

**Annexure 8 to Tabular Presentation by Teesta Setalvad to SIT**  
**May 29, 2008**

**Revelations by Tehelka's Operation Kalank that reveal a masterminded statewide conspiracy**

The Expose, *Operation Kalank* by Tehelka magazine and telecast on the *AAJ TAK* channel on October 25, 2007 further adds gravity and urgency to the situation. As the transcripts of the conversations show, the persons taped in a sting operation include:

1. Babu Bajrangi (accused No 1 in Naroda Patiya)
2. Haresh Bhatt (former MLA, Godhra)
3. Dhaval Patel (Sabarkantha VHP member)
4. Anil Patel (VHP head ,Sabarkantha/Mehsana]
5. Ramesh Dave
6. Mangilal Jain (Gulberg accused)
7. Madan Chawal (Gulberg accused)
8. Suresh Richard (Naroda accused)
9. Prahlad Raju (Naroda accused)
10. Prakash Rathod
11. Dhimant Bhatt
12. Deepak Shah Advocates
13. Arvind Pandya
14. Dilip Trivedi
15. Bharat Bhatt
16. Rajendra Vyas

The contents of the conversations are stark and revealing. Apart from brazen admissions of mass murder, rape, transportation of arms from states, preparation for Godhra and post Godhra violence for weeks and months before February 27, 2002 and a direct role of chief minister Narendra Modi in fuelling mass rape and murder. These revelations call for SIT to examine the veracity/authenticity of the recordings. SIT must question/interrogate all the persons above and whom they name even if they be the powerful.

The *Tehelka* tapes contain a confession, or rather a gloating admission of a rapist from Naroda who speaks of Modi arriving at Naroda the evening after 112 persons have been humiliated butchered and burnt, euphorically congratulating the army of marauders, surrounded by black cat commandoes (who are therefore witnesses as well). They also contain recordings of a man working in the accounts office of MS University Vadodara also speaking of direct orders from Modi as also Modi's street operator, Babu Bajrangi who was thereafter protected by Modi in mount Abu. The judiciary was also carefully manipulated to ensure that mass murderers and rapists get bail, sometimes anticipatory bail and roam scot free.

**Besides serious questions for SIT are also raised: Arms Distribution before Execution of Mass Crimes**

- A. Conversation with Haresh Bhatt (then MLA of the ruling BJP party) from Godhra suggests that the conspiracy to import arms into Gujarat from Punjab was a long standing one. If so,
  - a) Who were the conspirators?
  - b) Who was present in the meeting?
  - c) When did the meeting take place?
  - d) Did this meeting take place well before 27th Feb. 2002 when the Godhra arson took

- place?
- e) It is true that Godhra is a hub of Truck owners. Hundreds of truck could be available at short notice to supply consignment all over Gujarat. However it is worth investigating what the Distance between Godhra/Ahmedabad and point in Punjab as well as UP/MP?
  - f) When did Haresh Bhatt order two truck load consignment (swords) from Punjab?
  - g) When did Haresh ordered consignment of KATTA (desi guns) from UP & MP?
  - h) How long does it take for a loaded truck to communicate distance between Punjab & Gujarat?
  - i) How long does it take for a loaded truck to communicate distance between UP & Gujarat? (cause' road conditions en rout partially single lane road & partially express way – Trucks do not exceed 50/60 KM / Hour speed and therefore the time factor is critical)
  - j) When did the consignment arrive in Gujarat (Ahmedabad / Godhra)?
  - k) If the consignment was ordered well before 27th Feb. 02, ca it or does it corroborate the much-touted Godhra conspiracy theory?
  - l) The truck passed through how many states? Punjab, Haryana, UP, MP, & Rajasthan states. Did the Police arranged easy passage for the consignment to pass through their respective states like Punjab, Haryana, UP, MP and Rajasthan?
  - m) Is it possible for he consignment to be ordered on 27th, receive delivery instantly and use it on 28th, 1st, 2nd?
  - n) Who are the manufacturers and suppliers of swords (Punjab) & Katta in UP, MP?
  - o) When did they receive the order for consignment? When delivered? Who paid for them?

B. Haresh Bhatt claims to be an owner of Crackers factory in Ahmedabad. From 27th February onwards, despite the Gujarat Bandh(!!)his factory was functioning!!  
Questions:

- a) Who were/are the workers in the factory?
- b) Who supplied the Diesel to make Diesel bombs?
- c) Pipe bomb does require considerable time on lathe machine!
- d) Rocket launcher manufacturing does require considerable time on lathe machine?
- e) How many lathe machines and expert workers were occupied? Time factor.
- f) Identity of vehicles used for the supply & it's owners?
- g) Where was it supplied?
- h) To whom it was delivered in village, town or city?
- i) Which Police Officers allowed the consignment to pass through giving it safe passage.
- j) Patterns of burns / destructions on structures like buildings etc by BURN MARK by Diesel, by explosive like Dynamite, by Explosive used in Rocket launchers etc?
- k) What about the FSL report? Does it help anywhere? Like samples of ashes, color, melted organs, floor of building and penetration marks by weapon like Rocket launcher?

C. Sting Operation on Dhaval Patel VHP General Secretary, Sabarkantha. Questions Raised after Sting Operation:

- a) He is a Registered holder and supplier of Dynamites for stone query.
- b) What was the quantity of stock of dynamite noted on Stock Register kept in his premises ON and BEFORE 27th Feb. 02.
- c) From which Government Depot did he get the supply on requisition?
- d) Did he acquire the stock from some other State?

- e) How much stock was supplied and where?
  - f) Identity of vehicles used for the supply & it's owners?
  - g) Where was it supplied?
  - h) To whom it was delivered in village, town or city?
  - i) Which Police Officers allowed the consignment to pass through? Giving safe passage.
- D. Babu Bajrangi, accused number one of the Naroda Patiya Massacre. He is from Naroda, formerly with the VHP now supposedly with the Shiv Sena. The sting has his interview shows that
- \* He was present in Godhra at the time of accident and threatened to kill four times the number of karsevaks.
  - \* First to start the Naroda Patiya massacre.
  - \* Organized as well as threatened people to participate in the riots.
  - \* Rammed a diesel tanker inside a mosque and set it ablaze.
  - \* Witnesses were bribed, threatened and forced to flee.
  - \* Slit open a pregnant ladies womb.
  - \* Did not allow the release of the movie Parzania threatening to cause harm to theatres.
- Questions raised:
- a) He has admitted to calling Home Minister Zardari. This can be corroborated with print-out of his incoming calls on the mobile.
  - b) He claims that CM Modi informed Commissioner to provide safe passage to Bajrangi and to enjoy hospitality at Gujarat Bhavan, Mount Abu (Raj).
  - c) Who else were with him in Mt. Abu? What are the details of the rooms Nos. occupied by Bajrangi and others?
  - d) Any entry in the Guest book register from 1st Jan to 31st Aug 2003.
  - e) Who provided the expenses of living at Mount Abu?
  - f) Bajrangi's interview has indicted Justice Dholakia's court and this needs investigation due to the seriousness of the allegations.
  - g) Which court was Justice Dholakia presiding over? The records and orders of this court need to be examined.
  - h) Which Judge/s subsequently occupied his place?
  - i) Which Judge may have arranged for 'setting' the matter?
  - j) Which Judge granted Bail?
  - k) Did the court ask for the opinion / statement of the concerned Investigating Officer before granting bail? Who were the concerned IOs?
  - l) Details of Bail applications presented by Defenses lawyer/s.
  - m) Objections by Prosecution – if any?
  - n) Entire court record – for security.
- E. Dilip Trivedi, A Public Prosecutor from the VHP Cadre, Mehsana District
- Questions Raised from the sting Interview:
- a) He was responsible for settling 1800 riot related cases all over Gujarat state. Settled 1700 riot related cases with **conviction** in only 12 cases!
  - b) In Mehsana riot related FIR registered 182. Out of which charge sheet presented in 78 + 2 on later date. 76 cases were decided in acquittal of Hindu rioters / offenders and 2 for conviction : out of it one gets acquittal from Sessions Court where as the other one have an Appeal pending before the Hon'ble High Court. Rest 4 are still pending.
  - c) Who did he manage in judiciary to obtain acquittal of Hindu offenders?

- d) Through which part of state machinery did he manage judiciary in Gujarat State?
- e) Court record of Mehsana and rest of the state – for scrutiny & re-trial.

F. Bharat Bhatt VHP (Public Prosecutor) Sabarkantha District. He admits in the Sting that an IPC 436 matter settled by buying witnesses for Rs. 6,50,000/-

- a) There is a need to scrutinize identity of complainant and witnesses who may have turned hostile as part of the game.
- b) Bhiloda: Day light murder by five persons who cut off the victim into pieces.
- c) Did the Police recover murder weapon – swords in muddamal?
- d) Does the swords match & identical to the swords used elsewhere in the state or the swords as part of consignment from Punjab?
- e) Entire Court record-for scrutiny and re-trial.
- f) Whom did he pay the money?

G. Arvind Pandya – Head of Lawyers panel to defend the Government (& Hindu youth). Questions Raised by the Sting Operation

- a) Who did call upon him in the early hours of the morning to handle matters relating to 182, 130 ?
- b) His questioning pattern of witnesses including police officers before the Nanavati Shah commission.
- c) Which witnesses were dropped from examining?
- d) Did the commission help him in recording the words as per his will?
- e) For the release if how many Hindu offers he is responsible?
- f) Which and how many Judges expressed their sympathy with him and provided guidance when to put up the case and how to put up the case?
- g) Which cases were put up accordingly?
- h) How could he manage the judiciary? Who are they?
- i) How could he manage facility to offenders in the jail?
- j) Which jails?
- k) Who were the jailors etc.
- l) Who used to provide food and other luxury in the jail?
- m) Could other detainees of the jails testify to the special treatments given to the riot related offenders?

H. *Ramesh Dave VHP Ahmedabad*

In the sting operation, he admits to taking DCP Gadhavi to the terrace of a house opposite a Mandir, to pin point any house/s or Gali/street where (Muslims were/stay) on the back side of the house in question. Thereafter:

- a) DCP Gadhavi fired shots and kill 5 persons.
- b) Did he shot by service revolver – distance should be close range of upto 20ft.
- c) Did he shoot by 303 rifle – bullet would get through the wound making a hole and would be recovered later from scene of crime!
- d) If it was shot from the revolver – bullet should have struck in the body, either in the head or chest!
- e) Five dead bodies must have identical injury/wound.
- f) Did the doctor performing PM recover any bullets? PM report?
- g) Bullets fired from One weapon/gun would have identical pattern/scratch mark/s. FSL report.