Tabular Presentation by Teesta Setalvad, Secretary Citizens for Justice and Peace before the Special Investigation Team (SIT) appointed by the Hon'ble Supreme Court through its Order dated 26.3.2008 following Part I, II and III Statements submitted at Gandhinagar on May 9, 2008

Date of Tabular Presentation May 29, 2008 ODH(e) MASSACRE

Subject	Investigation	Sections	Cross Referencing
			to TS Statement
			and Annexures
			Submitted on
			9.5.2002
Odh(e): Faulty Investigation from	SIT should Inquire	Violation of	(see Annexure Gi
the Recording of the Crime, i.e.	why No	154 CrPC	and its
the Deliberate Wrongful recording	Investigation	(procedure of	annexures on
of FIRs; An FIR into a Murder not	Therefore At all	registration of	internally
recorded deliberately; and	into the Murder by	FIR) and	numbered
thereafter in four years deliberate	Torching alive of	worse the	pages 20
subversion of evidence by	Ghulam Rasool	Suppression	onwards)
superior officers and unlawful	Saiyed despite	and	
supervision of the investigators in	repeated requests	Destruction of	
this case.	by the Victim	Evidence. This	
Ode(h): Statements of Witnesses	Survivors in 2002	includes the	(see Annexure
are Recorded with Scant Regard to	itself	fabricating of	Gi to Part I of TS
Thoroughness and Detail and	As a result accused	documents	statement
hence are not substantive. SIT	have been accused	and causing	and its annexures
should compare earlier Police	only once when	disappearance	on internally
Statements with Statements	they	of evidence	numbered pages
Recorded Now and List and	have been guilty of	immediately	20 onwards)
Enumerate Crucial Details	two crimes.	after the	-(see Note on
Deliberately Omitted Earlier as	Investigating	registration	Odh
also record motive behind	Officer (23/2002)	of the case and	Chargesheet
protection of officers of the law	Interrogation of	the continued	Annexure N)
who had committed unlawful and	P.I. K.R. Bhuwa,	the illegal act	Timexare 14)
criminal acts.	Pathak	of causing	
	Khambholaj P. St.	disappearance	
Twenty-seven persons were killed	Assistant	of	
over three separate incidents, one	Investigating	evidence till	
in which 23 + 2 + 1 were burnt	Officer P.S.I. R.G.	the dead	
alive on 1-3-2002 and one more	Patel Khambholaj	bodies were	
was torched on the street the next	P. St. should be	buried.	
day, i.e. 2-3-2002.	questioned.	Further	
The First FIR 23/2002 and the	IOs:	protecting the	
second FIR 27/2002 relates to the	KR Buva (2002 PI	names of	
incidents of the first day. In	Khambolaj Police	influential	
between a police officer also filed	Station)	accused and	
an FIR 25/2002.	Assistant IO RG	arraigning	
No FIR has been lodged related	Patel (2002 PSI	wrong	

to the offence of torching alive of Ghulam Rasool Miya on 2-3-2002 the next day despite repeated complaints to police and the Trial Court. No Investigation Therefore At all into the Murder by Torching alive of Ghulam Rasool Saiyed despite repeated requests by the Victim Survivors in 2002 itself	Khambolaj Police Station) ML Rathod (2002 PSI Bijapur in 2006 he was thereafter posted to Karanj Police station Ahmedabad) Some of the Officers are likely to be guilty of subverting and suppressing and destroying evidence	accused also amounts to a crime. Sections 120-B r/w 143, 147, 148, 149, 302, 376 (2) (e) and (g), 201, 217 and 218 IPC and substantive offences u/s 143, 147, 148, 149, 302, 376 (2) (e) and (g) and 201, 217, 218 IPC are attracted in the commission of all these offences	
Complaints regarding Clubbing of FIRs Victims' Complaints about registration of FIR for the incident of 2-3-2002. These include a) On 5-3-2002 Complaint to DSP; b) on 9-7-2002 Complaint to S.P. Anand; c) On 24-7-2002 Complaint to P.I., Police Station, MDSP, Anand, Home Minister, Chairman of Minorities Commission; d) Response of SP Anand District to Victim/survivors complaints about clubbing SP, Anand sent letters dated 9-9-2002 and 26-9-2002 acknowledging the complaints made; e) witness/survivor complaint to Nadiad Court about clubbing of FIR Witness No. 26 Rafik Mohammad Ghulam Rasool Saiyed dated 25-9-2002 about FIR being clubbed and records not rectified.	SIT needs to Interrogate considered officials who received these complaints and come to a conclusion about how repeated requests, in time, at the time, were simply not heeded by the authorities in Gujarat. Did higher Range In Charge IG's ask for reports on the Investigation? Were any internal reports made or observations supplied? Why not?	offences. Ibid. (Ditto as above)	Please see Para 6, Int. numbered page 4 and 5 Annexure A and B Colly to Annexure Gi. Related to complaints filed by witnesses about Investigation Para 7, Internally Numbered page 5 with Annexure C Colly to Teesta Setalvad's affidavit post Judge Mehta's Report dated 21-9- 2006.) State of Gujarat fist in SC makes irresponsible statements that there are no missing persons. (10) State of Gujarat admits that PP did not oppose Anticipatory Bail (Annexure K Colly to Part 1 of

		TS Statement)
	OTT. 1	
Missing Persons Complaint lodged by victims was back on 14.03.2002 onwards that show that victims have been diligently following up with the police about factual errors vis a vis the missing persons related to the Ode Massacre. Application to Ode (Umreth) Sessions Court on 26.2.2008 for Digging of Bodies refused; Please look at Annexure M Colly (Ode(h) Mass graves application to Part I of TS Statement before SIT dated 9.5.2008 for Exhuming Bodies filed by Victim Survivors on February 26, 2008 that was turned down;)	SIT should examine why the Issue of Missing Persons was not looked at seriously; and also examine/question then DySP Bavang Zamir who had filed a Missing Persons Report. SIT should Interrogate why no bone remains were returned to families for last rites; why to date no FSLR/DNA Report has been made available; Where should Victim Survivors Go for Efficacious Remedy?	(Please See Annexure Gi- Details of Annexure C Colly Internally numbered pages 25-54 Internally numbered Pages 51-52 to Teesta Setalvad's affidavit post Judge Mehta's Report dated 21-9- 2006. & Affidavits Filed by Witnesses/Victims Annexure F Colly Volume 'B'; pages 270-337 Majeed Miya Murad Malek Annexure F Colly Page 279-283, Paperbook 'B' Rafik Mohd Abdullah Khalifa who is Complainant in FIR 23/2002. Annexure F Colly Page304/305, Paperbook 'B' Rehana Yusuf Vohra, Complainant, names accused Annexure F Colly Page 301, Paperbook 'B' Mehmoodabibi Majeed Malek Victim Survivor Annexure F Colly Pages 306-310, Paperbook 'B'. Rashid Khan Matbar Khan Pathan a Victim survivor Annexure F Colly Pages 311-314,

Paperbook 'B' Hasan Khan Hassukhan Pathan, Witness and Victim Survivor o the incident **Annexure F Colly** Page 315-317, Paperbook 'B' Mohammad Khan Akbar Khan Pathan a Victim survivor who lost seven family members **Annexure F Colly** Page 318-322, Paperbook 'B' Rafik Mohd **Ghulam Rasool** Syed, a Victim survivor who's father was torched alive on 2-3-2002. For this offence an FIR has still not been registered despite repeated pleas by this witness **Annexure F Colly** Page 323- 329 of Paperbook 'B', see pages 324 & 326 Anwarmiya Akbarmiya Malek describes the preplanning behind Ode attack **Annexure F Colly** Page 330-333, Paperbook 'B', see pages 331 & 332 Shafi Miya Mohd Miya Malek, Victim Survivor **Annexure F Colly** Page 334-337, Paperbook 'B' Police Not Recording FIR **Annexure F Colly** Page 323 at 324, paras 1-2,

	Paperbook 'B'
	Amicus Note
	dated 6-9-2004
	pointing out
	Discrepancies in
	Investigation
	related to Ode
	Massacre
	Annexure F Colly
	Paperbook 'B';
	Pages 271-274;
	Rejoinder
	Affidavit of
	Teesta Setalvad,
	Citizens for
	Justice and Peace
	Points out that
	substantive
	allegations made
	by eyewitnesses
	and victim
	survivors on
	affidavit are not
	effectively
	countered
	including those
	related to direct
	state complicity
	and the fact that
	names o
	influential
	persons were
	deliberately left out
	as accused by the
	police.
	Allegations of
	sexual violence
	and rape have
	also been
	deliberately
	obscured by the
	police according
	to eyewitnesses
	Annexure F Colly
	-Paperbook 'C'
	pages 612-622,
	see table at pages
	612-619.
	Amicus Note 7
	dated 6 th
	September 2004
	pointing out
	discrepancies in
	relation to the
•	<u>. </u>

Ode Massacre **Annexure F Colly** Pages 271-274 of Paperbook 'B' Influential persons not allowing recording of FIR **Annexure F Colly** Pages 325-326 at para 6, Paperbook 'B' Mehta (ASJ) Report (which is **Annexure I to** Part of TS **Statement before** SIT dated 9.5.2008) Judge Mehta summarizes contentions of malafide investigation, intimidation of witnesses, complicity of police etc. Contentions of witness survivors through affidavits are summarized along with state response. No conclusions are drawn **Annexure I- Page 42-51** of Mehta Report which is Annexure I to Part of TS **Statement before** SIT dated 9.5.2008 State shockingly admits survivor complaints about remains being sent to FSL for

			DNA testing but is silent completely about what was the outcome of these investigations. Annexure I Page 46 and Page 49 of Mehta Report which is Annexure I to TS Statement Part I before SIT dated 9.5.2008
Collusion of Politicians/Administrators/Police and Fire Brigade & Motives Behind Inaction/Negligence//Complicity No Firefighters came in time to Ode Village.	SIT should Interrogate why No Fire Fighters came in time to Ode(h) village though attack took place in broad daylight. SIT should Interrogate Fire Officers On Duty for this Jurisdiction on That Day and Also Examine all Log Entries: Were they called? By whom at what time? Why did they not go in response to the summons? What do Police Records Say? Station Diaries, Case Diaried, Control room records, Hospital records, Post Morten records. Already we see below how Panchnamas have been Doctored Role of Fire Brigade: Was it summoned and when? Fire Brigade	Sections of Criminal Conspiracy, Negligency, Conspiracy get drawn in apart from Outright Mass Murder in the Conduct of the Police Officers on Duty, the Higher Range Officers in Charge and Also the Fire Brigade Personnel	(Annexure K Colly to Part I of TS Statement Discrepancies in States Stand at Page 7)

	register and Notings need to be examined by SIT Who were the	
	Officers? All need to be examined.	
	Did they reach the	
	spot on time or at	
	all?	
	When did they reach?	
	Why did they	
	reach so late?	
	SIT needs to look	
	at this as part of	
	the Collusion and	
	Complicity allegations	
	against the State	
	Government and	
	Administrative	
	Machinery in Gujarat.	
	Gujarat.	
Discrepancies in Chargesheet A	1.Who are the	Annexure L to
and B:	Local Level and	Part 1 of TS
Chargesheet A filed on	Higher Level	Statement and Annexure 2 and 2a
Chargesheet A filed on 31/05/2002 against 33 accused.	Officers of the Gujarat police	to Tabular
Charge sheet B filed on	Responsible for	Presentation
31/05/2002	this Level of	dated May 29,
Both the Panchnamas and Other	Discrepancy that	2008.
Police Statements Including DNA	despite being	This Analysis
Sampling Reports mention	pointed out is not	Prepare by Us
three/four different locales where	rectified?	Shows:
bone remains were found. (Akbar Moyan Malek's house, the heap of	2. What are the	1.Despite
vehicles on which Ghulam	notings/reports of Supervisory	belongings/bones of two dead
Rasool's remains were found and	Officers on the	persons
the spot at M Bhagaol where	Issue?	Sikandarmiya
Rehana states that remains were	Has any	Usmanmiya Malek
found? How Come the	politician/Minister	and Guddi Munni
Chargesheet does not reflect this	Interfered with the	Sikandarmiya
at all? The chargesheet despite statements of witnesses and	Investigations in	Malek they have been (deliberately)
panchnamas showing recovery of	this Case? Why else would the	shown as Missing;
bone remains continues to treat	Local Police	2.Despite witness
the dead persons as missing.	simply not want to	seeing the killing
	investigate the	of Ghulam Rasool
	obvious especially	Saiyed he has been (deliberately)
	when their own	shown as missing.
	Chargesheet and	Bones of this
	Panchnamas	person have also

indicate issues that been taken and recovered and sent are thereafter left for FSL hanging? examination and **Following Senior** yet this slip. Is it a **IAS/IPS Officers** slip? Need to be Questioned by the highest echelons of SIT on the issues of Failure to Investigate and **Punish the Guilty** and thereby **Obstruct the** Deliverance of **Justice** SIT Must Interrogate Shri Kuldeep Sharma (IPS, 1970) he was IG Range In Charge of Anand where Ode(h) village is). He needs to be questioned on Ode(h). Incidentally he has not filed any affidavit before the Nanavati Shah now Nanavati Akshay Mehta Commission; Shri K Chakravarthi at the crucial moments in 2002 the DGP Gujarat needs to be Questioned by SIT; Shri K Nityananandam (IPS, 1977) who was Home Secretary from 2001-2005 needs also to be questioned; DR P.K. Mishra (IAS, 1972) then PS to the Chief Minister needs to

	be Questioned on		
	the Overall		
	Supervision of the		
	<u> </u>		
	Violence and Steps		
	Taken (or Not) to		
	Contain It;		
	SIT needs to		
	Question also Shri		
	Subha Rao (IAS,		
	1965) then Chief		
	secretary on the		
	same issues; Shri Ashok		
	Narayanan (IAS,		
	1966) Batch who was in 2002 ACS		
	home also needs to		
	be questioned on these Critical		
	Issues		
Bail Pattern.	Accused are	PPs who did	Annexure B
Eighteen accused	wealthy	not oppose	Colly to Part I of
members politically	NRIs 18 of whom	bail?	TS Statement
influential were	were given	bair:	before SIT Bail
given anticipatory	Anticipatory Bail.		Orders and Bail
bail for such	(Details of Bail)(39		Tables that
heinous Crimes.	Accused arrested		reveals the silent
Hasty Bail	and released on		complicity of
Ode Massacre	bail, 18 on		State of Gujarat
Undue haste/bail applications &	Anticipatory		appointed PP's
orders.	Bail) Pages 2-3-4,		towards accused
1) 15 accused preferred bail vide	SIT should		who have
bail application no. 112/2002	question		committed grave
before the Additional Sessions	all the PPs and		crimes.
Judge at Anand on 8-3-2002. The	the		Annexure E
Learned prosecutor Shri Patnaik	Legal Secretary		Colly to Part One
appeared on behalf of the state.	and		of Statement,
Bail granted to 9 out of the 15	the IOs briefing		Page 293
accused who had applied for bail.	PPs		onwards
(Para 4 of the order)	on Bail and		Paperbook 'B' &
2) The other 18 accused preferred	Anticipatory Bail.		Annexure B
and Anticipatory bail being 246 of	Under what		Colly to Part One
2002 u/s 438 Cr.PC. on 15.4.2002.	Circumstances		of Statement
Mr. M.S. Pathak appeared as PP.	were 5		Anticipatory Bail granted in cases
The Learned Judge, B.M. Modi	of the accused of		of 302
granted all the accused	such a mass		Annexure E
anticipatory bail by the order	murder		Colly to Part I of
dated 20.4.2002.	allowed to even		Statement, Page
3) Some of accused preferred	go		294 Paperbook
Misc. Criminal Application No.	abroad?		'B'
417 of 2002 and 5 other accused	Is this a normal		Complicity of
preferred Criminal Misc.	practice in		Public Prosecutor
Application No. 418/02. Both the	Gujarat?		

	I	
applications were allowed and	What are the	in not opposing
bail was granted to the accused.	implications if	Bail application
The Public Prosecutor V.G. Parlot	accused of such	Annexure E
did not oppose bail applications	mass crimes roam	Colly to Part One
and consented to the bail being	free?	of Statement,
granted		Page 294
Details of Bail Granted to Accused		Paperbook 'B'
Details of ball Grantea to receased		Names List of 24
		absconding
		accused – all
		prominent
		wealthy Patels
		who visit USA
		regularly and yet
		Gujarat police and District Court
		are silent
		spectators
		Annexure E
		Colly to Part I of
		Statement, Page
		294, Paperbook
		'B'
		Amicus Bail Table
		showing hasty
		Granting of Bail
		to Ode Mass
		Massacre
		Accused
		Annexure E
		Colly to Part I of
		Statement,
		Paperbook 'B'
		Pages 338 -344.
		Anticipatory bail
		granted; PP did
		not oppose Bail
		Annexure E
		Colly to Part I of
		Statement, Page
		294, para 7, para
		9, Paperbook 'B'
		PP Conduct in
		Not Opposing
		Anticipatory Bail
		in cases of 302
		Annexure E
		Colly to Part I of
		Statement, Page
		294, Para 7,
		Paperbook 'B'
		Page 294,
		Para 9,
		Paperbook 'B'
		raperbook b

			Unanswered earlier claims on Anticipatory Bail being granted to accused in Ode carnage Case Annexure Gi to Part One of Statement- Affidavit of Teesta Setalvad dated 21-9-2006 at Para 4 a)-c) Int. numbered Pages 2, Para 5, Internally numbered Page 4
Threats and Intimidation of Witnesses who cannot even today return home	SIT needs to Interrogate Independently deploying the Highest degree of Confidentiality how safe the Victim Survivors feel in the places of their rehabilitation; that, if tomorrow Trials are Conducted within the State of Gujarat will they be able to Depose Free and Fearlessly given the fact that Accused Roam Free on Bail, arte Politically Powerfully Connected and have even obtained Anticipatory Bail and some have gone abroad.	Intimidation and Coercion of witnesses is a criminal offence under the IPC and refusal to give adequate protection despite Supreme Court orders amounts to Contempt of the Supreme Court.	Affidavits alleging threats and intimidation Annexure E Colly, Page 287, 297, 304, Paperbook 'B' Yusufbhai Yakubbhai Vora, father of complainant in 27/2002 (Rehana Vora). Lost three family members in attack. Repeated threats to his daughter, the complainant and himself on the phone. He has given the phone number on which threats come Annexure E Colly, Pages 284-290, Paperbook 'B' at page 287 Rehanabehn Yusufbhai Vora is the complainant in 27/2002.

Victim Survivors and Witnesses cannot repair their homes and be rehabilitated in the Malao Bhagol mohalla of Ode town simply because they have decided to fight for justice. On oath she names accused Harish Vallabh Patel and Prakash who offered her and her father inducements to withdraw complaint Annexure E Colly, Pages 297-298 of Paperbook **'B'** Annexure E Colly, Pages 291-293, Paperbook Intimidation of witnesses related to Ode massacre continues; witnesses forced to live in sub-human conditions in the fields; influential accused belonging to Patel community continue to intimidate; Photographs of conditions of destroyed homes submitted to Hon. SC that reveal these pitiable conditions **Annexure Gi to** Part One of Statement,

	A CO' 1 14 C
	Affidavit of
	Teesta Setalvad dated 21-9-2006 at
	Para 23,
	Internally
	numbered page 16 of Affidavit;
	Para 3, Internally
	numbered page 2
	numbereu page 2
	Annexure E
	Colly, Pages 291-
	293, Paperbook
	'B'
	Intimidation of
	witnesses related
	to Ode massacre
	continues;
	witnesses
	forced to live in
	sub-human
	conditions in the
	fields; influential
	accused
	belonging to Patel
	community
	continue to
	intimidate;
	Photographs of conditions of
	destroyed homes
	submitted to Hon.
	SC that reveal
	these pitiable
	conditions
	Annexure Gi to
	Part One of
	Statement, Affidavit of
	Teesta Setalvad
	dated 21-9-2006 at
	Para 23,
	Internally
	numbered page
	16 of Affidavit;
	Para 3, Internally
	numbered page 2
	numbered page 2
Ode (h)	Annexure E
Subversion of the Deliverance of	Colly to Part One
Justice Process through the	of Statement,

appointment of Compromised Public Prosecutors that continues until this day.

In Anand District, (where Ode village at which 27 persons were butchered and then burnt alive, it is public prosecutor P S Dhora's panel of public prosecutors who are handling riot cases in both Anand and Kheda districts. Dhora is a known RSS sympathiser.

Affidavits of Victims speaking of Complicity of Prosecutor and his/her Appointment. The allegation is that PP appointed office bearer of political outfit. The state of Gujarat's repeated response (admitting the political allegiances of the PPs) has been that Shri Shah was later removed. The state is silent o the continued complicity of PPs in Gujarat that have completed eroded the faith of the common citizen, especially a victim and eye witness of the 2002 carnage in the administration of justice.

Page 11 at page 18, para 27, page 94, para 3, Page 139 at page 142 para 3-4 (this is un-numbered) of **Affidavits** PP Conduct in **Not Opposing** Anticipatory Bail in cases of 302 is reflected here related to the Ode Massacre Annexure E **Colly to Part One** of Statement, Page 294, Paras 7-9, Paperbook 'B' The State does not have significant reply to the allegations that the appointment of public prosecutors was done in a manner inconsistent with the rights of victims under Article 21, and in the breach of the duty cast by the State under the Code of Criminal procedure The appointment of some persons as public prosecutors, one (or many of who have even appeared before the accused Annexure J to Part One, paras 14, 23 and 36 of **Amicus Note** dated 22-3-2007 and filed before the Supreme

Court

Protection of the	The officers of the	This amounts	Annexures to
Politically	investigating agency	to worse than	Part I and Part
Powerful	surreptitiously	Criminl	III of TS
	removed from the	Conspiracy and	Statement
	array of accused all	Collusion	before SIT dated
	those offenders who		9.5.2008
	held official or		
	political positions of		
	influence and whose		
	being implicated		
	would reveal the		
	deep rooted and		
	wide spread		
	involvement of the		
	State's political and		
	executive machinery		
	as prime movers of		
	the riots. In the		
	course of		
	investigation and		
	even after the filing		
	of charge sheets, the		
	police sedulously		
	avoided arresting		
	persons who were		
	members of the		
	political party or of		
	a private army		
	owing allegiance to		
	that political party		
	which held the reins		
	of government in		
	the State. So much		
	so, that the charge		
	sheets conveniently		
	failed to mention		
	those of such		
	persons whose		
	names and roles in		
	the commission of		
	the offences figured		
	in the statements of		
	witnesses recorded		
	under Section 161		
	Cr.PC.		

ENDS.