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OUR SHAME  
Harinder Baweja

REPORTER'S DIARY:



VOYAGER  
BETWEEN  
TWO WORLDS  
Ashish Khetan

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Key BJP, RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal activists speak openly of how Narendra Modi blessed the anti-Muslim pogrom

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## Thy Hand, Great Anarchy

Accused after accused testified to how the Gujarat genocide would not have been possible had Narendra Modi not sent out clear directives to the administration to look the other way [READ >>](#)

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**NARENDRA MODI's** anger was palpable after the Godhra incident; he vowed revenge. Hareesh Bhatt, the then national co-coordinator of the Bajrang Dal, was part of the meeting in which Narendra Modi told them they could do whatever they wanted for the next three days. After that, Bhatt says, "He asked us to stop and everything came to a halt."

**RAJENDRA VYAS**, the VHP's Ahmedabad city president, was consoled by Modi, who said, "Rajendrabhai, calm yourself, everything will be taken care of."

**NOT ONLY DID THE MODI** government allow the mob fury to continue unabated, it also tried to shelter the perpetrators from the law. Modi himself arranged for Babu Bajrangji, the prime accused in the Naroda Patiya case, to stay at Gujarat Bhavan in Mount Abu, and transferred two judges to help Bajrangji get bail

**SINCE THE POLICE** were in control all over Gujarat, Modi instructed them to side with the Hindus, thus giving the rioters a free hand for three days until pressure from higher quarters necessitated the calling in of the army

**AFTER THE NARODA PATIYA** carnage, the chief minister himself went to the site and acknowledged the efforts of the Chhara tribe, who were key participants in the massacre at Naroda Patiya

**ARVIND PANDYA**, government counsel, is convinced that Modi's strong leadership made the post-Godhra carnage possible



EARLIER IN TEHELKA

Nov 03, 2007

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*Accused after accused testified to how the Gujarat genocide would not have been possible had Narendra Modi not sent out clear directives to the administration to look the other way*



Shalendra Pandey

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EARLIER SECTIONS have detailed how leaders of the VHP and the Bajrang Dal conspired and plotted the massacres. How preparations for largescale killings had begun soon after the news of the Sabarmati Express fire was out. How execution squads were formed comprising committed workers of various saffron outfits. How the police turned a blind eye to the violence and in some cases even participated in it, shoulder to shoulder with the mob. How the prosecution plotted to threaten and buy off survivors, instead of ensuring that the accused were convicted.

The massacre and its cover-up were executed at different levels of the BJP government and its extensions like the VHP and the Bajrang Dal. So, was there a ringmaster running the show or was the Gujarat massacre an uncoordinated affair? Was there an invisible hand pulling the strings from behind the stage?

What was the real extent of the role played by the man who ruled the state in a time of carnage that was supported by the various arms of his own government? Was Modi responsible for police complicity in the genocide? Did he give the go-ahead to such bloodthirsty leaders of the VHP and the Bajrang Dal as Babu Bajrangji, Haresh Bhatt and Anil Patel? TEHELKA tried to ascertain the truth from the assassins themselves. And this is what they had to say about Modi and his role.

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Transcript: BABU BAJRANGI

*Modi has a definite soft spot for the man who would later stall the film Parzania. The regard is mutual*



Babu Bajrangji

AUGUST 10, 2007

**TEHELKA:** The day Patiya happened, didn't Modi support you?

**Bajrangji:** He made everything all right, otherwise who would have had the strength... It was his hand all the way... If he'd told the police to do differently, they would have f\*\*\*\*d us.... they could have... they had full control...

**TEHELKA:** They had control?

**Bajrangji:** They were very much in control all over the city, all over Gujarat... [But] for two days, Narendrabhai was in control... from the third day... a lot of pressure came from the top... Sonia-wonia and all came here...

...

**TEHELKA:** Didn't Narendrabhai come to meet you [in jail]?

**Bajrangji:** If Narendrabhai comes to meet me, he'll be in deep trouble... I didn't expect to see him... Even today, I don't expect it...

**TEHELKA:** Did he ever talk to you over the phone?

**Bajrangji:** That way I do get to speak to him... but not just like that... The whole world starts singing...

**TEHELKA:** But when you were absconding, then he....

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**Bajrangi:** Hmm... I did speak to him twice or thrice...

**TEHELKA:** He'd encourage you...

**Bajrangi:** *Marad aadmi hai* [he's a real man], Narendrabhai... If he were to tell me to tie a bomb to myself and jump... it wouldn't take even a second... I could sling a bomb around me and jump wherever I was asked to... for Hindus...

**TEHELKA:** Had he not been there, then Naroda Patiya, Gulbarg etc...

**Bajrangi:** Wouldn't have happened. Would've been very difficult.

•••

**SEPTEMBER 1, 2007**

**TEHELKA:** Did Narendrabhai come to Patiya the day of the massacre?

**Bajrangi:** Narendrabhai came to Patiya... He could not make it to the place of the incidents because there were commando-phamandos with him... But he came to Patiya, saw our enthusiasm and went away... He left behind a really good atmosphere...

**TEHELKA:** Said you were all blessed...

**Bajrangi:** Narendrabhai had come to see that things didn't stop the next day... He went all around Ahmedabad, to all the places where the *miyas* [Muslims] were, to the Hindu areas... told people they'd done well and should do more...

•••

**Bajrangi:** [After the massacre] the commissioner issued orders [against me]... I was told to leave my home... I ran away... Narendrabhai kept me at... the Gujarat Bhavan at Mount Abu for four-and-a-half months... After that, [I did] whatever Narendrabhai told me to... Nobody can do what Narendrabhai has done in - Gujarat... If I did not have the support of Narendrabhai, we would not have been able to avenge [Godhra]... [After it was over,] Narendrabhai was happy, the people were happy, we were happy... I went to jail and came back... and returned to the life I'd led before.

•••

**Bajrangi:** Narendrabhai got me out of jail..... He kept on changing judges.... He set it up so as to ensure my release, otherwise I wouldn't have been out yet... The first judge was one Dholakiaji... He said Babu Bajrangi should be hanged — not once, but four-five times, and he flung the file aside... Then came another who stopped just short of saying I should be hanged... Then there was a third one... By then, four-and-a-half months had elapsed in jail; then Narendrabhai sent me a message... saying he would find a way out... Next he posted a judge named Akshay Mehta... He never even looked at the file or anything.... He just said [bail was] granted... And we were all out... We were free..... For this, I believe in God... We are ready to die for Hindutva...

Nov 03, 2007

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### 'His Rage Was Great'

Transcript: RAMESH DAVE

*The fury Modi evinced at Godhra was understandable to a fellow Sangh die-hard*  
*The fury Modi evinced at Godhra was understandable to a fellow Sangh die-hard*



Ramesh Dave

JUNE 12, 2007

**Ramesh Dave:** We went to the [VHP] office that night... the atmosphere was very disturbing... Everybody felt that [we had taken it] for so many years... Narendrabhai gave us great support...

**TEHELKA:** What was his reaction when he reached Godhra?

**Dave:** In Godhra, he gave a very strong statement... He was in a rage... He's been with the Sangh from childhood... His anger was such... he didn't come out into the open then but the police machinery was turned totally ineffective...

Nov 03, 2007

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Transcript: HARESH BHATT

*A Bajrang Dal leader in 2002, Bhatt cannot fathom the opposition to his icon*



Haresh Bhatt

JUNE 1, 2007

TEHELKA: What was Narendra Modi's reaction when the Godhra incident happened?

**Haresh Bhatt:** I can't tell you this... but I can say it was favourable... because of the understanding we shared at that time...

TEHELKA: Tell me something... Did he...

**Bhatt:** I can't give a statement... But what he did, no chief minister has ever done ...

TEHELKA: I won't quote it anywhere... For that matter... I am not even going to quote you

**Bhatt:** He had given us three days... to do whatever we could. He said he would not give us time after that... He said this openly... After three days, he asked us to stop and everything came to a halt...

TEHELKA: It stopped after three days... Even the army was called in.

**Bhatt:** All the forces came... We had three days... and did what we had to in those three days...

TEHELKA: Did he say that?

**Bhatt:** Yes... That is why I am saying he did what no chief minister can do...

TEHELKA: Did he speak to you?

**Bhatt:** I told you that we were at the meeting.

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**Bhatt:** He had to run the government... the trouble he is facing now... there are several cases being re-opened... people are rebelling against him...

**TEHELKA:** People in the BJP are revolting against him...

**Bhatt:** People in the BJP... whatever he has done has made him a larger-than-life figure and the other politicians cannot bear to see that...

*Nov 03, 2007*

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### 'We Were Blessed, He Told Us'

Transcript: SURESH RICHARD

*Modi personally congratulated Richard as he showered praises on the Chhara tribe for a job well done*



Suresh Richard

AUGUST 12, 2007

**Suresh Richard:** [On the day of the massacre] we did whatever we did till quite late in the evening... At around 7.30... around 7.15, our Modibhai came... Right here, outside the house... My sisters garlanded him with roses...

**TEHELKA:** Narendrabhai Modi...

**Richard:** Narendra Modi... He came with black commandos... got down from his Ambassador car and walked up here.... All my sisters garlanded him... a big man is a big man after all...

**TEHELKA:** He came out on the road?

**Richard:** Here, near this house... Then he went this way... Looked at how things were in Naroda...

**TEHELKA:** The day the Patiya incident happened...

**Richard:** The same evening...

**TEHELKA:** 28 February ...

**Richard:** 28...

**TEHELKA:** 2002...

**Richard:** He went around to all the places... He said our tribe was blessed... He said our mothers were blessed [for bearing us]...

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**TEHELKA:** He came at about 5 o' clock or at 7?

**Richard:** Around 7 or 7.30... At that time there was no electricity... Everything had been burnt to ashes in the riots...

•••

**TEHELKA:** Now, after that day when Narendrabhai Modi visited your home, the day of the Naroda Patiya massacre, has he ever been back here again?

**Richard:** Never.

*Nov 03, 2007*

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## ‘Were Modi Not A Minister, He Would Have Burst Bombs’

Transcript: ARVIND PANDYA

*The Gujarat CM is the Hindu samaj's new saviour, says the government counsel in the Nanavati-Shah Commission*



Arvind Pandya

JUNE 6, 2007

**Arvind Pandya:** [The Muslims of Godhra] thought they could get away with it because the Gujarati is mild by nature. In the past, they had beaten the Gujarati, they have even beaten the entire world, and nobody has shown any courage... Nobody had ever resisted them... They thought they'd get away with it just like they always do, but they used to get away with it because there was Congress rule here earlier... To get their votes, the Congress would suppress Gujaratis and Hindus... But this time, they were thrashed... It is Hindu rule now... All of Gujarat is ruled by Hindus, and that too from the VHP and the BJP...

**TEHELKA:** They miscalculated...

**Pandya:** No, what would have happened... If it were a Congress government, then they would have never allowed Hindus to beat Muslims, they would have used their administrative force just to drag the Hindus down... They never stop [Muslims] from violence... They'll tell Hindus to maintain peace but will never do anything to touch them [Muslims]... They would never have done anything, even in cases like [Godhra], but in this case, there was a Hindu-based government and... so, people were ready and the state was also ready... This is a good connivance [sic].

**TEHELKA:** This was the good fortune of the Hindu community... the entire Hindu samaj.

**Pandya:** And let us say the ruler was also strong in nature because he gave, just take the revenge and I am ready... We must first salute Kalyan Singh because he accepted every kind of liability before the Supreme Court, saying... I did this, I was the party....

**TEHELKA:** Later on, when he changed the party...

**Pandya:** He did, but he was the founder person, he just stood before the Supreme Court boldly and said that I am the person...

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**TEHELKA:** Took sole responsibility.

**Pandya:** Thereafter, the second hero by the name of... Narendra Modi came and he gave oral instructions to the police to remain with the Hindus, because the entire kingdom is with the Hindus.

**JUNE 8, 2007**

**TEHELKA:** Sir, is it true that when Modi went to Godhra on February 27, that VHP workers attacked him?

**Pandya:** No, they didn't. It's like this... There are 58 bodies... and it's evening... people are bound to say, what have you done...

**TEHELKA:** From 8 in the morning till evening, he didn't land up... So, when things got heated, then Modi ji got angry and he...

**Pandya:** No it's not like that... Modi's been on our line for a long time... Forget that matter... But he's occupying a post, so naturally there are more limitations... and he has quite a few... It is he who gave all signals in favour of the Hindus... If the ruler is hard, then things can start happening...

**TEHELKA:** Did you meet... Narendra Modi after he returned from Godhra on the 27th?

**Pandya:** No, I will not answer queries on this... I shouldn't...

**TEHELKA:** Sir, I want to know what was his first reaction?

**Pandya:** When Narendra Modi first heard it over the phone, his blood was boiling... Tell me, what else do I say... I've given you some hints and I can't reveal more than that... nor should I say it...

**TEHELKA:** I wanted to know this... what his first reaction was...

**Pandya:** No, his reaction was like this: if he were not a minister, he would have burst bombs... If he had the capacity and was not a minister he would have detonated a few bombs in Juhapura [a Muslimdominated locality in Ahmedabad].

*Nov 03, 2007*

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Transcript: RAJENDRA VYAS

*Inconsolable after Godhra, the VHP Ahmedabad chief had Modi's word that everything would be taken care of*



Rajendra Vyas

JUNE 8, 2007

TEHELKA: I wanted to know... about Narendra Modi... what were his first words [after the Godhra train incident]? What did he tell all of you?...

**Rajendra Vyas:** He first said that we would take revenge... the same thing I myself had said publicly... I hadn't even eaten anything then... Hadn't even had a drop of water... I was in such a rage that so many people had died, tears were flowing from my eyes... but when I started using my strength... started abusing... he [Modi] said, Rajendrabhai, calm yourself, everything will be taken care of... What did he mean when he said that everything would be taken care of?... All those who were meant to understand, understood...

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