

Ends versus Means - Exploring the Leader in Arvind Kejriwal

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Anju opened the day's newspaper and there it was. Another headline about the Aam Aadmi Party's (AAP) latest revelations. She had lost count of the number of exposés, all in the space of a month. The allegations of 'horse trading' to form the Delhi state government in November 2014¹ rankled her. The war of words through the open letters disturbed her. Now, she pinched herself when she read the headline "Prashant Bhushan and Yogendra Yadav ousted from AAP."² How could one be thrown out of the very house one built? Didn't the Bhushan-Yadav or Arvind Kejriwal factions see the mid-way collision as they raced towards the same destination? Were Aruna Roy's or Anna Hazare's experiences harbingers of the future?³ Is Manish Sisodia an exception?⁴ If conflicts are inevitable in groups, what conflict-resolution styles does one adopt?

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¹ IndiaToday.in, "The explosive conversation between AAP leader Kejriwal and former party MLA Rajesh Garg allegedly revealed in sting" 11-March-2015. Extracted from <http://m.indiatoday.in/story/aap-kejriwal-explosive-conversation-congress-audio-tape-sting/1/423302.html>

² Betwa Sharma, "Prashant Bhushan And Yogendra Yadav Ousted From AAP National Executive" (Huffington Post India, 01-April-2015. Extracted from http://www.huffingtonpost.in/2015/03/27/yogendra-yadav_n_6959558.html

³ Aruna Roy is one of the activists instrumental for enactment of the Right to Information legislation (2005) enabling access to government data ensuring transparency and accountability. Anna Hazare is a Gandhian who launched the nation-wide Jan Lokpal agitation demanding an independent public ombudsman in all government departments. Both were mentors of Arvind Kejriwal before he launched the AAP.

On the face of it, it appeared that Kejriwal's group differed on the route charted towards the overarching end – to rid entrenched corruption in governance systems in India's socio-political landscape. But was there more to it than meets the eye? Did leaders really walk the talk? If conflicts are inevitable in groups, are there also points of no-return?

Kejriwal's Early Life and Pull towards Activism

Arvind Kejriwal was born in 1968, in Siwani in the state of Haryana in North India, to a middle-class household. As a teenager, Kejriwal doggedly pursued to secure admission to the prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology through a nationwide competitive exam in 1985, then refused to accept his rejection during Tata Steel's campus interview. "I called up the chairman of Tata Steel," he recalls "...told his staff that I was not happy with the selection process and wanted to be given another chance."⁵ Through a rare second interview, he landed the coveted post at the company's design department at Jamshedpur in 1989. Designing plants and machinery did not interest him for long. Searching better avenues for fulfilment, he took a leave of absence to attempt India's most-competitive civil services exams. He secured a spot in the Indian Revenue Service but turned down the offer. His target was the Indian Administrative Services. Chafed by the monotony of the corporate job at Tata Steel, he asked to be transferred to the Corporate Social Responsibility department that aided rural villages. The management offered him two choices – continue in the hired role or move on. Not surprisingly, he chose the latter.

⁴ Manish Sisodia is the current Deputy Chief Minister, city-state of Delhi and long-time associate of Kejriwal.

⁵ Cesar R. Bacani Jr., "Kejriwal, Arvind | BIOGRAPHY." (Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation) 01-April-2015. Extracted from <http://www.rmaf.org.ph/newrmaf/main/awardees/awardee/biography/141>

Pursuing social service led him to meet Mother Teresa and tend to the ill in Kalighat's hospice. Later, he volunteered with the Ramakrishna Mission, influenced by the teachings of Swami Vivekananda – the philosophies of karma that would help him form KABIR (Karmayogi's Association for Bringing Indian Regeneration) – an organization that attempted to highlight the corruption in Delhi's Electricity Department by asking residents not to pay bills.

In 1992, he attempted the civil service exams again and secured a position in the Indian Revenue Service (IRS) and a first posting as the assistant commissioner of income tax in a district in Delhi.

IRS and Governance

Despite being in the IRS, he continued to lead a minimalist lifestyle- travelling to office on a scooter while his colleagues travelled in cars and avoiding celebrating birthdays in his family. Until he became the chief minister of New Delhi, he preferred travelling in public transport.

In the IRS, Kejriwal was disillusioned by the corrupt activities of colleagues – seeking and accepting favours in cash and kind in order to not scrutinize a payee's file or only have a cursory glance, the systemic failure of the Vigilance Wing staffed with partisan officers turning a blind eye. "There was a sense of disgruntlement among the honest officers," he says. "If you're corrupt, you're in the mainstream. If you're honest, you're sidelined."⁶

⁶ Cesar R. Bacani Jr., "Kejriwal, Arvind | BIOGRAPHY." (Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation) 01-April-2015. Extracted from <http://www.rmaf.org.ph/newrmaf/main/awardees/awardee/biography/141>

Parivartan

Kejriwal's experience with KABIR prepared the ground for Parivartan (Hindi word for “transformation”), an NGO that began in late 1999 with grass-roots advocacy of “Don’t pay bribes,”⁷ we’ll assist you pro-bono with your tax returns. Assisting citizens to navigate the complex maze of the government’s bureaucracy, Parivartan helped the poorest of Delhi’s citizens access their right to basic services like the State’s food grain distribution system, transparent and accurate billing of electricity and water consumption, the citizen’s right to information of any civic service.

Aruna Roy and the Right to Information (RTI) Act

Between 2000 and 2006, Kejriwal reached out to and worked with many like-minded individuals, notably Aruna Roy, a former IAS officer, like Kejriwal who had quit the civil services in 1974 to focus on grass-roots activism. Roy was instrumental in bringing to life the Right to Information Act, first in states such as Rajasthan, Delhi and finally covering the central government in 2005 through the National Campaign for People’s Right to Information (NCPRI) and the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS)⁸. It was the passing of the RTI Act in Delhi (in 2001) that helped Parivartan adopt a different approach - a simple RTI application would ensure long-pending applications (for want of not paying a bribe or preferential treatment) would be made accessible, making government officials accountable for their duties and responsibilities.

⁷ Ibid.,

⁸ Lorna Kalaw-Tirol, "Roy, Aruna | BIOGRAPHY" (Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation) 01-April-2015. Extracted from <http://www.rmaf.org.ph/newrmaf/main/awardees/awardee/biography/19>

Kejriwal quit the IRS in 2006. "It was not surprising," said Kejriwal's mother, Geeta Devi "But we couldn't say anything, because he had gone very far in social work."⁹

Public Cause Research Foundation (PCRF)

Kejriwal, now a social activist, travelled across the country building awareness of RTI. In late 2006, with long-time associate Manish Sisodia and Abhinandan Sekhri, Kejriwal formed the Public Cause Research Foundation (PCRF) to advocate the cause of transparent and accountable governance. He donated the prize money from the Magsaysay award as seed-fund for this nascent organization that also had Prashant Bhushan and Kiran Bedi as its trustees.

Bhushan along with father Shanti Bhushan, had long developed a reputation of being a vocal, sharp legal eagle in Delhi's circles. Known for espousing the cause of the social activism using Public Interest Litigation as a tool, Bhushan brought to light many of the government's failings in areas of human rights, environmental protection and accountability of government servants. Kiran Bedi was a former Indian Police Services officer (the first woman officer in the IPS) who served the government for over thirty-five years - a tenure marked by torturous government postings that she worked to her advantage. Rehabilitating inmates in Tihar Jail – India's most hostile prison – earned her the Magsaysay Award for Government Service in 1994.¹⁰

⁹ Mehboob Jeelani, "The Insurgent" (The Caravan, A Journal of Politics & Culture) 01-September-2011. Extracted from <http://www.caravanmagazine.in/reportage/insurgent>

¹⁰ J. R. R., "Bedi, Kiran | BIOGRAPHY" (Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation) 01-April-2015. Extracted from <http://www.rmaf.org.ph/newrmaf/main/awardees/awardee/biography/155>

Anna Hazare, Bedi, Bhushan, Kejriwal and many luminaries would come together in 2011 to lead a people's movement – 'India Against Corruption' – that would shake the foundations of a legitimately elected government.

India Against Corruption (IAC) and the Jan Lokpal Bill

Kejriwal's growing frustration with the implementation of the RTI Act was borne out of research conducted with the Information Commissioners, RTI activists, bureaucrats and politicians. New bottle-necks were resorted to, to circumvent the RTI Act, at least ten RTI activists were murdered and hundreds more harassed, guilty parties evaded law enforcement. Thus began the search for stronger enforcement that complemented a strong law like the RTI.¹¹

The misappropriation of public money to the tune of nearly US \$1.8 billion (estimated by the Central Vigilance Commissioner) by the 2010 Delhi Commonwealth Games organizers jolted the nation. Soon, the 2G telecom scam hit the airwaves. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India estimated a loss of US \$28 billion to the country's exchequer caused by the government doling out the telecom licenses in an opaque and unscrupulous process. "Every day, on the front page of newspapers, there was so much evidence," said Kejriwal "It was like a challenge to the people: 'If you can do something, do it. We will keep on looting the country.'" ¹²

Kejriwal's teacher, Harsh Mander, recalls Kejriwal's days as a civil service officer in training. Kejriwal's "understanding of corruption is . . . that there's an absence of an

¹¹ Mehboob Jeelani, "The Insurgent" (The Caravan, A Journal of Politics & Culture) 01-September-2011. Extracted from <http://www.caravanmagazine.in/reportage/insurgent>

¹² Samanth Subramanian, "The Agitator" (The New Yorker) 02-September-2013. Extracted from <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/09/02/the-agitator-2>

effective punitive framework” – a common perspective among students schooled in STEM subjects – unlike students schooled in the liberal arts and social sciences. Kejriwal, like many of his engineering peers, constituted “the strengths and limitations of that group. They’re all bright, and they’re committed to the idea of a better India. But, because of the type of technological education they’ve had, there are social and political nuances missing in the way they understand the world.” Mander further clarified “If you ask a typical engineering graduate what he thinks is wrong with India, he’ll say corruption. Not communalism or caste oppression or gender inequality, but corruption. It’s a techno-managerial view of the world.”¹³

One option to tackle corruption was a Lokpal (Hindi word for “people’s caretaker”) an independent, public ombudsman under whose purview, it was proposed, that all government functionaries be held accountable – including the Judiciary and the Prime Minister. The NCPRI had begun work on this early in 2007 while Kejriwal garnered as much support from independent, like-minded individuals. Anna Hazare was one among them. A public demand for the Lokpal’s institution was planned.

Kejriwal timed the launch of the agitation to implement the Jan LokPal, a strong enforcement law in April 2011 - between the Cricket World Cup and the Indian Premier League in a cricket-crazy nation. Anna Hazare began a hunger strike, ensuring mass mobilization across all walks of society – rural and urban, young and old, across all divides – capitalizing the latent anger within a nation that was looking for a life without having to bribe for basic civic services. ‘India Against Corruption’- a mass people’s movement was formed paralleling the recent revolutions – Tahrir Square agitation, Jasmine revolution and

¹³ Ibid.,

the Occupy Wall Street protests – fresh in the minds of the people who hoped for similar results in India.

The need to get more support from people across all walks of life made Kejriwal reach out to Ramdev, Agnivesh, Sri Sri Ravishankar - spiritual and religious leaders who guaranteed an audience but perhaps diluted the ethos of a movement that began as one agnostic to India's great fault-lines: religion, caste or creed. Just as allegations of the movement's right-wing religious affiliations surfaced, Kejriwal dropped Ramdev and others to ensure the sanctity of the movement to be perceived as apolitical.

The intensity and scale of the movement forced the government to seek a time-out to break the impasse, and that meant the movement received much-needed legitimacy. A Drafting Committee was setup, composed of equal numbers of members from the government and Team Anna. The ensuing negotiations saw the government stalling and dithering. Thus began the process of watering down the extreme provisions in Team Anna's Jan LokPal bill.

August 2011, four months on, since the first agitations, the deadlock continued. Many claim that it was Kejriwal's obdurate stonewalling, refusing to leave the Judiciary and the Prime Minister's Office outside the ambit of the LokPal that led to the logjam. When the government finally presented a diluted bill in the parliament, Kejriwal termed that as being "nothing but a JokePal bill."¹⁴

With no results and the movement losing steam, Team Anna issued an ultimatum to the government to introduce the Jan LokPal bill in Parliament or face an indefinite hunger strike and jail-bharo (occupy prisons) agitation beginning 16 August 2011.

¹⁴ Mehboob Jeelani, "The Insurgent" (The Caravan, A Journal of Politics & Culture) 01-September-2011. Extracted from <http://www.caravanmagazine.in/reportage/insurgent>

The hunger strike continued for nearly two weeks, until 28 August 2011, when the two houses of the Indian parliament acquiesced to look into the three main demands of Team Anna: including the lower bureaucracy in the Lokpal's purview, a central law for creating Lokayuktas in states and a citizen's charter for government departments providing public service.

Thus the government finally paved the way to introduce the LokPal bill in the Indian parliament for the eighth time since 1968 (when Advocate Shanti Bhushan had first introduced it) and began the next round of stalling. Attempting to seek the same intensity of public opinion and support, Kejriwal organized another hunger strike in December 2011, but this time in Mumbai. Political pundits observe this was a strategic mistake. Mumbai, India's other megapolis, drew meagre crowds (4,000 to 10,000 compared to Delhi's 30,000+). Reasons appear to be many but largely centred on the timing and the culture of the two cities – while Delhi draws a lot of grass roots activism by virtue of a large number of universities across the sciences and arts, Mumbai is a city that is more commerce-driven.¹⁵

Without any major headway in passing the Jan LokPal, Kejriwal became impatient. Kejriwal's distaste for politics was long known. Entering politics, he had said, "was the last resort."¹⁶ Yet, he along with Bhushan, Sisodia and others formed the Aam Aadmi Party (The Common Man's Party – AAP). After all, Kejriwal and the IAC were chastised by the political establishment for trying to dictate law-making to the elected representatives of the people. Not for the first time in his activism life, Kejriwal parted ways with another key ally, Anna

¹⁵ Staff Analyst, "The Three Mistakes of Arvind Kejriwal" (The Analyst India) 06-Dec-2012
Extracted from <http://theanalyst007.blogspot.com/2012/12/the-three-mistakes-of-arvind-kejriwal.html>

¹⁶ Samanth Subramanian, "The Agitator" (The New Yorker) 02-September-2013. Extracted from <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/09/02/the-agitator-2>

Hazare, because Anna refused to join politics. “We are getting into the system to change the system,” Kejriwal said, and he was perhaps employing the last weapon in his arsenal in order to win the war against corruption.¹⁷

Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)

The political party was the Aam Aadmi Party (The Common Man’s Party). AAP was a start-up with nearly all stakeholders having little or no experience of politics. After all, “a complete overhaul in the way political parties and their leaders function” is what AAP envisions.¹⁸

Yet there was a silver lining. Prashant Bhushan and Shanti Bhushan were veteran lawyers, who had worked against any mal-intent of the government, covering scandals, fighting human rights violations (demanding revocation of the draconian Armed Forces Special Protection Act), seeking government accountability (covering the judiciary also in the RTI). The need “to create a political alternative which could usher in a different kind of politics in the country, based on decentralization of power and people’s direct participation in decision-making, policy-making and law-making” brought Bhushan and others such as Yogendra Yadav together.¹⁹

Yadav, an academic in the political sciences, was on the National Advisory Council that was responsible for passing the Right to Education Act and a former member of the University Grants Commission. Yadav, along with Bhushan, would go on to represent the intelligentsia

¹⁷ Hari Kumar, "Stirring the Pot and Striking Fear in India" (The New York Times Company) 09-Nov-2012 Extracted from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/10/world/asia/arvind-kejriwal-stirs-the-pot-and-strikes-fear-in-india.html?_r=0

¹⁸ “Goal of Swaraj. People’s Rule – Creating Swaraj” (Aam Aadmi Party) 01-Apr-2015 Extracted from <http://www.aamaadmiparty.org/goal-of-swaraj>

¹⁹ Prashant Bhushan, "A Political Alternative To Alternative Politics" (Outlook India) 03-Sep-2012 Extracted from <http://www.outlookindia.com/article/a-political-alternative-to-alternative-politics/282060>

for AAP along with the other intellectuals who quit flourishing careers, hoping to make a dent in armored chassis of India's politics. Yadav would hold the role of AAP's chief spokesperson, Bhushan would head the national disciplinary committee and both would be part of the many decision making committees in AAP – the Political Affairs Committee (PAC), the National Executive (NE) among others. AAP was an agglomeration of tens of thousands of individuals from all walks of life with a common aspiration – to enable the common man lead a life bereft of the daily corruption presently encountered in government interactions. AAP wasn't short of goodwill and generosity from civil society and expatriates. The Bhushans themselves had contributed INR 20 million as seed fund for the new fledgling party. The elections for Delhi's State Assembly were scheduled in December 2013. "The Congress was built in a hundred years. The B.J.P. was built in thirty years," Yadav mentioned. "We have to do what they did, in three months."²⁰

The election results amplified the tremors felt by the political establishment during the public agitations for a LokPal in 2011. Kejriwal beat Sheila Dixit, the incumbent chief minister who had ruled Delhi for fifteen years. AAP won twenty-nine seats out of seventy, yet, fell short of the simple majority required to form a government.

AAP initially decided not to form a government. Only at the insistence of many think-tanks did AAP seek a people's referendum whether they must form a government with support from the same political parties AAP had attacked previously. Finally, AAP formed the government with the Congress' support in December 2013.

²⁰ Samanth Subramanian, "The Agitator" (The New Yorker) 02-September-2013. Extracted from <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/09/02/the-agitator-2>

Without consulting anyone, acting unilaterally, Kejriwal resigned on Feb 14, 2014, recommending the Lieutenant Governor (the highest constitutional authority for an Indian State) dissolve the State assembly. The brief forty-nine day tenure attempted too much, too soon, to create a utopian world overnight. Providing the masses with free water and subsidized power at the cost of the exchequer were a few populist measures yet acts such as Kejriwal protesting like a regular citizen in front of the Prime minister's residence seeking control of the Delhi Police (the Police Department in Delhi reports to and falls under the purview of the Central Government and not the State Government) made many wonder. Or when a zealous Minister of Law in Kejriwal's cabinet, Somnath Bharati conducted vigilante-style mid-night raids on allegedly illegal activities, citizens began wondering whether this was indeed what they had asked for.

Many in AAP felt snubbed by Kejriwal, who resigned without due procedural consultation. This was perhaps the first of many events that led Bhushan, Yadav and others towards a conflict with Kejriwal's camp. Kejriwal cited lack of cooperation from the Congress party, AAP's ally, to implement the Jan LokPal as the chief reason. Yet, he was to later regret his decision and sought people's forgiveness for his foolhardiness.²¹ Could these acts be seen as learning the rules of political trade or demonstrating Kejriwal's lack of respect for democracy or/and a desire to seek middle ground?

Buoyed by the results of the State elections, AAP decided to contest the national elections in April 2014. Kejriwal pitted himself against the Bharatiya Janata Party's prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi and lost the battle. Contesting nearly 400+ seats, the AAP could

²¹ Sharad Mathur, "Curious Case of AAP's Resurgence"(The Leadership Review) 21-May-2015 extracted from <http://theleadershipreview.org/features/curious-case-of-aaps-resurgence-2/>

win four seats. Nearly all its candidates lost their candidate deposits – the amount one has to forfeit if the candidate fails to win a certain percentage of votes from the constituency.

The open war of words between the two camps that was to begin in early 2015 reveals how Kejriwal was pressured into accepting sole responsibility for the defeat in the polls.

“...you [Yadav] know that Prashant and you were among the few who insisted that if AAP was to emerge as a national alternative, then the party should contest all the seats in Parliament. Arvind pleaded with you to fight only a selected few seats, but he was overruled, and everybody knows the results, and he was blamed for the loss and had to bear the brunt of the media.”²²

Similarly, Kejriwal “offered” to go to prison in a defamation suit filed against him in 2014.

What was perceived as principled martyrdom now reveals that Kejriwal opted imprisonment “at the behest of Prashant Bhushan.”

“... Why did I go to Tihar (jail)? I was standing in court. The judge asked me to take bail. I said that I will not take bail. The judge then said sign a personal bond, (as you) don't (want to) take bail. I did not know what this personal bond is. I looked at Prashantji. Prashantji did like this [shook his head sideways to indicate No]. I said I (will not) take a personal bond. The judge said, "Arrest him and send him to Tihar (jail)". I went to Tihar (jail). I would like to say this - Prashantji, at one gesture of yours I went to jail.²³ [refer Exhibit 7 for transcripts of Kejriwal's speech at the National Council on 28 March 2015]

Reasons for the defeat in the national elections could be many as indicated in the now public letters. An organization structure that was still evolving could be one. On paper, the structure appears an ideal one – similar to how a conglomerate like a Tata Group or a Johnson and Johnson functions at a macro-level. The atomic unit being the Primary Unit (at

²² Ashutosh, “An Open Letter to Yogendra Yadav From AAP's Ashutosh”(NDTV Convergence Limited) 01-April-2015 extracted from <http://www.ndtv.com/opinion/an-open-letter-to-yogendra-yadav-from-aaps-ashutosh-750286>

²³ Ravi S Iyer, “AAP bitter divide: The intellectual and lawyer-activist (Bhushan) takes on the popular leader's (Kejriwal's) serious charges, and how!” 05-May-2015 extracted from <http://ravisiyermisc.blogspot.in/2015/04/aap-bitter-divide-upstanding.html>

ward, village or college level as the case may be) with defined powers. The many primary units in the geography would be rolled-up into a Block and in turn an agglomeration of Blocks forming a District. Districts formed a State and the States a National Unit that comprised of the National Council (NC) and National Executive (NE). Each unit had defined powers and functions. A State unit served like an SBU (Strategic Business Unit) does in many organizations. [Refer Exhibit 3 for detailed organization structure and key responsibilities of each unit]

But, as with all organizations, the model had its challenges in translating from principles on paper to operations on the ground. Moving away from the “high-command culture of other Indian political parties” was what the founding members of AAP had envisaged. Pushing for more clarity on the same – self-governance, participatory decision making – was a pain point between the two camps as we infer from the letters [See Exhibit 4].

Mission Vistaar was launched after the debacle, in National elections, with the intent to clarify roles and responsibilities at the state-level units and rejuvenate AAP. Providing more control to local units was aligned with the concept of Swaraj (self-governance) that Kejriwal himself championed in his book ‘Swaraj’ and at all public events. Yet, the refusal to walk the talk stunned many of the party’s cadre. Were they seeing two faces of the same person? Was there more to Kejriwal than his followers knew about? “Arvind had told us in June 2014 itself that he had never been part of any organization where he did not have the final say”

said Yadav during a recent interview speaking of Kejriwal, who had authored the book Swaraj.²⁴

Yet, Yadav was alleged to have hankered after power, subverted the processes of appointment of the party leadership post in Haryana, forced Kejriwal into contesting elections that AAP lost and Kejriwal was made the fall-guy (See Exhibit 5)

“It was from this point that various stories started appearing in the newspapers which were tarnishing the image of the party and also that of Arvind. Initially, these were ignored. But later, a few suspected your hand in this...”

You were confronted with proof and you had no answer. In fact, you were ready for disciplinary action, and begged Arvind for a graceful exit. You knew your political journey had reached a dead end. But Arvind and the party forgave you, and no action was initiated against you thanks to the large-heartedness of the very same Arvind whom you blame now for not behaving in a democratic way.” writes Ashutosh, one of Kejriwal’s loyalists.

June 2014

After the heavy defeat, Kejriwal now reached out discreetly to the Lieutenant Governor requesting that the Lt. Governor not recommend re-elections. Kejriwal was now seeking to form a government with Congress’ support – the party he had acrimoniously parted ways with in February 2014. This flip-flop stunned many within AAP, with Bhushan and Yadav being the most vocal. Was this the same person who advocated and inspired a nation to practice the ideals of honest and clean governance? What were the people around Kejriwal to infer of this change in thought? The Bhushan-Yadav camp attempted reasoning with him. The public exchange of letters confirms that Bhushan-Yadav’s patience had reached a

²⁴ PR Ramesh, “I told Arvind that even dictators consult people: Yogendra Yadav” (Open Media Network Pvt. Ltd.) 05-April-2015. Extracted from <http://www.openthemagazine.com/article/nation/i-told-arvind-that-even-dictators-consult-people>

threshold. “It was on this issue that the deep differences between us began” write Yadav and Bhushan [see Exhibit 4]

Opportunistic candidates who switch to other political parties for favors and power occur frequently in Indian politics. Yet AAP was perceived to be above all this, a party with principles, a party with a difference. But when allegations of poaching elected Congress MLA’s surfaced in March 2015, it revealed Kejriwal attempting many means to form the government.

Kejriwal : AAP is prepared to take support from the 8 Congress MLAs. Manish Sisodia has been in touch with Congress MLAs but they don't seem to be keen on supporting AAP...We should not speak out at this time. We should speak out only if the Congress MLAs say publicly that they are prepared to support us.[refer Exhibit 2 for transcript of audio tape]

Kejriwal, in November 2014, was seeking support from MLAs of the Congress Party – implying some form of exchange of favors and promises – plum cabinet positions: money-making machines in the Indian political system – for support to form the government. The charges of horse-trading were categorically denied by AAP stating there was never any mention of money, yet the allegations were vivid for everyone to infer. “Arvind’s favorite phrase was ‘saam, daam, dand, bhed’” (Chanakya’s teaching of employing various strategies to win over the enemy: to allure; to bribe; to threaten; and to punish) recalls Yadav of Kejriwal’s strategy to win at any cost.²⁵

The efforts to rope in Congress MLAs failed. Kejriwal and AAP started preparing to contest the elections in February 2015. The Bhushan-Yadav combine were astounded by the candidates that were being fielded – candidates who in the state elections in late 2013 had

²⁵ PR Ramesh, “I told Arvind that even dictators consult people: Yogendra Yadav” (Open Media Network Pvt. Ltd.) 05-April-2015. Extracted from <http://www.openthemagazine.com/article/nation/i-told-arvind-that-even-dictators-consult-people>

criminal cases pending against them, had man-handled AAP candidates were now AAP's nominations. Was this a party that practiced an alternate form of politics? Against tremendous pressure from Bhushan and Yadav combined with the need to win the elections to keep the BJP away from power in Delhi, Kejriwal buckled down allowing candidates with dubious histories to be whetted by the internal LokPal (ombudsman appointed by AAP PAC to investigate and enforce scrupulous governance within AAP). While four candidates were cleared, two were denied a place to contest after the LokPal ruled that they had criminal antecedents and six were asked to abide by certain conditions without which their candidatures would be nullified. This episode too would haunt Bhushan-Yadav when the Kejriwal camp accused the former of anti-party activities, "working for the party's defeat" in the 2015 polls.²⁶

Despite these differences – that could be seen as those between ideologues and managers – Yogendra Yadav "held between 80-100 jansabhas" during the run-up to the elections, "addressed the media every day, conducted poll surveys and predicted the thumping victory of the party, and connected with volunteers over phone and google-hangouts." writes Bhushan.²⁷

The saving grace for AAP and Kejriwal was that the revelations – audio tapes, open letters, and puerile squabbles – were in the public domain after the common man had cast his/her

²⁶ Press Trust of India, "Arvind Kejriwal threatened to quit AAP if Bhushan-Yadav were not removed" 01-April-2015 Extracted from <http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/arvind-kejriwal-threatened-to-quit-aap-if-bhushan-yadav-were-not-removed/>

²⁷ Prashant Bhushan and Yogendra Yadav, "After defeat in Lok Sabha polls, Kejriwal again wanted to hold Congress hands: Bhushan and Yadav" (Business Standard Pvt. Ltd.) 20-March-2015 Extracted from http://www.business-standard.com/article/politics/after-lok-sabha-polls-kejriwal-again-wanted-to-hold-congress-hands-115031300063_1.html

vote helping AAP win Delhi by a record margin. Sixty-seven of seventy seats won with over 54% of popular vote was another Indian record.

The all-consuming hunger to form the government before the State Assembly was dissolved, attempting to bull-doze the dissolution of the PAC after the national elections defeat without due-process, the horse-trading audio tapes fiasco, the nomination of candidates with dubious histories including pending criminal cases, the lack of clarity or stalling implementing direct participative democracy – Swaraj – principles are just a few of the many instances that provide glimpses into the many shades of a leader who may still be coming to terms with what it means to be in politics and play the role of a politician.

There may be more than meets the eye. Consider the allegations levelled against the Bhushan-Yadav camp: influencing donors not to fund AAP, advising AAP volunteers to not enter Delhi for campaigning, Bhushan not canvassing for AAP candidates in run-up to Delhi state elections, planting stories that decisions of National Executive are sidelined by Kejriwal camp, Yadav subverting due processes to lead AAP in Haryana state.

The “Stalinist Purge Has Begun” Rues Bhushan

The dissenting Bhushan - Yadav duo were systematically ousted from all committees and finally from the very party they founded. A few of the pain-points between the two camps was the demand for greater inclusivity, participation and decision-making roles for volunteers, autonomy for State units and the suggestion to bring AAP under the ambit of the RTI were from the perspective of discussing and formulating party-policies as echoed by Yadav and not to undermine AAP. Demands for transparency and accountability – the very

principles on which AAP was born - were stonewalled and efforts to setup due mechanisms in AAP were stalled purportedly at the behest of Kejriwal.

“Instead of treating these internal voices as voices of dissent,” Yadav wrote in his letter “should we not instead feel proud that we are perhaps the first party in the country which is trying to uphold the principle of transparency even in the manner in which it selects its candidates?”²⁸ Yet, AAP functionaries construed these demands and actions as anti-party activities. Dissent is not new to groups. Even Modi, often labelled as authoritarian and ruthless, handles his critics in the Advani camp with maturity. Could Kejriwal have managed his relationship with the Bhushan-Yadav camp patiently and democratically? wondered Anju.

The Indian National Congress (INC) underwent a disastrous split within two decades of its birth – a tiff between the moderates (such as Gopal Krishna Gokhale) and the extremists (such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak). In 1935, despite serious differences, the INC transformed itself from an oppositional party against British rule to adopt the Government of India Act thus forming provincial governments under the British rule, exercising real power, thus changing the INC’s character forever. The Democrat-Republican party split in the US or the Liberal party split in UK occurred in their nascent stages. Counter-examples exist too. “Today, I’m standing where the Morarji Desais, Chandra Shekhars, Charan Singhs and the Raj Narains were in 1979”²⁹ lamented Yadav, reminiscing the coalition of idealist leaders in 1970s similar to AAP’s who were voted into power – the first non-Congress government

²⁸ Ibid.,

²⁹ Asit Jolly, “Arvind Kejriwal and my differences are over what it means to be 'the' leader: Yogendra Yadav” (India Today Group) 05-April-2015. Extracted from <http://www.dailyo.in/politics/yogendra-yadav-aap-arvind-kejriwal-prashant-bhushan-modi-amit-shah-delhi/story/1/2959.html>

under Jayaprakash Narayan's leadership – displaced the Congress' three decade rule. A few years later, this band of brothers disintegrated never to come together again.

Of all that has been hurled, "none can call me dishonest" mentioned Kejriwal. Is honesty that only parameter of a leader? The verdict perhaps will take a while, but history will surely have the last word when it looks back a few years down the line. Until then where does the common man's allegiance lie, wondered Anju.

The cognitive dissonance was a little too intense for her. She remembered the time when she entered the corporate world, a newly-minted B-School graduate. The mindset shift she made, modulating her behaviour to align with the system to achieve one's ends through varied means, yet stay true to her ideals and beliefs. It was a perpetual challenge, she thought, for anyone living in societies and organizations that have defined rules, norms and cultures. She now asked herself " If conflicts are inevitable, what cost am I ready I pay as a leader in an organization? Would an end achieved through means I don't identify with, be a worthy end? Can means and ends ever be aligned?"

Exhibit 1A: Kejriwal's Life Events: A Chronology

Date	Event
August 16, 1968	Born in Sivani, Haryana
1985	Admitted to IIT, Kharagpur in the Mechanical Engineering stream
1989	Placed at Tata Steel, Jamshedpur after a rare second interview
1992	Joins Indian Revenue Service after second attempt at Indian Civil Services
1995	Deputed in Delhi as Assistant Commissioner of Income Tax
December 1998	Founds KABIR (Karmayogis Association for Bringing Indian Regeneration) – an organization that attempted to highlight the corruption in Delhi's Electricity Department by asking residents not to pay bills.
December 1999	Founds Parivartan to focus on grass-roots advocacy of "Don't pay bribes" we'll assist you pro-bono with your tax returns.
2001	Right to Information (RTI) Act enforced in Delhi.
2001-2006	Kejriwal begins working closely with Shekhar Singh and Aruna Roy, bureaucrat turned social activist and Magsaysay Awardee for Community Leadership (2000)
2005	RTI Act enacted for all central government processes due to efforts of Aruna-Roy led National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI) and the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS)
February 2006	Kejriwal quits IRS as Joint Commissioner of Income Tax
July 2006	Kejriwal conferred the Ramon Magsaysay Award for Emergent Leadership
November 2006	Forms Public Cause Research Foundation (PCRF), with long-time associate Manish Sisodia and Abhinandan Sekhri, to advocate the cause of transparent and accountable governance. Donates Magsaysay Award prize money as corpus fund to PCRF Prashant Bhushan and Kiran Bedi join PCRF as trustees.
2007-2010	Kejriwal campaigns for RTI-Awareness pan-India; Government entities delay providing information, vested interests use many nefarious means to threaten RTI activists; Ten RTI activists killed
October 2010	Central Vigilance Commissioner estimates misappropriation of public funds to the tune of US \$1.8 billion by Commonwealth Games Delhi 2010 organizers

December 2010	Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India estimates loss of US \$28 billion to the country's exchequer due to the opaque and unscrupulous process during Telecom spectrum auctions
February 2011	Anna Hazare, Kiran Bedi, Prashanth Bhushan, Arvind Kejriwal and others form 'India Against Corruption' that begins nation-wide agitation against corruption in government.
April 2011	Anna begins fast. Demands government to institute Lokpal (public ombudsman) legislation to enforce and oversee accountable and transparent governance. Agitations mirror recent civil movements – Tunisian, Egyptian and Occupy Wall Street. Government buckles, Team Anna part of drafting committee for LokPal legislation. Negotiations fail. Agitation resumes but intensity reduced.
December 2011	No headway in Lokpal legislation.
November 26, 2012	Parts ways with Anna Hazare and IAC; Forms Aam Aadmi Party with Prashant Bhushan, Yogendra Yadav, Manish Sisodia and others
December 2013	AAP wins 29 out of 70 seats. Kejriwal beats three-time Delhi CM Sheila Dixit of Congress. AAP forms government with Congress promising to insititute Lokpal
February 2014	Kejriwal quits unilaterally, without any consultations with AAP, as Delhi CM after 49 days. Delhi remains without government for one year.
May 2014	AAP suffers embarrassing defeat in national elections with nearly all candidates forfeiting caution deposits for not gaining minimum number of votes in respective constituencies.
February 2015	AAP wins record 67 out of 70 seats.
March 2015	Internal squabble in AAP leadership begins. Kejriwal camp accuses Prashant Bhushan and Yogendra Yadav of anti-party activities. Flurry of internal communication letters appears in public indicating wide rift between Kejriwal and Bhushan camps. Bhushan-Yadav camp refutes anti-party allegations; seek transparent processes and adherence to principles on which AAP was formed. Also allege Kejriwal of authoritarianism.
March 10, 2015	Allegations of 'horse-trading' levelled against Kejriwal for seeking to form government with support of few MLAs. AAP doesn't deny veracity of audio-tape conversation between former AAP member Rajeev Garg and Kejriwal.
April 2015	Yadav and Bhushan ousted from all committees in AAP and from AAP's membership for anti-party activities.

Exhibit 1B: Events Leading to Clash of Kejriwal and Bhushan-Yadav Camps

Date	Event
May 16, 2014	AAP suffers heavy defeat at National elections; most AAP candidates do not win minimum number of votes thus forfeiting candidate deposits
May 22, 2014	Kejriwal chooses to go to jail (purportedly at Bhushan's behest), after refusing to furnish bail of INR10,000 in defamation case filed by BJP Leader Nitin Gadkari.
November 2014	Candidates with dubious records nominated for Delhi State Elections. Bhushan-Yadav camp grows more vocal. Insist on internal Lokpal whetting the candidates. Four of twelve candidates cleared by Lokpal, and six asked to furnish more details, while two candidates are rejected.
January 2015	Purported e-mails from Bhushan's sister, Shalini Gupta (fund-raising in UK) to not fund AAP candidates in run-up to elections.
February 09, 2015	AAP wins record 67 out of 70 seats.
February 20, 2015	Kejriwal camp accuses Bhushan and Yadav of anti-party activities including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - influencing donors not to fund AAP, - advising AAP volunteers to not enter Delhi for campaigning, - not canvassing for AAP candidates in run-up to Delhi state elections - planting stories that decisions of National Executive are sidelined by Kejriwal camp.
February 26, 2015	Letter from Bhushan and Yadav seeking discussion of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Appointing a committee to uphold core values and principles of AAP; also investigate recent allegations of INR2 crore funding cheque. 2. Autonomy for state bodies of AAP 3. Upholding internal democracy, organizational structure and processes. 4. Refining mechanisms to represent opinions of party volunteers.
March 04, 2015	Bhushan, Yadav removed from Parliamentary Affairs Committee – the highest decision making body in AAP – for anti-party activities.
March 10, 2015	Horse-trading allegations levelled against Kejriwal; leaked audio tapes of Kejriwal and former AAP leader Rajiv Garg's conversation indicates Kejriwal seeking support from Congress elected

	representatives (Members of Legislative Assemblies). AAP does not confirm or deny veracity of conversation or audio-tape.
March 28, 2015	Bhushan-Yadav ousted from National Executive - the policy making body in AAP - at National Council Meeting after Kejriwal issues ultimatum: "Choose me or them."
April 03, 2015	Bhushan responds to Kejriwal's accusations made at National Council. Alleges actual happening at National Council are different from AAP-released video of proceedings. Clarifies allegations made against him. Refer Exhibit 6 for issues raised by Bhushan.
April 20, 2015	Bhushan, Yadav and two senior leaders ousted from AAP for gross indiscipline and anti-party activities.

Exhibit 2: Transcripts of the leaked audio tapes of conversation between Arvind Kejriwal and Rajeev Garg purportedly 'horse-trading'

Kejriwal: We are ready, but they are not agreeing. Manish & all are in touch with them.

Garg: The 8 MLAs are ready, but Ajay Maken and Surjewala are creating hurdles, saying that they will be finished in Haryana.

Kejriwal: So then what to do? This is not their final decision, what can we do? I have tried many times.

Garg: We can appeal in the mohalla sabhas, to the people of Delhi. We can say that if they offer support, we will form the government.

Kejriwal: No don't say that. Say the opposite.

Garg: No, I'm just asking you.

Kejriwal: No, we should not say anything. If they are ready, we are ready. But if we say this now, it will seem that we are getting desperate.

Kejriwal: You try and break these 6 MLAs away. They should form their own party and support us from outside.

Garg: Yes, okay.

Kejriwal: Congress won't support us, it has been one and a half months.

Garg: Okay, I will plan something.

Kejriwal: These 6 people were going towards the BJP. They can't go to the BJP because 3 among them are Muslims. So these 6 might as well support us.

Garg: Okay, I will try and do something.

Above transcript sourced from <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/aap-kejriwal-explosive-conversation-congress-audio-tape-sting/1/423302.html> on 03-April-2015

The complete audio conversation can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QBzCgRwtScM> Sourced on 03-April-2015

Exhibit 3: AAP Organization Structure

NATIONAL	National Council (NC) - consists of eminent people from the country, experts from fields as deemed by NC – 50 members - elects the National Executive from pool of NC members - highest policy-making body of AAP		National Executive (NE) - Highest executive body of AAP - Full-time party work - Not more than 30 members >7 women, >5 students, can co-opt 5 members from marginal communities, sections - One person – one post, hence can't be coordinators - Sets up National-level LokPal - Elects National PAC (Political Affairs Committee) – 7 members – supreme body in the country - Forms national level committees – Disciplinary, Grievance Redressal, Internal Disputes, etc.,	
STATE	State Council (SC) - consists of coordinators and co-coordinators of districts and blocks in State - elects the State Executive from pool of SC members		State Executive (SE) - Full-time party work - Not more than 25 members >5 women, >5 students, can co-opt 5 members from marginal communities, sections - One person – one post, hence can't be coordinators - Sets up State-level LokPal - Elects State PAC (Political Affairs Committee) – 7 members – supreme body in the State - Forms state level committees – Disciplinary, Grievance Redressal, Internal Disputes, etc.,	
DISTRICT	District Council (DC) - consists of coordinators and co-coordinators of primary and block units in district - elects the District Executive from pool of DC members		District Executive (DE) - Full-time party work - Not more than 25 members >5 women, >5 students, can co-opt 5 members from marginal communities, sections - One person – one post, hence can't be coordinators - Sets up District-level LokPal - Elects District PAC (Political Affairs Committee) - 5 members – supreme body in the District. - Forms district level committees – Disciplinary, Grievance Redressal, Internal Disputes, etc.,	
BLOCK	Block Council			Consists of all coordinators of primary units
PRIMARY	Ward Sabhas in municipalities	Gram Sabhas in villages	Chaatra Sabhas in colleges	- Elects one coordinators + co-coordinator per unit (atleast one woman) - Minimum 10 members in each unit
Levels	Units			

Sourced from <http://www.aamaadmiparty.org/organization-and-structure> on 23-April-2015

Exhibit 4: Selected excerpts from Prashant Bhushan and Yogendra Yadav's letter (March 2015)

“[on the issue of forming a government with the congress after national elections defeat] ...Soon after the results of the Lok Sabha elections, Arvind Bhai proposed that we should one again take the support of the Congress and form the government in Delhi. Despite our best efforts to dissuade him, he and some other colleagues remained adamant on this stand.... We raised this issue within the party. We urged that such a decision should be taken according to the wishes of the PAC and the National Executive. Despite these requests, a letter was sent to the Lieutenant Governor and an attempt was made to form the government.... Both of us opposed the move to form a government with the Congress, at every party forum. It was on this issue that the deep differences between us began.

[on the issue of dissolution of the political affairs committee]...There was a demand for the dissolution of the National Executive. Both of us, and a few other colleagues opposed this decision. (Yogendra ji's resignation from the PAC was related to this issue.) If we didn't oppose such unconstitutional moves, how would we have remained any different from the Congress or the BSP?

[on the autonomy of State Units]... However, the question still remains as to how such decisions should be taken in the future? Is it not correct to raise the question of autonomy of State units in a party that upholds the ideals of Swaraj?

[On party member Karan Singh's request for an investigation] ... from an ethical viewpoint if a volunteer makes an appeal for a fair investigation should the party's disciplinary committee not live up to that expectation?

[On fielding candidates with dubious histories in the Delhi 2015 elections] ... It was to uphold the principles of transparency, democracy and swaraj, on which our party was founded, that we raised these above mentioned six issues as well as several other questions. We raised these questions within only within the party and through appropriate platforms. Also, so that these questions do not create diversions or disruption of election activity we waited for the Delhi elections to end and it was only on 26 Feb 2015 in the National Executive meeting that we tabled the proposals [to address these issues]”

The complete letter can be accessed at

<http://www.firstpost.com/politics/its-over-yadav-bhushans-open-letter-to-kejriwal-suggests-aaps-headed-for-big-break-up-2176113.html>

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/260081571/An-Open-Letter-From-Prashant-Bhushan-and-Yogendra-Yadav>

Exhibit 5: Ashutosh's response to Bhushan and Yadav's letter (March 2015)

"...I am writing this letter at a time when you are raising the issue of internal democracy, transparency and Swaraj in the party, and according to you [Yogendra Yadav], the party under the leadership of Arvind has moved away from the founding principles, and it is your endeavour to bring the party back to its natural gravitational centre. In this context, I want to ask you a few questions.

1. Is it not a fact that after the dream success of AAP in December 2013, you developed an ambition to be the anchor of the party in Haryana and you went out of your way to go to Arvind and pressurised him that you be appointed the party-in-charge for the state? Is it not true that Arvind appointed you without any hesitation to the post? Now you talk about Swaraj and consultation with volunteers as cardinal principles in the decision-making process....

2. Is it not a fact that you were desperate to contest the assembly elections in Haryana and when Arvind differed with you, you became bitter? This was the time when AAP had lost the parliamentary elections badly, and our obituaries were being written in the media. And you know that Prashant and you were among the few who insisted that if AAP was to emerge as a national alternative, then the party should contest all the seats in Parliament... and he was blamed for the loss and had to bear the brunt of the media. I was expecting that one of you would have come out and taken the blame but alas, that was not to be.

3. Arvind was blamed for imposing his will on the party when he did not want to contest the assembly elections. Yes, he was opposed to it and he was of the opinion that in Haryana, we did not stand a chance, and we would end up like any other party, and the Haryana

elections would impact the Delhi elections badly. He was right. You yourself had also admitted that AAP MIGHT NOT get more than 5% vote in Haryana. You were very insistent despite that, and finally the decision was left to the national executive which declined to go with you. Later, I was amazed to hear - and it was repeated innumerable times - that it was Arvind who bulldozed the decision. Anybody who believes in internal democracy of the party would have accepted the decision of the party by majority opinion, but you did not. May I ask - is this democracy?

4. Is it not a fact that when the party lost the parliamentary elections, you insisted on a review of the defeat in Arvind's absence? He was in jail, and we all were sad; you were so insistent on the review that we all were surprised and felt bad. In fact, all of us had then said "what is the hurry?" and we should wait for Arvind to get out of jail, after which we could discuss the results threadbare. This was the time I felt it was not simple review which you were demanding - it was much more than that. Only history will judge what it was.

5. It was from this point that various stories started appearing in the newspapers which were tarnishing the image of the party and also that of Arvind. Initially, these were ignored. But later, a few suspected your hand in this. You were confronted, but you denied it every time. Finally, it was decided to catch the lie, and the phone conversation was recorded with a reporter who confessed to your role. You were confronted with proof and you had no answer. In fact, you were ready for disciplinary action, and begged Arvind for a graceful exit. You knew your political journey had reached a dead end. But Arvind and the party forgave you, and no action was initiated against you thanks to the large-heartedness of the very same Arvind whom you blame now for not behaving in a democratic way."

The full contents of the letter can be accessed at <http://www.ndtv.com/opinion/an-open-letter-to-yogendra-yadav-from-aaps-ashutosh-750286>

Exhibit 6: Bhushan's letter to Kejriwal after ouster from AAP's NE and PAC(April 2015)

"...In the National Council meeting held on the March 28, in your Convenor's address, instead of giving a review of the party's situation and the path ahead, you chose to launch an attack on Yogendra Ji, my father and me, making all sorts of false and inflammatory allegations against us. Your speech incited several Delhi MLAs- (who were invited despite not being members of the NC) to scream that we were "gaddars" who should be thrown out, and behave in the manner of hooligans. Such was the ferocity of the mob of these MLAs and others as they rushed towards my father, that he felt that he may not get out of this alive.

You did not even allow us to respond to your allegations. Immediately after your speech, in the middle of shouting and screaming by MLAs and others, Manish read out a resolution for our removal (without any chair, and without anyone allowing him to do so). He then proceeded to call for vote by show of hands without allowing any discussion, forcing us to walk out of what had clearly become a farce.

It was farcical for many reasons: Many members of the NC had not been invited or allowed to attend; more than half the people inside the meeting hall were non-members, which included MLAs, district and State convenors of four states, volunteers and bouncers; there was no orderly conduct of the proceedings for many reasons, including the hooliganism displayed by many people there; no independent videography was allowed, the party's Lokpal was not allowed, etc.

What has happened subsequent to the 28th, however, has taken the farce to a level where it seems as if a Stalinist purge is taking place in the party. The party's internal Lokpal, a person of immense stature and independence, has been removed unconstitutionally, merely because he expressed his wish to attend the National Council meeting and was seen to be fair; other members of the National Executive are being suspended, again unconstitutionally, only because they had attended a press conference held by us after the hooliganism in the National Council meeting.

Thereafter, you have ordered the release of a carefully-edited version of your speech at the National Council meeting, containing various false charges against us, and carefully editing out the portions showing the hooliganism of the mob. It is in such circumstances that I am having to write this open letter to you.

In order to respond to your charges, I would need to go back a bit to see where my serious differences started with you. If you will remember, my differences started after the Lok Sabha elections, when a series of things happened which began to show two serious defects in your character and personality. Firstly, you wanted to push through your decisions at any cost in the party, despite the majority of the PAC or the National Executive disagreeing with you. This included decisions that would have undoubtedly been very harmful for the party and against public interest. And secondly, you were willing to use some very highly unethical and even criminal means to achieve your ends.

After the Lok Sabha elections, you felt that the party was finished, and could only be revived

if it were able to form the government again in Delhi. So immediately after the elections, you started talking to the Congress party for taking its support again to form the government in Delhi. When news of this came out, a large number of important people in the party including Prithvi Reddy, Mayank Gandhi and Anjali Damania called me up saying this would be disastrous, and if this happens, they would have to quit the party...”

The full contents of the letter can be accessed at <http://www.ndtv.com/opinion/open-letter-to-arvind-kejriwal-by-prashant-bhushan-752053>

Exhibit 7: Kejriwal speech at National Executive, Delhi March 28, 2015. Selected transcripts translated to English from Hindi.

...And you please remember the state of affairs of our party after the Lok Sabha elections (debacle). You people may also have endured (taunts). Wherever we went on the road we would hear curses. I am not saying anything wrong (am I)? ...

From that state to rise and get 67 seats out of 70 - I think this is not a joking matter....

I was thinking, who got the benefit of whatever happened in the last one and a half months. Did Kejriwal become strong? Did Aam Aadmi Party become strong? Did Prashant Bhushan become strong? Did Yogendra Yadav become strong? What internal democracy has come from this? Did Swaraj (self-rule) come? All of us got a bad name. I think that seeing whatever happened in the last one and a half months, other parties will feel, friend/pal, if this is what is called inner party democracy then God forbid such inner party democracy. If this is what is called Swaraj (self-rule) then God should save us from this Swaraj....

...If I was greedy for political power then I had no need to resign from the post of chief minister. Why will we compromise? Till today in this country even if hundred people - some say that I am obstinate, they can say anything. But people of (another political party) or people of (yet another political party) cannot say that Kejriwal is dishonest. [Long applause.] But our people have doubted my honesty. (They say that) I have compromised (my principles/honesty).

I did not give a ticket to my (younger) uncle's son. I did not give a ticket to my (elder) uncle's son. I did not give a ticket to my relatives. I did not give a ticket to my friends. I did not give

tickets for money. These 70 people sitting behind (presumably those who contested the Delhi elections) I do not have any family relations with them. These people are not my kin. We examined each and every person. It has been said that for us, victory is important. Yes, we have come to win. We have not come to lose. [Applause.] Some people say again and again that victory or defeat is not important. I do not believe in such politics. 1350 parties are registered in the country. Does anybody know (all) these 1350 parties? Today they know about Aam Aadmi party because we have won. [Applause.] We have come here to win. We will win but not by dishonesty (using dishonest means). We will win by honesty (using honest means). And those people who want to do the politics of defeat they should do (engage in) politics of defeat. Those who want to do (engage in) politics of victory, (they can walk/come with us). [Applause.]

I would like to say one thing. Why did I go to Tihar (jail)? I was standing in court. The judge asked me to take bail. I said that I will not take bail. The judge then said sign a personal bond, (as you) don't (want to) take bail. I did not know what this personal bond is. I looked at Prashantji (the suffix ji indicates respect like sir). Prashantji did like this (shook his head sideways to indicate No). I said I (will not) take a personal bond. The judge said, "Arrest him and send him to Tihar (jail)". I went to Tihar (jail). I would like to say this - Prashanji, at one gesture of yours I went to jail. [Applause.]

...We have nourished this party with our blood, nourished it with our lives. I would like to say that you people take this party. Do not kill this party in this way. Do not murder it in this way. I did not come to fight with these people. My fight is with corrupt people, corrupt

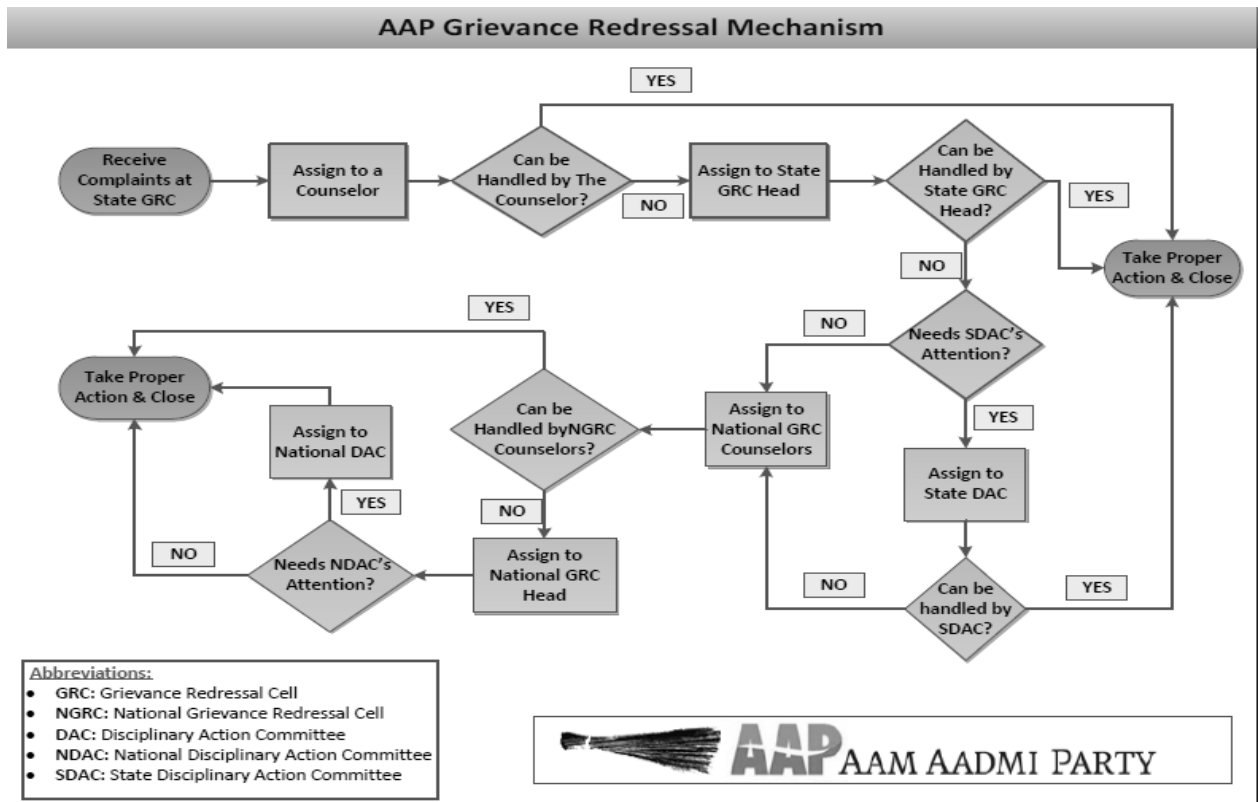
people who are outside. My fight is against the communal (communally divisive) forces of this country. I did not come here to fight with Yogendra Yadav and Prashant Bhushan. Today I accept defeat. You have won. I have come today to finish this fighting. Now I do not want to live in this fighting. Today you people will have to choose. In the last one year in all the National executive meetings, in each meeting there was fighting. In every meeting there was opposition. In all the PAC (Political Affairs Committee) meetings that would take place there would be shouting and screaming, shouting and screaming. This is not inner party democracy. This is not self-rule.

So I have come to make a request to you that today you have to choose. Either you choose me or (you choose them). [Shouting.]... I do not want to put you into a difficulty/quandary. I just - today you have to - you have a very (ahem=important?) day in front of you. You either choose these persons or you choose me. If you choose these persons then I do not want to put you into difficulty/quandary. I am leaving my (letter) resigning from national convener, PAC, NE and national council, these four (positions), with Pankaj, and going. You people have to decide. I am leaving it on you people and going....”

The Hindi transcript can be accessed at <http://ravisyermisc.blogspot.in/2015/04/aap-bitter-divide-upstanding.html>

The video released by AAP can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=efn4QWGk7fA>

Exhibit 9: Grievance Redressal Mechanism



Screenshot extracted from <http://www.aamaadmi.org/grievance-redressal-mechanism>

on 21-May-2015