

NOVEMBER 2025

Stop JCB's Bulldozer Genocide

**A REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATIONS IN PALESTINE,
INDIA & KASHMIR**

SECOND EDITION





JCB: Stop Bulldozer Genocide.

For updates on the campaign, check out our insta:



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Naveen Sharma/SOPA Images/LightRocket via Getty Images.

"Everyone at home was asleep that noon, from the fatigue of fasting for Ramzan. Suddenly we heard a lot of commotion outside. We came out and saw four or five JCB machines coming towards our house. **The machines directly attacked our house.** We weren't given any notice, nothing." said Hasina Bi, 56-year-old widow from Madhya Pradesh.
(Source: Amnesty International)

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Report update - November 2025

The ten months since we first published this report have seen an enormous increase in demolitions in Palestine and India.

JCB has not only vastly expanded its activities but is involved directly in the ongoing genocide in Gaza and in ethnic cleansing in India. It is also one of 61 multinational companies listed by the UN, in a July 2025 [report](#)¹, as profiting from the genocide in Gaza.

In Palestine, in the occupied Palestinian territories (OPT), JCB machines were long involved in the demolition of homes, schools and water sources and olive trees and the construction of settlers' houses. In the last six months these demolitions have risen exponentially in line with the increasing violence and land grabbing of the Israeli state. As the UN's Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [reported](#) in July 2025:

'In the OPT since the launch of Israel's operation "Iron Wall" in the north of the occupied West Bank earlier this year, about 30,000 Palestinians remain forcibly displaced.' The use of JCB machinery in the West Bank is extremely widespread. An artist from Masafer Yatta, who built a sculpture of a JCB bulldozer out of the rubble of his own family home after it was demolished last year, told us: 'JCB machines are now everywhere, causing more pain and destruction than ever before'.²

¹ Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967. *From Economy Of Occupation To Economy Of Genocide*. Available here: <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/a-hrc-59-23-from-economy-of-occupation-to-economy-of-genocide-report-special-rapporteur-francesca-albanese-palestine-2025/>.

² Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights "Israel must stop killings and home demolitions in occupied West Bank". 15 July 2025. Available here: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-briefing-notes/2025/07/israel-must-stop-killings-and-home-demolitions-occupied-west-bank>

On the morning of Tuesday 28 October, Israeli occupation forces, accompanied by personnel from the so-called "Civil Administration," raided Khirbet Umm al-Khair, east of Yatta, and handed residents a series of final demolition orders, which is currently leading to a large-scale demolition campaign.

The demolition orders follow the [murder](#), in July, of one of the village's residents, Awdah Hathaleen, by a settler.³ Hathaleen was [shot](#) while filming a settler raid, and while holding his infant son.⁴

Residents reported that the orders targeted several homes and community facilities, as follows:

- Umm al-Khair Community Center – Final demolition order.
- Greenhouse, approximately 500 square meters, owned by Khalil Mohammad al-Hathaleen – Final demolition order.
- Yasser Eid al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Sara Eid al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Khalil Shuaib al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Kheirallah Suleiman al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Hussam Salem Eid al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Bilal Salem Eid al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Zayed Suleiman al-Hathaleen – Residential house, stop-work order.
- Mousa Suleiman al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.

³ "Israeli police order Church of England delegation to leave West Bank village after a stand-off with armed settlers." *Church Times*, November 14, 2025.
<https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2025/14-november/news/world/israeli-police-order-church-of-england-delegation-to-leave-west-bank-village-after-a-stand-off-with-armed-settlers>.

⁴ "Six Days without Food: Umm al-Khair Women Secure Odeh Hadhalin's Farewell." *Palestine Chronicle*, Accessed November 19, 2025.
<https://www.palestinechronicle.com/six-days-without-food-umm-al-khair-women-secure-odeh-hadhalin-s-farewell/>.

- Eid Suleiman al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Maliha Hamad al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Omar Suleiman al-Hathaleen – Residential house, final demolition order.
- Khadra Suleiman al-Hathaleen – Bathroom facility, final demolition order.

Khirbet Umm al-Khair is one of the most repeatedly targeted Bedouin communities in Masafer Yatta, having endured more than 20 demolition operations since 2007, during which over 100 residential, agricultural, and public structures were destroyed — the most recent occurring in February 2025.

Today, the community once again faces the looming threat of demolition and forced displacement under the policies of the Israeli occupation, placing the residents' very existence on their ancestral land at grave risk.

Meanwhile, as Arwah Mahdawi [writes](#), after the systematic destruction of Gaza, the IDF is posting Facebook ads for bulldozer operators to help demolish the strip. Mahdawi quotes Neve Gordon, professor of international law and human rights at Queen Mary University of London: "What is happening in Gaza is not a building here or there being demolished...it's the destruction of whole villages and towns".⁵

The Israeli army's 98th Paratroopers Division which has been heavily involved in the Gaza genocide uses militarised unbranded JCB machines. Who Profits [reported](#) that:

'The JCB armored High Mobility Engineer Excavator (HMEE), known in Hebrew as "Ami", was purchased through the American Foreign Military Sales program and is used by the Israeli military 98th Paratroopers Division and the Engineering Corps. The "Ami" excavator underwent several modifications according to the requirements of the Israeli military, including the installation of items of equipment in the tools necessary for its operation and adaptation

⁵ "Bulldozer in Gaza: The Genocide Tool the IDF Uses While Meta Looks Away." *The Guardian*, July 9, 2025. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/jul/09/bulldozer-gaza-genocide-idf-meta>.

to the weapons of the infantry units. The excavator is used to break through obstacles and is resistant to explosions and gunfire'.⁶

In India, JCB bulldozers are now being used for ethnic cleansing.

On 12 July, 1080 families were displaced and 19-year old Sakuar Ali was killed in [police firing in the Goalpara district](#) in the northeastern state of Assam. Those targeted were mainly Muslims of Bengali origin.⁷ This followed the demolition of the homes of 690 families in the same district, on 16 June. [According to Human Rights Watch](#), the BJP government has 'intensified operations to expel ethnic Bengali Muslims to Bangladesh' and 'is fuelling discrimination by arbitrarily expelling Bengali Muslims from the country, including Indian citizens'.⁸

The demolitions in Assam are part of a campaign of home demolitions by JCB bulldozers across the country. While demolitions were already widespread - and as we have noted, not only homes but places of worship and Madrasas were targeted - in the last few months, demolitions have been used in a policy of ethnic cleansing in BJP ruled states. For example [in Malegoan in Maharashtra](#), 55 homes were demolished in May 2025.⁹ That same month, on a much larger scale, 8,000 Muslim homes were [demolished in Siasat Nagar, Gujarat](#). As in Assam, the government claimed that the residents were 'illegal' Bangladeshi migrants although most were Indian citizens.¹⁰

In June 2025, JCB bulldozers destroyed the homes of poor Dalit, oppressed caste and Muslim working class families in Delhi's Wazirpur area, originally migrants from Bihar, with no rehabilitation. They told a member of the Stop JCB Campaign:

⁶ "Who Profits Company Database: Company 4086." Who Profits, Accessed November 19, 2025. Available here: <https://www.whoprofits.org/companies/company/4086>.

⁷ "Muslim Teenager Killed, 4 Hurt as Police Open Fire during Eviction Drive in Assam." KMS News, July 18, 2025. <https://kmsnews.org/kms/2025/07/18/muslim-teenager-killed-4-hurt-as-police-open-fire-during-eviction-drive-in-assam.html>.

⁸ Human Rights Watch. "India: Hundreds of Muslims Unlawfully Expelled to Bangladesh." News release, July 23, 2025. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/07/23/india-hundreds-of-muslims-unlawfully-expelled-to-bangladesh>.

⁹ Clarion India. "Malegaon Demolition Drive Pushes Poor Muslim Families to the Streets." Accessed November 19, 2025. Available here: <https://clarionindia.net/malegaon-demolition-drive-pushes-poor-muslim-families-to-the-streets/>.

¹⁰ The Wire. "8,000 Homes Demolished in Gujarat's Siasat Nagar, Government Cites 'National Security'." Accessed November 19, 2025. Available here: <https://thewire.in/rights/8000-homes-demolished-in-gujarats-siasat-nagar-government-cites-national-security>.

‘Our children can’t study, all their books were destroyed, we lost everything. When the bulldozers came, we only managed to escape with our lives. Now we have no shelter - we are exposed to the heat and the monsoon rain with our children’.

As UN Special Rapporteur Balakrishnan Rajagopal [stated](#), ‘we need to recognize the mass destruction of homes as a standalone crime of its own. I call it domicile. Israel has pursued punitive demolitions as an act of occupation, as a tool of occupation and as a tool of annexation in the West Bank in particular. And the only other country that is increasingly adopting it as a state policy that I am aware of is India.’¹¹

In India, ‘these demolitions are carried out in peacetime, often in Muslim-majority neighbourhoods. They are symbolic, extrajudicial punishments... demolitions are acts of trauma. They target not only homes, but memory, dignity, and citizenship’.

JCB is involved in committing these acts despite having the [live link technologies](#) which allows them to monitor how their machines are used.¹² They are actively choosing to remain complicit in ethnic cleansing and genocide and uphold imperialist and fascist regimes.

JCB have blood on their hands!

Stop JCB Demolitions Campaign complaint with UK National Contact Point (NCP)

On 24th January 2025, on behalf of JCB Campaign group, Stop JCB Demolitions Campaign filed a complaint with the UK National Contact Point (NCP) under OECD Guidelines for Multination Corporations, for violations by JCB under Chapter IV Paragraphs 3 and 5 of the OECD Guidelines, based on the use of heavy machinery manufactured and sold by its Indian subsidiary, JCB Industries Private Limited, in

¹¹ Instagram Reel. December 5, 2020. <https://www.instagram.com/reel/DCT5t6MSqSm/>

¹² JCB. "JCB LiveLink Telematics." JCB, Accessed November 19, 2025. <https://www.jcb.com/en-GB/explore/insight/livelink/>.

demolitions of Muslim-owned property in India which were carried out without due process and in a discriminatory manner to punish minorities, causing significant economic and mental harm to the affected residents.

The complaint presented credible evidence on 33 incidents of demolitions of Muslim-owned property in India between April and June 2022 where JCB bulldozers were used by the authorities in the Indian States of Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Assam, as well as in the National Capital Territory Delhi. The complainant alleges that JCB UK is failing to take necessary actions to address the adverse human rights impacts resulting from the use of its heavy machinery products in such demolitions.

UK NCP has not pronounced a decision on the complaint yet. We continue to press them.



Introduction

Why are we campaigning against JCB?

The sun may have set on the British empire but British imperialism lives on. Today's robber barons are ruthless and unethical multinational companies like J.C. Bamford Excavators Limited (JCB), a British construction company which manufactures bulldozers and other construction equipment.

JCB's Chairman, billionaire Anthony Bamford or Baron Bamford of Daylesford and Wootton, has been a longstanding 'super donor' to the British Conservative party and close friend of Boris Johnson. More recently, JCB has made major donations to the far-right Reform Party and was one of the main corporate sponsors at its conference in September 2025. The JCB empire is controlled by the Bamford family trusts, which have been involved in off shore tax scandals¹³. Despite this JCB has recently received a Royal Warrant of appointment in appreciation of its ongoing work¹⁴

Our report examines the deeply disturbing nature of this work in Palestine, India and Kashmir.

¹³Isaac, A. (2023) 'Tory donors from JCB empire could face £500m bill to settle tax inquiry' The Guardian, 22 October. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2023/oct/22/tory-donors-anthony-mark-bamford-jcb-empire-could-face-500m-bill-to-settle-tax-inquiry>

¹⁴ Bains, R. (2025) 'JCB receives Royal appointment by His Majesty King Charles III' Manufacturing Management, 3 January. Available at: <https://www.manufacturingmanagement.co.uk/content/news/jcb-receives-royal-appointment-by-his-majesty-king-charles-iii>

In Palestine, as Amnesty International write in their report *JCB Off Track*:

‘For over 50 years Israel has been displacing Palestinians, demolishing their homes, destroying their livelihoods, and seizing their land for Israeli settlers. This is a war crime: a breach of the Geneva Conventions, which prohibit an occupying power from transferring its own civilians into the territory that it occupies. British company JCB is a key supplier of machinery used in this systematic violation of human rights’¹⁵.

Here JCB operates through its sole dealer, the Israeli company Comasco, which holds contracts with Israel’s Ministry of Defence for the same model of JCB machines used in the demolitions and construction of settlements. From as early as 2006 the Israeli military has been photographed demolishing Palestinian homes with JCB bulldozers.

In India, Narendra Modi’s Hindu supremacist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government has consistently used JCB bulldozers to demolish Muslim homes, shops and places of worship across various Indian states in an ongoing project disturbingly named ‘bulldozer justice’. In fact, as we show in the pages which follow, JCB is so closely intertwined with this project that it has come to symbolize attacks on Muslims. JCB bulldozers have been used to carry out both punitive and arbitrary demolitions. In the punitive demolitions the homes of people accused of crimes, which include protesting against the BJP, are destroyed. Arbitrary demolitions are illustrated by experiences such as that of Hasina Bi, a 56 year old widow from the state of Madhya Pradesh:

*‘Everyone at home was asleep that noon, from the fatigue of fasting for Ramzan. Suddenly we heard a lot of commotion outside. We came out and saw four or five JCB machines coming towards our house. The machines directly attacked our house. We weren’t given any notice, nothing’.*¹⁶

In Kashmir, which is one of the most militarised zones on earth, the Indian army has, for decades, acted with total impunity. Despite this, until 2019 the region of Jammu and Kashmir retained autonomy on various internal matters and only Kashmiris were

¹⁵ Amnesty International (2021) *JCB Off Track: Evading responsibility for human rights violations committed with JCB machines in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/4985/2021/en/>

¹⁶ Amnesty International (n.d.) ‘JCB must say no to bulldozer injustice in India’. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/petition/jcb-must-say-no-to-bulldozer-injustice-in-india/>

eligible to buy land. This changed in 2019 when India revoked Article 370 of its Constitution. Non-Kashmiris can now buy land and settle in Kashmir¹⁷. In order to facilitate the entry of Indians and Indian capital, land and property is being acquired, dispossessing local owners without any due process.

A series of demolition drives¹⁸ are being carried out frequently using JCB bulldozers. Many of the properties demolished belong to non-BJP political figures, with authorities making baseless allegations of illegal land acquisition or construction. However, there have also been brutal arbitrary demolitions such as the experience of Suhail Ahmad Shah, a worker in a workshop selling second hand car parts in Srinagar: 'No notice was served to us. The officials came suddenly and demolished our workshop. No one is listening to us. We've been paying rent. Isn't this an atrocity? They have snatched our livelihood.'¹⁹

The campaign and its demands

The campaign 'JCB: Stop Bulldozer Genocide' is a coalition of organisations with two main demands:

1. JCB must end its relationship with the Israeli Ministry of Defence and cease all activities in occupied Palestine.
2. JCB must commit to ensuring that its products are not used for human rights violations in India and Kashmir through robust monitoring and prevention systems. This includes making compulsory the use of its existing LiveLink technology²⁰ to trace and locate JCB machines.

¹⁷ AlJazeera (2023) 'What's Article 370? What to know about India top court verdict on Kashmir' AlJazeera 11 December. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/11/whats-article-370-what-to-know-about-india-top-court-verdict-on-kashmir>

¹⁸ Amnesty International (2023) 'India: Demolitions in Kashmir must be immediately halted and those affected compensated' 7 February. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/02/india-demolitions-in-kashmir-must-be-immediately-halted-and-those-affected-compensated/>

¹⁹ Hassan, A. and Ellis-Petersen, H. (2023) "'Bulldozer politics': Modi's demolition drive fuels Muslims' fears in Kashmir' The Guardian, 19 March. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/19/bulldozer-politics-modi-demolition-drive-fuels-muslims-fears-in-kashmir>

²⁰ See <https://www.jcblivelink.com/>

In the pages which follow, we explore in more detail the ongoing role of JCB in human rights violations - alongside their social and economic impacts and legal implications - across Palestine, India and Kashmir.

India

1. Context

On 6 December 1992, Hindu supremacist mobs demolished the iconic 500 year old mosque, the Babri Masjid, in Uttar Pradesh in India²¹. The demolition came after several years of anti-Muslim campaigning across much of India, and triggered months of violence against and mass killings of Muslims, marking a turning point in the normalization of anti-Muslim violence in India.

Since 2014, the Hindu supremacist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) under Prime Minister Narendra Modi has ruled India, and religious minorities - overwhelmingly, Muslims and caste-oppressed communities – continue to face escalating intense state-sponsored violence. This includes hate crimes met with impunity, lynchings on the pretext of punishing cow smugglers and beef consumption, Hindu supremacist religious processions inciting anti-Muslim violence; and campaigns of anti-Muslim hate by religious leaders and senior BJP politicians including PM Modi himself. Recent years have also seen extrajudicial killings, draconian anti-Muslim laws and crackdowns against protestors and dissidents, arbitrary detentions and torture.

1.1 Bulldozer (In)justice

Against this backdrop of Hindu supremacy and anti-Muslim violence, the Indian state has particularly employed a method of collective punishment that involves the targeted demolitions of homes and property, in so-called ‘bulldozer justice’.

²¹ An extended version of this section on JCB in India is available at <https://southasiajusticecampaign.org/>

These arbitrary demolitions fall into two broad categories:

a. [Punitive demolitions](#)²² of property of persons accused of a crime before any kind of trial takes place, effectively a form of extrajudicial punishment without establishing guilt. This includes people targeted simply for protesting against the BJP.

b. The demolition of so-called “unauthorised” or “illegal” structures. In some of these cases people in fact have official documents to prove legality, whilst in others these are the only housing options available to them as economically marginalised people. Members of marginalised communities, especially Muslims, are disproportionately targeted by such demolitions, particularly as an intimidation tactic following protests by minority groups in response to displays of Hindu supremacy. In addition to being arbitrary and unlawful due to not following prescribed procedures, these cases also include a retaliatory element, with authorities treating demolition as a form of individual or collective punishment.

Punitive demolitions have been publicly [supported](#)²³ by political leaders affiliated with the BJP, with Uttar Pradesh's Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath - also [known](#) as ‘bulldozer baba’²⁴ - being a particularly vocal proponent. Adityanath also popularised the practice of using bulldozers in political rallies: in 2022, a representative bulldozer was [paraded](#) in a rally supporting Adityanath in New Jersey, USA²⁵. While campaigning in Uttar Pradesh for the 2024 Lok Sabha election, Prime Minister Modi also [spoke](#) in favour of Yogi Adityanath's bulldozer policy²⁶. As a result, the bulldozer

²² Human Rights Watch (2022) ‘India: Surge in Summary Punishments of Muslims: Discriminatory Demolitions of Property, Public Flogging’ 7 October. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/07/india-surge-summary-punishments-muslims>

²³ Amnesty International (2024) ‘India: “If you speak up, your house will be demolished”: Bulldozer injustice in India’ 7 February. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7613/2024/en/>

²⁴ Shukla, S. (2017) ‘Will bulldoze your houses even if you think of crime: Yogi Adityanath's warning to mafia’ DNA 6 September. Available at: <https://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-will-bulldoze-your-houses-even-if-you-think-of-crime-yogi-aditya-nath-s-warning-to-mafia-2543520>

²⁵ Srivastava, S. (2022) ‘“Bulldozer Baba” reaches US streets during Tiranga rally’ India Today, 17 August. Available at: <https://www.indiatoday.in/world/indians-abroad/story/bulldozer-baba-reaches-us-streets-during-tiranga-rally-1989238-2022-08-17>

²⁶ Behal, A. (2024) ‘India's bulldozer raj: Over 1,50,000 homes razed, 7,38,000 left homeless in two years’ Frontline, 8 July

has emerged in recent years as a [symbol](#) of state-sanctioned oppression against Muslims in India²⁷.

Punitive demolitions have also been supported by other state governments across the country, including in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi, Haryana and Maharashtra.

1.2 Role of JCB

The British construction manufacturer, J.C Bamford Excavators, United Kingdom (**JCB UK**) via its fully owned Indian subsidiary, JCB (India) Ltd. has been reported as actively producing the bulldozers being used by authorities in the demolitions.

Amnesty International's February 2024 report investigated 63 of 128 demolitions across Assam, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi between April and June 2022, and confirmed the use of JCB machines in 33 instances²⁸. The report found that all 63 demolitions – residential buildings, shops, and mosques – were carried out without following due process, and amounted to forced evictions. The report also highlighted the resulting human rights responsibilities of JCB India and JCB UK, based on the use of JCB equipment, and the failure of the company to meet these responsibilities.

While machinery produced by other manufacturers was also used in such demolitions, the consistent and widespread use of JCB machines indicated that JCB is the brand of choice for these purposes. Amnesty also highlighted that interviews with victims [revealed](#) that the use of JCB-branded machinery in demolitions was so commonplace, that the brand's name has become a generic term for bulldozers²⁹. This was further supported by BJP political leaders routinely alluding to JCB machines as a tool to punish Muslims. An April 2022 tweet (since deleted) saw GVL Narasimha, a BJP spokesperson, equating JCB with 'Jihadi Control Board', and BJP MLA T. Raja

²⁷ Siddiqui, M.I. (2024) 'The Rise of Bulldozer Culture: A Threat to Human Rights and the Rule of Law' India Tomorrow, 30 August. Available at: <https://indiatomorrow.net/2024/08/30/the-rise-of-bulldozer-culture-a-threat-to-human-rights-and-the-rule-of-law/>

²⁸ Amnesty International (2024) 'India: Unearthing Accountability – JCB's Role and Responsibility in Bulldozer Injustice in India' 7 February. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7614/2024/en/>

²⁹ *ibid.*

Singh threatened voters in Uttar Pradesh in February 2022 to vote for BJP candidate Yogi Adityanath or face demolition of their properties by JCB bulldozers. Tellingly, JCB also appears to have made direct gains from such use of their bulldozers, as reports [indicate](#) that the increased use of bulldozers has resulted in the price of a bulldozer almost doubling³⁰.

Amnesty International also [wrote](#) to JCB India and JCB UK in July and December 2023 to inform the companies about *'the Indian authorities' use of JCB machines to carry out forced evictions and punitive demolitions of largely Muslim owned and occupied homes in five states'* and to share detailed findings of its report³¹. In response, a legal firm acting on behalf of JCB UK denied any link between JCB and human rights violations.

2. Consequences of JCB's Violent Demolitions

In addition to the legal and ethical concerns with punitive demolitions, there are profound economic, physical and psychological repercussions for affected communities. These range from health challenges due to loss of shelter, joblessness due to the destruction of livelihoods, debt and financial impact, to the stigma associated with being a victim of such violence and being rendered homeless. All these impacts are in addition to the physical [violence](#) and abuse that marginalized communities often face from authorities while the demolitions are ongoing³².

2.1 Loss of housing/shelter

One impact is the loss of shelter, directly impacting the affected community's right to a secure and dignified life. For children, the financial strains can result in breaks in

³⁰ Singh, A. (2024) 'Why "bulldozer justice" goes against the grain of rule of law' New Indian Express, 22 September. Available at : <https://www.newindianexpress.com/explainers/2024/Sep/22/why-bulldozer-justice-goes-against-the-grain-of-rule-of-law>

³¹ Amnesty International (2024) 'India: Unearthing Accountability – JCB's Role and Responsibility in Bulldozer Injustice in India' 7 February. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7614/2024/en/>

³² Amnesty International (2024) 'India: Authorities must immediately stop unjust targeted demolition of Muslim properties – new reports' 7 February. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/02/india-authorities-must-immediately-stop-unjust-targeted-demolition-of-muslim-properties/>

education, with students being forced to drop out of school. Similarly, the lack of privacy due to the loss of shelter has resulted in a documented increase in sexual violence and menstrual health challenges for women and girls, with the latter furthering education gaps.

2.2 Financial harm

Forced demolitions also bear clear material, economic impacts for victims, such as the destruction of belongings and livelihoods.

For instance, in its [February 2024 report](#), Amnesty International found that the demolitions impacted people running mobile repair, automobile repair and juice shops, as well as street vendors and salespeople whose livelihoods had been significantly affected by the demolitions, effectively impacting the entire economic landscape of the targeted neighbourhood³³. Many of those affected do not have the means to access legal redress, and so such demolitions frequently [render](#) victims homeless³⁴.

2.3 Psychological harm

In addition to the harms listed above, punitive demolitions also have the effect of instilling fear and a sense of vulnerability among Muslims in India. This, combined with the rise in Indian politicians using Islamophobic and xenophobic language, such as Prime Minister Modi's recent [use](#) of the term *ghuspetiya* (infiltrator)³⁵, and the [conflation](#) of Muslim communities with migrants who have entered India unlawfully³⁶, serves to further villainise and isolate Muslims. The psychological trauma and resulting sense of injustice has the [effect](#) of devastating individual lives

³³ Amnesty International (2024) 'India: "If you speak up, your house will be demolished": Bulldozer injustice in India' 7 February. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7613/2024/en/>

³⁴ *ibid*.

³⁵ Naqvi, S. (2024) 'New Lines of Separation: What Indian Muslims Confront After the Most Communal Campaign in Our History' The Wire, 3 June. Available at: <https://thewire.in/communalism/indian-muslims-modi-communal-campaign>

³⁶ Amnesty International (2024) 'India: "If you speak up, your house will be demolished": Bulldozer injustice in India' 7 February. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7613/2024/en/>

and exacerbating existing communal divides³⁷. The continued targeting of those who speak out or participate in protests, especially through punitive demolitions, also contributes to the [suppression of](#) any kind of dissent³⁸.

3. Legal Implications

3.1 Court hearings

In recent decades, the Supreme Court of India, alongside High Courts of Delhi, Allahabad and Punjab & Haryana, have made various rulings mandating that authorities must follow due process and provide advance notice prior to carrying out demolitions.

On 2 September 2024, while hearing pleas from two Muslim men seeking remedy for the punitive demolition of their homes, the Supreme Court [announced](#) its intention to frame uniform, pan-India guidelines for demolitions of ‘illegal constructions’³⁹. On 17 September 2024, the Supreme Court [passed an interim stay](#)⁴⁰, till its next date of hearing (initially 1 October 2024, extended further), [prohibiting](#) any demolitions in the country without its permission⁴¹. However, the court has clarified that the stay does not apply to ‘unauthorised structures’ in public places and in cases where a demolition order has been issued by a court of law. The Supreme Court has now

³⁷ Siddiqui, M.I. (2024) ‘The Rise of Bulldozer Culture: A Threat to Human Rights and the Rule of Law’ India Tomorrow, 30 August. Available at: <https://indiatomorrow.net/2024/08/30/the-rise-of-bulldozer-culture-a-threat-to-human-rights-and-the-rule-of-law>

³⁸ Ather, S. (2023) ‘India’s bulldozer war on Muslim neighbourhoods’ Middle East Eye, 6 February. Available at: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/india-muslims-undeclared-war-neighbourhoods>

³⁹ Rajagopal, K. (2024) ‘Supreme Court says law does not allow bulldozing of homes of accused, their kins; proposes framing uniform, pan-India guidelines’ The Hindu, 2 September. Available at: <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/supreme-court-says-it-proposes-to-lay-down-pan-india-guidelines-on-issue-of-demolition-action/article68596021.ece>

⁴⁰ Jain, D. (2024) ‘Supreme Court Pauses “Bulldozer Actions”, Orders That No Demolition Should Take Place Without Its Permission’ Live Law, 17 September. Available at: <https://www.livelaw.in/top-stories/supreme-court-bulldozer-action-against-house-of-persons-accused-of-crime-269797>

⁴¹ Supreme Court of India, Record of Proceedings. Writ Petition(s)(Civil) No(s). 295/2022. Available at: https://api.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2022/12239/12239_2022_3_61_55688_Order_17-Sep-2024.pdf

reserved its orders, and the final judgment including the guidelines on demolition of properties are [awaited](#)⁴².

In the meantime, demolitions have continued, as seen, among others, from the egregious example of the [demolition](#) of a 500-year-old mosque and a graveyard in Gujarat on 28 September 2024⁴³.

On 27 September 2024, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing Balakrishnan Rajagopal (**SR on Housing**) sought the Supreme Court's permission to [intervene](#) in the case it was hearing⁴⁴. The SR [highlighted](#) that punitive demolitions, especially those with a discriminatory impact on minority community members, are an aggravated form of human rights violation⁴⁵. He stated that where demolitions result in homelessness, they may amount to 'cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment or punishment', and that the demolition of private property as a means of crime control and maintenance of public order was illegal. However, the Supreme Court [did not allow](#) the intervention of the SR on Housing, on the basis that they did not want to '*internationalise the issue*'⁴⁶.

As of writing, the Supreme Court is still to give its final order in the case.

⁴² Express News Service (2024) 'Supreme Court reserves order on demolition norms: "We are a secular country, will lay down guidelines for all citizens"' 2 October. Available at:

<https://indianexpress.com/article/india/supreme-court-demolition-guidelines-secular-country-9597628/>

⁴³ Ashraf, S.F. (2024) "Demolitions Taking Place Despite Supreme Court Order" Rediff.com, 14 October. Available at:

<https://www.rediff.com/news/report/m-huzaifa-demolitions-taking-place-despite-supreme-court-order/20241014.htm>

⁴⁴ Jain, D. (2024) "Punitive Demolitions Grave Violation Of Human Rights" UN Expert Seeks Intervention In 'Bulldozer' Matter In Supreme Court' Live Law, 28 September. Available at: <https://www.livelaw.in/top-stories/supreme-court-bulldozer-actions-un-special-rapporteur-intervention-punitive-demolitions-violation-of-intl-human-rights-271013>

⁴⁵ Rajagopal, K. (2024) "Punitive Demolitions Grave Violation Of Human Rights" : UN Expert Seeks Intervention In "Bulldozer" Matter In Supreme Court' The Hindu, 28 September. Available at: <https://www.livelaw.in/top-stories/supreme-court-bulldozer-actions-un-special-rapporteur-intervention-punitive-demolitions-violation-of-intl-human-rights-271013>

⁴⁶ Patnaik, S. (2024) 'Supreme Court reserves judgement in "Bulldozer Action" case; stay on demolitions remains' Supreme Court Observer, 3 October. Available at: <https://www.scoobserver.in/journal/supreme-court-reserves-judgement-in-bulldozer-action-case-stay-on-demolitions-remains/>

3.2 Domestic Indian law

The exact procedural requirements vary depending on the state where the demolitions occur, but the requirement to provide advance notice and an opportunity to respond is common across Indian states.

We can look at the example of Haryana, one of the states where a large number of punitive demolitions have taken place. The procedure to be followed by the authorities before any demolition is carried out is provided in the Haryana Urban Development Authority Act of 1977 (1977 Act) and the Haryana Municipal Corporation Act of 1994 (1994 Act). (These include the issue of a show cause notice, time given for a response, followed by a demolition order, and the possibility of filing an appeal against such an order).

The **representation made by the occupant must be considered by the authority**, and if the authority wishes to continue with the demolition, **an order of removal must be sent along with brief reasons for the decision**. Thereafter, **if the person fails to comply with the order, demolition may be carried out within a prescribed period** not sooner than 15 days from the date of receipt of the removal order under the 1977 Act and not sooner than three days from such date of receipt under the 1994 Act.

Similar procedures must be followed even if the structures are classified as 'illegal' i.e. built contrary to the master plan or built on government land.

If a construction is made in an area which has been designated as a 'controlled area' by the state government, and such construction is in contravention of the Punjab New Capital (Periphery) Control Act, 1952 (applicable to Haryana), a similar procedure needs to be followed before taking any action. Similar provisions also exist under the Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Act, 1975, and the Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas Restriction of Unregulated Development Act, 1963 (applicable in Haryana). However, in the punitive, arbitrary demolitions highlighted here, there is a tendency to ignore the statutory procedures.

For instance, the demolitions in the Haryana city of Nuh in August 2023 in the aftermath of communal violence were carried out without any prior notice, and properties were identified for demolition based on the religion of occupants without any regard for the paperwork that they possessed⁴⁷. The occupants in some cases have claimed that there was CCTV footage to show that notices were posted on buildings just minutes before they were demolished, and that the occupants were not given any time to remove their belongings from the structures⁴⁸.

The demolitions highlighted here also run contrary to guarantees made under the Constitution of India. Though the right to property is no longer a fundamental right after the 44th amendment to the Constitution in 1978, Article 300A sets out that ‘No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.’ Further, the right to housing can be read into the fundamental right to life and liberty, which article 21 of the Constitution provides cannot be removed without following due process.

Crucially, the timing of the demolitions and the discriminatory intent of the authorities also violate the due process and non-discrimination requirements under domestic laws.

3.3 International Human Rights Law

The demolitions described above amount to a violation of India’s obligations under international human rights law:

i. Right to housing

In each of the arbitrary demolition cases, State authorities have arbitrarily demolished property of persons belonging to the Muslim religious minority community without following due process. In many punitive demolition cases, the

⁴⁷ Vats, S. and Chouhan, P. (2023) ‘How the demolition drive in Nuh went against court orders and due procedures’ Frontline, 25 August. Available at: <https://frontline.thehindu.com/the-nation/how-the-demolition-drive-in-nuh-went-against-court-orders-and-due-procedures/article67234495.ece>

⁴⁸ Dhankar, L. (2023) ‘Properties demolished in Nuh were legal, say local residents’ Hindustan Times, 10 August. Available at: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/gurugram-news/demolition-in-haryana-six-case-studies-expose-government-s-discrimination-towards-muslims-101691607193246.html>

demolitions are in direct retaliation or as a punitive measure targeting undertrial individuals accused of various criminal offences. Such retaliatory measures run contrary to India's obligations:

- a. In line with Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (**UDHR**), Articles 2 and 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (**ICESCR**) and Articles 2 and 17 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (**ICCPR**), India is required to respect, protect and fulfil the right to an adequate standard of living, including housing, as well as the right to non-discrimination and the right to freedom from arbitrary or unlawful interference with one's privacy, family and home.
- b. General Comments No. 4 and 7 of the Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (**CESCR**) stress the need to provide adequate legal protection from forced eviction, due process, alternative accommodation, and access to an effective remedy to those affected by eviction orders.

ii. **Rights of minorities**

The incidents described pertain to the targeting and destruction of property owned by members of the Muslim community, a religious minority in India, being targeted and destroyed. Based on the retaliatory and disproportionate nature of evictions, it is very likely that the action of the authorities took into account the religious minority identity of the victims, since similar actions are seldom used in relation to members of the majority Hindu community. In this context, it is relevant to note the following provisions of international human rights law:

- a. Article 27 of the ICCPR as well as the United Nations 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (**Declaration on Minorities**) refer to the obligation of States to protect the existence and the identity of minorities within their territories and to adopt measures to that end.

- b. The Declaration on Minorities also requires States to adopt measures to ensure that persons belonging to minorities can exercise their human rights without discrimination, and that persons belonging to minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely, without any interference or any form of discrimination.

iii. Additional rights

Depending on the identity of the victims, rights to adequate housing, work, social security, fair trial and non-discrimination set out in other specific conventions, such as the Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC), the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) may also be violated.

iv. Business and Human Rights

The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (**UN Guiding Principles**) set out the responsibilities of companies under international human rights law and standards. Under the UN Guiding Principles, business enterprises are [responsible](#) for respecting human rights (i.e. the responsibility to avoid causing or contributing to adverse human rights impacts, and address such impacts when they occur)⁴⁹. Companies are also required to carry out appropriate human rights due diligence and work to remedy any adverse human rights impacts that they have contributed to or caused.

JCB is thus not only committing human rights violations in India but is in violation of multiple domestic and international laws through its demolition drives.

⁴⁹ OHCHR (2011) Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, United Nations, New York and Geneva. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/guidingprinciplesbusinesshr_en.pdf

Palestine

1. Context of the Occupation

Since October 2023, international attention has been rightly fixed on events in Gaza, as Israel has carried out a genocide of the people of Gaza while marching into an undeclared war on the region, through bombing and attempted invasion of Lebanon, as well as attacks on Syria, Yemen and Iranian territory.

But Gaza is not the only Palestinian territory against which the settler state has escalated its violence over the last 14 months: the occupied West Bank has been subject to a marked increase in attacks, assassinations, the demolitions of homes and communities and settlement expansion.

As the war on Gaza has exposed the extent of military and diplomatic support granted to Israel amidst its unconscionable violence against the Palestinians - with the US, UK and Western Europe taking the lead - so too much of Israel's colonial expansion in the West Bank can be analysed in terms of the political as well as corporate complicity internationally. Chief among corporate collaborators with Israel is the British construction manufacturer JCB, whose equipment has been instrumental in the demolition of Palestinian homes as part of Israel's wider strategy of settlement expansion and ethnic cleansing in the West Bank.

Following the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel took control of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, and Syria's Golan Heights - as well as Egypt's Sinai Peninsula from which it later withdrew. Under international law, these areas are internationally recognised as occupied, with Israel the occupying force. This occupation is a result of the historical formation of Israel by the British colonial establishment forces and has been ongoing for over 76 years since the 1948 Nakba, which involved the mass displacement and dispossession of Palestinians. Recent decades have seen further widespread displacement and significant limitations on the rights and freedoms of the Palestinian population. A key aspect of this occupation is the ongoing expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which contravenes the

Fourth Geneva Convention. This convention explicitly forbids an occupying power from relocating its civilian population into occupied territories, yet Israeli settlements have proliferated, displacing Palestinians and creating a fragmented landscape which is designed to preclude the possibility of a contiguous or sustainable Palestinian territory.

The growth of these settlements has gone hand-in-hand with extensive demolitions of Palestinian homes and properties as part of Israel's pattern of ethnic cleansing and displacement. In East Jerusalem, for example, demolitions are part of a larger strategy aimed at shifting the demographic balance in favour of Israeli settlers. In the rural regions of the West Bank, demolitions serve as a means to displace Palestinian communities and facilitate further settlement growth, especially in areas classified as "Area C," where Israel maintains complete administrative and military authority.

The Israeli government often defends these actions by asserting that the homes were constructed without the necessary permits, which are nearly impossible for Palestinians to secure due to the systematic discrimination against Palestinians under Israel's policies. Consequently, thousands of Palestinian families have endured forced evictions and the loss of their homes, schools, and essential infrastructure.

In the South Hebron Hills, the village of Susya has faced repeated demolition attempts by Israeli authorities, with JCB bulldozers at the forefront of these actions. Situated in "Area C" of the West Bank, Susya has been a focal point for Israeli settlement growth, and the demolitions are part of a larger strategy aimed at displacing Palestinian communities from this vital region. In 2015, Israeli forces demolished homes and animal shelters in Susya, displacing numerous families. The cycle of destruction continues, as villagers rebuild their structures only to see them razed again, often by the same heavy equipment. These demolitions not only obliterate homes but also devastate agricultural facilities, significantly affecting the livelihoods of residents who depend on farming and herding. The situation in Susya exemplifies the relentless nature of these demolitions and the pivotal role that JCB machinery plays in the displacement of Palestinians in rural West Bank areas.

2. JCB's Role

Israel's occupation, and now genocide, is enabled by an environment of international impunity, courtesy of the fulsome support it enjoys from the US in particular. But corporate complicity is crucial to the operation of the occupation, including settlement expansion. In 2020, the UN Human Rights Office released a report including JCB among a list of 112 business enterprises involved in settlement-related activity in occupied Palestine.⁵⁰

JCB's sole dealer in Israel is the Israeli company Comasco which holds contracts with Israel's Ministry of Defence for the maintenance of the same model of JCB machines used in the demolition of Palestinian homes and property, and the construction of Israeli settlements.

JCB equipment has been used:

- to demolish Palestinian homes and other vital structures. The JCB models used for these demolitions are 456e ZX and 3CX.
- to build the Separation Wall, declared illegal in 2004, and various checkpoints, which prevent free movement of Palestinians in their own land. The models used for these tasks are JS330, JS200, 537 and 3CX.
- in the construction of illegal Israeli settlements on occupied Palestinian land. The models used for the construction of settlements are 3CX, 537 and JS 175W.
- in the construction of illegal infrastructure by Israel.⁵¹

Amnesty International's 2022 report *Israel's apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity* highlights a troubling trend in the use of JCB machinery for demolitions. Between 2011 and 2020, over 5,500 Palestinian structures

⁵⁰ OHCHR (2020) 'UN rights office issues report on business activities related to settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory' Press Release, 12 February. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2020/02/un-rights-office-issues-report-business-activities-related-settlements>

⁵¹ ICAHD (2020) 'JCB: Visual Evidence', 15 May. Available at: <https://icahd.org/2020/05/15/jcb-visual-evidence/>

were razed in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, displacing more than 9,000 individuals. In 2020 alone, 848 structures were destroyed, including homes, water cisterns, agricultural buildings, and community centres, impacting over 1,000 Palestinians. JCB bulldozers were often spotted at these demolition sites, with Amnesty documenting numerous instances of their use.

A 2023 report by Corporate Occupation found that between 2019-22, JCB machinery was used to displace or directly impact at least 41,251 Palestinians, with at least 767 structures destroyed by JCB equipment between 2018-22, including 262 homes.⁵²

The deployment of JCB bulldozers in these demolitions forms a crucial element of Israel's extensive strategy for territorial control and settlement growth. Human rights organisations, including Amnesty International, have documented that JCB equipment is often utilised by Israeli authorities to execute demolitions sanctioned by the Civil Administration, the governing body overseeing the occupied territories.

In summary, JCB is responsible for the demolition of Palestinian homes and structures throughout the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and the ongoing displacement of Palestinian families.

One of the most notable instances of JCB machinery being utilised in demolition activities is the ongoing razing of homes in East Jerusalem, especially in neighbourhoods such as Sheikh Jarrah and Silwan.⁵³ These areas have been home to Palestinian families for generations, yet they face an ever-present risk of eviction to accommodate Israeli settlers. JCB bulldozers have been seen demolishing not only residences but also significant cultural and religious sites.

⁵² Corporate Occupation (2023) 'JCB's Complicity in Israeli War Crimes: 2023 update', A Corporate Occupation Report, supported by ICAHD

Available at: <https://corporateoccupation.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/34/2023/06/JCB-2023-report-final.pdf>

⁵³ UN News (2024) 'UN rights office condemns forced evictions of Palestinian families in East Jerusalem', 30 July. Available at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/07/1152646>

In the Palestinian neighbourhood of Silwan in East Jerusalem, JCB bulldozers were employed to demolish homes as part of Israel's initiative to Judaize the city and alter the demographic balance in favour of Israeli settlers.⁵⁴

In June 2021, Israeli authorities demolished a butcher shop in the al-Bustan area of Silwan using JCB machinery, sparking protests and international outrage. This butcher shop had been a vital source of income for the owner and his family, who had resided in the neighbourhood for generations.

This demolition was part of a larger plan to evict over 1,500 Palestinians from the al-Bustan area to create a Biblically-themed tourist park aimed at attracting Israeli settlers and visitors. Families in Silwan have endured repeated demolitions, with JCB equipment playing a crucial role in executing these forced evictions, leaving many Palestinian families homeless and without the means to rebuild their lives.

JCB equipment is also extensively employed in rural regions of the West Bank, particularly in "Area C," where Israel maintains complete control. In this area, entire Palestinian communities frequently face demolition threats. The village of Khirbet Humsah in the Jordan Valley has experienced numerous demolitions since 2020, with JCB bulldozers playing a pivotal role in these actions. In November 2020, Israeli authorities demolished homes and structures belonging to 73 Palestinians in Khirbet Humsah, effectively displacing the entire community.⁵⁵ This destruction included vital resources such as tents, water tanks, and solar panels, and agricultural infrastructure.

JCB bulldozers have also been used to demolish educational institutions and healthcare facilities in Palestinian territories.

⁵⁴ Al Jazeera(2021) 'Demolitions begin in occupied East Jerusalem's Silwan' 29 June. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/29/demolitions-begin-in-occupied-east-jerusalems-silwan>

⁵⁵ OHCHR (2020) 'UN experts condemn Israel's demolition of houses in Palestinian Bedouin community' Press Release, 19 November. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2020/11/un-experts-condemn-israels-demolition-houses-palestinian-bedouin-community>

In one shocking incident in 2018, Israeli forces used JCB equipment to demolish the sole primary school serving the Bedouin community of Khan al-Ahmar.⁵⁶ This school was a vital educational hub for local children, who otherwise faced long journeys to access schooling. The demolition was part of a larger strategy aimed at forcibly relocating the Bedouin population to facilitate the expansion of adjacent Israeli settlements. Such demolitions not only disrupt the education of Palestinian youth but also further alienate vulnerable communities from essential services, aligning with a broader agenda to render Palestinian presence in these regions untenable.

One of the most notable instances of JCB's involvement in home demolitions within the occupied Palestinian territories is the situation in Khan al-Ahmar, a village situated between Jerusalem and Jericho. In 2018, Israeli authorities issued an order to demolish the entire village, which is inhabited by approximately 180 Palestinian Bedouins from the Jahalin tribe.

The village has been targeted due to its strategic position, as its destruction would facilitate the expansion of adjacent Israeli settlements. JCB bulldozers played a significant role in the attempted demolition, which included not only residential structures but also the village's sole school, constructed from mud and tires. Although the demolition was temporarily halted in response to international protests and legal challenges, the threat persists, and JCB's involvement in this destruction has been extensively documented. The situation in Khan al-Ahmar exemplifies Israel's broader strategy of using demolitions to displace vulnerable Palestinian communities and pave the way for settlement growth.

The use of JCB machinery in these demolitions has drawn international condemnation as a violation of human rights and a breach of international

⁵⁶ Council for Arab-British Understanding, n.d. 'Foreign Office confirms JCB equipment use in demolitions in West Bank to Caabu board member Paula Sherriff MP' Available at: <https://www.caabu.org/news/news/foreign-office-confirms-jcb-equipment-use-demolitions-west-bank-caabu-board-member-paula-s>

humanitarian law.⁵⁷ But too often JCB has sought to obfuscate and minimise its complicity. Despite the increasing evidence highlighting JCB's involvement in these demolitions, the company has failed to take sufficient steps to prevent its machinery from being utilised in such human rights violations, as identified by the UK Government's own UK National Contact Point watchdog.⁵⁸ Amnesty International has consistently urged JCB to stop selling equipment to Israeli authorities, yet the company has not adequately responded to these serious concerns. JCB's lack of response and action permits the ongoing use of their machinery in demolitions that breach international law, and represents a clear prioritisation of the company for profits over justice. Without substantial pressure from the global community, JCB will keep benefiting from the destruction of Palestinian homes and communities.

3. International Law Violations

The deployment of JCB machinery in the demolition of Palestinian homes and infrastructure constitutes a clear breach of international law, particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention. Established in 1949, this Convention aims to safeguard civilian populations in occupied territories during conflicts. Article 49 specifically prohibits an occupying power from forcibly relocating or deporting local civilians from their residences, as well as forbidding the settlement of the occupying power's civilian population in the occupied area. Israel's practices of expanding settlements and demolishing homes directly violate these stipulations, resulting in the displacement of Palestinian families and the establishment of illegal settlements on occupied land. International law holds corporations accountable for ensuring that their operations do not facilitate human rights violations. By knowingly supplying machinery for these demolitions, JCB becomes complicit in these unlawful actions, as its equipment

⁵⁷ Wintour, P. (2020) 'JCB challenged over machinery used to demolish Palestinian homes' The Guardian, 13 October. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/oct/12/jcb-challenged-over-machinery-used-to-demolish-palestinian-homes>

⁵⁸ Business and Human Rights Resource Centre (2021) 'UK: National Contact Point finds JCB in human rights breach after use of its products to illegally demolish Palestinian homes' 12 November. Available at: <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/uk-national-contact-point-finds-jcb-in-human-rights-breach-after-use-of-its-products-to-demolish-palestinian-homes>

enables the forced removal of civilians, which is a blatant infringement of international humanitarian law.

The United Nations has repeatedly denounced Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories as unlawful according to international law, but Israel has remained flagrant in executing its settler project, undergirded by extensive commercial and political complicity. In Resolution 2334 (2016), the UN Security Council reaffirmed that Israel's establishment of settlements in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, lacks legal validity and represents a serious breach of international law.⁵⁹ By continuing to provide machinery used for building settlements and demolishing Palestinian homes, JCB is disregarding the appeal under international consensus for companies to refrain from complicity in unlawful activities. This position taken by the UN highlights a global agreement that the expansion of settlements and related demolitions are not only ethically unacceptable but also legally prohibited under international law.

Companies like JCB have a duty to uphold human rights, even in challenging contexts such as conflict zones. The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, which were endorsed by the UN Human Rights Council in 2011, clearly define the responsibilities of businesses to avoid contributing to or enabling human rights violations.⁶⁰ These principles emphasise that companies must carry out due diligence to ensure their operations do not infringe upon the rights of others and must take action to prevent or lessen any adverse effects associated with their activities. In JCB's case, the company's failure to guarantee that its machinery is not used for illegal demolitions and forced evictions reflects a disregard for these responsibilities. Despite being aware of the extensive use of their equipment in actions that contravene international law, JCB has not implemented sufficient measures to prevent further involvement in these violations, thereby compromising the integrity of international legal frameworks for safeguarding occupied peoples.

⁵⁹ UN Security Council Resolution 2334 (2016) Available at: <https://www.un.org/webcast/pdfs/SRES2334-2016.pdf>

⁶⁰ OHCHR (2011) Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, United Nations, New York and Geneva. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/guidingprinciplesbusinesshr_en.pdf

Numerous international human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International⁶¹ and Human Rights Watch, alongside the UN⁶², have urged companies like JCB to halt operations that contribute to human rights abuses in the occupied Palestinian territories. These organisations contend that JCB's involvement in facilitating demolitions not only raises ethical concerns but also legal ones, as it indirectly supports war crimes under international law. Amnesty International's findings regarding JCB's role in home demolitions in Palestine highlight the necessity for businesses operating in conflict areas to be particularly cautious in avoiding complicity in human rights violations. By not adhering to international legal standards, JCB risks significant legal repercussions and damage to its reputation, especially as global scrutiny of corporate responsibility in conflict zones intensifies.

In summary, JCB's participation in home demolitions within the occupied Palestinian territories clearly breaches international law, notably the Fourth Geneva Convention and UN guidelines regarding the illegality of settlements. As a corporation functioning in a conflict zone, JCB has a duty to ensure its equipment is not employed in ways that facilitate human rights violations. Nevertheless, its ongoing involvement in these demolitions highlights a larger issue of corporate accountability in conflict areas, where profit often takes precedence over human rights. The international community, including the UN, has persistently called for an end to Israel's unlawful settlement practices and the forced displacement of Palestinians. However, without exerting pressure on companies like JCB to alter their operations, the cycle of destruction and displacement is likely to persist. To uphold international law and protect human rights, JCB must take swift and effective measures to prevent its machinery from being used in further violations of Palestinian rights.

⁶¹ Amnesty International (2021) 'UK: Construction Giant JCB'S Products Used For Palestinian House Demolitions and Illegal Israeli Settlements' 18 November. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/11/uk-construction-giant-jcbs-products-used-for-palestinian-house-demolitions-and-illegal-israeli-settlements/>

⁶² OHCHR (2020) 'UN rights office issues report on business activities related to settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory' Press Release, OHCHR, 12 February. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2020/02/un-rights-office-issues-report-business-activities-related-settlements>

4. Impact on Palestinian Communities

These forced evictions and demolitions, often executed with JCB machinery, have inflicted profound social, economic, and psychological harm on Palestinian families and communities. For many, losing their home signifies more than just the loss of a physical structure; it signifies the severing of deep-rooted connections to their land that have been nurtured over generations. The destruction of these homes disrupts the community's bond with their ancestral land, resulting in a loss that resonates deeply and is irreplaceable. Families facing forced evictions find themselves not only uprooted from their residences but also from entire neighbourhoods or villages, which undermines the essential community ties that provide social support, especially in tightly-knit Palestinian societies.

The economic ramifications of forced evictions are equally dire. Numerous Palestinian families depend on agricultural land or small businesses that are obliterated during demolitions. In the rural regions of the West Bank, farming and herding are crucial for survival, and when homes, livestock shelters, and water systems are destroyed, families lose their means of sustenance. This devastation often drives families into poverty, as they struggle to rebuild with scant financial resources. The cycle of repeated demolitions perpetuates a state of deprivation, compelling families to pour their limited savings into reconstructing homes that are likely to face destruction again.

The effects on education are deeply significant, as demolitions often target schools and vital community structures. For children, the loss of educational facilities disrupts not only their learning but also their sense of safety and stability. Many Palestinian children have seen their homes or schools destroyed, which can result in lasting psychological harm, with the fear and sense of precarity generated by potential demolition creating a persistent atmosphere of anxiety and dread. In such a precarious environment, education takes a backseat to the urgent need for survival and basic shelter. Displacement frequently forces children to travel great distances to reach new schools, if any exist, and the quality of education suffers due to the instability caused by ongoing evictions. The long-term consequences for Palestinian

children's education are severe, as interruptions in their schooling lead to gaps in knowledge, limiting their future job prospects and social mobility.

The region of Masafer Yatta in the South Hebron Hills has been severely affected by Israeli demolitions as part of an ongoing Israeli campaign to displace its people. JCB equipment was the most commonly used. Isfey al-Fauqa school was demolished, or faced confiscation, three times in 2022-3. On 6 December 2022, a JCB machine was used to tear down the tents that were being used as the school after the previous structure was demolished. On each occasion border police and soldiers attacked local people with tear gas and sound bombs⁶³.

On a psychological level, the trauma associated with forced evictions weighs heavily on both adults and children. Families who have faced the destruction of their homes often endure depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The constant threat of demolitions keeps many families in a state of fear, uncertain about when the next eviction might occur. This feeling of helplessness, combined with the physical loss of homes and livelihoods, leaves deep emotional scars. For many, the devastation goes beyond the physical destruction; it encompasses the loss of dignity, identity, and hope. The awareness that the international community has largely failed to hold Israel or companies like JCB accountable for these actions intensifies this sense of despair, reinforcing the belief that Palestinians are caught in a relentless cycle of displacement and dispossession, with little hope for justice.

On the morning of 14 August 2024, Israeli Civil Administration personnel arrived with a military and Border Police escort and equipment including a JCB bulldozer at the community of Khirbet Um al-Kheir in the South Hebron Hills. The force

⁶³ Corporate Occupation (2023) 'JCB's Complicity in Israeli War Crimes: 2023 update', A Corporate Occupation Report, supported by ICAHD
Available at: <https://corporateoccupation.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/34/2023/06/JCB-2023-report-final.pdf>

demolished two trailers and four tents that were home to 17 people, 11 of them children, leaving the family homeless. The family had been living in these trailers and tents because Israel demolished the family's home just weeks earlier, on 26 June 2024. The use of JCB equipment is clearly visible in video footage of these demolitions.⁶⁴

Personal accounts from displaced families reveal the deep emotional and psychological scars that these demolitions inflict on Palestinian communities. One poignant story comes from a resident of Al-Walaja, near Bethlehem, whose home was destroyed in 2017 by JCB equipment. The father of four shared the harrowing experience of watching his children tremble in fear as their home was reduced to rubble. "We had nowhere to go. We watched as everything we built was destroyed in front of our eyes. My children couldn't stop crying." For families like his, the trauma of losing their homes is intensified by the uncertainty of their future and the daunting task of rebuilding their lives. Many are left to live in temporary tents or seek refuge with extended family, leading to instability and insecurity, especially for the most vulnerable, including children. These personal stories illuminate the stark reality behind the statistics of demolitions, highlighting the profound impact of JCB machinery in facilitating this ongoing crisis.

A particularly heartbreaking incident occurred in the Jordan Valley, where the village of Khirbet Humsah faced multiple demolitions in 2020. In November, Israeli authorities executed the largest demolition in years using JCB machinery, destroying the homes of 73 Palestinians, including 41 children.⁶⁵ This demolition took place in the harsh winter, leaving families vulnerable and without shelter. The destruction extended to homes, animal enclosures, water tanks, and solar panels, rendering it impossible for residents to stay in the area. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) condemned this act as a breach of international humanitarian law, emphasising that the displaced families had no alternative housing

⁶⁴ B'Tselem (2024) 'Israel demolishes family's home again, leaving 17 homeless' 14 August. Available at: https://www.btselem.org/facing_expulsion_blog?nid=216183

⁶⁵ Amnesty International (2022). Israel's apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity, pg 232. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/5141/2022/en/>

options.⁶⁶ Despite widespread international condemnation, demolitions in Khirbet Humsah persist, with JCB equipment remaining a key player in this ongoing crisis.

In summary, the documented use of JCB equipment in demolitions throughout the West Bank and East Jerusalem underscores the company's involvement in breaching international human rights laws. These actions not only infringe upon the rights of Palestinian families to secure housing but also sustain a cycle of displacement and dispossession that leads to enduring social, economic, and psychological repercussions. Case studies from areas such as Khan al-Ahmar, Silwan, Susya, and Khirbet Humsah reveal the devastating effects of JCB's machinery on Palestinian communities. Personal accounts from displaced families further highlight the human cost of these demolitions, contributing to the mounting evidence that JCB is facilitating Israel's unlawful practices of forced eviction and settlement expansion. As the global community continues to demand accountability, it is essential for companies like JCB to be pressured into halting their participation in such violations.

Kashmir

In 2019, the Indian government de-operationalised Article 370, revoking the special status of Kashmir implemented in 1949. Until 2019, Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was an autonomous region with the power to legislate on its own matters, and only Kashmiris were eligible to buy land and apply for government jobs in Kashmir. This Indian government's 2019 decision overturned this position in a wholly undemocratic and chaotic manner, while no elected government was in place in the region. The abrogation of Article 370 has profound and lasting consequences, affecting the demographic structure, livelihoods, land ownership, and access to natural resources of the local population. Along with these socio-economic impacts, human rights

⁶⁶ UN HRC (2020) 'UN experts condemn Israel's demolition of houses in Palestinian Bedouin community' ReliefWeb 19 November. Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/un-experts-condemn-israel-s-demolition-houses-palestinian>

violations have been widespread, leaving millions of Kashmiris facing an uncertain future. The process was shrouded in secrecy, with a complete lockdown imposed on J & K, restriction of movement, a long-term communication blackout, and denial of access to information. During the lockdown, lasting from 2019 to 2021, thousands of individuals were detained, and the media was heavily censored. The Indian state continues to enforce this media clampdown and the dismantling of Kashmiri civil society.

Since then, the Indian state, through a bureaucratic administration, has escalated the settler colonial process of changing Kashmir's demographics. In order to create spaces for Indians and Indian capital to move into Kashmir, the Indian state and military have systematically acquired land and property to build townships while simultaneously dispossessing local ownership without any due process. The region has witnessed a series of demolition drives carried out under the guise of development projects, such as the construction of educational institutions, railway lines, and road widening. These demolitions have targeted private properties without any adherence to legal processes, often ignoring court directives. Commercial and political structures have also been targeted. In particular, properties belonging to non-BJP political figures have been demolished under allegations of illegal land acquisition or construction, despite the absence of any judicial verification of these claims. These actions have been characterized by allegations of illegal procedures and human rights violations. Many demolitions have rendered residents and shopkeepers homeless or jobless, exacerbating economic and social distress.

JCB machines have become symbolic of heavy-handed demolitions in J & K. Amnesty International have criticized their use, terming it a "gross violation" of human rights. This section aims to highlight some of the cases where illegal misuse of demolition machinery, particularly JCBs, has been observed in the demolition cases in Kashmir, highlighting the absence of due process and the potential abuse of executive powers in the region.

1. Targeting Political Figures

The bureaucratic government headed by the lieutenant governor Manoj Sinha has targeted properties of ex-lawmakers from non-BJP parties. For example, in Srinagar, the residence of Ali Muhammad Sagar, a senior leader in the National Conference party, was partially demolished, including its outer wall and guard room. In Shopian, a four-shop commercial complex owned by former J & K Social Welfare Minister, Ghulam Hassan Khan, was razed. In Islamabad, a commercial structure with 60 shops, built by National Conference lawmaker Majid Larmi, was partially demolished. The remaining portion was seized. Additionally, over 40 kanals (approximately five acres) of land owned by relatives of former Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah were also claimed by the state. The Badami Bagh Cantonment Board demolished structures in Zabarwan Colony. National Conference legislator Ahsan Pardesi halted operations by climbing onto a JCB machine, citing legal proceedings and a court directive to maintain the status quo.

2. Demolitions

All districts – Srinagar, Budgam, Anantnag, and Baramulla – saw extensive demolitions of homes and properties. Many residents alleged that demolitions occurred without prior notice and they were denied the opportunity to present their ownership documents before bulldozers razed their homes, marking clear violations of due process. In Sonamarg, five structures were demolished by JCB machines, with alternative methods used in areas inaccessible to this equipment. Some of the demolitions have also taken place under the pretext of development projects, such as in Pulwama District (February 2020) where 29 shops were demolished for road widening, and in Humhama (December 2021), where residents protested the eviction notices served to 1,700 households for airport expansion.

Conclusion

This brief report, which has been informed by the experiences of Palestinians, Indians and Kashmiris at the receiving end of JCB violence, provides ample evidence of JCB's appalling human rights violations in Palestine, India and Kashmir.

When a company sells its products, knowing of the likelihood they will be used to abuse human rights and doesn't take the steps to prevent this, it fails to meet its responsibilities under the UN's Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. This is happening across the three locations discussed in this report.

In the West Bank and East Jerusalem in occupied Palestine, JCB is profiting from its extensive involvement in Israel's lethal campaign of ethnic cleansing and mass displacement and destruction of Palestinian communities. In particular JCB knowingly allows its equipment to be used regularly in demolitions of Palestinian homes and community infrastructure, as well as building illegal Israeli settlements and constructing the apartheid Separation Wall.

In India, JCB is, in effect, centrally involved in furthering the BJP government's agenda of ethnic cleansing of its Muslim minority through a violent campaign of demolitions, including punitive and arbitrary demolitions of Muslim homes and sources of livelihood and targeted demolitions of places of worship. JCB has the technology to stop these abuses from occurring but has failed to take action.

In Kashmir, JCB bulldozers are being used in a drive to dispossess local communities in the context of Indian military occupation and the promotion of non-Kashmiri settlement and the entry of Indian capital post-2019. Demolitions have targeted non-BJP political figures alongside the arbitrary demolition of Kashmiri homes and properties.

JCB: Stop Bulldozer Genocide reiterates our two main demands:

1. JCB must end its relationship with the Israeli Ministry of Defence and cease all activities in occupied Palestine.
2. JCB must commit to ensuring that its products are not used for human rights violations in India and Kashmir through robust monitoring and prevention systems. This includes making compulsory the use of its existing LiveLink technology⁶⁷ to trace and locate JCB machines.

The publication of this report marks a step in our joint campaign JCB: Stop Bulldozer Genocide.

For further information and updates, and to get involved, please contact us at:

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South Asia Justice Campaign (Twitter/X: CampaignSAJ)

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South Asians for Palestine (Instagram: [southasians4palestine](https://www.instagram.com/southasians4palestine))

JCB: Stop Bulldozer Genocide Campaign (Instagram: [stopjcb](https://www.instagram.com/stopjcb))

**An extended version of this report can be found at
<https://southasiajusticecampaign.org>**

⁶⁷ See <https://www.jcblivelink.com/>





JCB: Stop Bulldozer Genocide!