Why are you drowning us??

Children ask at Khyara Bhadal hill village, with their Present and Futures stolen by the Sardar Sarovar Project.

Report of the Central Fact Finding Team’s visit to the Sardar Sarovar Project Submergence Areas in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, on 9th – 10th May, 2015.
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Section I: Why This Fact Finding Visit

The Narmada River valley projects, with 30 large dams, includes one of its biggest dam-based projects, the Sardar Sarovar. Over the last 30 years, the Project has been in the news – due to the controversy over the enormous social, environmental costs and impacts for over the last 30 years. It is said to be one of the most ambitious river valley projects in modern Indian history. After independent India’s early big river valley projects of Bhakra-Nangal, Rihand and Damodar, which also caused displacement and dislocation in large scales, this is one river valley project which forced the nation to ponder over many critical questions about development and exploitation.

What constitutes ‘development’, who pays the price of this kind of life-destroying development, who gets displaced, how do we see and treat people and communities who are uprooted as a result, what benefits accrue to the larger society and at what costs, how far do the planned benefits reach the needy and within temporal limits - many such questions /debates have been forced upon the national and international conscience as a consequence of the various protests and debates around Narmada valley projects and similar other large river valley projects in many parts of the world. This particular project has also forced people at many levels to think of the roles that large multi-lateral ‘development’ agencies/ ‘development banks’ like the World Bank play in promoting ‘development’ that costs heavily on the poor and marginalized communities, especially the tribals /adivaasi people.

Over the last several years, the Dam height of the Sardar Sarovar project has been raised to about 122 metres (actually 121.92 mts). As a result of the increased height, the back water levels have also gone up, inundating many villages and hamlets which were near or even not-so-near the river bank, forcing permanent displacement for several villages and temporary displacement of several more in monsoons with heavy rains. It has been reported by several local groups that many of these displaced families – now numbering in thousands – has not even been recognised as ‘displaced’, thus denying them any compensation or rehabilitation benefits. There has also been extensive documentation of families which have been displaced by the SSP and recognised as such, being denied the rehabilitation that is due to them by the Award of the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) passed in 1979 and the orders of the Supreme Court.

The status of land-based rehabilitation – again under the Tribunal’s award, is even poorer, with over 6,400 submergence affected families reported to be not even recorded in the books as those to be rehabilitated, with only the Governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat having given alternate land to about 11,000 families, some years ago. Madhya Pradesh has, reportedly, not even been identifying the required amount of land, till date. Over the past few years, even Maharashtra has not been able to locate land to rehabilitate the tribal oustees, numbering not less than 1,200, as per estimates. While thousands of
labourers and other landless (fisherfolk, traders, artisans) families are yet to get alternative livelihoods, as per commitment by the Govt. of M.P. to the Supreme Court. Going by the lack of progress in this so far, it appears that the state governments are not serious about providing land-and-livelihood based rehabilitation. As reported, even the fishing rights in the reservoir that was created on the land of the displaced, has not been given to the thousands of fisher people in Madhya Pradesh, except to some extent granted by the Govt. of Maharashtra to 5 co-operative societies very recently. A large number of families eligible for housing plots are allotted those at the resettlement sites at MP but without agricultural land adjacent to it, as is mandatory as per NVDA’s own Circular which stipulates that the distance between land and house plot should not be more than 5 Kms. Likewise, there is no assured source of alternative livelihood for the landless population in the valley, although the Govt. of M.P. promised the same.

Under these circumstances, the decision of the newly elected (in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections) central government to increase the height of the dam by 17 metres (from 121.92 mts to about 139 metres) - with the work on large pillars (piers) and bridge over them already started since October 2014 is also bound to massively increase the number of villages, settlements and families that are now threatened with submergence, either permanently or whenever the reservoir back water levels go up during high flood flow in the Narmada river. This is likely to result in a large scale human tragedy. This decision to increase the dam height was taken despite the fact that a large number of people (thousands of families in MP, Maharashtra and Gujarat) to be displaced as per government’s own records are yet to be rehabilitated as per Tribunal’s and Supreme Court orders. This is also in violation of the NWDTA’s legal mandate that any further construction can proceed only after the displaced families have been fully rehabilitated according to their orders.

The Governments of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra have claimed before the Supreme Court that the rehabilitation as per their orders has been fully or substantially completed, and this facilitated the permission to increase the height of the SSP dam by another 17 metres, claiming to facilitate the generation of a larger amount of power and irrigate more lands in Gujarat. Leaving aside the more fundamental questions of whether it is justified to forcibly displace thousands of families in the name of generation of electricity and irrigation in a ‘functioning’ democracy, immediate concerns that arise are:

1. Thousands of families, especially the tribals, fisher folk, landless poor who are under the threat of imminent inundation and thus – forcible displacement, are not being given any alternative place to live, as also, alternative land and livelihood sources, in many cases.

2. The essential components of land-based rehabilitation for even those recognised as project-affected, is not being implemented, with many instances of oustees being compelled to opt between barren / conflict-ridden lands or paltry monetary compensation, not resulting in actual purchase of land.
Cultivable, irrigable lands are not located nor purchased by the Government of M.P and Maharashtra, while Gujarat seems to be refusing identification of land for those who seeking change of bad lands.

3. Several thousands of people whose houses and lands are in reality getting submerged – either permanently or periodically during high flood levels, are not even recognised as project affected families/persons.

4. The reported large scale frauds in compensation and rehabilitation, reached such massive proportions that the High Court got convinced to constitute a Judicial Commission under Jst. (Retd). S.S. Jha, who has been investigating these wide-spread fraudulent practices, and is slated to submit its report soon.

5. The rehabilitation sites chosen/identified by the governments are in extremely poor conditions, having no adequate facilities for people to live there as per the NWDT norms, with poor water supply, broken roads, no electricity, and non-existent or pathetic education and health facilities.

6. The widespread allegations of gross violation of the laws including the Narmada Tribunal Award, orders of the Supreme Court, policy provisions on rehabilitation, orders of the Grievance Redressal Authorities, guarantees by the Land Acquisition Act, 2013, PESA Act, 1996 in the scheduled areas etc.

During recent meetings and discussions in Delhi in the 1st week of May 2015, some Delhi-based support groups requested some political party leaders and independent experts to make a fact-finding visit to the SSP affected areas and examine the many serious complaints of serious omissions and criminal commissions adversely affecting the rehabilitation of tens of thousands of forced oustees from the valley.

Accepting this request, a team of some political party representatives and independent experts decided to visit the affected areas of Narmada valley on 9th-10th of May, 2015. The proposed team comprised of Shri Hannan Mollah – eight time member of Parliament of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Politbureau Member of CPI(M), Ms Annie Raja – the general secretary of National Federation of Indian Women and member of the central executive of the Communist Party of India, Shri Benoy Vishwam – Ex Minister for Forest & Housing, Govt of Kerala and a senior member of CPI, Shri K C Tyagi of Janata dal (United), Shri Raj Babbar of the Congress Party, Dr Sunilam – two time member of Legislative Assembly of Madhya Pradesh, Shri Raj Kachroo – a well-known hydrologist and Shri Soumya Dutta – a well-known expert on energy and climate issues.

Due to last minute glitches, Shri K C Tyagi and Shri Raj Babbar could not join the team. Shri Panchilal Meda (former MLA, Dharampuri, Dhar Dist) and Shri Ramesh Patel (Sitting MLA, Badwani Constituency) of Congress party also joined the team. The fact finding team visited villages and townships in MP and hilly areas in Maharashtra, heard hundreds of oustees from Maharashtra and representatives from Gujarat. It could visit R&R sites in MP only but recorded depositions of oustees of Maharashtra and Gujarat. It went through a number of documents, studies, reports and non-official accounts extensively. It, therefore, refers to secondary data from these documents, in the present Report.
**Section II : Terms of Reference for the Fact Finding Team:**

*In consultation with the Delhi Solidarity Group, the Terms of Reference for the Fact-Finding Team was finalized as under:*

1. The current visit and the investigation/findings will be limited to the areas affected by the inter-state Sardar Sarovar Project only, and not by any other project of the Narmada River Valley Project;

2. The immediate purpose of the FF team is to assess the multi-fold implications of the decision taken by the Govt. of India to raise the height of the SSP from 121.92 mts to its full height of 138.68 mts, on the people of the affected areas.

3. The FF team will investigate the issues of displacement, rehabilitation status, entitlements received, etc by the SSP oustees, and status of compliance as on date.

4. The FF team will broadly look into the scale of alleged massive corruption in R&R and its impacts on the oustees, although it will not be able to delve into specific cases, as these are under investigation by the Justice S.S. Jha Commission, whose report is likely to be submitted to the High Court of M.P. soon. The FF team will look into the progress reports of the Commission.

5. The FF team will record the statements and testimonials of the SSP project affected people, and also some public officials including elected representatives at various levels – on the issues of displacement, compensation and rehabilitation;

6. The FF team will investigate the status of affected people and communities who have been improperly resettled, without basic facilities for living. The team will also inspect such rehabilitation sites – wherever available, and check the claims of the authorities with the complaints of the displaced people.

7. The team – during this visit, will take cognizance of the available data and various reports elucidating the costs and benefits of the SSP, serious issues of distributive justice and proposes to investigate the diversion of command area land and water for extraneous, in a subsequent visit, to be planned later this year.

8. The FF team will recommend suitable course and corrective measures to the Government of India and concerned states to ensure compliance with the legal framework of the SSP and safeguard the interests of the project-affected families, particularly the most vulnerable and marginalized.
### Section III: SSP - Fact Sheet on Benefits and Impacts:

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<th>STATE</th>
<th>Madhya Pradesh</th>
<th>Maharashtra</th>
<th>Gujarat</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Share in reservoir waters</td>
<td>16.25 MAF</td>
<td>0.25 MAF</td>
<td>9 MAF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Distribution</td>
<td>56 %</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area to be irrigated</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>18 lakh ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking Water</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>8,200 Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of villages affected (245)</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Land in submergence</td>
<td>20,822 Hectares</td>
<td>9,590 hec</td>
<td>7,112 hec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of Families affected (official figure)</td>
<td>37,729 PAFs</td>
<td>4,227 PAFs</td>
<td>4,500 PAFs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages affected at 121.92 m height (official figure)</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census 2011 population in the submergence area as on today</td>
<td>48,000 families (2,40,000 people)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100% Tribal villages</td>
<td>About 70</td>
<td>All 33</td>
<td>All 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAFs given cultivable land of the state government (with some land not fully cultivable)</td>
<td>&lt; 30 PAFs</td>
<td>~ 3,600 PAFs + Families yet to declared about</td>
<td>About 7,000 PAFs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no of R&amp;R sites built</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>10 + 1 (partial)</td>
<td>220</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. of PAFs shifted to R&amp;R Sites</td>
<td>About 3,500 PAFs</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>6000+ (rest in MP villages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families yet to be given agricultural land as per entitlement</td>
<td>About 6,000 PAFs</td>
<td>About 1,200 To be given 1 or 2 hectares</td>
<td>A few hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless Oustees</td>
<td>Thousands of families (not even fully surveyed)</td>
<td>Hundred treated as landless due to wrong land records in forest villages</td>
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Section IV : A Brief History of the Sardar Sarovar Project

Backdrop - The Sardar Sarovar Project is a multipurpose project with claimed benefits of irrigation, drinking water and power generation (with water for industries in Gujarat added). The project was first proposed way back in 1946, the dam today is a part of part of the Narmada Valley Development Project, comprising of 30 large dams including the SSP itself. This also includes 135 more medium dams and close to 3000 small dams and their related power and canals works. SSP is being implemented by Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited (SSNNL) as a joint venture between the four states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh with Rajasthan joining as a beneficiary state at a later stage, with Union of India.

Notably, increased height of 530 feet, was opposed by Maharashtra and MP. The Khosla committee’s report of 1964 also was not acceptable to all party states. The central government under the leadership of Indira Gandhi in 1969, therefore, formed a Tribunal under the interstate Water Tribunal Act which promulgated its Award in 1979. The Tribunal heard 3 party states- technocrats, politicians and advocates. Both MP and Maharashtra governments and all political parties opposed the project favouring alternative dams in their own territory. The Tribunal visited only 3 temples in the valley but not a single village in the affected area nor did it hear any oustees.

Due to inter-state disputes on the share of benefits of the river’s waters, the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) was constituted in 1969, which besides apportioning the available waters between the four states in 1979, fixing the final height of the dam at 138.68 metres and determined the distribution of the benefits and percentage of costs of the project as also the liability for and standards of rehabilitation of the oustees. The controlling entity created to carry out these works of benefits monitoring, environmental and rehabilitation compliance was Narmada Control Authority (NCA) an interstate administrative body. This particular dam on the Narmada river is designed to finally be a 1210 metre long and 163 metre high concrete gravity dam located in Gujarat, with a water storage capacity of 5800 MCM (million cubic metre) or 4.73 MAF (million Acre Feet with storage in Indira Sagar Project upstream, it will receive waters with the capacity of 9.5 MAF as available.

Till June, 2014, the dam height was about 122 metres. To take the irrigation water out to the command areas, a 458.318 KMs long concrete lined Narmada Main Canal with a head discharge estimated at 1133 CuMecs is also being constructed. This, along with thousands of KMs of subsidiary canals, are supposed to provide irrigation facility to 17.92 lakh Hectares in Gujarat and initially about 73,000 Hectares in Rajasthan (with its share of 616 MCM of water) - later increased to 2.46 lakh hectares, apart from providing drinking water to a 4000+, later increased to 8,200+ villages.
Figure 2: A 2014 satellite image (from Google Earth) of the Sardar Sarovar Dam and reservoir affected/submerged areas. The submergence (Thin blue line of the widened river Narmada) is clearly visible from 150 Kms above the Earth’s surface. The submergence is seen from the dam site (extreme left of yellow line) to the town of Dharampuri (with about 18,000 people, right extreme of yellow line), well over 180 KMS away by the river. The backwater level is raised to well beyond 200 KMs upstream of the dam, giving an indication of the massive area of submergence.

**Dam height, submergence and displacement** – After the widely reported judgement of the Supreme Court on Sardar Sarovar in October, 2000, the SSP dam height was raised in phases from 95 to 100 mts in May 2003, 110 to 110.64 mts in March, 2004, later to 119 mts in March 2006 and upto 121.92 mts by end of 2006, where it stood, before fresh construction started in late 2014 to take the height to 138.68 mts. It needs to be noted that at this highest dam level, as per NWDTA, the water level is expected to rise to 141.21 mts when it is over-flowing, as in the times of highest flood (1:100 years), thus submerging more areas, depending on flood flow in every monsoon. At its final height of 138.68 mts, the reservoir itself is supposed to submerge over 37,500 hectares of land in 245 villages in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, including over 13,300 hectares of biodiversity rich forest land, as per official estimates. The numbers of displaced families from these 245 villages have been conservatively estimated at over 48,000 in the three states. But the total number of displaced families will be much higher, as the over 90,000 kms of total canal network will require over 100,000 hectares (1000 Sq Kms) of land.

**Thus, the total submergence of reservoir and canals together is going to be roughly equal to the total area of the National Capital Territory of Delhi!** One old research by the Centre for Social Studies, Surat, official agency approved
by the Govt. of Gujarat for monitoring and evaluation of R&R estimated it to be at least 1,25,000 hectares, reported also in the Independent Review Mission of the World Bank, chaired by Bradford Morse, Former, Chairman, UNDP.

It also needs to be kept in mind that being situated on both banks of an old perennial river – which deposited most fertile silt on its banks for millions of years, and with plentiful water and sun, these plain submerged areas, with black cotton soil, were some of the most fertile agricultural lands in the country, often giving three to four crops a year. The produce from this region – including wheat, maize, cotton, bananas, papaya, soya bean, lemons, sugar cane, reaching Mandis and markets in Mumbai, Pune, Delhi, Vadodara, Indore, Bhopal etc. has been contributing hugely to the food and economic security of a large number of people.

Also of importance is the fact that the back water will submerge areas located much higher than the water level at the dam-site, the higher - the farther one goes upstream in the submergence zone. Each stage of height increase has inundated more areas, as is obvious, and to lessen the pain and suffering of the oustees somewhat, each stage of height increase was supposed to be preceded by full compensation and rehabilitation of the oustees, as per the orders of the NWDT and the Supreme Court. In fact the Tribunal expressly stated that there shall be no submergence of any properties in M.P. and Maharashtra without full payment of all compensation and arrangements for rehabilitation being ready.

The Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal, in its orders, put down binding rehabilitation norms for the project affected people, including giving the oustees and their adult sons a minimum of 2 hectares of alternate cultivable land of reasonable quality, housing plots in rehabilitation areas, and all basic civic amenities including roads, water supply, drainage, education and health care facilities etc. This was later reproduced and expanded in the Rehabilitation Policies of the state governments and affirmed, as binding, by the highest court of the land.
Nisarpur (above), a big village, going under water. An earlier photo.

The Adivasi / Scheduled Tribe factor - another important factor that needs to be noted is that many of the villages submerged / being submerged are adivasi /tribal villages, while the Indian Constitution provides special protection to these communities. As an example, out of the 193 villages affected by SSP in Madhya Pradesh, 70 are fully tribal villages, and yet, these villages have been /are being forcibly uprooted, without consent of the adivasis/ tribal people/ STs, before land acquisition against the letter and spirit of the Indian Constitution and the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996.

Financing the SSP: massively escalating costs – The Sardar Sarovar Project was first given investment clearance by the Planning Commission in 1988 with INR 6406.04 Crores at 1986-87 price levels. The BC ratio for SSP was calculated even before, in 1983 presuming the cost to be Rs. 4,200 crores only. In fact, MoEF, in 1986 itself has computed environmental cost to be 8000 Crores! Later on in 2010, the Advisory Committee for Consideration of Techno-economic Viability for Irrigation, Flood-control and Multi-purpose Projects, recommended a revised investment clearance of INR 39,240.45 crores for the SSP at 2008-09 levels. It has been reported that an expenditure of INR 39,805.28 crores has already been incurred by the Government of Gujarat as of March 31, 2013. In addition to this, a cumulative expenditure of INR 1,966.54 crores has been incurred by the Rajasthan government for construction of canals in that state. According to the report of the ‘Working Group on Water resources for the 11th Five-year Plan’, the SSP cost is estimated to be already at INR 45,673.86 Crores by 2008, and likely to be over **INR 70,000 crores by 2012** (and this with hardly one-third of the canal system vitally needed for taking the Narmada water to parched areas of Gujarat and Rajasthan in place–the primary reason given for such a massive submergence-displacement oriented project) ! At today’s prices, we were told that, some official estimates, as reported in the Gujarati media give a whopping figure upto **INR 90,000 crores for the completion of the entire project** including its extensive canal system (which is likely to displace many thousands more families)\(^1\)

The **World Bank’s entry** into the financing of SSP brought a new dimension. Soon after 1979, as the NWDT gave its award of water and power apportionment in the same year, the WB officials came and sent ‘appraisal missions’ and later in 1985, after consultations with the Government of India, the Bank sanctioned a loan of USD 450 million for the construction of the dam and canal network. This was done even without a proper appraisal of resettlement policy of the state governments involved in the project, and there were some strong internal critiques (particularly the report by Thayer Scudder from California Institute of Technology, who was engaged as an external expert by the World Bank) of the Bank’s actions in not taking seriously the lack of a proper resettlement plan of the government. Also, the credit agreement between Government of India and the WB

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was signed even before a proper economic viability study, and in total absence of any environmental impact assessment, with the permission for diversion/ submergence of forest land given. After massive protests by the Narmada Bachao Andolan – starting in 1985, raising these serious violations and the protests reaching the doors of the World Bank and a global condemnation ensued, the Bank commissioned the Bradford Morse Committee (Independent Review Committee) with an anthropologist and ecologist to investigate these failures, and finally in 1993, the Bank funding for SSP came to an end while the government of India realised that the Bank will be forced to withdraw.

**Drinking water** - The project is also supposed to provide drinking water to 8215 villages and 135 urban areas in Gujarat plus 1107 villages and two urban areas in Rajasthan. **Gujarat has later on increased the municipal and industrial uses, much more than its allocated share of water, diverting water earlier earmarked for drinking and irrigation.** While the initial share was 1.6 MAF, it has been reported that more than 2 MAF is granted only to the industries in violation of the NWDTA stipulations. Water Resource Experts and people’s organizations of Gujarat have published a detailed report called the Monument of Mismanagement.

**Power generation** - On the power generation front, six units of 200 MW each have been installed and operationalized in the river-bed power house, and five units of 50 MW each have also been installed in the main canal power house. These add up to a total of 1450 MW of installed capacity. The generated power is to be distributed with 56% going to M.P., 27% to Maharashtra and 17% to Gujarat. Although it is claimed officially that power is being generated over the past few years, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have not been receiving their full dues.

**Irrigation canals** - The primary benefit claim of irrigating large command areas depend critically upon completion of construction of the 458.318 kms long main canal, the 42 branch canals having a total length of about 3,500 km, distribution channels of over 7500 kms and about 30,000 kms of 'minors and sub-minors'. Even by its own admission, the project authorities have not been able to complete well over 50% of these distribution channels, while a substantial part of the branch canals too are yet to be completed. This negates the claimed irrigation benefits for these many years. In fact the delay, lethargy, corruption and sub-standard quality of canals has been one of the most widely reported issues in the Gujarati media and has also been repeatedly raised in the State Assembly. It is also a recorded fact that maximum water flows to 3 cities – Baroda, Ahmadabad and Gandhinagar against the original plan of water only to small towns and villages, at the cost of rural, drought prone areas. The plan with a budget of 40 Crores for this diversion was added to the project much later.
Section V : A Glance at a few earlier Performance Appraisals of SSP:

All the claimed benefits of irrigation, drinking water supply, power generation and industrial water supply, have been targeted at the cost of drowning the homes and farms of tens of thousands of families who reside by the Narmada. There is also a clear adverse impact on the ecology of the river, due to reduced flow and availability of water to downstream ecosystems. So it stands to reason that these claims of benefits should be evaluated against what has been actually delivered / achieved. Here, let us take a very quick look at only two such previous exercises and their findings.

In the year 2008, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) in Mumbai, a Deemed University, undertook a study on the “Performance and Development Effectiveness of the Sardar Sarovar Project”. According to that study (available at aidindia.org/main/content/view/763/376/ and www.tiss.edu)

1. Against claimed irrigation benefit to 17.92 lakh hectares in Gujarat, the incomplete canal network is able to irrigate only about 19% of the command area on December 2007. The Gujarat government failed to utilise the money sanctioned for the canal network despite receiving INR 4887 crores from 1996 to 2008, under the Accelerated Irrigation Benefit Programme. As reported in the Socio-Economic Review for Gujarat 2006-07 and 2007-08, in spite of huge expenditure on SSP, the maximum irrigation utilisation has stagnated at 1.53 lakh hectares in Gujarat, hardly a big improvement over the 2002 figure of 1.3075 lakh hectares.

2. Against the claimed and designed drinking water supply to the parched villages and towns in Gujarat – which was used as the biggest emotive issue in pushing this monstrously destructive project – for 8,215 villages, 135 towns and six municipal corporations in Gujarat, a series of CAG audits in 2003, 2005 and 2006 revealed that both in terms of capacity utilisation and villages served, the performance of SSP was between 29-33% of potential. Thus, over two-thirds of the promised supply did not materialise! Gujarat also diverted 1.06 MAF of allocated drinking water to its industries, keeping many parched villages as thirsty as they were earlier. A citizens’ survey conducted in 1074 villages by a Gujarat based NGO, PRAVAH, showed that actual coverage of drinking water supply from SSP was 23.1% in April 2004, and 42% in December 2005, less than half even after huge investments of money and time. In a scathing report dated April 2007, by the South Asian Network for Dams Rivers and People, it was exposed - quoting the CAG reports for Gujarat (Commercial) for year ending March 31 2006, that “the drinking water meant for drought prone
areas is being diverted in huge quantities to the non-drought prone areas and for industrial use. Moreover, there has been huge increase in allocation for industries, clearly at the expense of irrigation for drought prone areas. All this has been done by the govt without even informing the people of Gujarat what is being done.” In this quoted 2006 report, the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) notes, “the master plan for the project had envisaged allocation of 232 MLD for Kutch district, including 45 MLD for industrial use... up to March 2006 the total water allotted for industrial use was 61.91 MLD... The excess allocation of water for industrial use would reduce the availability of water for domestic use and thus adversely affect the drinking water requirements of people of Kuchchh district by the year 2021.”

While the parched villages that were promised waters from the Narmada are still thirsty, a recent news in Indian Express reports that the Gujarat government has allocated over 3 million litres of Narmada waters per day for a new bottling plant of Coca Cola at Sanand!

"Narmada waters to fuel Coca Cola’s new bottling plant at Sanand
Gujarat govt has already allotted 1.85 lakh square meters of land to Hindustan Coca-Cola Beverages. Coca Cola bottling plant will be using about 3 million litres per day (MLD) of water sourced from Narmada canal. (Reuters)”. | http://indianexpress.com/article/business/companies/narmada-waters-to-fuel-coca-colas-new-bottling-plant-at-sanand/#sthash.kFLUqegR.dpuf

In Gujarat, the Bulk Water Transmission Project based on Narmada canals, was launched in 1999 with scheduled completion in 2002. The CAG audit reports of 2003 and 2005 exposes why the achievements were far from the target - "defective planning and lack of coordination among different agencies". CAG has similarly exposed the massive failures of Saurashtra Pipeline Project to carry water to parched villages and towns, due to lack of planning and coordinated execution. "The gross average daily intake during the two years of its operation (December 2000 to November 2002) was 119.80 MLD against the envisaged capacity of 287 MLD (i.e. 42 per cent of capacity utilisation) only. Of the envisaged coverage of 1860 villages/ towns, benefit reached only to 543 villages. So, even after two years of execution, at the cost of Rs. 464.17 crores, benefits could be derived to the extent of 44 per cent of the envisaged population only”, the 2003 CAG audit points out.

A news report in The Times of India, Ahmedabad edition, dated 24th June, 2013 reveals that the Govt. of Gujarat has already officially de-notified 70,371
hectares of SSP command area and has in principle decided to de-command all the areas that fall under any SIR, SEZ, GIDC estates and industrial park. In the coming days **upto 4 lakh hectares is proposed to be de-notified for the various SEZs, SIRs etc.** Surely this is a fraud committed on Gujarat’s own farmers, shown a disappearing dream!

3. **Power generation** also did not show improvements in proportion to the dam height increase. When the height was increased from 110.64 M to 121.92 M, it was claimed that this will allow generation of an additional 3550 Million Units (or 3550000 Mega-Watt-Hours) of electricity. In reality, anything between 550 to 1500 Million Units of additional generation was achieved. The government statistics today indicate that targets are already achieved at 122 meters (present height i). Hence raising height is really not necessary for power generation. However, dispute over costs has lead to hundreds of crores of investment by Maharashtra and MP, refused to be given to Gujarat.

4. **Sky rocketing project cost** – As has been shown earlier in this report, the original project cost of INR 6,406 crores at 1986-87 prices rapidly escalated to INR 39,240.45 crores at 2008-09 prices, to a projected INR 70,000 crores in 2012, and finally as of now – to an estimated INR 90,000 crores! Obviously, with over half of the extensive canal network still to be constructed, we probably have not seen the end of price escalations. The Comptroller and Auditor General also severely criticised the SSP / SSNNL, for reckless market borrowing, leading to massive debt servicing costs – about 37% of overall expenditure in March 2006 while in the period 2001-06, this reached the absurdly humongous figure of 53% of total expenditure!

5. Most **callous and inhuman** is the performance in **rehabilitating the displaced** people. The official estimates show over 48,300 families in 245 villages to be displaced (and this number will be much larger in reality, as has been found by the FF team, due to the non-inclusion of many areas and families being/ to-be affected by higher than calculated back water levels) at full reservoir level of 138.68 M, with over 37,533 Hectares of land coming under submergence of the reservoir (many more thousands of Hectares for the canal network). The Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal Award (NWDTA) clearly stated that each stage of dam height increase has to be preceded by full compensation and land and livelihood-based rehabilitation of all the families to be displaced. And yet, the study estimated that in the three states of Madhya Pradesh (the maximum number), Maharashtra and Gujarat nearly 40,000 families (to be displaced with the dam height of 138.68 M, which is now under construction in 2015) are still waiting to be rehabilitated, while the dam was increased to about
122 M. The condition of the rehabilitation sites were also found to be deplorable, with many families given barren, rocky land, or land already under occupation of other people, since long.

6. The failures of Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited and Narmada Valley Development Authority in adhering to the environmental clearance conditions, was also found to be wide spread. Hardly any compensatory afforestation for the 13,385 Hectares of forest land submerged, negligible catchment area treatments, casual survey of flora-fauna and carrying capacity and many such glaring deficiencies were found. It was also not seen that the project authority or the state governments are really serious about addressing these deficiencies. The last Expert Committee appointed by the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests, chaired by the Former Director General of Forest Survey of India (after which and ignoring whose recommendations the clearance to the present dam work was granted in April 2010) concluded in its report of February, 2010 that:

Conclusions: The foregoing paragraphs reveal that project authorities of SSP and ISP have not taken due care of the environmental safe guard measures as stipulated during clearance of these projects. In most of the cases the Pari-Passu clause focusing simultaneous actions on environmental safeguard measures has not been respected. The compliances have been either partial or delayed and in a few cases not complied till today. Of the five parameters discussed in this report, the project authorities (SSNNL and NVDA, Government of Maharashtra) have grossly violated stipulations in respect of catchment area treatment, flora, fauna and carrying and command area development causing irreversible loss to the environment.

The committee therefore recommends that no further reservoir filling either at SSP or at ISP be permitted till the catchment areas of both SSP and ISP are fully treated and all the outstanding requirements to protect flora and fauna including preparation of master plan and creation of wildlife sanctuaries are put in place. No further construction work on the canal network and no irrigation from even the existing network should be permitted till the various environmental parameters in the command area other than water management becomes Parri-Passu”.

Thus it is seen that the massive failures of the SSP project in fulfilling its tall claims – whether in providing planned amounts of drinking water, promised irrigation potential and even hydro-electricity – have been continuing for nearly two decades. With the recent development of the Central government along with the state governments of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra giving declaration to the courts that the planned rehabilitation for all Project Affected Families (PAFs) have been done as per its orders, it is logical to be very sceptical about these claims. Since the approval for the 17 metre height increase was obtained based clearly on these claims – it necessitated a Fact Finding visit to some of the affected areas of the SSP to ascertain the reality.
Meetings of the FF team:

On May 9, 2015, the Fact Finding Team visited the SSP affected village of Khalghat/Ghazipura basti (roughly 93 KMs from Indore and midway between Indore and Badwani on the Mumbai-Agra highway, by the bank of Narmada), Dharampuri town, the rehabilitation site near Dharampuri, the villages of Shirsala, Ekalwara, Chikalda (Dhar Dist) Bhikheda and Pipri (Badwani Dist.). There were thousands of SSP affected people in these places who deposed before and met the fact finding team. On the next day, 10th of May, the FF team started by visiting Rajghat in Badwani district, and paying homage to the ‘father of the nation’, where also a number of project affected people came to meet the team. The team then went on to visit the villages of Bhavaria, the hilly adivasi village of Kharya Bhadal via Kakrana – after a 30 mnts long boat journey on the reservoir and river, where hundreds of villagers from nearby places gathered. The team also met some other oustees on the way before returning to Indore by evening.

The Major Concerns and the Facts/ realities as found by the team:

1. Non recognition as project affected /non-inclusion in submergence zone / wrong determination of Back Water levels – This was found to be a very serious complaint by a large number of people/ families.

Large number of people/families, the FF team met, complained that they were unfairly excluded from being declared as project affected people or were earlier recognized as PAFs and even granted partial benefits, but were subsequently dropped off the lists, on the premise that they are ‘no more affected’ as per the revised Back water Levels. Non recognition means that they are not entitled to any compensation and rehabilitation benefits, however incomplete and meagre these are. The families say that each year during flooding season they are affected by floods but officials deny it.

Officials claim that these families live above the levels up to which water can rise in the event of an “Extraordinary Flood”. The estimate of up to what level water will rise in the event of an “Extraordinary Flood” is made by Central Water Commission and as per those calculations these families live above the possible back Water Level. (The “Extraordinary Flood” is defined by the Narmada Valley Tribunal comprising of 24000 Cusecs of water entering into the reservoir out of which 14,000 cusecs will enter through tributaries & 10,000 cusecs will enter at the inlet into the reservoir).

The team’s first halt at Ghazipura ‘Basti’ (settlement) itself brought this out clearly. Ghazipura houses got inundated during last two years during high flood
levels, causing massive disruptions and losses for nearly three months each year. Walls collapsed and brick kilns got washed off. Small shops got destroyed along with the materials.

Do we have a right to normal lives? Agitated villagers of low-lying Ghazipura Basti at Khalghat – threatened by repeated high-flood submergence, presenting their cases to the Fact Finding Team member Annie Raja.

Prof. Raj Kachroo, a Surface Water Hydrologist, who was part of the FF Team, has studied the work of CWC and concluded that the calculations done by CWC are incorrect. He has written a detailed report on incorrectness of Back Water Levels Calculations of CWC. During the field visit he explained, without technical jargon, as to why he is sure that the calculations done by CWC are wrong. He said the following:

In Gazipura/Kalaghat the Back Water Level mark set by CWC is at 144.92 meters. This means that people who live above this mark of 144.92 meters are excluded from being affected people. According to CWC water will reach 144.92 meters only in the situation of “Extra Ordinary Flooding”, i.e., when the input into the reservoir will be equal to 24,000 cusecs. The proof of incorrectness of the estimate of 144.92 meters is marked by government officials themselves only a few meters away on the pillars of the bridge. Government officials mark Flood Water Levels on pillars of the bridge in a routine manner. The flood marks on the pillar says that:

a. Flood level at Gazipura/ Kalghat reached 146.64 m in 2013.

b. Flood level at Gazipura/ Kalghat reached 148.80 m. in 1994.

c. Estimated level at Gazipura/ Kalghat reached 150.34 m. in 1984.

2013 was not even a high flood year & still flood levels reached 146.64 meters which is much higher than the estimated 144.92 meters that CWC has
calculated for an Extra Ordinary flooding situation where input will be equal to 24,000 cusecs. Flooding in 2013 was, caused purely because of releases from the Indira Sagar Reservoir. These releases were made without any warning to downstream populations. The 2013 flooding in Kalghat/Ghazipura was a result of carelessness of reservoir operators. It is the responsibility of the managers of Indira Sagar to provide flood warnings but they do not do so.

New Back Water Level marked as 144.92 M, in front of a temple in Ghazipura

Ghazipura is a settlement inhabited mostly by poor fisher-people and artisanal workers. The danger to these houses/families is very clear if we compare the two pictures below, where it is clearly seen that the houses are below the back water levels reached (and marked on pillars) even in normal years, of 146 M (even with the present dam height of 121.92 M). One can easily imagine what will be the extent of submergence when the discharge is higher. The people of Khalghat reported to us that earlier, the back water level at Khalghat marked on the old house of the former member of Parliament, Mr Rameshwar Patidar himself was 514 ft. however that was later changed. They didn’t know when and on what ground it was done by NVDA. Nobody from village including traders, landlords or others were ever informed in writing. From what is observed today and the flood data of last few years, the old back water level seems to be the correct expected back water level.
High Flood Back Water Levels marked on a pillar of the Mumbai-Agra highway, shows much higher levels than newly marked NBWL (picture above).

Most of the 48 houses of Ghazipura a mohalla of Khalghat and Shala ‘bastis’, mohallas of “Sala” village are now below the regular back water level at anything above moderate discharge levels. Compare the above & below pictures, with the levels marked on the pillar of the highway, which is well above the houses visible in Ghazipura ‘basti’.

These houses at Khalghat are clearly seen to be below the marked high water levels, but these families are not recognized as project affected.

With the construction now at an advanced stage for piers and bridge structures over the dam, and installing gates for taking the height to 138.68 M, the back water levels here are sure to climb much higher, possibly inundating whole of Ghazipura, as well as Khalghat, which is a township like big village, and yet they have not been recognized as being completely in the submergence zone!

Even for those compensated for the loss of houses, it was measly. Gyarsi bai of Ghazipura-Shala (in the picture below), wife of Jagdish, got only INR 30,000, with which they could not construct their new house at a higher place, which forced them to borrow and dig out reserves, to construct this house in the year 2000. Now with an increase in dam height, even this new house may not be safe anymore.
The same criminal omission of affected families is a much larger problem in the town of Dharampuri (with Nagar Panchayat) which the team visited next, and which the government declared to be ‘fully rehabilitated’. The population of the town is close to 18,000 now (13,229 in 2001 Census) with nearly 3,000 families, and barring a few families, most have been now declared to be ‘out of the submergence zone’.

The town has historical significance as the birth place of Rani Roopmati, mythologically, the daughter of mother Narmada. The town is also reputed to be the place of worship of the great saint Dadheechi, and houses ancient temples. The town’s people have faced inundation in the lower lying habitations each year since the dam height was increased to about 122 M in 2006, and are very apprehensive about the fresh height increase, fearing for their homes and life's belongings. A quick exercise (on a Google earth image, height points of various populated locations marked on the satellite image, below) on the altitudes of **many densely populated lower lying areas of the town are at around 144-146 M or even lower, so it is no wonder that they are getting inundated by back waters during high flood levels every year, even at the present dam height of 122 M.** And it is also obvious that with further obstructions being put in the way of the river above the existing dam (even if the gates are not closed for now), the back water levels are going to rise in Dharampuri (and elsewhere), possibly inundating even places above 150 M or so. This will mean a significant part of the town will be under water, either permanently or for many days every year, which is no better.
The people of Dharampuri also brought out many cases of callous neglect of the Narmada SSP project authority, in criminally leaving out affected zones /families, in assessing the right levels of back Water at high discharge levels, in proper development of rehabilitation sites located for them with amenities to be habitable, and so on. Two respected citizens of Dharampuri, Shabbirbhai, the ex-Chairman of Nagar Panchayat, and Sanjay bhai, a journalist from Dainik Bhaskar, confirmed that only 80-90 houses in the town were identified and accounted as submergence affected, while houses between the main R&R site and the river were entirely left out.

Both of them reported (confirmed by others) that it seems that the government(s) is well aware of the fact that a major part of the town will get submerged with the height increase, as all developmental work in the town has been stopped. However with new back water level, they excluded thousands of families including those who have already received part or full compensation, house plots etc. No intimation officially is received by these families, and they have been left hanging in lurch!

Many people complained that the identification of project affected families was driven by bribes and corruption, and those willing and able to pay the officials, got counted and were offered better alternative plots. Same thing was reported from Ghazipura basti, as a few higher-ground plots were highly sought after. Many plots are allotted which are unlevelled, and it takes lakhs of rupees (much more than the cash compensation for house received) to get it levelled as these plots are given in the hard-to-work black cotton soil. The FF team avoided investigating these individual complaints of corruption, as these are being looked into by the Justice Jha Commission, as per Orders of the High Court.
Similar cases of leaving out large numbers of affected families from being counted as project affected, were reported by many people from other villages like Ekalwara (partly affected by submergence), Chikhalda and Bhilkheda. People from Ekalwara (one of the 14 villages in ManawarTaluka of Dhar district threatened with complete or partial submergence) reported that the authorities have even given certificates to several families that they are not in the submergence area, while about 80 of their houses got flooded during high flood levels previously and about 32 houses even collapsed, water level raised above new back water level and reached at the doorstep of big ‘pakka’ houses and washed away the smaller ones.

In the years 2010 and 2013, many houses in Chikhalda (a big village with about 700-800 families) got submerged and damaged, but no compensation was paid to them by NVDA. This village faced partial submergence even at a dam height of 95 M earlier affecting some houses. As the alternate land offered for rehabilitation was very bad, people refused to take any compensation or move out of their houses, even though they faced repeated flooding.

Sukhibhai Motilal and Wahid bhai reported that the people have filed a case in Indore High Court based on the 2013 Land Acquisition Act, and despite the government advocate telling lies and prolonging the case by not giving proper information as sought by the court, finally the villagers got a direction that possession shall not be disturbed by the State. **Notably, thousands of oustees in the SSP areas are in a similar situation, since the land acquisitions that took place more than a decade ago have lapsed as per Sec 24 (2) of the 2013 Act. Legally, the oustees are now owners of the lands / houses and other properties acquired and the Government has no legal authority to dispossess them without initiating fresh process for acquisition under the 2013 Act.**

![Image of man speaking to a group of people, caption: Above - Shri Hannan Mollah, member of the FF team, assuring the worried and agitated Dharampuri residents that the team will do its best to take their issues to the right places.]
2. Massive denial /violation of Land based rehabilitation for Oustees/non-recognition of adult sons as separate project affected families – Narmada valley - SSP project is one of the few large scale displacements where the legal system of rehabilitation clearly speaks of land-for-land rehabilitation. Guaranteed by the NWDTA, this has been asserted by long and painful struggles by the oustees through their organisation, Narmada Bachao Andolan. Both the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal Award 1979 and the Supreme Court orders in 2000 and 2005, as well as the orders of the Grievance Redressal Authority (GRA) - clearly says that each stage of dam construction has to be preceded by full rehabilitation of land and house for all the potential oustees. The Rehabilitation Policy of Madhya Pradesh and Action Plans submitted on affidavits to the Supreme Court by the NVDA further adds that the landless will also be provided with stable means of alternative livelihood, skill development, training etc.

The government of India along with those of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh have given statements in the Supreme Court that all the displaced people have been fully rehabilitated, as per the NWDTA and the Supreme Court orders. What the FF team found by interacting with thousands of displaced people, was completely different. Large number of cases in Khalghat/ Ghazipura and Dharampuri has already been highlighted in the earlier paragraphs.

Smt. Garas (in picture below), wife of Daulat, of Nimbola village, was almost crying when she complained that they have been running from pillar to post for nearly 25 years, and are yet to get any compensation or alternative house plot. Her husband is over 60 years old, infirm and unable to work as wage labour to earn a living, and they are just managing to live like street dogs. Its due to corruption by all officials that a person like her doesn’t get the due benefits, she asserted. She pleaded with the FF team members to get her justice even at this late stage. Others explained how the NVDA/rehabilitation offices used to be run even at nights, to receive kick backs!
Ekalwara is a village in Manawar Tehsil, where a large number of to-be-displaced people refused to take any monetary compensation, and have refused to budge without full land/livelihood-based rehabilitation. They are still waiting for this, exposing the lies being spread by the governments about full rehabilitation being complete! In a village three kms from Ekalwara, 300 families were given monetary compensation (but no land, as is mandatory), where 110 others were given nothing, with the government giving them certificates that they are ‘out of the submergence zone’!

While offering alternative farm plots, many to-be-displaced people from Ekalwara were offered rocky/barren plots of land in Rignod village, District Dhar. We were told by the villagers and activists a story of how and when a group was taken to show land at Rignod, the resident adivasis, who were old encroachers, threw stones at them, including Patwaris (revenue employees) all had to file FIR at the police station. The Madhya Pradesh government is thus showing a fictitious ‘land bank’ of about 5,000 Hectares, most of which cannot be handed over to the oustees, since it is either uncultivable or unirrigable or is under encroachment and hence most of these are not suitable for agriculture. The FF team also learned that three Former High Court Justices, who served as Chairmen of the GRAs between 2000 to 2014, had given directives in a plethora of cases that uncultivable and encroached lands should NOT be offered in rehabilitation.

The FF team found this malpractice to be a total violation of rights of adivasis according to the Supreme court judgement of 2000 as well as of 2005. The report by the 3 ministers, Mr. Saifuddin Soz, Ms. Meera Kumari and Shri Prithviraj Chauhan in 2006 had concluded that “Rehabilitation in Madhya
Pradesh is mostly on paper”, which the team found to be true even now, in 2015. These numerous incidents of non-serious house /farm land compensation/ rehabilitation shows that the government /has no serious intention of rehabilitating the forced oustees, and is thus continuously violating the orders of the NWDT and the Supreme Court, not to mention the fact that these elected governments and their agencies are also killing the poor displaced people slowly.

Nimad: Land of Plenty to go under waters: A Permanent National Loss !
Farmland in the plain areas of the Nimad region of M.P. is irrigated and highly productive (picture below – a rich papaya field), often giving three crops a year, and Cotton, Papaya, Banana, Potato, Garlic, Onion, ‘Chana’, Ginger, Melons and other high value crops give reasonably good farming livelihoods.

Mansaramji, a local farmer showed the FF team an array of such farm produce, and said – “these are the gifts of Narmada mai to us, we do not need your ‘concretised development’, not even the 24X7 electricity that is promised. Why should we be forced to go to Jantar Mantar in Delhi to protest against the illegal acquisition of our fertile land? We are happy that at least some people from Delhi have come to listen to our woes”.

A large number of women and men gathered at Ekalwara (picture above) from villages Kavthi, Semalda, Achhoda, Perkhad and Ekalwara to present their cases before the FF team. Pema bhai, a farmer from Awalda district Badwani, informed the team that even the monetary compensation is absurdly low, INR 5.58 lakh for 5 acres of land, whereas irrigated land – even in the interiors in this area - is not available for less than INR 15-16 lakh per acre.

We checked this with several others only to find that at places close to roads and highways, prices are even higher ranging between 25 lakh to 70 lakhs. This has led to many families rejecting money as compensation – which is being illegally forced by the government, and demand full land-based rehabilitation. In meeting after meeting, village after village, the FF team was bombarded by the same story of displaced people not being given land for the lost or to be lost land. Thus, the claims of Narmada Bachao Andolan that nearly 48,000 Project Affected Families are still waiting to be given all the benefits, thousands entitled to alternate land and house plots, and others only to house plots, cannot be dismissed and has to be taken with utmost seriousness by the authorities.

While these plots are allocated ex parte to many, the irregularities indicating corruption (under inquiry by Justice Jha Commission) has led to adhoc changes in plot allotments, against the interests of poor dalits, adivasis as also old widowed women entitled for the same. Moreover the house plots are such that with the paltry sums given to the oustees as compensation for the affected houses or property, most of the affected families are unable to build a liveable house. Their resolve to attain rights is being challenged by the ‘authorities’ with forcible
acceptance of meagre monetary compensation, denials and even violence. The FF team also noted that despite the NWDTA provisions and GRA’s directives, none of the oustees have been given compensation for the land beneath their houses. Thus, thousands and thousands of oustees have been denied this legal right, as well.

**Official Apathy in the Hilly Villages: Atrocities on Adivasis:**

The FF team was shocked to witness the deplorable situation of hundreds of adivasis and forest dwellers living in the interior hilly villages, cut-off from the main land and accessible only by boats. These villages, it was learnt, had minimal to virtually no access to essential services such as fixed-price/ ration shop, functional schools, public health centres etc since independence. Despite years of demands by the oustees, the project-authorities seem to have conveniently forgotten them!

After crossing the SSP by boat, the FF team is warmly welcomed at Khyara Bhadal

Elders, women and youth who were among the hundreds that gathered at Village Kharya Bhadal (Tehsil Pati, Dist. Badwani) from the other hilly villages of Alirajpur Dist. of M.P. such as Kacrana, Sugat, Jhandana, Anjanwara and villages Danel, Chimalkhedi, Thuwani, Bhadal etc. of Maharashtra narrated to us their woes of unlawful submergence of their land and houses many years ago without any compensation, denial of basic services, lack of cultivable land-based rehabilitation, with house plots at R&R sites, denial of community forest rights and rights to the Naik adivasis, faulty surveys and exclusion of numerous oustees, flaws in the land
acquisition process, the costly, tiring and inaccessible justice devilry system of the GRAs, referral of cases by GRA back to the ‘Additional Collectors’ etc.

A section of the large gathering of tribal women, men, youth and children, pouring out their woes - Kharya Bhadal hilly village, 10th May, 2015.

They demanded that the Govt. should immediately identity land and rehabilitate them at least as large adivasi clans/communities, undertake joint-surveys to identify all eligible oustees and declare them as eligible for R&R, provide individual and community forest rights, grant fishing rights to the village co-operatives, conduct GRA hearings in the tehsil headquarters such as Pati (Badwani), Sondwa (Alirajpur), Dhadgaon (Maharashtra) etc.
Cut-off by the waters of the reservoir (picture above), many hill villages like Kharya Bhadal, Sugat, Jhandana, Bhitada, Anjanwara etc. are solely dependent on these boats for connections to the ‘main-land’.

A few representatives from Gujarat also deposed before the FF team and conveyed the hardships being faced by the tribals in Gujarat who have got bad lands, water-logged lands, have been denied amenities at R&R sites such as drinking water, canal irrigation, health, roads etc, exclusion of adult sons, non-provision of jobs, additional threat of evictions due to new tourism and corporate projects etc, such as the Kevadia Area Development Authority Project and Sardar Patel Statue!

3. Further loss of land due to ‘un-necessary canals’: In Chikalda, Ekalvara, Pipri and other villages, the oustees also pointed out the absurdity of the plan to bring irrigation canals from the main canals of Indira Sagar and Omkareshwar Dams to lands already well irrigated, being on Narmada banks. The picture below, shows such a canal, With best of fertile, agri-land on both the sides.

These canals – coming over 100 kms from near the Omkareshwar (upstream) dam/reservoir–are causing more land to be acquired forcing more families out of
their homes and agricultural lands. Existing lift-irrigation schemes deliver irrigation to these fields, none of which are beyond 3-5 KMs from the Narmada river. The only logic seems to be supplying Narmada waters to large scale industries, and creating more unnecessary civil works, enabling vested interest groups siphoning of public money. There are reports that most of these canals passing through already irrigated areas – built on villagers land with public money – are for supplying water to industrial estates that have started coming up in this region - in Khandwa, Khargone, Badwani and Dhar districts. ‘Ultratech Cement’ has already been given large tracts of land which belongs to the adivasis of 27 villages that were just covered by irrigation through “Maan” dam (part of Narmada projet) along with reservoir water connection.

Notably, the M.P. High Court’s judgement of November, 2009 had categorically directed a review of the canals in the irrigated tract, although farmers say NVDA has never done actual field surveys of the status of irrigation in the proposed command area. Following the judgement of Supreme Court in 2011 and the High Court’s Orders of 3/1/2014 and 24/6/2014, the Expert Committee, constituted by the MoEF has also taken note of the seriousness of the issue and has sought for details of existing irrigation sources from NVDA. The NVDA gave a written assurance to the High Court in March, 2015 that they are defending excavation /construction of canals in the 2 kms strip and all irrigated villages on the Narmada bank, yet continuous tensions prevail in the villages, since the contractors with officials bring machines and excavate fertile lands even in the Maheshwar dam and Sardar Sarovar affected villages on the river bank.

4. Undeveloped/unsuitable rehabilitation sites with poor or no facilities - The rehabilitation by offering alternative land to those whose land and houses have been acquired/submerged, are to be both farm land and house plots (in addition to alternative options for livelihoods, for livelihoods destroyed). The FF team inspected a house plot ‘rehabilitation site’ close to Dharampuri, where those identified to be in the submergence zone are being told to go and resettle. A picture of the site is given below (the site is the wilderness visible across the road, with an electric-wire-less lone electricity pole standing), as taken on 9th May, 2015. It is difficult to understand whether the government is trying to raise a wilderness here or settle human beings and how anyone with a family can go and start living in this place without any basic amenities, a legal pre-condition as per the NWDTA. As a coercive measure, to force people to relocate inside this wilderness, the government has shifted the local hospital close to this site, at a distance of over 1.5 kms from the inhabited places of the town, like in village Nisarpur (Tehsil Kukshi) and closed down the existing hospital inside the town, where over 2,500 families continue to live.
There are cases where schools have also been shifted outside the existing settlements, forcing children to commute long distances, as most families have refused to shift to the so-called rehabilitation sites with no facilities. Kalimbhai from Chikalda told the FF team that the Higher Secondary school in their village have been closed down, and shifted to Nisarpur vasahat, 4 kms away, even though over 750 families are living in Chikalda, a thriving village with houses, farm lands, panchayat, markets etc. Even though many of them have not accepted monetary compensation, their names have been struck off from the land records and NVDA shown as the new owner!

In Bhilkheda (tribal) village of Badwani district, the ‘Janpad Pradhan’ told the FF team that the rehabilitation sites (‘vasahats’) are in such pathetic conditions, that whoever is forced to live there (those who already lost land to submergence) are living like animals. On a question from Annie Raja, a member of the FF team, as to why the Tribal Sub-Plan Fund and the MP/MLA development funds are not utilised to provide facilities to these ‘vasahats’, where mostly tribal people are settled there, the panchayat pradhans explained that:

1. The NVDA was supposed to give the funds for these works.
2. The panchayats do not have the jurisdiction over these as yet, as these have not been handed over to them with development works needed.
3. The ‘vasahat’ areas have not been taken as part of Town and country Planning areas, nor recognized as village, making it difficult to spend their funds in these rehabilitation sites.

The local MLA, Ramesh bhai Patel informed that he has arranged INR 5 lakhs each to a few panchayats for undertaking development works, but there are 97 Panchayats in his constituency, and there is obviously no fund for all. Out
of all these confusions and mis-governance, the displaced people are suffering the worst fate for years together.

**It was also pointed out that nearly 300 house plots were offered to families affected in Dharampuri, and these are by the hilly stream Khujawanala (on the extreme left of the Google image of Dharampuri, a few pages before) which is prone to regular flash floods. Thus these sites are totally unsafe.** The same condition prevails in several other so-called developed sites for rehabilitation that the team saw. Khujawa interestingly is one of the oldest archaeological sites that needs to be investigated, although it is not.

The FF team also perused through the voluminous report submitted by the Joint Technical Team of IIT, Mumbai and MANIT, Bhopal to the Jst. Jha Commission on the inspection of the 88 R&R sites in M.P. and noted with grave concern the stark revelations in the report on abysmal R&R site conditions, the expose of corruption and irregularities galore and the recommendations for a CBI inquiry.

5. **Large scale loss of Livelihoods: No alternative livelihoods offered in most cases:**

It is obvious that those farmers who have lost/ are losing land, are losing their farming livelihood also (including farm labour) along with the land. There are a number of other livelihoods that people here have lost along with the disruptions of community life, and fishing is one of the major ones. Since the huge Sardar Sarovar Reservoir came up on their land, giving them fishing rights and other facilities to fish in this huge lake is the least one can expect. This is certainly envisaged by the NWDTA, guaranteed by the M.P. Fisheries Policy, 2008 and is also reflected in the directives of the 7th Meeting of NCA. However, there seems to be no headway in this regard in Madhya Pradesh, despite the fact that reportedly, there are dozens of proposals from displaced fish workers pending at the officials tables. Fishing rights even to the displaced tribals who have lost land, more than a decade ago is nowhere in sight was evident when we heard the oustees at the hilly village Kharya Bhadal on the 10th May, where hundreds of project-affected tribals assembled to depose.

The FF team was informed that only in Maharashtra, five fishers’ cooperatives were formed and they were given the right to fish in the reservoir recently, with help for boats, nets and other gear. Dalubhai, a fisherman from Dharampuri complained to the FF team that the Madhya Pradesh government promised to give fishing rights, nets, boats and also other gear vehicle, but this has not materialised yet.
Daluram, another fisherman here, informed that because of the large fluctuation of level of water in the river (caused by dam operation), it has become dangerous to go out and fish in the river/reservoir. Fish catch has also gone down in the river bed channel, and large scale illegal sand mining (which the authorities have no will to stop, and against which Narmada Bachao Andolan has instituted a PIL, after having complained to the district collectors and to the higher authorities) in the river might be a contributing factor.

Notably, the High Court of M.P. has stayed all mining activities as per its Order dt. 6/5/2015, although reports of violation of this Order have also been received by the FF team.

_The Rehabilitation Policies, Action Plans and judicial orders read together envisage and ensure that the livelihoods of the displaced workers and landless persons would be secured through alternative means of livelihood and assistance to purchase productive assets. But what the FF team widely came across in various villages was that except for a few thousand rupees grant amount, no real livelihoods, no skill development, and employment opportunities have been provided as yet !_
The Narmada valley is not just like any other river valley, though all rivers are in a sense mothers to human civilisations, by providing plentiful water and soil fertility. As a result of the "Narmada Basin Paleo-anthropology Project" (NBPA), and the large scale excavations/explorations jointly undertaken by MS University Vadodara and the US based "Stone Age Institute", it is being realised that this old river valley has harboured pre-historic human settlements, possibly even pre-Harappan primitive human ‘civilisation’. According to Prof K Krishnan, head of MSU’s Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, "This project may throw new light giving credence to the belief that the Narmada Valley could have been (one of) the centre of human evolution".

Advanced stone tools and implements have been unearthed in the valley, dating back to the age of the beginning of modern humans, over 50,000 years ago, and possibly much older. Even if it is one of the oldest global sites (and not THE ONE) of early evolution of ‘modern’ humans, this is a priceless heritage, certainly not fit for submerging for a few mega watts of power and some misguided mega-projects.

The NBPA project was founded with the discovery of vertebrate fossils including the only pre-modern human fossil known in South Asia from the Narmada Basin. The Times of India, while reporting on this in August 2012, says – "In 1980s, former director of Geological Survey of India (paleontologist) Arun Sonakia had created a sensation surprising the world with his discovery of the "only human fossil in Asia" from near Hoshangabad in Central Narmada Valley Basin in Madhya Pradesh which he said was that of a homo erectus (predecessors of today's human). In recent times, however, archaeologists have argued that although the discovery has been variably attributed to different species of homo, its age remains uncertain.

"Through this project, we will collect more human fossils, look at the context of this fossils and go for a precise dating methodology as very little dating of fossils has been done so far," co-director and research associate of NBPA from Stone Age Institute Parth Chauhan told TOI. "Study at Narmada Basin is important because of its geographical location which is very strategic for migration of animal population from North to South and East to West. It is not only rich in fossils and archaeological sites, but it has a long history of human occupation and this region is facing submergence due to dam construction," says Chauhan.

Even the Narmada Hydroelectric Development Corporation Ltd recognizes (S K Dodeja and V B Bhatt, NHDCL, ‘Sustainable Management of Archeologically
Important Monuments’) that “.....the valley is very rich in archeologically important wealth”, but arrogantly and foolishly talks about ‘sustainable management’ of such human history by finding and relocating a few bits and pieces of this treasure.

One can also judge the historical (both anthropological and archaeological) importance of the Narmada basin from this deep concern expressed by the Anthropological Survey of India – “This modest beginning is a challenge for future since these human fossils have world-wide interest and implications in understanding human origins. It is also acclaimed by notable scholars, like Kenneth A. R. Kennedy, that India has enormous field resources for the palaeo-anthropological investigations where the Narmada basin and the Siwaliks are in particular of great significance.

And, we have tapped only a fraction of the same. Therefore, It is imperative that extensive and intensive systematic explorations and excavations of Central Narmada basin are of immediate concern. This is particularly very compelling in view of the inevitable submergence of the basin in the wake of Narmada Sagar Dam backwaters and monsoonal over flooding of Narmada River.”

Apart from these pre-historic treasures, the present day Narmada valley population is also a richly diverse ethnic and cultural treasure. The adivaasi populations are Bhils, Gonds, Rathwas, Tadvis and many others, each with its unique culture and traditions. The large village of Chikhalda, with over 750 houses, faces submergence of about 688 houses, while pre-historic human settlements were discovered nearby. The entire valley is ripe with hundreds of temples doting its banks and villages, mosques dating few decades to many centuries. The invaluable treasure of the tribal gods and goddesses, mounds and hillocks are never counted !!

Renowned historian S.B. Ota who has worked for the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has written that the Narmada valley is the only one that has precious remnants from the Palaeolithic age to the current age, at one place. His revealing findings, which were not favourable to the Government, were disregarded and even his research work was hampered by the Government which curtailed funding. Eminent archaeologists Romila Thapar, Irfan Habib and others resolved in one of the national meetings of the Archaeological Congress that at least a hundred years of research would have to be undertaken, in order to unearth all the old, precious remnants, before the valley can be submerged.

The Narmada valley is thus a national treasure that should be preserved and celebrated. It is a great misfortune for India that we have governments which value human history and culture so low, and are bent upon being the destroyers of this heritage.
The Fact-Finding Team also had access to and looked into a large number of documents including the NWDT Award, the R&R Policies, the Judgements of the Supreme Court and High Court, Circulars of the State Governments, many orders of the Grievance Redressal Authorities, clearance letters, Minutes of the Meetings of NCA, R&R Sub Group and ESG, numerous others official and non-official reports, applications and memoranda of oustees, progress reports of the Justice Jha Commission, petitions filed in the Courts and replies of the States, press reports etc. A careful perusal and analysis the plethora of documents, juxtaposed with the reality on the field brought forth a frightening picture of large scale violations of law and non-compliance with the Orders of the Hon’ble Courts. Underneath is a very crisp summary of some of the major legal violations noted by the Fact Finding Team:

1. **Violations in Dam Construction:** NWDTA and 2000, 2005 Judgements mandated that the dam construction shall go on only in accordance with the Tribunal, Back Water Levels must be calculated as per MWL 141.21 mts, GRAs must be consulted before raise in height and R&R must be pari passu to construction.

2. **Violations in Rehabilitation:** The NWDTA, R&R Policy and Apex Courts Judgements of 2000 and 2005 directed allotment of cultivable, suitable land; amenities at R&R Sites, guaranteed no submergence before rehabilitation, promised a better standard of living post-displacement – However, the field reality conveyed that these stipulations were violated in the cases of thousands of families.

3. **Corruption and related legal Violations:** Despite stringent orders of the High Court on the issue of corruption in rehabilitation, appointment of a Judicial Commission and an order by the Supreme Court to scrutinize all payments to ensure no violation of rights, the officials of GoMP and NVDA have been showing scant regard to these directives, leading to a situation of continued corruption, fraud in the house plot allotments and disbursement of grants, leading to denial of rights to the oustees.

4. **Gross Violations of GRA’s Orders:** In village after village, oustees pointed out to us the situation of utter non-compliance with the Orders issued by the Grievance Redressal Authority with regard to allotment of land to land owners, adult sons, widow women, encroachers, R&R site evictees, interim relief for inordinate delay in R&R, registration of fishing co-operatives etc, compensation for houses and land appurtenant to houses - despite GRA’S orders being binding on the Government.

5. **Violations of the directives of NCA and Central Govt:** Numerous directives of the NCA and R&R Sub Group in the past few years such as directive to identify, purchase land for allotment, allot unused farm lands, land to adult sons, land to farmers entangled in the fake registries and SRP scam etc. have been ignored.

6. **Violations of Tribal Rights:** Special protection guaranteed to the adivasis by progressive legislation such as the PESA Act has been flouted with impunity, despite the affected areas being fully Schedule V Areas. **Tribal village communities and their Gram Sabhas have neither been consulted before land acquisition nor before rehabilitation.**
Section IX : Conclusions & Recommendations

i) Prima facie, the claims by the Governments of India, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, that all the project affected families have been rehabilitated as per NWDTA and Supreme Court orders, are manifestly untrue. As thousands of families face submergence without any rehabilitation in sight, the work of raising of the Dam structure must be stopped forthwith, till proper assessment of number of and location of PAFs are correctly ascertained and all these families are rehabilitated well ahead of submergence of any of their property.

ii) Even at the dam height of 121.92 M, there are a large number of affected families awaiting rehabilitation i.e. thousands of PAFs from the 177 villages in M.P. and hundreds from the 33 tribal villages in Maharashtra and about 6-7 villages in Gujarat. There are hundreds of oustees at the resettlement sites in each of these states with R&R not complete as yet. Suitable and transferable agricultural land, arable and free from any form of pre-occupation, for allotting to PAFs must be identified and obtained by the concerned state governments on a high priority basis, and all pending land and livelihood rehabilitation done speedily.

iii) A large number of families facing submergence have not been counted as PAFs, one primary reason being that the modelling exercise done by the CWC for calculation of Back Water Levels (BWLs) has been changed unscientifically after more than 30 years. The models used are not applicable to a reservoir that is 200 kms long and 1.5 kms wide. CWC must use DTM/GIS/Remote Sensing data etc. together with appropriate models, like HEC-RAS, to arrive at correct estimates of Back Water Levels. The FF Team notes that the MoEF Expert Committee has rejected the revised BWLs in Feb, 2009 itself. The change in BWLs, being, prima facie inconsistent with the procedure envisaged in the NWDTA and the 2000 judgement it tantamount to an unacceptable deviation from law and needs to be fully set aside.

iv) There are several examples in the world when flooding has occurred due to incorrect operations of gates. It is too dangerous to operate the cascade of reservoirs in the Narmada Basin without a proper flood forecasting, operations & warning system in place. The Narmada Basin flood forecasting & warning system must be reviewed immediately & redesigned. The FF Team calls for a comprehensive Disaster Management Plan for the entire Narmada Valley as directed by the Hon’ble Chief Justice of the M.P. High Court in his Order dt. 24-6-2014 in W.P. No. 18180/2014 pertaining to the ISP and OSP Canals.
v) Noting the fact that after the visit by the Oversight Group in July 2006 (constituted by the Former Prime Minister), there has been no visit / field assessment of the actual status of rehabilitation by any authority from the Govt. of India, over the past 8 years. It is necessary that a High Level Inter–Ministerial delegation of the Government of India, along with independent multi-disciplinary experts and eminent persons immediately visits the SSP affected areas in the three states, before the onset of monsoon, in order to make a comprehensive participatory assessment of the actual status of rehabilitation.

vi) All the rehabilitation sites must be fully developed with all facilities, and project affected people provided all necessary assistance in relocating there with proper living conditions. Till this is completed, the existing submergence area villages and towns must be provided with all facilities and normal developmental work continued there. All PAFs must be provided with proper housing plots in these fully developed rehabilitation sites and compensation for land beneath their houses.

vii) NVDA must provide full financial and other assistance in developing the rehabilitation sites, and only after full facilities have been developed there, these should be handed over to the right civil administrations for continuation as villages or towns.

viii) All adult sons of project affected families must be counted as separate project affected persons – as per the NWDTA and Supreme Court orders, and given full, alternative rehabilitation, along with land.

ix) The Orders of the Grievance Redressal Authorities recognizing the various rights of the oustees to land and livelihood-based rehabilitation needs to be scrupulously complied with in a time-bound manner by the concerned state governments, especially Madhya Pradesh as per the Judgements of the Supreme Court of 2000, 2002 and 2005. GRA meetings must be held in or close to the affected areas, and not in cities, where PAFs find it difficult to reach. It is also necessary that all oustees who have not yet been rehabilitated are paid interim relief as directed by the GRA, M.P.

x) The Government of India must await the Final Report of the Justice S.S. Jha Commission of Inquiry, as opined by the Former Attorney General of India as well, since the issues is under investigation, concerning the allegations of rampant corruption, irregularities and violations of law in M.P. have a direct bearing on the right to life and livelihood of thousands of oustees as concluded by the High Court of M.P. in its Orders of 21/8/2008 an 12/11/2009. Prompt
legal action against corrupt elements and corrective measures on R&R, on the basis of the Commission’s Report and directives of the High Court must be ensured.

xi) The oustees in the SSP affected areas must not be dispossessed from their lands and habitats in violation of the NWDTA, directives of the Apex Court and the their rights as land–owners recognized as per Section 24 (2) of the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013.

xii) All the tribal villages should be accorded their full rights as per Constitutional provisions, and any illegal acquisition and /or displacement done without their consent must be cancelled. Fresh consent of Gram Sabha’s must be sought as per the PESA Act, 1996. (precedence – Supreme Court order on Niyamgiri case).

xiii) All the displaced PAFs/ their cooperatives - with fishing as a possible livelihood option/choice, must be given exclusive fishing rights in the Sardar Sarovar Reservoir, with full assistance of boats, nets and other fishing gear provided to establish them in their new livelihood; likewise potters affected by SSP should be allotted land adjacent to the reservoir and rights to raw materials ensured.

xiv) Concerted efforts must be initiated and carried out to identify, document and preserve the invaluable human heritage of pre-historic human habitations in the Narmada valley, and in-situ preservation should be pursued, as is the practice world-wide.

xv) Gujarat government must stop diverting the Narmada water and command area land meant for drinking and agriculture, to large scale industrial use. The State must utilise and distribute the available waters from the built reservoir as per original plans and following principles of justice.

xvi) The administration must act swiftly to stop the large scale illegal sand mining in the SSP affected areas, from the river bed and near the villages, which is threatening many houses and damaging the river ecology beyond repair.

xvii) A full systematic review of the proposed canal plans be undertaken immediately, so as not to spoil irrigated multi-crop land by constructing unnecessary canals through these. Govt. of M.P. must also ensure full compliance with the various orders of the High Court issued with regard to the India Sagar and Omkareshwar canals.
Post-Script: As this Report was being finalized by the FF team members, news just came in that a senior official of the Narmada Control Authority, Mr. Afroz Ahmed, who served for many years as the Director (Rehabilitation and Impact Assessment) and played a pivotal role in monitoring and decision making as well as a link between the Social Justice, Water Resources Ministries and the States Govts of M.P., Maharashtra and Gujarat remained in the high post for years on the basis of a fake degree. He was recently promoted to the post of member (R&R) This finding came from an agency, no less than the CBI, which recommended that a criminal case be filed against him for abuse of public office.

The team is deeply disturbed with this development and calls upon Govt. of India to immediately suspend him and initiate action as per the CBI’s recommendations. The legality of all decisions relating to SSP during his tenure must be verified by the Ministry of Water Resources. We look forward to a credible inquiry and review by the MoWR and Govt. of India of the status of rehabilitation and compliance with legal provisions and judgements of the Hon’ble Courts, in the light of the findings of this Report.

Sd/- Hannan Mollah
Sd/- Annie Raja
Sd/- Benoy Vishwam
Sd/- Soumya Dutta
Sd/- Prof. Raj Kachroo
Sd/- Dr. Sunilam

(Kindly turn over leaf for Annexures)