

By Hand

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To,

The Secretary,
Justice G.T.Nanavati &
Justice Akshay Mehta Commission,
Bungalow No. 33, Opp. Police Stadium,
Shahibaug, Ahmedabad –380 004.

**Sub:- Hitherto untapped and unexplored information on witnesses to Godhra
Train fire incident on 27.2.2002 and subsequent riots**

Sir,

I had submitted four(4) Affidavits to the Commission, (1) vide O.No. PS / ADGP (Int.) / 1214 / 2002, dated 15.7.2002, and (2) vide O.No. ADGP (PR) / PS / Affidavit / 2004 / 91 E, dated: October 06, 2004, (3) Affidavit dated 09th April, 2005 and (4) Affidavit dated 27th October, 2005, relating to the terms of reference of the Govt. of Gujarat to the Commission. Recently, I have received certain vital and relevant information regarding some responsible witnesses, who are in possession of substantial evidence on Godhra train fire incident and subsequent developments. I am enclosing herewith in the proper form, my affidavit in this connection. The Commission is requested to kindly initiate further action and if required, I may be summoned for any further clarification or elucidation on the contents of my present affidavit.

Yours faithfully,

R.B.Sreekumar

Encl.: - As above

I, R.B.Sreekumar, IPS Ret'd, former DGP Gujarat state s/o the Late R. Bhaskaran Nair, now residing at "Sreelekshmidheepam", Plot No. 193, Sector-8, Gandhinagar – 382008, Gujarat state, aged 63, do solemnly affirm that I am aware of the contents of the Notification of Gujarat State, Legal Department, dated 6th March, 2002, and the subsequent Notification by the Legal Department, dated. 20th July, 2004, about the constitution of a Commission of inquiry headed by Justice G.T.Nanavati and Justice Akshay Mehta and its terms of reference.

2/- Recently, I received two sets of reliable information about a few witnesses who were eye-witnesses to the ghastly train bogie (S6), Sabarmati Express, arson incident on 27.2.2002 morning at Godhra railway station. The main contents of the information are given below.

3/- The Central IB Headquarters have been conventionally directing, as part of an imperative professional exercise, to its State units, called Subsidiary Intelligence Bureaux, to organize close coverage of national level events, agitations, programmes of extensive protests, or any mass action disturbing public order, mobilized by congregating participants from all over India. SIBx are tasked to design plans for procuring intelligence/ information on movements of people from their jurisdiction; the composition of participants; plans and activities en-route and at final destination; their conduct and behavior during return journey and so on. Operationally, such projects are carried out through reliable "assets and agents" inducted among participants or tapping "friends" among the regional representative groups proceeding to the place of action. Technical support for timely communication of actionable, real-time advance intelligence is provided to these human resources, who skillfully utilize trade-craft techniques for achieving excellence in quality of their output.

4/- According to my informant, the IB HQ had directed all state units, on the eve of Karaseva campaign by the Sangh Parivar in February 2002, to undertake the usual drill of watch and report on Karsevaks, Rambhaktas and their supporters proceeding to Ayodhya, from commencement of their journey to Ayodhya and return to native places.

5/- The above specific intelligence project was to do surveillance on Rambhaktas and report on their activities from the beginning of their itinerary from Gujarat to Ayodhya, programme at the disputed site and return to the point of departure. The covert and overt plans of the Rambhaktas, their intra and inter-communications with the Karsevaks, Sangh Parivar activists and local people en-route were to be informed to

SIB HQ promptly. The duty of SIB HQ in Ahmedabad was to collate, analyse and report the relevant information to the IB HQ and the State police, in order to pre-empt, prevent and contain untoward incidents, generation of communal tension and de-stabilization of law and order situation.

6/- It is learnt from my informant that the SIB Ahmedabad had detailed their “friends and agents”, to report on activities of Karsevaks from Gujarat and in fact, promptly they did report about the activities of Karsevaks of Gujarat to SIB HQ. These reports covered the belligerent profile of the Karsevaks proceeding to Ayodhya, their quarrels and clashes with vendors and others en-route, in both onward and return journey. Reportedly, the Rambhaktas from Gujarat had indulged in criminal activities, including robbing of eatables from vendors at Ratlam and Dahod railways stations, and SIB Ahmedabad received full information, from their sources, about these.

7/- Significantly, these “friends” of IB were eye-witnesses to all incidents in Godhra railway station on 27.2.2002 morning, resulting in burning of bogie no. S6 of Sabarmati Express and related developments.

8/- Strangely, SIB Ahmedabad or IB HQ did not share this vital intelligence to Gujarat State Police. Particularly, the time frame of the return journey of the Karsevaks from Ayodhya to Gujarat was not intimated to DGP Gujarat or ADGP (INT) State Intelligence Bureau. Consequently, the Gujarat police could not plan and implement any special security measures and reinforcements in the railway stations in the route of Sabarmati Express train, traveled by the Karsevaks. Positioning of adequate policemen in Godhra railway station on 27.2.2002 morning would have prevented a clash between the Karsevaks and the locals, the resultant gruesome bogie burning and the death of 59 passengers.

9/- My informant had confirmed that the IB “assets” had given comprehensive report to SIB Ahmedabad describing what they had seen at the Godhra railway station on 27.2.2002 morning. They had also reported the quarrels and fights of Rambhaktas with vendors and others positioned in railway stations at Rudali and Dahod. But none of these vital inputs were shared by the Central IB to Gujarat State Police.

10/- According to the informant, Shri Rajendrakumar, Joint. Director, SIB Ahmedabad, did not pass on the above relevant actionable preventive intelligence to the State police, on the instructions from his seniors in IB HQ, who were keen to support and

facilitate the announcement by the then Union Home Minister Shri. L.K.Advani and the then Gujarat Chief Minister Shri. Narendra Modi on 27.2.2002, forenoon, that Godhra train burning was the outcome of a deep rooted conspiracy. Please note that, this was certainly an instance of IB functionaries ignoring their constitutional obligations and acting for the political agenda of BJP and Sangh Parivar. Such an illegal, unprofessional and unethical posture created grounds for the untimely ill-motivated declaration by Shri. Advani and Shri. Modi about the Godhra incident, as the consequence of a conspiracy aided by foreign hands. Kindly note that, the conspiracy theory was essential for fanning the fire of Hindu sentimentalism and igniting communal frenzy, which could be capitalized for electoral dividends.

11/- The following facts would establish the validity of the above contention on the baselessness of the conspiracy theory about the Godhra incident.

- a) Many days before the Investigating Officers(IO) from Gujarat Police came out with the conspiracy theory behind the Godhra Train fire incident Shri. Advani and Shri. Modi projected the same, as the findings arrived at by Govt. agencies. In fact, a perusal of case diaries of the IOs, who investigated Godhra incident, would confirm that the police found “evidence” about the conspiracy after many days of announcement by the then Union Home Minister and Chief Minister of Gujarat. The question as to the basis of their conspiracy theory, unsupported by police investigation at that juncture, is yet to be answered.
- b) In the Operation Kalank by Shri. Ashish Khetan (see Tehelka weekly issue dated 3.11.2007 pgs 78-101) many witnesses supporting conspiracy theory in police documents revealed that they were bribed and forced to tell lies, in support of conspiracy theory by the Gujarat police.
- c) Shri. G.C. Murmu (IAS), State Home Secretary, had tutored, pressurized and intimidated Shri. R.B.Sreekumar, the then ADGP (INT), in a covert meeting chaired by Shri. Murmu, to support the conspiracy theory about Godhra incident, during Shri. Sreekumar’s cross-examination before the Justice Nanavati Commission on 31.8.2004. (Please see the Third Affidavit of Shri. Sreekumar to the Nanavati Commission dated 9.4.2005 para 4 and 5 and its Annexure B- pages 8-10)

12/- The Central IB might deny about any coverage of Karsevaks going to Ayodhya in February 2002 and receipt of reports about the Godhra train fire incident by “friends” of IB. In that case the act of not covering such an important nation-wide movement

disturbing public order is a culpable dereliction of duty by the Central IB having nation-wide network and adequate resources.

13/- It is relevant to note that in a recent case before the Hon. High Court of Gujarat and the Apex court, on a petition for a re-investigation of a fake encounter killing case (Ishrat Jahan and Javed Shaikh were shot dead by the Gujarat police on 15.6.2004 in an alleged fake encounter), the Central IB had revealed through an Affidavit by the Central Govt. that Ishrat and Javed were activists of Laskar-e-Taiba.

14/- Moreover, the Central IB had submitted their Affidavits relating to terms of reference of the Commissions which had enquired into the assassinations of the Late former Prime Ministers, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Shri. Rajiv Gandhi, namely Thakkar and Verma Commissions respectively. So, there should not be any legal hurdle to IB and the Central Govt. in disclosing the contents of IB reports about the Godhra incident and subsequent riots, relevant to the terms of reference of the Nanavati and Akshay Mehta Commission.

15/- **The second set of sensitive information about certain witnesses to the Godhra incident is relating to Uttar Pradesh Police.** It is a reliably learnt that the UP Police had deployed 3-4 Police personnel to accompany the Gujarat Contingent of Karsevaks returning from Ayodhya in February 2002, after Karseva in Ayodhya. Accordingly, about 3-4 police officers traveled in the Sabarmati Express Train, along with the Rambhaktas from Gujarat and kept watch on them upto Godhra. In fact, these policemen were directed to do surveillance on the Gujarat group of Karsevaks from Ayodhya to Ahmedabad. These policemen had witnessed the whole Godhra train fire incident and subsequent developments in Godhra railway station on 27.2.2002. They had also submitted their reports about what they had witnessed regarding the activities of Rambhaktas from Gujarat, in their journey from Ayodhya to Ahmedabad, to their superiors. This information needed to be urgently obtained, analysed and acted upon as part of the inquiry of Godhra train fire case. Since the then serving UP police personnel were doing surveillance on Karsevaks from Gujarat, there could not be any administrative or legal objection in their telling truth about the Godhra incident to the Commission or any investigating agency or judiciary body.

16/- In the light of the above I humbly make the following prayers.

- a) The Commission may kindly move for getting relevant data on reports received by SIB Ahmedabad and IB HQ New Delhi, relating to the Godhra train fire incident of 27-02-2002, from persons deputed by Central IB for coverage of Rambhaktas/ karsevaks from Gujarat.
- b) The Commission may kindly move for getting relevant reports from the DGP Uttar Pradesh (UP) Police, who is in possession of situation reports submitted by UP Police personnel deputed for surveillance of Gujarat contingent of Rambhaktas/ Karsevaks returning to Gujarat from Ayodhya.
- c) The Commission may summon me, if necessary, for any clarification or elucidation of the contents of this Affidavit.

Yours faithfully,

R.B.Sreekumar.