

The Babri Mosque and Hindu Extremists Movements

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Abstract

India's constitution upholds secularism and respect for religious diversity. However, there is a counter narrative of Hindu India. This means that India's identity should be defined on extremist Hindu religious lines and that all religious minorities should accept this identity. This point of view is propagated by Hindu hard line groups.

These groups claimed that the Babri Mosque was originally the birth place of RAM. Therefore, it should be demolished and a full Ram Mandir be established. The Congress Party Government could not control them and they demolished the Babri Mosque on December 6, 1992.

These Hindu extremist group identify with the BJP that ruled India in 1999-2004 and from May 2014 to the present. As the Modi Government in India indirectly supports Hindu hard line ideology these groups have used violence or threat of violence against the Muslims and other religious minorities who are citizens of India.

Key Words: BJP, Kashmir, Extremist Groups, Babri Mosque, Ram Temple,

Introduction

The secular nature of the "Indian Constitution reflected the conviction of its makers that, given the religious diversity of India, secularism was the only way to hold the country together" (Wadhwa, 1975). This principle has helped the country to keep the religious divide in check and present a secular image to the outside world. This image was, however, tarnished on 6 December 1992, when a mob of Hindu extremists demolished the disputed Babri Mosque at Ayodhya. The act not only caused a setback to India's secularism but also established the supremacy of Hindu revivalist forces in the country. Among these forces, the Rashtriya Swayam-sevak Sangh (RSS), its religious wing the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), and its political affiliate the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), have been mainly responsible for the demolition of Babri Mosque. The RSS, VHP and BJP combine, apart from being responsible for generating a new wave of Hindu revivalism, is also at the forefront of a campaign to demolish some 3,000 mosques in India, which it claims were built on the sites of Hindu temples. The dispute over Babri Mosque was raised on a similar premise. It erupted in 1984, when the VHP took up the cause of liberating what it called the Ram Janam Bhoomi. The Hindus claimed that the site

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marked the birth place of their god incarnate, Lord Rama. They argued that there used to be a temple at the site before the Mughal emperor Babur demolished it in the 16th century to erect a mosque in its place. The contention was challenged by the Muslims who also claimed ownership of the site. The mosque which had remained closed since 1949 was opened for Hindu devotees in 1986, in compliance with an order of the Faizabad district judge. The decision led the Muslims to form Babri Masjid Action Committee to save the mosque from Hindu extremists as well as to fight for its ownership. The controversy took an alarming turn in 1989 when both the Hindus and the Muslims decided to occupy the disputed site. Sensing the precarious situation, the High Court in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh where the mosque was located ordered the stay of the construction of a temple at the disputed site which had been planned by the VHP. The High Court decision held that since ownership of the site was disputed, therefore nothing could be built on it until the hearing of the case was completed and the verdict announced. However, in defiance of the court order, the VHP laid the foundation of a temple a few miles away from the proposed site on 9 November 1989. Instead of offering any resistance, the Congress government gave the VHP permission to proceed with its decision. In 1990, the BJP leader L.K. Advani vowed to raise a temple in place of the mosque while leading a country-wide march to Ayodhya. The promise was partially fulfilled on 6 December 1992 when Babri Mosque was razed to the ground and a Congress government at the Centre, championing the cause of secularism, failed to intervene. Babri Mosque has been a test case for the Hindu extremists rep-resented by the RSS, VHP and BJP who dream of a Hindu Rashtra as well as for secular forces like the Congress which claim to adhere to the secular political tradition of India. The latter failed the test not only because Hindu revivalism has been on the rise in India but also because secular forces have been guilty of double standards when confronted with communalism.

Hindu Revivalism

Hindu revivalism is not a new phenomenon in India. However, the militancy which it has come to acquire seems to be of recent origin. The roots of Hindu revivalism go back to 1925, when some Hindu intellectuals felt the need for restoring a sense of community among the Hindus. This, "they believed, could only be achieved by reviving the Hindu religious law and culture. With this aim, a high caste Hindu physician, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, founded the RSS" (Graham, 1990). Hedgewar was of the view that an absence of national consciousness was responsible for the downfall of the Hindus and for the subjugation of India by the British. To him revival of Hindu religion and culture was the only way to inculcate a sense of pride among the Hindus about their past and their Hindu identity. Hedgewar conceived the "RSS as an

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educational body whose aim was to unite the Hindus and make India an independent country and a creative society” (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). For this purpose, he recruited high caste Hindus, “who he believed through their training in the organization could unite the community to fight against colonial rule and could also save it from further disintegration and from the proselytizing influence of external religions like Islam and Christianity” (Jayaprasad, 1991). In the beginning the RSS chose a passive role, restricting itself to the cultural uplift of the Hindu masses. The practice continued in the post independence era; the motive behind it was to avoid confrontation with the government. But the cautious approach on the part of the RSS did not prevent the government from banning it on several occasions. It was first banned in 1948, when one of its former members was charged with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. In the post independence era, most of the Indian leaders had been apprehensive of the RSS roots and its Hindu base. They could foresee the potential in the organization to develop into a major political force. Most of them, particularly those belonging to the Congress, had climbed to power by preaching socialism and secularism. These two concepts were still to take root in Indian society while religion and community had always held great appeal for the Indian masses. After independence in 1947, “the RSS has on several occasions been the object of official censure, in large part because political leaders feared that it had the potential to develop into a major political force that might threaten their own power and India’s secular orientation” (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). Having realized the distrust and unstated rivalry that the government had developed for it, the RSS leadership came to the conclusion that it could not extend its base and achieve its objectives without getting involved in politics. Since the RSS constitution prohibited political activity and such activity could have prompted a government ban, “the RSS decided to extend support to a new political party, Jana Sangh, founded in 1951 and led by Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee” (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). The reason for which the RSS opted to support Jana Sangh was mutual similarity of political perception as the latter, like the former, focused on national integration. Support to Jana Sangh necessitated the formation of an organized religious group which could be used for the purposes of agitation and political bargaining. “The RSS, in consultation with different sects of Hinduism, launched the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) in 1964” (Jayaprasad, 1991).

The RSS acquired a more active role after Jana Sangh became its political affiliate. It took part in the anti-corruption movement in 1973-75 and in the movement against the withdrawal of civil and political liberties during the state of emergency declared by Indira Gandhi. The organization was also instrumental in the formation of an electoral alliance with Janata against the Congress government which emerged victorious in the general elections in

1977. Soon after the elections, the Janata coalition transformed into the Janata Party and the Jana Sangh merged into it. While the merger led to the inclusion of Jana Sangh members in the cabinet, it also created misgivings about the close association of Jana Sangh members with the RSS. Many leading political figures in the Janata Party feared that the links of these members with the “RSS would influence the Janata’s discipline and the RSS would use its resources to strengthen the position of Jana Sangh which was the single largest group in the Janata Party” (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). With this fear in mind, they suggested that all the Janata members (the reference was to those belonging to Jana Sangh) should sever their ties with the RSS if they wanted to retain their membership of the Janata Party. They argued that the Janata “interim constitution denied membership to anyone who belonged to other political or communal groups which had a separate membership” (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). The argument was, however, dismissed by those who belonged to Jana Sangh on the ground that the RSS was not a political organization (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). The whole controversy has been put very aptly by an Indian scholar: The objection taken on ideological ground was that the RSS believed in “a Hindu nation and those who believed in this ideology could never have faith in the secular policies and programs of Janata Party” (Jayaprasad, 1991). The dual membership controversy, as it came to be called, cost the Janata Party many of its members, who walked out of it, “thereby forcing Prime Minister Morarji Desai to resign in June 1979 as he lost his parliamentary majority” (Anderson & Dalme, 1987).

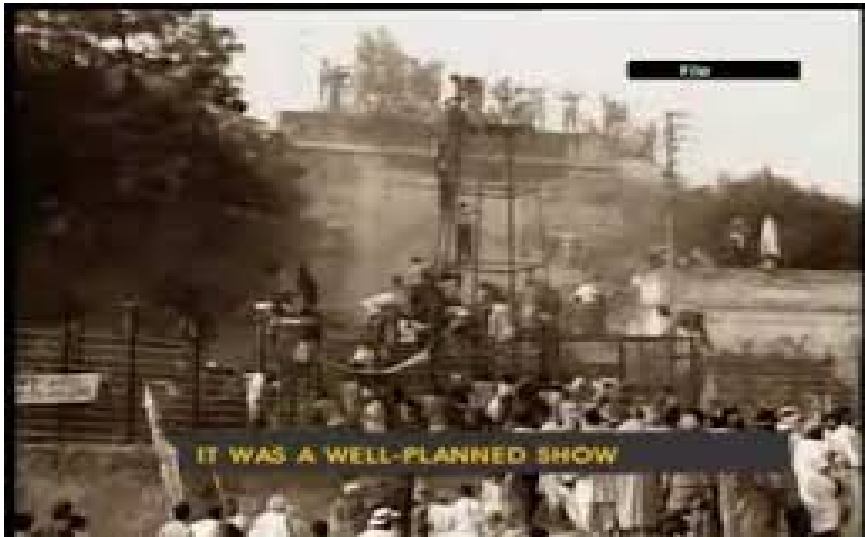
The BJP Established

In April 1980 the Jana Sangh members who had walked out of the Janata Party, along with some others, launched a new party called the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Right from its inception the BJP had the full backing of the RSS and reflected its desire to be active in electoral politics. The experience of ex-tending support to Jana Sangh had not been very successful from the RSS point of view. Not only had the organization come in for harsh criticism for patronizing Jana Sangh members but it was also exposed to controversies like that relating to dual membership which affected its interests. The RSS therefore felt that it needed a political affiliate in the real sense of the word to propagate its ideology and also to provide protection to its members and other affiliates. This need has been fulfilled by the BJP. Though the RSS has remained involved in Indian politics since 1950, its presence became more prominent in the 1980s. The conversion of some Hindus to Islam in a village of Meenakshipuram in the southern state of Tamil Nadu is often cited as the reason for the phenomenal rise of the RSS in the 1980s. But there have been other factors too. In the 1980s the Indian domestic scene was not a very peaceful one. The two non-Hindu majority states of Punjab and Kashmir were

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rocked by communal disturbances. In the state of Punjab, the raid on the Golden Temple in Amritsar widened the communal divide between the Hindu and non-Hindu population. The militancy which the Sikhs acquired as a result of "Operation Blue Star" was believed to have heightened the sense of insecurity among the Hindus as they became the victims of Sikh insurgency. The Congress government's failure to resolve the Punjab problem and "restore normalcy to the state gave the RSS an opportunity to play upon the fears of the Hindu population and convince them that the Congress stood for the appeasement of the minorities" (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). The same was the case with Kashmir where neglect, lack of development, and the simmering freedom struggle turned the disenchanting youth into a militant force. The Congress government, instead of addressing the real problem, tried to find scapegoats and resorted to the use of force to crush the insurgency. For the RSS, Kashmir emerged not only as a case of Congress incompetence but also as a means of impressing upon the Indian masses that they had been alienated in their own country. Besides, there were two decisions of the Congress government that facilitated the RSS task of mixing politics with religion. In 1986, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi enacted a legislation that negated a court order which did not adhere to the traditional Islamic law of alimony to Muslim women. "This decision was taken by the RSS and those who believed in Hindu revivalism as an attempt by the Congress to prevent the absorption of minorities into the mainstream" (Anderson & Dalme, 1987).

The Demolition of the Babri Mosque by Hindu Extremists



<http://youtube.com>

The BJP has been very clear about its links with the RSS. It regarded its association with the RSS as a source of strength for the party. To avoid any controversy because of its links with the RSS, the BJP said in its policy statement "The party reiterates that the members of all those social or 'cultural organizations which are working for the social or cultural uplift of the masses and are not engaged in any political activity are welcome to join the BJP" (Anderson & Dalme, 1987). Though the party never admits that its policy has been influenced by the RSS ideology, the fact remains that the BJP is not only a propagator of the RSS ideology but also of its political philosophy. As one Indian scholar has put it "In theory, the BJP never represents the idea of Hindu nation or Hindu Rashtra, but in practice, it represents the political viewpoint of the RSS" (Jayaprasad, 1991). The BJP owes much of its success to the RSS and the rise in its electoral fortunes has been due to its association with the latter. Though the party succeeded in getting only two seats in the 1984 elections, the situation was quite different in the elections of 1989 and 1991, where it bagged 86 and 119 seats respectively in the Lok Sabha.

The BJP and the Babri Mosque

The BJP played up Hindu Cultural and religious identity to build its electoral support. Its 1989 election manifesto clearly indicated that it stood for the demolition of Babri Mosque, abolition of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which conferred a special status on Kashmir, promulgation of a uniform civil code and non-appeasement of the minorities. The party was not apologetic in its approach nor did it conceal its Jana Sangh roots. For instance "L.K. Advani, in one of his addresses as president of the party in 1986, emphasized the party's links with the RSS" (Anderson & Dalme, 1987).

BJP's non-compromising stand on the above-mentioned issues endeared it to those who dreamed of Hindu supremacy. It convinced them that India was being deprived of its true character because of the overly secular policies of the Congress Party. The BJP, however, needed more than an ideology to increase its following: it required a symbol to unite the Hindu nation and to arouse a feeling of hatred for the minorities, particularly the Muslims. There could have been no better opportunity than the one offered by the Babri Mosque issue. It provided an excellent chance to BJP to remind the Hindu masses of their past glory; the party like the RSS and VHP believed that the site at which the mosque was located marked the birth place of Rama. This belief made BJP give the Babri Mosque controversy top priority in the 1991 elections. In fact, it emerged as the BJP's principal electoral issue. Its 1991 election manifesto declared. "Hence the party is committed to build the temple at the Janamsthan (birth place) by relocating Babri structure with due respect" (Dawn, 1991). Further, the BJP used the Babri Mosque issue as a unifying

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factor and its leader L.K. Advani admitted: "If 80 per cent of the people have been able to rise above their linguistic, caste and regional loyal-ties because of Ayodhya, it is a unifying factor" (Newsweek, 1993).

Since the party believed that the Babri Mosque served as a unifying factor, it kept the issue alive. BJP's entire politics has revolved so much around the Babri Mosque question that when the Muslims showed their willingness to abide by a court decision even if it went against them, the party ruled out the possibility of abiding by a judicial verdict. It argued that the issue was beyond judicial jurisdiction. L.K Advani, in response to a question whether he would also accept an unfavorable court decision said: "Ayodhya is a case which cannot be decided by a court. The court can decide the title to the land, or a trespass; not whether Babur demolished a temple in 1528 to construct a mosque in its place" (India Today, 1990). Playing the communal card has been BJP's strategy all along; it not only rode to power but also played a vital role in bringing down the government of V.P. Singh on account of the same strategy. The party withdrew its support to the ruling Janata Dal when the latter tried to resist BJP's move to erect a temple in place of Babri Mosque. L.K. Advani was arrested while leading a country-wide march to Ayodhya which made the party go against V.P. Singh's government.

These marches and rallies have helped the party in keeping the attention of the people diverted from the real issues. Therefore, when in 1990 the Janata Did government decided to implement the Mandai Commission recommendations and sought to increase job quotas for the lower castes and minorities, BJP took the path of confrontation. It was hard for BJP to accept the Mandai Commission recommendations in view of its policy of non-appeasement of minorities. The decision of the government to implement the recommendations gave BJP an excellent chance to play upon the fears of the high caste Hindus who were already wary of V.P. Singh's leanings towards minorities. It has been stated that The Ayodhya campaign... "provides the BJP chief ministers a chance to project a different identity; promises to bind the post Mandai fractious Hindus together and convince the BJP rank and file that their party is not a partner in V.P. Singh's minority stands and the temple is the only issue which can match the multi-dimensioned challenge of Mandalism" (India Today, 1990). BJP's strategy was not wrong. As shown by the results of the 1991 general elections, the party succeeded in winning 119 seats. The party's electoral success by no means meant that it would forego its stand on Babri Mosque. Indeed the fact that the party ruled the state of Uttar Pradesh, where the mosque was located, made it all the more necessary for it to implement its electoral promise by demolishing Babri Mosque.

Moreover, BJP's Chief Minister Kalyan Singh's other-wise dismal performance in Uttar Pradesh needed some kind of diversion. The VHP also had been constantly putting pressure on the Chief Minister to give it permission for the construction of a temple in place of Babri Mosque. It was the same pressure which led the Chief Minister Kalyan Singh to declare that if he was forced to make a choice between the mandir (temple) and his chair, he would prefer the former over the latter (India Today, 1992). From the BJP's point of view such expressions were necessary as the party derived its strength from the RSS cadre. It was for the same reason that it went ahead with the demolition of Babri Mosque despite assurances from the Congress government to resolve the issue. The BJP leaders regarded the act as a "revolution for cultural nationalism and explained that one of the objectives of this revolution was to erect a temple at the site of the demolished mosque" (India Today, 1993). The razing of the mosque fulfilled one of the electoral promises of BJP. The message to those who believed in Hindu revivalism was clear that the party had lived up to its commitment and the forces which stood for the appeasement of minorities were too weak and indecisive to face it. BJP had derived political dividends from the demolition of Babri Mosque and the Hindu-Muslim riots which followed. It turned the whole affair into a sort of election campaign as it expected mid-term polls in 1993. The way the BJP leader, L.K. Advani, visited the worst affected Muslim areas after the riots suggested that the party was out to coax the Muslims in addition to making an appeal to the Hindus. Through his visit, Advani tried to convince the Muslim masses that "only BJP could save them from the Hindu backlash which had developed in response to the Congress policy of appeasing the minorities. As it has been put, only the BJP could contain Hindu over-reaction to minoritism" (India Today, 1993). The party's strategy all along has been to impress upon the Muslim minority that in this wave of Hindu revivalism, the forces which claim to be secular cannot take on the BJP, and only the BJP can offer protection to them. But for this protection they must give up their separate identity. In more appropriate words, "I can protect you but you must first accede to my terms" (India Today, 1993). The party defends its non-appeasement of minorities by calling it 'positive secularism'. For instance, L.K. Advani says "My party is unequivocally committed to the secular content of the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution, even though it's a secular constitution, did not dissolve the personality of this country, which is essentially Hindu" (Newsweek, 1993).

The preservation of this Hindu identity and a sense of pride in it has been the essence of BJP's policy. To put it in the words of the party's Vice President, K.R. Malkani, "we expect India to grow into a great country, whose people are proud of their past" (Newsweek, 1993). This philosophy stemmed from the party's links with the RSS, which made it emerge as an exponent of the RSS ideology and champion of Hindu religion and culture. In its endeavour, BJP

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has been helped not only by Hindu revivalists but also by parties like the Congress whose policies have widened its mass appeal and Hindu base.

Role of the Congress Party

During 1947-96, the Congress Party ruled the country except for two brief interludes, one in 1977 and the other in 1989. On both occasions, the revivalists played an important role in the alliance formed against the Congress government, which led to its ouster. The electoral alliance Janata which won the 1977 general elections owed much of its success to Jana Sangh which was the single largest group in the alliance. Similarly the Janata Dal, formed in 1989, had the support of the BJP, the political representative of the RSS. Though the Congress has always faced a challenge from the Hindu revivalists, its ability to deal with them seems to have grown weak with the emergence of the BJP. Despite being in power, the party failed to keep in check the communal frenzy which culminated in the demolition of Babri Mosque. The Congress can be singled out as the biggest culprit in giving an ugly turn to the controversy over Babri Mosque. It was Rajiv Gandhi's government which ordered opening of the locks of the 16th century mosque. It further allowed the VHP permission to lay the foundation of a temple a few miles away from the disputed mosque. During its election campaign in 1989, "the Congress had been guilty of double talk. For instance, Rajiv Gandhi at first declared there will be no Hindu Rashtra" (India Today, 1989). Tempted to use the communal card, he later changed his stance. He made an appeal to the masses which was quite contrary to the party's ideology. He said that if the "Hindus wanted Ram Rajya, they should vote for the Congress as it was the only party which could bring Ram Rajya to the country" (Times of India, 1989).

Rajiv Gandhi's statement, which was couched in communal terms, betrayed the Muslim trust. The Muslims felt cheated as they had been counting on the Congress for protection of their rights. Congress failure to intervene in the communal rioting which took place before the elections made the Muslims doubtful of its secular credentials. The realization dawned upon them that they were confronted not only with parties like the BJP, but also had to face forces like the Congress which pursued communalism in the garb of secularism. The role of the Congress during the tenure of V.P. Singh's government, when it was in the opposition, remained highly suspect. It played to both the Hindus and the Muslims and at times appeared no better than the BJP. As one professor at Harvard University put it, "Congress and the Gandhis created an environment in which BJP could legitimately use religion in politics" (Newsweek, 1993). The Congress party tried to win over the Hindus by supporting the construction of the temple at the disputed site and at the same time put pressure on V.P. Singh's government to intervene and resolve the

issue in order to please the Muslims. Congress leader Rajiv Gandhi wrote a letter to Prime Minister V.P. Singh “asking him to refer the dispute to the Supreme Court of India, while his fellow Congress sites like Sharad Pawar remained busy in manipulating both the Hindus and the Muslims over the issue” (India Today, 1990). The same duplicity marked Congress rule when it regained power in 1991. During its election campaign in 1991 “the party had pledged not to question the status of any mosque which existed at the time of India’s independence, that is, 15 August 1947” (The Nation, 1991).

The Congress, how-ever, failed to keep its electoral promise and the way Prime Minister Narasimha Rao dealt with the whole issue confirmed the doubts of many that the party was in league with the BJP and VHP over the issue. As it has been put “All through, the BJP and Rao were hand in glove... This is the first proof” (India Today, 1992)..34T he Congress was guided more by short term political gains and Narasimha Rao acted more as a party chief rather than as a head of government. Narasimha Rao failed to dismiss the government of Uttar Pradesh when Chief Minister Kalyan Singh, in defiance of the judicial order, allowed the VHP activists to lay the foundation of the temple in July 1992. His inaction over the issue stemmed, it is said, from his desire to politically expose the BJP and spoil its image. Rao believed that the BJP would not be able to come out of the situation which it has created for itself. His perception was that the BJP was not capable enough to live up to its electoral promise, that is, the demolition of Babri Mosque and even if it did so, it would spoil its public image. Therefore, he showed masterly inactivity over the issue. Rao’s calculation, however, went wrong; the BJP not only emerged victorious from the whole controversy but also forced the Congress to be on the defensive. The Congress used delaying tactics and tried to defer the issue; for BJP the issue had acquired an urgency as it had to come up with some kind of achievement to satisfy its followers and preserve its peculiar image. To this end, the party could have gone to any extent. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao realized this but failed to act and intervene when the mosque was being razed to the ground. The local administration remained unmoved and the dispatch of law enforcing agencies to the troubled site was deliberately delayed giving full freedom to Hindu extremists to violate the constitutional rights of the minorities. It was only after pressure from within the party that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao dismissed the state governments of BJP and banned the RSS. The move, however, came too late to produce any positive result. Instead, it provided a sad commentary on the internal affairs of the party. As stated by an analyst: “For the first time in the past two decades, a Congress (I) prime minister is the target of increasingly harsh criticism as panic grows about his inability to tackle the BJP’s fanatical politics, win over the profoundly alienated Muslim masses, neutralize the communal forces, which have gradually pushed the Congress (I) onto the defensive and try to

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force a new national agenda" (India Today, 1993). Lack of an agenda on the part of the Congress has been the main reason behind MP's success. The Congress failure to address problems like corruption, inefficiency and unemployment helped BJP in widening the communal divide. It also made the Hindu masses believe the BJP propaganda that the Congress appeasement of the minorities had deprived them of their genuine rights. Instead of countering the BJP propaganda with an effective programme of uplift of the masses, the Congress joined the communal fray.

The net result of this policy has been that the party is reduced to a shadow of what it used to be. Its main concern seems to be the retention of power which he is deprived it of the initiative required to take on the BJP. Internal dissensions and a leadership vacuum have pushed the Congress to the sidelines, making it abandon the secular tradition which it had stood for in the past. Though secularism kept the religious divide in India in check for the past 45 years, it has never been a strong force in Indian society. Its veneer chipped easily with the demolition of Babri Mosque at Ayodhya. Secularism lost whatever little appeal it had with the emergence of parties like the BJP, when the Congress which claims to have adhered to the secular tradition of India failed to take on forces like the BJP. Marked with internal wrangling and poor leadership, when charged with appeasement of minorities the Congress joined the communal fray instead of putting up a fight against the communalists. The party seems to be guided by short term political interests which made it use the communal card for its survival. Apart from organizations like the RSS, which have helped in giving new life to Hindu revivalism, Congress policies have also stoked communal and religious frenzy in India. Its failure to deal with insurgencies in the two non-Hindu majority states of Punjab and Kashmir widened the communal divide and enhanced religious intolerance in the country which, in turn, helped the phenomenal rise of the RSS and its political affiliate the BJP. They capitalized on issues like Babri Mosque and thus dragged the Congress into the politics of religion. Religion and communalism seem to characterize the Indian political scene today. Unless the country finds some way out of this quagmire, it will remain plunged in the abyss of communalism which threatens its democratic as well as secular credentials.

Mosques in India where Muslims are banned to Pray At One Time or Another

The Babri Mosque was not the only target of Hindu extremist groups. They threatened to demolish several other mosques. In several cases, the mosques had to close down under the pressure of the RSS and HVP. The following list names the mosques that were closed for use by the Muslims at one time or another.

Punjab

1. Masjid Dakan Sahay Jalandhar
2. Masjid Noor Saray Noor Mehal

Rajasthan

1. Ahya-Din ka Jhonpra, Ajmer Sharif
2. Jamia Masjid, Tambir

Tamil Nadu

1. Masjid Krishnagri
2. Masjid Arkat
3. Purani Masjid of Kila Dhelore
4. Internal Masjid of Kila Dhelore
5. Masjid Saadatullah Khan Gajni
6. Two mosques of Injin Gri Kila
7. Masjid Shams-ud-Din Vilaporam
8. Jamia Masjid Vilaporam

Uttar Pradesh

1. Purani Nawabi Masjid, Faizabad
2. Masjid of Haji Iqbal's Courtyard, Faizabad
3. Jamia Masjid, Banda
4. Inner Mosque of Kila, Jonpur
5. Atla's Masjid, Jonpur
6. Jamia Masjid, Jonpur
7. Lal Masjid, Lal Darwaza
8. Jhunjari Masjid, Lal Darwaza
9. Char Ungli Masjid, Lal Darwaza
10. Masjid Sheikh Burhan Zafar Abad, District Jonpur
11. Dhara Masjid, Waransi
12. Masjid Asauli, Waransi
13. Nagina Masjid Agra, Qila Agra
14. Akbri Masjid, Agra
15. New Masjid, Agra
16. Moti Masjid, Agra
17. Inner Mosque of Feroz Shah Tomb
18. Masjid of Tomb Jafar Khan
19. Masjid near ROza Diwali Begum
20. Masjid Fateh Pur, Taj Mehal Agra
21. Kali Masjid, Agra

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22. Masjid Ehata Taj Mehal
23. Jamia Masjid Fateh Pur Sekri
24. Nagina Masjid
25. Choti Masjid Lal Darwaza, Fateh Pur Sekri
26. Masjid Between Lal Darwaza and Delhi Gate, Fateh Pur Sekri
27. Masjid Sang Tarashan Fateh Pur Sekri
28. Jamia Masjid Aitmad Pur
29. Masjid Babu Saray (Jaju) District Agra
30. Hamayun Masjid Kach Pura
31. Masjid Aitbari Khan Near Sikandre, Agra
32. Masjid of Maqbara Sheikh Ibrahim, Rasulpura, Agra
33. Masjid of Charch Shankri Society Sikandra
34. Masjid Pul Khana Ali Garh
35. Masjid Buland Minars, Anula Breli
36. Masjid Chand Pur
37. Jamia Masjid Mandwar
38. Jamia Masjid Badayoon
39. Destroyed Mosque of Old Fort Saket
40. Jamia Masjid Atawa
41. Jamia Masjid Kanju
42. Masjid of Maqbara Makhdoom Jahanian
43. Masjid Bala Pur
44. Saray & Masjid Khuda Gunj
45. Jamia Masjid Mehwa
46. Masjid of Maqbara Sadar Jehan, Pehani Herdooi
47. Masjid of Maqbara Shah Abad
48. Masjid Adari Baloon
49. Jamia Masjid Urek
50. Masjid of Ibrahim Chishti Tomb Lakhnow
51. Masjid of Imam Bara Amin-ud-Dola
52. Jamia Masjid Hussain Abad
53. Masjid Asif-ud-Din
54. Masjid of Ehata Nadan Amlı
55. Masjid Residiny
56. Masjid of Ehata Sikandar Abad
57. Masjid-e-Ali
58. Masjid of Mazar Muhammad Ali
59. Masjid of Kazmin Building
60. Masjid of Taal Katora
61. Masjid of Karela Malka-e-Jahan
62. Jamia Masjid Sanbhal
63. Masjid Karwan Saray Soudhan Muhammad Pura, Muradabad
64. Masjid Azim Pur

65. Masjid-e-Jhijana
66. Jamia Masjid Peeli Bhait
67. Masjid Hathi Khana, Bajay Hath Gao
68. Chandi Masjid
69. Masjid of Maqbara Ghazi-ud-Din

Haryana

1. Masjid Hamayun, Fateh Abad
2. Lat ki Masjid, Dhar
3. Kabli Bagh ki Masjid Pani Pat
4. Pathar Masjid Thaniseir
5. Masjid Ali Wardi Khan Saray

Himachal Pradesh

1. Masjid Kangriza Kangra
2. Jamia Masjid Qila Wali Kangra

Jammu and Kashmir

1. Masjid Afwan Malika Shah Qila Hari Pat
2. Pathar Masjid Hary Nagar
3. Masjid Diplor Jhil
4. Khanqah Shah Hameedan, Sri Nagar

Karnataka

1. Mafa Masjid Belegam
2. Jamia Masjid Sachgawan
3. Masjid of AliSaeed Pir, Beja Pur
4. Asar Ali Masjid Beja Pur
5. Andruni Masjid Beja Pur
6. Masjid Qaboola Khan Beja Pur
7. Ghazi Masjid Beja Pur
8. Asar Madrisah & Masjid Beja Pur
9. Cheikh Veidi Masjid Beja Pur
10. Dhiwari Masjid Near Allah Pur Gate Bejapur
11. Jamia Masjid Ibrahim
12. Masjid Ikhlas-e-Khas
13. Jamia Masjid
14. Masjid Kareem-ud-Din
15. Makkah Masjid

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16. Masjid Gol-Guband
17. Masjid No. 213
18. Masjid No. 346
19. Mula Masjid
20. Masjid Mustafazad
21. Masjid Narwi
22. Masjid Nine Guband
23. Purani Masjid No. 294
24. Sonehri Masjid
25. Southern Masjid of Begmat Afzal Khan's Tomb
26. Masjid Yaqub Wali
27. Purani Masjid Yousaf
28. Masjid Zanjeeri
29. Masjid Fitijapur
30. Masjid Anatic Ehata, Kamalpur
31. Jamia Masjid Saranga Patam
32. Jamia Masjid Sipra
33. Masjid Soor Khamiya Bedar
34. Masjid Mahallah Ganwa Madrisah
35. Qila Ki Masjid Azim Gulbergah

Madhaya Pradesh

1. Masjid Charkot Sundar
2. Masjid Dilawar
3. Jamia Masjid Mandar
4. Masjid Malik Moti
5. Masjid Sopa Tank
6. Maqbara Darya Khan Masjid
7. Masjid Tora-Tara Puri Gate
8. Masjid Between Charkoley & Chaptan Mehal
9. Masjid Rampur Gate
10. Masjid Kamal Moi Dhar
11. Lat Ki Masjid
12. Jamia Masjid Chanderi
13. Masjid Baba Sahib Burhan Pur
14. Masjid Churawala in Wali
15. Masjid Qila Asir Garh
16. Masjid Balaji Shah Bhamuti
17. Purani Masjid Khulasa
18. Choti Masjid Kila Rahat Garh
19. Masjid Beja Mandal Darwashia
20. Qila Ray Main Ehata Masjid

21. Masjid Shah Muhammad Ghous Gawalyar

Maharashtra

1. Damri Masjid Ahmad Nagar
2. Masjid Chabool District Talaba
3. Maka Masjid Ahmad Nagar
4. Masjid Dilawar Khan Khela
5. Masjid Dar Bhool Vatnagri
6. Masjid Muhammad Tughlaq Khanpur District, Samgi
7. Masjid Rabhengia Booldey
8. Masjid Zanala
9. Masjid No. 9 Aurangabad
10. Masjid of Bibi's Tomb Aurangabad
11. Bara Imamon Wali Masjid Ahmad Nagar
12. Masjid of Koela Ehata
13. Masjid Fateh Khola District Beldev
14. Masjid Dargha Zafar Khan Ghazi (The Muslims, 1992).

Conclusion

Since independence not a single year has passed in India without witnessing widespread Hindu-Muslim violence (Varshney, 2002 & Akbar, 1985). Hindu fundamentalism has portrayed the six centuries of Muslim Rule in India as a period of Babarism, temple destruction and oppression on Hindus. Facts have been underplayed or overplayed to make history suit the specific one's purpose. Muslims have projected Emperor Aurangzeb as a hero, while the Hindu has described him as a villain and a narrow minded bigot. Historians did not miss any opportunity to mention the destruction of temples at the hands of Aurangzeb but they deliberately ignored the continuation of grants to temples and even the construction of new temple. The Muslim Ruler and its contribution in the socio and economic spheres have been condemned to make way for false accusations that widened the Hindu-Muslim gulf further.

The demolition of the Ayodhya Mosque that is simply a part of the ongoing process of Hindy revivalism and Hindusiation of India. It is not a well known fact that from the start Babar. The first Mughal Emperor abolished cow slaughter and it continued upto the last Mughal Emperor in 1857 as a gesture of good will towards the Hindus. It is equally true that temples were demolished but it was purely a medieval Phenomenon, where it was set a practice to raze the opponent's shrine to proclaim sovereignty. History is replete with such examples. The non-Muslim rulers also did not spare the demolition of temples.

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Destruction of a temple in India is a problem. India and India alone, asserts and the government claims that the same yardstick should be applied to refrain from asking the neighbors to prevent the temple destruction. The BJP took up the temple cause and pleaded for the temple construction by replacing the Mosque. Constructing the temple of Ayodhya the situation took a mad turn on December 6, 1992, when the Mosque was demolished right before the custodians of Law. The central government blamed the state government and vice versa. The government remained a silent spectator as the Mosque was being demolished. Communal charges followed and the partisan role of government and the police became obvious.

The Ayodhya Mosque incident reflects the growing wave of Hindu extremism and intolerance towards religious minorities. This negative sentiment has become very strong under the rule of Prime Minister Narendra Modi who endorses Hindu revivalist and extremist ideology.

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