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Rewarding Collaborators

## Subversion of Bureaucracy

The Modi Government in Gujarat has ensured the support and collaboration ofbureaucrats and police personnel by the effective employment of carrot and stick policy; by penalizing those who defied illegal orders and adhered to the Indian Constitution and rewarding the others who collaborated in illegal activities, mass crimes, destruction of evidence and overall subversion of the criminal justice system. The instruments of transfer, promotion, placements, post retirement assignments, disciplinary action (which includes serving of charge sheets, suspension etc), super session etc.

The conspiracy of the anti-minority, post Godhra arson carnage was made possible through the series of acts of omission and commission by the bureaucrats and police officers at the decisive rungs of the state administration. Simple procedural rules of conduct for officers and policemen in violent situations were not enforced or followed. As visible in the overall conspiracy was the consistent policy followed by the state government to punish those few officers who deviated from this norm and performed their duties according to the law and to reward those who promoted killings, rape and arson by going along with the unlawful plans of the chief minister and his party during and after the 2002 genocide.

## Rewards

The active collaborators were rewarded by even post retirement assignments especially those who denied A-1 Modi's Illegal statements at the Meeting of 27.2.2002 A few illustrations are:

**A-28 Shri Ashok Narayanan, IAS (1966)** The then additional chief secretary (home) (2002) was given a two-year post-retirement position as Gujarat state vigilance commissioner. This post and privilege was extended for six years. He was selected for this sensitive post despite the fact that his conduct and performance as former additional chief secretary is currently under scrutiny at the Nanavati-Shah Commission. Narayan helped the Modi government to carry out its anti-minority policies during and after the 2002 violence. He further demonstrated his allegiance to the chief minister by not revealing anything adverse in his affidavit before the commission and during his cross-examination before the commission in August 2004. Moreover, he did not file a second affidavit under the commission's second term of reference (probing the chief minister's role in the violence).

**A-30 Dr.P.K.Mishra, IAS (1972)** Principal Secretary to the CM Modi during the critical days. He was instrumental in giving illegal verbal instructions to Govt. functionaries. The former principal secretary to the chief minister and chief executive officer, Gujarat State Disaster Management Authority (GSDMA), was later appointed to the important post of additional secretary, ministry of home affairs, Gujarat. He was also sent on several foreign jaunts in his capacity as chief of the GSDMA. Mishra was rewarded for

his services to political masters as dedicated collaborator in the chief minister's antiminority drive. PK Mishra was posted to the post of principal secretary in the department of agriculture and cooperation of the union ministry of agriculture under the Nationalist Congress Party's Sharad Pawar. On his retirement last year he has been posted as Chairman of the Gujarat Electricity Regulatory Commission with a fixed tenure for six years. Moreover, he did not file a second affidavit under the commission's second term of reference (probing the chief minister's role in the violence).

A-29 PC Pande (IPS, 1970): The former CP, Ahmedabad city, was inducted into the central government by the NDA in March 2004, to the prestigious post of additional director, CBI. Pande's appointment to the CBI was challenged by Citizens for Justice and Peace (CJP) in the Supreme Court and he was directed by the apex court not to have anything to do with the Gujarat cases. Pande was then transferred to the post of additional director-general of the Indo-Tibetan Border Security Force in October 2004. In April 2006 Pande was appointed to the post of DGP, Gujarat, after which a second approach to the Supreme Court by CJP has once again led the court to direct him not to be involved in the investigation of riot related cases. It is relevant to note that Pande's appointments to these influential posts are rewards for his services in facilitating the massacre of nearly 1,000 persons in Ahmedabad city during the 2002 riots, 95 per cent of them Muslim, and for shielding the Hindu perpetrators from arrest during the investigation of riot cases. After retirement in 2009, he has been given a lucrative posting of Chairman Gujarat State Police Housing Corporation with an annual budget of

Rs 250 crores. Moreover, he did not file a second affidavit under the commission's second term of reference (probing the chief minister's role in the violence).

**A-60 G.C.Raiger, (IPS 1972)** the then ADGP – Intelligence, during the crucial period of riots viz. from 27<sup>th</sup> February, 2002 to 9<sup>th</sup> April, 2002. He attended meetings convened by the CM, the Chief Secretary and Addl. CS. But, there are no notes or records about the proceedings in these meetings, nor there is any minutes issued. Later as ADGP Crime also h had been helpful in covering up the cases of extra judicial killings ("encounters") in favour of the Gujarat police officers. He too did not file any affidavit before the Nanavati Shah Mehta Commission though he was ADGP Intelligence during the most significant period of the violence, under scrutiny by the Commission. In 2009 he was given the post retirement posting appointing him as member of a Judicial Commission inquiring into the illicit liquor tragedy,

**A-34 K. Nityanandam (IPS,** ): The former home secretary was promoted to the post of CP, Rajkot city, in February 2005, a promotion effected by upgrading the post by two levels, from DIG to ADGP. Nityanandam was rewarded for his services as home secretary from 2001 to 2005, in particular for manipulating statistics and fabricating and drafting pro-government reports that were submitted to the NHRC and the courts. Presently he holds the post of Managing Director Gujarat Police Housing Corporation, a lucrative post.