

REGISTER FOR RECORDING VERBAL  
INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIGHER OFFICERS  
VIZ. D.G.P. & ABOVE

<b>Date &amp; Time</b>	<b>Instruction from whom</b>	<b>Further action</b>
	<b>Details</b>	
16/04/2002	<p>The Chief Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, called a meeting of DGP, myself, Shri P.K.Mishra, Principal Secretary to CM, Shri Sharma OSD to CM, etc.</p> <p>The CM told me that certain Congress leaders, particularly, Shri Shankarsingh Waghela, former Chief Minister is responsible for the continuing communal incidents in Ahmedabad city.</p> <p>I responded that we (State, SIB) does not have any information to this effect.</p> <p>Thereupon the CM asked me to start tapping the telephone of Shri Shankarsingh Waghela.</p> <p>I replied that it will not be legal and ethical as we have no inputs about Shri Shankarsingh's involvement in any criminal activity or instigation of communal violence or creation of tension between communities.</p> <p>Shri P.K.Mishra, Principal Secretary to CM also persuaded me for phone tapping of Shankarsingh Waghela.</p> <p>I refused his personnel demands / entreaties also on legal and moral grounds.</p> <p>The CM insisted upon repeatedly his earlier instructions regarding arrest of history sheeters in Ahmedabad city for ensuring peace in city.</p> <p>The CM also wanted to continue combing operations in Muslim dominated areas.</p>	<p>The CM instructions being illegal and immoral not complied with.</p> <p>DGP has promised to CM that the needful be done</p>
17/04/2002 07.30 PM	<p>The CM held a meeting in his chamber, myself, DGP, Shri P.K.Mishra, CS Shri Subba Rao, OSD to CM Shri Sharma attended.</p> <p>He asked DGP to book a few Muslims leaders, who are likely to disturb the holding of examination on 18/04/2002. CM said such persons be booked for some pending cases under investigation.</p>	<p>DGP said he will try to take all preventive measures to ensure peaceful conduct of examination but he refused to book anybody without any evidence for substantive offences.</p>
17/04/2002 07.30 PM	<p>The CM wanted me to keep watch on Inspector Y.A.Shaikh, Inspector in CID, Crime, HASAN LALA. Congress Corporator, Congress leader, who are allegedly investigating the Muslims to attack Hindus.</p>	<p>I have promised that the needful be done</p>
18/04/2002 11.30 AM	<p>Shri Rajendrakumar, JD, SIB, Ahmedabad told me that some Congress leaders are behind the recent communal incidents in Ahmedabad city and we should try to uncover this diabolical link up.</p> <p>Then, I asked Shri Rajendrakumar about any special intelligence in this connection. To this</p>	<p>Secret inquiry is being done</p>

	<p>question, he replied that he has no pin pointed intelligence in the matter.</p> <p>It appears that JD, SIB, perhaps in pursuance of the CM's suggestion to involve Congress persons as persons responsible for the continuing riots wants to build up a case against Congress leaders by soliciting intelligence reports.</p>	No action due to its illegality.
22/04/2002 06.30 PM	<p>The Chief Secretary Shri G.Subba Rao convened a meeting to discuss normalization measures. ACS (Home) Shri Ashok Narayan, Ahmedabad Municipal Commissioner Shri Pannervel, Secretary Varesh Sinha, Shri Sahu, etc. were also present. I raised the problem of the Muslim community not having any faith in the State Administration. I also suggested that the police should arrest soon those Hindu leaders involved in the heinous crimes committed during the recent communal riots. The Chief Secretary said such action is not possible immediately as it is against the State Govt policy.</p> <p>The CS said that Secretaries should conduct Mohalla level meetings and interact with local people for redressal of their grievances.</p> <p>Shri Sahu said that the first problem, which is likely to be raised by the locals would be early apprehension of Hindu goons, who massacred the Muslims. The CS replied that in the Mohalla meetings, if such a question is raised by anybody the Secretary should answer that it is a matter of legal procedure and so this Mohalla Committee cannot do anything.</p> <p>The CS also directed that I should also attend some Mohalla Committee meetings.</p>	I agreed for complying with these instructions.
22/04/2002 06.30 PM	<p>The Chief Secretary Shri G.Subba Rao convened a meeting at his Conference Room. Secretary level officers Shri Varesh Sinha, Sahu, Agrawal, Shri D.L.Rao, and Ahmedabad Municipal Commissioner were present. Myself was sent by DGP as his representative. Shri Ashok Narayan, ACS (Home) was also present.</p> <p>The Chief Secretary directed that Secretaries should visit riot affected areas and hold Mohalla level meetings for wining the confidence of the local police, particularly the Muslims..</p> <p>Shri Varaeh Sinha (Education Secretary) said that the Secretaries are busy and so this task should be entrusted to somebody with</p>	I assured him that I will do the needful.

	<p>lesser quantum of work.</p> <p>The CS did not agree to this request.</p> <p>Then Secretaries Rao and Varesh Sinha wanted a senior police officer to be detailed as a liaison officer with the Secretary, who is presiding over the meeting.</p> <p>The CS said that he will direct CP Ahmedabad to detail a senior officer of the rank of DCP to be present in the meetings to be convened by the Secretaries.</p> <p>The CS asked me also to attend one or two meetings.</p> <p>Myself and Secretary Sahu raised the issue of high voltage of discontentment in the minds of Muslims community, which bore the brunt of the Hindu goons. We said that unless culprits of the offences, named in the FIR and other statements are arrested, the confidence building measures in the form of Mohall Meetings by Secretary level officers will not have any impact.</p> <p>The CS evaded this suggestion and said that the arrest being a legal matter the Mohalla Committee should not go in to this.</p> <p>This response of the CS was reflective of Govt. policy of evading, delaying or soft – pedaling the issue of arrest of accused of persons belonging to Hindu Organizations.</p>	
28/04/2002 04.00 PM	<p>The Chief Minister talked over telephone and asked me to inquire into the character and antecedents of one SUKETU DESAI R/o Gujarat Society, Paladi. He is indulging in anti-national activities, so said the CM.</p>	Inquiry by verbal orders given to Shri SODATUAR, Dy.S.P., Ahmedabad Region.
30/04/2002 04.00 PM	<p>DGP informed me that the CM has instructed him to book Congress leaders for their alleged involvement in instigating Muslims to boycott and obstruct the on-going examination.</p> <p>DGP added that he informed CM that action will be taken, once complaint with specific names of culprits and nature of the offences is given to police department by the Education Department, any parents or anybody.</p>	I also opined that DGP's stand is correct We (Police) should act only after getting specific complaints.
01/05/2002 05.00 PM	<p>DGP in a person to person discussion told me that the Chief Secretary Shri Subba Rao was persuaded by the Cabinet Secretary Shri Prasad (IAS) belonging to Andhra Pradesh cadre to eliminate those Muslim extremists, who are disturbing communal peace in Ahmedabad.</p> <p>I responded to DGP that we (police) should not do anything illegal because it will be a cold blooded premeditated murder, if we kill anybody without justification in the form of exercise of right of private defence or as part of police action to control riots.</p> <p>The DGP Shri Chakravarthy has fully agreed to my advice in this matter.</p>	No action as suggestion / instruction from the Chief Secretary is quite illegal.
02/05/2002	<p>DGP informed me that Shri K.P.S.Gill, former DGP of Punjab is being appointed as advisor to the Chief Minister of Gujarat.</p>	

04/05/2002	<p>Shri K.P.S.Gill the former DGP of Punjab called senior police officers for informal briefing.</p> <p>At 11.30 AM, myself, DGP Shri K.Chakravarthy, CP Ahmedabad city Shri P.C.Pande, ADGP (L&amp;O), Shri Maniram, Addl.CP Ahmedabad Shri M.K.Tandon had met. Shri Gill in his room, at CRPF Centre in Gandhinagar. Shri Sharma, DIGP, CRPF was also present in the room.</p> <p>Shri Pande CP Ahmedabad tried to paint a colorful picture about the current situation.</p> <p>Shri Maniram, gave his frank assessment that the force in Gujarat, particularly, in Ahmedabad city is highly demoralised and so there should be a change of leaders (police officers) at all levels from CP Ahmedabad downwards. He added that police officers have become subservient to political leaders and in the matter of law and order duties, crime matters, investigation, etc. they carry out instructions of political masters because these political leaders, local BJP MLA, Sangh Pariwar leaders arranged their posting and also ensured their continuance in their choicest executive posts.</p> <p>Maniram pleaded for restoring sanity and professionalism in policing.</p> <p>Myself fully endorsed the assessment of Maniram and informed Shri Gill that BJP Govt. for last 5-6 years have been pursuing a policy of (1) Saffronisation / communalization, (2) DE-professionalisation and (3) Subversion of the system. I explained the subtle ground level methodology pursued by the BJP Govt. to persuade, cajole and even intimidation.</p> <p>I told him about highly abnormal phenomenon of fall in crime in Gujarat whereas in the whole world including in the most well policed Nation – Japan rise in crime is noticed.</p> <p>I also told him about total loss of faith in Criminal Justice System experienced by the Muslims and suggested remedial measures. I also gave a copy of my report about the current situation in Ahmedabad.</p> <p>Shri Gill did not respond to my suggestions. It is felt that Shri Gill has come with a brief from Shri L.K.Advani, Union Home Minister. So, he will carry out the agenda of Shri Narendra Modi, the Chief Minister.</p>	
07/05/2002 12.30 PM	<p>The Chief Minister summoned me at his chamber and asked my assessment about the continuing communal violence in Ahmedabad.</p> <p>In response, I referred to him about my Analytical note on communal situation in Ahmedabad.</p> <p>The CM told me that he had read my note and observed that I had drawn wrong</p>	

	<p>conclusion basing on partial data and defective presumptions. In his view the violence unleashed by the Hindus mob after Godhra incident on 27/02/2002 was a natural, uncontrollable reaction and no police force can control or contain the same.</p> <p>I argued with him that such an excuse can not be taken by authorities, particularly police department, who is bound by law to maintain public order.</p> <p>The CM became defensive and had taken a stand that he had given a free hand to the DGP, CP Ahmedabad and other police officers to take legal action against miscreants on 27/02/2002, in a meeting. But the police officers did not discharge their duties expected of them.</p> <p>He asked me to concentrate on Muslim militants. After assuring him to do the needful. I requested him to initiate action to win confidence of minority community as delineated in my note. He was annoyed about my insistence on this point and argued that Muslims are on the offensive, keeping alive their belligerent posture Quoting statistics of high casualty of Muslims due to police firing riots, etc. I appealed to him to see reason and accept that Hindus are on the offensive.</p> <p>The CM instructed that I should not concentrate on Sangh Parivar, as they are not doing anything illegal. I replied that my duty is to report on any developing situation and provide advanced actionable preventive, real time intelligence having a bearing on public order, unity and integrity of India, etc. what I meant was that I have to watch Sangh Parivar also.</p> <p>The CM understood the import of my words and asserted that he (CM) can be my “source.” for covering Sangh Parivar and I need not labour for creating other sources. (It was a clear hint that I should not bother to collect data on Sangh Parivar)</p> <p>The CM wanted me to get data on “Amanpath suspected to be a Muslim group.</p>	<p>I promised him to do the needful</p>
<p>08/05/2002 04.00 PM</p>	<p>DGP informed that in his last meeting with Shri Gill, the latter told him the following (1) We should not try to reform politicians – that means BJP and Sangh Parivar will continue to pursue their policy of suppressing, terrorizing and attaching Muslims to make them accept the status of being second class / rate citizens of India and we should not take (viz. police) any action. (2) There is no need for taking action against vernacular press, who are publishing communally inciting news items in favor of the Sangh Parivar.</p> <p>Thirdly, according to DGP Shri Gill told him that soon police should play an active role in throwing away the inmates of relief camps.</p> <p>I told DGP that we should not be (police) a party to the forcible eviction of Muslims</p>	

	<p>inmates of relief camps. DGP had agreed to my suggestion.</p>	
10/05/2002	<p>Shri K.P.S.Gill called officers of SIB for briefing, myself, Shri O.P.Mathur, IG (Admn.), Shri Sanjeev Bhatt, SP and Shri Radhakrishnan, DIG, met Shri Gill at his place of stay in CRPF camp.</p> <p>On the prevailing situation we informed him that measures suggested in our earlier note about continuing communal violence be implemented. These remedial action, inter alia, include, (1) Arresting accused persons, particularly, belonging to VHP, Bajrang Dal and other Sangh Parivar Organisation, who were responsible for various acts of violence against the minorities, (2) Win the confidence of minorities, the Muslims by registering their complainants as earlier these were allegedly not done, (3) Ensure impartial investigation of cases registered against Hindus leaders in organisations like VHP, Bajrang Dal, etc., (4) Provide security to Muslims, whenever they want to go back to their original places of residence., (5) Not to evict forcibly inmates of relief camps as BJP leaders are insisting on this because they want to project that things are normalized.</p> <p>Shri K.P.S.Gill fully agreed with these suggestions and promised that he will advise the Chief Minister suitably.</p> <p>I was on casual leave from 11/05/2002 to 18/05/2002 for appearing in the II LLB examination.</p>	
29/05/2002	<p>In the Chief Minister chamber a meeting was called by CM to review the situation arising out of the tiffin box bombs exploded by suspected militants in Ahmedabad city Buses.</p> <p>I observed that these serial small-scale use of IEDs might be a trial run attempted by the Muslim militants, who are itching for taking retributive revengeful action against Hindus.</p> <p>The CM observed that this incident also prompt one to go for large-scale combing operations in Muslims areas, particularly Juhapura.</p>	
07/06/2002	<p>Dr.P.K.Mishra, Principal Secretary to the Chief Ministerial asked me to find out as to which is the Minister in Modi Cabinet, who met a private inquiry Commission in which Retired Supreme Court Justice Shri V.R.Khrishna Iyer was also present.</p> <p>Dr.P.K.Mishra added that Shri Harenbhai Pandya, MOS revenue is suspected to be the Minister involved in the matter.</p> <p>Thereafter, he gave one Mobile Number 98240-30629 and asked for getting call details.</p>	
12/06/2002	<p>Informed Dr.P.K.Mishra that the Minister of State, who is suspected to have met the Private Inquiry Commission (Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer) is known to be Mr.Haren Pandya – MOS Revenue. I also informed that</p>	

	<p>the matter can not repeat can not be given in writing as this issue is quite sensitive and not connected with the charter of duties given to State Intelligence Bureau vide Bombay Police Manual Vol. III Rule 461.</p> <p>The call details of this mobile phone 98240-30629 was handed over to him through Shri O.P.Mathur, IGP (Admn Security), in our office.</p> <p>It is learnt that Telephone Number 98240-30629 is the Mobile Phone of Shri Harenbhai Pandya, MOS (Revenue)</p>	
25/06/2002	<p>The Chief Minister convened a Conference of Senior Officers of and above the rank of Supdt.of Police.</p> <p>In his address to the officers, he asked all to enforce law according to the prevailing <b>DFCM</b>, (situation) of the State. (N.B.: - It is quite an unethical and illegal advice because police department has to work as per law and not accordingly to the political atmosphere prevailing on the State).</p> <p>He also asked police not to be influenced by the JNU – brand of Secularism.</p> <p>The indirect thrust of the CM was that police officer should become committed to the policies of Ruling Party, so that law enforcement can be done smoothly.</p>	
28/06/2002	<p>The Chief Secretary Shri G.Subba Rao convened a meeting of officers to review situation arising / prevailing in Ahmedabad city in the context of the proposed Rathyatra on 12/7/2002. DGP, Shri Chakravarthi, CP Ahmedabad, Shri K.R.Kaushik, ACP Shri Pramodkumar, Home Secretary Shri Nityanandam, ACS Shri Ashok Narayan, Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau, Ahmedabad – JD, Shri Rajendra Kumar, Shri H.P.Singh, IGP, Junagadh range, Collector Ahmedabad Shri Sreenivas, officials from Ahmedabad Municipal Commissioner, etc. were present.</p> <p>During the discussion, I have proposed for cancellation of Rathayatra on 12/7/2002, in view of vitiated communal atmosphere, presence of a highly discontented Muslim youth, who are keen to under take retributive revengeful action for the inhuman atrocities perpetrated against Muslims by VHP and BD – lead Hindu mobs. I gave details of intelligence inputs received from Central agencies about plans of Pan – Islamic militants and Muslim terrorists to cause harm to Rathyatra and Hindus.</p> <p>CP Ahmedabad had fully endorsed my views.</p> <p>DGP and JD SIB suggested that a change of route of Rathyatra will be desirable.</p> <p>CS Shri Subba Rao informed that there is no question of canceling Rathyatra as CM has taken a firm decision to permit Rathyatra through the traditional route.</p> <p>CS wanted the officials to take all</p>	

	<p>precautionary measures to provide effective security to the Rathyatra. Various suggestions were given by me, SIB, DGP, etc. about counter sabotage / access control measure, etc.</p> <p>After the formal meeting the CS talked to me personally and suggested that if some one is trying to disturb Rathyatra or planning to spoil the same that PERSON BE ELIMINATED. He added that this is the policy and well considered decision of the Chief Minister, Narendra Modi.</p> <p>I responded that such a totally illegal action can not be taken on legal unethical grounds.</p> <p>I added that if somebody is found indulging in arson or killing of others only such an action of elimination can be resorted to by the police.</p> <p>Thereafter, the CS observed that such action can be taken on the basis of SITUATIONAL LOGIC.</p> <p>I replied that police is a creature of law and it can not take any action, which is not legally justified.</p> <p>At the end he asked me to renew our efforts to get specific intelligence about plans of anti social elements to disturb peace.</p> <p>I promised that all possible efforts are made to collect. Advance, Actionable, Preventive, Real Time Intelligence.</p>	
01/07/2002	<p>The Chief Minister convened a meeting to review the law and order situation in view of gaurav Rathyatra to be taken out by the Chief Minister and Jagannath Rathyatra in Ahmedabad and other places in Gujarat.</p> <p>I gave short account of the available inputs regarding the Jagannath Rathyatra. I informed that it will be ideal to cancel the Rathyatra in view of high voltage threat emanating from (1) Pan – Islamic elements, supported by Pakistan and other international groups, (2) Indian based Muslim extremists, particularly, Kashmiri militants, who have base in Ahmedabad also, (3) Individual efforts by disgruntled Muslims, who suffered during the recent riots.</p> <p>I added that Hindu fundamental groups viz. VHP, BJ, etc. are also keen to retaliate, if the Rathyatra is disturbed by Muslim elements.</p> <p>The CM said that Rathyatra will not repeat will not be cancelled. There upon, I delineated precautionary measures to be taken.</p> <p>Regarding Gaurav Rathyatra by BJP to be participated by the CM. I informed the meeting that this yatra will generate communal passions as the Muslims take it as an insult to community since hundreds of Muslims were killed or injured in the recent riots.</p> <p>The CM said that he would stick to his Rathyatra and it is for police to make arrangement for security and safety. I also</p>	

	<p>warned the CM about the high threat faced by him from various shades of Muslims militants. I advised him that there should be a bullet proof and bullet resistant glass enclosure while the CM is moving in the Gaurav Rath. Thereupon, he advised all concerned for taking NA to implement all feasible suggestions from the State Intelligence Bureau, about his security.</p>	
09/07/2002	<p>Attended a meeting convened by the Chief Secretary to review the arrangement regarding the Jagannath Rathyatra on 12/07/2002.</p> <p>I delineated precaution to be taken for upgrading the level of security.</p> <p>DGP, CP Ahmedabad also attended the meeting.</p> <p>The CS informed that anybody trying to disturb the Rathyatra should be shot dead.</p>	
11/07/2002	<p>Shri K.P.S.Gill, Advisor to CM of Gujarat called me for a discussion regarding Rathyatra. I met Shri Gill at his place of stay in CRPF mess and briefed him about matter relating Rathyatra.</p> <p>I also told him that many cases registered against the Hindus fundamentalists belonging to VHP and BD for their direct participation in bloody pre-planned and well-executed riots against Muslims are not investigated properly. I proposed the transfer of "D" staff members from various police stations in Ahmedabad city, as the members of these "D" staff were directly participating in riots or conniving with the rioters, who unleashed a pogrom against Muslims.</p> <p>Shri Gill promised do the needful, in this matter.</p>	
26/07/2002	<p>The Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi called me for discussion at his chamber at 04.30 PM. He asked me to provide daily report about the movement, activities, contacts, etc. of Shri Shankarsingh Waghela, newly appointed GPCC – President.</p> <p>I responded that we can not do any offensive intelligence coverage of a political leader.</p> <p>But I informed him that State Intelligence Bureau will collect relevant intelligence regarding political developments having a bearing on law and order situation.</p> <p>The Chief Minister also wanted us to prepare Assembly Constituency Profile of 182 ACs in Gujarat.</p>	
05/08/2002	<p>ACS Shri Ashok Narayan expressed his annoyance and displeasure over presentation of data regarding communal incidents in the State since 27/2/2002 to 31/5/2002. He said that our statistical presentation is not in conformity with the reply given by Shri L.K.Advani, HM, in the Parliament. He observed that it is wrong on the part of ADGP (Int.) office to treat every incident of communal nature, reported during the above</p>	

	<p>period, as instance of major communal riot. Such a perspective will present the picture of many Assembly Constituencies being affected by communal riots. This will give a wrong impression about the law and order situation in the State in the eyes of the Election Commission.</p> <p>I replied that State IB has treated every communal incident as an instance of communal tension and so the Assembly Constituency where it is reported has to be treated as affected area and communally sensitive. Moreover, I added that in most of the places, where communal incidents are reported the victims, particularly, the Muslims are still afraid of going back to those places. The minorities (Muslims), who have registered complaints (FIR) against members of majority community (Hindus) are being threatened by Bajrang Dal and VHP leaders for withdrawing the complaints. In fact, this is put as a pre condition for ensuring safety and security of the Muslims in Hindu majority areas.</p> <p>I added further that the ACS / Home Department may give a specific yardstick for assessing as to whatever an area is affected or not. To this suggestion ACS did not give any satisfactory response.</p> <p>He commended that yardstick / norms can be decided by ADGP (Int.). Thereupon, I suggested for written instructions in this matter as so far only verbal instructions were given regarding submission of any data regarding recent communal riots. ACS replied that he would consider this suggestion and revert back to me afterwards.</p> <p>In the afternoon of the day Shri K.Nityanandam, IPS, Home Secretary informed that we (ADGP office) need not send any data on communal incidents for the time being and Home Department does not want to send any written instructions about the norms for preparation of reports, statistics and data to be submitted to the Election Commission.</p> <p>I feel that since ACS and Home Department did not get the data on communal riot in a format, which will help them to present a picture of total normalcy to the Election Commission that Home Department had finally decided not to call any data from ADGP (Intelligence).</p>	
06/08/2002	<p>DGP Shri Chakravarthy informed me that ACS Home was not quite happy about the data on communal incidents provided by ADGP (Int.) office to Home Department. I responded that my office has been providing correct information and ADGP (Int.) office cannot do any manipulation of data for safeguarding the political interests of the Narendra Modi government.</p>	

08/08/2002	<p>ACS Home Shri Ashok Narayan informed that tomorrow (9/8/2002) the full election commission consisting of Shri Lyngdoh and 2 other members is holding a meeting of officers and I also have to attend the same.</p> <p>I replied that Shri K.Nityanandam, Home Secretary, had already informed about the meeting being convened by the Chief Election Commission and added that I will remain present for the meeting with relevant details.</p> <p>ACS Home there upon told me that I should not make any comments or presentation, which would go against the formal presentation prepared by Shri K.Nityanandam. I replied that I shall present the truth and my assessment based on facts.</p>	
08/08/2002 Evening	<p>In DGP's (Shri K.Chakravarthy) chamber, DGP called me for discussing the items to be presented to the Election Commission tomorrow. I told DGP that I will tell the Commission my assessment about the current law and order scenario based on facts crime statistics, impression gathered from my own contacts, etc. DGP said that I should project requirements of para-military especially Central Force like CRPF in view of latent tension, loss of faith in Gujarat police including SRPF by the Muslims, thousands of victims of riots, particularly, Muslims not getting rehabilitated in their pre-riot habitats, etc. I fully agreed with his suggestions and told DGP that I shall project requirements of additional manpower to the Election Commission, during the election campaign, polling day, etc.</p>	
09/08/2002 11.30 AM	<p>In Ahmedabad Circuit House Annexe Senior officers, who have been asked to attend meeting convened by the Election Commission, have assembled in one room adjacent to the Main Conference Hall. The Chief Secretary Shri G.Subba Rao, Addl.Chief Secretary, Shri Ashok Narayan, DGP Shri K.Chakravarthy, Commissioner of Police, Ahmedabad city, Shri K.R.Kaushik, Shri C.K.Koshy, Principal Secretary (Revenue) and Relief Commissioner Shri Shah, Joint Secretary, Home Department, Shri K.Nityanandam, Home Secretary, etc. were present.</p> <p>The Chief Secretary, in an informal chat mentioned that all of us should project a picture of normalcy prevailing in the State, so that the Election Commission does, did not get ground / reason for delaying the Conduct of Assembly Election to Gujarat Assembly.</p> <p>Since there was no specific directives to me by any senior officers; I did not make any comment on the above general remarks of the Chief Secretary.</p> <p>ACS Shri Ashok Narayan communicated that ADGP (Int.) (myself) was sending so</p>	

many advisory letters about the security arrangements for the Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi. He added that the latest one was suggestion regarding tightening security measures in Gujarat Bhavan in New Delhi.

I responded and told him, (listened by the Chief Secretary, DGP, etc.) that I had personally surveyed closely the security arrangements for the CM Shri Modi at Gujarat Bhavan and recommendations were sent based on my observations. I added that I had evaluated security system in Gujarat Bhavan in the light of numerous instructions received from Central IB and also taking into account the latest inputs on threat to CM Shri Modi from Pan – Islamic terrorists, Muslim underworld, both within and outside the Country, extremist Muslim Organisations, well-rooted in our Country, a large number of Muslims, who are survivors of recent communal riots, etc. I added that all these groups of people are nurturing a high degree of ill will against Shri Modi, who in their view had been responsible for organised mass carnage against the Muslims in Gujarat, after the Godhra incident. These anti-national elements are itching for retributive, revengeful action against Narendra Modi and many BJP, VHP, Bajrang Dal leaders.

ACS agreed that the threat against Shri Modi is quite real and Shri Modi is most threatened leader in the Country from Muslims extremists. Islamic terrorists from within and out side the Country.

He also said / promised that he had asked Resident Commissioner of Gujarat State in Delhi Shri K.S.SUGATHEN, to speedily implement the recommendations made by us for improving security arrangement for the CM Shri Modi in Gujarat Bhavan and during the CM's movement in the national capital.

Nearly, 12.10 HRS the Chief Election Commission Shri J.M.Linghdoh, accompanied by other Commissioners, namely Shri Krishnamoorthy and Shri Tandon arrived at the Annexe and started the meeting. Shri Gurucharanan Singh, IAS, Election Commissioner of Gujarat State also was present in the meeting.

At the outset the Chief Secretary Shri Subba Rao welcomed the Commission and informed that 2 presentations are / were prepared one by Shri K.NITYANANDAM, Home Secretary, on the law and order situation and another by Shri C.K.Koshy – Relief Commissioner on the rehabilitation of riot victims. The Chief Election Commissioner intervened and said that they were not interested in any presentations as the ground situation was different from the items presented earlier to a team sent by Election Commission.

The Chief Secretary then ventured to speak out the basic features of presentation. The CS said that total normalcy was restored though out State and no tension was prevailing anywhere.

Shri Lyngdoh was visibly annoyed by hearing this and in an irritated mood communicated that the Commission visited certain riot – affected areas in Ahmedabad city and therein the victims made so many complaints against the authorities particularly the police. He added that the victims were still intimidated by a section of people with the backing of the Administration. There was an instance of a wall constructed in a locality in Ahmedabad city, where in the right of passage of minority community members was blocked.

Again the Chief Secretary intervened and said that these were stary cases and rehabilitation was almost complete and most of the riot victims had gone back to their habitat prior to riots.

Hearing this claim, the Chief Election Commissioner become visibly angry and expressing displeasure said “Mr.Chief Secretary, you have temerity to claim normalcy but everywhere we got compliants of threat from criminal elements voiced by victims of riots. Shri Lyngdoh added that the Gujarat Govt. should give data as demanded by the Commission on the following lines. Points on which CES asked for data, inter alia, included How may persons arrested for being perpetrators of communal violence. Of there how may were figuring in FIR ?, Was there any hesitation in registering FIRs ? Why mostly the accused were released on bail ? Did the Police oppose the bail on the Court ? In how many cases bail was opposed by the police, in the higher counts ? Were there displaced persons ? Did all those who left the relief camps had gone back to their original house / native places ? Whether adequate compensation was given to victim ?, etc.

The DGP Shri K.Chakravarthi responded to some of these questions and said that there was unprecedented response to the call given for observance of Bandh on 28/2/2002 from the Hindus as a result in the initial days viz. 27/2/2002 to 3/3/2002, there were many incidents of mass violence. Shortage of police and deployment of available force in traditional communally sensitive areas, perhaps, resulted in Hindu mobs attacking minorities in such area, which had not been normally affected by communal tension. Regarding data on number of people released on bail. DGP said that he had to collect that data from the field. He also assured that all information, demanded by Commission would be supplied as early as possible.

He further said Central Para-military forces have been withdrawal recently and the State would require additional force to tide over the forthcoming festival season.

As DGP wanted me to elucidate further about requirement of additional force, I said that the State would require additional forces, in case election process was set in motion soon.

I added that there was only a modicum of apparent normalcy and there was latent tension in all those areas affected by the recent communal riots.

The CEC interjected that juncture and questioned the CS and asked to reconcile the demand made for additional force and the claim of the CS and Administration about prevailing normalcy.

Thereupon, ACS said that what ADGP (Int.) Shri Sreekumar meant by apparent normalcy was about communal tension in certain places.

These comments of ACS had annoyed the CEC, who observed that “did ADGP require any interpreter or translator”.

CEC asked me to continue my presentation. I stated that there was only apparent normalcy because tension is prevailing in 993 villages and 151 towns, which had witnessed riots in the period from 27/2/2002 to 31/7/2002 and the above affected area covered 284 police stations and 154 out of 182 Assembly Constituencies. In these places there was no communal amity and due to gulf created between the Hindus and Muslims, any petty issue would ignite communal clashes. This is one of the major reasons for demanding additional forces.

Thereupon CEC asked as to whether any assessment was made about requirement of additional forces. DGP replied that the State would need nearly 200 Companies of para-military forces.

CEC asked me to continue my presentation.

I added that the under current of tension was due to operation of factors like (1) high-flung communal propaganda against each other by fundamentalists and militant elements of both communities, (2) efforts to enforce socio-economic and cultural boycott on each other, (3) blocking the resumption of business activities by the members of minority community, (4) lack of faith in large section of minorities in the State Administration, Criminal Justice System and the Police, (5) Non-implementation of recommendations of National Human Rights Commission, Commission for Minorities, etc.

Further, there was nearly over a lakh of displaced persons, who had not yet gone over to their native places, ever through they were

not in camps. These persons would be practicably disenfranchised voters, if election was held. Interested political parties would bring these persons on the polling day and this would create clashes between political groups.

Moreover, there were roughly 20,000 non-gujarati voters, who had almost permanently migrated to their native places. Their votes could be cast through bogus voting by interested people.

I added that during the recent communal riots 10472 houses, 12588 shopees, 2724 lary-galh were destroyed / damaged by arson; 1333 shops were ransacked. In this violence, 1000s had lost all documents of identity. These personnel would also be disenfranchised persons. Their voting would also be misused by impersonation and bogus votes would be cast.

I suggested that voters list of affected areas should be taken out and physical verification be done and these alone would bring out a clear picture about displaced persons, missing electors and the remedial measures to be initiated.

On the above grounds, the State would require additional Central forces at unprecedented scale.

CEC asked as to whether anybody would like to add anything further. None wanted to say anything.

CEC concluded meeting with an instruction that data asked by him should be supplied by the Administrative soon.

When all officers came out of the Conference Hall, the Chief Secretary Shri Subba Rao called me and shouted "You had let us down very badly" "what was the need for you to project all those statistics about displaced persons and so many Assembly Constituencies having affected" ? To this verbal reprimand I replied that "I had expressed truth basing on facts available from the field and that I can corroborate my statement with hard facts".

The CS did not say anything further.

There was another meeting to be chaired by the CS about the President of India visit on 12/8/2002 and so I waited in the rest room. Soon ACS Shri Ashok Narayan along with DGP come to the room and shouted at me, "Why did you make statement, which were contrary to Governments perception in the matter ? Do you accept the authority of DGP ? Are you really disciplined ?

To these volley of questions, I replied that DGP might be asked as to whether I am disciplined or not".

Thereupon, DGP said that let us not continue discussion in this matter.

Afterwards, DGP told me that my assessment was correct, particularly with

	regards to requirement of manpower.	
30/08/2002	<p>Shri Bava – Dy.S.P. incharge of State Intelligence Bureau, Gandhinagar Region informed that Shri K.Nityanandam directed him not to supply any data or informations to ADGP (Int.), which would go against the interests of / policy of Narendra Modi Government. Shri Bava requested me that these should be kept secret and that he would not admit this secret instructions given to him by Shri Nityanandam, if he was asked to give a statement.</p> <p>I assured him that I would not reveal this information to anybody.</p>	
02/09/2002	<p>At 03.30 PM – the Chief Minister called a meeting of senior officers to discuss security matter. Myself, DGP Shri K.Chakravarthy, CS.Shri G.Subba Rao, ACS Shri Ashok Narayanan, Dr.P.K.Mishra, Principal Secretary to the CM, A.K.Sharma, IAS, Secretary to CM, were present.</p> <p>The Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi complained that during his last visit to Mumbai he was not given adequate security. He also complained that one BJP leader from Delhi visited his office and this man was not checked by the Security staff in his office.</p> <p>I responded that any lacunae in this security arrangement to the CM, while he is visiting out side Gujarat or inside, his security men should bring it to the notice of higher officers and then only we can take up the matter with concerned authorities.</p> <p>About slackness in security checking in his office, I told that Gandhinagar SP Shri Sanjay Sreevastava will be briefed suitably for upgrading the supervision and ensure strict implementation of regulations.</p> <p>I added that a series of measures like (1) Survey of the CM security by special teams of Central IB, State Intelligence and State police was undertaken recently. The recommendations of the teams are informed to concerned for strict compliance, (2) Secondly, ADGP (Int.), personally visited New Delhi, Gujarat Bhavan, where the CM will be staying during his Delhi trips and made a through security survey and specific suggestions were forwarded to Resident Commissioner, ACS (Home), etc., (3) Thirdly, Delhi police has been moved for proper access control, anti sabotage and counter explosive measures in Delhi during the CM visit, (4) Fourthly, ACS (Home) was requested to write to MHA for providing the facility of taking the CM upto alighting point in airport, in view of high level threat against him.</p> <p>ACS Shri Ashok Narayan had promised to pursue the matter further.</p> <p>The Chief Minister wanted the State Intelligence to closely cover the activities of GPCC President Shankarsingh Waghela.</p>	

	<p>I replied that we are collecting intelligence regarding activities of Congress Party and Shankarsingh Waghela, which has a bearing on law and order situation. I insisted that we will be doing violation of provisions of various laws and Supreme Court ruling, if we try to tap telephone of Shankarsingh Waghela, GPCC President clandestinely.</p> <p>On hearing that the CM said that he is not happy about the out put of the State Intelligence.</p> <p>I replied that State Intelligence is sharing all relevant information collected by the machinery and the State Intelligence will not be in a position to do aggressive surveillance on opposition leader because an exposure will not only result in legal action against intelligence officer but embarrassment .to Government also.</p>	
10/09/2002	<p>State Control Room Officer informed that National Commission for Minorities has sent a fax message to the Chief Secretary asking for full text speech made by the Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi, which contains inflammatory references against the Minorities.</p> <p>Thereupon, I talked to Shri Prabhat Patel, Dy.Commissioner of Intelligence (Communal) to move the concerned officers in Mehsana and get the audio or video cassettes containing this inflammatory speeches of the Chief Minister against Minorities.</p> <p>Later, it is known from my personal sources that the Chief Minister, in his speech, as part of Rathyatra in Bacheraji, a temple town / village in MEHSANA district has made many derogatory references to the Minorities (Muslims). The major condemnable part of the speech with derogatory references are (1) that his Govt. (Modi) Government has brought Narmada water to the dry river bed of Sabarmati in Shravan month, the holy month of Hindus, but the Congress Party is unhappy about it. The Chief Minister sarcastically communicated as to whether he should have brought Narmada river water in the month of RAMADAN (Holy month of Muslim), (2) that he is averse to running relief camps, which in his view has become "children producing factories". He further commended that certain people produce children in plenty and then children will work for repairing cycle viz. cycle puncture repairs, (3) that his Government is going to implement family planning programme vigorously. This will teach the lesson to people, who are keeping as their motto <b>CD 5FR CDFZ[ 5rRL;P</b> (Hum Panch hamare Pachis) (This refers to Muslims because a Muslim as per Shariat law can keep 4 (four) wives).</p>	

	<p>The Hindu chauvinistic audience applauded such remarks. It is learnt that such crowds are specially commandeered to the meeting place by Sangh Parivar activities.</p> <p>The above impression was in conformity with the Newspaper report appeared in Newspapers.</p>	
11/09/2002	<p>A fax message from National Commission for Minorities with endorsement from State Control Room was received with the endorsement that "Please give above said speeches as reported in the Newspapers dated: 10/9/2002".</p> <p>This fax message also contained endorsements thus "issued and by order of Shri P.S.Shah Addl.Secretary (L/O).</p>	
12/09/2002	<p>In the evening DGP Shri K.Chakravarty telephoned and instructed that the Addl.Chief Secretary (Home) now did not want CID (IB) to send report on speeches delivered by the Chief Minister at Bacheraji (Mehsana district). DGP said that he would be sending written instruction in this matter.</p> <p>In the mean while Shri Prabhat Patel, DCI (C) informed that IB (State) officers are still trying for gathering the details of speech made by Shri Modi the CM and if possible the audio or video tapes also.</p>	
13/09/2002	<p>Shri Prabhat Patel informed that the audiotape containing the speech made by the CM at Bacheraji (Mehsana district) containing anti-Muslims utterance was procured by SIB officers. I asked him to keep it in safe custody. I asked him to prepare a verbatim of the speech and report to ACS and DGP, as usual.</p> <p>Shri Prabhat Patel told me that the same can be done by Shri Himanshu Bhatt, as it is his subject.</p> <p>Thereafter, I asked Shri Himanshu Bhatt DCI (P) to send the verbatim report of the tape along with the tape to DGP and ACS.</p>	
15/09/2002	<p>I was at home at 11.30 HRS DGP Shri Chakravarthy rang up (by phone) and in agitated mood told me that STAR NEWS election channel has been showing from this morning in the news that State IB had reported about the controversial speech of the CM at Bacheraji and also added that we (SIB) had observed in the said report that the communally inciting reference made by the CM in the speech would adversely affect the prevailing fragile communal situation, widen the communal divide, between Hindus and Muslims, give fillip to the Islamic fundamentalist elements, etc. The Star news had also mentioned the letter No. and date of our report.</p> <p>DGP added that the Chief Secretary Shri G.Subba Rao, IAS, asked DGP to issue a denial statement. DGP inquired as to whether it could be done. I replied that no denial should be issued because State IB did</p>	

	<p>despatch such a report about the controversial speech made by the CM on 12/09/2002. I also told DGP that there are specific provisions in Police Manual directing all police officers to take a serious note of any speech or utterances having potentiality to incite communal passions, fuel hatred between segments of society, etc.</p> <p>DGP added that the CM, CS, etc. are highly annoyed about the leakage of the SIB report and tape. He asked as to who would be responsible for the same. I replied that I had taken all precautions in this connection and I did not contact any outsider in this matter, etc. I also added that I am not suspecting any of the staff or officers of my department in this lapse.</p> <p>I added that it was the onerous duty of the State IB as per the charter of SIB given in Police Manual (Rule 461, probably) to report on all development in the communal front and since the CM's speech is in a very bad taste we had promptly reported the matter to the higher formations.</p> <p>DGP closed his talk telephonically by telling me that further action in this matter would be decided on 16/9/2002, Monday.</p>	
17/09/2002	There were rumors in Police Bhavan that I would be transferred soon from the present post.	
18/09/2002 00.30 HRS	<p>At the odd hours of 00.30 HRS a messenger from State Control Room Knocked at the door of my house and delivered me a cover from DGP. I accepted it under signature.</p> <p>On opening the cover it is formed that it was a transfer order signed / forwarded by Shri G.C.Raiger, Addl. DGP (Admn.).</p> <p>The transfer order mentioned that I am transferred as Addl.DGP (Police Reforms and Manual) vice Shri J.Mahapatra (Addl.DGP) who would take over from me as ADGP (Int.)</p>	
18/09/2002 FN	In the forenoon of 18/9/2002 handed over charge to Shri J.Mahapatra and assumed charge as ADGP (Police reforms and manual)	
19/09/2002	<p>I called on the Chief Secretary Shri G.Subba Rao, as per the convention.</p> <p>The Chief Secretary talked about my presentation to Election Commission in the meeting of State Officials convened by the Chief Election Commissioner Shri J.S.Lyngdoh, IAS. The CS opined that I should not have spoken in contravention of State policy.</p> <p>I responded that I have discharged the role of the Chief Intelligence Officer of the State and spoke about the dimensions of law and order situation at that juncture. I added that every Government functionary has taken oath of allegiance to the Constitution of India and that if the Chief Minister's policies are in contravention of the letter, spirit and ethos of the Constitution of India, no Government</p>	

	<p>servant is bound to follow such policies. On the contrary the Government servant would be committing a gross misconduct, punishable, default and condemnable dereliction of duty if he deviates from the laid down provisions of the Constitution.</p> <p>The CS felt annoyed about my views and abruptly ended our meeting.</p> <p>I concluded that I remained totally loyal and dedicated to the Chief Minister, the State Government and people of Gujarat and not to the individual strategy, tactics, politics, policies and hidden agenda of the Chief Minister and other functionaries.</p>	<p>Signed by R.B.Sreekumar (19.9.2002)</p>
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The last page (207) of the Register has the hand written entry, "This is to certify that the Register contains 1 – 207 pages" with signature of Shri O.P.Mathur, IPS, the then IGP (Admn. & Security),

Typed true copy of the Register

**( R.B.Sreekumar )**  
 Addl. Director General of Police  
 Police Reforms, Gujarat State,  
 Gandhinagar