

**April 8, 2002. New York Times (Reuters).
India Govt Allies Urge Removal of Gujarat Chief**

NEW DELHI (Reuters) - Two key Indian coalition government allies joined the opposition on Monday in demanding the sacking of riot-racked Gujarat state's chief minister who has been accused of turning a blind eye to religious violence.

Opposition groups have been pushing the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, which heads the ruling coalition as well as rules Gujarat, to sack state Chief Minister Narendra Modi after more than 750 people, mostly Muslims, were killed after the burning of 59 Hindus in a train.

"For close to one month, Gujarat has been virtually under the control of mobs," said Shambhu Srivastava, a spokesman for the Samata Party which is represented by, among others, Defense Minister George Fernandes in the federal cabinet.

Trinamool Congress leader Sudip Bandopadhyaya said the state government had "miserably failed" to end the bloodshed. Modi has denied his administration has failed to control the violence.

Police said over the weekend at least five people were killed in more violence in the state.

**May 23, 2002. Hindustan Times (India). Gulam K. Noon.
Modi, India's Milosevic**

It was nothing but a pogrom in Mahatma Gandhi's home state of Gujarat. Hindu-Muslim riots are not new to India but what is new is State-sponsored terrorism. Narendra Modi's government is guilty of ethnic cleansing. Modi is India's Milosevic.

It is no longer merely a breakdown of law and order but the total absence of law.

An 11-year-old boy testified to the National Human Rights Commission how his family ran to the State Reserve Police post to escape the mob but were told to go back or be shot (by the police). He then saw his mother and sister being stabbed to death.

A mother who had given birth to a baby at 10 pm was forced to run with her baby at 11 am the next morning when the mobs came. She escaped but her husband was killed and their house burnt down.

A nine-year-old boy watched a mob rape and kill his 20-year-old sister.

There are several similar cases of abject savagery. There are hundreds of traumatised orphans in the refugee camps. About 100,000 people languish in those camps, mainly women and children. Their breadwinners are dead. Their homes have been burnt to discourage them from going back. In one incident in Ahmedabad, 50 abandoned Muslim homes were burnt down. The calculation is that they will leave Gujarat.

The massacre was sparked off by the horrific incident on February 28 when kar sewaks were returning by train from the disputed mosque/temple site at Ayodhya. The struggle over Ayodhya has raged for 10 years and Hindu militants, including politicians now in power, have built their political fortunes on it; but in the process they have polarised the country.

On February 28, rabid Muslims surrounded a bogey and burnt it in Godhra. Nothing can justify this killing of 58 people. Their murderers should be brought to justice and dealt with severely. Such criminals cannot call themselves either Hindu or Muslim. God does not condone murder.

Retribution was swift and deadly. Muslims were systematically hunted down and killed. These were not spontaneous revenge killings. The mobs were provided copies of electoral rolls to help them identify Muslim localities and businesses. Modi's ministers were sitting in police stations to direct operations. All this has been well documented by the Indian press.

The police turned partisan and refused to register cases of rape and murder of Muslims. Decent officers, who did their duty and protected the people, were promptly transferred. The administrative service abdicated its responsibility — it takes only one district magistrate to bring a riot under control in a few hours if he does his job. Sixty-three days later, the killings were going on.

Modi took over as Gujarat chief minister at a time when the BJP's electoral fortune was waning. Modi appears to have seized upon the Godhra incident as an excuse to massacre Muslims in order to swing the majority Hindu votes in his favour. State elections are not due in Gujarat for another year but Modi wishes to bring the date forward and go to the polls now. His disgraceful move to gain political capital from the carnage was supported by Atal Bihari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani. Only the hue and cry raised by the press has temporarily stalled the plan.

One of the biggest disappointments has been Vajpayee. He was given credit for being a secular, liberal man who believed in a pluralistic, democratic society. No longer. That mask was torn off in Goa on April 12 when his rhetoric was that of an RSS pracharak rather than of a responsible leader of a mixed electorate. Vajpayee has lost the

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moral authority to govern. The BJP can no longer pretend to be a political party that believes in pluralism and democracy.

Politicians have meddled for so long with the judiciary, the administrative services and the police force that the steel framework of which India was once so proud has turned to straw in Gujarat. Veteran police chief Julio Riberio said that Gujarat has made him feel ashamed of having once belonged to the police force. He also recommended that the police and Indian Administrative Service in Gujarat be abolished because Modi and his ministers have taken all powers into their own hands.

Indian Muslims must take their share of the blame for the conflict. They remain amongst the most ill-educated, poor and unemployed. Self-styled leaders such as Imam Bukhari of Delhi — whose claim to represent all Indian Muslims is as bogus as the claim of the Hindu militants to represent all Hindus — have encouraged the community to remain backward. It is a type of colonialism. The Babri mosque dispute is a good case in point.

The mosque was a disused building in 1991 and had been locked up for over 50 years. Some Hindus claim that site as the birthplace of Lord Rama. Since the mosque was a disused one, the question should have been peacefully resolved with Muslims accommodating the demands of the majority community. A sensible Muslim leadership would have done that and not make an issue out of it.

The Saudi government, for example, has destroyed dozens of mosques to build roads. In Britain, a disused church has been turned into a Hindu cultural centre, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. During the Bosnia conflict, 1,242 mosques were destroyed by the Serbs.

Instead, the Ayodhya conflict has raged for 10 years. Militant Hindus politicised the issue and rode to power on it. Thousands of poor people have died (it is always the poor who die). How many more innocent lives must be lost before there is a sensible resolution?

Muslims, who chose to live in the country after 1947, as did my family, owe their first allegiance to India. It is the Prophet's command that a good Muslim obeys the laws of the country where he lives.

The Congress has done virtually nothing in Gujarat. We have seen no mass mobilisation of people, no sustained opposition to Modi on the streets. There was a similar, shameful incident in 1984 when the Congress under Rajiv Gandhi presided over the massacre of Sikhs in Delhi that went un-checked for three days. Then, as now, Congressmen led mobs armed with electoral lists and burnt and looted Sikh homes. None of them has been brought to justice.

The naked pursuit of power in India has stripped politics of any meaningful issues. Education, employment, housing or medical benefits are not on the agenda. Instead, the issues are caste, religion and money. Votes are counted in blocks — the Hindu/Muslim block vote, the Dalit vote, the Sikh vote etc. Organised conflict is often the method of scaring the votes into your corner. The greatest disservice the BJP has done is to misrepresent the catholic nature of Hinduism and try turn it into a dogmatic body of beliefs. The politics of hate is threatening to tear India apart.

What message has Gujarat given to the rest of the world?

That India is unsafe. Who would want to invest in a country that cannot guarantee security of life and property? India will miss out on opportunities thrown up by the globalisation of the economy. London-based industries that could have located their auxiliary factories in India have chosen to go to China where labour is equally cheap but security is guaranteed.

Overseas Indians are an emotional lot and would like to invest in India — but who can risk having their business burnt down one fine day? Such blatant lawlessness as witnessed in Gujarat will deter all except the most foolhardy.

Deepak Parekh, chairman of India's leading housing finance firm, HDFC, said: "What is a government elected for? If they cannot protect innocent lives, they should go. What kind of government allows the killing of women and children?"

At the very least, Narendra Modi should be asked to resign or be dismissed.

The writer is an industrialist and President of the London Chamber of Commerce & Industry. These are his personal views

June 25, 2002. Rediff (India).

Gujarat riots 'completely engineered' by Modi: Rights groups

Three human rights groups on Tuesday alleged that the violence in Gujarat was 'completely engineered' by Chief Minister Narendra Modi, Sangh Parivar outfits and the police.

The People's Union of Civil Liberties, Gujarat-based Shanti Abhiyan and the Medico Friend Circle also claimed that a section of doctors and local media were a party to the 'polarisation'.

They also voiced concern over the taking out of the annual Rath Yatra of Lord Jagannath, saying it could escalate tension in the prevailing 'sensitive situation'.

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"The violence witnessed in Gujarat was not perpetrated by Hindus. An agency was responsible for it," Renu Khanna of the PUCL said in Ahmedabad, while releasing reports on the violence and its impact.

"We don't feel anymore that it was Hindu-Muslim riots. It was completely engineered by the chief minister, VHP, Bajrang Dal and RSS," she alleged.

Khanna, who is based at Vadodara, said the group had sent a memorandum to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee when violence was at its peak but 'little did we realise that nothing was going to happen even at that level'.

She also held the Centre responsible for the violence by its 'silence' over the issue.

Khanna said authorities, including K P S Gill, security adviser to the chief minister, were apprised of the incidents of attacks, but 'there has been no action'.

Jagdish Bhai of Shanti Abhiyan alleged that a section of local media, particularly two dailies, played a 'negative role by creating and spreading rumours, which fanned violence and led to misconceptions and hatred against the minority community'.

"If the media wished, it could have helped in curtailing the violence. But the local media played the role to the contrary," he charged.

He said that even today members of the minority community do not feel secure to return to their homes and tend to live with other members of their community.

"This is a bad reflection and can result in creation of Indias and Pakistans within Gujarat's cities," Jagdish Bhai said.

Sarojini of Medico Friend Circle alleged that even members of the medical fraternity were polarised and there were several instances when members of the minority community had to return from government hospitals without treatment as the 'doctors said their security could be threatened there'.

She said the rights groups were planning to move the National Human Rights Commission and the Medical Council of India against such doctors.

Sarojini also alleged that those arrested in connection with Godhra incident were being 'tortured' through administration of banned injections.

August 9, 2002. Deccan Chronicle (India).

Modi stopped officials, say judges

New Delhi, Aug. 9: Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi in a late night meeting on February 27 did instruct officials and politicians to turn a blind eye to the Hindu reaction which could follow the Godhra train arson, two senior judges have confirmed.

Justice P B Sawant, who was a member of the Concerned Citizens Tribunal which inquired the post-Godhra riots, said police officers, politicians and administrative officials who currently hold high posts in the State government had confirmed this in their deposition before the tribunal.

Justice Sawant who is a former Supreme Court judge and also former chairman of the Press Council of India said in an interview in the forthcoming issue of Outlook.

Haren Pandya, a former minister in Modi's cabinet, had been forced to resign following allegations that he had leaked details of the meeting held on the day of the Godhra train carnage to the journal and to a citizen's tribunal.

"I would say that we have good information from credible people that in the meeting, Modi asked his officials not to come in the way of what will occur in the next few days," Justice Sawant said.

"The implication of what he said in the meeting is without any doubt a causative factor of what happened the next day. I do not want to be more specific about the kind of people who spoke to us because I can't risk even a small chance of letting their identities be known.

"In my opinion, there were two kinds of people who spoke to us: Those who swam with the tide before and during the riots but felt repentant now, and those who supported the backlash but felt the Chief Minister had gone too far," he added.

September 15, 2002. Asian Age (India).

TV tapes prove Modi attacked Muslims

New Delhi, Sept. 15: Brushing aside the evidence produced by a television channel on Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi's derogatory remarks on Muslims, and ignoring Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's censure of the state administration following the Gujarat carnage, deputy prime minister L.K. Advani on Sunday stood firmly behind Mr Modi and said his "Gaurav Yatra" was an example to be followed by the BJP.

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The VHP, meanwhile, has decided to bring out another "yatra" in support of Mr Modi in Gujarat.

The BJP president, Mr M. Venkaiah Naidu, who only a few days back was reported to have pulled up the Gujarat chief minister for his remarks against the minority community, on Sunday appeared to retract his censure, and clarified that he had merely "cautioned" Mr Modi "since there was a scope of misinterpretation." He added that the "matter ended after Modi claimed he never made anti-minority comments."

However, Mr Modi's assertion and Mr Naidu's claim that no anti-Muslim statements were made during the Gaurav Yatra was challenged by Star News, which produced tapes with Mr Modi's recorded voice, taking a snipe at and ridiculing the minority community in Gujarat. The state intelligence department had also cautioned the additional chief secretary (home) in a letter (J/2/BJP/Yatra/525/02 dated September 9) that such a speech could cause communal tension in the state.

The tape, broadcast by the television channel, gives a new twist to the controversy in the light of the Gujarat government's denial of the existence of any tapes and the text of Mr Modi's speech during the rally at Besraji village in Mehsana district on September 9. The National Commission on Minorities has asked for a copy of the tape following a furore over Mr Modi's remarks.

That Mr Modi, who lacked any caste-based support in Gujarat and was still regarded as an "outsider" by the locals, was trying to cash in on a communal divide, becomes somewhat evident following the airing of the tapes by the TV channel. In the excerpts of the audiotape, a voice — reportedly that of Mr Modi — is heard making inflammatory speeches in Gujarati. The English translation is as follows:

"I told them that I got water from Narmada in the month of Shraavan. If they had it their way, they would have got it in Ramzan..."

"What should we do? Run relief camps for them? Do we want to open baby-producing centres? We are five and we will have 25 offspring. Gujarat has not been able to control its growing population and poor people have not been able to get money."

The tapes clearly demonstrate how Mr Modi, in search of the "Hindu vote," tried to play to the gallery. He went on with his tirade against Muslims thus: "There is a long queue for children who fix tyre punctures. In order to progress, every child in Gujarat needs education, good manners and employment. That is the economy we need."

Once again targeting Muslims, he ended with what appeared to be a warning: "For this we have to teach a lesson to those who are increasing population at an alarming rate."

While the BJP president refused to answer any question on Mr Modi, claiming that this would only "create further tension," the chief minister's principal mentor in the party, Mr Advani, virtually gave him a pat on the back and praised his Gaurav Yatra, saying it was an example for the BJP to follow. "The massive turnout at the Gujarat Gaurav Yatra is a source of nervousness for the Opposition.

When the Opposition denigrates Gujarat as 'Godse's Gujarat' the need for restoring Gujarat's gaurav is more," Mr Advani told BJP leaders who had assembled for the party office-bearers' meeting on Sunday.

The deputy prime minister went on: "Just as the yatra is a highly-successful programme, we must now work with devotion to make the Gaon Chalo Abhiyan and the proposed December rally a success."

November 22, 2002. Deccan Chronicle (India).

Riots were Modi's job: Iyer.

Ahmedabad, Nov. 21: Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi, his Cabinet colleagues and organisations like the BJP, RSS, VHP and the Bajrang Dal meticulously planned and executed the post-Godhra carnage, says a report by the Concerned Citizens Tribunal chaired by former Supreme Court judge V R Krishna Iyer.

Two senior Modi ministers, Finance Minister Nitin Patel and State Transport Minister Narayan Laloo, have also been charged with sexual violence against Muslim women by the Concerned Citizens Tribunal.

Modi, along with his Cabinet colleagues and VHP and Bajrang Dal workers, has been charged with genocide and crimes against humanity.

The Modi Ministers named include Home Minister Gordhan Jhadafiya, Health Minister Ashok Bhatt, former revenue minister Haren Pandya (who later fell out with Modi and had to resign after Modi charged him with deposing before this tribunal), Finance Minister Nitin Patel, Urban Development Minister I K Jadeja, Food and Civil Supplies Minister Bharat Barot and Laloo. The tribunal has witnesses who said these ministers led mobs to destroy and burn Muslim property.

The Concerned Citizen's Tribunal, a nine-member inquiry commission comprising former justices and academics, released their voluminous report here on Thursday along with clinching evidence to prove that Modi wanted the post-Godhra violence. The police in Gujarat toed the political line and remained mute witness when Muslims were selectively targeted, their women raped and their children terrorised.

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Modi, his Cabinet, the VHP, BJP, RSS and Bajrang Dal "are directly responsible for the post-Godhra carnage," the tribunal observed and named seven BJP Ministers, two dozen BJP MLAs and hundreds of policemen as "not just involved in riots but leading mobs and spreading arson or supporting the atrocities on Muslims."

Justice P B Sawant (Retd), Justice Hosbet Suresh (Retd) and senior advocate K G Kannabiran, while releasing the report, stressed that Modi is "liable for prosecution for genocide for refusal to take any preventive measure and protect the lives and properties of minorities in the State."

The tribunal accused Modi of "connivance and facilitation of the carnage, transfer of good police officers, not taking action against erring police officials or party functionaries who were named by victims and persistent threats to close down privately run relief camps."

It also charged Modi with "abusive comments against the affected and victimised community, refusal to comply with the NHRC recommendations and not taking punitive action against provocative press and other organisations."

The tribunal also charged Modi with influencing criminal investigation as the names of VHP, RSS and BJP functionaries were omitted in chargesheets although their names appear in FIRs.

Kannabiran of the PUCL, who also was a part of the tribunal, said the charges framed in the report and the evidence collected by the tribunal are so vast and accurate that police action can be initiated based on the report. Krishna Iyer, Sawant and Shuresh, all eminent names in the Indian judiciary, along with Kannabiran, Aruna Roy, K G Subramanian, Ghanshyam Shah and Tanika Sarkar, travelled all over Gujarat and collected evidence before pinning down the Gujarat government for not just sponsoring the riots but also leading mobs and indulging in "Muslim elimination".

"The Godhra tragedy where 59 kar sevaks were killed was unfortunate but the government became agents of a well-planned action against Muslims and used the corpses of the Godhra victims to launch a Statewide pogrom of decimation that has not entirely stopped," the tribunal observed. The tribunal established there was a set pattern of violence and Muslims were targeted and marked out much before they were attacked.

May 7, 2004. Indian Express (India). Ashok Bagriya.

Summons to Modi as kin of Britishers killed in riots seek relief

AHMEDABAD, MAY 6: The Sabarkantha District Civil and Sessions Court today issued summons to Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi in civil suits seeking compensation for families of two Britons killed in the post-Godhra riots.

Apart from Modi, former home minister Gordhan Zadaphia, former home secretary Ashok Narayan and former DGP K Chakravarti, who held charge at the time of the riots, have also received summons. They have been asked to make their representations before the court on June 24.

The three suits were filed last week by London-based dependents of Saeed Dawood and Shakeel Dawood, who were killed on March 1, 2002, in Prantij village of Sabarkantha district.

Another British national Imran Dawood escaped with injuries. The dependents have sought Rs 22.18 crore in damages for the death of Saeed and Shakeel Dawood.

Shakeel (30) and his cousins—Saeed (41), Imran Dawood and Mohammed Aswat—were attacked by a mob near Wadwasa village on the Prantij-Ahmedabad stretch of NH-8 when they were on their way to their ancestral home in Lajpur village, Navsari district.

While driver Yusuf Palagar was killed, Saeed and Shakeel were dragged to a nearby factory and stabbed. Imran escaped with injuries, and Mohammed is still missing.

Suresh Grover, spokesperson for the Dawood family in Batley, told The Indian Express: "It's a 60-page document prepared after two years of hard work in consultaion with international lawyers and legal experts. We wanted to initiate criminal proceedings against the persons responsible (directly or indirectly) for the murder, but after consulting lawyers we realised that we did not have any recourse under the Indian legal system. So we filed civil suits for damages."

According to Grover, "In the plaint, we have established a chain of link between CM Narendra Modi, the former home minister and other officials acting on their behest, whose acts and omissions led to the murders. We have appended eyewitness accounts."

The complainants plead that circumstances that led to the murders were orchestrated by Modi and by the omissions of his officers working directly under his orders; that Modi made specific statements about the incident and justified it as a reaction to the Godhra tragedy; and that, rather than creating an atmosphere of peace,

Modi abdicated his job of protecting lives and made inflammatory statements creating chaos.

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Glad at the sessions court decision to issue summons to Modi and the others, Grover said: "We have been waiting for this for the last two years. Now when the case has been finally registered, we will make sure that those responsible for the murders pay damages to the dependents."

August 22, 2004. Indian Express (India) 'Bringing Godhra bodies to Ahmedabad was Modi decision'

Ex- Additional Chief Secy (Home) tells Nanavati Commission; also contradicts ex-police chief, says fallout discussed at Feb 27 meeting

AHMEDABAD, AUGUST 21 In a startling revelation, former Additional Chief Secretary (Home) Ashok Narayan said today that the decision to bring the bodies of the Godhra train attack victims to Ahmedabad on February 27 was taken by none other than Chief Minister Narendra Modi.

Deposing before the Nanavati-Shah Commission—the first IAS officer to do so—Narayan said that when he went into the late-night meeting with the Chief Minister on February 27, he had got a full report on the Sabarmati Express attack. He said he also knew that some of the victims were VHP Ram Sevaks, the VHP had called a protest bandh the next day and that there could be trouble.

Asked why did he then allow the bodies to be brought to Ahmedabad, Narayan said, "It was not my decision; it was made at the highest level."

Asked what he meant by the "the highest level," Narayan replied, "The decision was taken by the Chief Minister."

Narayan, who was later appointed Vigilance Commissioner and continues to hold this position even after retirement, was replying during cross-examination by Mukul Sinha, advocate for the Jan Sangharsh Manch. The 58 charred bodies were brought by train to Ahmedabad's Maninagar railway station late on February 27 night and taken to the Sola Civil Hospital. Relatives of victims were called from different parts of the state and the bodies were taken away in convoys. The bodies belonging to Ahmedabad were also taken in procession for a cremation in the morning. The unclaimed bodies were cremated by the administration and 13 of them still remain unidentified.

Hours later, violence gripped the city. Contrary to the statement made by former Ahmedabad Police chief P C Pande before the commission, Narayan said that at the meeting with the CM, they did discuss the possible repercussions of the Godhra incident.

Narayan said he did not remember if Pande was present at the meeting, but the then DGP K Chakravarty was present.

September 1, 2004. Hindustan Times (India). Modi knew karsevaks were coming: Top cop

R.B. Sreekumar, who became Additional DGP (Intelligence) in Gujarat in April 2002, two months after the Godhra train carnage, told the Nanavati commission on Tuesday that the Lucknow police had informed the Intelligence Bureau of the return of karsevaks from Ayodhya.

This is contrary to what former Gujarat DGP K. Chakravarthi stated in his affidavit and recent cross-examination by the commission probing the train carnage and the riots that followed.

"The state IB got a fax message from the Lucknow Superintendent of Police about the return of karsevaks from Ayodhya on February 22, 2002," Shreekumar told Justice G.T. Nanavati and Justice K.G. Shah.

When asked whether this information was passed on to senior officials, he said: "I cannot comment on this. Only my predecessor can do so."

Sreekumar also told the panel that police officers in the state at the time were depressed and "felt handicapped" as lower officers were ignoring orders because they were taking instructions directly from leaders of the ruling party.

Sreekumar added that the situation got better only after the first week of May when officers of the level of commissioner and below were transferred after K.P.S. Gill was flown in to take charge. He revealed that he was also transferred some time after he recommended that action be taken against the VHP-BD for inciting communal hatred in a letter to the chief secretary.

Sreekumar also mentioned that he had made a note to all field officers warning of a possible attack on Hindu religious and cultural centers in April 2002, five months before the attack on Ahmedabad's Swaminarayan Temple.

Meanwhile, the Gujarat police summoned Zahira Sheikh for recording her statement in connection with complaint filed by her brother Nafitullah against a BJP MLA and three others for allegedly threatening them to turn hostile during trial last year.

October 28, 2004. Times of India (India). Modi gave performing cops the heave-ho, says official

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Narayan offers instances of meddling to Nanavati commission

AHMEDABAD: A top bureaucrat disclosed before the Nanavati-Shah commission on Thursday that Chief Minister Narendra Modi was responsible for shunting most police officers who were found to be effective in controlling law and order in their area of jurisdiction.

Former additional chief secretary (home) Ashok Narayan told the commission that it was Modi's decision to remove Special IG (Vadodara range) Deepak Swaroop from Godhra, hours after he was posted there on February 27, 2002 — the day of the Godhra train carnage — and instead posted Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) chief Vipul Vijoy there.

Citing instances of the hands-on meddling of politicians in police administration, Narayan, when cross-examined by Jan Sangharsh Manch lawyer Mukul Sinha said it was Modi's decision to transfer superintendents of police Vivek Srivastava from Kutch and Rahul Sharma from Bhavnagar. Narayan also admitted that both officers, who were transferred in March 2002, had done a good job in controlling the riots.

In his earlier cross-examination, Narayan had said the decision to bring all the bodies of the 58 Godhra victims to Ahmedabad was also Modi's decision.

He added that then DGP K Chakravarthi had objected to some of the transfers in writing, and he (Narayan) had supported it, but "both of us were overruled". Narayan said then Ahmedabad police commissioner PC Pande's transfer was decided at a meeting where Modi and security advisor KPS Gill were present. "We thought that although the level of violence had come down, it was still not stopping. So, we thought there was a need for an overhaul," he said. He agreed that part of this decision had to do with Addl DG (intelligence) RB Sreekumar's report of April 24, 2002 suggesting an overhaul in Ahmedabad. Narayan also agreed that the situation in Ahmedabad improved after the move.

To a specific question on who was the Gujarat minister who had deposed before the Concerned Citizen's Tribunal saying that Modi had advised policemen against reacting to the post-Godhra anger at a February 27 meeting, Narayan said "it is generally believed that it was Haren Pandya". Pandya, it may be mentioned, was assassinated on March 26, 2003 by people who allegedly wanted to avenge the riots.

Narayan contradicted himself when he first said there was no intelligence of any 'communally provocative' activity by either Hindu or Muslim groups before February 27, 2002 and then admitted to being aware of the largescale movement of 'kar sevaks' armed with trishuls to Ayodhya from Gujarat for the Ram temple construction.

Insisting that the government had no information about the return of the kar sevaks from Ayodhya, Narayan, when shown the intelligence report of February 13, said, "I am seeing this report for the first time".

October 30, 2004. Times of India (India).

'Modi shunted good officers'

AHMEDABAD: A top bureaucrat disclosed before the Nanavati-Shah commission on Thursday how chief minister Narendra Modi was responsible for shunting out most police officers who were found effective in controlling law and order in their area of jurisdiction during the Gujarat riots.

Former additional chief secretary (home) Ashok Narayan told the commission that it was Modi's decision to remove Special IG (Vadodara range) Deepak Swaroop from Godhra, hours after he was posted there on February 27, 2002, (the day of the Godhra train carnage) and instead post Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) chief Vipul Vijoy there.

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He added that the then DGP K Chakravarthi had objected to some of the transfers in writing and he had seconded him, but "both of us were overruled".

About then Ahmedabad police commissioner P C Pande's transfer, Narayan said this was decided at a meeting where Modi and his security advisor K P S Gill were present.

"We thought that although the level of violence had come down, it was still not stopping; so we thought there was a need for an overhaul".

He agreed that the decision had partly to do with Addl DG (intelligence) R B Sreekumar's report of April 24, 2002, suggesting an overhaul in Ahmedabad. Narayan also agreed that the situation in Ahmedabad improved after the move.

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Insisting that the government had no information about the return of the kar sevaks from Ayodhya, Narayan, when shown the intelligence report of February 13 containing their rail coach numbers for to-and-fro travel, said, "I am seeing this report for the first time".