



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

India

India – IND38934 – Godhra train incident
– Gujarat – RSS – BJP – Chhatra Parishad
– Akhil Bharati – State protection – Election
results
4 July 2011

1. Please provide brief background information on the Godhra train burning and subsequent violence against Muslims in Gujarat in 2002.

The Indian state of Gujarat has a history of communal violence between Hindus and Muslims. Between 1970 and 2002, Gujarat experienced an estimated 433 Hindu-Muslim riots.¹ In February 2002, at least 57 people were killed in the Gujarat town of Godhra, where Muslims attacked a train carrying Hindu pilgrims returning from a disputed religious site. Muslims attacked the train with stones, before setting it alight as it pulled out of the station. Among the casualties were 15 children, 17 men and 25 women; dozens more were reportedly injured. The Hindus had travelled to Gujarat from Ayodhya, where militant Hindus had demolished the 16th-century Babri Mosque 10 years earlier; this led to nationwide riots, resulting in the deaths of an estimated 2,000 people.²

According to Human Rights Watch in April 2002, Indian government officials acknowledged that more than 850 people – most of them Muslims – were killed in Gujarat in the wake of the Godhra train burning. Between 28 February and 2 March, “a three-day retaliatory killing spree by Hindus left hundreds dead and tens of thousands homeless and dispossessed”. While the Gujarat government reportedly referred to the violence as a spontaneous reaction to the Godhra incident, a range of human rights organisations and much of the Indian press largely indicated that the attacks on Muslims were premeditated and were planned well before the Godhra incident. It was also widely believed that the violence was organised with the support of the police and in cooperation with officials of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) state government.³

In March 2002, *The Guardian* reported that Gujarat was one of the few Indian states controlled by the BJP, which while in power, reportedly pursued a pro-Hindu agenda, and had supported the construction of a Hindu temple on the site of the disputed Ayodhya site. According to *The Guardian*, the apparent lack of action by authorities during the violence was not due to incompetence, but rather because they “share the prejudices of the Hindu gangs who have been busy pulping their Muslim neighbours”. While Indian troops reportedly

¹ Jaffrelot, J. 2003, ‘Communal Riots in Gujarat: The State at Risk?’, *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, Working paper No. 17, July, p.2 <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/volltexte/2003/4127/pdf/hpsacp17.pdf> – Accessed 8 November 2006 – Attachment 1

² ‘Scores killed in India train attack’ 2002, *BBC News*, 27 February http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1843591.stm – Accessed 8 November 2006 – Attachment 2

³ Human Rights Watch 2002, *We Have No Orders to Save You: State Participation and Complicity in Communal Violence in Gujarat*, Vol.14, No.3, April, Section I – Attachment 3

took control of the region on 2 March, their belated deployment was considered to be more a political gesture rather than one of concern for the well-being of the Muslim population.⁴

According to the US Department of State (USDOS) in 2010, over 4,300 Muslim families – between 25,000 and 30,000 individuals – remained internally displaced and living in makeshift camps with inadequate infrastructure. Those in the camps reportedly fear retaliation by their Hindu neighbours if they were to return to their villages.⁵

2. Please provide brief background information on the RSS and BJP. Is there any information to suggest police are ‘stooges’ of these groups? Do either of these groups target individuals for harm?

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

According to *The Economist*, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) represents “traditional Hindu values and the interests of small businesses, traders and the middle class, and is the political wing of a group of interconnected cultural and religious movements.” The most significant of these is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a group considered as anti-Muslim. The BJP initially emerged as a significant political force in the 1989 election, winning 88 seats. The group campaigned on the demand that a Hindu temple be constructed on the site of the Babri Mosque. In 1991, the BJP became the main opposition party, and won control of four states. In May 1996, the BJP formed a national government for the first time, although this lasted just 13 days. It again formed a coalition government in 1998, but this collapsed in April 1999. The September/October 1999 election once again saw the BJP form a coalition government, although their electoral defeat in 2004 led to disarray between Hindu-nationalists and more moderate elements within the party.⁶

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)

According to the *Political Handbook of the World*, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is a secretive paramilitary Hindu communal group that is generally regarded as the parent organisation of the BJP.⁷ RSS members adhere to the concept of *Hindutva*, the promotion of Hinduism, and according to *The Economist*, the RSS is a “huge, amorphous organisation” that claims 7-8 million activists. The RSS reportedly runs 22,000 schools, and an estimated 4 million members attend daily *shakhas*, early morning gatherings where – in khaki uniforms – they engage in physical activities, sports, and ‘ideological discourse’.⁸ In 2007, the RSS was described as a “disciplined cadre organisation that counts the president of the BJP, Rajnath Singh, and the party’s senior leaders, Lal Krishna Advani and Atal Behari Vajpayee, among its former members.” A member of the RSS assassinated Mahatma Gandhi.⁹

⁴ ‘Police took part in slaughter’ 2002, *The Guardian*, 3 March

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4366650,00.html> – Accessed 7 June 2007 – Attachment 4

⁵ US Department of State 2010, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2010 – India*, 17 November, Section II – Attachment 5

⁶ ‘India: Political forces’ 2007, *The Economist*, 24 October

<http://www.economist.com/countries/india/profile.cfm?folder=Profile%2DPolitical%20Forces> - Accessed 27 March, 2008 – Attachment 6

⁷ ‘India’ 2010, CQ Press Electronic Library, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition* – Attachment 7

⁸ ‘The struggle for the Hindu soul’ 2005, *The Economist*, 4 August <http://www.economist.com/node/4254416> - Accessed 27 June 2011 – Attachment 8

⁹ ‘India: Political forces’ 2007, *The Economist*, 24 October

<http://www.economist.com/countries/india/profile.cfm?folder=Profile%2DPolitical%20Forces> - Accessed 27 March, 2008 – Attachment 6

Influence over police/authorities

According to the US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) in 2010, “India’s democratic institutions charged with upholding the rule of law, most notably state and central judiciaries and police, lack capacity to execute those functions and have emerged as unwilling or unable consistently to seek redress for victims of religiously-motivated violence or to challenge cultures of impunity in areas with a history of communal tensions”. This was particularly evident following the 2002 Gujarat riots, where India’s National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) found evidence of premeditation in the killings by Hindu nationalist group members, complicity by Gujarat state government officials, and police inaction regarding the attacks on Muslims. Court convictions of alleged perpetrators have been scarce, in part due to insufficient efforts by local police. USCIRF claim that as there were many eyewitnesses to the attacks, the low number of convictions suggests “endemic impediments to justice continue to exist within the police, the judiciary, and the state government apparatus”.¹⁰ According to Freedom House, a number of human rights groups have alleged that the BJP-led Gujarat state government instructed police not to intervene during the 2002 communal violence, and that police have since been reluctant to register complaints or arrest those accused of serious crimes during the rioting.¹¹

Minority Rights Group International (MRG) noted in 2009 that the response of state governments and law enforcement officials to attacks on Muslims and Christians was limited and slow.¹² USCIRF claim that “India’s central and state police and judicial apparatuses have neglected to examine consistently or adequately the evidence linking...the BHP, RSS, BJP, and Bajrang Dal to acts of violence”.¹³

More broadly, Indian Christian groups have made allegations of harassment by local police at the instigation of Hindu extremist groups such as the RSS. In April 2010, 12 pastors were arrested in the southern Karnataka – purportedly at the behest of the RSS – on charges of “luring” local people to convert.¹⁴ In 2009, the Chief Minister of Orissa state said that members of the RSS were among those responsible for widespread ‘ethnic violence’ that had taken place in Kandhamal district the previous year. While police had arrested a total of 524 Hindu extremists, including 85 RSS members, only 27 individuals remained in gaol. Compass Direct argued that this was due to “shoddy or corrupt investigation by police and prosecutors”.¹⁵

Targeting individuals for harm

According to USDOS in 2010, the BJP and the RSS publicly “claimed to respect and tolerate other religious groups”. Despite this, the RSS opposed “coerced conversions” from Hinduism, and believed that all Indian citizens, irrespective of their religious affiliation, should adhere to Hindu cultural values, which the RSS considered to be synonymous with the country’s

¹⁰ US Commission on International Religious Freedom 2010, *US Commission on International Religious Freedom Annual Report for 2010 – India*, 30 April – Attachment 9

¹¹ Freedom House 2010, *Freedom in the World Country Report for 2010 – India*, 24 June – Attachment 10

¹² Minority Rights Group International 2009, *State of the World’s Minorities and Indigenous People 2009 – India*, 16 July – Attachment 11

¹³ US Commission on International Religious Freedom 2010, *US Commission on International Religious Freedom Annual Report for 2010 – India*, 30 April – Attachment 9

¹⁴ US Department of State 2010, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2010 – India*, 17 November, Section III – Attachment 5

¹⁵ Arora, V. 2009, ‘Official names Hindu nationalist groups in Orissa violence’, *Compass Direct*, 7 December – Attachment 12

values. The BJP, however, did not actively seek anti-conversion laws, a uniform civil code, or advocate for the construction of a Hindu temple on the Ayodhya site during 2010.¹⁶

In 2009, MRG noted that Muslims, Christians and other religious minorities in India faced numerous instances of abuse and attacks, which were linked to “a worrying rise in Hindu nationalism”. In June 2009, 40 people were injured in West Bengal as a result of clashes between RSS supporters and local Muslim villagers over the RSS setting up a camp in the region.¹⁷

Information was located regarding RSS and BJP attacks against Indian Christians. Hindu extremists – including BJP party workers – reportedly attacked a three-day gospel meeting in April 2010. Despite the presence of police, extremists threw petrol bombs into the meeting. The following day they attacked the quarters in which Christians were staying. Following the arrest of 23 extremists, BJP workers staged large protests. In January 2010, a BJP leader and another man reportedly assaulted and verbally abused some Jehovah’s Witnesses who had inadvertently parked their bicycles in front of the BJP leader’s house. In September 2009, Hindu extremists, including members of the RSS, forcibly entered the house of a pastor and physically assaulted him, before parading him around the village and confiscating Christian literature. Police, however, intervened and the pastor was released and promised protection.¹⁸

3. Please provide background information on Chhatra Parishad and Akhil Bharati, particularly the level of influence one may have over the other, and whether either group targets individuals for harm.

Chhatra Parishad (Chhatra Parishad)

While limited information was located regarding Chhatra Parishad, sources confirm that it is the student wing of the Indian Congress Party.^{19 20 21} According to *The Hindu*, the West Bengal state president of Chhatra Parishad claims the group has a presence in about 200 colleges, and controls unions in 70 of them.²²

No information was located to suggest that Chhatra Parishad members or supporters specifically target individuals for harm. Information was located, however, indicating that the group is not averse to the use of violence and civil disobedience. In June 2011, Chhatra Parishad reportedly clashed with rival group SFI during a protest at a university campus. Six people were hospitalised and 15 others were injured.²³ In December 2010, supporters of

¹⁶ US Department of State 2010, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2010 – India*, 17 November, Section II – Attachment 5

¹⁷ Minority Rights Group International 2009, *State of the World’s Minorities and Indigenous People 2009 – India*, 16 July – Attachment 11

¹⁸ US Department of State 2010, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2010 – India*, 17 November, Section III – Attachment 5

¹⁹ ‘Congress workers clash with police’ 2010, *The Hindu*, 16 December <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-newdelhi/article955722.ece> – Accessed 28 June 2011 – Attachment 13

²⁰ ‘SFI, Chhatra Parishad share dais, sympathise with PTI students’ 2008, *Express India*, 17 October <http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/sfi-chhatra-parishad-share-dais-sympathise-with-pti-students/374575/> - Accessed 28 June 2011 – Attachment 14

²¹ ‘The pawn in a dangerous game’ 2009, *Tehelka*, 2 October – Attachment 15

²² ‘Chhatra Parishad begins membership drive in Bengal’ 2011, *The Hindu*, 19 January <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-otherstates/article1101746.ece> – Accessed 28 June 2011 – Attachment 16

²³ ‘15 injured in Malda college clash, cashier arrested’ 2011, *The Times of India*, 24 June http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-06-24/kolkata/29698892_1_sfi-cashier-malda-college – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 17

Chhatra Parishad reportedly clashed with police during a demonstration, resulting in the use of tear gas by police, and the detention of over 200 people.²⁴

According to *The Telegraph*, in December 2009 supporters of the Triamul Congress Chhatra Parishad clashed with rival group the Students Federation of India (SFI) in a number of colleges during student elections. Police made a number of arrests after college employees were assaulted by students.²⁵ In March 2007, 54 Chhatra Parishad supporters were arrested after staging a snap demonstration demanding the punishment of a police officer who had allegedly shot and killed a National Congress activist.²⁶

Akhil Bharati (Akhil Bharatiya)

No information was located on Akhil Bharati, although information was found on Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the student wing of the BJP. The ABVP (Indian Students' Association) was founded in 1948 by RSS cadres based in Delhi, with the primary aim of combating the communist influence on university campuses. As of 2007, the ABVP claimed the highest membership of any student union in India.²⁷ According to Human Rights Without Frontiers, the group has over 3,000 branches throughout India, with a total membership of nearly one million college students. Its objective is to "channel students' energy into the task of national reconstruction". Members of the group have reportedly taken their "nationalistic ideals to extremes and have been linked to violent acts against Christians and other Religious minorities".²⁸

According to the Indian magazine *Frontline*, the ABVP have been active in 'moral policing' on university campuses, enforcing the segregation of different communities within university meeting places, and even classrooms. The ABVP reportedly also placed an unofficial ban on the wearing of burqas on some college campuses.²⁹ In 2008, the ABVP reportedly launched a nationwide movement against Bangladeshi immigrants. At demonstrations, activists chanted slogans voicing their resentment against the "large number of Bangladeshi nationals who are taking shelter in various states of India", demanding they be stripped of their benefits and sent back to Bangladesh. There were reports of minor incidents of violence.³⁰

No information was located regarding any level of influence or conflict between Chhatra Parishad and the ABVP.

²⁴ 'Congress workers clash with police' 2010, *The Hindu*, 16 December <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-newdelhi/article955722.ece> – Accessed 28 June 2011 – Attachment 13

²⁵ 'Five held for campus clash' 2009, *The Telegraph*, 24 December – Attachment 18

²⁶ 'Chhatra Parishad members arrested for demonstration' 2007, *One India News*, Source: UNI, 7 March <http://news.oneindia.in/2007/03/06/chhatra-parishad-members-arrested-for-demonstration-1173206510.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 19

²⁷ Jaffrelot, C. (ed) 2007, 'Hindu Nationalism: A Reader', Princeton University Press website, 25 April <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i8560.html> – Accessed 27 June 2007 – Attachment 20

²⁸ 'India – Hindu Extremist Movements' 2009, Human Rights Without Frontiers International website http://hrwf.net/uploads/hindu_extremists.doc – Accessed 24 February 2009 – Attachment 21

²⁹ Sayeed, V.A. 2009, 'Love and hate', *Frontline*, Vol. 26, Iss. 23, 7-20 November

<http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2623/stories/20091120262302500.htm> – Accessed 14 May 2010 – Attachment 22

³⁰ 'ABVP Launches a Movement against Bangladeshi Immigrants' 2008, *Asian News International*, 12 November – Attachment 23

4. Would state protection be available to a Muslim in Gujarat against threats made by Hindu extremists or by the BJP?

As stated in the response to [Question 1](#), it is generally accepted that the widespread violence against Muslims in Gujarat in 2002 took place with the support of the police and in cooperation with officials of the BJP state government.³¹ Given that in this instance the state was effectively the perpetrator of harm, this would cast doubts over the ability of Gujarat authorities to adequately provide protection against threats made by Hindu extremists or the BJP, who remain in power in the state.³²

According to the UK Home Office 2008 Guidance Note, the governments of 28 states and seven union territories have primary responsibility for maintaining law and order, with the central government providing guidance and support. Some members of the security forces have reportedly committed human rights abuses, and corruption in the police force exists at all levels. Police have acted with relative impunity, and are rarely held accountable for illegal actions.³³

Despite this, there are indications that a key priority for Indian police is the targeting of terrorist elements within Indian society. The UK Home Office Guidance Note suggests that “there is no information to suggest that police would systematically fail to investigate effectively any complaints made by individuals threatened by terrorist groups”. Further, the same report indicates that those experiencing or fearing harm from militant groups can reasonably seek protection from Indian authorities, and there is no evidence to suggest that such protection is not provided.³⁴

Government officials and security services frequently engaged in corrupt practices with impunity, with an estimated 54 per cent of the population admitting to having bribed authorities. Alongside issues such as school admission, access to water supply and access to government assistance, bribes were reportedly also paid to obtain police protection.³⁵

5. Would a person be able to re-locate elsewhere in India if he was unable to obtain state protection in Gujarat?

Indian law provide for freedom of movement within the country, and the government generally respects this in practice. In late 2010, the government repealed the requirement for nationals and foreigners, apart from Pakistani and Chinese nationals, to apply for special permits to travel to Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland. Such permits, however, are still required to travel to Jammu and Kashmir.³⁶ According to the UK Home Office, there are no checks on a newcomer to any part of India arriving from another part of India; local police have neither the resources nor the language abilities to undertake background checks on individuals relocating within India.³⁷

³¹ Human Rights Watch 2002, *We Have No Orders to Save You: State Participation and Complicity in Communal Violence in Gujarat*, Vol.14, No.3, April, Section I – Attachment 3

³² ‘Gujarat Assembly Elections 2007 – results’ 2007, Indian Elections website, <http://www.indian-elections.com/assembly-elections/gujarat/election-result-07.html> – Accessed 20 June 2011 – Attachment 26

³³ UK Home Office 2008, *Operational Guidance Note – India*, April, Section 3.7.4 – Attachment 25

³⁴ UK Home Office 2008, *Operational Guidance Note – India*, April, Section 3.7.4 – Attachment 25

³⁵ US Department of State 2011, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2010 – India*, April, Section 4 – Attachment 24

³⁶ US Department of State 2011, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2010 – India*, April, Section 2.d – Attachment 24

³⁷ UK Home Office 2010, *Country of Origin Information Report – India*, 21 September, Section 20 – Attachment 27

According to the UK Home Office Operational Guidance Note of 2008, internal relocation is not feasible where an individual's fear of ill treatment lies with the central authorities. Relocation to a different area, however, is considered feasible where the individual's fear is of local police and if the individual is not of interest to the central authorities.³⁸

6. Please provide information on the following elections, including the dates and who was running for which party: Gujarat assembly in 2007; Lok Sabha in 2009; and Surat in 2010.

Gujarat Assembly in 2007

According to the Indian Elections website, the 2007 Gujarat Assembly elections were held on 11 December 2007 (Phase One) and 16 December 2007 (Phase Two).³⁹ The BJP retained government, winning 117 out of 182 seats. The Indian National Congress came second, with 59 seats, followed by the National Congress Party with three seats, as well as two independents and one member of the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP). Please refer to the attachment for the names and party-affiliation of each of the 182 successful candidates.⁴⁰

Lok Sabha in 2009

The Indian Elections website states that the 2009 Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Indian Parliament) elections were held on a multi-phase staggered schedule, with the dates as follows: Phase One on 16 April 2009; Phase Two on 23 April 2009; Phase Three on 30 April 2009; Phase Four on 7 May 2009; and Phase Five on 13 May 2009.⁴¹ Of the major parties running in the 2009 Lok Sabha elections, four ran candidates in Gujarat: the BJP fielded 365 candidates, 23 of whom ran in Gujarat;⁴² the National Congress ran 255 candidates nationally, 15 running in Gujarat;⁴³ a total of 182 candidates ran for the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), with 18 in Gujarat;⁴⁴ and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), who fielded two candidates in Gujarat, and a total of 70 nationally.⁴⁵ Please refer to the relevant attachments for further information on these candidates.

The National Congress secured 262 seats, followed by the BJP with 158 seats. Of the remaining parties, the BSP won a total of 21 seats.⁴⁶

³⁸ UK Home Office 2008, *Operational Guidance Note – India*, April, Section 3.6.10 – Attachment 25

³⁹ 'Gujarat Assembly Elections 2007 – Schedule' 2007, Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/assembly-elections/gujarat/> – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 28

⁴⁰ 'Gujarat Assembly Elections 2007 – results' 2007, Indian Elections website, <http://www.indian-elections.com/assembly-elections/gujarat/election-result-07.html> – Accessed 20 June 2011 – Attachment 26

⁴¹ 'Number of constituencies voting on different poll days in state and union territories' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/election-schedule-09/constituencies-voting.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 29

⁴² 'List of BJP candidates for Lok Sabha Election 2009' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/bharatiya-janta-party.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 30

⁴³ 'List of Congress candidates for Lok Sabha Election 2009' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/congress.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 31

⁴⁴ 'List of BSP candidates for Lok Sabha Election 2009' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/bsp.html> - Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 32

⁴⁵ 'List of CPIM for Lok Sabha Election 2009' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/cpim.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 33

⁴⁶ 'Lok Sabha Election Results 2009' 2009, *India Today* <http://election2009.intoday.in/> - Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 34

Surat in 2010

According to the Surat Municipal website, municipal elections were held in Surat on 10 October 2010.⁴⁷ On 12 October 2010, the *Times of India* reported that the BJP had secured 98 of the 114 contested seats, followed by the National Congress with 14 seats. The remaining two seats were won by an independent and a NCP candidate.⁴⁸ No information was located regarding the names or party affiliations of the election candidates.

⁴⁷ 'Past Municipal Elections – Surat' (Undated), Surat Municipal website <http://www.suratmunicipal.gov.in/content/census/pastelections.shtml> – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 35

⁴⁸ 'BJP romps home to power in city for 3rd time' 2010, *Times of India*, 12 October http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2010-10-12/surat/28260181_1_vote-share-bjp-mp-ncp – Accessed 30 June 2011 – Attachment 36

Attachments

1. Jaffrelot, J. 2003, 'Communal Riots in Gujarat: The State at Risk?', *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, Working paper No. 17, July <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/volltexte/2003/4127/pdf/hpsacp17.pdf> – Accessed 8 November 2006.
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11. Minority Rights Group International 2009, *State of the World's Minorities and Indigenous People 2009 – India*, 16 July. (CISNET India CX230736)
12. 'Official names Hindu nationalist groups in Orissa violence' 2009, *Compass Direct*, 7 December. (CISNET India CX237366)
13. 'Congress workers clash with police' 2010, *The Hindu*, 16 December <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-newdelhi/article955722.ece> – Accessed 28 June 2011.
14. 'SFI, Chhatra Parishad share dais, sympathise with PTI students' 2008, *Express India*, 17 October <http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/sfi-chhatra-parishad-share-dais-sympathise-with-pti-students/374575/> – Accessed 28 June 2011.
15. 'The pawn in a dangerous game' 2009, *Tehelka*, 2 October. (CISNET India CX234382)
16. Chhatra Parishad begins membership drive in Bengal' 2011, *The Hindu*, 19 January <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-otherstates/article1101746.ece> – Accessed 28 June 2011.

17. '15 injured in Malda college clash, cashier arrested' 2011, *The Times of India*, 24 June http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-06-24/kolkata/29698892_1_sfi-cashier-malda-college – Accessed 30 June 2011.
18. 'Five held for campus clash' 2009, *The Telegraph*, 24 December http://www.telegraphindia.com/1091224/jsp/calcutt_a/story_11902334.jsp - Accessed 24 December 2009. (CISNET India CX238131)
19. 'Chhatra Parishad members arrested for demonstration' 2007, *One India News*, Source: UNI, 7 March <http://news.oneindia.in/2007/03/06/chhatra-parishad-members-arrested-for-demonstration-1173206510.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011.
20. Jaffrelot, C. (ed) 2007, 'Hindu Nationalism: A Reader', Princeton University Press website, 25 April <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/i8560.html> – Accessed 27 June 2007.
21. 'India – Hindu Extremist Movements' 2009, Human Rights Without Frontiers International website http://hrwf.net/uploads/hindu_extremists.doc – Accessed 24 February 2009.
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23. 'ABVP Launches a Movement against Bangladeshi Immigrants' 2008, *Asian News International*, 12 November. (FACTIVA)
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30. 'List of BJP candidates for Lok Sabha Election 2009' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/bharatiya-janta-party.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011.
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32. 'List of BSP candidates for Lok Sabha Election 2009' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/bsp.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011.

33. 'List of CPIM for Lok Sabha Election 2009' (Undated), Indian Elections website <http://www.indian-elections.com/partyprofiles/cpim.html> – Accessed 30 June 2011.
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