

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 For some, the temptation of power is supreme. The usual means for acquiring power is through politics. There is always an urge and quest to use politics for acquiring power and for one's own purpose – nothing matters beyond politically desirable results, however achieved... Objectivity or intellectual honesty or logic is lost in the process. To acquire political power or achieve politically desirable results, the Constitution, law, written or unwritten moral ethics, the epics, are contemptuously ignored. A healthy or legitimate process of governance is not cared for and political neutrality is lost.

1.2 The demolition of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid took place on the 6th of December 1992 in the presence of national and local leadership. Cadres of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Bajrang Dal (BD), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Shiv Sena (SS) along with their leaders were present at the spot. They either actively or passively supported the demolition. The other protagonists of the temple construction movement, including preachers, sadhus and sants, administrative and police officers, the media and the *kar sevaks*, were also present. In the process all acts were directed for or to acquire political power and thereby achieve politically desirable results. It was carried out in full view of national and international audiences, television and other media persons. The executive, political or bureaucratic, took no effective steps to stop or prevent the demolition or even to apprehend the perpetrators of the demolition.

1.3 A large section of society claimed that this demolition of the disputed structure was one of the worst catastrophes for the nation, mankind, good governance, secularism and for a society governed by the rule of law. It was a defacement of the country at international fora, an act of violence against the very fundamental rights and against the concept of reasoned argument for political change. It was one of the worst abhorrent acts of religious intolerance in the history of the nation and the Hindu religion. The aftermath of the demolition provoked communal riots all over the country, which were witnessed with shock and disbelief. Various commissions, etc were later appointed to go into the communal aspect of the riots.

1.4 Various speculations were made in the context of the frequent conflicting reports that followed the demolition. The possibility of a conspiracy, domestic or foreign or political, seized public attention and raised questions about its extent and otherwise. All this stimulated suspicion and

fuelled rumours. With such a large number of people participating from all over the country in the construction movement, either in favour of the movement or against it, it was not possible to arrive at a complete story through the normal judicial process. The nation as such needed to find out the facts which had resulted in the dilution of constitutional secularism, proudly claimed on public platforms by one and all. Practically, it became increasingly more desirable to find out the truth in order to prevent a similar occurrence in the future. It is the desire of humanity, believing in peaceful coexistence, to ensure that such acts are not repeated.

2. The mandate of the commission

[The central government appointed a] one-man judicial commission... in conformity with the Commission of Inquiry Act 1952, to inquire into the following issues:

2.1.1 The sequence of events leading to, and all the facts and circumstances relating to, the occurrence in the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid complex at Ayodhya on 6th December, 1992 involving the destruction of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid structure;

2.1.2 The role played by the chief minister, members of the council of ministers, officials of the government of Uttar Pradesh and by the individuals, concerned organisations and agencies in or in connection with the destruction of the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid structure;

2.1.3 The deficiencies in the security measures and other arrangements as prescribed or operated in practice by the government of Uttar Pradesh which might have contributed to the events that took place in the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid complex, Ayodhya town and Faizabad, on 6th December, 1992;

2.1.4 The sequence of events leading to, and all the facts and circumstances relating to, the assault on media persons at Ayodhya on 6th December, 1992; and

2.1.5 Any other matter related to the subject of inquiry. ...

CHAPTER 2
AYODHYA AND ITS GEOGRAPHY...

CHAPTER 3
THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION...