

Report of Investigation Into Nandigram Mass Killings

Background

Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) and Paschim Banga Khet Majoor Samity (PBKMS) put forward a petition to the Kolkata High Court on 15th March 2007 urging immediate intervention of the court to reinstate safety and security of the villagers in Nandigram. The organisations also pleaded for an interim order restraining the state administration from preventing them from reaching Nandigram to provide assistance to injured and deceased villagers.

On 15th March 2007, a Division Bench of the High Court comprising Honourable Chief Justice S S Nijjar and Honourable Justice Pinaki Chandra Ghosh also took *suo moto* note of the incident. It also passed orders on the petition of APDR and PBKMS and reprimanded the state government stating *"it seems as if the Police Department which is under the control of the Home Department is not even aware of the existence of Article 21 of the Constitution of India.....This Article specifically guarantees that 'no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law'. Oblivious of the aforesaid guarantee, the police has resorted to gun firing on a large crowd protesting against the proposal to acquire their land."*

Further the order states *"we are satisfied that this action of the police department is wholly unconstitutional and can not be justified under any provision of law."* The court also stated *"Such kind of force can not be justified except in the cases of armed insurgency or warlike situation. Innocent farmers and villagers can hardly be put into the aforesaid bracket."*

The court in its order directed the followings:

- It restrained the state administration from stopping the petitioner organisations and other NGOs from reaching Nandigram to provide assistance to injured and deceased villagers.
- The court directed the CBI to immediately send an investigating team to the strife -torn area and look into the circumstances that led to the police firing which claimed innumerable casualties in Nandigram. The CBI team is directed to immediately visit Nandigram and any other surrounding affected area and collect the entire relevant materials of firing by the police and combat forces to be presented before the court in the form of a report.
- It directed the district administration to ensure that the unclaimed dead bodies are handed over to the appropriate authorities and the identified dead bodies are handed over to the lawful claimants after due legal formalities have been concluded, such as post mortem and inquest report, so that the relatives are able to perform the last rites of the deceased.
- The state government has also been directed to file an affidavit setting out the reasons for the police action which has been taken against the population of Nandigram by resorting indiscriminate firing by the police. The affidavit should also disclose the material on the basis of which the order for firing was issued.
- The court also directed that under no circumstances any evidence should be destroyed by any person and instructed the CBI to collect all evidence including the post-mortem conducted on the victims of the firing.

- In view of the absolutely volcanic situation created, the court further directed the state government to ensure the safety and well-being of all the general public in the area. The state is also directed to take adequate measure to provide medical facilities to the injured villagers.

In response to the above, the two petitioner organisations along with some concerned individuals visited Nandigram and Tamluk and the affected villages on 15th and 16th March 2007. The team consisted of Amit Dyuti Kumar, Anurada Talwar, Arjun Das, Bibek Tripathy, Chiroranjan Pal, Jeeban Modak, Panchali Roy, Pramod Gupta, Prasad Roychowdhury, Raghunath Chakraborty, Sandeep Singha, Sadhan Roychowdhury, Dr. (Mrs.) Subrata Sarkar, Sujoy Ganguly and Subrata Roy.

Response of the Administration

At about 8 PM on 15.03.2007 a team went to the office of the District Magistrate, Purba Medinipore where Mr. Anup Agarwal, District Magistrate, Purba Medinipore was present. The team expressed their strong resolve to go to Nandigram and sought the assistance of the District Magistrate to enable the team to proceed for Nandigram immediately.

The District Magistrate, Purba Medinipore, however, flatly refused to entertain any such request for rendering assistance to the team on various counts or grounds saying that the District Magistrate, Purba Medinipore is not a party in the writ petition and that the said District Magistrate, Purba Medinipore has no legal or moral obligation to entertain any of the requests on the subject. Then the District Magistrate, Purba Medinipore advised the members of the team not to go to Nandigram on the ground that seeing the members of the team the people of Nandigram may be charged thereby there will be apprehension of breach of law and order. The apprehension that the team would encourage disorder was also echoed by Kalyan Banerjee, ASP on Special Duty whom we met at Chandipur police station.

The impression we got was that the administration was unhappy about outside intervention in Nandigram even though people were in dire need of aid of all kinds.

Before the 14th

In spite of prior information of amassing of arms and goons and appeals by the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee before 6th January, no action was taken then by the police to prevent attacks by armed party cadre on the 6th January. From 6th January onwards, there were almost daily attacks from the Khejuri side of the Talpati Canal by the CPM. The Haldia Development Authority, of which Lakshman Seth, CPM MP, is the Chairperson, tried an economic blockade by stopping the ferry, the main means of transport for agricultural goods from Nandigram villages to Haldia. CPM had regular camps on the roads that led to Nandigram and organised harassment of all media, social activists and even common people who tried to enter the area. The police invasion of Nandigram was only ordered when after two and half months the party goons and leaders in surrounding areas failed to suppress the local anti land acquisition movement. There seems to have been no other pressing reason for the attack suddenly at this juncture.

From press reports, it is obvious that the action in Nandigram was planned and executed in advance. On the 12th itself media reports began coming in showing that such action was being planned by the State Government. An all party meeting which was boycotted by the members and parties in the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee decided on action for the police to enter Nandigram. That high level people in the administration along with ministers and top level decision makers were involved is also clear from the fact that armed police battalions were brought in from Krishnanagar, Jalpaiguri

and many other places. News reports also speak of a planning meeting before the operation on the 14th where CPM party leaders and a senior police official sat together in a party office at Kunjapur. The Government also seemed ready for some unpleasant consequences. The District Magistrate for example justified actions on the 14th by informing us that “such unhappy events would have happened whenever we had gone into the area”.

The team met Nilanjana Dasgupta, SDO, Tamluk Subdivision, on 15th evening at Tamluk hospital. According to Nilanjana Dasgupta, SDO, Tamluk Subdivision, the action on 14th March 2007 in Nandigram was not known in advance by her. No discussion on such an action being taken by the district administration took place beforehand. She was also not sure whether there was any provocation that led to the decision to use police force, as the area was cut off from the rest of the district and they had no idea of what was happening inside. She had heard that a gang rape had taken place there, which may have been a causative factor, but was not able to say whether this was a confirmed report. She also said there was some concern about rising food prices and food shortages in the area.

The fact that things spun out of control of the district administration can be gauged from the fact that SDO Tamluk subdivision was in a development meeting that day when the firing was taking place. All BDOs and Sabhapatis of the blocks in Tamluk subdivision were with her. She was asked at 2.30 PM to stop the meeting and to rush to the district hospital immediately to get the hospital ready to receive the wounded from Nandigram.

The general impression that we got from talking to some people in the administration was that there were in fact attempts by the ASP and other police officials to start confidence building measures in the local area so that the police could start gradually going in. Along with this, there had also been planning for the administration to go in with food relief in order to build up people’s confidence. One section of the administration was therefore totally taken by surprise by the events on the 14th.

Combined Party Police Action

From reports and testimonies that we received it seems that the command of the police force was in the hands of the CPM party leaders. A number of CPM leaders at the local level were also present. The invasion itself was planned by both party and police officials, Police uniforms were used by party cadre and important local leaders who were a part of the invading force.

"...I went to attend the puja there and police started chasing and while running I fell down and the police and other people(dressed in police uniforms but no police boots instead sandals) started beating me up mercilessly...." Konoklata Das W/o Rabin Chandra Das Residence- Soudkhali Chowk

".....They were men dressed in uniforms along with the police but they were wearing sandals and not police boots. Some of them were carrying lathis while there were those who were carrying guns..."Sreekanta Mandal. S/o Ganesh Mandal. Residence- Sonachura

According to the villagers and wounded people, there were many goons and leaders of the CPI (M) party with the police during the police violence. They have also identified some of them. The names of the identified goons and leaders are as follows:

From Khejuri :

1. Bijon Roy
2. Rabiul Khan
3. Himangshu Das

4. Swadhin Pramanik
5. Kebal Das s/o Haripada Das

Nandigram :

1. Ashok Guria , President District Committee AIKS
2. Naba Samanta, Brother of Shankar Samanta, Sonachura
3. Joydeb Paik, (LCS) Sonachura
4. Badal Mondal, Sonachura
5. Anup Mondal, Panchyat Member of Sonachura
6. Bapi Bhuiya, President of Krishak Sabha
7. Sukesh Shanki, Member of Panchayat Samity
8. Lakshman Mondal, Pradhan, 10 No. Sonachura Gram Panchayat
9. Chandan Hajra, Party Member
10. Rabin Bera, (LCM of Saud khali)
11. Arjun Maity,
12. Iasin Khan, Pradhan, 9 No. Anchal
13. Satadal Das

Anup Mondal, Panchayat member, during the incident on 14th was reported to be using a hand mike to tell people to allow police to do its job.

One of the patients clearly identified the CPM goons present. His testimony is given below.

Subodh Das, S/o Gangadhar Das, Age: 50, Residence: Gangra; Occupation: Van driver

I identified 8 of those who fired bullets; they are CPI (M) goons. They are :-

- *Lakhman Mondal. Gangra*
- *Badal Mondal, Sonachura*
- *Joydeb Paik, Sonachura*
- *Anup Mondal, Sonachura*
- *Sukesh Sanki, Sonachura (South)*
- *Bapi Bhuiya, Sonachura (South)*
- *Kebol Das, Kunjapur (Khejuri)*
- *Parusaram Mondal, Sonachura*

According to the witnesses we met, police officials under whom Wednesday's firing took place were as follows :-

- 1) IG Western Range Arun Gupta
- 2) DIG N. Ramesh Babu
- 3) S.P. East Midnapore Anil G Srinivasan
- 4) OC Khejuri PS Amit Hati
- 5) SDPO Swapan Sinha

It was also reported that the CPM had hidden large stocks of arms in the following places :-

- 1) Party Office in Kunjapur
- 2) ICDS building in Ranichawk
- 3) Janani Brickfield in Sherkhanchawk- where a new bathroom has been made, there is a septic tank which is unused.
- 4) Bijon Roy's house in Khejuri

Sequence of events

The testimonies and discussions with eyewitnesses and victims (patients) of the firing show that the sequence of events given by all these people is more or less the same. The sequence given below is based on the testimonies of 62 patients and about 200 villagers whom we met.



A bullet victim in Nandigram Hospital

violent with women and children.

A large police force with firearms and tear gas arrived in vehicles and buses on the Khejuri side of the Talpati Khal in the morning. They were accompanied by many armed CPM goons. At Bhangabera Bridge,¹ they first filled up a large trench near the bridge. None opposed this. They then began advancing across the bridge. There seems to have been no prior warning. A few report that Anup Mondal of the CPM was using a hand mike, but most heard nothing and were not forewarned about the police action. Without any proper warning the police began throwing tear gas shells. This blinded the crowd and created confusion and panic. During this period, the police and the goons began firing and advancing further while firing. Operations, including the firing and the filling up of the trench seemed to have been planned earlier. While the firing continued for about 15 minutes, the violence followed for the next hour and a half or so.

There are many complaints of horrific and deliberate violence during this phase and afterwards. Those rescuing the wounded were prevented from doing so e.g. Pushpendu Mondal, S/O Beni Madhab Mondal, Vill – Gangra, Nandigram received bullet injuries in his belly and right hand. Pulin Behari Mondal (their neighbour) tried to take him for hospitalisation but due to lathi charge by the police, Pulin fled the place. Police and goons took Pushpendu away forcibly.



A victim in Nandigram Hospital with grievous head injury

¹ We have reports of what happened at Bhangabera only, as Tekhali bridge, the second spot of police action was still under CPM "control" and inaccessible or dangerous for organisations like ours till the 16th.

Women were taken away and raped. Women who tried to hide or wash their burning eyes in ponds were forced to come out and then beaten up again. Houses and shops were looted. Instead of using least force necessary, the policy seems to have been of using maximum force to instil fear and terror in people and to break their spirits.

14 persons from amongst those who were resisting the attacks were also arrested . Grievous false offences have been filed against them. Details are in Annexure 4.

Death Toll

According to official statement there are 14 persons who died due to police firing. Out of them, 9 bodies had not been identified till the 16th of March 2007. See Annexure 1 for list of bodies for which post mortem has been done by the Government.



A village woman was shot on her back.

List of Dead Persons

(Evidence provided by Sankar Narayan Jana General Secretary, Youth TMC , East Midnapore district.)

SL No	Name	Sex	Village
1.	Sakila Bibi	F	Garchakraberia
2.	SK. Raja (22yrs)	M	Garchakraberia
3.	Shambhu Paul	M	Sonachura
4.	Imadatul Khan	M	Garchakraberia
5.	Proloy Giri	M	Soudkhali
6.	Raja Ram Das	M	Garchakraberia
7.	Gobinda Das	M	Sonachura
8.	Ratan Das	M	Gangra
9.	Supriya Jana	F	Sonachura

4 bodies had still not been identified by them on the 15th of March 2007.



Women faced violence the most

According to all the 200 or more villagers we met and the patients admitted in Tamluk Hospital and Nandigram Hospital, more than 100 persons have died in the firing. They alleged that most of the bodies were taken away by the Police and CPI (M) goons by truck towards Khejuri or buried under the newly repaired road at Bhanga Bhera. Please also see Annexure 2 that has the testimonies of all the patients whom we met.

Concealing of Dead Bodies

Abu Taher, an activists of the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee, informed us that he had

received information that bodies have been disposed off in the following manner by the CPM , in collusion with the police :-

In a brick field (Janani Bhatta) 5 bodies have been disposed off in the septic tank of the latrine there.

At 8 PM on the 15th night, launches came from the Haldia Satkar Samity to Naya Char. Bodies were taken to Naya Char from Khejuri and were transferred to these launches. Some of these bodies had been burnt , others had been cremated on the other side of the river.

A pick up van was used to take bodies from Tekhali to Heria, after which their destination was not known.

Sudanghsu Samanta in Sonachura had buried bodies in a sunflower field near Sonachura. After hearing that the CBI was coming , the bodies were transferred and buried under a bamboo bridge nearby . Local people would be able to give the exact location.

A ground floor room in the Khejuri College had been used as a store house for 4 bodies by the CPM goons. After hearing that the CBI team was coming they tried to transfer these bodies out but had not been able to do so, as the police was no longer so cooperative.

Bodies of three children were found in a pond to the south of Bhangabera, two floating in the pond and one on the side. When villagers went to recover the bodies, they were refused access by the police. Journalists had also not been allowed to go to the spot.

Abdus Sammad of the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee informed us that bodies of children and others had been buried under the earth that was used to fill up a trench near the Bhangabera Bridge. Bodies had also been kept around Shankar Samanta's house in Bhangabera. He also informed the CBI team about the same, but they refused to dig up the earth in the trench. However they did find blood stains and women's and girls' clothes and undergarments in Shankara Samanta's premises.

The above were corroborated by Sumit Sinha and Mohidul also activists of the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee.

A journalist working with the Dainik Statesman, Sukumar Mitra , informed us that possible disposal spots for dead bodies were as follows:-

2 bodies had been found in Geokhali by the 19th of March, which could be of those killed in the police-cum-goons firing.



A wounded villager in Tamluk Hospital

1 body and 1 unconscious person had been found in Uluberia who could again be of those killed.

A mangrove forest in Kadirabad Char was a possible place for disposal of bodies as that was used as a secure hiding place by CPM goons earlier.

Bodies could have been burnt in Kalinagar and near Rasulpur Ghat, as it was known that these spots were used for disposal of bodies at earlier times.

Meen Deep near Naya Char had been used for the burning of bodies.

Furnaces of 7 brick fields(including Shibani and Janani brick fields) and 2 tile factories in Khejuri on the other side of Talpati Canal have been used for disposal of bodies.

Wounded and patients

An analysis of the 83 cases that came to Nandigram Hospital from 14.3.07 to 16.3.07 (up to 2 PM) is given below

Kind of injury/ assault	Number
Brought dead	4
- one case of head bullet injury	
- two cases of bullet injury in abdomen	
-one case of stab injury in abdomen	
Bullet injury	23
Blunt injury	49
Head injury (traumatic)	3
Lacerated wounds on different parts	3
Assault and gang rape	2
Other injuries- tremendous chest pain	1
Other complaints	4
Eye pain	5
TOTAL	94

In addition , most patients were suffering from post traumatic stress disorder.

The police injuries according to the SDO Tamluk were as follows from what she observed :-

- CI Bhupati Nagar had lacerations or grazes on his cheek;
- SDPO Egra had an injury on his hand;
- 2 constables who had brought in from Jalpaiguri had injuries which she was not able to specify.

She had also heard that SDPO Tamluk and ASP Tamluk had minor injuries.



Wounded people in Nandigram Hospital

A team of doctors treated patients at Kalicharanpur on 16th March 2007. After the camp they declared that they had treated about 200 patients, at least 100 of whom had bullet injuries. All the bullet injuries were in parts of the body that were above the knees. All of them had eyes smarting from tear gas , while 30-40 had more serious eye injuries.

(Reported by Medical Team from “Sohagi” Haldia Haematology , Thalassaemia Care, Prevention and Blood Transfusion Society.)

It was obvious from this report that many patients were too frightened and traumatised to reach the hospital, and that medical aid was not reaching all the affected.

The team was not able to go to

Janaka PHC in Khejuri block . So we are unaware of the number of dead bodies and wounded there. As many wounded and others were reported to have been dragged away by the police to the Khejuri side , it can be assumed that many were transferred to this PHC. However we have no details. It should also be noted that NGOs and reporters we spoke to are apprehensive about going to areas under Khejuri PS as they feel there could be attacks from CPM goons there.

See Annexure 2 for detailed testimonies of patients.

See Annexure 3 for list of patients in Nandigram BPHC provided by BMOH.

Infrastructure

Medical facilities at Nandigram PS were found to be woefully inadequate. There was no provision for X-ray, USG , CT Scan , MRI, and pathological tests though the injuries were very serious. There is also inadequate transportation facility and ambulance facility, so there was no proper way to transport patients



The police and CPI(M) cadres specifically targeted women

stomach and genital regions of their body. Male police took it onto themselves to lathicharge the women though there were women police around. "...All male police were beating us while the women police were standing and watching. When the beating was over women police dragged us and put us into a van" . Gauri Mondal W/o Tarun Mondal, Residence- Sonachura

Various women who were not even participating in the puja but standing around were caught in the fire round and beaten mercilessly. "started taunting me and asking me why am I here and then mercilessly started beating me. I kept pleading with them to let me go but they

Systematic gender violence and rape of women

The violence that erupted in Nandigram on the 14th March found the police and CPI(M) cadres specifically targeting women. Of the 62 testimonies that we gathered in the hospital and from other victims outside, 30 are from women. In the injured list at Nandigram BPHC of 69 persons, 39 are women Interviews with scores of villagers and the testimonies brought home one point- that specific and systematic violence was used against the women to humiliate them and to break the back bone of their resistance.

Women who were beaten up complained of the abusive language used that they could not repeat. The *lathicharge* was more aimed at the breasts,



A severely injured woman in Tamluk Hospital



A wounded woman in Tamluk hospital. She got grievous bullet injury on her head

*wouldn't listen" Shankha Gola
W/o Manoranjan Gola
Residence- Sonachura*

Apart from the lathicharge and firing the police and the CPI(M) cadres resorted to various forms of sexual violence which included ripping clothes of women and leaving them naked lying in the open girls were pushed forcefully into vans and cars and driven away. "...I got shot on my right shoulder. When I tried to flee the police chased me, caught me and ripped all my clothes off. They stripped me naked, kicked me and threw me in the side. I was lying there and close to evening someone found me and took me to the hospital. While I was lying there in the corner I saw in front of my own eyes two young girls being dragged by the

police and taken away. I couldn't recognize the girls..." Kajal Gharai W/o Ratan Gharai. Residence- Sonachura

When we met the nursing staff at Nandigram Block Hospital we enquired if any women had been raped. She denied this . However other people in the hospital informed one of our women team members about two patients who had been raped. It is only after this that these cases at our initiative were registered as rape cases. Details are below:-

Gauri Pradhan Age 25 years
W/o Joydeep Pradhan

Mother of three children

Residence: Gokulnagar

Place of occurrence: Adhikaripara

Nature of injury: **Admitted in unconscious condition after gang rape with other injuries**

Narration of incident: *I went to attend the rally when the police started firing teargas and bullets simultaneously and then started lathicharge. I tried to flee, when three policemen caught me and dragged me by the hand and into an empty house. I was beaten so badly that I was in no condition to resist. One of the policemen held my arms while two of them forcefully raped me. Then I lost consciousness and I don't know if the third policeman also forced himself on me or not. I don't know how I came here. I regained my consciousness in the hospital*

Kajal Majhi Age 36 years

W/o Bikash Majhi

Residence: Kalicharanpur

Place of occurrence; Gokulnagar

Nature of injury: **Rape by police**

Narration of incident: *I went to participate in the rally and was sitting at the worship place. When the police came and started throwing tear gas I couldn't see anything. So I didn't move and just sat there. They started shooting and coming towards us. They caught me and started beating me up ruthlessly. I lost consciousness.*

When I regained consciousness, I found myself in a cow shed and I realized that I had been raped. My clothes were torn, my breasts and vagina were hurting and there were bruises and I could understand that there had been forceful intercourse. I was lying in an empty cow shed. . My neighbours helped to bring me here.

Violence and Murder of Children

Along with women, children who were present in huge numbers to participate and witness the *puja* also wore the brunt of the police firing and lathicharge. Scores of people have alleged that children were torn apart, hurled into ponds and killed. Many people have testified to children being shot at and killed. (See annexure 2).



Children were also not spared by the police and the CPI(M) goons. A village boy with severe head injury and a wounded child under treatment in Nandigram Hospital.

"...I also witnessed the police killing children and stuffing them in sacks and taking them away" Kajal Gharai W/o Ratan Gharai. Residence- Sonachura.

"... We wanted to save the children however the police started targeting them and dragging them. They even kicked the children in the stomach with their boots.." Renuka Bala Kar. W/o Sampada Kar. Residence- Gokulnagar

"....I witnessed women being dragged away by the police and they were also throwing small children into the pond..."Satyabala Mandal W/o Anadhi Mandal. Residence-Soudkhali Char

".....They killed children -they shot, hacked and even tore them apart with their two legs..." Lata Mondal w/o Shakun Mondal. Residence- Gokulnagar

Of the 38 missing 11 are children. In addition to this we received a few other reports of children who were missing/killed. A child who did not have anybody with him has been found by a fruit shop owner in Tera Pakhira . He says he is from Garchakraberia . He says he was with 4 of his friends

when the police-goon action took place, but there is no trace of his friend now. (Evidence of Sheikh Monirul Islam, s/o Sk Hasan Ali, Village Kanchannagar) .Children were also reported missing from Sonachura Infant School. They were all part of the *Puja*.

Police camps have now been set up in 4 educational institutions affecting education in the area. These schools are as follows :-

- Sitananda College Nandigram
- GK Siksha Niketan, Gokulnagar
- Gokulnagar Gobinda Jew Siksha Niketan, Gokulnagar
- Sonachura KCA Milan Mandir

The education of about 2500-3000 students have been affected in this process.

Looting

Looting has taken place of

- Srikanta Paik's shop and house in Bhangabera on 14th March
- Swadeshdas Adhikary, Pradeep Adhikary and Ajit Adhikary's houses in Adhikaripara in Gokulnagar on 14th March and/or 16th March morning

(Evidence of Hrishikesh Ghorai, s/o late Haricharan Ghorai, Village Saudkhali)

Ashok Das of Nandigram reports that the house of his son in law Mangal Das son of Shakti Das village Gokulnagar has been broken and looted.

Missing people and deserted villages

We found many houses locked and villages deserted e.g. Garchakraberia, Sonachura.

We met many people from Gokulnagar, Sonachura and other villagers who had fled and had taken shelter in other places at Jana More. The police cum goon action seems to have led to chaos and terror and scattering of families and people.



Kajal Adhikary's husband is still missing

A lot of people including me have run away from Sonachura and have taken refuge elsewhere including myself. At least 40 households have fled the para . There were women police standing around but it was the male police who dragged us by our hair and hit us and grabbed our breasts etc while using absolutely vile language.

Two examples are given below

1. Swapna Patra

W/o Nupur Patra

Residence: Sonachura, Golpara

Narration: *On 14th, I along with other women went to participate in the Puja. We saw a lot of vehicles coming in. There were police vehicles and with them a bus also came. After 2-3 minutes there were tear gas shells thrown at us. Some people retaliated by throwing stones and suddenly a volley of bullets started hitting us. I witnessed young girls being dragged away by the police. I couldn't recognize anyone of them as there was too much tear gas almost blinding us and there was too much terror in our hearts.*

2. Najima Khatun

W/o Sheik Islam Nazrul

Residence: 7 No. Jalpai

Narration: *We heard on the village mike that the police were coming so we the women and children formed the frontline to prevent the police from entering and the men stood behind us. We first saw 5-6 police vehicles and then more vehicles started coming and there were so many cars and so many police that couldn't be counted. 4-5,000 women and children were injured and hit. No one told us or gave us any warning in the mike; they were coming in lines towards us. They started throwing teargas and we started fleeing. There was a volley of gunfire, people started falling all around me. When they started chasing I fell down. I witnessed a child being shot and when the mother went to rescue the child even she was shot at.. Bodies are still being discovered and even today another body was found in the jungle. Women who went to the puja place have gone missing and many young girls were dragged into the police vehicles and there is no trace of them.*

Families has been scattered and therefore it is very difficult to understand who all are missing. The following are the reports that we received.

List of Missing people

NAME OF PERSON REPORTING	REPORT ON MISSING PERSON
Basanti Utthasin 60 years w/o Montu Utthasin Village Sonachura	Cannot find any of her family members , except for 1 child (Jolly Utthasian)
Anubha Khanra, admitted in Tamluk with bullet injury in leg w/o Rashbihari Khanra Village Sonachura	3 children lost, husband in SSKM with abdominal bullet injury in Curzon Ward 2
Shyamala Mahato W/o Gobindo Mahato, Village Sonachura	Joydeb Mahato S/o Gobindo Mahato Sandhya Rani Mahato w/o Joydeb Mahato Bishu Mahato (age 12) S/o Joydeb Mahato Pooja Mahato (age 8) D/o Joydeb Mahato Sukhdev Mahato S/o Gobindo Mahato Arati Mahato w/o Sukhdev Mahato Musha Mahato S/o Sukhdev Mahato
Tapan Samanta	His nephew named Subrato Samanta (age 24years) S/o Pranab Samanta Village 7 No. Jalpai
Villagers	Badal Chandra Mandal S/o late Gobardhan Mondal,Vill. 7 No Jalpai is missing .He was last seen with bullet wounds on stomach and leg
Sita Maity W/o Prabhat Maity nce: Sonachura	her husband Prabhat Maity has gone missing.
Kavita Das Adhikary w/o Salil Das Adhikary Village Gokulnagar	her elder brother in law was picked up beaten by the police and released on 15 th . Husband , sister-in-law Purnima Das Adhikary, nephews Animesh das Adhikary(9 years) and Atanau Das Adhikary (7 years) niece Aparna Das Adhikary(3 years)

Ashok Das of Nandigram	Son in Law Mangal Das Son of Shakti Das Village Gokulnagar
Sandhya Maity wife of Prabhanjan Maity admitted in Nandigram hospital	Husband Prabhanjan Maity and daughter Sabitri Bijli w/o Sudarshan Bijli..
Gurupada Maity s/o Prabhanjan Maity	Tumpa Maity wife 20 years, Son Gautam Maity 2 years Tumpa Pradhan 13 years niece
Ajit Jana, Vill - Barkeshabpur, Nandigram	neighbour Panchanan Das, S/O Gunadhar Das,
Krishnendu Mondal and Pulin Behari Mondal, Vill – Gangra,	Younger brother Pushpendu Mondal, S/O Beni Madhab Mondal, Vill – Gangra, Nandigram was injured by bullet in his belly and right hand. Pulin Behari Mondal (their neighbour) tried to take him for hospitalisation but due to lathi charged by the police, Pulin left the place. Police took Pushpendu away.
Neighbour	Joydeb Das, S/O Haradhan Das, Sonachura, Nandigram.
Chandan Das, Vill Kalicharanpur at Nandigram Hospital.	Basanti Kar, W/O Gora Chand Kar, Kalicharanpur

In the two days that we met people, we thus received reports of 38 persons who were reported missing. Besides this, we also helped members of two families to get in touch with each other.

Sonachura village people had made an initial list of 16 persons who were missing on the 16th. They expect the list to grow once people start coming back to the village and they get better information

Present State

People were in a state of shock when we met them on 15th and 16th March. Houses were empty in village after village. Though a procession of over 10,000 people from the Bhoomi Ucched Pratirodh Committee entered Sonachura on the 16th and tried to reassure people to come back to their houses , people were frightened that once the procession and outsiders like our team left , party goons would come back to torture them. Many women stated that they had been spending the past few nights in the forests and would continue to do so on the 16th night. All this came after 80 days of wakefulness, as people had been staying awake at night to guard themselves against attacks by party goons since 6th January.

Some of the most common responses that people gave to us were as follows

- *We don't need the police here. Peace will only come after the police goes away.*
- *It is shameful and worse than any torture that the British did.*
- *The CPM talks about people's welfare. Are murder, killing of children, rape and arson acts for people's welfare.?*
- *200-300 people have been killed. Their bodies have been buried under the trench of the "Thakur than". Why does the CBI not dig these up?*
- *We are waiting anxiously for the CBI report.*
- *We will start illegal acts if the Government does not withdraw the police.*
- *No rule of law exists in our state*

Till the 16th there was no let up in the police and party cadres' attempts to terrorise the people. Ashok Guria, President of East Midnapore CPM affiliated All India Krishak Sabha was with the police at

Bhangabera on the 16th of March and used threatening language against those who had come in a procession that day, in front of the police. The police did not take any action to stop him. (Evidence of Tapan Maity, s/o Birendranath Maity, Village Shubani Chowk and many other villagers at Sonachura on 16th.).

All these point to the tremendous distrust the people have for the administration, the probability of continued attacks by party cadre and the fear created due to police camps that are seen as partisan and helping the party.

Observations and Recommendations

Observations

1. The events of 14th March 2007 in Nandigram were pre-planned and were executed after plenty of preparation by officials and party functionaries who are very high up in the Government. They probably also required a sanction from the Chief Minister, who also controls the Home Department.
2. The timing of the police action in Nandigram and the events that preceded the 14th, took place on the 14th and afterwards point clearly to a nexus between the CPM party, the police and the administration.
3. The crowd of protestors was in a religious gathering and was unarmed and peaceful. It was not an illegal assembly as no ban on assembly was in force in the area. Nor was the crowd obstructing any one's passage or creating a problem for anyone. They did not also obstruct to the filling up of the trench near Bhangabera Bridge. This is obvious from the testimonies from 62 people that we have gathered and the over 200 people we have spoken to. It is also obvious that the number of police injured were only 4 in Tamluk hospital and these too had minor injuries. The police action was therefore unprovoked.
4. The police and party goons seems to have been heavily armed. The minimum guidelines for use of force by the police were not followed- people were not warned sufficiently before ordering firing or given sufficient time to disperse. The number of people who reported to hospital in injured condition were as many as 85 with 4 brought dead. Also, huge numbers of people were dislocated and had fled their homes. Houses and shops were looted, at least 2 women were raped, many more were sexually assaulted, people were lathi charged while rescuing the injured. All of these point to the use of unnecessary force by the administration. It also implies that the violence by the police and party goons was not a momentary one. Instead it took about an hour and a half and could have been stopped by senior officials on the spot when it was becoming excessive.
5. Gender violence seems to have been part of the operations .No women police were deployed though the gathering was largely that of women. Men police and cadres acted with brutality, with reports of rape and sexual assault and abusive language being there.
6. Even when we visited the area 36 hours after the firing it was obvious that many people were suffering from post traumatic stress disorder. We were told of children who had stopped eating because they had seen the wounded. We were told of people who were hiding in jungles away from their homes. Everywhere people seemed angry but also very frightened that the events of the 14th would repeat themselves.
7. The events of the 14th have created a huge number of internally displaced people –people who have fled their homes in terror. Entire villages have been emptied and many people have gone to live with relatives or friends far away. Quite a few have taken shelter in the Nandigram BPHC. We were also told about people who had fled Khejuri earlier in the period January to March to take shelter in Sonachura and neighbouring villages, who had been scattered a second time on the 14th. It would be very difficult to trace them.
8. Most of those whom we talked to reported the presence of a number of children during the protest. We were greatly concerned to hear about a number of children whom people had seen getting hurt during the police and party action. However, much to our surprise, we did not come across even a single child who was amongst the injured or the dead. This makes us suspect the worst- that the children who were wounded or died have been disposed off on the quiet.

9. The people have developed distrust for the administration. The police especially is being viewed with great suspicion and there is a great deal of resentment about their presence in the village camps. The people feel that their presence will only encourage and protect party goons to loot, kill and terrorise the people.
10. Till the 16th, we found very little state response to the woes of the people. The facilities and staff at Nandigram hospital were severely stretched and little attempt had been made to augment these facilities. The district administration especially the DM seemed happy to leave people to their fate. No attempt had been made to help people to file cases against those who had committed atrocities. No efforts were being put in to help people return to their homes. Little was done (except at Tamluk hospital) to trace families or missing people. Even food was becoming a crisis in some places. Women who were in hospitals were not questioned or counselled about sexual violence.
11. The distrust for the administration on the one hand and the great need for medical, food and legal aid by the people on the other hand creates a paradoxical situation and calls for the intervention of agencies other than the Government in the area.

Recommendations

1. Medical facilities must be augmented at the Nandigram BPHC. Janka PHC in Khejuri PS should be accessible to NGOs and other activists from other areas and facilities must be augmented there also.
2. The people are in need of medical aid, food, psychological counselling and legal aid. Providing these is the statutory obligation of the State Government. However, as there is tremendous distrust and anger towards the administration, it will be impossible for them to enter the affected area and provide such services to the people. It is therefore suggested that the Government should, from outside the area, assist the petitioner organisations, local people's organisation like the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee and other civil society organisations that are already intervening there to identify the affected and give aid to them.
3. Police camps within the village must be immediately withdrawn in order to build up the confidence of the people.
4. Compensation must be paid by the State to all those who have been killed and injured as well to all those who have had to face the trauma of internal displacement. The State must also take responsibility for restoring people to their homes immediately and for their rehabilitation, no matter what their political affiliation.
5. While the Court has ordered a CBI enquiry, the terms of reference so far have limited their enquiries to the events of the 14th March 2007. It is therefore suggested that a larger enquiry be conducted by a committee of eminent citizens appointed by the Court.
6. Identification and punishment of all those guilty of the actions of the 14th must be done.
7. All police and civil administration personnel who have acted in collusion with party goons or under the extra legal orders of party leaders must be identified and punished.
8. The State Government should immediately declare unambiguously that it is opposed to all coercive means of acquiring land. This declaration must include Singur and return of land to unwilling farmers in Singur. The Government must also spell out clearly its land acquisition policy for the future and must allow open public debate on this before finalising such a policy. In particular it must declare its rehabilitation policy not just with regard to land owners, but also with regard to agricultural workers, sharecroppers and other rural workers who are dependent on the land for their livelihood.
9. Police reform in West Bengal (and elsewhere) is also urgently required with immediate de-linking of the police from political bosses and anti-social elements.

10. Democratisation of society and introduction of transparency in all matters is also urgently required in West Bengal , where lack of democratic space, highhandedness, suppression of all kinds of dissent and concealment of facts from the people have become the hall marks of both the Government and the ruling party. In particular, in all decision making the State Government must respect the 73rd amendment and must consult local people on all issues through properly conducted *gram sansad* meetings.

Annexure 1

LIST OF DEAD BODIES FOR P.M. EXAMINATION

Sl. No	Name and Address
1	IMADUL KHAN - Age 20 years M/M. S/O. Daijan Khan 7 No. Jalpai, P.O. Garh Chakraberia. Nandigram
2	GOBINDA DAS – Age- 30 years. H/M. S/O. Bhanu Charan Das. Vill. 7 No. Jalpai. P.O. Garh Chakraberia, P.S. Nandigram
3	RATAN DAS- Age- 30 years. H/F, S/O. Kanai Das, Vill. Gangara, P.S. Nandigram
4	SUPRIYA JANA- Age- 40 years. H/F, W/O. Sukumar Jana. Vill.+P.O. Sonachura. P.S. Nandigram
5	SAMBHU OR UTTAM PAL- Age- 30 years H/M, S/O. Not Known Vill. Sonachura, P.S. Nandigram

(provided by Superintendent Tamluk District Hospital)

Testimonies of Patients in Hospitals

Interviews held in the Tamluk Hospital, P.S. Tamluk

1. Sheikh Saddam Hossein

S/o Sheikh Sirajul

Residence: Boro Jam tala

Age: 16

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Nature of injury: Head Injury by bullet,

Narration of incident: When received information that CPI (M) cadre and police are going to enter the village, he with fellow villagers set up a barricade to prevent them from entering. The police, military and combat (dressed in black clothes and black masks) started firing rubber bullet and after a point started firing ammunition. He got hit by a bullet and lost unconsciousness; his brothers brought him to Nandigram hospital. Seeing the seriousness of injury was transferred to Tamluk hospital.

He has 35 bigha land shared by 6 brothers. He has no idea about his family and their situation and he has no contact with them.

2. Sita Maity

W/o Prabhat Maity

Age: 47

Residence: Sonachura

Occupation: Daily wage labourer

Place of occurrence: Sonachura

Nature of injury: Both sides of shoulder broken and blood clotting and swelling bruise on back and sides.

Narration of incident: Went to participate in the *nam sangkirtan puja*, the police surrounded the *mandal* and started firing. Because of the tear gas I lost consciousness and then when I gained consciousness I saw that I was beaten up and I was brought to the hospital by the neighbours. I have no idea about the condition of my family and my husband I have heard is gone missing.

3. Kanaklata Das

W/o Rabin Chandra Das

Age: 50

Residence: Soudkhali Chawk

Occupation: Owns 25 katha lands with multiple cropping and also works as daily wage labourer.

Nature of injury: Back injury, swelling and blood clotting because of lathi charge.

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Narration of incident: I went to attend the *puja* there and police started chasing and while running I fell down and the police and other people (dressed in police uniforms but no police boots instead sandals) started beating me up mercilessly. My family does not know that I am here and I have no idea of the situation of my family.

4. Subodh Das

S/o Gangadhar Das

Age: 50

Residence: Gangra

Occupation: Van driver

Nature of injury: Two fingers in the left hand amputated due to police firing

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Narration of incident: When I went to the site of *puja* the police announced over the mike that we should leave the area. So we formed a barricade so that we don't let the police enter. Police started firing rubber bullets and when we still didn't flee they started firing bullets. I identified 8 of those who fired bullets; they are CPI (M) cadres

- I. Lakhman Mondal Gangra
- II. Badal Mondal, Sonachura
- III. Joydeb Paik, Sonachura
- IV. Anup Mondal, Sonachura
- V. Suresh Sanki, Sonachura (South)
- VI. Bapi Bhuyia, Sonachura (South)
- VII. Kebol Das, Kunjapur (Khejuri)
- VIII. Parusaram Mondal, Sonachura

I have called my family but they are unable to visit me

5. Ratikanto Das

S/o Late Surendra Das

Age: 28

Residence: 7 No. Jalpai

Occupation: Daily wage labourer

Nature of injury: Both shoulders are broken

Narration of incident: When I went to the *puja* site the police had started throwing tear gas and then firing bullets, I tried to flee and fell into the pond. Then the police had *gheraoed* the pond and threatened that if we don't come out they will fire at us. When I came out of the water they caught me and started beating with lathi. I lost consciousness and when I gained sense I found that I was lying next to the pond. I can't recall how I came to the hospital. I don't know where my wife is, I can't trace her. My father-in-law is here by my side in the hospital.

6. Sheikh Majahar

S/o Sheikh Rehman

Age: 30

Residence: 7 No. Jalpai

Nature of injury: Bullet shot on both legs

Narration of incident: I was at home when I heard screaming and bullet firing I went to see what was happening. When I saw I tried to flee but got hit by bullets on both my legs. I lost consciousness and I don't know who brought me here. My father is here with me.

7. Niranjan Das

S/o Radhakrishna Das

Age: 26

Residence: Sonachura

Nature of injury: Lathicharge. Complaining of chest pain, breathing problem, and kicked on the groin

Occupation: Farmer

Narration of incident: Was participating in the *Puja* and from the other side of the bridge these cadres (dressed as police men- was wearing sandals instead of police boots) started throwing stones and verbal abuses. The main intention of the *puja* was to register the intention of non violence and to awaken the conscience of the cadres and the police.

We barricaded and stood behind the women and children in defence and the cadres started throwing tear gases which was followed by volley of shots which continued for a long time. So I tried to flee and was caught and beaten up by the cadres dressed as police all over.

I witnessed women and children being shot. I am satisfied with the treatment in the hospital

Relatives are in touch with me and they have also come to see me.

8. Gopal Das

S/o Mrityunjoy Das

Age: 26

Residence: Sonachura

Nature of injury: Bullet shot on the right shoulder

Occupation: Farmer

Narration of incident: Went to the *Puja* site when the police or cadres, I am not sure (but they were wearing sandals instead of boots) started firing rubber bullets and then real bullets. I tried to flee and got shot, I lost consciousness and when I woke up I was in the hospital. I have no contact with family and I don't know what situation they are in. I witnessed myself that women and children were being shot by the police/cadres.

9. Nirmal Kumar Mondal

S/o Bankim Mondal

Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Sonachura

Nature of injury: Grievous head wound by lathi, 4 stitches. Right leg and right arm can't be moved as they are swollen so badly because of beatings.

Occupation: Mason

Narration of incident: Went to the *Puja* to pay my respects when the police started throwing tear gas. I stood behind the women when they started firing. People started falling all around me and when I went to help the injured and try and carry them back, the police and cadres started beating me up. I called up my family but no one has been able to come and visit me.

10. Mani Rana

S/o Beni Rana

Residence: Gokulnagar

Place of occurrence: Gokulnagar

Nature of injury: Bullet shot on my right leg

Occupation: daily wage labourer

Narration of incident: I heard that the police was coming so I went to the spot and stood behind the women. When they started throwing tear gases, bullets etc, I started fleeing. Women started getting

beaten up and then suddenly a bullet hit me. I lost consciousness and I don't know how I got here. I called up my family but no one has been able to come.

11. Sankha Gola

W/o Manoranjan Gola

Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Nature of injury: Grievous head injury due to lathi charge: 3 stitches. Right leg is broken and collar bone is broken.

Occupation: Housework and vegetable gardening.

Narration of incident: I went to participate in the *puja* worship. I was standing in a corner and watching, when the police started throwing tear gases, bullets etc. I tried to flee but they caught up with me and started taunting me and asking me why am I here and then mercilessly started beating me. I kept pleading with them to let me go but they wouldn't listen. My family doesn't know I am here, I have no idea what their situation is.

12. Anuva Khanra

W/o Behari Khanra

Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Sonachura

Occupation: Daily Labourer

Nature of injury: Bullet wound

Narration of incident: I was in responsibility of the utensils being used in the worship that day. When the police started throwing tear gas, I got scared and tried to flee with the utensils. I had to go back to bring the rest as they were my neighbours and they would hold me responsible if it was lost. 2-3 boys were killed in the *lathicharge* in front of my eyes and 3 boys were even shot. When I was hit by a bullet, one of the neighbouring boys dragged me and pushed me into the pond so that I don't get beaten up by the police. There were about 100 of us taking refuge in the pond. One of my neighbours brought me to the hospital. I can't contact my family, the police and cadres have surrounded Sonachura, and no one can come and go. How will my family reach me?

13. Gauri Mondal

W/o Tarun Mondal

Occupation: Housework

Residence: Sonachura

Place of Occurrence: Sonachura

Nature of injury: Grievous injury in face, ear, head, stomach and right leg. 4 stitches on the ear and 2 stitches in the forehead. Huge blood clotting in the right leg.

Narration of incident: I went to watch the *puja* when the police started throwing tear gas and firing. I tried to run when I realised that they were also shooting bullets I hid with 5 other women but the police found us and caught me and started beating me mercilessly. All male police were beating us while the women police were standing and watching. When the beating was over women police dragged us and put us into a van. Then I lost consciousness. I don't know the situation of my family and they also don't know that I am here.

14) Name: Parikshit Dhara

S/o Ishwar Charan Dhara

Residence: Saudkhali:

Occupation: Mosaic mistri.

Age: 68

I went to pay my respects at the alter and was waiting for the *prasad* (offerings) when the tear gas and lathi charge started. I got beaten in the lathicharge by the police and the blood hasn't stopped coming out from the nose..

He feels that the treatment he is getting here is good enough.

15) Projapoti Hazra:

S/o Late Haripada Hazra

Age : 53

Village : Sonachura

I am suffering from polio and thus I cant run. Like others I too went to attend the *puja* when the lathicharge took place. Though I am handicapped the police didn't spare me was instead beaten up ruthlessly almost every where I witnessed women and children being shot and murdered. My relatives are not aware of me being in the hospital and I have no contact with my family. The treatment is satisfactory.

16) Ashok Kumar Mondal

s/o Jaghadish Chandra Mondal

Village : Sonachura

Age: 53

Occupation: fishery.

I had attended the *Puja* and went to pay my respects, when the tear gases started being thrown and *lathicharge* started I was caught in the lathicharge when the police caught me and started beating me. I was beaten all over and the lathi was jabbed into my eye. I witnessed women and children being violated.

17) Shyamali Manna

w/o Shushanto Manna

village: 7 No. Jalpai

I went to attend the *Puja* and participate in it. There were tear gas and bullets being shot and the police started coming in droves and I was caught by the police and started getting beaten. The police beat me ruthlessly and I witnessed with my own eyes women and children falling to bullets.

Nandigram Hospital, P.S. Nandigram

1. Kajal Gharai

W/o Ratan Gharai

Age: 45

Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Nature of injury: Bullet shot in right shoulder

Narration of incident: When I went to pay my respects at the alter,I got shot on my right shoulder. When I tried to flee the police chased me, caught me and ripped all my clothes off. They stripped me naked, kicked me and threw me in the side. I was lying there and close to evening someone found me and took me to the hospital.

While I was lying there in the corner I saw in front of my own eyes two young girls being dragged by the police and taken away. I couldn't recognize the girls. I also witnessed the police cutting the heads of two people while leaving the bodies behind.

I also witnessed the police killing children and stuffing them in sacks and taking them away.

2. Lali Bala Das
W/o Chittaranjan Das
Residence: 7 No. Jalpai
Place of occurrence: Bhangabera
Nature of injury: Massive injury on head and right leg due to Lathicharge
Narration of incident: I went as a part of the rally to protest land acquisition when the police started throwing tear gas. I started running and tried to flee but I was overtaken by the police and though I pleaded with them many times to let me go they mercilessly started beating me up. I lost consciousness and I don't know how I got here.

3. Renuka Bala Kar
W/o Sampada Kar
Residence: Kalicharanpur
Place of occurrence: Gokulanagar
Nature of Injury: Bruises, swelling on back and hand
Narration of incident: I went to worship in the *Puja* that was taking place; I took the children with me. When the police started coming in we requested them to leave saying that we don't want any confrontation. They started throwing tear gases and started shooting. We wanted to save the children, however the police started targeting them and dragging them. They even kicked the children in the stomach with their boots. They also started lathicharge and that's when I got injured.

4. Kabita Jana
W/o Rashbehari Jana
Residence: Kalicharanpur
Place of Occurrence: Gokulnagar
Nature of injury: Bruises, swelling on back and hand
Narration of incident: I was in the *puja* when the police started coming. They started throwing tear gases and started shooting. I fell down when trying to flee and they caught me, though I pleaded with them to let me go, they kept beating me mercilessly and I lost consciousness.
I have contact with my family but my sister-in-law has gone **missing** since that day and is untraceable. Her name is **Basanti Kar. W/o Goratan Kar**

5. Satyabala Mondal
W/o Anadhi Mondal
Residence: Soudkhali Char
Place of occurrence: Bhangabera
Occupation: Housework
Nature of injury: Swelling, bruising and grievous injury on right leg and three stitches on the head
Narration of incident: I went to the place of worship to pay my respects and that's when the police started throwing tear gas at us. I tried to run but was caught and beaten up. They left me lying there and I witnessed women being dragged away by the police and they were also throwing small children into the pond. My neighbours later brought me here.

6. Shrikanta Mondal
S/o Ganesh Mondal
Age: 16
Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera Bridge

Nature of injury: Bullet shot on his lips

Narration of incident: I was at home when I heard that the police was attacking and I went there. They were men dressed in uniforms along with the police but they were wearing sandals and not police boots. Some of them were carrying *lathis* while there were those who were carrying guns. They started throwing tear gas and then firing bullets. I got hit on my lips with a bullet while the boy next to me got hit on the chest and immediately died. I lost consciousness and don't know how I came here.

7. Minati Das

W/o Naba Kumar Das

Residence: Kalicharanpur

Place of occurrence: Adhikaripara

Occupation: Daily wage labourer

Nature of injury: Bullet shot on right leg.

Narration of Incident: I went to the rally and then to worship at the alter. The police asked us to leave the spot on the mike but we refused. They started shooting tear gases and bullets. That is when I got hit on my right leg and lost consciousness and don't know how I reached here.

8. Kalpana Jana

W/o Nandalal Jana

Residence: Kalicharanpur

Place of occurrence: Adhikaripara

Nature of injury: Deep grievous wounds around the eyes and face:

Nature of injury: I went to attend the rally and the *puja* that was taking place. When the police started throwing tear gases, the shell burst into my face. I lost consciousness and don't know how I came here.

9. Rehman Bibi

W/o Sheikh Jam

Residence: 7 No. Jalpai

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Nature of injury: Injury to eyes (probable loss of eyesight), grievous injury on head, shoulder bones and on back.

Narration of incident: I went to attend the rally with other *Jami Raksha Commitee* members when the police started throwing tear gas. I tried to flee but fell down and was caught and that is when they started beating me mercilessly. I got hurt in my head and I can't see anything.

10. Lata Mondal

W/o Shakun Mondal

Residence: Gokulnagar

Place of occurrence: Gokulnagar

Nature of injury: grievous injury on foot, hands and back.

Narration of incident: I went for the *Puja*, and we were sitting there. The police came and kicked the idol. We appealed to them not to get violent and leave us alone. However they on the contrary started abusing verbally and simultaneously started lathi charge, throwing tear gases and firing bullets. 20 - 25 women were beaten and thrown in the trenches and soil filled and road made over it. They killed children- they shot, hacked and even tore the m apart with their two legs.

5-6 women were raped and they cant be traced anymore.

11. Subhransu Patra

W/o Subhash Chandra Patra

Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Nature of injury: Grievous head injury due to tear gas shell bursting

Narration of incident: We gathered for a meeting to resist police infiltration. 25 to 30 police and other cars arrived. They started throwing tear gas and then firing. People started dying all around me and I got scared and started running. That is when the tear gas shell hit my head. I saw the police stacking corpses in the car. They caught the children and tore them apart, threw them into ponds.

12. Lakshmikanta Gayen

S/o Ram Hari Gayen

Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Nature of injury: Rubber bullet injury and grievous injury all over the body due to lathi charge

Narration of incident: I went to the *Puja*, and was standing at the back watching when the firing started, there were many people who got injured. I was helping in picking them up and taking them to a safe place. That is when a rubber bullet hit me on the right side. I fell into the pond where there were many of us at least 50-60 people in the pond. The police *gheraoed* us in the pond and they even entered the water and started beating us up with white pipe sticks. I tried to escape from the side when they caught me and started beating and that is when I lost consciousness.

13. Shyamali Mahato

W/o Gobindo Mahato

Residence: Sonachura

Place of occurrence: Bhangabera

Nature of injury: grievous injury on the head- one stitch required

Narration of injury: I went to participate in the *puja* when the police came and started throwing tear gas; they also started chasing us with lathi. I fell down and got beaten by them ruthlessly. My neighbours say that my house is completely empty and I don't know where my family is.

My relatives are missing

- I. Joydeb Mahato S/o Gobindo Mahato
- II. Sandhya Rani Mahato W/o Joydeb Mahato
- III. Bishu Mahato (age 12) S/o Joydeb Mahato
- IV. Pooja Mahato (age 8) D/o Joydeb Mahato
- V. Shukdev Mahato S/o Gobindo Mahato
- VI. Arati Mahato W/o Sukhdev Mahato
- VII. Musha Mahato S/o Shukdev Mahato

14. Subhankar Majhi

W/o Bhanu Majhi

Residence: Gokulnagar

Place of occurrence: Gokulnagar

Nature of injury: Rubber bullet injury on right hand and swelling, bruising on the back due to lathi charge

Narration of incident: I went to participate in the rally when police and military both came down after firing teargas and bullets simultaneously. I tried to run and the bullet hit me. I fell down when they caught me and started beating me up.

Some Other Patients whom we met in Nandigram Hospitals.

1. Radharani Pakhira, W/O Late Krishna Pakhira , 7 No. Jalpai. (Wounded by tear gas shells.
2. Gopal Giri , S/O Late Banamali Giri., Sonachura. (Beaten by Police)
3. Sandhya Rani Maity, W/O Pravanjan Maity , Bhanga Bhera. (She was beaten by the police at the time *puja* of Gour Netai by the villagers at Bhanga Bhera.)
4. Shree Hari Charan Samanta, Kalicharanpur. (He was wounded by rubber bullet in left hand at Gokulnagar. He was also threatened by Sureswar Khatua and Debal Das , two local CPI (M) leaders. He said that minimum 15 numbers of people died in front of him.
5. Tapasi Manna, W/O Gurupada Manna , 7 No. Jalpai. (She was wounded by rubber bullet in her chest at the time of *puja* at Bhanga Bhera.)
6. Sreemanta Mondal, S/O Joydeb Mondal , Gokul Nagar, (He was wounded by bullet in his right leg at the time of *puja* at Malpara).
7. Gitanjali Bijoli (55 years old), W/O Alanga Kumar Bijoli, Gokulnagar. (At the time of *puja* she was brutally beaten by the police in her whole body and head).
8. Subodh Patra , S/O Bhupati Charan Patra, Sonachura. (He was wounded by rubber bullet in his right leg when he tried to rescue her neighbour.)
9. Ashok Kr. Jana, S/O Bomkesh Jana, Nakchar, (He was beaten by police)
10. Ranjit Majhi, S/O Santosh Majhi, Gokul Nagar. (He was wounded by bullet in right hand.
11. Arati Maity, W/O Tapan Maity, Kalicharanpur. She was beaten by police in her head and wounded by tear gas shell in eye.
12. Achinta Kr. Mondal, S/O Kishori Mohan Mondal, Gangra. He was wounded by bullet in his right leg.
13. Laksmi Rani Burman, W/O Alin Burman , Purba 7 No. Jalpai, (She was wounded by bullet in her left shoulder at the time of *puja* at Bhangabera.

Annexure 4

Persons arrested on 14th March 2007 from site of firing

Case no 18 of Nandigram PS dated 14.03.2007 has been instituted on the following. u/s 148, 149, 186, 341, 353, 342, 333, 506, 307, 121 of IPC, PDP Act Section 3/(2) and sections of the Illegal Arms Act.

NAMES OF PERSONS ARRESTED	ADDRESS
Indrajit Majhi	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Keshab Maity	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Sre ekanta Manna	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Prabir Mondal	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Sujit Maity	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Kalobaran Samanta	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Amulya Kr. Bagh	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Shukdeb Mali	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Shaktipada Mondal	Sonachura, Nandigram PS
Samiran Das	Gangra Char, Nandigram PS
Kanai Maity	Sreekhand Char, Nandigram PS
Mahadeb Bhuiya	Gangra Char, , Nandigram PS
Soumen Jana	Dhakhali, Khejuri Ps.
Anup Patra	Bangara, Khejuri Ps.