

Genocide in Rural Gujarat: The Experience of Dahod District

*A report prepared by
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This report has been compiled, written and edited jointly by members of Forum Against Oppression of Women and Aawaaz-E-Niswaan, both women's groups from Bombay, over three visits made to the district from 23rd of April to 10th of May, 2002.

This report follows on many other reports, articles, testimonies, etc. on the recent carnage in Gujarat. Much of this information has been extremely detailed and comprehensive, especially with regard to the violence that occurred in urban areas like Ahmedabad and Baroda. This report deals substantively with the violence that occurred in the rural areas of Dahod district, and in the Santrampur Taluka of Panchmahals District. While there are many similarities between urban and rural violence, there are significant differences as well. Part of the reason to bring forth this report is to look into the specificities of the violence in rural areas.

Forum Against Oppression of Women and Aawaaz-E-Niswaan have been working with the Shanti Abhiyan / PUCL in Vadodara since the genocide began. We went to the Panchmahals and from there to Dahod at the behest of the Vadodara activists as there was need for people to work there. We proceeded on leads given to us by the people living in camps in Dahod town to villages like Sanjeli and Fatehpura. On this first visit it became clear that we needed to follow up more consistently to be able to gather adequate information on what had happened in the area and what kind of work could be done with the affected people. Thus the second, third, and more recently, the fourth visits to the district were conducted. We have not documented the fourth visit (May 18 to May 23, 2002) in detail in this report though we have added updates as required.

The first team went to the towns of Dahod, Jhalod, Sanjeli and Fatehpura on the 24th and 25th of April. They found out that they were the first outsiders to reach camps in places such as Fatehpura or Sanjeli where the camp was set up only on the 24th of April. The nature of destruction and the violence that was being narrated at these places and the fact that this information was not available to most of us, prompted the second visit. From the 30th of April to the 3rd of May four other members also visited the four towns, in addition to Sukhsar and Santrampur (which is actually in Panchmahal district). Finally on 9th and 10th of May, a team of three went to Santrampur and surrounding areas, and to Dahod, and collected individual testimonies for the Concerned Citizens' Tribunal.

On each of these visits we have been gathering more information and making contact with the people there. At the same time, these multiple visits have also allowed us to more fully understand not only the events during the first waves of mob violence took place, but also the various patterns pertaining to the events that preceded the events and those that have followed. Over this time, the situation in the camps, the pressures acting on the victims to

go back to their villages, the particular situation of women, the processes of claims and compensations, have been unfolding.

All information compiled in this report was collected through group and individual interviews, observations, and tabulated information on the size of local minority populations and their property. Tabulated information was collected by relief and rehabilitation camp organizers, all of whom belong to the local Muslim communities. In the whole of Dahod district, the camps for Bohra and non-Bohra Muslims are separate and the data compilation has also been done separately. Although we did meet some Bohra camp organisers and collected data from them, most of the information that we have is from the non-Bohra Ghanchi Muslim community.

Interviews were generally conducted in the relief camps themselves, or while we were being shown the extent of the devastation in each town by victims of the attacks. The initial interview in each locality was conducted with all members of each fact-finding team and one or two men who identified themselves as camp organizers and leaders of the community. These interviews were conducted with a large group of male, and some female, onlookers, also members of the community, who would frequently give additional information, corrections of details, or give entirely new information, in the course of the conversations. The interviews dealt with the sequence of events in that locality, including the build-up of tensions in the area up to the Godhra incident on February 27th, and the subsequent violence, displacement, and relief efforts that followed.

We tried to meet with women separately wherever possible subsequent to the interviews with the men. In most places it was possible to do so, though we often had to split the team when talking to the women so that at least one person spoke with the men at the same time. As members of two women's organizations, we attempted to bring out women's stories in particular, especially in the context of the many reports of violence that has targeted women and girls.

Gathering information on sexual violence was especially difficult, as both men and women were still dealing with the fear of further attacks from Hindu townspeople. There was also the issue of izzat which permeated all conversations about the physical violations that women experienced. A loss of one's izzat was understood not only in terms of the sexual violence itself, but also in terms of acknowledging that violence, especially to outsiders. A result of this was that much of the conversations we had about sexual violence with women were conducted in the third person, such that the person whom we were interviewing would refer to the sexual violence experienced by people in other villages, or even other people in the community, but rarely that experienced by herself.

The people in the camps and villages, as well as the organisers were all extremely co-operative and shared information quite willingly with us. The whole region has seen extreme devastation in human, material, and emotional terms. The attackers have often been Hindu neighbours and people that have been known to their victims all their lives. Even in the face of such acute betrayal and inhumanity, the affected people were open to

trusting us and sharing their experiences with our fact-finding teams, which were comprised, in total, of 8 women, 7 of whom were Hindu, and one who was Muslim.

Their sharing and openness also translated into the kind of concern they, who had lost so much and were living in terrible conditions, showered over us – from offering us cold water and chairs to sit on the minute we arrived to ensuring a constant supply of water and cold drinks as we sat for long hours with them. In one camp in Jhalod, on the first visit, a woman, who had lost everything in her house and had run away with the clothes on her back, took the hand of one team member and said to her, “Agar tum mere ghar mein aati to main tumhe hathon pe bithati, aaj to tumhe bhi takleef uthani pad rahi hai.” Around us was a small tent, with very little floor covering, most of the women and children of the camp of 362 people were sitting in this space which also was being used as a cooking space.

This report has been compiled using the interviews and observations of all teams during all three fact-finding trips. Information collected in the earlier trips was verified, sometimes revised, in the later ones, and corroborated through telephone conversations with community contacts as needed. Individual sections of this report, e.g. Fatehpura, have been circulated online prior to the publication of this report.

This report is not a comprehensive document on all the villages and talukas of Dahod district. Dahod is a small, new district carved out of the Panchmahals, on the eastern end of Gujarat state. It shares the borders with Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and is a tribal district. Of the majorly affected talukas, we have not visited Devgarh Baria, though we have met people from Piplod in the camps in Dahod, and have had no direct contact with the people of Randhikpur most of whom are in Godhra camp and whose stories have been recorded by other groups. This document does, however, give details of representative areas in Dahod, and a substantive overview of the district. We have also included information on Santrampur taluka from the Panchmahals district.

The pattern of destruction in Dahod District

Many of the members of our teams have dealt with “riot” situations earlier, especially during the Bombay Riots in 1992 and 1993. In our work within Vadodara, we had visited many affected areas in and around the city as well. But in none of our experiences prior to these visits to Dahod, had we encountered such determined, single minded, and targeted violence and destruction. The numbers of the killed alone do not perhaps tell the whole story. Each and every Muslim house and shop has been completely destroyed in many small villages. Small dargahs and Masjids along the roads have either been blasted away or burnt and razed to the ground. Even small isolated dargahs atop small hillocks have been smashed into ruin. The ruins of these houses, shops, dargahs, madarasas, farms, gardens and trees are testimony to an intensely planned and executed campaign of destruction.

We were aware of the systematic organising of the tribals by the Sangh Parivar in this region and also of the attacks on the Christian missionaries working with the tribals in these parts of the state. Our conversations with the residents of different villages and towns highlighted how seriously this organising had been going on for the past few years and how that it was also intensified in the past few months. Poisoning the minds of the tribals against the Muslims and including them in the new found intolerant Hindu fold seemed to be the agenda here. The landscape dotted profusely with freshly painted well maintained temples and the fluttering saffron, white and blue flags atop all of them, bore testimony to this rising presence of the Hindutva-vadis in this region.

When we went around the rural areas in Dahod and spoke to people in the camps, what struck us further was the absolutely consistent pattern in which the entire destruction was carried out. The landscape and the narratives corroborated each other. It was as though the destructive mobs (in thousands) in different geographical areas across tens and hundreds of kilometres were executing well formulated instructions in unison.

The timing of attacks:

Most of the attacks started on the 28th February, day of the bandh call given by the Sangh Parivar (which included the usual BJP, RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal etc. but also had some new names like Jai Yogeshwar) or on the 1st March, the day of the Bharat bandh. On this first day the attacks were on the houses and business establishments of the Muslim community, which were either in the Hindu dominated areas like the market places or on the outskirts of the village. This was almost the warning message or warming up activity for what was to follow. Not much damage was done and the mobs were not large.

In most places marking of the Hindu houses amongst Muslim bastis, using saffron flags or pictures of Ram and Hanuman or with crosses was also done at this time in most places. Some places have also reported that this marking was done even a few days before the 27th of February.

In most places the attacks started in the afternoon, driving Muslim people out of their homes. From 1st to 3rd March, till the people could reach some safe place, in all the affected villages Muslims were forced to leave taking nothing with them. In every village people tried to gather in the Masjid or the few concrete houses that belonged to Muslims. These were also attacked and set on fire in many places. Most people managed to flee in some vehicles or on foot. In all cases these people were chased, and attacked, even when they were in vehicles. Trees were felled on the roads to obstruct the people who were trying to get away from the frenzied armed mob. Wherever the fleeing people were caught by the mobs they were murdered, burnt, women were verbally and physically sexually assaulted.

Although in many villages people managed to escape and reach “safer” places, many people were also killed and sometimes dismembered and completely burnt. Many women were stripped naked and repeatedly sexually assaulted by mobs. Some of the dead bodies have not been found. Some people died while fleeing and were finally buried only when a “safe” place for the living (and the dead) was found.

The profile of the attackers:

The mobs arrived in vehicles trucks, tempos, Jeeps, Marutis. The attacking mobs were led and directed by local Hindu community leaders belonging to Sangh Parivar. These leaders were using mobile phones, while the attacks were being carried on. These were the people that were identified by the Muslim survivors and who have been named in the complaints sent or FIRs recorded.

The second kind of group, had all the weapons, guns, trishuls, swords, arsenals, petrol, diesel, kerosene and chemicals for starting fires. They had vehicles, which were loaded with chemicals and weapons. This was the group, which was primarily responsible for the brutal burning deaths, the sexual assaults and other abuses. In more than one village, the Muslim survivors described that these men carried identical backpacks from which they took out pouches of chemicals. The planning was so complete that there was a different group that only did the task of loading the guns.

The third group mostly indulged in looting property from the houses and shops. This group in many cases consisted of Adivasis.

The mobs were very large in number, in thousands, and not always recognisable. There were some known faces in the crowd but many seemed to be outsiders. In some villages people said that not all of those who came in the mob spoke Gujarati. Some of them were also speaking in Marathi and Hindi.

The carnage and destruction of property:

All the Masjids, dargahs, madarasas and, in some places, churches were completely damaged, burned. Obscenities and statements like, “Hindustan is for Hindus, Muslims should go to Pakistan”, were written on the walls. Names like “Ram and Hanuman” were

written on whatever walls remained and saffron flags were hoisted on them. All the property around, including gardens and wells, were damaged.

The destruction of property across this entire region is so thorough and precise in all cases that it does not leave ground but to conclude that this was a pre-planned, well directed, thoroughly coordinated operation carried out in military like precision. Every single household and business establishment belonging to the Muslim community was looted and burnt in most villages such as Sanjeli, Sukhsar, Piplod, Fatehpura.

Once the Muslim residents of the villages fled to safer spaces, the mobs looted and then burnt the houses and shops at leisure. In many villages it has been reported that houses were being burnt until as late as the 10th or the 13th of March, in some instances, even later. There was no damage whatsoever to the marked Hindu houses. In Sanjeli the saffron flags are still there and it is also quite evident how the attacks and destruction was done in a way that the Hindu houses were not damaged. In another village, the adjoining Hindu houses were first sawed away from the Muslim houses and then the latter were set on fire.

In every structure be it a house or a shop:

Every door, window, window frame, grills, electric wiring, water pipes, taps, switch boards, electric meters, every movable property, even the roof is missing. There were traces of chemical powders used even when we visited these villages. Every place has been burnt completely. In places even walls have been broken down. In many places there are naked, burnt, bare walls remaining. The places look as though they have been bombed. Even bore-wells have been damaged/blocked. Every single big tree, including all fruit bearing trees have been cut down. It has been made sure that there would be no sign of life anywhere.

In most places, the looting and the destruction of property went on for days after the people ran away from the villages. People claim that many of their goods are still present in the village in the Hindu households but no attempt has been made by the State to look for them.

Role of the police and the State during the attack:

In all cases right from the day of the bandh, the Muslim community had approached the Collector and the police authorities for protection again and again; but this was never provided. In some places, like in Sanjeli, the people could be brought to a safe place only due to the intervention by a DSP but nowhere was there any attempt made to arrest the attackers or to stop them from violence. In Fatehpura, although people finally sought refuge in the police station and were protected there for more than thirty six hours, the police did nothing in terms of providing even food or water and in fact finally asked people to leave as they could not be assured safety even in the police station.

In fact, the pattern of attack is so similar throughout the region, that in many villages it was said that the large mob was preceded by the policemen from the village who came to the

Muslim areas and said that there was a curfew and so people should get inside their houses. Immediately after this round by the police, a large mob followed. While the arson and attack was going on, the police even told the people from Muslim community that they had orders to not shoot at the Hindus and so they could just remain mute spectators.

Most people from all the villages managed to somehow reach the larger towns like Jhalod, Dahod, Godhra, Santrampur and Baria, where the people from the Muslim community itself looked after them in camps and in most of these places, the camps are still running.

Situation of camps

More than 10,000 people were displaced from their homes and many are still living in relief camps in Dahod district. Relief camps only receive government assistance in the form of rations. Tents, the only shelter available for the camp residents, have only been available on rent (which is not paid for by the government). All other requirements of the camps are also being taken care of by the local community itself. Even the space is not necessarily provided by the government. Many of the camps, especially where people have been forced to move back to their villages, are being conducted in the remains of destroyed homes and businesses, which lack roofs, walls, windows, plumbing and electricity.

Camps do not account for all the victims. Those who are not provided a camp in their local area and have no choice but to try and occupy the rubble of their destroyed homes or live with their relatives who are not as badly affected. People in the camps are also being forced to go back to occupy their destroyed homes and businesses in their villages under the pressure from local government officials, e.g. the district Collectors, and from Gujarat State ministers, despite the lack of safety, shelter and income. The State has already sent a GR according to which all camps will cease receiving rations after May 31 and the fear is that they will have to be dismantled by then. More recently, some press reports had reported Mr. Narendra Modi assuring that camps will continue as long as they are required. We are yet to see any implementation of this assurance thus far.

The pressure to not have too many people in one camp in the town has been constantly applied by the State functionaries. So there have been constant and systematic efforts at getting people back first to their state (in case of those who fled and took refuge in Rajasthan), then to their district (those who went to camps in Panchmahals were asked to return back to the district) and then to their village camp (something that has been done in all the villages which had a large affected population like Fatehpura, Sukhsar and Sanjeli). So the numbers in the camps and the situation in the camps is constantly changing.

We give below the details of the camps in Dahod district that we visited and the major concerns of these camps.

Jhalod Camps

There were three camps in Jhalod, roughly from March 5 through April 25. Camp 1 had housed 362 people, Camp 2 had housed 998 people, and Camp 3 had housed 950 people.

People in the camps were from the nearby villages of Rajpur, Chitrodia, Kaladungra, Sitavali, Munkhosla, Sanjeli, Seetavatli, Rangrej, Jhalod town, and Moti Bandibaar. On the 25th of April when we went there we were told that people from around 30 households of village Munhkhosla were not in any position to return back due to issues of safety and the lack of any appropriate compensation for lost property.

On April 25th itself, the Collector Mr. S. S. Pandor, who had just taken charge a couple of days ago, visited the camps and against the will of the residents and camp organisers, got the camps dismantled that very afternoon. This was his first visit to the area on taking office. He in fact sent a written notice to the camp organisers asking them to dismantle the camps. Later he had to take back the order although this has been done only orally.

Since then, the Mamlatdaar has apparently told some camp organizers that they can restart the camps, but the people were already dispersed and have been forced to relocate to other places. As of today, the rations have not stopped, although the camps themselves have been dismantled to the point that they cannot be fully reopened. These people are now living with relatives, or are renting rooms, which is quite expensive as all have lost their sources of income. Some people are attempting to live in the ruins of their destroyed homes and many from the nearby villages like Sanjeli and Sukhsar are forced to go back.

The need for the continuation of the camp is so strong that even now the affected people are requesting the Collector to reopen the camp and he has given a verbal assurance for this in a meeting that he had with the residents. (This meeting was held on 21st May, 2002).

Dahod

There are a total of 3 camps in Dahod. The total number of people in camp 1 and 2 is approximately 1800. Camp 3, housing members of the Bohra community, is housing roughly 800 people. Many people at this camp have been given housing on community resources. At present, the camps are still functioning, although they are under heavy pressure to close them by the end of May.

The Dahod camps were set up around the 2nd and 3rd of March when people started arriving there from nearby villages like Sanjeli, Piplod, Limkheda, etc. These camps were started by the community itself and for the first few weeks they were not even getting rations from the State.

For some time they had set up a formal large camp in the Masjid where the main Muslim community in Dahod is situated, but as more and more people were relocated to houses of the local people, the tents were dismantled. Many of the people who had come to Dahod had relatives already living there and thus some were accommodated in their homes.

Others have been given houses to stay in on rent or for free. Many local people have in fact vacated large parts of their houses to give them to refugee families. Few people in these camps have thus had to stay in tents in the hot sun.

Medical care too had been provided by the local community. Extensive work on compiling data and getting compensation claims too has been conducted fairly systematically here. According to reports, the then Collector, Mr. Rathod, had been instrumental in the assessment and distribution of compensation claims, both for the dead and the destroyed property. By the 24th of April, when we visited Dahod, already some families had been relocated to Sanjeli.

Fatehpura

This camp has been set up in the Agriculture Produce Marketing Yard in Fatehpura. There were approximately 1135 people in this camp as of 25th April, 2002. Of these, 117 families are from Fatehpura and another 60 families are from adjacent Karodia. The Camp has been functioning since the 13th of March. The total number of affected population is of 1720 people plus the Bohra Muslims (around 200).

The camp is run by people from the local Muslim community itself; the only help the state is providing is the ration. The government had put up the tents before getting the refugees back from Rajasthan where they had gone. But these had to be later discontinued as it was extremely expensive. At present, there is a very inadequate temporary tent which falls many times a day and takes hours to put back up. Most people are sleeping inside the large warehouse spaces of the Marketing Yard, or are sleeping on the cement platforms in front of the grain and produce storage sheds. All cooking is done on wood fires.

Camp residents are being told that even the Marketing Yard will be taken away by the 31st of May. Rations will not be provided after this date. There are major concerns for safety, and of shelter from the rains. In the event that the camps closed by the 31st, they are absolutely in no position to rehabilitate about 50-55 families, i.e. roughly 400 men, women and children, who literally have nowhere to go and no income to buy or rent housing. Camp organizers require 9-12 months to make adequate arrangements for these 55 families, at least.

Sukhsar

On 6th of April people returned back to Sukhsar from Jhalod relief camp. As of April 30, there were 350 people living in the Sukhsar camp. When it was first opened, there were roughly 600 people living there. They have cleaned up the remaining portion of a house and all are staying there. There is no enclosed space to sleep as all of the Muslim owned structures in the town have been gutted, window openings broken, and roofs smashed in (resulting in the destruction of roughly 40% of the town). From 6th to 16th April people came at night and fired in the air near the relief camp. On 16th April, some people came in a Maruti van, stopped next to the SRP Police camp, and fired into the relief camp itself

while people were sleeping. Three boys from the camp got injured. The police watched and did not respond. Since then, the police on duty have been changed and firing has ceased.

Sanjeli

By May 2nd, there were around 750 people who had returned from various relief camps, mainly from Dahod, Jhalod, and Sajjangadh in Rajasthan. They have not brought back their children and young girls, for fear how to protect them. They are all huddled in one big broken burnt house, which they have cleaned up. No rebuilding has begun in the town. At least half of the town was destroyed in the recent attacks. It appears as though it has been bombed.

On May 2nd, members of the fact finding team witnessed a truck load of people come and stand, with its engine running, right in front of the house where the Sanjeli camp is being organized. Two men in front played Dholak; it was clear that there was no reason for this but to add to the fear of these already-traumatized people.

“Compro”

The fear that camps will be closed down is very real and has actually been implemented in many cases. People are being forced to go back to their villages and many times it has meant setting up some sort of camps in the villages and shifting people there from outside as was done in the case of Fatehpura, Sukhsar and Sanjeli on different dates. There has been, however, another kind of pressure also at work. This is being termed doing a “compro” and some villages have already agreed to do this.

To get the people to go back, the State authorities are having so called peace meetings in which along with the State officials, the people from both the communities sit down and have a discussion on the ways in which peace can be restored. Conditions are put on the minority community to take back all the complaints where individuals have been named and to say that the mob was made up of unknown people. This is the minimum that is being asked for “allowing people to go back to their own homes”! And these discussions are being held in the presence of the State officials. Obviously there can be no written testimonies to these processes but we have been told in many villages about the ways in which these pressures are acting.

In Jhalod, such pressure was put right when the violence was going on. In Piplod also people have mentioned that there has been a pressure to take back the names and complaints. In places like Fatehpura, people were brought back to the same village right at the beginning and so they have not named anyone in any case. In Sanjeli the names of the accused have not been included in the registered FIR although people had given them in their written complaint. Besides, the police have also added some incidents, which never happened and were not reported, in the complaint filed by the people of Sanjeli. Affidavits have been filed correcting the omnibus FIR made by the police for the village.

The main demand from the Muslims, on the other hand, for returning back to their villages has been that action is taken against those named in the complaints. Far from doing this, in almost every place the police have refused to file FIRs which include the names of the accused persons. In some places people are able to fight back but in others they are conceding to the pressure. In some villages like Piplod, people are also now fighting with the administration to remove the Hindu shops that have come up in place of the burnt and destroyed Muslim shops.

In rural areas, people do not have many choices about relocation. At times they also have land and other livelihood options in the village itself which makes it very difficult for them to go anywhere else. Hence we feel that the pressure to compromise is very high and in most places as time goes by and as the State machinery does not seem to act against the guilty, more and more people will be forced to make this “compro” as it is called by the local people.

Violence against women

The specific situation of women from the villages having to go back to the small place and live with the same people who have seen the kind of violence that has happened against them and the pressure from within the community to not talk about the kind of violence that women went through, has resulted in no specific complaints of sexual violence against women from this area. In some places people have spoken about it but in confidence and they do not want to make a complaint under these circumstances.

The mention of violence against women or the threat of sexual violence to women was always there but in the third person or in the form of a story of some other place. Knowing how difficult it is for women to come to terms with such violence and also knowing the pressures that act on the women from outside and within the community, we chose not to probe this issue much during our conversations. Through our conversations with different people we feel that the incidence of all kinds of sexual violence against women is quite high.

The threat of sexual assault has been verbally given all the time. When the mobs came into the villages, one of the things that they kept saying was “Give us your women and girls. We shall look after them.” Such things were also written on the walls of the houses that had been damaged. Where people were generally able to run away, women did not have to go through actual physical sexual assault but in all places where they were caught by the crowd, there has been all kinds of sexual violence and abuse like stripping the women, touching them in all possible abusive ways, making them run naked on the streets of the village and even gang rapes.

For example, apart from Fatehpura, women from Sanjeli and Munkhosla also hinted at sexual violence. In one incident from Sanjeli village two women were raped and killed and people are talking about this. People from Sanjeli escaped in 18 vehicles with police escort. As they were fleeing the mobs in tempos and trucks, many people were gathered along side

the road with stones and threw them from the hillsides on the people in the trucks. Many persons were severely injured in these attacks and some people lost their lives as well.

Around twenty two people were fleeing in a tempo when the vehicle had a punctured tyre because of the stones and nails on the road. While they were trying to escape quickly, the mob came and pulled out four people. These were Fatima Murtuza, her husband Murtuza and father-in-law and sister-in-law Zainab. First the two men were killed and then the women were also killed. The people who narrated the incident said that when their dead bodies were recovered they found that they had been burnt with tyres around their torso in such a way that their face and legs were not burnt. They could thus be recognized and it was realised that they were sexually abused and mutilated in the genitals and so burnt in this manner. Fatima also had a four month old child who was saved because he was with someone else. The assailants in this case were unknown people and so no specific complaint has been registered.

The other people who could not escape in the trucks escaped into the jungle and walked to Dahod for three days without food and water and with young children until they reached Dahod. These stories became even clearer as we visited Sanjeli. The landscape is very dry and arid. This also seems to be a drought year. Many of the trees around are only *keekar* filled with dry thorns. There is hardly any scrub either which could afford protection to the people fleeing into the forest. The whole area is also hilly and often the road winds up and down a narrow path between short stumpy hillocks. This is where the people stood with piles of stones and brick to attack the fleeing people. We saw many piles of stones and some scattered bricks still there when we went.

Many women also hinted at sexual abuse, but no one acknowledged the prevalence of rape during the attack other than the rapes of women who died. But most women expressed a strong sense of insecurity and sorrow for those who had to run across the land and walk to Dahod. "Our feet were full of thorns which we did not pull out till we reached Dahod." "Only we know and our Allah knows what we have lived through."

Compensation to the heirs of the 'missing'

The brutal manner in which the people were attacked, killed and burnt, across the length and breadth of the state, including in far-flung hitherto 'unaffected' rural areas, meant that several people who were killed could not be identified. These may be termed 'missing' persons, though they have all been killed.

When the DSP, in front of us asked the police personnel in his office how many 'missing' persons have been recorded, there were 3 answers from the 3 police personnel. '3'. '7'. '4'. People who were working in the camps and the villagers themselves have made a list of 36 'missing' persons as yet.

According to the GR, the heir of a person killed in the carnage would be given 40,000 cash and 60,000 in Fixed Deposits (And another 50,000 from another fund). According to the

Collector of Dahod the heirs of the persons who were killed need the post mortem report for being able to collect the compensation. In most of the above 'missing' cases, the circumstances in which the murders occurred were such that there was no chance of any 'formalities' being done.

On the 2nd of March 2002, over 2000 people from Sanjeli were in a state of panic, with several thousand mobsters after their blood and life. After several desperate phone calls and the intervention of the DSP, these large number of people were packed in 18 vehicles. Among those so packed, were Almas (2 years), Nadim (4 years), Faisal (3 years), Talhan (6 years) and Nazrana (3 years). The vehicles were crammed in this manner, because just outside were the mobsters trying to get at the Muslim people, shouting threats of violence and abuse. Even when the vehicles set out, the mob continued to follow the vehicles and throw stones at the vehicles and threaten the people inside. In the entire process, the 5 children listed above lost their lives. The parents realized this only when they reached Dahod, some after 9 hours (when the actual distance is such that it should not have taken them more than 2 hours). Each of them had almost seen their individual and collective death at the hands of the bloodthirsty mobs. The parents, in their grief, tearfully buried the little dead children.

There was no post-mortem report and that is what is held against several of the heirs of the people who died in the carnage. A similar incident also occurred in Fatehpura, where 3 – year old Shabnam died.

In Randhikpur, 18 people were killed, 11 of who were beaten up brutally and then were burnt, with almost no traces left. In Limkheda too, an entire family of 10 people, including 4 children, were beaten up, women brutalized and raped, and then all were killed and burnt.

When the murderers have the power and the backing to see to it that almost all traces of the murder are wiped out, including getting rid of the victims' bodies, is it not a mockery to insist on a piece of paper called the post mortem report?

In almost all these cases, the relatives have some witnesses to the heinous act – a relative who was able to hide himself / herself or some one who was at a considerable distance from the scene when the murders were taking place, but could go to the scene immediately after. But the administration seems, as in most of the instances in this case, hell-bent on seeing that not even a ray of justice or hope reaches the Muslim community.

Fatehpura **Taluka : Fatehpura**

Fatehpura and Karodia are not two separate towns, they are almost like one same settlement. These towns have a total population of about 6,000. The Muslims in these areas did not have a separate locality as such. Their houses were scattered all over the town on different roads like Ballaiya Road (also known as Karodia), Ukhreli Road, Ghooghas Road, Jhalod Road, Main Bazaar, Palod Falia, Naik Wad, and Talav Falia.

There are about 200 to 250 affected Muslim families in all from Fatehpura. Some of the families are staying with relatives in an adjacent district of Rajasthan. About 200 Bohra persons are also staying separately in Dahod and Lunawada. The total affected population is 1720 people plus around 200 Bohra Muslims.

Dates of the violence: From 28th February evening to 4th March.

Deaths: In all four lives were lost. One old man about 65 years old who was mentally ill (Mohammad Ishabhai) was burnt alive and the others (Yusuf Mahammad and Ahmad Karim) were stabbed to death when they tried to intervene in the violence on women. The fourth was a small three years old child who fell and died while the people were being taken away in an over crowded vehicle.

Sequence of events:

On 28th February, around 8:30 in the evening, a mob of Hindus from the village came to the main bazaar area and near the mosque in the village and shouted slogans and threw stones at the mosque and the people. They made a lot of noise as well, “who log wahan par khele.” While it is unclear whether people were hurt then, there was much terror.

On 1st March, Friday evening, on Ukhreli Road (which is on the outskirts of Fatehpura, about 2 km from the main village) there was burning and looting of one house and two or more vehicles. While no woman was raped, there was verbal and physical harassment.

In Fatehpura itself also a mob from the village itself came, made a lot of noise and threatened and went away. It was also said that on this day they came and identified the Hindu houses by putting some Hanuman / Ram photographs and posters on them.

On Saturday, 2nd March, in the morning at 9 am, a curfew was clamped in the town. Apparently a police patrol came with some two policemen in it and asked people to get into their houses. The mob was at this point at a distance. Once the mob entered the village, the police was nowhere to be seen. After this round of the police patrol, a large mob came. People’s perceptions of the size of the mob varied from 8,000 to 20,000, but it was clear that the mob was large and the attackers were both from the town and outside the town.

The mob surrounded the whole village and started their looting and destruction from one end of the village. Since the houses were scattered, people ran out from there and started moving towards bigger concrete houses. In one such house in the main bazaar about 500 people took refuge. Similarly about 100 people hid in a house on another road. Others ran here and there and tried to find safe places to hide in. Some people hid in the mosque till the mobs reached there and then fled to the police station. One or two families were also sheltered for a day by an Adivasi family near the town. In the night they were then sent to the police station as the family who kept them were also in danger.

The 100 people in one of the houses hid there from 9am to about 3:30 pm. The house was set on fire and the people could manage to escape only after they broke open the roof and escaped from the roofs of the neighbouring houses. As the women came out, many of them were stripped and harassed. One woman was definitely raped and perhaps some more were also raped but people do not want to be identified. The people came out from here and managed to reach the police station where they all finally took refuge on the evening of the 2nd.

The people of around 15 households in another part of Fatehpura took refuge in one concrete house. They were attacked by the crowd at about twelve noon. They were surrounded from all sides and then the crowds entered the house. They first snatched all the money and the jewellery and then took all the young women and children out. All this while they kept on verbally and physically assaulting the women and saying “give us all your young women and girls. We will take them.” There were about 30 women and ten children and many men as well. They all kept on pleading, “please take away our money, jewellery and house, but leave the women alone.” The women were dragged out of the house. These were women from other houses around who had come and taken refuge in this house.

The women were pulled out. Their clothes stripped. The children snatched from their hands and thrown away by which some of them also got injured. Then in front of their house and in full view of the others in the area also, these women were sexually assaulted by the mob. The three men who came out to protest and intervene were killed. The other men were also warned from intervening and hit. This went on till six in the evening.

Meanwhile the concrete house which was supposed to be safe was also set on fire from the front and the back. Petrol was poured on the house and on the people inside as well. People were trapped inside unable to come out till around six in the evening. The doors burnt and fell down and everyone trapped inside managed to come out walking over the burnt doors with fires raging on both sides. Many people were burnt in this process of coming out and had to live with that pain for a long time.

The women who had been abused were left to flee in their hurt, bruised and naked state and doused with petrol. There were several thousands of people around. These women had been repeatedly raped and assaulted in full view of their children, men, the neighbours, and the mob on the road. The police station where all the Muslims had fled to take refuge is

almost a kilometre away from this place. These women had to walk naked and brutalised all this distance and no one, none of the women who were very much part of the watching crowd, gave them anything to cover themselves. Trying to cover themselves with chindis and whatever was available, some leaves on the road, they managed to flee to the police station.

The police station was packed with almost 2000 people and there wasn't even enough space to sit. So most of them just stood there from Saturday evening to Monday early morning. In that period there was only some water that was given for the children once, but otherwise everyone just stood there with nothing to eat or drink. The police did not let them get out and did not try to help them in any way at all. In fact the police said that if they came out then they will not be able to stop the mob from killing them off. In silence, pain and terror, these people waited standing for two days for help to arrive. There were 4 or 6 policemen at the station.

The mob continued with its acts of looting and burning and destroying all property that belonged to these people all this time. All their houses and shops and other property was completely destroyed. Two mosques were broken and also a graveyard was destroyed with the graves being dug out and the grave stones broken. The people said in their recounting to us "when we send in invites for marriages, one or two Muslim houses get overlooked, but these people were thorough and by Monday no house or establishment owned by Muslims was left standing."

When the arson and violence in the town ended on Sunday the 3rd of March late night / Monday early morning, the police escorted most of the people from Fatehpura in police and other vehicles. The vehicles were overcrowded and there was barely place to stand. All the people left in one big truck, 3 tempos and 1 jeep. It was in this travel that a mother lost the grip of her three year old and the child fell down and died. The people were brought to Rajasthan border where they were handed over to the Rajasthan police. The child who died was buried in Rajasthan and the post mortem was not done, and so no compensation was paid for the death of this child. Some of the fleeing people also had relatives in Rajasthan. After reaching Rajasthan, for the first time they were given some food and water and also some attention from other people. They got food and water at around 3 in the morning on Monday after being deprived of it since Saturday morning.

The Rajasthan police was very good and also apparently argued with the Gujarat police for not saving people from the violence. They stayed in Rajasthan for ten days until the 13th of March. They were very well taken care of and all their needs were met in the camps and houses at Rajasthan. The areas in Rajasthan where they were kept were: Galia Court, Gadhi, Pratapgarh, Shergah, Sajjangarh, Kalinjra, Kasarwadi, mostly in the Banswada district. There was help from both the Rajasthan State and the people.

On the 13th the Collector from Fatehpura came to take them back. The women did not want to go back to Fatehpura at all. The men agreed to go because they were told that they would lose out on their land and property compensation claims if they did not get back.

The collector also assured total safety for the people. He and the police officials said that they were taking them back on their responsibility and no harm would come to them. The women were told that they were going to Jhalod and then tricked and brought to Fatehpura to the camp.

Even now the neighbours are not all friendly towards these people. The women who were abused are particularly being targeted and made fun of by all the others whilst also being threatened that the same thing would be done to them all over again if they try to come back to their houses. They do not at all feel confident about going back to their houses. They have not been able to go to their mohalla at all. The men have, but that too is very difficult. Many of their compensation claims have been given, including those of the men who were killed. Some people are trying to go back and clean up their houses and start making them liveable. Very few people also feel that their neighbours will not harm them and have asked them to come back.

There is tension even now. On 14th April, some pamphlets saying that there will be violence on the 17th were distributed and so people were tense for the 17th. On the 15th around 50% of the people left for Rajasthan and returned only on 18th and 19th.

Report on the camp and the living conditions

When the people were brought back from Rajasthan, they were housed in a camp set up in the Agriculture Produce Marketing Yard in Fatehpura. There were about 1135 people in this camp as of 25th April, 2002. Of these 117 families are from Fatehpura and another 60 families are from adjacent Karodia. The Camp started functioning from the 13th of March.

The camp is run by local organisers and the only help the state is providing is the ration. The camp had a tent of 12,000 square feet, which had been put up before they came from Rajasthan. The contractor who made that asked them for a payment of Rs. 1,30,000/-, as rent till 17th April after more than a month. The Collector asked them to pay it from the Rs. 5/- allowance that they get along with grains for their daily meals. They are paying Rs.2.50/- per day from the contingency fund and have paid about Rs. 50,000 but are not able to give the rest. So the tent has been removed and they are out in the open.

There is a very inadequate temporary tent which falls many times a day and takes hours to put back up. The women do not want to go back yet. Some of them who had pucca houses might be able to go back but all of them want to stay on for at least two months more till the end of the rains in July. The water tankers are being paid for by two people from amongst the camp residents, but they don't know how long that can continue.

Around the 25th of April, when the new collector of Dahod district, Mr. Pandor, took charge and visited some camps in the District. He ordered the dismantling of the camps in Jhalod and sent a message to the Fatehpura camp that they must dismantle it as well. They said that they had rations for a couple of days and were allowed to live in the camp till the

rations lasted. Many urgent messages were sent to and fro between the various camps in Dahod district, Delhi, Bombay and Ahmedabad.

The next day, the Collector sent another message to the Fatehpura camp, saying that they could stay on in the camp, and that it would not be dismantled at present. But it would be better if some people started moving out. So far, around 350 people have moved back to the remains of their houses they have been able to clean. Some more may be able to do so by the end of the month.

The 55 families (400 people) living in scattered houses feel unsure about going back and are wanting a collective mohalla or something like that on some land in the main bazaar or some place closer to the other Muslim houses. These 400 people will be completely unable to move anywhere before the rains and need urgent waterproof shelter before the monsoon begins. There is some land with the community which they could use, but they need monetary and infrastructural support to build there, as well as alternative accommodation till such work can be done.

Right now, there are about 795 people living in the temporary tent and 2 small tents. The rest have moved to their houses or whatever is left of them. They need something immediately as the monsoons are approaching. There is a great deal of despair, insecurity and helplessness.

We were the first people to reach this camp on the 25th of April. Unlike other places, the men wanted us to talk to the women and we were given separate space in their office to do this. The men too were willingly talking about the assaults on the women. Women were talking but they did not want to be identified individually and nor did they want to identify the people from the town who were the violators. They keep saying that we need to speak as “this is what happened at Fatehpura” without giving any names. They were clear that they did not want any publicity or any legal action in their village.

We also found that many women in these areas were educated. There were many young girls who had studied up till the 10th. Many women were also working. They had sewing machines or were running small shops or were working from home and some were doing majdoori. Even now some students have given their SSC exams while staying on at the camp.

Jhalod **Taluka : Jhalod**

We visited Jhalod twice, once on the 25th of April and then on 30th of April. Things altered drastically in between these two visits as the camps got closed down in the meanwhile and many of the people from the neighbouring villages got scattered around the town or went back. Subsequently we also met some people from Jhalod who came to Dahod town to submit their written testimonies for the Concerned Citizen’s Tribunal on the 10th of May. The following is an account of Jhalod town as put together from these three encounters with residents from the village.

Chronology of events for Jhalod town:

In Jhalod, Muslim families are primarily in the agriculture and transport businesses. There is also a section of poorer daily wage Muslim labourers. The violence targeted all sectors of the Muslim community in this town.

In Jhalod all the Hindu houses were marked with saffron flags before the 27th of February itself. This was done the day before Id that is on 22nd of February, and the people said that they were surprised about this as there was no Hindu festival at that time. Further, in the evening there was a rally at 4 pm of around 100 – 150 people and then they had meetings everywhere after that.

The leaders of the BJP from Jhalod named by the local people are: Bhagwan Panchal, Agnesh Panchal, Bhavesh Babubhai Katar (son of the MP), Subhash Agrawal, Sunil Agrawal, Kaloobhai Sangada, Chhagan Bhunatar (ex-Corporator), Narainbhai (from Limli), Mukesh Karnawat, Dalsukh Maharaj, Mukeshkumar Nandkishor Purohit, Shankar Labana, Maheshbhai Bhuria, Suresh Charal, Ramanbhai Admat Khutawala (sarpanch) and others.

On 28th February, 2002, during the Gujarat bandh nothing happened in Jhalod but there was immense sale of petrol from the pumps and acid from the chemical companies. All night vehicles of Babubhai Katara (MP) ran around between their houses to all the villages around. Later it was realized that this was to get all the weapons together and also to collect people.

On 1st March at about 8 – 8:30 am two motorcycles and one Bohra-owned TVS showroom were burnt in Mowada. After this at about 9:30 am at the bus stand in the Nagar Palika Bureau first a gift shop and then other shops of Muslims were looted. At the same time in the Muslim area there was shoot at sight order in force.

While people were at home working in the morning, a large mob entered the village, beat the men and women and looted their homes. The attacking mob was equipped with guns, swords, revolvers, mobile telephones, truckloads of packaged chemicals, and drill machines. Then from the taluka panchayat they started looting all the Muslim

establishments on the highway – Banswara road. Particularly along the highway, Muslim homes and establishments experienced extensive destruction and burning. Fires gutted shops, godowns and businesses as well as houses along the road owned by Muslims.

Muslims in this village also suffered terrible abuses including extensive physical attack as well. Those who survived the attacks were often covered in burns and serious wounds, which may or may not have been surgically stitched. They said that even if four police had patrolled the area the carnage and destruction could have been avoided.

One of the first persons to be stabbed was Bibiben who was stabbed by the mob inside her house and who died on the spot. Her daughter Safiya who came to save her was also attacked and was very seriously hurt. She was shifted to a hospital in Dahod after some days and suffered a lot. People could not even reach the hospital because the conditions were quite bad in Dahod also. She could not be shifted to Vadodara or Ahmedabad for a long time due to the continuing violence in these cities. Finally she was shifted only after the 1st of May but by then it was too late for her to recover and she succumbed to her injuries on 6th May, 2002, in Al Amin Hospital, Ahmedabad. Safiya's niece, who is 12 years old, was also stabbed and injured.

Then Yusufbhai Kaira was stabbed with a sword on both his hands when he was sitting in his house. After this people from all houses started running to save their lives. Yunus Yusuf Patel was shot by Bhavesh Katara (the MP's son) and Nanda Bagabhai Dindor's son threw stones at him and killed him. All houses here were looted and burnt. The mob was of about 500 here. From here they moved towards Koliwada destroying everything on the way.

There Ishaq Abdul Karim Kooka was shot at in private firing. Some residents have reported that the following people were with guns here: Subhash Makhanlal Agrawal, Bhavesh Babulal Katara, Gopal Makhanlal Agrawal, Kirit Makhanlal Agrawal, Mukesh Makhanlal Agrawal, Suresh Charel, Balji Patel, Rajni Patel. They continued violence all along and finally in the evening went to a large timber mill and burnt that completely.

All night they kept making noises, firing shots, bursting crackers, hooting, leaving everyone in tension and fear. The whole Muslim community got together in Mandli Faliya main bazaar. As they said they managed to protect themselves through the night because they had all gathered in one "safe" area of the town and were also defending themselves in whatever way they could.

2nd March, 2002: Around 15 to 20,000 people blocked and surrounded the whole town from all sides. They were trying to enter but could not. Although the Muslim community was trying to defend themselves, they were finding it very difficult to do so. In that situation at about 3 pm they agreed to a meeting of the peace committee, which was held with Congress leaders, BJP leaders and Muslim leaders. They had a lot of discussions but could not arrive at any "solution". So they decided to meet again the next day. While the meeting was going on, houses of a community of Fakirs were burnt.

The settlement next to Loharwada, called Bapu Nagar where a fakir community lived was completely destroyed; the roofs and walls of about 10 houses were collapsed. This settlement faces huge open space, so they could see large mobs of people approaching them, shouting loudly as they advanced towards them. The mob consisted of Adivasis from Kaljiki Saraswani, Velpura and Lakhanpur communities. At that point all the people from the settlement fled towards the main village. The mob proceeded to loot and burn the basti as well as the graveyard nearby and they even dug up the graves. The destruction also included completely breaking down the water pumps, tanks, pipes, and rooms. All the trees, including fruit bearing trees were cut down. All the stored grain was burnt. They are requesting that their land should be exchanged for some land in the middle of the village.

3rd March, 2002: The peace committee meeting was again held around 12 noon. In this meeting the Deputy Collector Mr. Pagi, the Mamlatdaar Pateliya Sahab, the BJP MP Babubhai Katara, VHP leaders Bhagwanbhai Panchal, Agneshbhai Panchal, Subhash Agrawal, Bharat Patel were present. In this meeting the BJP leaders put some conditions before the Muslim community in return for being spared any further violence. The conditions were as follows:

1. No Muslim boy should come out of the house after 10 pm.
2. No ajaan on the mike in the Masjid.
3. Close Muslim students hostels.
4. Close slaughter houses on the highway.
5. Whenever our band crosses the Masjid we will not stop playing.
6. No Muslim children should even stand and watch Hindu Barat.

The community panch agreed to these conditions at that time as they were all under tremendous pressure. As one of the persons who submitted his written testimony to the Concerned Citizens' Tribunal said to us, "Our condition was very bad. We were moving with three dead bodies from the 1st. They had not been buried as we could not go to the graveyard. All the Muslims from the town were in this Mandli Faliya, Main Bazaar, and were surrounded from all sides by this large, violent mob. Finally the three bodies we buried in our bazaar in our jamaatkhana, the place where we eat. Jo zinda thhe unki to halat kharab thi hi, jo mar gaye thhe unki bhi kahin jagah nahin thi. At that time we had no choice but to accept the conditions."

Until about the 13th people stayed inside their houses, in their mohallas in Mandli Faliya, not coming out at all. From the 4th other people from the villages around Jhalod also started coming and then on the 14th, the camp started and all the people from Jhalod whose houses had also been destroyed, went and started staying there.

Overview of Camps:

There were three camps in Jhalod, roughly from March 5 through April 25. Since the Muslim people in Jhalod had been able to protect parts of their areas, it was therefore one of the places where Muslim people from the nearby villages took refuge. The people

started arriving from the 4th of March and started living here. The camps were formally set up from the 13th of March. As in most places, the camps were put together by the local community people themselves and were run with great difficulty by them.

One of the main camp organizers was actually running the camp and later distributing rations from his home which was not destroyed during the attack. His business has, however, been closed for two months. He had a balance of his own of Rs. 7,000 at end of February, which he distributed to 100-200 people whose homes had been destroyed. “Where do we go now?” he asks. “BJP? Congress? Where is our safety?” “If RSS/VHP want to fight, why don’t they go on the border and fight Britain or China? Why this internal fighting amongst us?” “So much harm (“*nuksan*”) done here, but no one ready to take responsibility.”

When we visited Jhalod on 25th April, Camp 1 housed 362 people, Camp 2 housed 998 people, and Camp 3 housed 950 people. . Apart from the people from Jhalod town itself, many others came from several different villages around Jhalod including Rajpur, Chitrodia, Kahardungra, Sitavali, Munkhosla, Sanjeli, Talav Phalia, Seetavatli, Rangrej, and Moti Bandibaar.

In camp no. 1, no deaths were reported. This camp was started on March 13 after the return of people from Rajasthan. This camp area itself was very small. Men and women had no space. Here people were slightly poorer than those in Camp no.2. These camps were divided along caste lines. People in this camp were from the Sipai, Kasba, Pathan, Sheikh, Sayyad, and Diwan, communities, among others. Initially there were 403 people in this camp, but some had relocated to their villages. When we visited, there were 362 people there. They were from – Munkhosla (138), Talav Phalia (40), Seetavatli (77), Rajpur (21), Rangrej (7 households), Jhalod town (102), Sanjeli (13) and Moti Bandibaar (13).

We first visited the camps on the 25th of April. On the same afternoon, the new Collector of Dahod, Mr. Pandor, who had just taken charge the previous day, visited the camps and, against the will of the residents and camp organizers, had the camps dismantled that very afternoon. This was his first visit to the area on taking office. When another team of interviewers reached the same site on 25th April later in the afternoon, the tents were already being dismantled and the people dispersing into the nearby neighbourhoods.

Since then, the Mamlatdaar has told the camp organizers that they can restart the camps, but the people had already dispersed and forced to relocate to other places. There is distribution of ration through the camp organizers but as in other places, that too is to continue only till the 31st of May. Now many of the people are either living with relatives or have rented houses. The rent is very high and is very difficult to put together as all of the survivors of the attacks have lost their source of income. But people are forced to do this, as they do not have anywhere else to go to.

For instance, women from a village called Munkhosla continued to live in Jhalod after the camps shut down because they do not feel safe to go back to their village. J. ben is from

Munkhosla gaon. There were about 150 Muslim people living in Munkhosla belonging to the Kanoya community. J. ben’s family consists of about 50-60 people. When the carnage started (she did not mention dates), a young Adivasi boy, who is a driver, warned them that there were riots in Jhalod so they should run. Her entire family fled to Himmatgad in Rajasthan where they were for four days and then they went to Banswada, also in Rajasthan, where they stayed with some relatives for the next 15 days. When they came back to Munkhosla around Holi (i.e. 28/03/02), they were subject to stone throwing and the Adivasis tried to fire at them. Thus they ran away and came to Jhalod where they were in the camp.

The need for the camps is felt even now. As late as May 21, when the people from the area went and met the Collector, one of the demands was for reopening the Jhalod camps and he has agreed to do so in principle, provided there were enough letters from the people asking for the same.

Women:

Women are receiving no ration or relief cards, especially women in female-headed households. “With a camp, we don’t get what we are owed,” many of them said. They also kept repeating, “Hamari izzat ko kutch nahi kiya,” when talking about the attacks. Many women were talking at the same time and very softly. They kept saying, “what can we say where all they have touched us and what all they have done, what all they have done to women, kya batayen”. Women were saying that they have heard that at all other places a lot happened with women. They were also asking what exactly happened.

The women from Munkhosla were very clear about not wanting to return to their village. They felt that they were isolated in their small village and that it would not be safe for them to return. While they did mention about sexual abuse, they did not say if there had been instances of assault and rape. But all were clear that they did not feel safe and wanted land to be given in Jhalod itself for them to stay. The women of Talav Phalia also felt the same and did not want to go back at all.

Most women in this camp kept saying that it was very bad and “Jo bacha hai voh hamari izzat bachi hai”.

Limkheda
Taluka : Limkheda

Limkheda village has a majority Hindu population with approximately 50-55 Bohra and 20 other Muslim families. It is generally a trading community; Bohras run textile and other shops and the other Muslims have small shops selling soaps, toothpaste, etc. Some of the Muslims are butchers and most of the young men have auto-rickshaws.

Chronology:

About six to eight weeks before 27th February, a list of all Muslim households and properties was prepared. A VHP leader who is a development officer in LIC, Limkheda had begun instigating people by saying things like, “These Muslims do not allow for the mandir. They should be killed.”

On Wednesday 27th February, trouble began in Limkheda. At about 3 pm, one Muslim truck driver was beaten up and a motorcycle of a person of Randhikpur was burnt at the bus stop. Later that afternoon, Muslims in buses were forced to climb down and beaten up. Dupattas of women were torn and they were chanting obscene slogans. At about 7 pm people from the village and neighbouring villages came out onto the streets and started urging shopkeepers to close their shops. A mob of 15-20 people was shouting “Maro! Looto!” and could be heard from inside the houses. After some time, the noise subsided. At about 1 am, some people were sent by truck to Piplod, which has a big basti, because they felt that they could not stay on in Limkheda. Trouble started in Piplod in the morning so after two days they were taken to Panchela village and then on 4th March they were taken to Dahod relief camp.

One Bohra man was murdered in Limkheda on the 28th of February. Ten persons from Limkheda who were escaping to Pandu Gaon in Kalol taluka were killed when they were walking to Pandu village from Derol station. Two children from this family are in Godhra camp. Some other people from Limkheda are now also in Godhra camp, some are with relatives in Dahod and some are in Dahod camp.

Damages and Compensation:

Everything in the houses was looted, including: fridges, cots, fans, electrical fittings, grills, doors, and windows. Ceilings have been damaged and houses have been burnt down since the original looting. Most of the looted items are now in neighbouring houses and police stations. Complaints have been filed but there has been no action on them.

They have put saffron flags in front of the houses and have put a board saying “Jai Shri Ram”. The Masjid has also been destroyed and they have written Shri Ram inside. Some press people had come to shoot all this, but the people in the village did not let them shoot. A church in Vakdi village was also destroyed. The priest had been attacked earlier about six months ago.

The first survey was done only four days after the 28th February. At that time things had only been looted. Around the 8th to 10th of March, the houses were also burnt and then destroyed. Though the walls are still standing they will fall any time as the foundations have been fully destroyed. No survey has been done after that. Some families have suffered losses of at least Rs. 15 to 20 lakhs. Now they are staying with relatives in Dahod and have only received only Rs.12,000 compensation and no cash dole.

In Limkheda, one HLL agency suffered a loss of 50 – 60 lakhs. Though everyone has made compensation claims, not many have received compensation at all. The taluka officials are completely unresponsive and make people run here and there. A meeting with the Mamlatdaar and others was held. They told the Muslims that “you have to live here so forget all that happened and don’t register any complaints with names.”

Moti Bandibar village
Taluka : Limkheda

Incidents of violence in Moti Bandibar are similar to what happened in the rest of the Limkheda taluka. The population of the village is about 4000 out of which 260 are Muslims including about 45 Bohras.

Violence started around 6 pm on the 28th of February. The Sarpanch, with some other villagers came and told Muslims to leave their houses. They came to the basti near the police station. The Muslim villagers were assured police protection. About 150 people shifted to one Hindu house that offered protection. The others ran away to the jungle.

The Masjid was the first to be destroyed at 6 pm. All the fans, utensils were looted. The minarets and the Koran were burnt. The moulavi was burnt alive. Then the basti near the police station was completely looted and two houses were completely burnt. After the Muslim houses were completely burnt, even the house of the Hindu who offered protection was also burnt.

Police vehicles came to the village at about 4 am and picked up the 150 people hiding and dropped them in Limkheda. By about 7 am on Friday the 1st of March, they reached Dahod and then stayed on there in the relief camp that was subsequently set up.

The people who ran into the jungle also came to Dahod by about 3 pm on Friday. They came with the help of an auto rickshaw. There were twenty six people in the auto. The auto driver was also helping put off the fires in the burning houses. Out of the people who ran into the jungle, one person was hit on the neck and murdered by a sword. FIRs have been registered in both the death cases. For both the deaths the cash compensation of Rs. 40,000 has been received. The bonds for Rs. 60,000 have not been received yet.

The previous collector shifted the refugees back to Bandibar. Around 25 to 30 people are staying there now. Some have not gone because they are scared. People who have land and houses in Bandibar want to go back, but those who do coolie work do not want to go back.

Piplod **Taluka : Baria**

Piplod is a town with a large Muslim community. The total affected households of non-Bohra Muslims here is 190. The people from here ran in different directions. Some of them are still in Dahod camp and others are in Godhra and Baria also. We met them in the Dahod camp.

On 28th February 2002, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal announced Gujarat bandh. During the bandh, there were many meetings of Hindutvadis in Piplod and they notified the sarpanch of the adjoining villages that all the Muslims of this village would be burnt alive and Piplod would be destroyed. When this news reached the Muslim community, they asked the leaders of Hindutva to tell them the truth about planning to kill Muslims. The leaders told them simply that they would have to pay for what they did. The Muslims then repeatedly asked for police protection, but the police also said that Muslims would have to pay for what they did and left the place.

On 28th evening around 4 pm some timber depots were burnt and when Muslims were trying to stop the flames, they were asked to leave and were also threatened to be set ablaze. The Muslim leaders went home. Ten to twelve depots were burnt under the leadership of Ketan Parikh, Prithvi Puwar (sarpanch of Guna village), Bhuderbhai Mulabhai (ex sarpanch) leader of Salia Manubhai Valabhai (Taluka pramukh), Pradipbhai Manabhai, Sunil Rameshchandra Soni. Under the leadership of these people and other businessmen, the mob rushed forward to set the whole village on fire.

The mob burnt 6 buildings, several shops as well as cabins belonging to Muslims on Randhikpur Road. When some Muslims tried to talk to the mob, they were also attacked with a round of rifle shooting. Meanwhile they approached the Mamlatdaar and province officer of Devgarh Baria who in turn announced a curfew. When the announcement was being made with the help of a microphone, one of the local Hindu leaders, Sureshbhai Gangaram Darji broke the microphone and told the above officers that there was no need to bring curfew in this village and the Muslims must pay for what they have done. Both the Mamlatdaar and the province officer left for Baria after that.

On Friday 1st March 2002, at around 10:30 in the morning Ketan Parikh took the leadership and gathered the Hindu leaders of the surrounding villages in front of his house and stated in public that all the Muslims should be killed. He asked them to come at night with people from their villages around 10. He gave them arms, swords, dharias, bows and arrows and some bottles of chemicals and then the mob left. At around 2 am the mob started burning the village and chanting the slogan "Ketanbhai zindabad". By this time other Hindutva=vadis staying in the Muslim area shifted en masse to somewhere else. The fierce mob started throwing stones and arrows at the Muslims to force them to leave the place. The Muslims pleaded with them to stop the assault and asked for police protection. Police on the contrary turned them away saying that they had not received any order so far and

asked them to leave the village or this mob would kill them all. Meanwhile the Muslims feared that the police would be joining hands with the mob.

Then the sarpanch of Panchela village, Ranchhodbhai Aahir, was alerted of the attacks and that the Muslims had no protection and he offered protection in his house. At that time mob had already started throwing stones and burning houses and Masjids on Baria road which is the basti where a large number of Muslims stay. Muslims from other parts of the town had also gathered there in the big Masjid and in the houses there. They all decided to leave the village and go to Panchela even though they could not get police protection for their journey. They were stoned at on their way to Panchela and were stoned at again on their way to Dahod despite having police protection for this leg of the journey. They suffered from some minor and major injuries while travelling. After that no Muslims were allowed to enter the village. Ten days after when a Muslim man, Idrismian Kasammian Malek, went to see the condition of his house, he was burnt alive near the old bus stand using petrol.

Several months before these incidents, the following men from Piplod village went to Rajkot to cast false ballots so as to assist the victory of Mr. Narendra Modi in the election:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1-Vinod Khemchand Agarwal | 2-Rashmikant Rasik Soni |
| 3-Gopal Amrutlal Soni | 4-Anilkumar Hashmukhlal Jayswal |
| 5-Sureshbhai Gangaram Darji | 6-Chandubhai Vishanudas Nathani |
| 7-Sunil Rameshchandra Soni | 8-Mukesh Manilal Darji |
| 9-Ashokekumar Kantilal Solanki | 10-Sunilkumar Govindlal Shah |

Two months ago when the B.J.P. lost in the election these same men said that "though you helped Congress to win this time, our time will also come. And then at that time we will rob you and have holi."

Although complaints have been registered with the DSP, when Muslims from Piplod go to the collector's office, the DSP tells them that if they want to live in their village they should not give any names or else they will burn and kill them again. They also get similar answers at the police station. They are also told not to identify their looted property as their own if they want to stay in the village or they will be killed. They have registered 28 complaints with the police but no steps have been taken as yet.

The 44 families from Piplod who are staying at Dahod relief camp would like to go back to their village. They have started cleaning up the houses and some whose houses were liveable are already staying there. A number of places where they had their shops have been taken over by Hindu shops. Removing them from there and reclaiming their space is another thing for which people from Piplod have been fighting.

Sanjeli
Taluka: Jhalod

There are about 425 houses of Muslims in the villages of Sanjeli, Vansia, Mandli, Kakreli, Picchoda, Anika from Jhalod Taluka and Dungarpur of Limkheda Taluka. The Muslim population in these villages is about 2,700. Sanjeli is the village with the largest number of Muslim households. There are 311 families occupying 400 houses. Amongst the Ghanchi community, the number of affected persons is 1921 from Sanjeli alone. There are also 89 Bohra houses in Sanjeli village alone.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and the RSS have been making members in these areas and also opening and running new shakhas since 1995. Before this also in 1998 there was communal violence against Muslims in the villages of Sanjeli and Randhikpur. In 1998, there was an incident where two Adivasi women, one of whom was married, had eloped with Muslim men from Sanjeli and Randhikpur. They were not traced for a few days. This incident had been used by the VHP and Bajrang Dal to incite the local Adivasi community in these villages against the Muslim community. A copy of the leaflet distributed at that time is inserted in the box below. This had led to communal violence in Sanjeli and the Muslim people had to leave the village for almost two months then. They finally returned to their houses which were not looted or damaged in the manner that they were this time. The eloped couples were found, a police case filed and settled later.

July 2000

Cover Story

VHP peppers tribal regions with hate pamphlets

Hate campaign the PM knows nothing about

Inciteful pamphlets distributed and incendiary speeches made at the VHP-sponsored 'dharam sabhas' have been ingenuously used by the BJP-RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal combine to intensely communalise neighbourhoods and communities before an attack is launched against the minorities. Reproduced here is the English translation of a pamphlet in Gujarati, which was widely circulated in Sanjeli town and its neighbourhood a full month before the attack on the Muslims on August 12 and 15, 1998. (First published in CC, October 1998).

Onwards to Sanjeli!

Let's unite — to stop young, tribal women from being lured and kidnapped. Let us unite to put an end to these unholy incidents of Hindu women being sold in Muslim countries — Let's respond to bricks with stones.

Onwards to Sanjeli! Public meeting Onwards to Sanjeli!

Date: July 7, 1998, Sunday afternoon, 3 p.m.

At Rein Bassera, Sanjeli

Leaders of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal to address the meeting

A young, 18-year-old woman, Kanta, of Randhikpur, and another married adivasi woman were seduced and kidnapped to some unknown destination by Muslim youths. We have no trace of them. This is not the first incident in our area. Whether it is Vandana from Bandibaar, or Ami and Surekha from Jhalod, or Varsha from Godhra. There have been innumerable such incidents of kidnappings and disappearances. For months and years, our sisters and daughters cannot be traced. Apart from that, tragic incidents like the suicides of several elders like Magabhai Ninama keep happening in our society.

Hindu young women are kidnapped and

Hindu elders commit suicide

Hindu population on the decline

Produce more children by kidnapping young women

Add to Muslim population

A widespread conspiracy to add to the numbers of anti-Hindu, anti-national elements is at work throughout the country

For the establishment of Ram Rajya, it was the people alone who came forward to help Bhagwan Ram. Now too, adivasi brethren will have to come forward and unite to destroy this conspiracy.

When there is a weekly village market what do these Muslim loafers do? How do these Muslim loafers behave with Adivasi women going to the river for river sand? Pretending to help, do you know how these loafers tempt and lure young adivasi women and their elders?

Without expecting anything from the police, the government, or any of the politicians who are only interested in securing our votes — come — let us save our sisters and daughters from the clutches of these yavanas (demons) who sell them to the Arabs.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad — Bajrang Dal — Sanjeli

This is a report published in Communalism Combat in July, 2000.

In Sanjeli there are still some Dalit and Adivasi women who have married Muslim men and they live with their husbands. This has always infuriated the RSS and Bajrang Dal. This time round too, the VHP has been demanding that any Adivasi women married to Muslims should be handed over to them. They are also demanding that the children of the Dalit women married to Muslim should also be handed over to them.

Muslim residents of Sanjeli said that such kind of mobilisation has been consistently going on in the village up until very recently. Just three months prior to the recent attacks, for

example, there were huge meetings in which VHP and Bajrang Dal had announced that “Sanjeli will Burn” and burn it did.

Now, this town looks like some ghostly archaeological sight. A painful survivor of a war, a severe bombing. Lanes after lanes, all one can see is rows of houses that have been completely devastated. With no roofs, no walls and completely burnt. There is not a shred of any belongings anywhere. Every house is completely stripped of everything and burnt. There is not even electric wiring or meters, no water pipeline or even wooden frames or windows and doors remaining. These are around 450 houses altogether. All animals, crops, and trees (flowering, fruit bearing or other) have been so destroyed that we cannot tell if such ever existed here.

In one lane in between these bombed out ruins there are two Hindu houses which have saffron flags fluttering and Ram and Hanuman written on them. These houses are intact, with no damage at all. Even the paint on the outer walls looks undamaged by any of this destruction around. If one raises one’s head to look beyond these lanes, then one sees life going on uninterrupted in other houses. There are clothes hanging on the clotheslines, men are reading papers in the morning sun, fragile TV antennas are safely on their perches, unseen hands are preparing food and the occasional flower, this is a very hot summer, blooms cheerfully in the flowerpots on the terraces or on the doorstep. These two realities exist simultaneously with only one side even aware of the irony of it and the horror.

The Sequence of Events:

On 28th February, the day of the Gujarat Bandh, there was no trouble in the village. The next day, on the 1st of March, the Bharat Bandh day, the mob came after the afternoon namaaz and started throwing stones. They also attacked the houses in the outskirts of the village and burnt some of them. They also created trouble all through the night outside the village.

The next day, on the 2nd of March, they came with a large crowd, maybe 15 to 20 thousand people and entered the village. They set fire to shops, houses and vehicles and attacked the Muslims. They carried guns, bows and arrows, dharias, swords, trishuls, and they were shouting slogans and hurling all kinds of abuses. The slogans were of the kind, “Musalmans go to Pakistan, Hindustan is ours.”

The police did not do anything to stop the mobs. At that time one person died in private firing by the mob. They had set things on fire on all sides in the village. Then the SDM’s car came and ordered a curfew in the village and talked to the villagers. The Muslims were told to go inside the house and that there were orders for shoot at sight, so they went inside the houses. The curfew was not implemented and the mob kept attacking in the presence of the local police and homeguards. The mobs were in no way dispersed or asked to leave.

Much after that the DSP came and spoke to the Muslims and said that if they wanted to be safe, they should move to Dahod. He himself brought them out from the village to Dahod.

When the people were fleeing the village in vehicles, on the way also there was stone throwing and private firing at them all along the way. The DSP brought them to Dahod putting his life also at risk. On the way one of the vehicles had a punctured tyre near Rayaniya village. Four people were burnt alive here. There were two women amongst these and they were raped and then burnt. Due to the stone throwing on the vehicles and the suffocation, many people lost their lives while fleeing.

After all the Muslims left for Dahod, back in the village the destruction continued. They removed all the windows and doors and did complete destruction of all the Muslim owned houses. The Hindu houses amongst these houses were saved because they had been marked with a cross or saffron flags put on them. So the marked houses were spared by the mob. Till date the local police has not taken any action.

After the people left the village, every house and shop was burnt, and looted. All the religious books were burnt. The Masjid and Madarasa were also completely destroyed. There are obscenities scratched on the walls. Inside the Masjid it is written that “Hindustan is For Hindus and Muslim should go to Pakistan”. Besides on the walls Hindu Gods’ names are written. The Masjid was also dug up inside, all the minaras of the Masjid were broken down and it had saffron flags mounted on it. There is one church in Sanjeli, which also has been destroyed in the same manner. It is now completely bare and a saffron flag mounted on the top. All the surrounding trees have been cut and the garden completely destroyed into non-existence.

The Attack While Fleeing:

Many women and men recounted that when they were fleeing the mobs in tempos and trucks, many people were gathered along side the road with stones and threw them from the hillsides on the people in the trucks, tempos and jeeps. Several people, almost all had some sort of injury, were severely injured in these attacks and many died in this nightmarish escape. They also recounted how not all people could escape in the trucks and many escaped into the jungle and walked to Dahod for three days without food and water and with young children.

These narratives became even clearer as we visited Sanjeli. All people kept on insisting that we visit Sanjeli as “if you have seen Sanjeli, you have seen what has happened to Dahod.” The landscape is very dry and arid. This also seems to be a drought year. Many of the trees around are only keekar filled with dry thorns. There is hardly any scrub either which could afford protection to the people fleeing into the forest. The whole area is also hilly and often the road winds up and down a narrow path between short stumpy hillocks, which is where the people stood with piles of stones and brick to attack the fleeing people. We saw many piles of stones and some scattered bricks still there when we went.

Many women also hinted at sexual abuse, but no one acknowledged the possibility of rape other than against the women who died. But most women expressed a strong sense of insecurity and sorrow for those who had to run across the land and walk to Dahod. “Our

feet were full of thorns which we did not pull out till we reached Dahod.” “Only we know and our Allah knows what we have lived through.” They did share repeatedly how the two women who had been pulled out from the tempo while fleeing were raped and then burnt.

When we spoke to the Bohra community leaders, they too acknowledged that women had traveled with great difficulty across land with their children and “unke saath bahut bura hua.” But they too refused to say anything further. They gave us extensive figures on the destruction of property and affected Bohra community members which are attached. Their relief and rehabilitation is being centralized through their office in Bombay. Many of those from nearby villages also had their own houses in Dahod and had shifted to those houses, while others had been given houses by the community itself. Bohras from other villages like Fatehpura were also staying with relatives in Rajasthan.

The Attackers:

The residents of the village said that the Hindus had been organising and planning these attacks. As recounted to us, the people associated with the violence in this round are as follows and these same people were responsible for the violence against Christians in 1998:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Dalsukhdas Maharaj | 2. Mukesh Nandkishor Purohit |
| 3. Jagdish Premchand Jain | 4. Dimple Occhavlal Desai |
| 5. Vijaysinh Dalpatsinh Raolji | 6. Prakash Jagannath Dhobi |
| 7. Ramchandra Ghanshyam Agrawal | 8. Digvijaysinh M. Chauhan |
| 9. Vaktabhai Salabhai Khant | 10. Chandubhai Prajapati |
| 11. Ramesh Maharaj (Nenki Sarpanch) | 12. Shankar Kotha Prajapati |
| 13. Bhopat Luna Prajapati | 14. Chadiya Ghala Harijan |
| 15. Prakash Shomabhai Raval | 16. Popat Somabhai Raval (driver) |
| 17. Mansingh Ravat (Picchhoda) | 18. Shashikant Mahida |
| 19. Pardhibhai Kamabhai Marel | 20. Dalsingh Bhagabhai Marel |
| 21. Tajsingh Bhundabhai Marel | 22. Ashok Bhoi |

The residents of Sanjeli have made a consolidated written complaint as well as have attempted to file individual FIRs with the police. The police have made a general FIR for the village and have not included any of the names of the accused in it. They have not registered individual FIRs and no action has been taken against anybody. The police had also added some things in the FIR against the Muslim community, which were not there in the complaint submitted by the residents. The police have said that some Muslim people attacked a few Adivasis and so the crowd got out of control and angry and attacked the village. No such incident had taken place and this is a complete fabrication. The Muslims

have made an affidavit correcting this in court. These documents were submitted to the Concerned Citizen’s Tribunal.

Camps, Claims and Compensation:

All the Muslim people from here got spread over Jhalod, Dahod and some villages in Rajasthan. The police insisted on them going back to Sanjeli and so on 23rd April 325 people went to Sanjeli. On 24th the camp at Sanjeli started and on the 25th, when the camps at Jhalod were suddenly shut down, many people who were in those camps also were forced to go back to Sanjeli. The government has been giving ration and there are now arrangements for electricity and water but the first cheque for the amount of 5 Rs. per person per day, was received only on the 8^h of May. There is no tent provided by the government and the camp is being run in a pucca house which is partially damaged.

Of the 15 dead, only three have received compensation. In subsequent meetings with the Collector and other officials, this issue has been discussed and assurances that this will be looked into has been given to the residents. This is still being followed up.

Most of the affected residents have received the cash dole but there are some who still have not received any. The shops have been completely destroyed but the compensation has not been more than five to ten thousand. The survey of the houses has not been accurate and was done in the absence of the residents. The extent of the damage is much more than what the survey states. The Hindu houses that have been partially damaged have received more compensation. An application about this has been made to the Dahod officials as well as to the State officials at Gandhinagar. As a result, the Commissioner has sanctioned a re-survey but its outcome is so far unclear.

All the houses will have to be newly constructed as they are completely destroyed. Till then where do they live? What do they earn? How would they feed themselves once government stops rations by end of May. And once the BSF goes away will they live at all? These are questions that haunt them. At present BSF patrols the area and SRP also has tents on both sides of this temporary camp. But people are apprehensive about their future.

Sukhsar

Taluka : Fatehpura

The majority of Muslims in Sukhsar belong to the Ghanchi community. Prior to the beginning of this round of anti-Muslim attacks, there were 605 people belonging to the Ghanchi community living in Sukhsar, with a total of 110 buildings, and 70 people belonging to the Dawoodi Bohra community, with a total of 14 buildings. Sukhsar had sawmills and brick making *bhattis* owned by Muslim people.

No communal incidents had ever occurred in Sukhsar prior to February 28th. People also reported living without discrimination before. However, from 1992 onwards, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal had been distributing saffron flags at various meetings and been distributing provocative (anti-Muslim) literature to surrounding areas. This affected business and the general attitude of Dalits, tribals and other working class people toward Muslims.

One month before the Godhra incident, preparations were visibly underway to spread fear about Muslims doing business in surrounding area, and about purposeful communal fights taking place. Under the pretext of sudden Godhra massacre after 27th February, 2002, on 28th Feb. 2002 morning, when the VHP had called a Gujarat-wide bandh, Durgavahini, Bajrang Dal and Vishwa Hindu Parishad had gathered Dalits and tribals and in the evening around 5 pm they started breaking and looting shops, buildings, vehicles and then set them on fire in the bus stand area. Muslims in the area feared attack at night.

Between 28th February and 1st of March, Muslim leaders made at least 300 phone calls to collector and the DSP, to ask for protection. On 1st March people went and personally met the Mamlatdaar and the Police Inspector. The PSI had recently been transferred to the area. One interview respondent claimed that this was significant, as the previous PSI would have been opposed to these attacks, and would have done more to protect the Muslim community in the town.

On 1st March 2002, at 12.30 in the morning around 5000-6000 Dalits and tribals who were instigated against Muslims surrounded the Muslim basti, which has mostly properly built cement houses and saw mills, and three entry points. The residents of the basti were frightened by this sudden attack and asked for police protection. The police claimed that this violence was happening in all of Gujarat, and said ‘so how can we give you protection?’ and ‘we were given commands by Gujarat government not to give any kind of protection to Muslims.’

Muslim community members pleaded for the second time for help but local police refused to give protection. On further persuasion, the police came to the basti and aimed their guns at the people inside. People in the basti were told to keep quiet and let the mob do what they wanted, as they were given orders not to take any steps against the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. They were further ordered by the government to shoot those Muslims who take

any action. On continuation of the attack by the mob, identified as having been mobilized by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, residents of the basti became frightened and ran for shelter to the concrete buildings in the area.

All three entry points to the basti were blocked off by the mobs. They had come in trucks and tempos. They were shouting ‘kill the Muslims’ (‘Muslim ko maro’) and other slogans. Around 1.00 p.m., the mob first burnt Neel Kamal Saw Mill, and then Haruni Saw Mill. The Masjid was also destroyed. Police were present during these incidents; they watched the violence but did not intervene. The mob seemed to have a very clear division of labour. There were around 40 people who were continuously firing. When a gun would run out of ammunition, it would be passed to someone in a waiting truck whose job was only to reload used weapons and hand newly loaded weapons to people who were firing. People had both machine manufactured revolvers and ‘kata’ rifles.

Another group in the mob was mainly involved in looting and setting structures on fire. They had pouches of chemicals, which they would throw to start the fires. One jeep contained all the material for setting fires. Evidence of these chemicals could be seen in burnt buildings more than a month later, as white powdery residue in pools of black oily liquid on the cement and stone floors. People were seen in the mobs carrying mobile telephones, and were observed coordinating their activities. People from Muslim households kept running from the mob and gathering in various houses for safety. By 2.30 p.m. it was very clear that the Muslims being attacked would have to leave the village. By then, police were openly encouraging the crowd to attack by shouting ‘Muslim ko Maro, Kato!’

By 4.00 p.m., everyone in the Muslim basti gathered in one household. There were approximately 600 non-Bohra Muslims and 35 Bohras present there. The burning and looting continued around them, forcing them to leave this house as well. At night, the mob tried to break open shops and buildings, looted, and set fires to kill people. People became terrified of such killer attacks and notified the sarpanch. The sarpanch, who is a tribal, supported them, called a member of parliament, and described the situation. The MP told the sarpanch to send all the Muslims of Sukhsar to the nearby village of Kundala.

At midnight, they left for Kundala in two cars provided by the sarpanch, and two cars belonging to Muslim community which had survived the carnage. These four cars were used to make many trips to Kundala, where they were hidden for three days. People kept hiding at various places, as the journey to Kundala was full of hazards. On 2nd March 2002 the entire basti of Sukhsar reached Kundala by 10 am. In order to save their lives, people left behind all their property, jewelry and cash. Two women were injured and died in the process.

The looting and burning continued on 2nd, 3rd and 4th of March. On the 5th of March, the BSF arrived and did a flag march, and shifted all the people to the Jhalod relief camp under police escort. The Jhalod camp was opened on March 6th. Many people were reunited with their family members in the camp. The two women who died enroute to Kundala were also

carried to Jhalod relief camp and buried there. People from Sukhsar stayed in the Jhalod camp for almost one month.

It was reported that 5 to 7 women were sexually assaulted, but no one in the community was willing to talk about it openly. Usually the report was given in such a way as to convey that, yes, sexual assaults did take place, but the assaults happened in other places, not in Sukhsar itself.

On the 10th of March, an officer-cum-minister of Sukhsar and circle inspector of Fatehpura came to Jhalod to inform people that their buildings and property had been totally destroyed in this violence. Everything had been looted and burnt. The officer-cum-minister of Sukhsar and circle inspector of Fatehpura noted down information from people living in the Jhalod camp, acquired the judgment of arbitrators, gathered separate facts of the damage, and made a list.

The damage calculated was around Rs.6,55,66,303 on 10th March 2002. Approximately 80 permanent structures had been destroyed, roughly 40% of all structures in the town. Religious places like Masjids and madarasas were also damaged and there were anti-Muslim graffiti and orange flags on the buildings. People report having spent one month living in fear in the Jhalod camp. Out of 178 cases, 110 were given Rs. 1250 and for property Rs. 1000 accordingly. The rest have not been paid anything.

People claim that, when they applied for remuneration for destroyed, stolen and damaged property, the government did an unjust survey of the buildings. As they were living in Jhalod camp, they received Rs. 10,000 – 15000. In 2-4 cases, they were paid Rs. 25,000-40,000 just to show off. Only in 2 cases, people were paid Rs. 50,000. Against 84 buildings people were given money only for 50 buildings. As with the pattern of remuneration for these attacks, people were generally compensated far below what the replacement costs will be for all property damaged or destroyed in these attacks.

Muslims in the area own roughly 72 shops, and have submitted evidences about them, but are facing discrimination in receiving full remuneration. Small businesses have not been listed, and though there were repeated attempts to have them listed. People felt discriminated against by the Hindu surveyors because of instances such as this. Though the damage incurred is in the region of lakhs and crores, the government has paid only up to Rs. 50,000. A government officer told members of this community that even if a person owns any number of houses or property on record, the government has declared only Rs. 50,000 as remuneration. According to Hindu law, if a father is alive and he is very aged and his inheritors are staying with him and the property is in one name then government will give remuneration as if losses were incurred by only one person.

People from the community maintain that “We would like to put our demand for giving remuneration to all those who lost their property in burning or looting. Even now also antisocial elements such as Durgavahini, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal are

instigating tribals to damage the property of minority and to kill them. Police also knows about it but government is not taking any steps.

“If our stolen goods are in our area then police can harass them and get back our things. Police can arrest the criminals and punish them but under government rule it can hardly do anything. We see our stolen goods lying with them yet on complaining police scolds us in return. If we want to live at the same place government will have to take upon our responsibility and provide safety to us so that we can live here peacefully.

“The loss incurred in our businesses should be remunerated as early as possible by the government then only we can start our business and live a normal life. And this should be done without the interference of the related officials, straight to the affected party as middle worker acts communally. This is our demand to the government. Police should do their work properly and should not harass Muslims. We are expecting an order from court regarding the issue of our safety. On the one hand we are affected by communal riots and the faulty justice system brings additional mental stress. Today many Muslims are in jail captured under false charges, government should punish the criminals to avoid another Gujarat carnage.”

After living in Jhalod camp for more than a month and after many pleadings in front of related officers, people were given an order to initiate the Sukhsar relief camp on 5th April. They were rehabilitated at Sukhsar camp under the escort of 20 S.R.P., the collector, province officer and a member of parliament. They were provided with one week’s rations by the office of the Mamlatdaar, following the government rule. People in Sukhsar have experienced many difficulties regarding receiving enough food rations; even on complaining to the government officers, no one has responded. People were informed that they would be provided ration till only 31st May, 2002. One person stated, “Now if government does not provide ration to us, we will be starved to death. As we are Muslims even government workers behave with communal discrimination. Our demand from the government is allowing the camps to function till 30th December, 2002. Government is not ready to listen to our plea. It has not taken into account our plea.”

The Sukhsar camp consists of the cleaned-up remaining portion of a house. Walls have been smashed in, and portions of the roof are missing, as in all of the Muslim structures in the town. The destruction pattern is common across all the villages in Dahod. In every house the damage means complete destruction. Beside looting anything of value in the house, electrical wiring, meters, switch boards, lights, fans, water pipes, taps, grills windows, doors, and even window and door frames and finally the roof all are missing. Also these houses have been further burnt. Some places even walls have been destroyed using dynamite.

All members of the Muslim community are staying in the camp. In the first week of May, approximately 350 people were staying in the camp itself. Others were with relatives, or in camps in other parts of Dahod. From the 6th to 16th of April, people came at night and fired guns into the air near the relief camp. On the 16th of April, after people in the camp had

eaten their evening meal, Hindus began throwing stones at people in the camp. Some people came in a Maruti van, stopped next to the SRP, the police camp set up outside the relief camp, and fired 8-10 rounds inside the camp. Three boys from the camp were injured in this incident. Again, police were witness to this, but did nothing to prevent or stop it from happening.

This news was sent to the collector of Dahod, the D.S.P. of Dahod and to the Mamlatdaar of Fatehpura. The D.S.P. and the Mamlatdaar arrived at the scene at night and sent the injured people immediately for the treatment. Next day at 10 am in the morning, an F.I.R. was lodged about the incident.

The Muslim community in Sukhsar is too frightened even to name the people who led the violence. They know the names, but have not given them names in the FIRs due to fear of further violence. People are aware, however, that amongst the people leading the violent mobs were a well known doctor, who had been practicing medicine in the village, and at least three other Hindu men of good standing in the village, all owning allegiance to the VHP and Bajrang Dal. All the property looted could be found in Sukhsar itself, besides in the villages of Sagada Pada, Ingala, Margala, and Natwa (all in the periphery of 3-4 kms from Sukhsar.)

In addition to their demand for fair remuneration for their property, and justice for all who were injured, raped, and murdered in their community, people in Sukhsar are demanding international pressure “so that others can hear our voices.”

SANTRAMPUR PANCHMAHALS DISTRICT

In the course of our visits, we also went to camps in Santrampur town as we were told that no teams had been able to visit these camps earlier. This town is at the border between the Panchmahals district and Dahod district, as are the villages around it. During our visits it became clear that though at the time of the division of the Panchmahals and Dahod districts, this whole area had been made part of Dahod, some 8-10 months earlier, this area had been shifted back to the Panchmahals. In any case, there has been much violence in the area and two of our teams visited the camps in Santrampur and the villages around. We also collected testimonies for the Concerned Citizens’ Tribunal from these villages.

The patterns of attack and destruction are fairly similar to those in the Dahod district and thus are not repeated here in detail. We are, however, including the situation of the camps in Santrampur as of May 11, and some documents and details of Sant village, Malvan, Mora, and Mota Sarnaiya.

The Camps in Santrampur town

Santrampur village is itself a mixed population, with 80% of the buildings belonging to members of the Muslim community. Hindus and Muslims stay in totally mixed areas. Muslims own most of the shops rented to Hindu shopkeepers, so those have not been damaged. There is no strong RSS or VHP presence in the village. However, Muslims in the villages on all four sides of Santrampur were targeted for attack.

The vast majority of physical attacks and destruction of property occurred within a 10 km radius of the town of Santrampur itself, though the town also houses people from villages around 20 km away. Violence began in earnest on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of March, and lasted roughly 20 days. An estimated 2000 people were affected in the Santrampur area (1647 people were affected in Santrampur Taluka). The relief camps in Santrampur housed roughly 2000 people March 1-17. That number reduced then to 1300. Some people are in the process of moving to their villages and this number is now reducing.

As of 1st May people from the following villages had taken shelter in Santrampur.

1. Vajiakhut (all 16 houses of Muslims were burnt): 78 people (23 men, 18 women, 37 children)
2. Sant (old city of Santrampur) : 326 (99 men, 83 women, 155 children)
3. Navi Vasahat : 181 (46 men, 48 women, 87 children)
4. Mota Sarnaiya, 18km from Santrampur, toward Sukhsar: 393 (127 men, 108 women, 158 children)
5. Malvan: 167 (49 men, 45 women, 73 children)
6. Jala Sag: 14 (4 men, 8 women, 7 children)
7. Kadana: 346

By 1st May, the central camp had been removed and some people had returned to their villages or to their relatives. The remaining people were housed in different structures within the village, i.e. a school, a cattle auction market yard, and one or two rooms in buildings in the town. Living conditions are extremely poor, with lack of access to medical attention, lack of income to purchase basic necessities, and complete reliance on rations which are slow in being distributed, and inadequate in quantity. As in other places rations will only last through May 31. No relief or resettlement plans have been made for these people after the camp is closed.

At the time of our fact-finding trips, by 11th May, there were three smaller camps in Santrampur, housing people from Navi Vasahat, Mota Sarnaiya, and Sant. There were also some people from other villages who, by this time, had rented one or two rooms in the town from relatives or friends and were staying there until they could decide whether or not returning to their villages and rebuilding their destroyed property and livelihoods is a possibility.

Mota Sarnaiya: The camp in which the 400 people of this village are staying is actually a market place, which is full of cow dung and flies. It is in a terrible state. They do not have tents, or any cloth/mattress to spread on ground. There is also no electrical connection and thus no fans or light. They have been using some water from a bore well. The water tankers come to this camp at an average gap of 15 days. They have begun cooking their morning meal in the camp itself. The evening meal is with everyone else in all the camps. Many children and women look extremely ill and weak. They also need medical, including gynaecological, services.

The sequence of events here is as follows. On Saturday, 2nd March, they were warned that a big mob was coming in to the village. Around 393 people from this village ran into the jungle into hiding. But people came after them. They attacked them with swords and stones. People got very badly injured. We actually saw the wounds of one person, who had chunks of muscles from hands and back chopped off.

After hiding in the jungle for a whole day, they came back to village to have a look at what had happened, at around 8.00 p.m. on Saturday. Everything had been looted from all the houses (silver jewellery, especially, which is the way that most people saved all of their personal wealth). Houses were totally damaged and burnt. The same night many proceeded to a village 1 km from Mota Sarnaiya called Baria ki Hatod, where Adivasi people gave many of them hiding places and shelter. Late Sunday night the army came looking for them and took them to Santrampur in army trucks on Monday morning.

This village was in a somewhat unique position. These people were not ready to return back to their village. They said that we would rather die than go back to the village. All the residents were speaking in one voice on this and refusing to go back at all. There was tremendous pressure on them as is on all other displaced people to go back. They were requesting that they should be settled in Santrampur. The community is in dialogue with local administration on this issue. However no result is in sight.

The residents of this village categorically refused to talk about sexual assault on women, though women did say that their clothes were ripped apart. But their experience of the mob attacks as well as the fear of assault on women is part of why these people do not want to go back at all, even though they have been living in Mota Sarnaiya for five to seven generations. There is a deep silence around the fears which make the people refuse to go back.

Another clear reason is the isolation they feel from other villagers. When the attack happened, the Muslim villagers ran to their Adivasi neighbours for shelter. They reported having previously good relations with their neighbours, who now said “who would protect people like you?” Now they have been told by the other residents of their village that if they want to come back they must “live and behave like us,” and not build any mosques or madarasas. Not everyone has received the compensation for their destroyed houses so far and whatever money has come has been highly inadequate. They have made a written complaint naming 10 perpetrators of violence in their village.

Such are the pressures that even though all of them were so clear until the 11th of May that they did not want to go back, by the 21st of May, however, the scene had changed completely. Men had returned to clean up the houses and the families were also preparing to go back.

Sant village is actually the old city of Santrampur. From here around 326 people were in the relief camp. These people are housed in semi constructed buildings in the town. They arrived here on the 1st of March and no one had gone back since. Most of their houses and shops that were burnt and looted were in front of the police chowki. The police also helped the mob to break open the locks of the shops and houses and actively encouraged the mob to carry out looting. All the shops and houses of Muslims in Sant today are looted and burnt. The army came only on 3rd when all had been looted and everything had been reduced to ashes.

These people too have received extremely inadequate compensation wherever they have, and are refusing to go back till the guilty are punished and some accommodation and security is provided to them. Some residents, who have been injured, have filed complaints and have mentioned individual attackers by name but no action has been taken against any one so far. The pressure to arrive at a compromise and take back the names is extreme.

On 28th of February in **Diwada Colony**, 11 kms from Santrampur, Massod Mohammad Hanif Sheikh, a handicapped boy, was killed by a mob. A number of the persons have been identified and FIRs lodged, but only one has been arrested so far. A mob descended on this house demanded that women of the house should be handed over to them. When the family refused to comply they set fire to the house. People managed to run away from the house which had been set on fire, but this boy remained trapped, was attacked and died. Diwada Colony is close to **Mandi Mohri**, where another death was reported.

Malvan: In the case of this village two points of special note are: the role of the police and the authorities at the time of the attacks and later at the time of achieving a “compromise”. At this point of time most of the residents have either moved back after compromising and signing affidavits or are in the process of doing so.

People from Malvan arrived in Santrampur March 2nd. The Muslims here were on very friendly terms with other Hindus. There has been no history of any communal violence in Malvan in the past. This is the first time anything like this has ever happened in Malvan. But of late the village has strong presence of VHP, RSS and Bajrang Dal.

On 28th of February a rally was organized by Bajrang Dal and VHP at 4.30 p.m. The whole village had gathered there. After the rally at 6:30 p.m. the first attacks started. The first structures to be attacked and destroyed were a concrete chabutra built to feed birds (a Jain traditional structure which had been rebuilt by the Muslim community) and then a Madarasa. Three houses and shops near the bus-stand were attacked after this, but no lives were lost.

By evening all the Muslims left the village and went into hiding places in the nearby hills. Between Thursday night and Friday morning, they called every official they knew for help, and even met some high authorities of Panchmahals district. Then they came and lodged a complaint in the Santrampur police station. Police assured them help and dropped them back to Malvan on Friday morning.

They also went to contacts in all political parties, who said “if you have a problem, go to the police.” When they went to the police station, they were told that they have to go to Santrampur. When violence started, on the 1st, they were told that there were not enough police to provide protection. The response from police was “orders agay se hai.” By 3.00 p.m. on Friday, the crowds started gathering again. So the people left their homes and fled into the hills and sat there in hiding.

25 pucca houses, and all kutchha houses, belonging to Muslims were burned down. The furniture and everything of value was looted first, then everything else was burned to the ground. That night all the houses and shops were looted and burnt. All the furniture and belongings were taken away. The damage is estimated at being at least Rs. 2.5 crores. The major businesses have already been destroyed and some areas where the Muslims had their shops/ galas, have been overtaken by the Hindus in the village. There is no scope for any sort of recovery of any of this taken over space.

On Saturday slowly people went back to the village. The same people who were roaming with swords in the night, offered them tea when these people were sitting in front of their burning houses. Some retired CBI officer helped them. They got in touch with Santrampur. The Muslim community from Santrampur sent them vehicles. Even some SRP, police vehicles were also there. And first all women and children were brought to Santrampur by 6.30 p.m. on 2nd March, and then all the men were brought in by 11.00 p.m.

First everyone in the village decided to file FIRs naming the culprits. But finally only six people filed FIR naming 16 attackers. They were all threatened with further violence if they pursued the FIR.

At the time of the peace meetings which were conducted between the Hindu and Muslim communities and the State representative, a formula for compromise was put forth. It was agreed that the Muslim residents would prepare affidavits withdrawing the names of the culprits which they had included in the FIR and state that they were misled and were wrong. The FIRs would remain against unidentified mobs from outside, and in exchange these people would be allowed to come back and not be attacked. These affidavits have already been filed and people have started moving back.

To further mark the vulnerability of these people, there was a news report published in “Sandesh” on the 9th of May which stated that – The Muslims had given wrong names of innocent Hindus and now have taken them back. It further names the Muslims who have taken back the names as well as the Hindus whose names have been taken back.

Mora village: This village has an overall population of about 6,000 to 7,000 of which the Muslim population is 450 persons owning 115 houses. The attacks on this village started from the morning of March 1 and continued intermittently till the evening of March 2. The people were saved as they gathered in the mosque and one big concrete house in the village till they were taken away to the Godhra camp. These were set on fire also but the army arrived in time to save them and so there was no loss of life in the village.

Most of the houses, shops, animals and businesses have been completely destroyed, as has the mosque. Some houses whose structures are intact have, however, been totally looted. All the residents have been shifted back from Godhra since the 14th of April. They have filed complaints giving names of the perpetrators but no action has been taken. In fact, even now, the Hindus of the village distribute leaflets inciting violence against the Muslims every few days. There is a deep sense of anger as well as insecurity but in the absence of any other recourse, the people are doing what they can. They willingly shared copies of their complaints with us as well as the names of the people involved in the attacks and those involved in the printing and distribution of leaflets.

Demands and recommendations

In the situation of the breakdown of administrative machinery in the state and the vulnerability and insecurity with which people are living, there are several levels at which demands and recommendations need to be made urgently.

- I. At one level is the actual and meticulous implementation of the various GRs that have been made. These include:
 - Ensuring payment of cash dole to all affected people;
 - Resurveying the low assessments and payments that have made to people when they have lost entire houses, shops and livelihoods. The Government has a low ceiling of Rs. 50,000/- in assessment of house damages. The vast majority of payments are well below this amount; some assessments and surveys have claimed the damages are as low as 5,000/- and 10,000/-. Even at a preliminary glance, it is easy to see that in the majority of cases, the damages are much higher than the ceiling. In light of the almost uniform and extensive damage of the houses and shops, a minimum of Rs. 50,000/- should be given to all the people whose houses and shops have been damaged.
 - Ensuring that everyone gets the compensation for deaths and injuries including the money that has to come in fixed deposits.
 - Ensuring that ration reaches camps and people and that all compensation and damages due to the people is reached to them without being subjected to further humiliation.
- II. At the second level is the need to critique the GRs and other Government measures and attempt to extend or even change them. This is especially important in light of the unprecedented and planned nature of the attacks and systematic violence perpetrated on the bodies, lives, livelihoods and property of the minority community. The losses have been immense, which is not even acknowledged by the measly figures the state government is talking about. This would include among other things:
 - Changing the GR to increase the ceiling for damage compensation to houses as well as shops.
 - Changing the Government policy on limited rations to camps as well as shutting down of camps. The State should in fact take complete responsibility for the running and maintenance of the camps in a humane manner. It is imperative that the appalling sanitary conditions be improved and better health care be provided in the camps. Adequate facilities to address the health needs of pregnant women and the trauma of all the camp residents, particularly women, must be provided.

- The state should allocate land for people who want to shift from camps into safe localities of their choice and a special rehabilitation package for single women and female headed households.
- Changing the Government policy regarding compensation to heirs of 'missing' persons. The policy needs to be reviewed in light of the abnormal circumstances in which the people 'went missing'.

- III. In particular looking at the situation of people in the rural areas, we have specific demands to make regarding the camps. Keeping the camps open until people have a safe place to go is the most urgent need. The situation is such that most people are extremely afraid to go back to their villages, and are actively and aggressively threatened by their non-Muslim neighbours when they do. There is also an extreme concern around the coming rains, and the fact that the vast majority of displaced people lack shelter or funds to rebuild their homes. Hence it is important that the camps be continued for the following reasons:
 - Safety for displaced people, many of whom face threat of severe violence in their villages
 - Making sure all available relief supplies reach all victims
 - Time to plan a fair rehabilitation scheme for displaced people, including providing just government compensation for destroyed property
 - Time to plan for people who do not fall under current rehabilitation schemes, especially widows, female headed households, and single women.
- IV. We also believe that no rehabilitation is possible without the guilty being brought to book. Wherever the accused have been named the government needs to take necessary action and instill the confidence back in people to restart their lives. We condemn all measures of forcing compromises in the form of withdrawal of names of the accused. Instead we demand that:
 - Proper FIRs be registered and action be taken immediately.
 - Wherever possible searches be conducted to get back the goods that have been looted from people's houses.
 - In view of the extraordinary circumstances under which the crimes against women were committed and evidence that state machinery was not accessible to the victims, there is a need to make the "normal" requirements of a legal process contingent on these factors.
 - Wherever plots of land have been occupied illegally by the Hindu villagers, as in Piplod and other places, urgent and immediate action be taken to restore the land to the rightful owners.
- V. At another level is recognizing problems and issues that have not been acknowledged and to seek redressal for those.

- The nature of violence against women has taken unprecedented levels. Women and entire communities have been traumatized to such an extent that the entire impact of this has yet to be realized.
- Mental trauma as well as insecurity of an extreme form are issues that need to be dealt with.
- The deliberate communalization of communities and politics of hate are likely to have both short and long term impacts on the social fabric. These impacts cannot be wished away and need to be recognized as issues that need work and strategizing.

VI. At the national level, it is necessary to deal with the forces of communalism and of the politics of hate. This needs to be done politically as well as by exposing the financiers and the beneficiaries of this hate-politics.

VII. The national legal mechanisms are very inadequate to deal with crimes at this level both because of the nature of state complicity in the crimes at every level and because there are no laws to deal with issues of genocide, sexual violence against women in these circumstances, and so on. There is urgent need for international agencies to intervene and help in the process of justice.

- To ensure impartial assessment of damages, we call on the Indian government to bring in the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women and other UN agencies for various treaties that India is signatory to, for investigation and assessment.
- To legislate mechanisms for the implementation of the Genocide Convention, which India has both signed and ratified, and to use these mechanisms to prosecute and punish all those who participated in the planning and execution of murder, sexual violence, theft, and destruction in the state of Gujarat in the recent months.

Dahod District Relief Committee Mota Ghanchivada, Dahid. Particulars regarding loss in Dahod district¹

Village/ Town	Taluka	Family	Affected People	Damage to Property			Religious Places		Death
				Houses	Shops	Vehicles	Mosque	Madresa	
Dahod	Dahod	11	20	11	20	1	1	1	2
Katwara	Dahod	32	180	32	11	17	1	2	-
Jhalod	Jhalod	173	764	71	104	9	2	2	4
Sanjeli	Jhalod	311	1921	400	187	36	1	6	10
Limdi	Jhalod	8	33	7	4	-	1	-	-
Timi	Jhalod	17	99	15	3	-	1	-	-
Fatepura	Fatepura	214	1135	260	130	44	2	3	4
Sukhsar	Fatepura	179	580	132	89	35	1	3	-
Piplod	Baria	190	900	150	94	25	2	4	1
Garbada	Garbada	32	176	30	15	-	-	-	-
Limkheda	Limkheda	22	130	20	11	7	1	1	10
Bandibar	Limkheda	43	230	62	16	1	1	1	2
Dhabda	Limkheda	8	35	6	3	1	-	-	-
Bor Umaria	Dhanpur	15	70	15	4	-	-	-	-
Dhanpur	Dhanpur	4	16	4	1	-	-	-	-
Khanpur	Khanpur	1	6	1	1	1	-	-	-
Randhikpur	Randhikpur	81	200	80	21	6	1	-	18
Scatter		19							
		1260	6493	1296	714	183	15	23	51

¹ information collected by the Dahod Relief Committee

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