

Confidential

From:

Sanjiv Rajendra Bhatt IPS  
Principal,  
State Reserve Police Training Centre,  
Junagadh, Gujarat.

To;

The Registrar General,  
Supreme Court of India,  
Tilak Marg,  
New Delhi 110001.

Respected Sir,

**Re: Supreme Court of India**  
**In its Criminal Jurisdiction**  
**Special Leave Petition (Criminal) 1088 of 2008**

**Smt. Zakia Ahsan Jafri and Anr. Petitioners**

**Versus**

**State of Gujarat & Ors. Respondents**

Please find enclosed herewith, four notarized copies of the Affidavit, affirmed by me in the above matter.

Confidential

I am a serving IPS Officer. I am not a party to the present proceedings but I believe my Affidavit discloses facts which could be crucial to the determination of the issues before the Hon'ble Supreme Court in Special Leave Petition (Criminal) 1088 of 2008.

You are requested to kindly circulate the same and oblige.

Your sincerely,

Date: 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2011

(Sanjiv Bhatt)

Copy with compliments:

Shri. Raju Ramchandran,  
Senior Advocate-Supreme Court of India &  
*Amicus Curiae* in SLP(Criminal) 1088 of 2007,  
Chamber No. 97,  
Lawyers Chambers,  
Supreme Court of India,  
New Delhi-110 001

SADIKHUSEN R. SHAIKH  
NOTARY  
GOVT. OF INDIA

14 APR 2011

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

SPECIAL LEAVE PETITION NO. 1088 OF 2008

SMT. ZAKIA AHSAN JAFRI AND ANR..... PETITIONERS

VERSUS

STATE OF GUJARAT & ORS..... RESPONDENTS

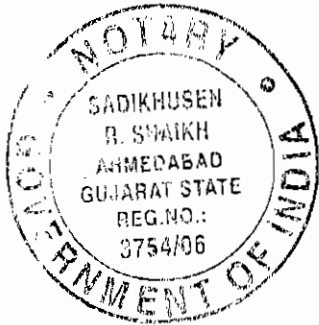
AFFIDAVIT OF SANJIV RAJENDRA BHATT I.P.S

I, SANJIV RAJENDRA BHATT I.P.S., aged about 47 years, residing at Bunglow No.2, Sushil Nagar Part II, Opposite Mahatma Gandhi Labour Institute, Drive-in Road, Ahmedabad 380 052, do hereby state and solemnly affirm as under:

1. I respectfully state and submit that I am presently posted as the Principal of State Reserve Police Training Centre, Junagadh, Gujarat. I am filing this Affidavit to bring on record certain aspects concerning the enquiry/ investigation being conducted by the Special Investigation Team (SIT),



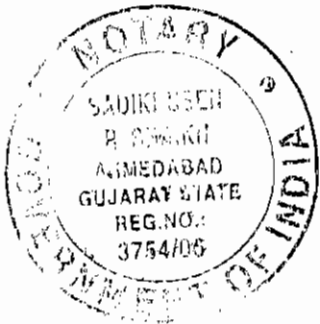
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Sanjiv Bhatt

appointed by this Hon'ble Court. The reason for filing this Affidavit directly will become clear in the subsequent paragraphs.

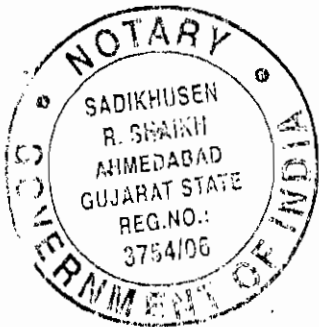
2. I am a Post Graduate from the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai. After completing my post-graduation, I joined the Indian Police Service (IPS) in 1988 and was allotted to the Gujarat cadre. Over the last 23 years, I have served in different capacities in various Districts, Police Commissionerates and other Police Units.



3. I was posted as the Deputy Commissioner of Intelligence, State Intelligence Bureau, Gandhinagar, from December 1999 to September 2002. As the Deputy Commissioner of Intelligence with the State Intelligence Bureau, I used to look after all the matters pertaining to the Internal Security of Gujarat; including matters pertaining to the Border Security, Coastal Security, and Security of Vital Installations in Gujarat as also matters pertaining to VVIP Security, including the security of the Chief Minister. I was also designated as the Nodal Officer for sharing of intelligence with various Central Agencies and the Armed Forces of the Union of India. This was the post I was occupying at the time when the 2002 Gujarat Riots took place.

*Sanjiv Bhanu*

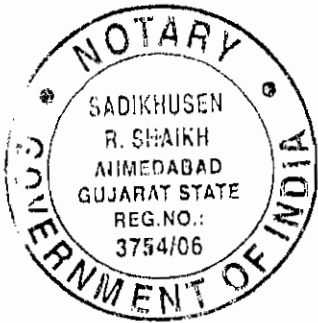
4. I respectfully state that owing to the post I was occupying in the State Intelligence Bureau, I came across huge amounts of intelligence and information pertaining to the events that had transpired prior to, as well as during the Gujarat Riots of 2002. By virtue of the office held by me during the said period, I had the occasion to frequently interact with various high-level functionaries of the State and the Union of India and was therefore, privy to a plethora of information including some very sensitive information pertaining to the various acts of commission and omission attributable to certain high ranking functionaries of the State. The information and documentary evidence, which I have already shared with the SIT, can throw light on the real nature of events that led to the incident of burning of the S-6 Coach of the Sabarmati Express at Godhra on 27<sup>th</sup> February 2002 and the larger conspiracy and official orchestration behind the subsequent Gujarat Riots of 2002.



5. It may kindly be appreciated that I was privy to the said information in my capacity as an officer serving with the Intelligence Bureau, therefore, I was constrained to maintain confidentiality and could not have disclosed information of such sensitive nature, unless called upon to do so under a binding legal obligation. Accordingly, on being summoned by SIT for the first time in November 2009, I had provided

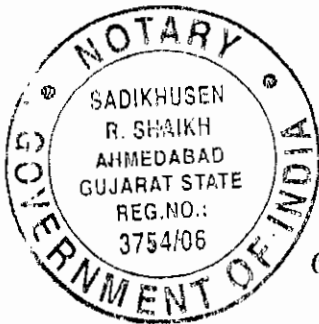
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the SIT with certain relevant information and documents, including original floppy discs containing the entire cell phone/cell-site records of Godhra Town for 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> February 2002; as well as the original print-outs of very important call records of certain high-ranking functionaries of the State for 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> February 2002. It may kindly be noted that I have deposed before the SIT on several occasions and have endeavored to assist the SIT to the best of my ability. I am constrained to take the liberty of filing this Affidavit before this Hon'ble Court to bring on record certain disquieting aspects and inadequacies in the manner and approach of the SIT, personally experienced by me during my interaction with the SIT. As conveyed to the SIT in November 2009, and even during subsequent interactions, I was present at the meeting called by the Chief Minister on the late night of 27.2.2002 and was personally aware about the instructions given thereat and the events that transpired thereafter. I had also provided the SIT with verifiable details regarding the on-going cover up operation; including the contemporaneous efforts made by high officials of the State administration to undermine the proceedings of Writ Petition (Civil) No. 221 of 2002., which was pending before this Hon'ble Court in 2002. I have time and again tried to bring these facts to the notice of the Special Investigation Team but they seem to be disinclined to follow-up these



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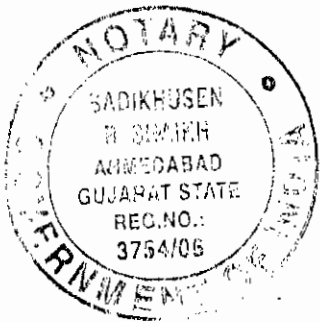
important leads in the course of the enquiry/investigation being carried out by them. Given the overall demeanor of the SIT officials while dealing with these crucial aspects of the ongoing enquiry/investigation, I believe it is my painful duty to bring to the notice of this Hon'ble Court that the SIT does not appear to be living up to the enormous trust reposed in it by the Supreme Court of India, to conduct an impartial and thorough probe into the allegations of a larger conspiracy and administrative complicity behind the Gujarat Riots of 2002 and hence the present Affidavit.



6. I respectfully submit that I was contacted by the office of Special Investigation Team in the month of November, 2009 and was asked to meet Shri A.K. Malhotra- SIT on a particular date. I was subsequently contacted once again by the office of the SIT and informed that the appointed date had been changed and postponed. In the meantime, despite my having maintained complete confidentiality regarding the telephonic summons received from SIT, I was approached by a very high level functionary in the Government of Gujarat and was sought to be appropriately briefed prior to my scheduled interaction with SIT. When I first met Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, at the very outset, I had appraised him about the leak from his office and the consequential attempt to appropriately brief me for

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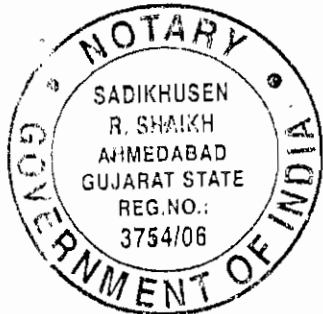
the deposition before SIT. During the course of my deposition before SIT, there were certain other occurrences which were highly indicative of real-time leakage of information from within the SIT. These occurrences were brought to the notice of Shri A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, at that point of time itself. Despite my well founded apprehensions regarding the confidentiality of my deposition, I had truthfully and fearlessly responded to all the queries put forth to me. I had also provided Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, with certain relevant documents and records pertaining to the Godhra Riots of 2002. All the documentary evidence tendered by me was verified and received-on-record by Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT. It needs to be mentioned that during the first phase of my interaction with SIT in 2009 and 2010, my statements were recorded in connection with the enquiry into the complaint made by Mrs. Zakia Jafri and not in connection with any investigation under the Code of Criminal Procedure. My signed statements should be available with the SIT. Despite my professional constraints as an Intelligence Officer, I shared substantial information with the SIT and informed them that I would be duty-bound and willing to reveal all the information within my knowledge, as and when I was under a binding legal obligation to do so.



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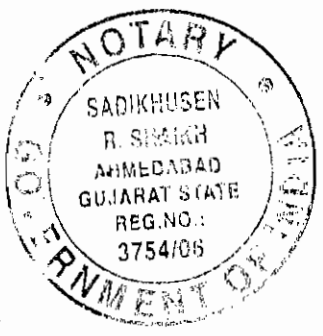
7. It may kindly be noted that my fears regarding the confidentiality of my deposition before SIT were eventually confirmed as the contents of my signed deposition as well as the details of my interaction with Shri. A. K. Malhotra and Shri. Paramveer Singh-Members SIT, were somehow available to the highest echelons of the Government of Gujarat. As a result and consequence of the said breach of confidentiality, I was visited and continue to be visited with unpleasant consequences. The leakage of details regarding my earlier deposition and interaction with SIT have eventually found their way to the media and have further jeopardized my safety and the safety and security of my family members. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the details regarding my testimony before the Special Investigation Team, were first reported in the issue of Tehelka Magazine Volume 8 Issue 06 dated 12 th February 2011, and once again in Tehelka Magazine Volume 8 Issue 07 dated 19<sup>th</sup> February 2011; which I crave leave to refer to and rely upon. I state that, prior to the publication of the said articles in Tehelka Magazine, I had never disclosed the details of my interaction with the Special Investigation Team to anybody. In view of the sensitive nature of the information, as also the situation prevalent in Gujarat, I had exercised utmost discretion and chosen to maintain complete confidentiality regarding the contents of my deposition and



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the details of my interaction with the Special Investigation Team.

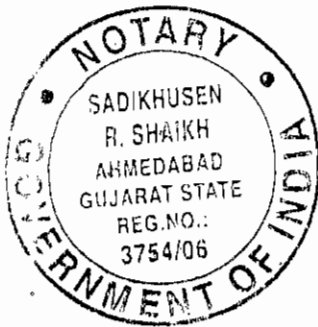
8. In view of the leakage of my confidential deposition as well as the leakage of the details pertaining to my interaction with the SIT to the highest echelons of the Government of Gujarat and the subsequent publication of the said details by some sections of the media, I became highly apprehensive about my security and the safety and security of my family members. In view of the perceived security threat, I requested the Government of Gujarat to provide me and my family members with adequate and fool-proof security cover. Unfortunately, the Government of Gujarat has chosen not only to disregard my repeated requests, but has time and again, sought to jeopardize my security by withdrawing even the existing make-shift and minimal security arrangement, worked out from within the meagre resources at my disposal. Copies of my letters dated 14.2.2011, 5.3.2011 and 13.4.2011; addressed to the Government of Gujarat are annexed at **Annexure 1, Annexure 2 and Annexure 3** respectively.



9. I respectfully state and submit that on 16.3.2011 I received a summons dated 15.3.2011 from the SIT, calling upon me to remain present before them on 21.3.2011 at 11.30 a.m. for

*Sadikhusein R. Shaikh*

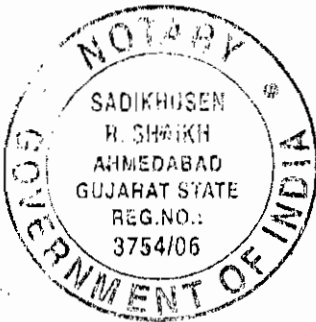
the purpose of giving my statement in Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67 of 2002. On the copy of said summons, I made a written endorsement, requesting the SIT to provide me with a copy of the FIR pertaining to Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67 of 2002 as well as copies of my earlier statements before SIT, as copies of the same had not been provided to me. Subsequently, a copy of the FIR was provided to me, but copies of my earlier statements have not been provided to me till date. A copy of the Summons dated 15.3.2011 along with my endorsement thereupon is annexed at **Annexure 4**.



10. I respectfully submit that on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2011 I wrote a detailed letter to the Chairman of SIT, placing the above facts on record and reiterated my request for the provision of certain necessary documents. I further requested the Chairman to kindly ensure that all the officers as well as support staff, working under the control or in the employ of the Government of Gujarat, be completely dissociated from the tasks of recording, processing or safekeeping of my forthcoming deposition. I further expressed willingness to have my statement recorded under Section 164(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure. A copy of my letter dated 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2011 is annexed at **Annexure 5**.

Sadikhuseen R. Shaikh

11. In accordance with the Summons, I reported to office of the SIT at Gandhinagar, on 21<sup>st</sup> March 2011, for the purpose of getting my statement recorded in connection with the further investigation of Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R.No. 67 of 2002. Despite my repeated written request, I was not provided with a copy of my earlier deposition before SIT and was informed that it would not be possible to provide me with a copy of my earlier statement or any of the contemporaneous documents and records requested for, vide my letter dated 18<sup>th</sup> March 2011. The said facts were put on record by way of my letter dated 22.3.2011, addressed to Chairman SIT. The said letter is annexed at **Annexure 6**.



12. My statement was recorded by the SIT on 21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> March, 2011. Thereafter I was informed that I was required to remain available as I would be called for further clarifications during the course of the ongoing investigation, as also for the purpose of confronting me with other witnesses, if necessary. During the course of my deposition before SIT, I time and again sought to bring out the relevant information pertaining the facts and circumstances; including the directions given by the Chief Minister, during the course of the crucial meeting held at his residence on the late night of 27<sup>th</sup> February 2002; that led to and facilitated the communal carnage of 2002. In my opinion, this was

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evidently a very important aspect of the investigation, since the events that transpired in my presence, at the said meeting had a huge impact and bearing on the conduct of the Police force and the State administration while dealing with the violence that started on 28<sup>th</sup> February 2002. It was submitted to the SIT that the course of subsequent incidents of communal violence could be fully appreciated only in the light of the directions given by the Chief Minister, during the said meeting. However, I was informed by the SIT that all these aspects could not be gone into, as my statement was being recorded in the further investigation of Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R.No. 67 of 2002 and therefore had to be confined to the scope of the FIR pertaining to the events at Gulberg Society on 28.2.2002.



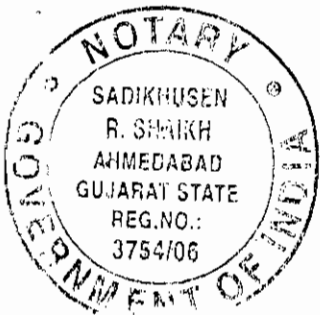
13. I submitted to the members of the SIT that this procedural constraint on their part defeated the very purpose of ascertaining the existence of any larger conspiracy or official orchestration behind the Gujarat Riots of 2002. At my insistence, the SIT finally agreed to record the details of the events that had transpired in my presence, during the meeting with the Chief Minister on the late night of 27.2.2002. Upon my request, the SIT provided me with a relevant portion of the transcript of my testimony, pertaining to the instructions given by the Chief Minister, at the

Saif Khan

conclusion of meeting held on 27-02-2002, where it was tried to impress upon him that the decision to bring the dead bodies to Ahmedabad and the BJP announcement of supporting the VHP Bandh Call would definitely lead to outbreak of communal violence in Ahmedabad and across the State; and the Gujarat police did not have the manpower resources to deal with such a situation. The relevant portion of the transcript of my testimony, as recorded and provided to me by SIT, reads as follows:

*"The Chief minister Shri. Narendra Modi said that the bandh call had already been given and the party had decided to support the same, as incidents like the burning of Kar-Sevaks at Godhra could not be tolerated. He further impressed upon the gathering that for too long the Gujarat Police had been following the principle of balancing the actions against the Hindus and Muslims while dealing with the communal riots in Gujarat. This time the situation warranted that the Muslims be taught a lesson to ensure that such incidents do not recur ever again. The Chief Minister Shri. Narendra Modi expressed the view that the emotions were running very high amongst the Hindus and it was imperative that they be allowed to vent out their anger"*

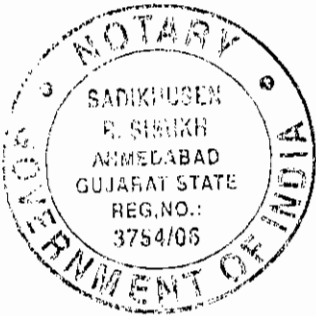
The effects of these directions given by the Chief Minister were widely manifested in the half-hearted approach and the evident lack of determination on the part of the Police while



*Saif Sha*

dealing with the widespread incidents of orchestrated violence during the State sponsored Gujarat Bandh on 28<sup>th</sup> February 2002 and also during the weeks that followed.

14. I state and submit that, I had attended numerous meetings presided over by the Chief Minister, even before 27<sup>th</sup> February 2002 and continued to do so thereafter as well. On 27.2.2002, I was asked by the Control Room to accompany the DG&IGP Shri. K.Chakravarthi IPS to the said meeting, along with all relevant information, possibly because ADGP Intelligence Shri. G.C. Raiger was on leave on that particular day. It is further submitted that on numerous subsequent occasions, I had accompanied DG&IGP as well as ADGP Intelligence to different meetings called by the Chief Minister and other high Constitutional Functionaries.



15. I submit that on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2011, when I again tried to bring up the issue of a larger conspiracy or official orchestration behind the Gujarat Riots of 2002, as also the ongoing attempts at cover-up, I faced unconcealed hostility from the members of SIT. This was even more obvious when I gave names of witnesses who could corroborate the fact of my having attended the said meeting with the Chief Minister on 27.2.2002.

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16. Despite the strong reluctance of the SIT to record inconvenient details, I stated before them the names of witnesses who could substantiate the fact that I had accompanied the DG&IGP to the meeting with the Chief Minister on 27.2.2002. I was hopeful that this information would be gone into thoroughly by the SIT, to unravel the true nature of events that transpired. However, the SIT has chosen to intimidate certain witnesses and coerce them in to refraining from stating the true facts and thereby has created an impression that the SIT is becoming a party to the ongoing cover-up operation in Gujarat. My apprehensions were substantiated when one of the witnesses I had named, Shri K.D. Panth, (Assistant Intelligence Officer with the State Intelligence Bureau in 2002) informed me that he had been called before the Special Investigative Team on 5.4.2011 and was virtually treated like an accused and was threatened with arrest and other dire consequences. It appears that other witnesses may have been similarly coerced into submission. I have put these facts on record by way of a letter addressed to Chairman SIT. My said letter dated 6.4.2011 is annexed at **Annexure 7**.

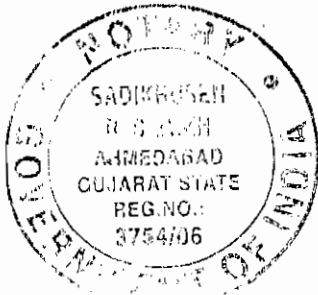


17. It is most humbly submitted that as Deputy Commissioner (Intelligence) with the State Intelligence Bureau, during the Gujarat Riots of 2002, I was privy to a plethora of

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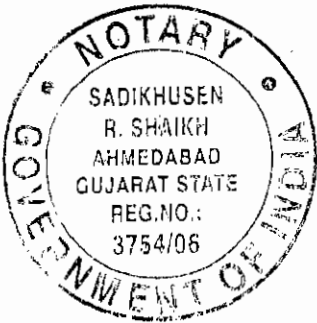
information pertaining to the facts and circumstances that led to and facilitated the communal carnage that took place in Gujarat in 2002. I did not bring these facts to light earlier due to the fact that I was privy to this information in my capacity as an officer of the Intelligence Bureau and was not expected to divulge the details unless under a legal obligation to do so. Moreover, at no point of time was I required to file any Affidavit before any Court, nor was I summoned or directed to depose before any authority or Commission. It has been my considered and consistent stand that I would disclose confidential information, which I was privy to as an Intelligence Officer, as and when I would be called upon to do so under the requirement of law. I had explicitly mentioned and clarified my aforementioned stand even in my first signed deposition before the SIT in November 2009.



18. It is my genuine apprehension that the SIT, while carrying out the further investigation of Meghaninagar Police Station I.C.R. No. 67 of 2002, is disinclined and reluctant to take on record and appropriately examine the evidence indicating the existence of any larger conspiracy or official orchestration behind the Gujarat Riots of 2002. As an officer serving with the State Intelligence Bureau at that relevant point of time, I was not only present at the meeting held at

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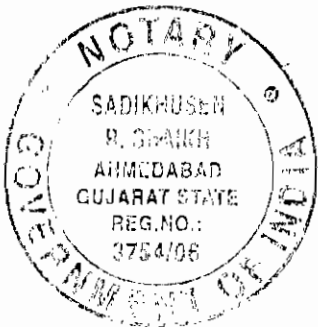
the residence of Chief Minister on the night of 27.2.2002, but had also witnessed the apparent lack of firmness on part of many Police Units while dealing with the emergent situation on 28<sup>th</sup> February 2002 and thereafter. As the Deputy Commissioner of Intelligence in-charge of Internal Security for the State of Gujarat, I was required to constantly monitor and assess the developing situations and appropriately advise and apprise various organs and officials of the Government, including the Chief Minister. As stated by me before the SIT, and substantiated by documentary and other verifiable evidence, I had the occasion to *inter alia*, apprise the Commissioner of Police Ahmedabad City and the Chief Minister regarding the situation developing at Gulberg Society on 28<sup>th</sup> February 2002. I have stated before the SIT that many serious incidents of communal violence, including the carnage at Gulberg Society, could have been easily prevented by firm and determined action on part of the Police.



19. It is humbly submitted that as repeatedly conveyed to the SIT, I remain duty bound to assist the Hon'ble Court in the proceedings of SLP (Criminal) No. 1088 of 2008. As and when called upon, I am willing to provide all the information within my knowledge to this Hon'ble Court. It may kindly be appreciated that I was privy to a large part of

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the said information by virtue of the fact that I was posted as Deputy Commissioner in the State Intelligence Bureau. Therefore, my divulging sensitive and confidential information, otherwise than under an order of this Hon'ble Court or during the lawful investigation under the Code of Criminal Procedure; would not only be professionally improper but may also entail departmental or criminal proceedings against me, by a very vindictive administrative setup in the State of Gujarat. Even today, the situation in Gujarat is such, that witnesses would be afraid of vindictive reprisals and persecution at the hands of the State machinery. Evidently, witnesses serving under the control of the State Government would be highly reluctant to come forward and take a stand that could imperil their own safety or the safety and security of their families. I therefore request that this Hon'ble Court be pleased to ensure that the SIT follows up on all the leads provided by me in such a manner that even reluctant witnesses feel safe and confident to state the truth. It is further requested that the Government of Gujarat and the authorities under its control may kindly be restrained from pressurizing witnesses with a view to prevent the truth from coming out.



20. I further state and submit that due to the events that have transpired since the time I first deposed before the SIT in

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November 2009, I have serious and well founded apprehensions regarding my own safety and the safety and security of my family members. I request that this Hon'ble Court be pleased to direct the authorities concerned, to provide adequate and fool-proof security cover to me and my family.

21. In case this Hon'ble Court so desires, I shall be duty bound to file an additional affidavit for the purpose of providing further details and particulars regarding the facts and documents within my knowledge.

The contents of the above affidavit have been dictated by me and I fully understand the import of this Affidavit. The contents of paragraphs 1 to 21 hereinabove are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. The Annexures at 1 to 7 are photocopies of the original documents and I certify them to be true.

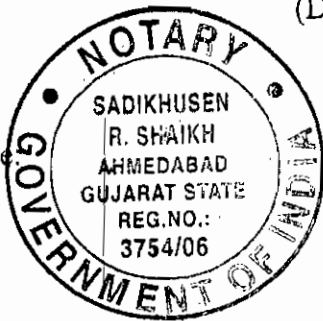
Solemnly affirmed on this day of 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2011 at Ahmedabad.

*Sanjay*  
14/04/2011 *Shaw*  
(Deponent)

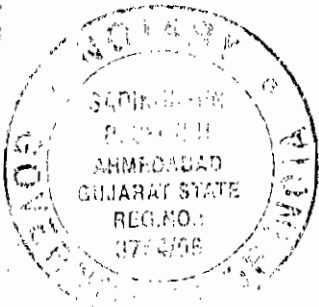
Before me.  
*[Signature]*

Identified by me

*Sanjay*



SOLEMNLY AFFIRMED BEFORE ME  
*[Signature]*  
SADIKHUSEN R. SHAIKH  
NOTARY  
GOVT. OF INDIA  
14 APR 2011



MOST URGENT

No.SRB/PROTECTION/110214/03

Sanjiv Rajendra Bhatt IPS

Date: February 14, 2011

Respected Sir,

Your kind attention is drawn to the Cover Story published under the heading- THE TRUTH ABOUT THE GODHRA SIT REPORT, at pages 28 to 41 of Tehelka Magazine Volume 8 Issue 06, dated 12 February 2011; and another subsequent article under the heading- GUJARAT 2002 EXPLOSIVE TESTIMONY at pages 30 to 37 of Tehelka Magazine Volume 8 Issue 07, dated 19 February 2011.

As discussed with you and confirmed by you during our meeting on September 20, 2010; I had very good reasons to believe that my testimony before the Special Investigation Team-SIT, inquiring into the representation made by Ms. Zakia Jafri, the widow of Late Ahsan Jafri, has been leaked to the higher echelons of the Government of Gujarat.

It is apparent from the articles published in the last two issues of Tehelka Magazine, that portions of my said testimony, as well as some details regarding my interaction with the members of the SIT have been selectively leaked to the media. The statements attributed to my deposition before SIT in the above referred issues of Tehelka Magazine and other media reports have put portions of my confidential testimony in the Public Domain. It is very obvious that these attributions will anger not only the members of the ruling BJP in Gujarat and other Organizations of the Sangh Parivar but also some Fanatical-Right Wing-Hindu Organizations and elements across the country.

In view of the above facts and circumstances, you are requested to kindly provide adequate and fool-proof security cover to me and my immediate family members. You are further requested to direct the agencies and offices under the control of the Home Department, Government of Gujarat to refrain from taking any steps or measures that would directly or indirectly jeopardize my security or the security and safety of my immediate family members.

It may kindly be noted that I am currently on leave and am stationed at Ahmedabad in order to attend to my ailing and physically infirm mother.

With profound regards,

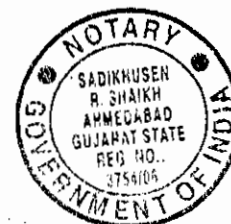
Yours sincerely,

*Sanjiv*  
14/02/2011 *Shah*  
(Sanjiv Bhatt)

Shri. Balwant Singh IAS

ACS (Home), Government of Gujarat.

*Sanjiv*  
*Shah*



Most Urgent

ANNEXURE - 2

No.SRB/PROTECTION/110305/01

Sanjiv Rajendra Bhatt IPS

Date: March 05, 2011

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Sub: Provision of Security Cover / Protection

Ref: 1. My letter No. SRB/PROTECTION/110214/03 dt.14/02/11 (copy enclosed)  
2. ADGP(Training) Letter No. TALAM/GAB/CHARGE/277/2011 dt.25/02/11

Respected Sir,

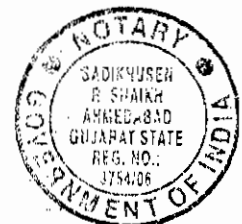
Your kind attention is drawn to my letter referred at No.1 above, requesting you to provide adequate and fool-proof security cover to me and my immediate family members; and to direct the agencies and offices under the control of the Home Department, Government of Gujarat to refrain from taking any steps or measures that would directly or indirectly jeopardize my security or the security and safety of my immediate family members.

I am deeply constrained to submit that despite my earnest and urgent plea to you for providing me and my immediate family members with adequate and fool-proof security cover, no steps have been taken to enhance the security arrangements. On the contrary, the ADGP (Training), vide his letter referred at No.2 above, has directed the immediate withdrawal of my Vehicle as well as the 5 Armed Constables from SRPTC staff being deployed by me as a part of the makeshift, though grossly inadequate, security cover for me and my family at Ahmedabad.

Sir, as you would appreciate, the withdrawal of my vehicle and the 5 Armed Constables currently deployed as a makeshift arrangement, would amount to completely depriving me and my family of even the existing modicum of security cover; thereby causing irreparable jeopardy to my security and the security and safety of my family members at a stage when the Honourable Supreme Court of India is finally hearing the Special Leave Petition No. 1088 of 2008, filed by Ms. Zakia Jafri, the widow of Late Ahsan Jafri, seeking action against many powerfully placed bureaucrats and politicians of Gujarat State for their alleged involvement in the communal carnage of 2002 and the subsequent cover-up.

As you are very well aware, I am one of prime witnesses in the complaint-petition submitted by Ms. Zakia Jafri and my statements have been recorded by the Supreme Court appointed SIT on several occasions. As requested by my letter referred at No.1 above, it should be the bounden duty and onus of the Government of Gujarat to provide adequate and fool-proof security to me and my family. Any attempt by the offices and agencies working under your direct control and supervision, to jeopardize my security as well as the security and safety of my family would not only amount to wilful abdication of an obligatory duty cast upon the State, but also tantamount to a blatant attempt by the agencies of the State to obstruct of the judicial process that has been set in motion by way of SLP No. 1088 of 2008.

*Sanjiv Bhatt*



Most Urgent

21

In view of the above facts and circumstances, you are once again requested to immediately restrain the agencies and offices under the control of the Home Department, Government of Gujarat, and direct them to refrain from taking any steps or measures that would directly or indirectly jeopardize my security or the security and safety of my immediate family members. You are further requested to urgently provide adequate and fool-proof security cover to me and my immediate family members.

With profound regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Sanjiv*  
05/03/2011 *Shan*  
(Sanjiv Bhatt)

Shri. Balwant Singh IAS  
Additional Chief Seretary to  
Government of Gujarat,  
Home Department.  
Gandhinagar.

Copy with compliments:

1. Shri. Chitranjan Singh IPS, DG&IGP, Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.
2. Shri. Fazal Guard IPS, ADGP (Training), Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.
3. Shri. Anil Pratham IPS, Principal, PTC Junagadh
4. Shri. J K Jhala GPS, Vice Principal, SRPTC-Chowky, Junagadh.



*Sanjiv*  
*Shan*

Most Urgent

No.SRB/PROTECTION/110413/01

Sanjiv Rajendra Bhatt IPS

Date: April 13, 2011

Sub: Withdrawal of existing Security Cover

Ref: 1. My letter No. SRB/PROTECTION/110214/03 dt.14/02/11

2. My letter No.SRB/PROTECTION/110305/01 dt. 05/03/11

3. My letter No.SRB/LEAVE/110319/01dt. 19/03/11

4. My letter No. SRB/PROTECTION/110411/01 dt. 11/04/11

Respected Sir,

Your kind attention is drawn to my letters referred to at No.1 and No.2 above, requesting you to provide adequate and fool-proof security cover to me and my immediate family members; and to direct the agencies and offices under the control of the Home Department, Government of Gujarat to refrain from taking any steps or measures that would directly or indirectly jeopardize my security or the security and safety of my immediate family members.

As informed to you vide my letter No. SRB/LEAVE/110319/01 dt. 19/03/11, referred to at No.3 above, I have resumed duties as Principal SRPTC on 19<sup>th</sup> March 2011. As you are aware, I am currently required to camp in Ahmedabad/Gandhinagr in connection with the ongoing investigation being carried out by the Supreme Court appointed SIT as well as other proceedings in connection with SLP No. 1088 of 2008

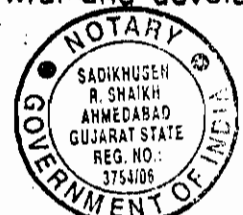
I am deeply constrained to state, that despite the earnest and urgent requests made to you vide my letters referred to at No.1 and No.2 above, no steps have been taken for providing me and my family members with adequate and fool-proof security cover. This is despite the fact that the State Intelligence Bureau as well as Ahmedabad City Police have recently assessed the level of threat to me and my family and have recommended immediate provision of security cover of a scale equivalent to or above the Y-Category, to me and my family members.

It may kindly be noted that instead of enhancing the existing security to the level recommended by the SIB as well as the Ahmedabad City Police; the ADGP (Training) has repeatedly sought to withdraw my official vehicle as well as the 5 Armed Constables from SRPTC staff being deployed by me as a part of the makeshift, though grossly inadequate, security cover for me and my family at Ahmedabad.

Your kind attention is drawn to the latest attempt to withdraw my security cover by way of an unlawful order issued by Shrf. Anil Pratham IPS, Principal PTC on 10/04/11 vide Order No. PA/ACHARYA/CHOWKY/150/2011. Needless to say, as clearly pointed out in my letter No. SRB/PROTECTION/110411/01 dt. 11/04/11 referred to at No. 4 above, the said order is patently unlawful and devoid of legitimate authority.

Sanjiv Bhatt

1





Most Urgent

As you are very well aware, I am one of prime witnesses in the complaint-petition submitted by Ms. Zakia Jafri and my statements have been recorded by the Supreme Court appointed SIT on several occasions, during the course of the ongoing investigation.

It is hereby most humbly reiterated, that the withdrawal of my vehicle and the 5 Armed Constables currently deployed as a makeshift arrangement, would amount to completely depriving me and my family of even the existing modicum of security cover; thereby causing irreparable jeopardy to my security and the security and safety of my family members at a stage when the Honourable Supreme Court of India is finally hearing the Special Leave Petition No. 1088 of 2008, filed by Ms. Zakia Jafri, the widow of Late Ahsan Jafri, seeking action against many powerfully placed bureaucrats and politicians of Gujarat State for their alleged involvement in the communal carnage of 2002 and the subsequent cover-up.

As requested by my letter referred at No.1 above, it should be the bounden duty and onus of the Government of Gujarat to provide adequate and fool-proof security to me and my family. Any attempt by the offices and agencies working under your direct control and supervision, to jeopardize my security as well as the security and safety of my family would not only amount to wilful abdication of an obligatory duty cast upon the State, but also tantamount to a blatant attempt by the agencies of the State to obstruct of the judicial process that has been set in motion by way of SLP No. 1088 of 2008.

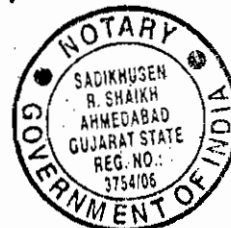
In view of the above facts and circumstances, you are once again requested to immediately restrain the agencies and offices under the control of the Home Department, Government of Gujarat, and direct them to refrain from taking any steps or measures that would directly or indirectly jeopardize my security or the security and safety of my immediate family members. You are further requested to take all necessary measures for urgently providing adequate and fool-proof security cover to me and my immediate family members.

With profound regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Sanjiv*  
13/04/2011 *Shaw*  
(Sanjiv Bhatt)

Shri. Balwant Singh IAS  
Additional Chief Secretary to  
Government of Gujarat,  
Home Department,  
Gandhinagar.



*Sanjiv*

Most Urgent

2.4

Copy with compliments:

1. Shri. Chitranjan Singh IPS, DG&IGP, Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.
2. Shri. Fazal Guard IPS, ADGP (Training), Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.
3. Shri. Anil Pratham IPS, Principal, PTC Junagadh
4. Shri. J K Jhala GPS, Vice Principal, SRPTC-Chowky, Junagadh.



*Sanjiv*

C.R.P.C. 160 નો સમન્સ.

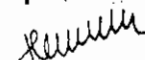
શ્રી રાજીવ ગાર, બટ્ટ (આઈ.પી.એસ.)  
પિન્કાગાઠ ગેસઆર.પી. ટ્રેનિંગ સેન્ટર,  
આરક ચોરી, જુનાગઢ.

આથી નમોને લેખિત જાણ કરવામાં આવે છે કે, મેઘાણીનગર પો.સ્ટેશન ક. ગુ. ર. નં.  
જુનાગઢ ના ક્રમની તપાસ સી.આર.પી.સી. કલમ 103(૮) મુજબ વધુ તપાસ અમો કરી રહેલ  
છે.

અને આ કામ આપનું નિવેદન લેવાનું હોઈ આપ તારીખ.૨૧/૦૩/૨૦૧૧ ના રોજ કલાક.  
૧૫:૩૦ વાગે આતરી ડુબરુ નીચે જણાવેલ સ્થળે અચુક હાજર રહેશો.

વ. વપાઈવરવ.

આપ  
મ.ક. નામજા કલના ડે.સી. (ગોધરા રાયોટ કેસ)  
મુખ્ય અધિકારી,  
સુપરવાઈઝિંગ ઓફિસ,  
બી.કે.સી. માસ્ટર બાવન,  
બી.કે.સી. માસ્ટર, ગોધરા નગર.

  
(હિમાંશુ શુક્લ)  
નાયબ પોલીસ કમિશનર અને  
તપાસનીશ અધિકારી,  
સ્પેશલ ઇન્વેસ્ટીગેશન ટીમ,  
ગોધરા રાયોટ કેસ,  
ક્રાઈમ બ્રાન્ચ, અમદાવાદ શહેર




Dear Himanshu,

As discussed on the phone,  
I may kindly be provided with  
the following documents:

1. Copy of FIR in I Cr.No 67/2002 of  
Meghaniagar Police Station
2. Copy of my Statement recorded  
by Shri A.K. Malhotra - Member  
S.I. T., in connection with the  
inquiry conducted with respect to  
the complaint of Mrs. Zakia Jaffer.

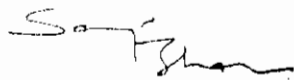
The above documents may kindly  
be provided at the earliest so as to  
enable me to state all relevant  
facts in course of the current investigation.  
With good wishes,

  
16/03/2011 | Sanjay

Recd on 16/03/2011

  
16/03





No. SRB/SIT/110318/01

26

Sanjiv Rajendra Bhatt IPS

Ahmedabad.

Date: March 18, 2011

Dr. Shri. R. K. Raghavan IPS (Retd.)

Chairman,

Special Investigation Team,

Gandhinagar.

Respected Sir,

This is with reference to the Summons u/s 160 Cr.P.C. dt. 15/03/2011, issued under the signature of Shri. Himanshu Shukla IPS, Investigating Officer of Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67/2002.

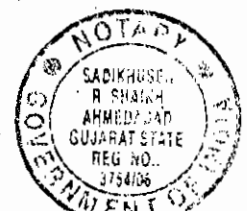
On receipt of the said summons, I had requested Shri. Himanshu Shukla IPS to provide me with the following documents:

- a. Copy of the FIR in Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67/2002 and
- b. Copy of my statement recorded by Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, in connection with the inquiry conducted with respect to the complaint of Mrs. Zakia Jafri.

Pursuant to my written request, I have been provided with a copy of the FIR registered in connection with Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67/2002. However, it has been conveyed to me vide. Shri. Himanshu Shukla's letter No. G/725/DCP/Crime/Godhra Cases/5/2011, dated 18/03/2011, that it would not be possible to provide me with a copy of my earlier statement recorded by the SIT, as the said inquiry was conducted in pursuance of the order passed by the Honourable Supreme Court of India.

I take this opportunity to reiterate my request for providing me with a copy of my signed statement as well as copies of all the documents and records duly handed over by me to Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, as it would enable me to accurately recall crucial relevant information and obviate the possibility of any loopholes or contradictions cropping up at any later stage; and thereby make my deposition in the further investigation of Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67/2002, more meaningful.

*Sanjiv Bhatt*



As you are well aware, pursuant to the orders passed by the Honourable Supreme Court of India in Special Leave Petition 1088 of 2008, my detailed statement was recorded over several days by Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, in connection with the inquiry being conducted with respect to the complaint of Mrs. Zakia Jafri. I have well founded and substantial reasons to believe that the contents of my deposition and details of my interaction with the SIT were contemporaneously, as well as subsequently, leaked to the highest echelons of the Government of Gujarat, leading to certain undesirable and avoidable personal consequences. Compounding my woes, portions of my deposition as well as certain details regarding my interaction with members of the SIT have found their way into the Public Domain, leading to a further increase in the threat to my personal safety and the safety and security of my family.

As you might be aware, I was contacted by the office of the SIT in the month of November 2009 and was asked to meet Shri. A.K. Malhotra-Member SIT on a particular date. I was subsequently contacted once again by the office of the SIT and informed that the appointed date had been unilaterally changed and postponed. In the meantime, despite my having maintained complete confidentiality regarding the telephonic summons received from SIT, I was approached by a very high level functionary in the Government of Gujarat and was sought to be appropriately briefed prior to my scheduled interaction with SIT. It may kindly be noted that when I first met Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, at the very outset, I had apprised him about the leak from his office and the consequential attempt to appropriately brief me for the deposition before SIT. During the course of my deposition before SIT, there were certain other occurrences which were highly indicative of real-time leakage of information from within the SIT. These occurrences were brought to the notice of Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, at that point of time itself. Despite my well founded apprehensions regarding the confidentiality of my deposition, I had truthfully and fearlessly responded to all the queries put forth to me. I had also provided Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT, with certain relevant documents and records pertaining to the Godhra Riots of 2002. All the documentary evidence tendered by me was verified and received-on-record by Shri. A. K. Malhotra-Member SIT.

It may kindly be noted that my fears regarding the confidentiality of my deposition before SIT were eventually confirmed as the contents of my deposition as well as the details of my interaction with Shri. A. K. Malhotra and Shri. Paramveer Singh-Members SIT, were somehow available to the highest echelons of the Government of Gujarat. As a result and consequence of the said breach of confidentiality, I was visited and continue to be visited with unpleasant consequences. The leakage of details regarding my earlier deposition and interaction with SIT have eventually found their way to the media and have further jeopardized my safety and the safety and security of my family members. You are hereby requested to initiate all necessary measures to ensure that adequate and fool-proof security cover is provided to me and my family members.

*Sanjay*



28

In view of the above facts and circumstances it is requested that as and when my statement is recorded by the SIT in connection with Meghaninagar Police Station I.C.R.No. 67/2002 or in connection with any other incident or incidents pertaining to the Godhra Riots of 2002, it may kindly be ensured, that all the officers as well as support staff, working under the control or in the employ of the Government of Gujarat, be completely dissociated from the tasks of recording, processing or safekeeping of my forthcoming deposition.

It is submitted that, in view of my experiences during my earlier deposition before SIT, as well as the constraints, if any, likely to arise out of my above request for dissociating local officers from the tasks of recording, processing or safekeeping of my forthcoming deposition; you may, if deemed necessary and expedient, proceed to get my statement recorded under Section 164 (1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973.

With profound regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Sanjiv*  
18/03/2011 *Shan*

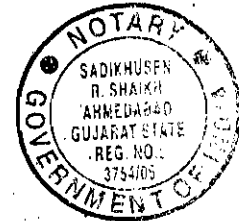
(Sanjiv Bhatt)

Copy with compliments:

Shri. Himanshu Shukla IPS

I.O. Godhra Riot Cases &

DCP Crime Branch, Ahmedabad City.



*Sanjiv*  
*Shan*

No. SRB/SIT/110322/01

Sanjiv Rajendra Bhatt IPS

Date: March 22, 2011

Dr.(Shri.) R. K. Raghavan IPS (Retd.)

Chairman, SIT- Godhra Riot Cases.

Respected Sir,

This is with reference to my letter No. SRB/SIT/110318/01 dated March 18, 2011. I am yet to receive any official response whatsoever to the explicit requests, substantial concerns and genuine reservations clearly expressed in the said letter.

Despite the above fact, I have chosen to commence my deposition in the further investigation of Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67/2002, with the sole view and purpose of complying with the directions passed by the Honourable Supreme Court of India in SLP (Criminal) No. 1088 of 2008.

As you might be aware, the recording of my on-going deposition before Shri. Himanshu Shukla IPS, the I.O. of Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67/2002; was commenced yesterday, under the guidance and supervision of Shri. Y. C. Modi IPS and Shri. A. K. Malhotra.

I take this opportunity to reiterate the requests and concerns expressed in my above mentioned letter and further submit, that as repeatedly requested in person, to Shri. Y. C. Modi IPS, Shri. Himanshu Shukla IPS and Shri. A. K. Malhotra during the course of my deposition yesterday; I may be allowed to access the relevant contemporaneous records, reports and communications in the archives of the State Intelligence Bureau. This will not only enable me to provide substantial and fruitful assistance to the SIT Team in the on-going further investigation of Meghaninagar Police Station I C.R. No. 67/2002; but also enable me to provide them with extremely useful information and evidence in their ostensible quest for ascertaining the existence of any larger conspiracy or official orchestration behind the Godhra Riots of 2002.

With profound regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Sanjiv*  
22/03/2011 *Shaw*

(Sanjiv Bhatt)



*Sanjiv*

No. SRB/SIT/110406/01

Sanjiv Rajendra Bhatt IPS

Date: April 06, 2011

Shri. R. K. Raghavan IPS (Retd.)  
Chairman, SIT- Godhra Riot Cases,  
Gandhinagar.

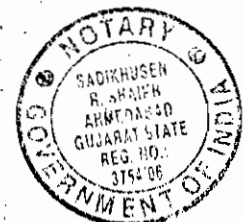
Sub: Intimidation of important witnesses etc.

Ref: 1. My letter No. SRB/SIT/110318/01 dated March 18, 2011.  
2. My letter No. SRB/SIT/110322/01 dated March 22, 2011.

Respected Sir,

1. I am still awaiting your response to my requests contained in the above cited communications.
2. Ever since my first interaction with SIT in November 2009, I have repeatedly sought personal audience with you. Unfortunately, my request for a personal audience has not been granted till date.
3. I was posted as Deputy Commissioner (Intelligence) with the State Intelligence Bureau during the Gujarat Riots of 2002 and was privy to plethora of information pertaining to the facts and circumstances that led to and facilitated the communal carnage of 2002.
4. It has been made abundantly clear to me by the members of the SIT, that the scope of the current investigation in Meghaninagar Police Station I.C.R. No. 67/2002 cannot encompass the quest for ascertaining the existence of any larger conspiracy or official orchestration behind the Godhra Riots of 2002.
5. The reluctance of the SIT to record certain inconvenient details in my testimony, coupled with their display of unconcealed hostility during our interaction on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2011, has raised very serious apprehensions about the role and intention of certain members in the ongoing investigation.
6. During the course of my statement on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2011, despite the strong reluctance and unconcealed hostility on part of the SIT, I had stated the names of certain witnesses who could corroborate my having attended the fateful meeting at the Residence of the Chief Minister on the late night of February 27, 2002.

*Sanjiv Bhatt*

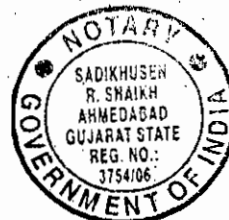




7. Given the disposition of the current administration in Gujarat, it would not be difficult to appreciate that any government servant would be highly reluctant to come forward and take a stand that could imperil his own safety or the security and wellbeing of his family.
8. It has come to my knowledge that the SIT has effectively indulged in very blatant intimidation of certain witnesses who could corroborate my having attended the fateful meeting at the Residence of the Chief Minister on the late night of February 27, 2002. I have been informed by one particular witness, Shri. K.D.Panth, that when he appeared before the SIT on 05/04/2011, he was treated like an accused by the members of SIT and was also threatened with arrest and other dire consequences, including inquiry and action against him by the Anti-Corruption Bureau of Gujarat.
9. The SIT constituted by the Honourable Supreme Court of India has now been tasked to inquire into very serious allegations against the entire administrative machinery of Gujarat including the Chief Minister of the State. Given the conditions that have existed in Gujarat for almost the last decade, it would be very unrealistic to expect any government servant to depose freely and fearlessly before any forum, including the SIT; unless he or she is provided adequate protection and complete immunity from persecution at the hands of a highly vindictive administrative setup.
10. It was expected that the SIT under your able Chairmanship, would take proactive steps and measures to inspire trust and confidence amongst the naturally reluctant witnesses so as to embolden them to come forward and state the truth. It is very unfortunate that members of the SIT have indulged in intimidation and coercion of already reluctant witnesses, and thereby wittingly or unwittingly, given the impression of having become a party to the ongoing cover-up operation in Gujarat.
11. For reasons best known to SIT, all the requests and concerns expressed vide my above referred letters, remain unaddressed till date. I take this opportunity to renew all the requests and concerns expressed in my above referred letters. You are further requested to ensure that witnesses arising out of my testimony are duly protected and shielded from all kinds of coercion.
12. I wish to reiterate, that I remain duty bound to assist the Honourable Supreme Court of India in the proceedings of SLP (Criminal) No. 1088 of 2008. As and when the occasion arises, I shall be duty bound to provide all information and evidence within my knowledge, pertaining to the existence of any larger conspiracy or official orchestration behind the Godhra Riots of 2002 and the ongoing cover-up.

Yours sincerely,

*Sanjiv*  
06/04/2011 *Shaw*  
(Sanjiv Bhatt)



*Sanjiv*

RAJ. AHMEDABAD CPO-380001

C 9783

Counter No:3, CP-Code:SYM

To:THE REGISTRAR GEN, SUPREME COURT  
NEW DELHI

Wt:150grams,

Net:180.00 , 15/04/2011 , 12:10

<<Have a nice day>>

RAJ. AHMEDABAD CPO-380001

C 9784

Counter No:3, CP-Code:SYM

To:RAJ BAWCHANDAN,  
NEW DELHI, PIN:110001

Wt:230grams,

Net:80.00 , 15/04/2011 , 12:10

<<Have a nice day>>