



सत्यमेव जयते

REPORT OF THE
LIBERHAN
AYODHYA
COMMISSION
OF INQUIRY

CHAPTER 9

ORGANIZATIONS AND
THEIR INTER SE LINKS

106. THE ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR *INTER-SE* LINKS

106.1. The *inter se* relationship between the various organizations which played a part in the events leading up to the 6th of December at Ayodhya is extremely convoluted and requires not just a close examination of the voluminous evidence collected and collated by the Commission, but also a basic knowledge of recent Indian history and the effect that the reformist and reformative movements within the Hindu society have had.

106.2. For obvious reasons, the various leaders and especially those who played a prominent part in the events have sought to obfuscate and confuse the reality. There are any numbers of explanations and theories which have been brought forth, before the public as well as before me which are not only misleading, but also serve the practical purpose of keeping these *inter se* linkages hidden.

107. A conscious attempt to deny and obscure the linkages

- 107.1. Words can eclipse facts and none is immune to propaganda. Much-repeated verbiage incapacitates and affects a person's ability for rational thinking to discriminate between fact and fiction.
- 107.2. It was a daunting task for me to discern the *inter se* relationship between the *Karsevaks* and the institutions, their members, various organizations, parties and associations, religious groups, *Sants* and *Sadhus*, especially in the face of the conscious attempts at disinformation. For the common man, the same exercise, without the benefit of the broad mandate and coercive resources of the Commission, would be nearly impossible.
- 107.3. At the outset, I may observe that no clear-cut or authoritative evidence with respect to the *inter se* relations of the parties participating in the movement of *Karseva* or construction of temple was made available to the Commission formally, and for obvious reasons.
- 107.4. Attempts were consistently made during the course of evidence to ride roughshod over the facts, background and circumstances, thereby deliberately obliterating the same and attempting to make it impossible to get at the facts.
- 107.5. It would be futile to deal with each of the witnesses or their particular attempts to deny, veil or oppose even the obvious facts and circumstances in order to hide the *inter se* relationships.

107.6. Just by way of example, Vinay Katiyar the self-proclaimed and self-confessed forerunner of the *Mandir* construction movement projected himself and his *Bajrang Dal* to be as devoted to the movement, as *Hanumanji* was to lord Ram Chander. He claimed that the *Bajrang Dal* was an independent body and denied even that it had any rules or regulations or shared a common membership or any links for that matter, with the other participants in the construction movement. He denied being under the control, influence or authority of any other person or organization and declared that the *Bajrang Dal* was “in his bag” and that anybody wearing a yellow band was a member of it. Later he contradicted himself when he admitted its formation in the *Akhara* of Paramhans Ramchander Dass and with his blessings. On the other hand, Paramhans Ramchander Dass claimed that the *Bajrang Dal* was the youth wing of the *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* and was under his control and that of his *Akhara*. Paramhans Ramchander Das's assertion was corroborated by persons like Ashok Singhal, Acharya Giriraj Kishore etc.

107.7. Vinay Katiyar even denied facts candidly admitted by LK Advani etc. for example, that all the leaders had gathered at Katiyar's house for breakfast before proceeding to the disputed site on December 6th, 1992.

107.8. Vinay Katiyar was defiant and adopted a hostile attitude as a witness. Although his total denial of the obvious and the clearly established was farcical and on one extreme, the other leaders also did their best to deny information to the Commission by resorting to various processes including non-appearance despite summons or through judicial challenges to notices issued by the Commission.

- 107.9. Most of the local leaders adopted a defiant and aggressive attitude and did not disclose the relevant facts during the course of their evidence. Even the government officials of UP, despite the change in the political party governing it, used to come out with versions in the media instead of taking any specific stand before the Commission with respect to the issues referred, much less to the interlinks of the participants of the construction movement.
- 107.10. The government of Uttar Pradesh failed to lead any evidence despite the fact that its Advocate General had been consistently appearing before the Commission and seeking adjournments for this specific purpose. Despite the numerous opportunities granted to the Advocate General, which are recorded in the interim orders of the Commission, no such assistance or material was forthcoming.
- 107.11. Even the record of speeches etc. on 6th of December 1992 or during the course of *Rath Yatra*, the existence of which had been admitted by the Senior Superintendent of Police and other officers holding responsible offices, were not produced despite innumerable orders made by the Commission for their production. Clipping of CCTV were not even referred to, much less produced. Even the person or authorities in possession of these were not disclosed. They were withheld despite the change of governments. Their existence or non-existence was not even recorded.
- 107.12. It is also relevant to notice that many leaders of various shades or belonging to the various parties used to issue statements in the media, and which the later denied on oath before the Commission or about which they pleaded

amnesia Even with respect to the opinions and inferences expressed by them, the *prima facie* material upon which they based these judgments were never disclosed.

108. The relevance of theories and ideologies

- 108.1. Most enquiry commissions have shunned venturing into the domain of theories or philosophies or thoughts of the various actors in the events under consideration, as far as possible. However, in the instant case, the basis for the actual events and the rationale for the movement can be ascertained only by reference to these.
- 108.2. The subject matter under enquiry being a religious and ideological one, close to the innermost emotions and beliefs of the people, it was shaped and directed by the doctrines, dogma, thoughts and philosophy of the various aspects of Hinduism.
- 108.3. In fact and as freely admitted by the main actors before the Commission, the doctrinal and didactic aspect of the cultural, social and religious aspects of Hindu life were specifically invoked and turned into a mass movement for obtaining the physical support of the people. For the movement as well as for the BJP during the elections. The leadership used the doctrinal aspects of the phrase Hindu as a religion with its philosophical connotations as a way of life and steered the movement by constantly evoking the inherent fear of God or imagery of “the defenders of the faith”.
- 108.4. The thoughts and philosophies cannot possibly be ignored given the very nature of enquiry, with reference to the questions referred to this Commission.

109. The foundation of the Hindu movement and the *Sangh Parivar*

109.1. Throughout this report, the term “*Sangh Parivar*” has the same connotation and has been used interchangeably with the phrases, *founders* or *authors* or *leaders* etc. of the temple construction movement. Some of the organisations which form a prominent part of this Parivar are

109.1.1. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)

109.1.2. Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP)

109.1.3. Rashtriya Sevika Samiti

109.1.4. Vishwa Hindu Parishad

109.1.5. Bajrang Dal

109.1.6. Sant Samaj

109.1.7. Bharatiya Vikas Parishad

109.1.8. Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad

109.1.9. Swadeshi Jagaran Manch

109.1.10. Adhivakta Parishad

109.1.11. Bharatiya Kisan Sangh

109.1.12. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh

- 109.1.13. Adivasi Kalyan Kendra
- 109.1.14. Fishermen's Co-op Societies
- 109.1.15. Vivekananda Medical Mission
- 109.1.16. Adhyapak Parishad
- 109.1.17. Vivekananda Kendra
- 109.1.18. Deen Dayal Shodh Sansthan
- 109.1.19. Janta Yuva Morcha
- 109.1.20. Shiksha Bharati
- 109.1.21. Hindu Swyamsevak Sangh
- 109.1.22. Saraswati Shishu Mandir
- 109.1.23. Vidya Bharati
- 109.1.24. Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram
- 109.1.25. Vijnana Bharati
- 109.1.26. Samkalp
- 109.1.27. Sanskar Bharati
- 109.1.28. Sahkar Bharati
- 109.1.29. Vit Salahkar Parishad

109.1.30. Seva Bharati

109.1.31. Bharatiya Vichara Kendra

109.1.32. Bhartiya itihās sankalana yojana

109.2. In the modern India the concept and idea of Hindu nationalism was first propagated by Veer Savarkar. His main argument about *Hindutva* is that the Aryans were settled in India in ancient times and already composed a nation. The Hindus are the descendants of the same Aryans. Their *Hindutva*, according to him, rests on three pillars: geographical unity, racial features and a common culture. Savarkar was not said to be so much religious minded as much as he was trying to preach an ideology. The ideology constructed meant a common culture, common territory and common racial features. The most important component was the idea of territory and all those within that territory were of a common stock and common race.

109.3. For Savarkar a Hindu was an inhabitant of the zone between the rivers, the seas, the Himalayas, 'so strongly entrenched that no other country in the world is so perfectly designed by the fingers of nature as a geographical unit'. This was why, in the Vedic era, the first Aryans developed the 'sense of unity of a people' and even a 'sense of nationality.'

109.4. He further stated "the Hindus are not merely the citizens of the Indian state because they are united not only by the bonds of the love they bear to a common motherland but also by the bonds of a common blood. They are not only a nation but *race-jati*. The word *jati*, derived from the root *Jan* - to produce - means a brotherhood, a race determined by a common origin,

possessing a common blood. All Hindus claim to have in their veins the blood of the mighty race incorporated with and descended from the Vedic fathers.”

- 109.5. Factors responsible for the growth of the RSS included the growth of the non-cooperation movement by Mahatma Gandhi and the resultant conflict between Hindus and Muslims over issues like Khilafat movement. Dr. Hedgewar had noticed the animosity between Hindus and Muslims and he came to the conclusion that a nation meant exclusively for Hindus could be the only solution.
- 109.6. He said that it had become evident that Hindus were the nation i.e. Bharat and that *Hindutva* was Rashtriya. While wishful thinkers pretended not to see the writing across the national political firmament, the realist in Dr. Hedgewar refused to dream up wishy-washy dreams. The truth was out. Only Hindus could free Hindustan and they alone could save Hindu culture. Only Hindu strength could save the country. There was no escape from the logic of facts. Hindu youth had to be organized on the basis of personal character and absolute love of the motherland. There was no other way. The agony of the great soul expressed itself in the formation of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.
- 109.7. It is said that five like-minded people had gathered at the residence of Hedgewar to give concrete shape to the idea of setting up an organization which could act as a nursery of militant organizers of Hindu society. Those five persons, according to non-RSS sources, were Dr. B.S. Moonje, Dr. L V

Paranjpe, Dr. K.B. Hedgewar, Dr Tholkar and Babarao Savarkar. The RSS publications mention only the figure (5) and not the names perhaps because all of them were Hindu Mahasabha leaders and the RSS has been shy of owning up any relationship with the Mahasabha.

109.8. In pursuance of the understanding thus arrived at, Hedgewar started recruiting teenage school boys mostly in the 12-15 age group. Before admitting a boy into the group he carefully scrutinized his eligibility mainly in terms of loyalty and obedience. There are instances of boys desirous of joining but were rejected by him. He was developing a personal group, a militant gang which would not stand duality of allegiance either to persons or to principles. Within a short period he made arrangements for physical training of the youth recruits. The venue of training was the place in Nagpur where now stands the Hedgewar Bhavan, the headquarters of the RSS. The place was then known as *Salubai Mohit'e bara* and was lying vacant and unused, cluttered up with rocks and stones. To make it usable as playground the boys cleaned it up themselves under the leadership of Hedgewar. The activity at this new place, the first Sanghathan, was the real beginning of the *Shakha* programme. Thus the *de-facto Shakha* started only in early 1926, a few months after the *de-jure* date of birth.

109.9. Hedgewar found encouraging response to the experiment. The idea had developed a local habitation and needed a name. The problem engaged his attention in the early months of 1926. A meeting was called to decide the issue and after considerable discussions, it was decided that it should be named *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh*.

109.10. Hedgewar's view prevailed and the organization got its name on the *Ram Naumi* Day (the birthday of Shri Ram Chandra, the Hindu god or hero of the Ramayana era. He is popularly accepted as the incarnation of God. A flag was also adopted which with its distinctive colour and shape which was supposed to be the flag of Ram Chandra, the epitome of what an ideal king ought to be. A prayer, in mixed Hindi-Marathi language had been composed and began to be recited everyday at the end of the *Shakha* programme. It ended with two slogans – (i) *Rashtra Guru Samarth Ramdas Ki Ja* and (ii) *Bharat Mata Ki Jai*.

109.11. Shivaji was taken as the ideal and the hero of the RSS. The flag and the prayer with its end slogan naturally gave it a Maharashtrian colouring. That is why there is a widespread opinion and belief that the RSS aims at revival of the *Peshwa* Rule.

109.12. Between 1977 and 1982 the RSS growth was phenomenal. It's then general secretary Rajendra Singh proudly claimed on August 3, 1983 that the total number of *Shakhas* (branches) had increased from 6000 to 19,000 and was expected to reach 21,000 by the end of 1983. If the smaller ones were included, the total would reach 35,000. 7,00,000 dedicated *Swayamsevaks* (volunteers) attending the daily drills and meetings at dawn or dusk. In 2002, the RSS had 45,000 *Shakhas* all over the country and a formidable organizational network.

109.13. The RSS, the BJP and the VHP work as three distinct bodies and have separate constitutions, organizational structures and work patterns. It cannot

be denied that in terms of membership, ideology and agendas of action, there is an overlap between the three. At micro level there are innumerable bodies which are either floated by RSS or are frontal bodies of it or are working under their guidance, job assigned to them by RSS or are under their influence. Their agendas are carried forward and implemented by RSS who even lend their *Swayamsevaks* to organise or run them. The RSS has played and is playing a parenting role in shaping the other two organizations apart from doing the same for its other organisations. The Swayamsevaks of the RSS lent their active contribution not in floating the VHP but also working for it in important organizational or other activities. It is not disputed that the Swayamsevaks, RSS pracharaks are also the members of the VHP. Apart from this, the RSS also lends its office bearers and other workers to the VHP from time to time to run their affairs. The RSS mobilizes people for various programs carried out by the VHP. It renders advice to them for achieving the success of their programs. In the politics of the RSS and its Parivar, there is a division of labour – a division of work between the “cultural” RSS, the “political” BJP and the “religious” VHP.

109.14. As is well known, the main role in the formation of the VHP was played by the RSS – especially by its *Sarsanghchalak*, MS Golwalkar (1906-1973) who led the RSS from 1942 to 1973. This view has also been endorsed by Acharya Giriraj Kishore while deposing before the Commission who clearly stated that basically RSS people are in the VHP. Golwalkar was able to draw a large number of religious leaders towards the BJP on an appeal that the *Sadhus* and Sants should work for the unity of Hindu society. This not only

enable the RSS to lobby for its views among a larger audience, but also attract sections of non-RSS Hindus elite such as former Rajas and ex-Congress members.

109.15. On 12th August, 1964, a few days before the launching of the idea of the VHP, Golwalkar had expressed concern that – “the real trouble with us in this country that we do not have a great goal before us, there is no sense of mission. Without such a sense of high mission no country can become a great.” It was felt within the RSS that along with a lack of “sense of mission” and re-interpretation of the Dharma Shastras and review of some of its professions and practices in the background of the growing challenges – both internal and external – to the Hindu society and Hindu Dharma were long overdue. With a view to fulfilling this urgent and paramount need religious leaders were brought together to form the VHP. Later apart from other objectives and considerations which may be noted later in this report, I conclude that in order to keep the VHP together, it floated different bodies including the Dharam Sansad, Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal etc.

109.16. The RSS displayed and exaggerated the fear that the neglected section within Hindu society was being made the special target for proselytisation by Christian and Muslim missionaries. And therefore this necessitated restructuring and re-vitalization to prevent the weakening of the Hindu society. The RSS believe that Hinduism has to change its non-proselytizing image to save itself from extinction. The aim of its hold over the VHP in the beginning was to buy time and establish the VHP as an acceptable religious organization before it took on a much more serious goal.

109.17. The VHP, RSS and its allied organizations are verily the engines of this Hindu renaissance and national reconstruction.

109.18. It is obvious that there was inter-changeability of roles between VHP, RSS and BJP. For instance, Vijay Raje Scindia was Vice-President of BJP and leader of the VHP, L.K. Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi had a RSS background. Ashok Singhal and Giriraj Kishore both not only have a RSS background but were Swayamsevaks and pracharaks therein. There is no gainsaying and even accepted by the top leadership of the RSS who were present in the forefront of the BJP or other organizations, that once a person becomes a swayamsevak, he continues as such till his death irrespective of the level of his participation in the RSS or any of the allied organizations. Another new factor at this stage in the mid-1980s was the founding of Bajrang Dal which again was nothing but the youth wing of the VHP floated by Mahant Paramhans Ramchander Das. Yet it cannot be denied that Vinay Katiyar was its founder who is none else than a RSS pracharak who claims to have chosen Faizabad as his area of work. It is all a veil and in fact he appears to have been deputed by the RSS to work for the VHP and the temple construction movement with Faizabad and Ayodhya as the operations area. It is peculiar that admittedly he went to work in Ayodhya or chose it as his *karmabhumi* (field of activity) in the same year when the issue was raked up for the first time in 1983. It is a disguise and in fact he appears to have been deputed by the RSS to work for the VHP and the temple construction movement in Faizabad and Ayodhya. The overlapping of the RSS, BJP, VHP and Bajrang Dal is obvious when Vinay Katiyar became a pracharak of

the RSS, member of the legislative house from the BJP and even the president of the UP State BJP while simultaneously continuing to be the president of the Bajrang Dal. Katiyar specifically bragged that the Bajrang Dal and its rules and its membership were in his bag. At the same time, he denied that any membership roll of the Dal was maintained or that there was any set procedure for inducting a person into the Dal. This was to give sharp claws and teeth to the VHP as it proved to be its militant wing.

109.19. Gurjan Singh who was concededly a forerunner in the Vishva Hindu Parishad and active in the temple construction movement was none else but a RSS Pracharak. He himself admitted that he was an RSS Pracharak for life, but took over the responsibility of the VHP for the construction of the temple at the disputed site. He was physically present earlier to, and on the fateful day in Ayodhya and was guiding the karsevaks in their day to day programs. This by itself is a pointer that the entire movement and the mobilisation was led, launched and carried out by the RSS.

109.20. In February 1948, the Government of India declared their determination to root out the forces of hate and violence that were at work in our country and imperil the freedom of the nation and darken its fair name. In pursuance of this policy the Government of India decided to outlaw the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. By 11th July, 1949, Government of India announced the lifting of ban on the RSS. It was again banned during the emergency from 3rd July 1975 to January 1977 and lastly it was banned on 10th December 1992 to 3rd June, 1993 after the demolition of the disputed structure. Justice P.K. Bahri, Judge of the Delhi High Court, constituted the

Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal vide his order dated 4.6.1993 did not confirm ban on the RSS and the Bajrang Dal while confirming the ban on the VHP. There is no gainsaying that the RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal are not only alter egos of each other but frontal organizations of the RSS. They are so interlinked that it is not possible to segregate them and treat them as independent entities.

109.21. The RSS as can be seen, has always been in the forefront of Hindu revival and was the chief architect for building the Sangh Parivar. It lay dormant in the 1950s and 1960s and grew from strength to strength in the 70s and 80s and has steadily increased in numbers and influence thereafter. It has had a long history of rise and fall several times. It may be mentioned that the RSS was chiefly responsible for taking the Ayodhya issues to the masses through the instrumentality of the VHP and other allied organizations. In effect what it has achieved was, even while staying in the forefront of the movement, it managed to conceal its activities very effectively and made it appear that the VHP, Bajrang Dal and other organizations were mainly responsible for the demolition. As a matter of fact, all the leaders whether they are from VHP, Bajrang Dal or BJP had their grooming and training as members of the RSS. The major role of the RSS was also in promoting the cause of Hinduism by making the leaders take vows for protection of Hindu culture and Hindu identity. The RSS was also a major participant in the *Rath Yatra* movement of LK Advani and in fact the concept of the *Rath Yatra* itself was mooted by the RSS in order to provide a visible symbol of Hinduism to the masses at large like a religious procession. The RSS also provided the manpower and

physical strength to the Rath Yatra movement and crowd mobilization was one of its major aims by using symbols very clearly for the above purpose. The actual mobilization was in turn done by the VHP. The militant or the youth wing of the VHP was the Bajrang Dal whose leaders were also groomed in the RSS way of thinking like Vinay Katiyar, the founder of Bajrang Dal. In general public perception, the BJP is the successor to the Jan Sangh. The other allied organizations of the RSS were also seen as the forerunners of the Hindu revival, particularly when their object was also to attain in pith and substance the same, i.e. organizing the Hindus.

109.22. According to L K Advani the term "*Hindutva*" can be called by any name. he stated *"you can call it by any name. You can call it Indianness, you call it Bharityata, you can call it Hindutva. I view these words as being essentially synonymous. In fact, I think that the Supreme Court's definition of Hindutva as being a way of life or a state of mind, not necessarily confined only to strict Hindu religious practices, unrelated to the culture and ethos of the people of India, is the correct definition. I also hold that if India opted for secularism in 1950, it is because of its tradition and culture in which theocracy is discarded. Objection is often taken to India's nationalism being described as cultural nationalism on the ground that India's culture is composite.*

In the early 50's a book titled "India as a Secular State" was written by a western scholar, Donald Eugene Smith, in which Smith commented on this phrase 'composite culture' by saying: "...despite the composite nature of Indian culture, Hinduism remains by far the most powerful and pervasive element in that culture. Those who

lay great stress on the composite nature of Indian culture frequently minimize this basic fact. Hinduism has indeed provided the essential genius of Indian culture.”

“I may add that the culture of any ancient country is bound to be composite. But in our country emphasis on the composite character of Indian culture is generally an attempt to disown its essentially Hindu content... So far as I am concerned or my party is concerned, we broadly subscribe to the concept of secularism which emerges from the concept of ‘Sarva Pantha Sambhav’ which in itself is born out of traditional Hindu concept or Hindutva. I cannot conceive of any other country apart from ours, which in the circumstances in which it got freedom – partition being based upon the two major religions of the country – and yet it rejected theocracy. This is essentially the contribution of the Hindu tradition of polity.”

109.23. Another adherent of the RSS philosophy and a staunch follower and propagator of the Ayodhya movement was Acharya Dharmendra Dev. He very clearly in his deposition mentioned that the disputed structure was a symbol of slavery and it should be erased. He also mentioned that national honour has been revived and re-established.

109.24. Similarly Paramhans Ramchander Dass, one of the foremost leaders of the movement and President of Ram Janambhoomi Yagna Samiti who also owes allegiance to RSS has this to say before the Commission. *“Dhanche girene se mujhe afsosh nahin hai, mein khush hua.”*

109.25. KS Sudershan, one of the important office-bearers of RSS who deposed before the Commission very expressly stated that every time the *Dharam Sansad* gave a call, the RSS supported it. He also said that a large number of

Swayamsevak went to Ayodhya as *Karsevaks* and some of them even became martyrs and wounded. He also very expressly stated before the Commission that there was conclusive proof that there was a temple dedicated to the incarnation of God, Lord Ram which existed in Ayodhya and that he had thrown his lot with the karseva in totality.

109.26. The Kendriya Karyakari Mandal of the RSS in its report after the takeover by Raju Bhaiyya, described the national scene as “a historic opportunity of all lovers of *Hindutva* and the Sangh Swayamsevak in particular to rise to their full height of dedicated, disciplined and sustained efforts and overcome the anti-*Hindutva* challenges in every field.

110. The commonality of thought

110.1. The teaching of Veer Savarkar, Dr. Hedgewar and Guru Golwalkar form the matrix and the philosophic foundation on which the entire edifice and the architecture of the Sangh Parivar's thought process has been constructed. This thought process is germane to all the constituents of the Parivar. In the deposition before the Commission, Sakshiji Maharaj has clearly stated "according to me Sangh Parivar represents *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* and all its constituents. This *Sangh Parivar* worships the unity of the country (*Akhand Bharat*) and not of any idol or statue of Hindu. RSS undertakes the tasks which even the Government fail to perform". Similarly Sakshiji Maharaj stated "I know VHP is a registered society and Bajrang Dal is one of its associates. Bajrang Dal is a force (Sena) of VHP and its duty is to protect the Hindu religion. It helps in enforcing the policies of VHP". Here it can not only be inferred but it is also claimed that the Bajrang Dal acts as the militant wing of the VHP. Its usage is obvious from the above statements. It is an admitted fact that Bajrang Dal members were wearing yellow bands in all the congregations prior to the demolition. Sakshiji Maharaj has also said that Sewa Bharti and Shiksha Bharti are constituents of RSS. In a very significant statement, he also says that VHP is not the constituent of RSS but RSS is the torch bearer or path maker of VHP. Vishnu Hari Dalmia who deposed before the Commission admitted that the Sangh Parivar is a very loosely constituted term. For the sake of convenience, the media has been calling it Sangh Parivar. But in actual practice, all these organizations are

independent organizations even though they may be drawing their inspirations from RSS.

- 110.2. To a question, in what manner the VHP draws inspiration from RSS, Vishnu Hari Dalmia replied “the objective of the RSS is also the same like ours”. Therefore, we interact and know their programmes, their ideas and try to work out a common programme. Moreover, when questioned to what extent the VHP shared a commonality of approach with the RSS on the Ayodhya issue, he clearly stated that there is no difference of opinion on this issue. Uma Bharti in her deposition in the Commission when asked about her views on the *Ram Janambhoomi* movement clearly admitted “*I was always of the view and I am of the view that a temple should be constructed on Ram Janambhoomi. My view always has been and still remains, that the dispute about the land in Ayodhya can be resolved through the Court and everybody should respect and accept the decision of the Courts. But the issue of sentiments is beyond resolution by the Court.*” MM Joshi who was President of the BJP at the time of demolition admitted in his deposition before the Commission that he owed allegiance to the RSS and his formative years in political activity from 1944 onwards were spent in the RSS. Hence, it can be safely concluded that all senior leaders of the BJP have an RSS connection and have been ideologically influenced by the RSS in their thinking and actions. Uma Bharti who was a prominent BJP leader and was always very active in the events leading to demolition wholeheartedly supported the movement and the role of the BJP throughout her career.

110.3. The BJP, VHP, Bajrang Dal all owed allegiance to the RSS and made the *Ram Janambhoomi* issue with its religious appeal to gain entry into the minds of the majority of Hindus and to weaken their resistance to communalism. The attack on secularism and secular parties and groups by calling them pseudo-secular and charging them with minority appeasement also as disoriented many middle class thinking persons. The leadership of the RSS and BJP knew very well that religious and communal appeals alone cannot bring them into full political power in the vast and diverse country like India. Hence, to acquire the necessary political legitimacy and to lead the nationwide and countrywide movement and to acquire dominant position in Indian politics, the BJP, VHP and the RSS had therefore, to take recourse to a more wider principle and appeal to the threat to the nation i.e. nationalism. It had to give its policies and objectives a national grab and a national identity. Identity politics was considered to be a means for acquiring power. They knew religious and communal appeal also would not get them power and legitimacy at higher level; recourse to wider principles and appeal to nationalism was needed.

110.4. This was a thin covering or a veneer used for confusing issues and presenting reality in their own way. It was as a matter of fact a determined effort to obfuscate real issues by presenting a false threat to the Indian nation. The BJP and other allies, therefore, had to argue that they were not only working for the interest of Hindus alone but much more they were protecting and guarding the Indian nation or defending Bharat Mata. They also portray the Hindus as the only guardians of Indian nationalism and the national interest.

A natural corollary is that it is only the Hindus who are the real nationalist while the Muslims, Christians and other minorities are portrayed as traitors and anti-national.

110.5. This objective can only be achieved by following the principles of *Hindutva* and it is argued that to save the *Hindutva* is synonymous with nationalism. The RSS, Sangh Parivar and the BJP along with their allied parties and groups exploited the fear, insecurity and anxiety amongst the masses. They put forward the theory that only *Hindutva* is the saviour. KS Sudershan during its march before the demolition had said, “the laying of bricks for the Shilanyas of *Ram Janambhoomi* temple was not merely a matter of a temple; it was symbolically, laying the foundation of this *Rashtra* (nation).’ He compared the Shilanyas with the ‘dismantling of the bricks of the Berlin Wall’. Similarly, according to Ram Swarup, a major RSS ideologue, the Shilanyas ‘marks a second phase and perhaps a more important phase of India’s recent struggle for independence’. Reporting on the Jaipur session of the BJP held in February 1991, the Organiser correspondent reported that it was decided to ‘widen the scope of the (Ayodhya) campaign by juxtaposing Ram with Rashtriya (nationalism)’. Atal Bihar Vajpayee told the VHP rally of the 4th April 1991 that the construction of the temple at Ram Janambhoomi was necessary because national honour had to be restored.

110.6. All the above evidences clearly go to show and prove that all constituents / members of the *Sangh Parivar* were acting in unison in executing a plan of action which was well-defined by them. The most important catalyzing event or activity was the *Rath Yatra*, by means of which the people’s passions

were aroused and which led to anger and frenzy. This translated into slogans resulting in demolition. The depositions before the Commission have clearly indicated that all persons while denying the fact of demolition were actually committed to it. When they say that Ram Temple should be constructed and it is a matter of faith it is obvious that only demolition could yield the result of construction of Ram Temple. The BJP particularly gave it meaning, shape and a new dimension and led the movement after the Palampur Resolution and fulfilling this objective.

110.7. When the flames of intolerance are being fanned by some sectarian groups, one is reminded of what Asoka said 2,300 years ago: *“He who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own sect, in reality inflicts, by such conduct, the severest injury on his own sect.”* The arguments for secularism in the sense of symmetry and equidistance have a long history in India, and they have stood their ground despite the presence of much military confrontation and sectarian violence over thousands of years.

111. The genealogy of the *Sangh Parivar*

- 111.1. The patriarch of the family referred to as the *Sangh* was undisputedly the RSS. The testimony of the witnesses before the Commission leaves no room for doubt that the RSS was not only the chronological predecessor of the other members of this *Parivar*, but retained this preeminent position throughout, and at least on the 6th of December 1992.
- 111.2. The various other members of the family were brought into existence as and when a specific need was felt for a niche organization to address a particular interest group. The *Dharam Sansad* for instance, was an association formed to address and encompass the community of *Sadhus* and Sants. Those *Sadhus* who may not have otherwise joined the political party BJP or the militant *Bajrang Dal*, were at ease in this particular organization and were able to use it as their own forum. The *Sant Samaj* was thus an independent and autonomous entity formally, but was essentially a strategic ploy to encompass a non-traditional class of people into the *Parivar* juggernaut.
- 111.3. Various organizations and associations were constituted according to the expediency and the need of the parent organization to serve its particular interest. In one of such endeavours, the VHP organised an association of Sants and *Sadhus* named *Dharam Sansad* to whom the decisions for various programmes during the course of temple construction movement were attributed. The VHP itself became the executor of the orders of the said *Dharam Sansad*. There is no gainsaying that in India, where the education is

still to take its root, people are more religious minded and have a blind faith in Sadhus and Sants and recluses. Their sayings are taken as the gospel truth and followed in letter and in spirit. The organizers of the movement were well conversant with the psyche of the common man and exploited it liberally. In totality of the evidence, one can observe that it was used as a ploy to motivate and mobilise the more religious minded Hindus for the temple construction at the disputed site or participating in the movement and for securing their political support for the BJP. It finds corroboration particularly when no Sant or Sadhu of national repute or otherwise participated in any negotiation relating to the construction of the Ram temple at the disputed site.

- 111.4. These ancillary organizations provided cadres from which Hindus could be awakened, nurtured, organised and united to achieve the objects of the RSS and from where recruitment could be made to the primary and parent organisation. However the *Parivar* made the most intelligent and scientific use of this strategy and succeeded in assimilating within it the most diverse and most unlikely of bedfellows. The success of the strategy which had been initiated and followed for decades was predominantly responsible for catalyzing a local-level disagreement into a national issue within the shortest possible time. The highly structured *Sangh Parivar* was able to subvert not only the entire state machinery, but also able to install its own government, headed by leaders from the BJP who were publically acceptable to the majority of Hindus. The diverse membership was also able to forestall any

effective and timely intervention from any specific quarter or grouping of society.

- 111.5. The cleavage wrought by the *Sangh Parivar* was not only religious (i.e. between the various communities) or political (i.e. between those affiliated to different parties) but extended to even other classifications. The *Sangh Parivar* systematically had infiltrated almost every sphere of life and was quick to spot opportunities to establish further entities which appeared most attractive to the disenchanted or the disillusioned section of any existing group.
- 111.6. Even those who were disenchanted or disillusioned by one member organization of the Sangh Parivar or otherwise could easily be accommodated in another grouping or organization or in other institutions controlled or administered by them, and thus prevent a leaching of the Parivar's membership.
- 111.7. If a leader was affected and disheartened by the unavailability of a particular office or prominence in one organization, he was "transferred" to another organization where his aspirations and desires could be more easily accommodated. Members of *Parivar* organizations also found themselves shuffled around after their strengths and appeal to specific segments of society had been identified.
- 111.8. Many RSS cadres found themselves reassigned to the BJP or the VHP or to other entities over a period of time given their strengths and weaknesses. Those who were perceived as more acceptable as the public face of the Sangh

Parivar found themselves gravitating towards the BJP which was being projected nationally as the political alternative to the Congress party, and being groomed for public office; those who were more militant or whose rabble-rousing skills were capable of better exploitation elsewhere were slotted elsewhere.

111.9. It would not be inappropriate to recall the statement of Acharya Giriraj Kishore⁴⁸⁷ who, when specifically asked about the commonality or affinity between the RSS and the VHP, answered that in fact the RSS was responsible for moulding the personality of the person, who would then choose his own sphere of work. The RSS was thus admittedly the *de facto* training ground from where the persons emerged in order to join that member of the *Sangh Parivar* which they most felt aligned with.

⁴⁸⁷ CW28

112. The *Swayam Sevak*s

- 112.1. Member of the RSS are known as *Swayamsevak*. The RSS *Swayamsevak* are required to swear an oath “[...] for the betterment of Hindu religion, Hindu culture, Hindu community [and to] serve RSS faithfully, to the oath throughout the life”.
- 112.2. It may be specifically noticed here that the entire membership of the *Sangh Parivar*, from the street member to the Chief Ministers of BJP governments had sworn this oath at the time of joining RSS.
- 112.3. In his book “Bunch of Thoughts,” Golwalkar expressed the perception of a threat from the Muslims and observed, “[*that*] it cannot be denied that Muslims of India are praying for Pakistan”. It is being followed and preached amongst the common men and in the streets by the cadre of the RSS and Shiv Sena etc. This is also asserted by the leadership of the Shiv Sena in their public meetings.
- 112.4. It was admitted that organizations spearheading such movement included the *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* (VHP), an organization which had been established for the spread of Hindu philosophy by “awakening” Hindus, uniting and organizing them not only throughout the country but also internationally.
- 112.5. KS Sudarshan accepted that RSS was a partner in all efforts leading to fulfilment of the goals of the entire Hindu society. He accepted that there had been no change in RSS philosophy since the days of its formation.

Though the RSS leadership has been at pains to deny the political nature of the association they accepted that the Ayodhya movement was political as well as religious, and they supported the movement.

112.6. Acharya Giriraj Kishore, testified that the aim of the RSS was to build the character of a man who was engaged in bringing the change in society. He admitted himself to be a member of RSS

112.7. KS Sudarshan stated, “RSS wants to bring about the all-round development of the nation and for that, the proper cadre is trained by the RSS. Thereafter some of them, according to their particular aptitude, go to areas of social life, study the problems and find solutions according to Hindu view of life. In order to execute those solutions, they created the appropriate organizations in those fields, which were autonomous. The organizations have own constitutions, office bearers and their own field of activity. He however admitted that they did occasionally exchange notes, and on specific issues cooperate with each other. He included organizations like the VHP, *Vidyarthi Parishad*, *Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh*, *Banvasi Kalyan Sangh*, *Vidya Bharti*, *Bharatiya Kisan Sangh* and others to be some such organizations founded or being run by the ex-RSS cadres. He went to some length to testify that the RSS had got no control over these organizations, but exercised strong moral authority over them.

112.8. Kalyan Singh accepted KS Sudarshan version of the relationship of the RSS with other sister organizations. He also stated that it can be said that RSS has

functional control over the bodies created by it which were affiliated to the RSS.

112.9. In response to a query on who deployed the RSS cadres, he stated that, “[the] VHP took the decision and asked the divisional *Pratinidhis* to deploy the RSS workers, and it is they who identified the persons and deployed them.”

112.10. From the totality of above facts it can be said that RSS is an organization consistently gearing up itself to micro-level involvement in almost every sphere of activity of society which influences social life or political life or politics of the nation. In view of the training being imparted to its members, inculcating an attitude of militancy and preparedness for any kind of strife, it generates a sense of fear or insecurity among minorities or the ones who do not toe their line of thought or are opposed to it, and are in minority, especially the Muslims, Christians etc. Despite the RSS’s promises and its leadership’s repeated proclamations of being only a cultural body devoted to national upliftment, its true scope and nature is far more extensive and varied.

112.11. It has never been in question and has not been denied by anyone that the entire national leadership as well as the majority of the membership of RSS consists predominantly of Hindus. The organization was and is being run by Hindus on the strength of its belief in *Hindutva* as understood or perceived generally by the common man, and not for any other philosophical or larger benevolent doctrinal sense as sought to be contended by the leaders, or as held by the Supreme Court, i.e. defining “Hindu” philosophically or carrying

an uncorrupted meaning as understood by learned people as the way of life and it does not constitute any religion.

113. The hierarchy of the RSS

113.1. It may be useful here also to describe the hierarchy of the RSS as admitted and presented before the Commission by KS Sudarshan.

113.2. In his own words,

First is the national level. At the national level, Sarsanghchalak is the chief of the RSS. He is not elected. He is considered to be a friend, philosopher and guide of the organization. The top executive post is the Sarkaryavaha – the General Secretary who is elected every three years by the all-India representatives of the RSS. Then came the provincial representatives. They elect the Prant Sanghchalak and the Prant Sanghchalak in turn nominates the Sanghchalak at the divisional level, district level and other levels as well.

The Sarkaryavaha (General Secretary) appoints his Karyakari Mandal (the executive body). Similarly, the Prant Sanghchalaks also constitute their provincial executive body and it goes on to the lower level.

The executive body takes the decision, but if the decisions concern policies, it is ratified by the All-India Pratinidhi Sabha. At the provincial level, the decision is taken by the provincial executive and so on.

[...]From every 50 Swayamsevak, one provincial representative is elected every three years. They form the Provincial Pratinidhi Sabha. From amongst every 20 provincial representatives, one central representative is elected and they form the Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha. All the three Sabhas are autonomous so far work in

their respective fields is concerned. Overall policy decisions are taken by the Akhil Bharatiya Sabha. They are followed by all the provincial and district Sabhas. But there may be some subjects or some issues which are particular to a particular province. There the Prant Pratinidhi Sabha takes the decision and, if they want, they can consult the Sarkaryavaha also.

- 113.3. There is nothing ambiguous or uncertain about the distinct hierarchy that the RSS has adopted and successfully followed for many decades now. The discipline reflected in the hierarchy is ingrained in the cadres as well, during their indoctrination and training and is the vital link that connects each current and former *Swayamsevak* to the mother organization throughout life.
- 113.4. It may be more apt to state that there are no “*former Swayamsevaks*”. A person who joins the RSS once, remains a member of the RSS whether actively, or passively by becoming a member of a *Parivar* entity or dormant by withdrawing from the active RSS activities but remaining on-call throughout his life. Nothing exemplifies this better than the Prime Minister who while holding that high office stated “I am first a *swayamsevak* and continue to be so.”
- 113.5. The RSS is at the top of the pyramidal *Sangh Parivar* and is thus acknowledged without exception by all the leaders and cadres of the *Parivar*. Attempts to distinguish one or the other entity from the *Parivar* or to suggest that it is not part of the overall scheme of the RSS are belied by the very fact that these entities are lead by and consist of RSS members.

- 113.6. While a detailed analysis of the membership status of each organization or each of the prominent individual would be logistically beyond the means of this Commission, a summarized table of the status has been derived purely from the statements and evidence on the record and reveals the extent to which the RSS has pervasive command and control over the entire *Sangh Parivar*.
- 113.7. Even those rare individuals who can claim not to have been indoctrinated by the RSS owe allegiance to it by virtue of being a member of a body directly answerable to and controlled by the RSS.
- 113.8. Even PV Narasimha Rao admitted that, *“It is a normal practice by political parties to have fronts and frontal organizations for different purposes. BJP had the facility of making use of these organizations at will wherein they feel that the particular organization amenable to its instructions would be useful for particular job and it is normal practice by political parties to have fronts or frontal organizations for different purpose. These frontal organizations do what would be asked of them to do which would be a reasonable inference, though may not be based on hard facts that RSS, Bajrang Dal, VHP have always been working together.”*

114. **The pervasive command and control of the RSS and its guidance of the Ayodhya movement**

- 114.1. The RSS was the major participant in the Ayodhya movement particularly since 1983 when it openly announced support, transforming the localized property dispute into a national issue and a threat to the Hindu way of life or to the Hindu religion as perceived by others.
- 114.2. LK Advani corroborated the RSS's exclusive control of the situation and admitted that strategy about Ayodhya used to be decided, by senior leaders of BJP and VHP in the presence of RSS leaders. He also stated on oath that he was never a party to the negotiations with the Prime Minister or the Central Government and was not even informed about the progress of the meetings or the matters discussed therein. It cannot be accepted as being contrary to the basic human nature and the anxiety to remain in touch with the happenings in which one is involved.
- 114.3. The official assessment, as stated by DB Roy in his statement on oath, is that the BJP, VHP, RSS and *Bajrang Dal* are the same. Most of the office bearers of VHP are from RSS. The RSS and Hindu Mahasabha were doing the same job through different institutions. Their *inter se* relationship is that they raised voices against excesses on Hindus.
- 114.4. RSS *Swayamsevak* or office bearers at some point or the other having taken an oath to serve throughout their life were the prominent leaders of VHP.

Reference may be made to the statement of Paramhans Ramchander Dass, Ashok Singhal, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Vinay Katiyar, Uma Bharti, etc. Even Atal Bihari Vajpayee, L.K. Advani accepted that they are first Swayamsevaks, then anything else.

114.5. Mahant Avaidyanath conceded that he and some others had become legislators on the BJP ticket, which is a political party. He admitted that at first the Hindu Mahasabha was established, and then RSS came into being with *para materia* object as of *Hindu Mahasabha*. He stated that there is no difference between RSS and Hindu Mahasabha in as much as their objects and principles are the same; they are only different organizations in existence. DB Roy⁴⁸⁸ accepted that the object of Hindu Mahasabha is to unite Hindus of the world, which is one of the objects of RSS also. I may add to this that the same is one of the objects of VHP, BJP and Jan Sangh too. Mahant Avaidyanath CW31 admitted that he is an RSS worker though a legislator on BJP ticket. He further corroborated that Kalyan Singh too was a RSS worker. He stated that since we are members of BJP and the workers of RSS consequently VHP used to support BJP and push it up politically apart from there being personal relationships⁴⁸⁹.

114.6. The BJP constituted as a political party, successor of Jan Sangh after Janta Party formed Government with the support of the Jan Sangh in 1977 at Delhi. There was no difference in the philosophy or thought process or the object to attain by the Jan Sangh as then floated and present BJP.

⁴⁸⁸ CW7

⁴⁸⁹ See statement of Mahant Avaidyanath (CW31) and DB Roy (CW7)

- 114.7. BJP and Shiv Sena are political parties. They are the forerunners to contest the election amongst the protagonists or the supporters of the construction movement, so-called *Sangh Parivar*. It was recorded in a note admitted by R.N. Srivastava that a call for *Karseva* was used to be given by Hindu organizations like VHP etc while political parties like BJP decided to give political support to it.
- 114.8. Ayodhya was one of the most suitable places to launch political campaign especially for garnering votes of Hindus, a particular sect of society. Several hidden organizations used as cover for political hidden achievements in vote bank politics. *Sants* and *Sadhus* were involved in the name of religion. Paramhans Ramchander Dass accepted that it was difficult to separate the movement from politics and the BJP was the only party, which has been supporting the movement.
- 114.9. BJP brought about a mass movement in existence, which even they themselves could not control on the eventful day. There cannot be two opinions as the evidence disclosed that even LK Advani with incredible magnetism and charismatic effect on the crowd could not break the sentimental religiosity aroused earlier.
- 114.10. It may be observed that there is an overall strong feeling among quite a large section of the society that BJP is the only major political party looking after the interests of the Hindus. It was consistently proclaimed, as referred in my report and of the other Commissions, the decisions of the courts, the proclamation by the BJP, if not of the main leadership at least second rung

and the grass root workers that the BJP is the only major party which looks after the interests of Hindus.

114.11. From preponderance of evidence, it emerged patently that the core group, like Ashok Singhal, Vinay Katiyar, Kalyan Singh, Paramhans Ramchander Dass, Giriraj Kishore etc and other peripheral participants like Acharya Vamdev, Acharya Dharminder Dev used to take decisions jointly or severally about the movement, though the presence of the hidden hands of the top echelons of the RSS, icons of the movement in decisions of policy or otherwise cannot be doubted. The decisions passed were used to be expressed in the name of various institutions or groups of individual floated with various names or the one floated for that particular object. Various institutions used to be asked to act on it by RSS, or VHP, or BJP, and Shiv Sena, etc or their institutions like the Ram Janambhoomi trust, *Dharam Sansad*, *Marg Darshak Mandal*, Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Yajna Samiti, etc. It can be said that predominantly all decisions used to be taken by the same physical persons in the name of various institutions floated or the Sangh Parivar under and in the presence of the RSS leadership. It is only the formal decisions which used to be declared and then attributed by the institution according to the expediency and need of the times.

114.12. RP Mathur, DGP in a communication to Home Secretary as far back as on 7th of January 1990 informed about the resolve of starting construction programme and mobilizing of *Sadhus* and *Bajrang Dal* workers at Ayodhya for proposed construction by RSS, BJP, VHP and *Bajrang Dal* with various

sacrificial, suicidal squads to be raised which put a challenge to the administration⁴⁹⁰.

114.13. In a meeting on 20th of July 1992 attended by LK Advani, Kalyan Singh, Ashok Singhal, HV Sheshadri, MM Joshi, Rajmata Scindia it was emphasized on the Central Government to take initiative for dialogues between the two parties.

114.14. LK Advani said, senior leaders of VHP and BJP in presence of RSS leaders used to decide strategy about Ayodhya. On 23rd of July, Ashok Singhal, LK Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi met at RSS headquarters when *Sadhus* came to meet the Prime Minister by the time considerable part of the Chabutra had already been built as stated by KS Sudarshan CW 18. It would be reasonable to infer that the meeting was to direct or guide the *Sadhus* and *Sants*, as to what they were required to do in the meeting with the Prime Minister. There is no specific evidence pointing out as to what transpired in the meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not disclosed despite the fact that participants of the meeting did appear as witness and Ashok Singhal accepting that the proceedings are with the VHP and would be produced which were never produced. It further lent support to the statement of Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao who stated that the names of the *Sadhus* and *Sants* with whom he was supposed to interact or negotiate given by the BJP leadership.

⁴⁹⁰ Refer to file number 200(4)/D/90.

114.15. In meeting held at RSS headquarters at Delhi between RSS, BJP and VHP on second of November 1992, a decision was taken that time had come to reset the political agenda of the nation. Various options on Ayodhya issue were discussed and finalized. In the meeting LK Advani, MM Joshi, VH Dalmia, Ashok Singhal, Badri Nath Toshniwal, Sunder Singh Bhandari, KS Sudarshan and Khushabhau participated. The meeting reported in “The Telegraph.” KS Sudarshan admitted that the proceedings and decisions thereon were recorded and are available in the office of the RSS. He undertook to produce them but never did, till date. The contents of the report and the meeting were neither seriously disputed, nor in cross-examination even a suggestion was put that the facts reported are incorrect.

114.16. AB Vajpayee, LK Advani, Rajmata Vijay Raja Scindia, MM Joshi, Sikander Bakht, Sunder Singh Bhandari and Shanta Kumar held a meeting. Assessed the prevailing situation in the country and issued a statement, “The Government of India must understand that it cannot stand between the UP Government and its sacred mandate ... and warned of doing anything that will excite passions and disturb peace”. It congratulated the UP Government for removing the obstacles. The Shiv Sena too appreciated the steps taken by Kalyan Singh to achieve to the object of temple at the disputed site. Moreshwar Save wrote a letter to the same effect to the chief minister Kalyan Singh.

114.17. LK Advani admitted that BJP views were given due cognizance by *Sants* and VHP, though it did not exercise any veto and there were interaction between the BJP, RSS and VHP leadership. He admitted that Ayodhya strategy used

to be finalized by senior leaders of VHP and BJP in the presence of RSS leadership. He stated that he believed BJP leadership was interacting with the UP State Government, which in turn would be having discussions with people on the spot at Ayodhya. It was not disputed that on occasions leaders of the movement of this kind take their own decisions with which those in authorities and those running the movement may not fully agree.

114.18. One can conclude from the various meetings, reports and the participant's participation in the meetings that in fact, RSS, BJP, Bajrang Dal and VHP were the major actors or participants in the whole movement. This was denied by the Shiv Sena. As I have observed earlier BJP, in pith and substance, can be termed as a political wing of RSS. I may observe that the senior leaders accepted the fact that strategy used to be finalized by the senior leaders of VHP and BJP in the presence of RSS leadership. There cannot be any dispute that the movement acquired momentum only after BJP had resolved to support it openly. BJP's support to the moment was consistent with their ideology.

114.19. Shamsher Singh⁴⁹¹ observed⁴⁹² that the "objects and aims of BJP and Shiv Sena are the same, but their ways are different". I may too observe that the objects of RSS, BJP and Shiv Sena are similar. NC Pandhi⁴⁹³ pointed out that it was BJP Government and its police and administration who allowed deploying RSS workers for organizing *Karsevaks* for *Karseva* at Ayodhya.

⁴⁹¹ CGW30

⁴⁹² in exhibit CGW 30/29

⁴⁹³ CGW32

114.20. Acharya Giriraj Kishore disclosed that the object of the movement was to establish government in Delhi. The purpose of it was getting help to liberate shrines. There were high-level conclaves directing themselves drawing contours of BJP offensive and Sangh goodwill, to ensure support for BJP success in election.

114.21. I am not required to deal with what happened after the demolition. But subsequent events do throw light about the state of mind of organizers' or the leaders' passion for the temple construction movement and provide the means to unfold the reasons and intentions behind an event. Before its demolition, the leaders like Ashok Singhal and Acharya Giriraj Kishore etc had been in unequivocal term declaring and propagating and claiming that they were clear about their motives that they wanted to install the Government in Delhi who would help liberate the shrines. One can conclude that VHP and other allied parties, or frontal organizations had a designated role to keep the religious cauldron on the boil. Thus, the *inter se* relationship was interwoven or intermingled, which led them to support and strengthen the BJP, the political party, for governance. Majority of Muslims, a minority community, perceive BJP as a Hindu communal party. Even on bare facts, one cannot deny that the movement had led a considerable benefit to BJP in attaining its political objective. The psyche generated by word of mouth supported by absence of any effective deterrent action by administration or the police on the earlier occasion/incidents, emboldened the *Karsevaks* to run the spree of destruction and demolition with impunity and fearlessly with a feeling of aggrandisement that their act was heroic act.

114.22. RSS is a tightly structured organization with BJP as its political wing. They are extraordinary men, whose ability has been continuously underestimated. They hold high hopes from the political patronage or party in power. This is a country where kinship ties far outweigh institutional loyalty. *Karsevaks* were acting with increasing xenophobia of temple by self-styled religious peer's promise to get heaven to them. Ministers had not realized that they are for all, cannot be just for their friends, caste-fellows or believers in a particular religion. New schisms were beginning to emerge. Nobody wanted to stop the movement or control the gulf between two religions before it grew feathers. It was well motivated because it has clear precise goal to take power in the country.

114.23. The *Sangh Pariwar* in fact is a cartel of organizations, political and otherwise, which has a predetermined agenda. Its so-called religious movement converges into a political agenda.

114.24. RSS's object, as observed earlier, is to organize and unite Hindus Bangaru Laxman, ex-President of BJP said 'Hindu is in built in party ---- BJP is wedded to it'. He acknowledged that among the issues that dominated was the Ram Janambhoomi agitation, which played a major role and it being to be a religious issue of Hindus. Even the oath administered by the RSS refers to Hindus as a Hindu religion though Hindu cultural, Hindu community added to it. BJP resolution represented Hindu point of view, as is the case of VHP. RSS object, "For betterment of Hindu religion, Hindu culture, and Hindu community -- Serve RSS, faithfully to the oath throughout life."

114.25. The role of BJP limited only to mere support to the movement as was being attempted to be put forth according to suitability by the witnesses during the course of their statements, particularly in view of the undisputed facts culled out above cannot be accepted. The BJP had become an active partner in the organisation of the mobilisation. Sanjay Kaw corroborated them stating “the chief of BJP Youth Morcha was giving forms which were being distributed at various places like Ambedkar Nagar, Shankar Market, etc and thereafter a *Parichya Patra* was given on BJP letter head with photograph being issued by RSS. They were housed at a distance of 300 meters from temple, only after the RSS Pracharaks being satisfied that one is allowed to stay in tents” It was accepted by SP Gaur Commissioner Faizabad that the organizers were allies of the political party in Government at State level, and they could convey their voice about the issue concerned.

114.26. From the totality of the circumstances and facts and various statements given before the Commission, it is clear that there is no perceptible difference of opinion or conflict between the agenda of BJP and that of RSS, relating to Hindu religion, organized Hindu religious society, and constituting of Hindu Rashtriya or Hindu Nation even if it is accepted to be not a puritan state. The impression created in the context of Ayodhya issue, which undoubtedly converged into the political issue that word Hindu referred to Hindu as religion. Leaders like Vinay Katiyar quoted Savarkar to the effect, “You behave as if you are living in a country with which you have no concern, just as travellers live in a wayside inn for a few days and go away.” And he stated ‘we pay taxes, they spread dirt, we clean it’

114.27. Some of the witnesses stated that the second rung leadership of BJP demolished the structure. Nothing remains to imagination, as there is no doubt they were Vinay Katiyar, Laloo Singh, Braham Dutt Dwivedi, Shakshi Ji Maharaj, Sharad Sharma of VHP, Shri Chander Dixit, SP Shahi minister for state Home, Surya Krishan, Swami Chinmayanand, Swami Vam Devji, Uma Bharti, Vijay Raja Sindia, Uma Nath Singh Minister, Abhya Ram, Acharya Dharmendra Dev, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Akshay Ram Dass, Anil Kalia, Anil Tiwari, Arvind Kumar Std Army, Ashok Dawra, Ashok Singhal, Avaidhyanath, Baikunth Lal Sharma MP, BB Toshnival, Champat Rai, Charan Dass, Giriraj Kishore, Govinda Acharya, H V Sheshadri, Inder Singh, J DN Aggarwal, Jai Bhagwan Goyal, Jai Bhan Singh Pawaria of BD Ayodhya, KS Sudarshan, Kalyan Singh Chief Minister, Lallu Singh Chauhan, Laloo Singh, Mahant Avaidhyanath, Mahant Nritya Gopal Das, Mahant Paramhans Ram Chander Dass, Makhoo Singh, Mata Pershsad, Morpanth Pingale, Nirtay Gopal Dass, Om Perakash RSS, Onkar Bhava, Parmod Mahajan, Parshotam Narain Sigh, Parveen Togadia Pawan Kumar Gupta, Pawan Pandya Rajendra Gupta, Rajinder Singh Pankaj-Saharanpur, Ram Khatri, Ram Krishan Agnihotri, Ram Murat Sharan, Ram Pershad Tiwari, Kalyan Singh Chief Minister, Lallu Singh Chauhan, Laloo Singh, Mahant Avaidhyanath, Mahant Nritya Gopal Das, Mahant Paramhans Ram Chander Dass, Makhoo Singh, Mata Pershsad, Morpanth Pingale, Nirtay Gopal Dass, Om Perakash RSS, Onkar Bhava, Parmod Mahajan, Parshotam Narain Sigh, Parveen Togadia, Pawan Kumar Gupta, Pawan Pandya Rajendra Gupta, Rajinder Singh Pankaj-Saharanpur, Ram Khatri, Ram Krishan Agnihotri, Ram Murat Sharan, Ram Pershad Tiwari, Romesh

Pertap, Sadhivi Ritambra, Satish Perdhan Shive Sena MP, Sharad Sharma of VHP, Suresh Kumar, Surya Krishan, Surya Partap Singh, Surya Pertap Sahi, Uma Bharti, It further finds corroboration when admittedly they demolished Sankat Mochan temple, etc in October 1991⁴⁹⁴.

114.28. It can be said man cannot be severed from his thought or philosophy, inculcated or imbibed in him, irrespective of his status or party affiliations, or organizations for any micro-purpose he may join. Even the election manifesto carried one of the aims of BJP coming in power to construct temple which was the object of RSS. It categorically means that BJP imbibed RSS's object in its election manifesto. It can be even said that it may be with an object of ensuring VHP, RSS and other protagonists of movement's support at the hustings.

114.29. BJP in order to revamp itself, appointed Pracharaks of RSS as honorary and organizing secretaries, which provided a new synergy between RSS and *Sangh Parivar*.

114.30. BJP rejected the territorial nationalism in favour of cultural nationalism in consonance with the RSS thought. LK Advani stated that BJP's participation in the movement was aimed at strengthening the concept of nationalism which he believes to be essentially cultural nationalism and not just geographical or political nationalism, which is *para-materia* with the concept of the nationalism of RSS. He accepted the definition of Hon'ble Supreme Court on *Hindutva* as being a way of life or a state of mind, not necessarily

⁴⁹⁴ See file number 20.200/87/D/91.

confined strictly to Hindu religious practices. Be that as it may, even the common person correlates the Hindu or *Hindutva* with Hindu religion and not a way of life. LK Advani emphasized, “Indian nationalism is a cultural nationalism and has been the silken bond of culture. The silken bond of culture can be named as Bharatiya, *Hindutva* and Indianness which, in fact, are synonymous”. Taking the statement to a logical end that *Hindutva* is synonymous with Bharatiya or cultural nationalism referring to the oath; it can be inferred to be Hindu as religion.

114.31. Temple construction movement admittedly had all the making of political campaign. People rallied around charismatic leaders of national stature like LK Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi who became the icons of the movement while others acquired a national fame. There is no doubt of their association with RSS.

114.32. The religious leaders like Paramhans Ramchander Dass not only constituted *Bajrang Dal* but also created political leaders like Vinay Katiyar from RSS and absorbed them into BJP, Swami Vamdev blessed Uma Bharti who too belonged to BJP and simultaneously was in VHP. Similarly main figures guiding the movement like Vijay Raja Scindia, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Ashok Singhal, Braham Dutt Divedi, S C Dixit etc were part of RSS, and simultaneously of VHP, or BD, or BJP. In fact it is impossible to segregate the organizers representing particular organization, be at any level. It can safely concluded, all or at least majority of them were or are associated with RSS. All the leaders of the movement were condescends by RSS like their

son. All have been the known leaders or the officer bearers of BJP at one point of time or the other were part and parcel of the RSS.

114.33. It is a common knowledge that the Governor of Rajasthan reported that the Government of Rajasthan had played an active role in the Ayodhya incident of 6th of December 1992 and even its legislators had participated in the movement. He said though CM agreed to implement the ban on the VHP but put a question mark when he said, “Leaders of BJP took out *Rath Yatra*, exhorting *Karsevaks* to reach Ayodhya. BJP Government unleashed religious propaganda often since aimed at belittling Muslims.” He reported that the BJP was exercising control over the RSS, VHP and the Bajrang Dal leadership. It was found in SR Bommai’s case that 22 MLAs and 15,500 BJP workers from Rajasthan had participated in *Karseva* to a whom royal send off and reception was given by the then influential people of BJP party who were managing the Government. Specific reference is to admission of the Chief Minister heading the BJP Government being a member of the RSS. It was further found that BJP was acting in consultation with VHP and RSS. Om Parkash, a RSS leader also attended the meeting. A warning was issued to the Central Government that any confrontation would provoke an unpalatable response because of their preparedness for the worst. This fact⁴⁹⁵ and the newspaper report were never challenged nor denied nor any witness has ever been cross-examined with respect to it; rather the report was accepted to be substantially correct.

⁴⁹⁵ reported in DW-10/1 in *The Times of India newspaper*

114.34. Justice P Madan in one of the Commission's report, enquiring into Trichapalli's riots, that it was said that "*Jan Sangh is the political wing of RSS and RSS is the military wing of Jan Sangh*". DB Roy said, "*BJP, Bajrang Dal and RSS are the same. Most of the office bearers of VHP are from RSS, VHP, RSS, and Hindu Mahasabha are one, and their inter se relationship is that they raise voice against excesses against Hindus*". It may be observed that the statement qua *inter se* relationship of raising voice for Hindus is an afterthought and crude attempt to explain the clear admission by a local SSP, about his understanding about the participating parties in the movement.

114.35. Even Acharya Giriraj Kishore qua *inter se* relationship of VHP & BJP observed that political party is aimed to govern and therefore they support for the political gain "There is *inter se* relation between VHP and BJP, while political parties have only one school of thought, that is governing while the VHP is far away from governing". He further said that there is no interaction between VHP and BJP. Officials never met. *Inter se* relationship is that some members of VHP are that of BJP and RSS. Some members of RSS are with BJP, some members of BJP are with VHP. They are in personal relationship. In my considered view by bearing a different name or legal entity it does not become a different entity for practical purposes when particularly it is constituted of predominantly by the same persons. Legally speaking they may not be interlinked or the same person but for all intents and purposes practically it would be the same party from which they have grown. They would carry the imprint of same thought or philosophy though they may adopt different means to achieve the same end.

In my considered view, in totality it cannot be accepted that the VHP is far away from governance or there was or is no interference between the BJP and VHP. In fact, all logistical arrangements were worked out jointly by the VHP, BJP, RSS etc.

114.36. Mobilization of the *Karsevaks* if not earlier at least since 1990 was carried out by BJP. In terms of LK Advani, the symbolic *Karseva* and mass movement are neither exclusive nor contradictory. L.K. Advani explained that in the month of November we were hopeful that the Government of India will appreciate our desire for an early decision of High Court; *Karseva* would be actual and not just symbolic. The mobilization for *Karseva* had been going on and there were no proposal of stopping it. He said, that *Karsevaks* were exhorted to converge to Ayodhya for *Karseva* for construction of temple. He further stated that after 2 days *Karsevaks* told, not to go to Ayodhya because of the large crowd already gathered there. He stated BJP has a large galaxy of leaders and work distributed among them after taking into consideration as to who was more effective. MM Joshi and LK Advani deputed for mobilization. He stated that Rath Yatras have specific significance in the Indian religious environment on the psyche of Hindus. BJP developed it as a means for mass contact, mass mobilization and mass education. He further admitted that communicating the message of nationalism through religious idioms is more effective and transmitted to wider audience. Undisputedly VHP, RSS, BJP and the *Sadhus* and *Sants* were exhorting the people to go in large number, so were LK Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi. I may observe that people were being exhorted to go for *Karseva* in large number, be it by

VHP, BJP or RSS or by individual without there being any centralized control on the mobilization. The State Government specifically ruled by the BJP too participated in mobilizing the *Karsevaks*. The State had noted in 1992 in its record that BJP, VHP, RSS and *Bajrang Dal* did not want the campaign to run out of steam⁴⁹⁶ as it was needed for the electoral success of the BJP.

114.37. The mobilization of the *Karsevaks* by the State Government of UP is writ large. the then Chief Minister Kalyan Singh called an emergency meeting of the Ministers and MLAs to mobilize the *Karsevaks* in UP, and asked them to send at least 10 *Karsevaks* from each gram sabhas, totalling 75000 *Karsevaks* thereby sending 7,50,000 *Karsevaks* to reach Ayodhya. Despite the contradictory stand taken that legislators exhorted not to participate in the movement⁴⁹⁷.

114.38. The District Magistrate opined that VHP and *Bajrang Dal* are allied organizations of BJP.

114.39. Chief Secretary UP on 30th of September 1990 informed the Union Home Secretary that the call for the *Karseva* given by VHP, BJP, RSS and Shiv Sena, contrary to the theory put forth before commission that *Dharam Sansad* and *Marg Darshak Mandal* had given it. AK Saran, IG Lucknow Zone stated that calls for karseva given by VHP and BJP.

⁴⁹⁶ See file No. 15.200/51/D/92

⁴⁹⁷ See note in file No 15.200/51/D/92.

114.40. The District Magistrate came to the conclusion that the VHP and RSS had set everything for the success of the programme and they believed that in case of its failure Hindu organizations like the VHP, *Bajrang Dal*, BJP, RSS, Shiv Sena, Hindu Jagran Manch and Hindu Mahasabha, etc. would lose their identity in the politics of the country. It was in the context of the call of *Karseva* in September 1990.

114.41. Sunder Singh Bhandari visited Ayodhya to restore BJP's credibility and declared that Government had sanctioned a sum of 21 lakh rupees for construction of a wall around the temple. It was undertaken to assuage the feelings of VHP and *Bajrang Dal* who were getting impatient.

114.42. Acharya Giriraj Kishore admitted that BJP joined the movement to take political advantage of the situation. It was only on the BJP's coming out to support the movement that it acquired political complexion. He stated that BJP succeeded in its objective by sweeping the polls in the election in 1991. He attributed its success for their participation in the *Karseva* in 1990, taking out of Rath Yatra and making construction of temple as its election manifesto. The success of BJP in the election in various States was attributed to the election manifesto of construction of temple.

114.43. There can't be any dispute with respect to interchangeability of roles between the VHP, RSS, and BJP though legalistically these are different organizations. It cannot be lost sight of that the prominent leaders of VHP, BJP, RSS were none but the ones who had a RSS background. Most of them were simultaneously holding important offices in the respective parties, like

Uma Bharti, Mahant Avaidyanath, etc. All aspirants of a political career in VHP or in any other organization supporting the moment in any capacity, contested elections for a legislative house as a BJP candidate.

114.44. All parleys and negotiations carried out by Prime Minister were either with the BJP or RSS or VHP leaders who were constantly in touch with each other. Undertaking with respect to security of the disputed structure at Ayodhya was given by the BJP Government to the National Integration Council as well as to the Supreme Court of India despite their not having attended the final meeting of the National Integration Council in November 1992, rather it was specifically boycotted by them.

114.45. BJP and other organizations and their activists gave out a virulent message through all means including the press that the Hon'ble Supreme Court orders would not be obeyed. It was reiterated before the Commission but under the veil and articulations by the top leadership or icons of the movement. The organizers of the movement and its fanatic leadership used to state contradictory things. The message was writ large in slogans like "*Ram Lalla Hum Aye Hein Mandir Yabhin Banayenga*" "*Saugandh Ram Ki khate hain, Mandir wabhin Banayenge*" etc. It used to be said and declared that the directions of *Marg Darshak Mandal* or *Dharam Sansad* are binding and not of the Supreme Court. It used to be said and declared in public that the courts have no jurisdiction to determine the sensitive issue relating to Ram's birth in Ayodhya. Ashok Singhal, Vinay Katiyar, Acharya Giriraj Kishore stated that BJP used to assure *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* that they would abide by their decision and not by the decision of Supreme Court which is inconsistent

with the undertaking given to the National Integration Council or to the Supreme Court by the Government Vijay Raja Scindia and Mahant Chinmayanand. BJP too covertly gave this undertaking, as Vijay Raja Scindia and Mahant Chinmayanand represented the party in Parliament apart from being the office bearers of BJP.

114.46. The facts are interlinked. One cannot interpret facts in isolation. It was a long series of events, facts, and circumstances, which culminated in demolition. VHP, *Bajrang Dal*, RSS, BJP and Shiv Sena provided the organisational *raison d'être*. This was used as a garb for *Karseva* which was the instrument or means for the demolition of the structure. It can safely held that the RSS acted like a chariot and the horses driving the chariot were all members of the *Sangh Parivar* specifically VHP, BJP and *Bajrang Dal*, etc. They all were acting in unison *for acquiring* political power though presented their object and aim as construction of temple. All wanted to earn a reputation of supporting the Hindu cause. All the leaders who appeared before *the commission* were unrepentant about the fact of demolition; rather they toed the line of middle rung leadership in glorifying it and projecting themselves as heroes for achieving the object of demolition. With their conduct they proved that the construction of Ram temple and the demolition of the disputed structure were their common objective of acquiring political power. From the fact that during the demolition, the idols were removed surreptitiously and later placed back in the makeshift temple corroborates this.

114.47. It may be said that the VHP under the control and influence of the RSS lead the struggle for construction of temple and acted as the spearhead and the provided blood, muscles and strength to the entire movement.

114.48. The lofty and noble connotation sought to be given to the term Hindu – that it is a way of life and a philosophical concept – is contrary to the commonly held perception and the meaning actively propagated by the Sadhus and Sants etc during the temple construction movement. The common view that was actively put forth was that Hindu refers to the religion. Pro-Hindu speeches by the so-called recluse Sants and Sadhus and others usually had anti-Muslim messages and comments. It bears reiteration that even the formation of the VHP was essentially for strengthening and consolidating the Hindu religion, protecting developing and spreading the Hindu values and taking over the Hindu institutions and promoting the Hindu religion. In totality, it would be reasonable to conclude that the word “Hindu” carried the corrupted meaning acquired and perceived as referable to the religion.

114.49. Acharya Giriraj Kishore one of the leading most figures in the VHP disclosed that the object of the VHP was to establish a Government in Delhi for the purpose of liberation of shrines. Himself a pracharak of the RSS, the Acharya became the Joint Secretary of RSS and the Secretary of VHP in 1983 and also organised the Ekta Yatra. He corroborated that VHP cadres consisted of RSS members though he stated that the RSS develops the member’s personality and the person himself selects his area of work, though “*we are all RSS workers.*” It is a well known fact that VHP leaders used to contest elections only on the BJP ticket and this was not disputed by any of

the witnesses during the course of the evidence. Sakshiji Maharaj admitted that the RSS was the torchbearer for the VHP and in case of there being any dispute, the opinion of RSS would prevail. Acharya Giriraj Kishore detailed interlinks between VHP and BJP and stated that *Uma Ji* considered herself to be a BJP representative. VHP used to claim itself and its other parties as champions of the Hindu cause and the temple movement.

114.50. VHP used to participate in all the meetings, relating to Ayodhya matters or disputes or for construction of temple regardless of whether the meeting having been organised by the BJP, RSS or the Government, or by any other person. In one of the meetings the object or the purpose of the meetings was usually to work out the logistics or organising a meeting for sending the Sadhus and Sants to meet the Prime Minister.

114.51. The final decision for Karseva on 6th December 1992 was taken in 1992. It was conceded by VH Dalmia the President of VHP that as and when a karseva was to be organized, the VHP was responsible for making arrangements for stay, food, travel, shelter etc. Dalmia and other VHP leaders sought to aggrandize the role of the VHP and asserted that the VHP was responsible for mobilizing organizing the Karseva successfully though admittedly the major role was played by the Rath Yatras, including the one led by LK Advani in 1990 from Som Nath. Before the RSS and the BJP took up the cause aggressively, the mobilisation did not catch on even in UP, much less on the national scene. This fact is admitted, though in reticent manner by persons no less than Paramhans Ramchander Dass, KS Sudarshan etc., who categorically stated that they were of the opinion that the

movement could not succeed without the support of the Hindu organisations or organisations sympathetic to Hinduism at the national level. BJP was the only political party of national stature who supported this movement. There was little impact that even the previous Rath Yatras including the Ram Janki Rath Yatra had had. It is trite that the success of a movement depends upon motivated workers. It is a well-known and open secret that there are few organisations which have a cadre of workers as dedicated as the RSS or BJP. Their workers are indoctrinated with the notion of cultural nationalism, *Hindutva* and their own version of constitutional secularism.

114.52. VHP built itself up by drawing upon the persons mainly from the RSS cadre. It held various conferences up till 1983 at Udipi, Kota, Pandharpur, Siddhapur, Tirupati, Mangesh, Nougoun, Ujjain, Imphal, Jammu, Gauhati, Kishanganj, Amritsar, Malda, Port Blair where admittedly the participation never reached more than a few thousands.

114.53. It cannot be said to be a coincidence that the BJP entered into the fray in 1989 passing the resolution supporting the movement for construction of temple in Ayodhya soon after the judgment in Shah Bano's case had been delivered and the Mandal Commission had already kicked up a storm in the national affairs.

114.54. VHP first covertly and later overtly and effectively took over the reins of the movement for construction of temple. It became the frontal face for the construction movement. On the fateful day, identity cards to the Karsevaks were issued by VHP. Identity cards for Karseva issued by RSS or BJP too,

but they used to be issued at Ayodhya at the office of VHP. VHP was alone in organising all the details and from its own office managed all acts or functions held at Ayodhya in connection with the temple construction movement. No other participant of the construction movement was having any independent organisational set up in Ayodhya. Other participants and organizations in the movement too used to work from VHP office.

114.55. It can be concluded that the call for *Karseva* used to be given by VHP and not by the *Marg Darshak Mandal* or *Dharam Sansad* as was sought to be stated. This finds support in the statement of District Magistrate RN Srivastava who categorically stated, and even informed the Home Secretary and DGP, that the call for *Karseva* for 30th of November 1992 was given by VHP, *Bajrang Dal* and RSS while the political support to it was given by BJP, Shiv Sena, etc. That the motive behind the *Karseva* was political, was apparent when he reported that according to his perception, leaders of VHP and RSS had set everything up for the success of the programme; and he was of the opinion that in case of its failure, Hindu organisations stood to lose their identity in the politics of the country. He reported that VHP and RSS had decided to make every sacrifice for the success of the *Karseva*, adopting all tactics⁴⁹⁸. He further categorically admitted that VHP is an allied organisation of BJP and so is the *Bajrang Dal*. The hold of BJP over VHP was visible even when MM Joshi, a prominent leader of the BJP and of the movement, went to Ayodhya in July 1992 to try to stop the *Karseva*, which shows the close relationship between the VHP and BJP. In pith and

⁴⁹⁸ See file no. 9.200/5 (D)/90

substance and for all practical purposes VHP and BJP are one, though on the face they are two separate institutions or entities. DB Roy stated that the site of *Karseva* was controlled by the VHP and the *Karsevaks* were converging on the call given by the VHP. VHP was said to have a complete control over *Karsevaks* and the administration was dependent on it to check and control them. The Chief Secretary corroborated this and stated that the main persons with respect to *Karseva* were Vinay Katiyar and Ashok Singhal⁴⁹⁹. Even Uma Bharti accepted that the call for *Karseva* was given by the VHP.

⁴⁹⁹ See CW 13/8

115. The Bajrang Dal

115.1. DGP Parkash Singh⁵⁰⁰ categorically stated that parties privy to the design of demolitions taking place before July 1992 and for construction of the proposed magnificent temple at the site, were identified as VHP, *Bajrang Dal* and the BJP being the protégés, directly or indirectly, of the RSS. Sanjay Kaw⁵⁰¹ stated the entire process of identifying, registering and transporting the Karsevaks to Ayodhya from Delhi was managed by the BJP Youth Morcha. *Parichaya Patras* with the Karsevak's photograph were issued on BJP's letterhead by the RSS. People were not permitted to stay in the camps, be it at *Karsevak* Puram or around the disputed structure, without having identity cards from the sponsoring outfits⁵⁰². No cross-examination was directed towards these assertions nor were these facts challenged before the Commission. It was undisputed that all the *Karsevaks* reaching Ayodhya used to report at the office of VHP who used to direct them for boarding and lodging. Even the press cards were issued to the Journalists by VHP⁵⁰³.

115.2. In 1990 and even prior to that, the detailed programmes were worked out in advance by VHP and adopted by *Sant Sammellans* from time to time. This was within the notice of the government and was mentioned in an office

⁵⁰⁰ *CW 14*

⁵⁰¹ *CW 20*

⁵⁰² *Reported in CW 20/1*

⁵⁰³ *See the statements of Sakshiji Maharaj (DW8), Madhav Godbole (DW 13), Suman Gupta (CGW9) and CK Mishra (CGW 49)*

note⁵⁰⁴. In the said note it was further noticed that VHP and *Bajrang Dal* were required to carry out the movement openly while RSS was to carry out the movement amongst Hindus secretly, in view of the obstacles and hurdles expected from the government in the carrying out of the movement. The RSS leadership apprehending prohibition on the movement declared by the Government and with an object of getting the sympathy of Hindus and taking the movement ahead in spite of the prohibition on the movement with the comprehensive arrangement of forces available to it decided to carry out the movement secretly amongst the Hindu society. It required the *Bajrang Dal*, VHP to do it openly.⁵⁰⁵ The Government did notice that in spite of the programme being declared by the VHP, the organizational lead of the temple construction programme was still with the RSS.

115.3. The post event conduct of Ashok Singhal who said that if the OBC campaign was allowed to grow, it would cause immense damage to the BJP, even at the national level which would run counter to party's game plan to capture power by unity of Hindus. This statement by itself would take wind out of the sails of the VHP's claim of being a socio-religious body⁵⁰⁶.

115.4. It emerges from the official records that VHP planned *Shilas Pujan* and carried it out at one place in towns where population was around 2000 and at three places where the population was more than 5000. The programme in actuality was carried out by the RSS and the overall impression was created

⁵⁰⁴ See file no. 9.200/5/D/90.

⁵⁰⁵ See file No. 6.200/76A/D/90.

⁵⁰⁶ The statement was published in 'India Today' dated 15 November 1995.

that there was no difference of opinion between the VHP and the then Chief Minister who was prepared to sacrifice his office⁵⁰⁷.

115.5. The Governor of Rajasthan reported that BJP exercised control over the RSS and VHP and the *Bajrang Dal* leaders. The BJP took out *Rath yatra* exhorting *Karsevaks* to reach Ayodhya.

115.6. Lala Ram Gupta, counsel for the Union of India and the counsel for the VHP made submissions before the *Babri Commission* that theoretically or practically there was no distinction between the government run by the BJP, the RSS and the VHP. There a demonstrable commonness and unity among the parties to the movement, and the then State Government. All the parties to the movement were protégés of the RSS.

115.7. *The Bajrang Dal* was constituted in the *Akhara* of Paramhans Ramchander Dass with his blessings who admitted that it was the youth wing of VHP, with the mandate to build the character of Hindus. Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Ashok Singhal and a large number of witnesses corroborated this fact. At the time of constitution or sometime later, Vamdev administered oath to the *Bajrang Dal* workers for their participation in the movement for construction of temple at Ayodhya. Vinay Katiyar was appointed its President. Vinay Katiyar stated before the Commission that he himself was the *Bajrang Dal* and vice-versa. He carried the organization in his pocket with no membership. He however denied its being a part of any other organization despite is being a well known and an undisputed fact and one corroborated by

⁵⁰⁷ See file No 3.200/30/D/89.

Paramhans Ramchander Dass. Ashok Singhal, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Paramhans Ramchander Dass, VH Dalmia, etc. who appeared before the commission. Under the stress of cross examination, Vinay Katiyar accepted that it was floated in the Akhara of Paramhans Ramchander Das with his blessings.

115.8. *Bajrang Dal* workers accompanied LK Advani in his Rath Yatra in 1990. In order to show their commitment they even offered him a cup of their blood. Prof Richard David recorded that they welcomed LK Advani by applying a *tilak* mark on his forehead at Delhi. Vinay Katiyar observed, “*If There Is Any Sangharsh We Are Ready For It ... Kuch Bigadne Par Hi Kuch Banta Hai*”. The statement of Vinay Katiyar leads to a reasonable implication that they were ready to do something, which was not in accordance with the law or established practices. With the passage of time, *Bajrang Dal* acquired the reputation of being a fighting force. The *Bajrang Dal* attracted the unemployed educated youth to promote the cause of VHP or temple and owed no responsibility, direct or indirect, for their reckless acts of indiscipline or violence by its members.

115.9. In October 1990, a programme of illumination of *Ram Jyotis* was chalked out wherein a group of 2500 members of *Bajrang Dal* was sent to the villages adjoining Ayodhya 6 or 7 days prior to the *Karseva* scheduled for the 30th of October 1990 to form groups of *Karsevaks*. It was proposed that there would be *Yagya* from 26th to the 30th of October 1990 for which a large number of *Karsevaks* were expected. The *Bajrang Dal* cadres were to go to Ayodhya under the veil of *Karsevaks* and stay with the *Karsevaks* in temples to try to

motivate the sentiments of karsevaks and pilgrims who had come for participating in the *14 koshi and Panch koshi Parikarma*.

115.10. It is undisputed and even taken note of in the official records that Vinay Katiyar and his Bajrang had earlier demolished certain structures in *Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid* complex despite the orders of the Supreme Court with the protection of a sympathetic government.

115.11. Secret and closed door meetings for planning the future course of the Ayodhya movement were even noticed by the then DGP Parkash Singh⁵⁰⁸ who formed the categorical opinion that Vinay Katiyar and Ashok Singhal were the persons behind the Chief Minister, trying to push him beyond limit for diluting security. He testified that DB Roy who was known to Vinay Katiyar from Kanpur was posted at the insistence of Government, to which he had to agree as the DGP. The government was making postings of officers on the sensitive posts without recommendation or the concurrence of DGP, which later resulted in the transfer of the DGP himself. His categorical and unchallenged assertion was that the local officers and SSP used to hobnob with the local politicians, and the VHP leaders. Parkash Singh categorically stated that the administration used to get the signals from VHP. There is no gainsaying that local leaders were none other than Vinay Katiyar, Lalo Singh, Dwivedi MLA, basically from the RSS and now in the BJP, VHP or Bajrang Dal, who were helping the *Karsevaks* and labourers to demolish the buildings like *Sankat Mochan* temple in 1991 regarding which

⁵⁰⁸ CW14

specific information had been sent to the Government but with no resultant action⁵⁰⁹.

115.12. It was reported in September 1992 by the then District Magistrate while informing the Home Secretary and DGP that the call for Karseva on 30th of November 1992 was given by VHP, Bajrang Dal, RSS while BJP gave it political support⁵¹⁰.

115.13. The object of *Bajrang Dal* is *para materia* with the objects of the VHP and the RSS. Even the District Magistrate opined that *Bajrang Dal* is an allied organization of VHP and BJP. The somersault taken by Acharya Giriraj Kishore with respect to describing *Bajrang Dal* as *Swayamsevak* organization cannot be accepted on the face of it.

115.14. It may be noticed at this stage that Vinay Katiyar proclaimed that decisions taken by *Dharam Sansad*, Paramhans Ramchander Dass, Mahant Nritya Gopal Dass, and Acharya Vamdev used to be implemented according to his wishes.

⁵⁰⁹ See file No 20.200/87/A/91.

⁵¹⁰ See file No 9.200/5/D/90

116. Shiv Sena

116.1. There is little evidence which has come on the record regarding the constitution of the Shiv Sena. Moreashawar Save⁵¹¹ from Shiv Sena is the only witness who appeared before the Commission. Shiv Sena was constituted as a political party in the year 1966. He admitted that the organization is a political-cum-religious and party registered with the Election Commission. Moreashawar Save categorically admitted that Shiv Sena believes in nationalism linked with Hinduism. These objectives are *para materia* with the thought and philosophy of the RSS.

116.2. With respect to the membership of Shiv Sena, he brought to the notice of the Commission, that a person can be a member of Shiv Sena if he is a nationalist and not anti-national; he made a crude attempt and was at pains to state that non-Hindus could also be enrolled members of the Shiv Sena. Nothing substantial has been pointed out either through its constitution or by oral statement naming any non-Hindu prominent member or leader of Shiv Sena. The membership of the Shiv Sena is comprised of Hindus, especially those with pronounced communal tendencies. It was specifically stated by Moreashawar Save that a nationalist was one having faith in the Constitution of India, in its national flag, and did not consider any outside interest in any manner. Hoisting a flag other than Indian flag was definitely not national

⁵¹¹ CW 26

according to him, as was applauding of sports. He stated that Bala Sahib was the only Hindu leader holding nationalist Hinduism views.

116.3. Moreashawar Save admitted that Bala Sahib Thackeray is the supreme leader of the Shiv Sena. All powers flowed from him and ended with him. As established by various Commissions and as otherwise accepted, it is a well-known open secret that Bala Sahib Thackeray has the reputation of being a staunch religionist Hindu. Bala Sahib Thackeray issues firebrand fanatic Hindu religionist statements in media on various issues. He makes no bones while making to the press statements or in public meetings that it is not unknown that Muslims, Christians etc are communal oriented.

116.4. This Commission need not burden this report with the various press cuttings and the statements issued by him from time to time challenging other communities like Muslims and Christians condemning them as unpatriotic. Various media reports and other evidence produced before the Commission suggest that he still carries the venom and prejudices of the days of the partition. This prejudice has not only survived but also been used from time to time for selfish ends of acquiring power. Attempts have been made to increase the cleavage between the two communities after partition. The Shiv Sena is responsible for floating theories of increasing population of Muslims, celebrations of the success of the neighbouring country Pakistan in sports, criminal activity etc.

116.5. Moreashawar Save stated that it was decided by the Shiv Sena in 1987-88 to enter the Ayodhya movement but still he went on to state that in 1990

Karseva only two persons from the Shiv Sena participated, and that the Shiv Sena did not mobilize karsevaks in 1991 since the impression was that the matter would be sorted out amicably but in the meantime, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi died. He stated that no call for construction was given by Shiv Sena which flies in the face of the State Administration and Intelligence Department's reports that at the meeting of 28th of November 1992 at Faizabad Shiv Sainiks categorically stated that they would not do symbolic *Karseva* and would carry out the construction of the temple. The articulation made by Moreashawar Save or even denials or attempts at diplomacy are of no consequence.

116.6. Undisputedly, the *Karsevaks* were unhappy with the ostensible decision symbolic *Karseva* and they were not willing to follow this decision of the leadership and were in a rebellious mood. The Shiv Sena condemned those participants in the movement like BJP, etc. for these statements, accusing them of emulating or falling in line with the Congress party⁵¹². The veracity of this stand went unchallenged. The notes were sent as far back as 1990 by RK Bhargav to the Union Secretary, informing him that organizations including Shiv Sena had given a call to start construction of temple at *Ram Janambhoomi* at Ayodhya, while Moreashawar Save categorically stated that no call for construction of temple was given by Shiv Sena. The assertion of Moreashawar Save appears to be not in conformity with the facts on ground.

116.7. Moreashawar Save stated that the Shiv Sainiks could be distinguished on the 6th of December from amongst the other cadres of RSS, *Bajrang Dal* etc. by

⁵¹² *Speech reported in CW9/12.*

their head gear. *Swayamsevak* wore saffron headband, the *Bajrang Dal* *Karsevak* had yellow headbands while the Shiv Sainiks wore black headbands. Even in the video cassettes produced before the Commission, Shiv Sainiks could be seen clearly, wearing black caps. It became especially prominent when Shiv Sainiks attempted to forcibly enter the *Puja Sthal*. There was a skirmish between the workers of RSS and the Shiv Sainiks on the question of entering into the encircled area.

116.8. It appears, that there is a conscious effort to downplay the role of Shiv Sena. Parkash Singh categorically said that the parties to the grand design for the magnificent temple were the BJP, VHP, RSS, *Bajrang Dal* and Shiv Sena.

116.9. Bal Thackeray said, "*We will not stop now. Hindus have united as never before. The nation needs a strong united force of Hindus. They want to project United Hindutva front. We want BJP to be power in New Delhi. Political compulsions compelled BJP to discard the moderate stand of Vajpayee. I am glad that I have breathed life into the Hindus. Since the time of the Muslim invasion, nine centuries back Hindus had lost their souls. The need to get their spine back, I did just that. That Rath even if it is power driven appeals to the Hindu. Arjun received the Gita from Lord Krishna in a Rath. Anyone who takes to Rath is truly resurrecting the spirit of Hindutva. I am proud of having done that. I am also proud of my organizing skills. Everyone knows that I am the power behind the power --- no aspersions on my friend Joshi – the Murlī (flute) beautiful (Manohar) notes. Nevertheless, no flute can strike the right notes unless someone who knows how to place the right finger at the right spot at the right time. On December 6, 1992, found how much power I gained in inspiring people. In fact, it*

was moment of exultation. I also noticed that I had all the power, so long as I swung the mob, but the moment I tried to make them turn back from their onwards assault towards the monument, I found nobody would listen to me. You can lead a horse to water, but you cannot stop it from drinking. That is the modern version of the old proverb I learnt during the operation.”

116.10. Moreashawar Save stated to the media, “*Shiv Sena Hindu Vadi Sangathan Hai. Jahan Bhi Hindu Hit Ki Baat Hogi Bhale Woh Kisi Bhi Muddye Se Ho, Chahey Woh VHP, BJP, Bajrang Dal Ho Shiv Sena Unke Saath Rahegi, To The Extent Of Hindu Hit*” He categorically admitted that programmes of Rath yatra was for their own existence and the people in the crowd did not know what for they were assembled. He admitted the press statement dated 4.12.92⁵¹³ to be correct.

⁵¹³ See CW 26/3, CW 26/4

117. Ram Janambhoomi Nyas

117.1. Acharya Giriraj Kishore stated that in 1984 when the *Bajrang Dal* was constituted almost simultaneously Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Yajna Samiti and Ram Janambhoomi Abhiyaan Samiti were also constituted.

117.2. *Ram Janambhoomi Nyas* was constituted by the VHP with Ashok Singhal as the Manager, Vishnu Hari Dalmia as the treasurer with many other trustees with a object to reconstruct the temple and making improvement on it and further awakening the Hindus all over the world. The principal object as accepted by Acharya Giriraj Kishore was to awaken the Hindu society with respect to Ram and preach Ram worship. It is surprising that a person no less than Vishnu Hari Dalmia admitted that Ram Janambhoomi Nyas was established for the construction of the temple. Still Acharya Giriraj Kishore stated that Ram Janambhoomi Nyas was a body distinct from the VHP despite the fact that all the office-bearers of the Ram Janambhoomi Nyas were the same as the VHP.

118. *Dharam Sansad*

118.1. From the CDs produced before the Commission, the *Sadhus* and *Sants* were appeared to be of little or no relevance, and were bunched in by VHP, These *Sadhus* and *Sants* too were drawing contours of BJP resources and sources so that *Sangh Parivar* could ensure its success at the elections which is evident from the various speeches delivered by them at Ujjain which were published in the form of a booklet produced before the Commission⁵¹⁴.

118.2. It may be highlighted and considered a fact of some importance that the decisions with respect to the *Karseva* were being taken by the same persons at every point of time sometimes as representatives of the VHP and at other times as that of Ram Janambhoomi Nyas or *Bajrang Dal* or any other organization of any name. I may add that even new institutions were used to be floated by VHP to meet any emerging situation, environment, facts and needs of the time, suitable for the political agenda of the *Sangh Parivar*.

118.3. Despite the contradictions, and articulations of leaders, the *Dharam Sansad* cannot be put on a higher pedestal than an association of persons. It cannot be termed as a body having any legal entity. There is a complete confusion as to whether *Dharam Sansad* and *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* are one or whether they are two different institutions. Some consider *Dharam Sansad* as

⁵¹⁴ Mark 'X' in the evidence

the general body and *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* a smaller body of *Dharam Sansad*⁵¹⁵.

118.4. The constitution of *Dharam Sansad* by VHP in 1984 is undisputed. It is admitted, that the agenda and convening of *Dharam Sansad* meetings used to be organised by VHP and even their ostentatious office is within the office of VHP⁵¹⁶. Acharya Giriraj Kishore stated that the VHP brought all the Sants and *Sadhus* on one platform. He said VHP collected *Dharmacharyas* on one platform and worked on their advice and command. It was stated by Paramhans Ramchander Dass that the *Dharam Sansad* is a part of VHP though he later modified stating that *Marg Darshak Mandal* was started out of necessity⁵¹⁷.

118.5. Sakshiji Maharaj categorically admitted that the *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* is one of the bodies of VHP.

118.6. PV Narasimha Rao stated that *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* or the *Dharam Sansad* was neither a group nor a cohesive organisation or a body rather it was a cluster of persons, given the name of *Dharam Sansad*. This description of *Dharam Sansad* seems to be the best description of the *Dharam Sansad* or *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* and has not been disputed or contested. The members of these associations never negotiated with the Government or the local administration nor any other person related to disputed structure including the counter claimants All India Babri Masjid

⁵¹⁵ Read the Statements of Acharya Giriraj Kishore.

⁵¹⁶ See the statement of Mahant Avaidyanath & SC Chaubey

⁵¹⁷ See also statement of Shaksji Ji Maharaj (CW8)

Action Committee (AIBMAC). As stated by Kalyan Singh that *Sadhus* and *Sants* or *Dharam Sansad* or Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal have not even once met him relating to the disputed structure. They only had a meeting that too organised by AB Vajpayee and Advani with the then Prime Minister and at no other point they were associated with any decision making authority.

118.7. It stands to reason that façade was created which kept alive the call for Shila Pujan at Udipi which had been given in 1989 by *Dharam Sansad* and that the call for *Karseva* in October 1990 had been given by *Sant Samelan* in Haridwar.

118.8. It was admitted even by the then District Magistrate RN Srivastava⁵¹⁸ that *Marg Darshak Mandal* is one of the different bodies of VHP.

118.9. Ashok Singhal, the most prominent and predominant person in the movement stated that *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* is the forum of highest level of Sants of main communities of India and VHP is coordinator. At a regional level it is the *Marg Darshak Mandal* which represents the *Dharam Sansad*. His version that the *Sant Samelan* has nothing to do with politics runs contrary to the admitted facts that the majority of the legislators among them are seen as the politicians of the nation. There is no gainsaying that the prominent personalities claiming to be members of *Dharam Sansad* like Mahant Chinmayanand, Mahant Avaidyanath, Uma Bharti, etc are not only a part and parcel of a political party but are members of the Parliament.

⁵¹⁸ CW 13

118.10. Acharya Dharmendra Dev stated that *Dharam Sansad is a Manch of the biggest dharmik Peeth and Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal is a different body of Dharmacharyas of Hindu Samaj who are leaders of various sects, which make policy to protect the Hindu community.*

118.11. Records of the VHP were kept back from the Commission. It may not be unreasonable to infer that they ran against the theory put up by them about *Dharam Sansad* or *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* etc. being the independent bodies or associations under whose directions they acted. It is the other way around; when tested on the well-accepted thought or principle or reason, that religious thoughts remain embedded in the psyche of a person. Religious leader creates political leaders. The veil of the *Marg Darshak Mandal* as a religious body of Sadhus and Sants gets torn down when even Uma Bharti, herself as its member till 1993-94, accepts that she does not even know its objectives. She said that she does not know who took decisions on their behalf⁵¹⁹.

118.12. Thus there is no gainsaying that it would be reasonable to infer from the facts stated above and the circumstances as they emerged that the *Marg Darshak Mandal* is synonymous with *Dharam Sansad*. It further gets affirmed that the *Marg Darshak Mandal* or *Dharam Sansad* is a façade created by VHP when Uma Bharti categorically admitted that *Marg Darshak Mandal* is largely composed of *Sants*, it has no office bearers, and they do not represent any organisation nor had any identity or entity of their own. They are influential people. On 6th of December 1992 none of the prominent *Sadhus* or *Sants*

⁵¹⁹ See statement of Uma Bharti (CW17)

present as members of *Dharam Sansad* or *Marg Darshak Mandal* made any attempt to persuade the *Karsevaks*, dissuading them from demolition despite the fact that it was put forth that on 5th of December a decision had been taken by them for symbolic karseva. They did not dissuade the people from raising slanderous, provocative slogans, rather went to the extent of denying the rabid slogans raised. Acharya Dharminder Dev made a crude attempt of describing as a parody a Kirtan like “*Babar bole Ram-Ram*” etc. They took pleasure in the demolition at the time of the demolition and thereafter they glorified it. Acharya Dharmendra Dev admitted, that he did not appeal to the *Karsevaks* to come down though he admitted that LK Advani, HV Sheshadri, etc made appeals from public address system asking the *Karsevaks* to come down. None requested nor attempted to stop *Karsevaks* from entering the disputed structure or demolishing it. It would be reasonable to infer that a facade was attempted by selected icons and leaders to sustain their veil of constitutional secularism. One could further infer that the intention of leaders was to only to ensure the safety of the *Karsevaks* who had climbed on the domes. It is obvious in totality that the leadership was more concerned for the security and safety of the *karsevaks* than to protect the disputed structure or the later communal holocaust. The witnesses appearing broadly accepted the report of Chandan Mitra with respect to the celebration. Reference may also be made to the statement of Sakshiji Maharaj.

119. Vishwa Hindu Parishad

119.1. Vinay Katiyar admitted that the relationship of BJP and *Bajrang Dal* is that of *Ram* and *Laxman*. He had gone to the extent of stating that demolition carried out under a plan. He however had the cheek to deny the relationship of *Bajrang Dal* and VHP despite the fact that he is contradicted with respect to this major fact even by the founder of *Bajrang Dal*, i.e. Paramhans Ramchander Dass whose version was corroborated by Ashok Singhal, Acharya Dharmendra Dev and other prominent persons. They accepted that the decisions of *Dharam Sansad*, were taken by Nriitya Gopal Dass, Paramhans Ramchander Dass, Vamdev who were none else but prominent persons of VHP. He admitted that the officers used to oblige them.

119.2. VH Dalmia categorically accepted that *Sadhus* and *Sants* are there in VHP and they guide us on religious matters but he stated that they are not part of the organisation. Some persons, as the office-bearers of the VHP take decision on behalf of it, and the substantially the same persons calling themselves the *Dharam Sansad* repeat the decision. One fails to comprehend how the decision can be termed to be by different persons though it may be by two legal persons. *Dharam Sansad* is not even a legal entity. One fails to comprehend how merely by changing the name of an association, the *inter se* relationship vanishes. In my opinion, it is otherwise. When the decision making physical persons are substantially the same, even if their number may be varying, the giving of a particular name or the other to the association is

usually for hidden reasons and can be termed to be a façade for the public's eyes. The constitution of *Dharam Sansad* in 1984, coinciding with *Ram Janam Sthan Mukti Yajna Samiti* with Mahant Avaidyanath as its president and the constitution of *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* was admitted. The close association of Vinay Katiyar with the *Sadhus* and *Sants* and his being an active member of VHP along with SC Dixit was also admitted before the Commission.

- 119.3. It was admitted in the White Paper of BJP that the *Sangh Parivar* of which undisputedly they are members, gains inspiration from RSS. While defining *Sangh Parivar* it was said to refer to the RSS with cluster of other organisations - even some of the *office bearers* of RSS were in the VHP.
- 119.4. Vishnu Hari Dalmia accepted that the persons like Champat Rai, Acharya Giriraj Kishore and Onkar Bhave were looking after the construction of temple at the disputed structure, these are the members of VHP derived from RSS and were not in control of or guided by *Dharam Sansad* in any manner. He categorically stated that Boat Club rally was organised by VHP though *Sadhus* participated.
- 119.5. LK Advani categorically admitted that the views of BJP were given due weight by the *Sadhus* and *Sants* to the strategy decided by VHP and BJP in the presence of RSS leadership. Paramhans Ramchander Dass accepted that *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* is an ancillary body of the VHP. It would be reasonable to infer that *Dharam Sansad* and *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* were façades of VHP created by the VHP in order to keep the people

guessing and to mobilise the people having religious thoughts embedded in their psyche, for hidden reasons with an impression to perpetuate public hypocrisy.

120. The Sangh Parivar, Hinduism and Hindu

- 120.1. From the examination of facts and the available evidence with the commission, or the inferences raised therefrom, as well as circumstances which may not override reality of situation and cannot be ignored too, the picture that emerges is that the participants of the movement jointly and predominantly were known in the world of media, law and in common parlance as Sangh Parivar.
- 120.2. In other words Sangh Parivar was the collective name assumed or given to all the participants, parties, or their leaders including the religious ones, social or religious institutions, or associations of persons etc. involved directly or indirectly, implicitly or expressly, jointly or severally, under whatever name they might be using.
- 120.3. Arjun Singh specifically stated, "Sangh Parivar means BJP, VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal with their ideology to follow Hindu fundamentalism and resurrection of the lost cause of Hindu religion". Sangh Parivar has to be taken as one unit.
- 120.4. In the simplest of terms, and with utmost restraint, I cannot refrain from observing, with respect to the evidence and without pinpointing any particular persons, that the self proclaimed defenders of Hindu religion abetted and demolished the structure through their small time street leadership.

- 120.5. Defining Sangh Parivar, and pinpointing the entire role played by them in demolition of the disputed structure was the most perplexing question in this exposition especially when the concept, the scheme, motives and objectives exist in the minds of the leaders who remained thoroughly unhelpful.
- 120.6. Political organizations and members of Sangh Parivar used to settle their agenda and gave it the name of a religious movement for extending their support to it or mobilizing the people for the same.
- 120.7. The philosophies, thoughts and objectives of the constituent members of the *Sangh Parivar* are identical with respect to *Hindu Rashtra*, Hindu religion and the Hindu culture.
- 120.8. The term Hindu as used by the *Sangh Parivar* cannot be said to be in conformity with the definition as laid down by the Supreme Court or put forth by the articulating leadership, representing it a way of life. The common person and even some leaders accept that *Hindu* is as much a religion as Muslim or Christian. All of them accept the thought of Hindu nation for which Hedgewar considered RSS as the model of Hindu nation.
- 120.9. There cannot be any dispute that RSS is the major single largest important constituent of the *Sangh Parivar*. It is also accepted that the Bajrang Dal is the youth wing of VHP and *Dharam Sansad* and the *Kendriya Marg Darshak Mandal* sponsored by VHP though were portrayed as independent bodies⁵²⁰. Similarly Paramhans Ramchander Dass and Mulayam Singh accepted that all

⁵²⁰ See statements of Sakshiji Maharaj (DW8)

the members of *Sangh Pariwar* contested elections on the BJP tickets and become legislators of BJP party.

120.10. The promotion of *Hindutva* in the RSS's lexicon means establishing a *Hindu Rashtriya*, a state in which Hindus would enjoy superior position as compared to the followers of non-Hindu religions. This is obviously a dream and a goal repugnant to the constitution.

120.11. It was accepted by Parkash Singh that Ashok Singhal and Vinay Katiyar were working behind the scenes and closed door meetings used to be held by VHP, RSS and the Bajrang Dal.

120.12. Despite the nuanced articulation of the leaders and the witnesses, for or against the claim, with respect to the disputed structure, or even the parties themselves protesting, it emerges that these groupings including the VHP and the *Bajrang Dal* etc. were nothing but units of RSS. In fact from their conduct, established by undisputed facts, circumstances, events and sifting of statements on oath all these units shared the same belief in the construction of temple and used the theories put forward to counter the vote-bank politics of caste, religion, minorities, etc ensuring the political power for themselves. It was in totality an attempt to project their image as protectors of Hindus or the Hindu religion or Hindu culture.

120.13. Each party, group or organization within the *Sangh Pariwar* was constituted of a distinct class of common people, headed by a leadership from the common source - the RSS - and was established according to the expediency and needs of the time. Despite their technical, legal status as an individual or

a person or an association or a trust or a society I am of the firm view that in fact they were one and the same persons. Factually and practically they were the same unitary entity with common sources and ideology, propagated by RSS. The actual individuals are also the same with varying numbers in the different associations and groupings that make up the Sangh Parivar.

120.14. The names used to denote the different associations or institutions are in fact veils. Their conduct and acts cumulatively are reflective of their interest, *inter se* connections and can be authoritatively termed as frontal organizations of RSS.