotted house numbers to various structures on the said land. Despite this fact, it is surprising that the Respondent has chosen to single out the Appellants herein to target them and issue the said show cause notice as also the demolition order. This is a clear indication that the intentions of the Respondent in issuing the show cause notice and the consequential order of demolition are not bonafide.

VIII

The Appellants submit that the question of ownership has no relevance as far as legality of a structure is concerned. Therefore, whether the land is granted or not cannot be the basis to hold or decide whether the structure is legal or illegal. Hence, the reasoning in the impugned order of demolition is baseless in law.

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The Respondent has not conducted any inquiry prior to issuance of the impugned order of demolition.

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The Respondent has acted with mainfides and bias against the Appellants herein.

ΧI

The Respondent has flouted all principles of natural justice while issuing the show cause notice as well as the demolition order.

 The impugned order of demolition has caused grave miscarriage of justice.

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No personal hearing was given to the Appellants by the Respondents.

XIV

The show cause notice contains inherent contradictions and is bad in law.

XV

The demolition order is contrary to the provisions of Section 66 of the Act, which provides that the demolition of a structure may be ordered if the same is without permission or is contrary to law, which situation does not exist in the present case.

XVI

The impugned order is arbitrary and is violative of Article 14 of the Constitution of India.

XV∐

At para 2 of the Resolution 3 of its monthly meeting dated i3/2/2006, the Respondent has stated that "... there is no house no allotted to any such old structure by this village panchayat ..." is totally contrary to the record.

The said ground is also not part of the show cause notice at EXB B.

XVIII

Further, at para 3 of the said Resolution dated 13/2/2006, the Respondent refers toteh Appellant no. 2 "or any other person".

This clearly shows that the Respondent is fully aware from its own records that, besides the Appellant no. 2, the Appellant no. i is also vitally concerned and directly interested. However, no notice was ever issued to the Appellant no. 1, which clearly speaks of the intentions of the Respondent.

XIX

Any other ground in the facts and circumstances of the case.

- 23. The Appellants rely on the entire record of the area Guddemol, in custody of the the Respondent.
- 24. The Appellants state that the impugned demolition order dated 24/2/2006 was band delivered by the Secretary of the Respondent to the Appellant no. 1 herein. Hence, the present appeal is within time.
- 2.5. As the impugned demolition order at EXB A directs demolition within a period of 7 days, the Appellants pray that this Hon'ble Cours be pleased to grant exparts stay of the impugned order. A separate stay application is also filed alongwith.

PRAYER

The Appellants therefore pray that this Hon'ble Court be pleased to kindly:

- A) Quash and set aside the impugned demolition order dated 24/2/2006 at EXHIBIT A and also quash and set aside the impugned show cause notice dated 23/1/2006 at EXHIBIT B.
- B) Such other and further orders as this Hon'ble Authority deems just, fit and proper in the facts and circumstances of the case.

Panaji

1st March, 2006

Appellants

AFFIDAVIT

4. Shri Ashraf Sayyed, major, married, residing at House no. 1083/30, Guddemol, Village Panchayat of Sanvordem, do hereby on solemn affirmation state that the contents of paras

Of the foregoing appeal are true to my knowledge and the records and the contents of paras

Are my submissions on legal advice.

Solemnly affirmed at Panaji on

This day of March, 2006

DEPONENT.

identified by:

Advocate A. A. Razaq

ANNEXURE 'A'

ACCUSED PERSONS ARRESTED.

Following accused persons have been arrested so far in Curchorem P.S. Cr.No. 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 27, 29 and 30/2006.

- 1. Sandeep Govind Naik
- Sanjay G. Naik, Both r/o Sangiri Kakoda.
- Ganesh Pundalik Adpoikar, r/o Karemaddi, Curchorem,
- Gokuldas @ Raisu Naik, r/o Karemaddi Curcherem,
- 5) Rajendra S. Desai, r/o Kakoda,
- 6) Vishwas B. Kamat, r/o Anandwadi,
- 7) Digamber Naik, r/o Shirfod, Curchorem
- 8)Rajesh R. Ghadge, r/o Kakoda,
- Nishad R. Kakodkar, r/o Karemoddi Curchorem.
- 10) Gurunath K. Bhairat.
- 11) Dhiraj K. Chari,
- 12) Mukund Pandurang Naik,
- 13) Ajay Anant Chari, r/o Mirabag,
- 14) Suryakant Fondekar., t/o Anandwadi Sanvordem,
- 15) Vinod Babu Gaenkar, t/o Tony Nagar Carchorem,
- 16) Premanand Jaiwant Borkar, 1/0 Bhati Sanguem,
- 17) Vishwajeet Narshinv Honnawarkar, r/o Mudgel, Kakoda,
- 18) Yogesh Pandurang Naik, r/o Pongirwal, Kakoda.

ANNEXURE 'B'

Following accused persons involved in Curchorem P.S. Cr No. 16, 17,18,20,23,24,27,29 & 30 of 2006 have been arrested on 29/03/2006 and subsequently released as per the order of District & Sessions Court, Margao.

- Saikiran Mohanlal Tari r/o Sanvordem.
- Dhiraj Prabhudessai r/o Kakoda Curchorem.
- Datta Savordekar r/o Sanvordem, ...
- 4) Sidhesh Naik r/o Sanvordem.
- Nitin Khandolkar r/o Sanyordem,
- 6) Tushar Savordekar r/o Sanvordem.
- Anand Dalvi r/o Sanvordem.
- Pratap Pawaskar r/o Sanvordem.
- Shailesh Chari r/o Sanvordem.
- 10) Nilesh Tari r/o Sanvordem.
- Amay Naik r/o Sanvordem.
- Baburo Naik r/o Sanvordem.
- Nilesh Naik t/oSanyordem.
- Deepak Sawant r/o Sanvordem.
- Subhash Naik r/o Sanvordem.
- Gauresh Jambotkar r/o Sanvordem.
- 17) Ritesh Naik r/o Sanvordem.
- Sunil Thevar r/o Guddemol.
- Nilkant Naik r/o Sanvordem

ANNEXURE 'C'

REGARDING UNKNOWN ACCUSED PERSONS.

40 to 50 unknown accused persons are involved in following cases of Curchorem P.S.

Cr. Nos. 19,20,21,22,25,26,28, 31 to 58 and 60.

år.

Annexure J

Sr.	Name and address of the Victims	Amount of
No.		Compensation sanctioned.
1	2	3
7.	Khali Ahmad Lohar,	Rs. 13,150/-
	r/o Bagwada, Curchorem, Quepem, Goa. SHaikh Tajuddin, r/o Bepquegal, Curchorem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 18,150/
3.	Jamal Bi Harihar, r/o Xeldem, Behind Old Panchayal Bidg., Tilamol, Xeldem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 1,750/-
4.	Hussain Bi Kanoval, r/o Near Old Panchaya! Bldg., Xeldem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 24/
5.	Jamai Akbar Shaikh, r/o Near Old Panchayat Bidg., Xeldem, Quepem. Goa.	Rs. 6,050/
6.	Noorjaha Bi Shaikh, r/o Near Old Panchayal Bldg:, Xeldem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 3,800/
7.	Jaitun 81, r/o Near Old Panchayat Bldg., Xeldem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 1,000/
8.	Munawar Ahmed, r/o Sharif Bidg., Bansal, Curchorem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 68,900/
9,	Shamsad Begam Shaikh, r/o Old Gram Panchayat Office, Xeldem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 4,750/
10.	Arshad Ulla,	Rs. 2,110/

	Y/o Behind Old Panchoyat Tilomol,	
	Xeldem, Quepem, God,	i
Ĺ	11. Safia Bj	1
Ĺ	t/o Behind Old Panchayat Office, Xoldem,	Rs. 940/
in Lan	12. Nazir Khan Pathan,	
1	1/0 Behind Old Ponchavet Ors	Rs. 600/
Ι,		!
	13. Rasik Aziz Bagwale,	
i	r/o H. No. 53/2, Behind Old Panchayat Bidg., Xeldem, Quepem, Goa.	Rs. 2,420/.
! ï	4. Ashq &i Nazin Ranghi	
	179 53, Behind Old Panaharra and	Rs. 2,100/-
-	r/o Behind Old Panchavet Off	Rs. 1,800/-
<u>ب</u> بــا	Quepem, Goo.	
· '	6. (Alisab Ben ———————————————————————————————————	-·
L_	r/a H. No. 2255, Cariamoddi, Cacora, Quepom,	Rs. 3,000/.
17	Mohmad Shahid kha	· <u> </u>
— ₁	— +1/0 2277, Ponternal Curchage a	Rs. 40,900/-
	Shaikh Abdul Kadar, Green, Quepem, Goo.	Rs. 12.100/
	1/o N. No. 476, Carlamoddi, Cacora, Quapern,	Na. 12.100/-
19	. I Andiku Mohibutala terk	ļ i
	(/o H. No. 476, Carlamoddi, Cacora, Quepern,	Rs. 1,800/-
20.	-·	1
0.	TANGEN ADOUGHANAL	Rs. 11,150/-
_:	r/o Hussainabi Manzil, Carlamoddi, Cacora, Quepem, Goa.	
21,	Shalkh Usuf a to Shaliba Ca	<u> </u>
	r/o H. No. 1146, Carlamoddi, Cacora, Quepern,	Ps. 14,300/-
22.	Shalkh Mohammed Shalkh	. !
	TYY GOKO Abdul Marks	Rs. 16,980/-
	in No. 1194, Pontemol Curchage a	
23.	Shaikh Nissar Ahmad	ļ
	1/0 Carlamoddl, Cacara, O	Rs. 1,520/-
24.	Aslam Ahmad Ghouri,	
5.	LIVO Sharif Bidg., Bansai Casas - C	Rs. 1.73,500/-
		Rs. 1,87,900/.
	Shaikh Mohammed Forook	-
7. —	Nazeer Ahmod Badgar	Rs. 3,560/-
8 .	Khwaja Abdul Shaikh (House)	Rs. 82,440/-
9.—	Rustam Savanar	Rs. 29,800/-
5	Rajasab Chapperband	Rs. 39,400/-
<u></u> ¦	Shabbli Rustan Shanur	Rs. 2,00D/-
- +	Khwala Absul Share San	Rs. 14,400/-
. !	Khwaja Abdul Shalkh (Shop)	Rs. 17,050/- 1
J	Shalkh Mohammad Sabir	Rs. 6,530/-
<u> </u>	lafula Jayyed	Rs. 17.300/-
		A3. 17.300/-