

DALY COLLEGE YOUTH PARLIAMENT 2019

LOK SABHA



AGENDA:
THE AYODHYA DISPUTE

FREEZE DATE:
6th December 1992

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LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Dear Delegates,

It is our pleasure to welcome you to the Daly College Youth Parliament, 2019. We look forward to seeing this year a debate more comprehensive than ever, including intelligent solutions, and diplomatic negotiation through the course of the conference.

We would like to give you a small insight into what is expected of the delegates this year.

Over the past few years and MUNs we've attended, it is an observation that the culture of attending MUNs is transitioning from enhancing one's debating skills and research to fun, or with greater emphasis on winning. Do not treat this Youth Parliament as competition, but rather as an opportunity or platform to generating well thought-out solutions.

We have compiled this Study Guide in order to provide you with the information needed to gain a fundamental understanding of the committee agenda. But it is pertinent to remember, that this study guide should serve only as a starting point of your research. It is expected that you are thorough with all aspects of the topic, also forming a good understanding of your portfolio's perspective and stand regarding this long standing issue.

Nowadays, irresponsible criticism by delegates, while not being able to propose feasible solutions is perhaps one of the few reasons why MUNs' success is facing stagnation. With that in mind, I would like to encourage you to further your creativity along with your critical thinking ability to come up with original yet viable proposals.

Before we delve deeper into the discussion of the bludgeoning of the infamous Ayodhya Dispute, feel free to approach the executive board on our email ID for any queries. The Executive Board comprises of Mohit Patwari, the Chairperson; Sia Phulambrikar, the vice-chairperson; and Madhavendra Singh Purni, the rapporteur.

Looking forward to elaborate debates and smart solutions, Regards,

The Executive Board, Lok Sabha

ABOUT THE COMMITTEE

The Lok Sabha, a specialized committee based on the lower house of our bicameral Parliament promises to be a dynamic committee, providing a forum for diverse and intensifying debate. As Members of Parliament, you must realize that the Lok Sabha is a demanding committee, which will require you to be aware, attentive and updated during the committee sessions. We hope that the Lok Sabha will prove to be a challenging, engaging, thought provoking and of course, an exhilarating experience for you. I, as your chair is expecting nothing short of diplomacy and hope that all delegates will not only look at one section of the society while coming to the solutions of the problems at hand, but, instead at the bigger picture; the picture filled with the needs, demands and dream of all the 1.27 billion people who call this land their home.



FUNCTIONS OF THE LOK SABHA

1. Legislative:

Law-making is the main function of the Parliament and in this field the Lok Sabha plays an important role. All types of bills can originate in the Lok Sabha and if a bill is moved in and passed by the Rajya Sabha, it has to come to the Lok Sabha for its approval.

2. Financial:

Control over purse makes one powerful. In financial matters, the Lok Sabha has a distinct superiority over the Rajya Sabha. The Money Bill can be introduced only in the Lok Sabha. It is up to the Lok Sabha to accept or reject the suggestions for change in the Money Bill made by the Rajya Sabha.

3. Control over Executive:

The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the Lower House of the Parliament. Thus, the government is accountable to the Lok Sabha for its acts of omission and commission. It is only the Lok Sabha which can force the Council of Ministers to resign by passing a vote of non-confidence against it. There are also other methods by which the Lok Sabha can exercise control over the central executive. These methods are putting questions, moving adjournment motions and call-attention motions, budget discussions, cut-motions and debates etc. By employing any of these methods the Lok Sabha can expose the misdeeds and inefficiency of the government and warn it against repeating such mistakes.

4. Constitutional:

The Lok Sabha shares with the Rajya Sabha the power to amend the constitution.

5. Electoral:

- (a) The Lok Sabha takes part in the election of the President and the Vice-President.
 - (b) It elects the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. .
 - (c) Its members are elected to different committees of the Parliament.
6. Judicial:
- (a) The Lok Sabha has power to punish a person on the ground of breach of privilege.
 - (b) It takes part in the impeachment proceedings against the President of India.
 - (c) It shares power with the Rajya Sabha to remove the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Judges of High Courts.

INTRODUCTION

The Ayodhya dispute is a political, historical and socio-religious debate in India, is a dispute between Hindus and Muslims which became more violent after the demolition of Babri Masjid. The main issues revolve around access to a site in the city of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh traditionally regarded among Hindus to be the birthplace of the Hindu deity Rama. The Muslims on the other hand consider it to be a holy place of their religion for Babri Masjid being situated there. The dispute arises over whether the mosque was built on top of a Ram temple – after demolishing or modifying it in the 16th century. Muslims say that the mosque is their sacred religious place - built by Mir Baqi in 1528 - and that Hindus desecrated it in 1949, when some people placed idols of Lord Ram inside the mosque, under the cover of darkness.

BRIEF HISTORY

In Hinduism the birthplace of the deity Rama, known as Ram Janmabhoomi is considered a holy site. Ram Janmabhoomi is the name given to the site that is the birthplace of Rama. This site is often believed to be at the place where the Babri Masjid stood in the city of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh. In 1528, following the Mughal conquest of the region, a mosque was built at the site by the Mughal general Mir Baqi, and named the "Babri Masjid" after the Mughal emperor Babur. Popular belief holds that Baqi demolished a temple of Rama to build the mosque.

CAUSE OF THE DISPUTE

In 1949, statues of Ram and Sita were placed inside the mosque. The idols were placed in order to stake claim and convert the existing mosque into the Ram temple. Then prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, reached out to the then Uttar Pradesh chief minister asking him to address the issue and remove the idols. But many Hindu nationalist leaders quickly dismissed Nehru's concerns and declined requests to remove the idols. Following this dispute, the gates of the mosque were locked and remained shut for the next 40 years.

In 1989, Nehru's grandson Rajiv Gandhi ordered for the gates to be reopened. In retaliation, many of the BJP's Hindutva brigade leaders, along with RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal workers, ran campaigns to rebuild the Ram temple.



WHAT CAUSED THE DEMOLITION OF BABRI MASJID

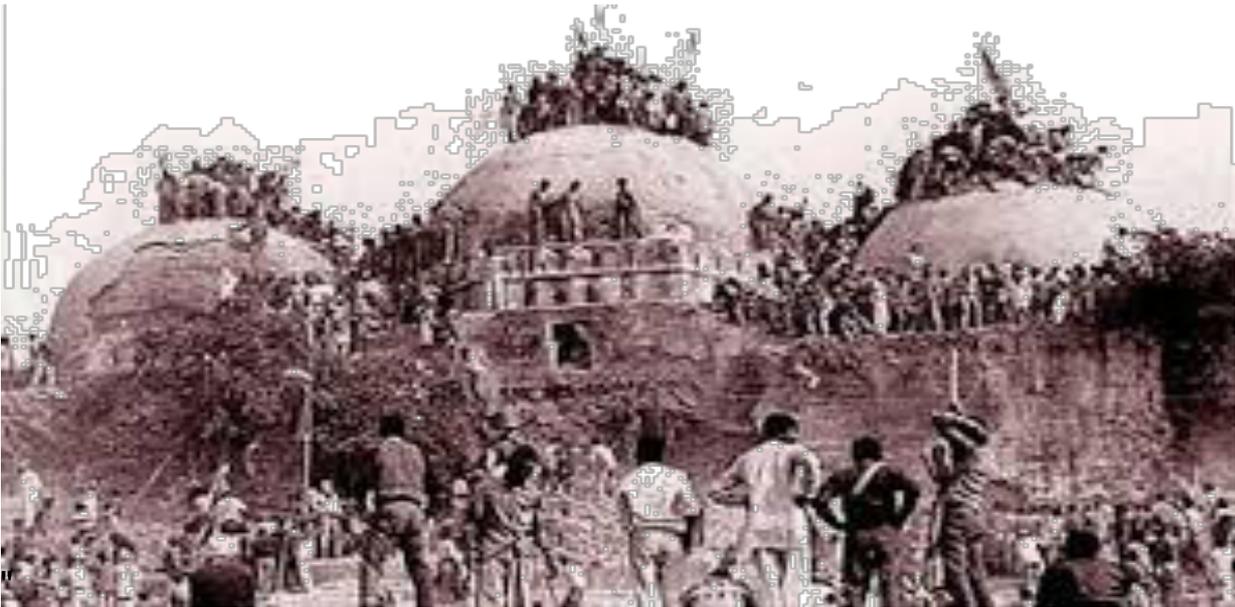
In 1853, a group of armed Hindu ascetics or monks belonging to the Nirmohi Akhara occupied the Babri Masjid site, and claimed ownership of the structure. Subsequently, the civil administration stepped in, and in 1855, divided the mosque premises into two parts: one for Hindus and one for Muslims.

In 1883, the Hindus launched an effort to construct a temple on the platform. When the administration denied them the permission to do this, they took the matter to high court. Subsequently, the higher courts also dismissed the lawsuit in 1886, in favour of state of affairs that existed that time.

In December 1949, some Hindus placed idols of Rama and Sita in the mosque, and claimed that they had miraculously appeared there. As thousands of Hindu devotees started visiting the place, the Government declared the mosque a disputed area and locked its gates. Subsequently, multiple Hindus demanded for permission to convert the site into a place of worship.

In the 1980s, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and other Hindu nationalist groups and political parties launched a campaign to construct the Ram Janmabhoomi Mandir ("Rama birthplace temple") at the site. The Rajiv Gandhi government allowed Hindus to access the site for prayers. On 6 December 1992, Hindu nationalists demolished the mosque, resulting in communal riots leading to over 2,000 deaths.

On 6 December 1992, the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) organized a rally involving 150,000 VHP and BJP karsevaks at the site of the disputed structure. The first few hours of the rally, the crowd grew gradually more restless, and began raising slogans. A police cordon or a barrier had been placed for controlling the situation and to restrain the violent acts of the rally. The police cordon, were vastly outnumbered and unprepared for the size of the attack that fled. The mob set upon the building with axes, hammers, and grappling hooks, and within a few hours, the entire structure made from mud and chalk was leveled.



TIMELINE OF THE ISSUE

1527	During the reign of Babur, the first Mughal emperor, some have claimed that an old Hindu temple was demolished, and a mosque constructed at the same place in Ayodhya and named after Babur.
1853	The first recorded communal clashes over the site date to this year.
1859	The colonial British administration put a fence around the site, denominating separate areas of worship for Hindus and Muslims. That is how it stood for about 90 years
1949	Idols were placed inside the mosque. Both sides to the dispute filed civil suits. The government locked the gates, saying the matter was <i>sub judice</i> and declared the area disputed. The civil suits were filed for ownership of the Plot no 583 of the area.

1986	A district judge ordered the gates of the mosque to be opened after 37 years (see 1949 above) and allowed Hindus to worship inside the –disputed structure. A Babri Mosque Action Committee was formed as Muslims protested the move to allow Hindu prayers at the site. The gates were opened in less than an hour after the court decision.
1990	Sh V P Singh became the Prime Minister of India with support of BJP which had won 58 seats in the election, a massive improvement from its last tally of 2 seats. The then BJP president Lal Krishna Advani took out a cross-country rathayatra to garner support for the move to build a Ram temple at the site. On 23 October, he was arrested in Bihar during the yatra, following which BJP took back its support to the government. Sh Chandrashekar became the Prime Minister of India with support of the Congress. On October 30, many were gunned down by the police on orders of the then Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Mulayam Singh Yadav, when they gathered in Ayodhya as participants of the Rath-Yatra;
1991	Congress came to power at center after elections in 1991, while BJP became major opposition party in center and came to power in many states such as Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Kalyan Singh became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. The Allahbad High Court stopped any permanent construction activity in the area. Kalyan Singh publicly supported the movement while Central Government took no action to curb the increasing tensions.
1992	The Babri Mosque was demolished by a gathering of near 200,000 Karsevaks. Communal riots across India followed.

Nirmohi Akhara

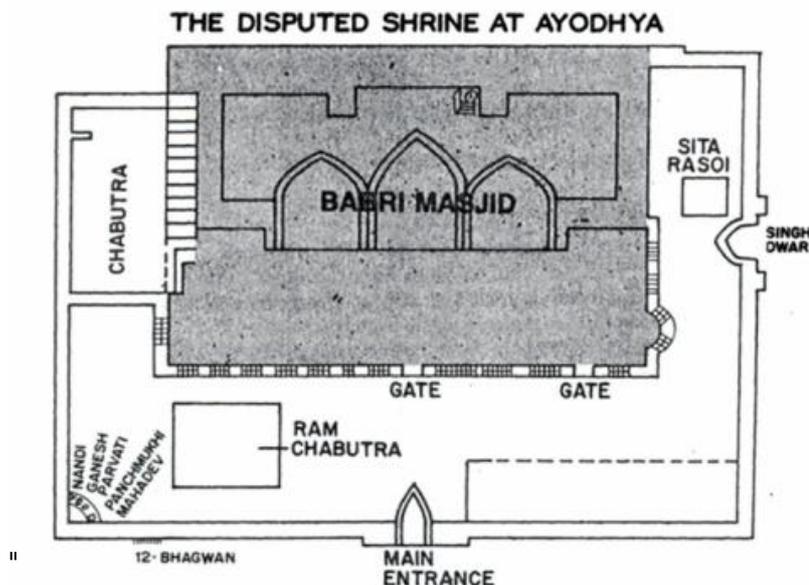
Introduction

Nirmohi Akhara was established in 1720 by Ramanandacharya. It is a wealthy akhara that owns many temples and mathas in the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Bihar. Members are expected to lead simple lives and to accept Rama as their God. The Akhil Bharatiya Akhara Parishad (All India Akhara Council), one of the organisation of Hindu Sants (saints) and Sadhus in India. The ABAP is composed of 14 Akharas, or organisations of Hindu sants and sadhus. Nirmohi Akhara (involved in the Ram Janmabhoomi dispute in Ayodhya) and Shri Dattatreya Akhara are two of the prominent akharas which are part of it.

Role in Ayodhya Dispute

Nirmohi Akhara filed a law-suit in 1885 with the sub-judge of Faizabad, seeking to take the land and construct a temple in Ram Chabutra in Ayodhya. Permission was denied by the court, though the Nirmohi Akhara has since kept up its effort to reclaim the land and construct the temple. In 1989, the Nirmohi Akhara filed a lawsuit against the Uttar Pradesh State government, claiming that they had been worshiping the deities installed at a temple at the then disputed site since ancient times, and requesting the Court to hand the management of the temple over to them. On 30 September 2010, a Lucknow panel of three judges of the Allahabad High

Court pronounced the verdict on the case and Nirmohi Akhara received the areas referred to as the Sita Rasoi and Ram Chabutara.



Aftermaths of Ayodhya Dispute

Firstly, in the 1980s, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and other Hindu nationalist groups and political parties launched a campaign to construct the Ram Janmabhoomi Mandir ("Rama birthplace temple") at the site. The Rajiv Gandhi government allowed Hindus to access the site for prayers. On 6 December 1992, Hindu nationalists demolished the mosque, resulting in communal riots leading to over 2,000 deaths.

The Aftermaths are as follows:

1. Communal Violence.

The destruction of the Babri Mosque, as well as the destruction of numerous others that day, sparked Muslim outrage around the country, provoking several months of inter-communal rioting in which Hindus and Muslims attacked one another, burning and looting homes, shops and places of worship. Several of the BJP leaders were taken into custody, and the VHP was briefly banned by the government. Despite this, the ensuing riots spread to cities like Mumbai, Surat, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Delhi, Bhopal and several others, eventually resulting in over 2000 deaths, mainly Muslim. The Mumbai Riots alone, which occurred in December 1992 and January 1993 and which the Shiv Sena (is a Marathi regional and Hindu nationalist political organization) played a big part in organizing, caused the death of around 900 people, and estimated property damage of around ₹ 9,000 crore (\$3.6 billion). The demolition and the ensuing riots were among the major factors behind the 1993 Mumbai bombings and many successive riots in the coming decade. Jihadi groups including the Indian Mujahideen cited the demolition of the Babri Mosque as a reason for their terrorist attacks.

2. Liberhan Commission: The central government appointed the Justice Liberhan Commission to investigate the Babri Masjid demolition on December 16, 1992. The committee gave its report to the INC government in 2009, blaming several leaders from the BJP, especially its top leadership and the UP government led by Kalyan Singh. The Liberhan Commission was appointed by former prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao two weeks after the demolition on 6 December 1992, to ward off criticism against his government for having failed to protect the mosque, the commission in August 2005 finished hearing its last witness Kalyan Singh – who was Uttar Pradesh chief minister at the time of the demolition and resigned soon after. In

16 years of its proceedings, the commission recorded statements of several politicians,

police officials including Kalyan Singh, late Narasimha Rao, former deputy prime minister L.K. Advani and his colleagues Murli Manohar Joshi and Uma Bharati as well as Mulayam Singh Yadav. The report holds 68 people culpable Uma Bharti, Govindacharya, Kalyan Singh and Shanker Singh Vaghela, all of whom were members of the BJP then, are held primarily responsible for the destruction of the mosque and the report says that they could have prevented the assault. Senior BJP leaders Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Lal Krishna Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi are called "pseudo-moderates". The report holds them intellectually and ideologically responsible for the mosque's destruction. The report says that they gave false assurances to court, people and the nation. Kalyan Singh, who was the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh during the mosque's demolition, was harshly criticized in the report. He was accused of posting bureaucrats and police officers who would stay silent during the mosque's demolition in Ayodhya.

The Liberhan report has been very critical of mass Hindu organizations, especially the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh). It says that demolition of Babri in Ayodhya has been a longtime objective of the RSS. It accuses RSS of utilizing its large volunteer base to accomplish this task. In the 1980s, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), belonging to the mainstream Hindu nationalist family Sangh Parivar, launched a new movement to "reclaim" the site for Hindus and to erect a temple dedicated to the infant Rama (Ram Lala). The Sangh Parivar were the first ones to attack the Mosque at the time of Rath Yatra. The Sangh Parivar an organization of RSS has developed a highly efficient organisational structure, the Liberhan Commission said in its report.

Secrets revealed by Lebhrahin Commision: A book authored by a former senior Indian intelligence officer revealed that demolition of the historic Babri Mosque at Ayodhya was planned 10 months in advance by Hindu extremist leaders of Rashtriya Sevak Sang (RSS), Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP). The author, a former Intelligence Bureau Joint Director, Maloy Krishna Dhar in his book "Open Secrets-India's intelligence unveiled" pointed out that the blue print for demolition of the mosque was drawn in a meeting held in February 1992 attended by leaders of the extremist Hindu groups.

3. In 2003, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) conducted excavations of the site on court orders. The ASI report indicated the presence of a 10th-century temple under the mosque. The Muslim started disputing these findings and felt that ASI were politically motivated and had purposely done using some malpractices the way

Hindus had done on December 1949. However the Allahabad High Court upheld ASI findings and divided the temple into disputed site into three parts.

PARTY STANCES

RSS wants Ram temple at disputed site in Ayodhya.

BJP wants Ram temple at disputed site in Ayodhya.

Congress would ideally like the status quo to be maintained at the site. Its top most priority is to ensure no adverse law and order fallout.

Samajwadi Party: Mulayam Singh Yadav wrote a letter to the Congress president asking for rebuilding of the Babri masjid.

BSP: Top priority is to ensure security in and around Ayodhya and UP. Multiple members of the Lok Sabha had peculiarly important stances, which have briefly been provided for your aid.

Somnath Chatterjee

Somnath Chatterjee (25 July 1929 – 13 August 2018) was an Indian politician who was associated with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) for most of his life. He was the Speaker of the fourteenth Lok Sabha. Chatterjee has been a 10-time member of the Lok Sabha. He was the first member of a Left party to become the Speaker. Chatterjee courted controversy, when his party, the Communist Party of India-Marxist, included his name in a list of MPs, who were supposed to have withdrawn their support to the United Progressive government. Chatterjee opposed this and was subsequently expelled from the party. Chatterjee was Speaker from June 5, 2004 till May 30, 2009. In 1996, Chatterjee won the Outstanding Parliamentarian Award. The leaders of the CPI including Somnath Chatterjee had described the Babri Masjid demolition as a “national shame” and stated, “What was demolished was not merely an ancient structure but the faith of the minorities in the sense of justice and fair play of (the) majority. It shook their faith in the rule of law and constitutional processes”. The leaders further stated that the BJP Central Government should stop patronizing such forces who are out to destroy the unity of our country’s social fabric and BJP state government in Uttar Pradesh to faithfully discharge its responsibilities in maintaining law and order.

L.K. Advani

It was 1990 and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was hoping to expand its footprint nationally. In the 1984 general elections the party had won only two seats in the Lok Sabha; by 1989, the party had won over 80 seats. L.K. Advani, party president from 1989, undertook a rath yatra, which is considered directly responsible for two outcomes—the demolition of Babri Masjid on 6 December 1992 and the rise of the BJP to power. The rath was meant to mobilize people to start a rally and encourage them to demolish Babri Masjid.

It was meant to reach Ayodhya but was stopped by Lalu Prasad Yadav, the then chief minister of Bihar, who ordered Advani arrested. But it had served its purpose: the BJP crossed the 100 mark in the 1991 Lok Sabha elections. When the mosque was brought down on 6 December 1992, Advani, along with other BJP leaders, was present in Ayodhya, giving speeches to crowds of kar sevaks. In 1996, BJP emerged as the single largest party in Lok Sabha and formed a short-lived government at the centre for 13 days. In 1998, the party came to power again as part of the National Democratic Alliance with Advani as home minister. He was later elevated to deputy Prime Minister.

Kalyan Singh

It was the Uttar Pradesh chief minister's duty to ensure the safety of the Babri Masjid, irrespective of his ideological leanings. But Singh's reputation is forever defiled by the misleading and deceived statements he made in the run-up to 6 December. From written assurances to speeches in the assembly, he insisted his government would provide security to the disputed structure. Singh even submitted a four-point affidavit to the Supreme Court promising security of the mosque and assuring that only a symbolic kar seva would be allowed. Singh resigned within hours of the Babri Masjid being demolished. He served as the UP chief minister again from September 1997 to November 1999, quit the BJP in 1999 and rejoined it in 2004. He left the party again in 2009 and joined the Samajwadi Party. In 2010, he formed a new party the Jan Kranti Party but dissolved it in 2013 before returning to the BJP.

P.V. Narasimha Rao

Rao was the 9th Prime Minister, whose tenure saw India's economy liberalized. Yet his legacy is destined to be tainted by the demolition. There have been tell-all books— from his physician, media adviser, senior journalists and even former President Pranab Mukherjee—who have tried to piece together this curious case of inaction in the face of an impending threat.

It is believed Rao had the option to impose central rule in Uttar Pradesh in July and had even sought a contingency plan to protect the mosque. But eventually he did nothing. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad's announcement in October of plans to

perform a kar seva next to the Babri Masjid on 6 December 1990 led Rao to ask his home secretary Madhav Godbole to come up with a contingency plan. Several meetings between different players were to follow over the following days. Kalyan Singh, then chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, assured the Supreme Court that the mosque would be protected while Rao was undergoing great mental anguish through worrying about dismissing the state government. Several theories have done the rounds over the years of what Rao was doing as the mosque was first overrun and then brought down by the kar sevaks and just why was this allowed to happen.

Uma Bharti

Bharti owes her rise to the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, and was one of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leaders present at the rally in Ayodhya during which the Babri Masjid was demolished. The Liberhan Commission, set up to probe the events of that day, indicted her for inciting a mob to violence. Bharti, a firebrand politician, said she took moral responsibility for the incident but added that she will fight the indictment legally as she had no hand in the destruction of the mosque. From Madhya Pradesh chief minister (2003-2004) to being expelled from BJP to returning to the party as a Union minister, Bharti's political career has seen many ups and downs since 6 December.

Sumitra Mahajan

According to Lok Sabha Speaker Sumitra Mahajan being a "Ram Bhakt" she always wanted a Ram Mandir to be Built in Ayodhya. According to her there should be maximum discussion, and maximum number of issues should be raised by members. Parliament is meant for discussion and as parliamentarians, nation's interest should be in the interest and priority of the people, she feels that the dispute will only come to and end with the formation of a Ram Temple. She feels that not only her but all the Ram bakht want the formation of the Ram temple.

Rajiv Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi, ill-advised or otherwise, in 1986, persuaded the then Uttar Pradesh chief minister Bir Bahadur Singh to open the locks of Babri Masjid and allowed religious rites inside the disputed structure. It is pertinent to point out that he did this in furtherance of the kind of communal politics he had initiated, but found himself trapped inside. He also lacked the political support to resolve it. There are certain instances which cover up the whole scenario like:

1. Rajiv Gandhi and Arun Nehru persuaded UP chief minister Bir Bahadur Singh to open the lock in 1986 and allowed religious rites to take place inside the disputed structure.

2. This triggered a mass movement by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) which launched an agitation to break free the idols of Lord Rama and Sita from “captivity”.
3. “Sacred stones” were carried from all over the country to lay foundation of the temple, and in light of this, massive riots occurred all across north India, particularly Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (UP).

QUESTIONS

While you research, in order to guide your research towards helping you produce solutions to the problem at hand, we have added a few questions that are expected to be addressed by the end of committee. Try to ponder over these during the course of your research.

1. Ayodhya Dispute: a socio-religious conflict or planned and politically driven vandalism?
2. Role of Kar Sevaks, BJP, VHP, Shiv Sena and RSS in the demolition of the Babari Masjid.
3. Is the equal division of the disputed land a valid solution to the conflict?
4. Can Plebiscite serve as a medium to resolve the dispute?
5. Is there a possibility of a solution supported by all parties and stakeholders to put an end to the centuries old conflict?

