

NANDINI VAISH

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Nandini won The PoleStar Award for the 'Best Feature in IT Journalism' for 2004 for her article, 'Data Security: The Unusual Suspects', which appeared in Businessworld.

DATA SECURITY: THE UNUSUAL SUSPECTS

The darker side of some of the sleekest gadgets in play



BenQ Joybee music player. Maximum capacity: 256 Mb

If you thought the latest camera phone your colleague just brought to work is just that - a phone that also clicks pictures - then think again. It can also be used as a deadly weapon of subterfuge. Look at the possibilities: with that device, your colleague can take more than 100 pictures of documents, events and even the office, information that competitors may pay to procure.

Too far-fetched a theory? Not quite. Before you quiz your camera-phone-toting colleagues, you may look at this irony for an affirmation of the threat: Samsung Electronics, the world's third largest camera phone manufacturer, has forbidden the use of camera phones inside its headquarters, factories and research centres.

Samsung is not alone. Automobile and pharmaceutical companies the world over ban such devices from their R&D centres. Government agencies too have banned many such devices. The British ministry of defence has banned the portable music player iPod from sensitive areas. In India, the armed forces headquarters and Defence Research Development

Organisation are out of bounds for any outside electronic gadgets. The Saudi government has altogether prohibited camera phones in the country; tourists need to either carry ordinary mobile phones or risk confiscation. The threat to information security is not new. It has been a concern as long as it has been possible to store data, electronically or otherwise. What has changed the field dramatically in recent times is the advent of newer, easier modes of transfer and storage. And in this field, portable storage devices, growing in their ubiquity, are the latest weapons. That's the terrible reality such gadgets have brought about.

Shall we round up the suspects? To begin, thumb drives and memory sticks are a new incarnation of the Trojan horse of Achilles' time. These devices, often the size of a human thumb, plug into universal serial bus (USB) ports that all new computers come with. (USB is an external bus standard that supports data transfer rates of 12 megabytes per second, or Mbps. Another, lesser-used standard is the IEEE 1394, a version of which supports transfer rates up to 800 Mbps.) To the horror of the security-minded, these unassumingly small devices can be 'hot plugged', that is, they can be added or removed while a computer is running without disrupting its regular operations. With memory capacities ranging from a few megabytes to gigabytes, they could form a lethal arsenal.

Then there is the Apple iPod, the largest selling portable MP3 music player, which comes with a maximum storage space of 40 Gb. The space is comparable to that on an average home PC. With data transfer rate of over 10 Mbps, it can download an entire computer's information in minutes.



Palm III personal digital assistant. Maximum capacity: 2 Mb

It's not just the storage space that these devices offer, but their ubiquity, that adds to complications in security policies. Just in the latest reported quarter, Apple sold 860,000 iPods around the world.

It's not just iPods and thumb drives, but a multitude of gadgets ranging from personal digital assistants (PDAs) to laptops that can be plugged into USB ports. And as such devices grow in numbers, so does the threat posed by them. It's a very tangible threat. The loss from data theft every year is counted in billions of dollars globally. In India, a 2002-03 survey by PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) and CII (on a sample size of 103 companies) showed that at least 3 per cent of companies lose revenues above Rs 5 lakh each due to breaches. And this is only the tip of the iceberg - only 60 per cent of the thefts get reported.

In 2000, an engineer at erstwhile accounting firm Arthur Andersen who had helped develop a Rs 9-crore enterprise software for Indian Oil Corporation, stole it using his laptop when he moved to another company. Once out, one of the companies he tried to sell the software happened to be Mobil Corporation of US, which had a collaboration with Indian Oil. Mobil recognised the software and he was caught.

The threat

- Many new, small devices can steal data
- They can also be used to introduce viruses and Trojans into systems
- Camera phones can steal drawings, blueprints or layouts
- Devices can secretly record conversations

Bollywood has always been a haven for intellectual property thieves, but few have been as brazen as Canadian film editor Troy Niemens. Unhappy with some pecuniary issues at his employer Kaleidoscope Entertainment, Niemens decided to flee with an unreleased version of the film 'American Daylight', which he had been editing on his Apple iBook. He and his wife were arrested at the IGI airport in Delhi a few minutes before they were to board a flight to Canada. Is it technology that is spawning a new breed of corporate crime? Sivarama Krishnan, executive director, PwC, doesn't think so. He argues: "Data theft is not encouraged by technology, but by unprincipled competition. Technology is merely an enabler. USB devices per se do offer a threat, but are also tools for performance and productivity enhancement." While often it's corporate rivalry that encourages theft, the trigger may lie within the company. In the survey, former employees and competitors accounted for 5 per cent and 6 per cent of thefts, respectively. (Computer hackers were responsible for 46 per cent of the breaches.)

Analysis and advisory firm Gartner highlights the risks companies expose themselves to by allowing USB devices within the office. While it is difficult to stop employees from using these popular tools, it is imperative that companies have safeguards to prevent misuse. One of the first things is to have a security policy that spells out the organisation's stance on the use of such devices. Training should ensure a security-conscious workforce, which will be less likely to unwittingly put out sensitive information.

Preventive Measures

- Establish a security policy that encourages whistle-blowing
- Train employees on detection of different kinds of fraud
- Control access to USB ports, through centralised server, for example
- Enable smart card logins to prevent unauthorised users

A 'desktop lockdown policy' disabling universal plug and play functions and allowing access by only authorised devices may not be feasible to implement on all machines. Consultants even advise companies to classify users and usage, as many banks and insurance companies do. At PwC itself, good corporate governance is stressed over technology protection. Palmtops, camera phones and pen drives are allowed in the premises, but access to sensitive documents is restricted.



Apple iPod, whose storage equals that on a regular home PC, is one of the latest threats

Newer challenges are prompting some to think afresh about solutions. The South Korean government, for one, is planning to regulate the use of camera phones in public places by ensuring that it's evident when someone is clicking a photograph. Visibility of the camera lens could be one solution, an audible 'click' sound another. Companies in India too have certainly

recognised such threats. Some, whose business depends on data security, have taken severe measures. At process outsourcing firm Wipro Spectramind, employees are watched through surveillance cameras. The terminals on the process floor are all 'dumb' - they have no hard disks. Employees have to leave all gadgets, even paper and pen, in a locker room outside. The company conducts regular internal audits and monitors emails at random. "Violations, if any, are severely dealt with," says Tamal Dasgupta, CIO of Wipro Technologies, of which Wipro Spectramind is a subsidiary. Policing aside, the company has developed an internal awareness project called Security Srinivas. A small website has been dedicated to this and employees receive regular updates on the company's security policy.

The world's largest pharma company, Pfizer, follows its own information protection management guideline (IPMG), which states that information and programs stored on portable computers must be adequately protected from modification and disclosure. Only those USB memory devices that fully support passwords and encryption are allowed. These too are formatted and configured with passwords that comply with Pfizer's IPMG standards.

Says Jasminder Gulati, manager (enterprise marketing), Microsoft India: "To safeguard against data theft using external devices, it is important to ensure that the data in itself is protected. This can be done by either encoding or encrypting the data." Microsoft has been working closely with the National Association of Software and Service Companies to get a Data Protection Act in place.

But laws do not ensure that thefts are not attempted. The best way to avert being hit is to know well about the threat and keep up surveillance. It is also a great excuse to check out the latest gadgets of your colleagues. ■■■

GOURI SHUKLA

Currently based in Washington DC, Gouri Shukla has six years of experience in the field of Journalism. She has worked with publications like The Telegraph, Business Standard, The Asian Age and A&M (Advertising & Marketing). As a Business journalist, Gouri has written features on Management, Marketing, Business Strategy, Human Resources and Advertising. She has also covered social issues, film & television, lifestyle and personalities. She did her graduation in Economics at Ramnarain Ruia College, Mumbai.

Gouri won The PoleStar Award for 'Best Feature in Business Journalism' for 2004 for her article, 'Global Winners, Indian Losers', which appeared in Business Standard.

GLOBAL WINNERS, INDIAN LOSERS

Why have some global leaders been overtaken in the Indian market?

It would have been a natural progression. When the world's leading brands entered the Indian market, they were expected to retain their dominant positions. But in several cases, that's not how it worked out - the global No.1s faced stiff competition from the No.2 player or else failed to rise to the local challenges.

What went wrong? Why weren't these global behemoths able to replicate their success across the world in the Indian market as well?

The strategist examines a few case studies.

Coming apart at the seams

It is a brandname that's synonymous with jeans and denim-wear. But Levi Strauss & Co is not the best-selling jeans brand in India. When Levi entered India in 1995, it was an established global leader. At that time, the Indian denim market was largely unsegmented. Jeans, though, were quite popular in terms of aspirational value, the demand was being met largely by the unorganised sector (through multi-brand garment outlets) and smuggled foreign brands. There were several Indian brands such as Cambridge, Flying Machine, Buffalo and Avis none of which met customers' aspirations or demands. It didn't help that there was little differentiation between men's and women's styles.

Levi's wasn't the first international brand to enter the Indian market - Wrangler and Pepe were already present - but it was certainly the best known. Like Wrangler and Pepe, Levi's too entered with premium imagery and pricing (prices began at Rs 1,100). This was a change from its international mass brand positioning.

The positioning may have backfired, given that Levi's target customer was in the 16 to 25 year age group which would be open to international fashion but unable to afford premium products. Besides, retail consultants point out that the company's advertising and marketing strategies didn't explain why they had to pay a premium.

Around the same time, V F Corporation, one of the world's largest apparel makers, launched Lee in India through a licensing agreement with Arvind Brands. It was a studied choice of partner: Arvind already had strong brands in Flying Machine and Newport.

"This ground level experience was leveraged well through selective distribution, right pricing and fits as well as communication," says Govind Shrikhande, Director, Merchandising, Shoppers' Stop.

Like Levi's, Lee was also positioned as an aspirational brand. At Rs 1,000 a pair, Lee jeans didn't come cheap either, but market watchers say the brand was more successful in building the "American imagery". "We kept the global image intact but adapted it to suit the Indian market," says Suparna Mitra, Business Head (Lee), Arvind Brands.

It also helped Lee that the brand didn't concentrate all its efforts on bottomwear. Lee's premium topwear range, which it introduced in India with its first range of jeans, has consistently grown at over 40 per cent annually. And in 1998, Lee extended the brand into children's wear. The other players, too, didn't fill their shelves with just denim. Pepe, for instance, launched its casual wear and top wear ranges way back in 1996.

Levi's, on the other hand, didn't extend into topwear until 2000. Till 1999, it had a portfolio of only 501s (a button-fly style that is its international bestseller), twills, chinos and gabardines. Even the Dockers range of khakis for men and Sykes, a more affordable sub-brand for topwear as well as treated jeans, were introduced only in 2001.

Product range aside, Levi's distribution strategy also proved a problem. Lee's distribution strategy maintained the brand's image, unlike Levi's, which was sending out confusing signals. Rather than focusing on multi-brand outlets, Lee set up 40-odd exclusive stores across metros. "It helped create exclusivity for the brand," says Mitra.

That's where Levi's erred. It started with 30-odd Original Levi's (exclusive) stores with additional distribution through some 30 Weekender outlets (both brands shared the same manufacturer - Gokaldas Images). That was a complete mismatch because customers saw Weekender as a casual, affordable brand and Levi's as a super-premium offering.

When it realised that there was no positive rub-off on footfalls from the Weekender connection, Levi's started retailing through a mix of exclusive and shops-in-shop. In 1999, however, Levi's went into what a competitor calls a "distribution over-drive", extending its presence to Class A and B towns as well as smaller outlets.

"Levi's equity was diluted as a result. On the one hand, it was exclusive, on the other hand, you could pick up a Levi's from small, mom-and-pop garment stores," says a market watcher.

Levi's, however, did try to redress the balance by launching its first "affordable" range in 1998 at Rs 995 a pair. That did help. And now, with a 20 per cent market share, it's a close No.2 to Lee, which has zipped up 28 per cent of the Rs 250-crore premium jeans market. The next phase of the battle is the one to watch.

Out in the cold

There's a simple lesson to be learnt from Electrolux's India experience: multi-brand strategies work best in low-value, FMCG products. Consumers buying big-ticket items like white goods need the security of a single large, trustworthy brand.

Since its entry into India in 1995, Electrolux has been in a constant state of flux. Until 2002, the Swedish giant focused on a multi-brand strategy, addressing different consumer segments. That didn't work too well. So, in 2002, it opted for brand integration.

The multi-brand approach may have short-circuited in India, but the strategy does work, at least in other countries. After all, that's how Electrolux has grown to be the global leader in home appliances.

Across the world, Electrolux's entry strategy hinges on the acquisition of a strong local brand and adopting a hybrid brand identity for the initial few years. In France, for instance, it was Electrolux Othermatin. Similarly, in India, the strategy was to position master brand Electrolux as a super-premium offering, while the local mass brand could continue generating volumes.

Says a market watcher: “India and probably China were the only markets where this approach didn’t work, not because of the brands Electrolux acquired, but because of what happened after the acquisitions.”

So what did happen? A really long streak of bad luck, for starters. When it entered India in 1995, Electrolux zeroed in on Kelvinator as its entry point, primarily because in the US, Electrolux had acquired Kelvinator’s parent, White Consolidated. Also, at the time, Kelvinator was a strong brand in the Indian market with an over-30 per cent share.

But Kelvinator’s Indian licensee Jamshed Desai had already sold out to Whirlpool in late 1994. After negotiations, it was agreed in 1995, that Whirlpool could “rent” the Kelvinator brand until 1997.

It’s not as if Electrolux had much choice, it didn’t have the manufacturing or distribution networks needed to support a high-volume brand like Kelvinator India. And to develop the kind of capacity it needed would have taken at least two years.

In any case, one thing was certain: by the time Electrolux got back the Kelvinator brand, it had lost the opportunity to exploit the brand’s equity and market share.

Still, Electrolux spent the year-and-a-half before it could begin work with Kelvinator shopping for a manufacturing facility. It took a stake in ailing company Maharaja International, but that didn’t exactly work to plan: the unit continued making losses even after Electrolux got Kelvinator in 1997.

When Electrolux finally started marketing Kelvinator, it began with two brands — Electrolux and Kelvinator. While Kelvinator was to be manufactured locally, the Electrolux home appliance range was imported from Sweden to emphasise the super-premium image.

In the late 1990s, Electrolux added two more brands to its portfolio, it acquired an 80 per cent stake in Voltas and bought out Allwyn. The plan was to target different segments: Voltas was a strong washing machine brand at the time and Allwyn refrigerators were popular in south India.

Allwyn was to be projected as a hardy, value-for-money brand and Voltas as a mid-priced washing machine brand. Electrolux would continue as the high-end, flagship brand. However, it wasn’t easy to sustain a multi-brand strategy: dividing valuable resources among many brands was fast turning into a recipe for disaster.

Meanwhile, Maharaja International refused to invest in expanding capacity at the manufacturing outfit, which resulted in limited stocks of Kelvinator products. By the time Electrolux started sourcing refrigerators from Voltas, the target customer for Kelvinator had shifted to Whirlpool and Godrej-GEs, which were attacking the same mass market segment Kelvinator had created.

Of course, it didn’t help that Electrolux lacked visibility: increasing brand awareness for three brands had proved a gargantuan task. Competitors LG and Philips meanwhile had increased their marketing and advertising efforts.

In 2002, Electrolux discontinued Allwyn, bringing together all its products under an umbrella brand: Electrolux-Kelvinator. That may just have worked, but barely a year later came the diktat from the global parent: all markets would retain only the Electrolux brand. In 2003, therefore, Electrolux reverted to the flagship brandname Electrolux.

The constant brand switch has taken its toll. Currently, Electrolux is the fourth-largest brand in refrigerators and the fifth-largest in washing

machines in India. Dealers say the yo-yoing strategies have left retailers uninterested in pushing the products.

Adds a competitor, "In the durables market, you need good value and a trusted name - that's all. You may be a global giant, but in India you need to have more than just sophistication."

Just blew it?

Sportswear major Nike is way ahead in the race for leadership in sportswear. It shot to a 40 per cent share of the US sportswear market - the biggest in the world, which gives it a lead in the global market, even though Adidas leads in Europe. But the headstart hasn't helped the global sports brand in the Indian market so far. And that's despite the huge brand awareness the brand enjoyed in India even before it set up shop here in 1996.

According to retail consultancy KSA Technopak, while Reebok has a 45 per cent share, Adidas has 30 per cent and Nike accounts for just 25 per cent of the Rs 375-400 crore branded sportswear market. Ironically, India is the only market where Reebok has sprinted ahead of Nike and Adidas. "Reebok has sustained a good number of exclusive stores for the past few years and that's a good indicator of healthy retail revenues. Also, in contrast to what happens globally, in India Nike tries to catch up with Reebok in terms of strategy," says a retail consultant.

How did the swoosh lose its sheen? The biggest hurdles for Nike in India were its entry model and its lack of aggression. When the global sports majors entered the Indian market in 1995-96, government policy dictated that they had to have a local partner. Nike agreed to an exclusive distribution agreement with a Delhi-based trading firm Sierra, in early

1996; Adidas signed up a licensing agreement with Bata for retailing at its huge network of stores; only Reebok entered India as a subsidiary with a 20 per cent equity stake by Phoenix, a distribution and trading firm and Reebok's distribution partner.

Market watchers say that Reebok was the first to understand the ground realities in the Indian market. It was the first to build its promotions around cricket, not only through endorsements but also through sponsorships of regional and local cricket associations (see "Reebok sprints ahead", The Strategist, August 10, 2004).

Reebok also Indianised its ad campaigns right from the start, signing on high-profile sportsmen like Mohammad Azharuddin, Bhaichung Bhutia and Dhanraj Pillai. Even Adidas changed its advertising tack by signing on cricket icon Sachin Tendulkar and tennis star Leander Paes in 2000.

But even as Reebok became more aggressive (by 1998 it had invested in as many as 100 stores), Nike was going slow. "It's up to the global players to use the local partnership to grow in the market," says a competitor.

Nike clearly didn't think the same way. Right from the start it has used international ads and sports icons for promotions in India as well - and that hasn't changed still. "Sports in India largely means cricket and football. A Michael Jordan is irrelevant to the masses," says Shrikhande of Shoppers' Stop. And where globally, Nike's marketing budget is over \$ 5 billion, spends in India are significantly lower. "The biggest splash in Nike's advertising was when it launched the Presto range (flexi-shoes) in 2001," says an ex-company official.

Nike's product range has also been a problem. Globally, the brand is a trendsetter in terms of design and technology. In India, however, Nike was

relatively slow in bringing the latest designs. “Nike started importing more international ranges only after 2000,” admits the former Nike employee.

The biggest problem, say market watchers, is Nike leaving decisions on advertising and store expansion to the distributor. “It’s a risk for global players to leave strategic and branding initiatives to the local partners. They have to take the reins in their hands,” says a distributor.

So while Reebok started with 30 franchisee stores, including the Sports Infiniti shops of its trading partner Phoenix Overseas and expanded to 100 in just three or four years, until recently Nike remained at 35 or 40 stores that were managed by the trading partner.

Also, initially Nike was dependent on Sierra for almost everything: from manufacturing (since it didn’t have an import licence) to distribution as well as retailing.

Things are finally changing. Last year, Nike ended its over - dependent agreement with Sierra and became a 100 per cent subsidiary of the US parent. It already has close to 40 exclusive outlets and is likely to expand further soon. It’s taken Nike almost nine years, but looks like the sports giant is finally trying to catch up.

Stuttering start

The US-based General Motors (GM) is the world’s largest auto behemoth with a dominant presence in the 40-million-car US market too. But GM’s been driving on a potholed road in India and later entrants like Hyundai have zoomed ahead.

The basic problem was GM’s assumption that Opel, its entry and flagship brand in the European market, would have a smooth drive on Indian roads.

GM’s presence in Europe is largely under the Opel brand (GM bought over Opel in the 1970s but retained the brand name in Europe to piggyback on the German engineering brand equity Opel has enjoyed in the continent).

Similarly, GM used an Opel offering - the C-segment, premium car Astra as its launch-pad car in India in 1996. Initially, the decision to bank on the Astra seemed sound, since German engineering is respected in India and, at the time, the C-segment was just opening up in India. But it didn’t work out that way.

GM entered India with a joint venture with the C K Birla group (the erstwhile distributors for the GM brand) and set up a manufacturing plant at Halol, Gujarat. A market watcher points out that a manufacturing base should ideally be near an automotive hub, for easy access to tyre dealers, car part vendors and so on, and Halol didn’t fit the bill in any way. But the Birla group already owned the land at Halol, so GM had little choice but develop a greenfield manufacturing setup there.

Although Astra sold over 10,000 units in the the C-segment in its first year, sales started dropping once competition such as the Ford Ikon (which offered better performance at 10 to 20 per cent lower prices) came in. As the Astra lost power, in 2000 GM moved on to the Opel Corsa, a three-box B+ segment car that competed with the Ikon.

In contrast, Hyundai, which was not among the top three largest carmakers in the world in the mid-1990s, managed its Indian debut quite well. Unlike GM, it launched in 1997 through a fully-owned subsidiary, which gave it a good base in India. Then, Hyundai’s automotive plant in Chennai proved to be a cost-effective manufacturing base in India. Hyundai also chose its entry segment well, the small car segment, where there was little competition to Maruti’s 800 and Zen.

When Hyundai launched the Santro in 1997, it was well-differentiated in terms of looks and performance. Celebrity endorsement (with film star Shah Rukh Khan) also gave the company and the car instant mileage.

Surprisingly, Opel's mediocre performance didn't seem to trouble GM. That's because by the late 1990s, GM was dividing its focus between India and China. China was an open market and promised significantly higher volumes. So the company entered into three joint ventures there in the late 1990s and invested hugely in setting up R&D facility there.

In India, hence there was significantly less activity and no investment until 2002, except for the launch of the Corsa and setting up of a software plant in Bangalore last year.

Last year, though, GM revved up for action. Now, it's looking at reaping benefits in India from its global acquisitions. Attention has now shifted to the Chevrolet, which was launched last year. With Chevrolet, GM's total unit sales have shot up from just 8,000-odd units in 2002 to 21,269 in 2004 till date.

Now, GM is also looking for manufacturing facilities beyond Halol. That's where the 2001 acquisition of Daewoo should help: the Korean company has a plant in Delhi which is a good automotive hub.

GM's strategy in India will now hinge on leveraging the benefits from its stakes in various car majors globally. Its 20 per cent stake in Suzuki will come in handy for accessing small car technology; GM has already leveraged its 45 per cent stake in Subaru and Isuzu by launching the Subaru Forester and Isuzu Tavera under the Chevrolet umbrella. ■■■■

STAVAN DESAI

Stavan Desai's tryst with Journalism began in 2001 when he joined The Indian Express in Ahmedabad as a Staff Reporter. He then moved to Mumbai as a Special Correspondent to head a six-member crime and legal team focusing on special stories and reports. Stavan is currently a Special Correspondent for Hindustan Times in Mumbai. He focuses on covering terrorism, insurgency and Left-wing extremism. He also assists the Legal Editor in handling a team of nine reporters who cover Crime and Legal beats across Mumbai, Navi Mumbai and Thane. Stavan did his Masters in Communication Studies at MS University, Vadodara.

Stavan won The PoleStar Award for 'Best Breaking News' in 2004 for his article, 'Three Years Later, When Cellphones Ring: Who Spoke To Whom When Gujarat Was Burning', that appeared in The Indian Express.

THREE YEARS LATER, WHEN CELL PHONES RING

Who spoke to whom, when Gujarat was burning

Two CDs with more than 5 lakh entries have been lying with the Gujarat police and are now with the Nanavati-Shah riots panel. These have records of all cellphone calls made in Ahmedabad over the first five days of the riots which saw the worst massacres.

Two compact discs could change that. For, they contain records of all cellphone calls made in Ahmedabad from February 25, 2002, two days before the horrific Sabarmati Express attack to March 4, five days that saw the worst communal violence in recent history.

This staggering amount of data - there are more than 5 lakh entries - was investigated over several weeks by this newspaper. They show that Patel was in touch with the key riot accused, top police officers, including the Police Commissioner, top government officials, and even the Chief Minister's Office while Naroda burned. The CDs, obtained by the Crime Branch of the Gujarat police way back in April, are now sitting with the Nanavati-Shah Commission. They have been obtained by the Sunday Express and are a treasure trove of information that investigators could build on in their search for justice for the riot victims. These are not transcripts of conversations. These show:

** How the riot accused were in regular touch with politicians, police officers and government officials. All at a time when the city and the state was burning, when the Narendra Modi government looked the other way and the Opposition Congress went to sleep.

** Using cellphone tower locations, the data also gives information on the physical location of the caller and the person at the other end.

PART ONE

Tracking VHP's gen secy on day 1,2 (published 21 November 2004)

Vishwa Hindu Parishad's General Secretary in Gujarat is a pathologist called Jaideep Patel. He was booked for rioting and arson in the Naroda Patiya massacre, the worst post-Godhra riot incident in which 83 were killed, many of them burnt alive. The police closed the case saying there was not enough evidence. Records show that Patel, who lives in Naroda, was there when the massacre began, then left for Bapunagar which also witnessed killings and returned to Naroda. And that he was in touch with other riot accused, Babu Bajrangi, Ashok Govind Patel, Bipin Patel and local BJP MLA Maya Kodnani. February 27, 2002 Sabarmati Express attacked at 8.05 am, bandh called by VHP in the evening, BJP backs the bandh. Patel is in touch with senior police officials, his VHP colleagues in Delhi, state Home Minister, BJP chief.

** **11.09 am:** Patel leaves the city for Godhra.

** **12.48 pm:** Patel is in Godhra and one of the first persons he speaks to is then Ahmedabad DCP (Zone V) R J Savani who calls him at 1.05 pm.

** **2.29 pm:** Patel receives a call from a Delhi number and speaks for 215 seconds. This number is registered in the name of Bharatiya Sanskriti Pratishthan, Sector-6, R K Puram, New Delhi, the VHP headquarters.

**** 3.30 pm:** Patel calls state BJP President Rajendrasinh Rana and speaks for 267 seconds. At 4 pm the VHP called for a Gujarat Bandh the next day, on February 28, 2002, and the BJP quickly declares its support.

**** 5.00 pm:** Patel receives a call from Bharatiya Sanskriti Prathisthan, Delhi and speaks for 357 seconds.

**** 5.07 pm:** Patel again receives a call from this Delhi institution.

**** 5.14 pm:** DCP Savani calls Patel and speaks for 117 seconds.

**** 5.17 pm:** DCP Savani again calls Patel.

**** 8.03 pm:** Then state MoS (Home) Gordhan Zadafia calls Patel and speaks for 159 seconds.

**** 8.39 pm:** Patel calls Zadafia.

**** 9.13 pm:** Patel calls Zadafia again, this time for just 3 seconds.

**** 9.16 pm:** DCP Savani calls Patel and speaks for 138 seconds.

**** 9.20 pm:** Patel again calls Zadafia and speaks for 186 seconds.

**** After 11.58 pm:** Patel leaves for Ahmedabad with the bodies of the 58 persons who were killed in the S6 coach of Sabarmati Express.

February 28, 2002

Ahmedabad erupted; worst massacre in Naroda Patiya; curfew imposed in all 30 police station areas. Patel is in touch with Naroda corporator minutes before massacre begins.

**** 2.34 am:** Patel enters Ahmedabad with the 58 bodies of Godhra victims, heads for Sola Civil Hospital.

**** 9.17 am:** Patel calls then state Health Minister Ashok Bhatt and after 10 minutes, leaves for Naroda.

**** 10.11 am:** Patel reaches Naroda and at 10.52 calls one Ashok

Govind Patel of Naroda and speaks to him for 80 seconds. (Ashok Govind Patel, who has been in constant contact with Jaideep Patel, is a BJP corporator from Naroda and an accused in the killing of eight persons in Naroda on February 28, 2002 and also in the case in which Jaideep Patel was named as an accused and which was later closed by the Crime Branch.)

**** 11.05 am:** Patel receives call from a cellphone which was allegedly being used by the prime accused in the Naroda-Patiya massacre, Babu Bajrangi.

The phone is registered in the name of one Priyanka Mahendra Pandya, B/3 Pragat Ghanshyam Society, Ranip. Records reveal that the phone had been carried to Godhra the previous day and was located in Naroda area from morning of February 28, 2002 till 8.28 pm. When contacted by the Sunday Express, Mahendra Pandya, father of Priyanka Pandya, said: "I have been using this cell number for more than year. Three years ago, it was with Babubhai (Babu Bajrangi)." According to the police FIR, the attack on Naroda-Patiya started at 11 am and went on till 8 pm.

**** 11.12 am:** Patel again receives a call from Naroda corporator Ashok Patel.

**** 11.21 am:** Jaideep Patel leaves for Bapunagar area. This was one area in the city which witnessed unprecedented violence and the maximum number of deaths in private firing was reported from this area. This was under the control of DCP R J Savani.

**** 11.32 am:** Reaches Bapunagar and calls Minister Zadafia.

**** 11.37 am:** Key accused in the Naroda-Patiya massacre, Bipin Panchal alias Bipin Auto, calls Patel and speaks for 62 seconds.

**** 11.40 am:** Patel calls then DCP (Zone IV) P B Gondia, under whose jurisdiction Naroda-Patiya and Gulbarg Society fall - 38 persons, including ex-Congress MP Ehsan Jafri, were killed in Gulbarg - and speaks for 85 seconds.

**** 11.52 am:** Patel again calls DCP Gondia and this time speaks for 106 seconds.

**** 11.55 am:** Patel calls Ashok Patel and speaks for 63 seconds.

**** 12.01 am:** Ashok Patel calls back.

**** 12.07 pm:** Patel calls Ashok Patel and speaks for 71 seconds.

**** 12.10 pm:** Patel calls then Naroda BJP MLA Maya Kodnani and speaks for 79 seconds.

**** 12.20 pm:** Patel calls DCP Gondia and speaks for 42 seconds.

**** 12.25 pm:** Patel returns to Naroda.

**** 12.39 pm:** Patel returns to Bapunagar area.

**** 12.57 pm:** Patel receives call from the cellphone being used by Babu Bajrangi.

**** 1 pm:** Bipin Panchal calls Patel and speaks for 86 seconds.

**** 1.17 pm:** Bajrangi calls again.

**** 1.19 pm:** Bipin Panchal calls.

**** 1.23 pm:** Bipin Panchal calls again.

**** 1.43 pm:** Bipin Panchal calls again and speaks for 72 seconds.

**** 3.25 pm:** Patel receives a call from the Chief Minister's Office and speaks for 141 seconds.

**** 7.20 pm:** Patel receives call from a cellphone registered in the name of Sanjay Bhavsar of General Administration Department, Government of Gujarat, and speaks for 102 seconds.

**** 7.24 pm:** Bhavsar calls again.

**** 7.28 pm:** Patel calls Bhavsar.

**** 7.31 pm:** For the first time in the day, Patel calls then Police Commissioner P C Pande and speaks for 47 seconds.

**** 8.29 pm:** Patel returns to Naroda area.

**** 9.11 pm:** Tanmay Mehta, Personal Assistant to the Chief Minister, calls Patel. The conversation lasts 209 seconds.

**** 11.32 pm:** State BJP President Rajendrasinh Rana calls Patel and speaks for 13 seconds.

By midnight, senior police officers, including Joint Commissioner of Police M K Tandon had reached Naroda-Patiya. The massacre was over, the survivors were being moved to hospitals and relief camps hastily set up by the Muslim community at Shah Alam and Dariya Khan Gummat. Another massacre had taken place in Gulbarg Society. Defence Minister George Fernandes arrived in town, the death toll was 125 and counting.

PART TWO

Tracking Naroda's BJP MLA on massacre day (published 22 November 2004)

BJP's Naroda MLA says she wasn't at riot site, cellphone records say she was there. The case against Maya Kodnani was closed for lack of evidence. On that day, 83 were killed, she was in touch with cops and Togadia's brother. Maya Kodnani, the BJP MLA from Naroda, is a practising gynaecologist whose clinic is barely a kilometre from the site of the Naroda-Patiya massacre. Though there was a case of rioting and arson against her in the worst post-Godhra riot incident in which 83 were killed, just months later it was closed because of lack of evidence. "I always knew that the case was false and politically motivated as I had not visited Naroda

when the killings happened. And I knew it would be closed sooner or later. The FIR stated that I was there (Naroda) at about 12.30 pm, but as I was at Sola Civil Hospital, I knew it was a false case and would be closed," she says. However, details of cellphone calls made and received by her show that she, in fact, was in the Naroda area around 12.30 pm. A study of Kodnani's cellphone, which is still in use, reveals that, like fellow accused and VHP leader Jaideep Patel, whose details were published yesterday the BJP leader, too, had been camping in the Naroda area till the evening of February 28, 2002, and was in close contact with those accused in the massacre, police officers, top politicians, and VHP leaders, including the brother of VHP international General Secretary Pravin Togadia. The attacks in Naroda started at 11 am and went on till 8 pm. Excerpts of her cellphone records on the day of the VHP-sponsored Gujarat Bandh in protest against the Godhra train carnage:

February 28, 2002

- ** 7.53 am:** Kodnani leaves her residence for Gandhinagar.
- ** 9.57 am:** Kodnani returns from Gandhinagar and heads straight for Sola Civil Hospital.
- ** 10.37 am:** Kodnani calls the office of then Assistant Commissioner of Police (G Division) M T Rana, under whose jurisdiction Naroda and Meghaninagar fall.
- ** 10.39 am:** Kodnani calls the official cellphone of then Deputy Commissioner of Police (Zone IV) P B Gondia, Rana's immediate boss.
- ** 11.23 am:** Kodnani leaves Sola Civil Hospital.
- ** 11.55 am:** Kodnani is in Shahibaug area (her residence is also in Shahibaug area) when she receives a call from Dinesh Togadia, brother of VHP leader Pravin Togadia, and speaks for 128 seconds.
- ** 12.10 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from VHP General Secretary Jaideep

Patel, also one of the accused until the case was closed by the police.

- ** 12.21 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from Nimesh Patel, a resident of Saijapur-Bogha area, adjoining the Naroda-Patiya locality. Patel is one of the accused in the killing of eight persons in Naroda village. After the call, Kodnani moves out and heads towards Naroda.
 - ** 12.37 pm:** Kodnani reaches Naroda.
 - ** 12.40 pm:** Nimesh Patel calls Kodnani.
 - ** 2.10 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from Sri Swami Vivekanand Karnavati Charitable Trust, Maninagar, and speaks for 134 seconds.
 - ** 2.33 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from the official residence of State Education Minister Anandiben Patel in Gandhinagar.
 - ** 2.53 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from the office of the chief whip of BJP legislative party.
 - ** 3.31 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from Ashok Govind Patel of Naroda and speaks for 91 seconds.
- Patel, a BJP corporator, was also an accused in the same case as Dr Jaideep Patel. This case was later closed by the Detection of Crime Branch.
- ** 4.09 pm:** Kodnani leaves Naroda area and heads for Shahibaug.
 - ** 4.52 pm:** Kodnani calls DCP (Zone V) R J Savani, under whose jurisdiction widespread violence was reported from Bapunagar, Odhav, Amraiwadi and Hatkeshwar areas.
 - ** 4.53 pm:** Kodnani calls DCP (Zone VI) B S Jebalia, under whose jurisdiction riots were reported from Vatva, Danilimda and Kagdapith areas.
 - ** 4.55 pm:** Kodnani calls then Additional Commissioner of Police (Sector I) Shivanand Jha, under whose jurisdiction the western areas of the city come. The worst affected within his jurisdiction being Paldi, Vejalpur and Navrangpura areas.

**** 5.01 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from Delhi.

**** 5.46 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from state BJP President Rajendrasinh Rana.

**** 7.03 pm:** Kodnani receives a call from Nimesh Patel. (According to the police FIR of the Naroda-Patiya massacre and the Naroda killings, the attacks started at 11 am and went on till 8 pm. The case against her that was closed

**** FIR 197/02** registered by Ayub Khan Mir Khan Pathan at Naroda police station on March 18, 2002, named Jaideep Patel and then Naroda BJP MLA Dr Maya Kodnani along with at least 10 others for rioting, armed with deadly weapons, dacoity and causing fire with intent to damage property.

**** During the investigation,** most of the witnesses turned hostile and the DCP on September 4, 2002 filed a summary report in the court pleading to close the case on the grounds that the FIR had been merged with the police FIR relating to the killing of 8 persons in Naroda village and that the names of Patel and Kodnani be removed as there was no evidence against them.

PART THREE

Tracking cop in-charge of Gulbarg, Naroda (published 23 November 2004)

Top cop in charge of massacre zones was in touch with accused

**** At 10.30 am:** On February 28, 2002, a mob began attacking the Muslim neighbourhood of Gulbarg Society, a few kilometers from the police Commissionerate. Houses were set on fire. Despite frantic calls from residents, help did not arrive. By the evening, 38 people had been burnt alive.

**** At Naroda-Patiya,** barely four km away, the attacks began at 11 am. The neighbourhood of poor migrant workers from UP and Karnataka continued to burn for a full nine hours. By then, 83 men, women and children had been killed, most of them burnt alive.

P B Gondia was the DCP in charge of both the areas - which together marked the most horrific day in the post-Godhra violence. His cellphone records show that Gondia spent a lot of time in areas outside his jurisdiction that reported little violence. And that he was in constant touch with the riot-accused, including Nimesh Patel who is accused in the Naroda killings. He was also in touch with accused Jaideep Patel, VHP's Gujarat General Secretary and local BJP MLA Maya Kodnani. Kodnani, as yesterday's report in the Indian Express showed, was in Naroda when the massacre was on, contrary to what she has claimed. When asked why he was in touch with the riot-accused, Gondiya said: "There were several people calling me at that time. Now I do not know to whom all I spoke and about what." Excerpts from the cellphone records of DCP P B Gondia

February 28, 2002

**** 10:39 am:** Just as DCP (Zone IV) P B Gondia reaches Naroda area, he receives a call from Naroda BJP MLA Maya Kodnani. The call lasts 57 seconds.

**** 11:05 am:** Gondia calls Joint Commissioner of Police M K Tandon's office.

**** 11.40 am:** Gondia who is in Thakkarnagar, near Naroda, receives a call from VHP General Secretary Jaideep Patel, who was accused of leading a mob in Naroda, and speaks for 86 seconds.

**** 11:52 am:** Gondia again receives call from Jaideep Patel and speaks for 107 seconds.

**** 11:56 am:** Gondia calls Tandon and immediately moves to Naroda area.

**** 12:20 pm:** Gondia receives a call from Jaideep Patel again and speaks to him for 42 seconds.

**** 12:35 pm:** Gondia is in Meghaninagar area (Gulbarg Society) and returns to Naroda by 12:53 pm.

**** 12:59 pm:** Gondia calls the city police control room.

****** Gondia remains in the Naroda area till 1:44 pm. At 1:53 pm he is in Meghaninagar area but leaves immediately and returns to Naroda. On the way at 1:57 pm, he gets a call from Tandon.

**** 2:13 pm:** Gondia is again in the Meghaninagar area from where he calls Nimesh Patel, an accused in the Naroda village killings. Fifteen minutes later Gondia is in Naroda.

**** 2:46 pm:** Gondia goes back to Meghaninagar and calls ACP M T Rana. Within five minutes, he leaves for the Police Commissionerate and reaches there by 2:55 pm.

**** 3:01 pm:** Gondia receives a call from Nimesh Patel.

**** 3:11 pm:** Gondia has left the Police Commissionerate and heads for Revdi Bazaar, an area which does not fall under his jurisdiction, where little violence has been reported.

**** 3:16 pm:** Gondia receives calls from Police Commissioner P C Pande.

****** Gondia remains at Revdi Bazaar till 4:03 pm and at 4:12 reaches Meghaninagar area.

**** 5:05 pm:** Gondia receives a call from the residence of Naroda BJP MLA Maya Kodnani. The call lasts 81 seconds. Gondia is in Meghaninagar area.

**** 5:15 pm:** Gondia receives a call from ACP Rana and speaks with him for 101 seconds.

**** 5.24 pm and 5.29 pm:** Gondia receives calls from the official residence of the Revenue Minister.

**** 6.55 pm:** Gondia receives a call from Nimesh Patel.

**** 10:06 pm:** Gondia goes to the Naroda area.

**** 10.10 pm:** Gondia receives call from Nimesh Patel.

PART FOUR

Tracking Ahmedabad's police chief (published 24 November 2004) If the Ahmedabad police chief said he can't remember, this should jog his memory. Pande told panel he got to know of Naroda only after killing was over, log shows his colleagues were in touch. Deposing before the Nanavati-Shah riots panel on August 18, 2004, P C Pande, Police Commissioner of Ahmedabad during the riots, said he came to know of the Naroda Patiya violence only at 9.30 pm on February 28, 2002, when "I received information that some persons had been killed there." And it was only around 10 or 11 pm when he went there that he understood the "gravity" of the situation. However, by 9.30 pm, the massacre was long over, 83 had already been killed and Pande's cellphone records show that right through the afternoon, from 2.30 to 9 pm, in fact, he was in regular touch with two police officers in charge of Naroda and Gulbarg Society where the day's second massacre took place. And during the last half hour of the massacre, he received a call from VHP state General Secretary and riot-accused Jaideep Patel. Still, Pande deposed to the Nanavati-Shah Commission that he had not been "receiving any information regarding the serious incidents which followed after 2.30 pm..." Another point on which Pande claimed memory loss was the meeting called by Chief Minister Narendra Modi on the night of the Sabarmati attack, hours after the VHP and the BJP had declared a bandh for the next day. Once again, cell phone records fill the missing blanks. They show that he got several calls from the Chief Minister's office throughout the day and in the hours leading up to the meeting. The people doing the calling? Modi's PS Tanmay Mehta and his additional Principal Secretary Anil Mukhim.

Excerpts of his phone log: February 27, 2002

**** 8.53 am:** (within an hour of Godhra attack): Pande, who is at his residence, receives a call from then MoS (Home) Gordhan Zadafia.

**** 11.05 am:** Pande is at his office and receives a call from then DGP K Chakravarthy.

**** 11.38 am:** Chakravarthy calls again.

**** 12.48 pm:** Chakravarthy calls again.

**** 1.08 pm:** Pande calls then Ahmedabad District Collector Srinivas.

**** 1.53 pm:** Pande receives a call from Zadafia and speaks for 109 seconds.

**** 2.59 pm:** Pande receives a call from Tanmay Mehta, CM Narendra Modi's personal assistant.

**** 3.35 pm:** Pande receives a call from then additional Principal Secretary to Chief Minister, Anil Mukhim.

**** 3.36 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mehta. Half a minute later, Mukhim calls again.

**** 3.40 pm:** Pande receives a call from Minister Zadafia.

**** 3.50 pm:** Pande receives a call from DGP Chakravarthy.

**** 5.02 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mukhim. He returns the call after a minute.

**** 5.28 pm:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy and speaks for 107 seconds.

**** 6.03 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mumbai and speaks for 154 seconds.

**** 7.09 pm:** Pande calls Mukhim and speaks for 83 seconds.

**** At 7.48 pm and 8.14 pm:** Pande receives two calls from the District Collector.

**** 8.26 pm:** Pande receives a call from Sanjay Bhavsar, OSD to CM.

**** 9.13:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy and speaks for 52 seconds.

**** 9.18 pm and 9.19 pm:** Pande receives calls from Zadafia.

**** 9.42 pm:** Pande has left the city for Gandhinagar and is half way through.

February 28, 2002

**** 12.35 am:** Pande returns from Gandhinagar and heads straight for his office. He stays there till around 1 am.

**** 8.12 am:** Pande is back in office and receives a call from Chakravarthy.

**** 8.50 am:** Pande calls Chakravarthy.

**** 9.30 am:** Chakravarthy calls Pande and speaks for 126 seconds.

**** 9.44 am:** Pande receives a call from then Joint Commissioner of Police (Sector II) M K Tandon. Three minutes later, Pande is on his way to Sola Civil Hospital.

**** 10.56 am:** Pande returns to the Police Commissionerate.

**** 11.05 am:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy. (By this time mobs have taken to streets. According to police records, the attack on Gulbarg Society started at 10.30 am while it started at 11 am at Naroda-Patiya.)

**** 11.31 am:** Pande receives call from the office of Zadafia.

**** 11.40 am:** Pande receives a call from Tanmay Mehta, Narendra Modi's PA.

**** 11.43 am:** Pande receives a call from Tandon, who has already reached the Meghaninagar area (where Gulbarg Society is).

**** 11.56 am:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy.

**** 12.06 pm:** Pande calls Tandon and speaks for 75 seconds.

Three minutes after this call, Tandon leaves Meghaninagar.

**** 12.37 pm:** Pande receives a call from Tandon. By this time curfew has been imposed in the city.

**** 1.21 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mehta.

**** 1.22 pm:** Pande receives a call from Tandon.

**** 1.45 pm:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy and speaks for 116 seconds.

**** 1.56 pm:** Pande receives a call from the office of state minister Narottam Patel and speaks for 125 seconds.

**** 2.02 pm:** Pande receives a call from Tandon and speaks for 125 seconds.

**** 2.12 pm:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy.

**** 2.25 pm:** Pande receives a call from Tandon.

**** 2.53 pm:** Pande receives a call from Zadafia.

**** 3.09 pm:** Pande receives a call from then state Health Minister Ashok Bhatt.

**** 3.16 pm:** Pande calls then Deputy Commissioner of Police (Zone IV) P B Gondia, under whose jurisdiction Gulbarg and Naroda-Patiya localities fall.

**** 3.22 pm:** Pande receives a call from city MLA and state minister Kaushik Patel and speaks for 60 seconds.

**** 3.38 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mehta.

**** 3.54 pm:** Pande calls Gondia.

**** 3.57 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mehta.

**** 3.59 pm:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy. Minutes later, Chakravarthy is at Pande's office.

**** 5.16 pm:** Pande receives a call from Zadafia, who has just left the Police Commissionerate.

**** 5.17 pm:** Pande receives a call from a cellphone registered in the name of A P Patel of General Administration Department, Govt of Gujarat.

**** 5.50 pm:** Pande receives a call from Tandon.

**** 6.31 pm:** Pande receives a call from the official residence of city MLA and then state Health Minister Ashok Bhatt and speaks for 232 seconds.

**** 6.51 pm:** Pande receives a call from Chakravarthy, who is by then at Gandhinagar.

**** 7.09 pm:** Pande reaches the Meghaninagar area.

**** 7.11 pm:** Pande receives a call from Zadafia.

**** 7.26 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mehta.

**** 7.31 pm:** Pande receives a call from VHP leader and riot accused Jaideep Patel. Pande leaves the Meghaninagar area and goes back to his office.

**** 8.52 pm:** Pande calls Chakravarthy and speaks for 110 seconds.

**** 9.03 pm:** Pande calls Anil Mukim, Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister, and speaks for 229 seconds.

**** 9.14 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mukim.

**** 9.18 pm:** Pande calls Chakravarthy and speaks for 334 seconds.

**** 10.27 pm:** Pande receives a call from Mehta.

PART FIVE

Tracking Joint Commissioner (published 25 November 2004)

Top cop said lines were jammed, records show just the opposite. JCP says no idea when Gulbarg attack began; fact: he was at site. Joint Commissioner of Police (Sector II), Ahmedabad, M K Tandon - who was in charge of areas that saw the worst two massacres - told the Nanavati-Shah Commission that he did not come to know about the attack on Gulbarg

Society till 2 pm on February 28. In this, 38 were killed, many burnt alive, including ex-Congress MP Ehsan Jafri. "I was not present when the mob was being dispersed as I had gone near the Gulbarg Society at about 10.45 am and then had gone to Naroda. I was in Naroda at about 12 pm," he deposed. However, records of Tandon's official cellphone reveal that between 11.34 am and 12.09 pm, he was in the Meghaninagar area (where Gulbarg Society is). From Meghaninagar, records show, he called up the DCP in charge of the area and then Police Commissioner P C Pande. (According to police records, violence had started at Gulbarg Society at 10:30 and went on till 7 pm.) He also told the commission that he came to know about the Naroda - Patiya massacre only at 9.30 p.m. "I do not know when the mob entered this Muslim locality and I also do not know if the police officials present on the spot tried to contact me during this time. I think that during this time, the telephone lines were jammed. I first came to know about this incident (Naroda-Patiya) at 9.30 pm when I was in the Gulbarg Society and immediately rushed there," he said. But his cellphone details reveal that he was constantly in touch with the police officers who were in direct charge of the riot-hit areas, and the police control room called him at least four times between 1.24 pm and 3.01pm. When contacted, Tandon refused to comment. Excerpts from his cellphone records:

February 27, 2002

- ** 9.50 am:** Tandon receives a call from the police control room.
- ** 10.05 am:** Tandon calls the police control room.
- ** 10.08 am:** Tandon again calls the police control room.
- ** 10.09 am:** Tandon calls DCP (Zone IV) P B Gondia. Immediately, he receives a call from DCP (Zone V) R J Savani.
- ** 10.11 am:** Tandon receives a call from DCP (Zone VI) B S Jebalia.

- ** 10.12 am:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Savani.
- ** 10.17 am:** Tandon receives a call from ACP M T Rana.
- ** 11.31 am:** Tandon reaches the commissionerate and calls DCP Savani and speaks for 70 seconds.
- ** 11.56 am:** Tandon receives a call from Savani and speaks for 160 seconds.
- ** 12.16 pm:** Tandon again receives a call from Savani.
- ** 12.57 pm:** Tandon calls DCP Jebalia.
- ** 12.58 pm:** Tandon calls DCP Savani and speaks for 128 seconds.
- ** 2.59 pm:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Savani.
- ** 3.18 pm:** Tandon calls DCP Jebalia.
- ** 3.49 pm:** Tandon again calls DCP Jebalia and speaks for 84 seconds. Minutes later, Tandon leaves the commissionerate and goes to Revdi Bazaar, a communally sensitive area.
- ** 4.02 pm:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Jebalia.
- ** 4.22 pm:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Jebalia.
- ** 4.25 pm:** Tandon calls DCP Savani. Tandon goes to the New Cloth Market where office of DCP (Zone VI) is also situated.
- ** 4.39 pm:** Tandon calls DCP Savani.
- ** 5.20 pm:** Tandon calls Police Commissioner P C Pande and speaks for 104 seconds. Tandon leaves and heads towards Bapunagar and Naroda areas.
- ** 5.49 pm:** Tandon calls DCP Savani.
- ** 5.57 pm:** Tandon receives a call from the police control room.
- ** 6.05 pm:** Tandon receives a call from ACP Rana. Tandon is then in the Rakhial area.
- ** 6.46 pm:** Tandon reaches Bapunagar and receives a call from ACP Rana.

- ** **6.59 pm:** Tandon reaches the Naroda area and calls DCP Gondia.
- ** **7.17 pm:** Tandon returns to the commissionerate.
- ** **8.42 pm:** Tandon calls DCP Savani and speaks for 232 seconds.
- ** **8.55 pm:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Savani.
- ** **9.34 pm:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Savani and speaks for 481 seconds.
- ** **10.32 pm:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Savani and speaks for 100 seconds.

Februrary 28, 2002

- ** **12.00 am:** Tandon receives a call from Savani. Immediately, he calls up then MoS Home Gordhan Zadafia and speaks for 133 seconds.
- ** Three minutes later, Savani calls Tandon and speaks for 96 seconds.
- ** **6:49 am:** Tandon receives a call from Delhi and speaks for 126 seconds.
- ** An hour later, Tandon speaks to all his three DCPs, Gondia, Savani and Jebalia at length.
- ** **Between 9:20 am and 9:36 am:** Tandon speaks at length with DCPs Savani and Jebalia and then speaks to police commissioner Pande.
- ** **11.20 am:** Tandon calls ACP M T Rana of Meghaninagar and Naroda areas.
- ** **11.34 am:** Tandon reaches Meghaninagar (Gulbarg Society is there) when he calls DCP Gondia, under whose jurisdiction both the areas fall. Ten minutes later, he calls the Police Commissioner and then makes two successive calls to the city police control room.
- ** **12.06 pm:** Tandon receivies a call from Pande. Three minutes later Tandon leaves Meghaninagar area.
- ** **12.11 pm:** Tandon reaches the Naroda area.

- ** **Between 12:14 pm and 12:18 pm:** he makes three calls to Pande and once to the police control room at 12:26 pm.
- ** **12.33 pm:** Tandon receives a call from DCP Savani and leaves Naroda.
- ** **12.37 pm:** Tandon calls Pande.
- ** **12.41 pm:** Tandon calls ACP Rana. Tandon is travelling through Bapunagar, Rakhial and reaches Relief Road at 1:56 pm. Till about 4 pm Tandon remains in the Relief Road and Revdi Bazaar areas.
- ** While Tandon is not in any of the riot-hit areas within his jursdiction, his cellphone details reveal he was constantly in touch with the DCPs Gondia, Savani and Jebalia, the police control room, Pande and then city Mayor Himmatsinh Patel during this time.

The police control room called him at least four times between 1:24 pm and 3:01 pm.

- ** **4:12 pm:** Tandon reaches the police commissionerate.
- ** **4.28 pm:** Tandon reaches the Meghaninagar area (Gulbarg Society).
- ** **10:14 pm:** Tandon visits the Naroda area and leaves by 11:03 pm.

Recalling the calling

** When asked to explain his cell records, Jaideep Patel said: "I don't remember who all I spoke to, it's been a long time since Godhra. But I brought the bodies to Ahmedabad, I might have spoken to cops as some Godhra victims could have been from Naroda. I might have spoken to people in the government, I do not know. After all, I am a leader of the Hindus, several people speak to me everyday. It can't be said that because I spoke to certain persons, something happened somewhere."

** Why was Minister Gordhan Zadafia in touch with Jaideep Patel?

Zadafia: "When the inquiry commission will ask...I will reply. If I'm

speaking to different persons who I think can help me restore normalcy, there is nothing wrong.”

**** Why did the Chief Minister’s Office contact Jaideep Patel?**

PS Tanmay Mehta, who made the call: “I do not know anything about this.”

**** Did the Crime Branch study the cellphone records before closing the case against Patel?**

Joint Commissioner of Police (Crime) P P Pandey: “There are certain aspects about it yet to be looked into. As the Police Commissioner is on leave, I cannot comment.”

**** Will the review panel, set up at the behest of the Supreme Court, look into these records while scrutinising the 2,100 closed riot cases?**

DGP A K Bhargav who heads the panel: “These cellphone records have little value, they do not prove anything. Yes, these can be used to trace the movements of an accused.”

**** Where were you when the worst massacre took place in your constituency?**

Maya Kodnani “I had gone to Gandhinagar early morning and on return had gone straight to Sola Civil Hospital where I stayed till afternoon. I then went to Ahmedabad Civil Hospital to check on the injured brought from Godhra. I then went home and stayed there for the rest of the day.”

Why did a victim of the massacre file a case against you?

“Somebody from the relief camp complained to the police based on which an FIR was registered.” Deputy Commissioner of Police RJ Savani

**** Records reveal that you were in constant touch with local VHP and political leaders**

“Only CDs have been submitted to the inquiry commission and not cellphone-wise detailed report. Then, how can you say this? It’s common for local leaders to call and speak to us cops. That does not mean that the talk we had was anti-national, against a particular section of the society. Many Muslim leaders had also called me for help.”

Your area witnessed the worst violence in the city.

“The media is responsible for it. It repeatedly showed the Godhra incident and it was carried so big in the newspapers that people got instigated.” Then Deputy Commissioner of Police (Zone IV) P B Gondia

**** You were in charge of the zone which saw the worst massacres. Why were you in touch with the riot-accused?**

“There were several people calling me at that time. Now, I do not know to whom all I spoke and about what. Also, I have not seen the telephone records and till I do so I cannot comment further. And there is always a possibility that someone might be using someone (else)’s cellphone. Now I cannot see their faces and so have to believe their identity as revealed verbally over the phone.”

** When contacted at his residence in Delhi, former Ahmedabad Police Chief P C Pande said: “I would not like to comment on anything.” Pande, who was moved to the CBI after his stint as Ahmedabad Commissioner, was recently moved out by the Government. The Government was acting on a commitment it gave to the Supreme Court on a PIL challenging his appointment to the agency.

Shows state role, need for a CBI probe: Left & Cong

** Prakash Karat (Senior Politburo member, CPM): The report strengthens the case for ensuring Central intervention, investigation by an agency like the CBI to pursue prosecution of the guilty.

**** Nilotpal Basu (CPM leader in RS):** Let's hope the prosecution will take note of these inputs. This expose strengthens the points we raised in Parliament that the state government manipulated the violence.

**** Congress spokesman Anand Sharma:** The BJP leadership owes an explanation on what action they propose to take in the light of the new evidence. BJP leaders can't claim now they were not even present during rioting.

**** D Raja (CPI):** It shows that without active connivance of the state government and the ruling party, such communal carnage could not have taken place in Gujarat.

**** Abani Roy (RSP):** The Express investigation reveals to what extent the establishment was involved in the riots. It demands a more thorough probe.

'Nothing can be proved without transcript of calls'

RANCHI: Reacting to the Indian Express expose on the Gujarat riots, former Union Minister Harin Pathak said on Wednesday: "I fail to understand what the media wants to prove just by referring to mobile calls. Nobody has denied their presence in Ahmedabad city at that time. MLA Maya Kodnani resides in Naroda and she was naturally there. So without transcripts of the phone calls, nothing can be proved." Guilty should be booked: Khursheed

NEW DELHI: UP Congress President Salman Khursheed said here that the political system must respond and book the people who failed to discharge their duties to protect the people during the Gujarat riots. Referring to the Indian Express investigation, Khursheed said "I am delighted to see public-minded investigative journalism being able to unearth such telling information and unsparingly critical of irresponsible people holding public offices." ■■■■■