

Deny Tulsi as D.N.I.

TULSI GABBARD'S RSS-BJP TIES



Why Tulsi Gabbard's ties to Hindu Nationalism make her a national security threat as D.N.I.



Top Left: Gabbard with donor Vijay Pallod, an activist for HSS, VHPA, and OFBJP



Top Right: Gabbard with RSS-BJP leader Ram Madhav, posing in India

Bottom Center: Gabbard's major donor, Bharat Barai (left), inaugurates an OFBJP event



Gabbard (2nd from left) meeting in her DC office in July 2013 (before Modi's election) meeting RSS-BJP's Ram Madhav (3rd from right) and BJP Foreign Affairs Cell Chief Vijay Jolly (far left)

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Executive Summary:

Compromised by Foreign Influence

Introduction

- **Critical National Security Role:** The Director of National Intelligence (DNI) must prioritize U.S. national security above all else. Tulsi Gabbard's deep ties to foreign nationalist movements compromise her ability to do so.
- **Proven Risk of Foreign Influence:** Gabbard's associations with India's Hindu nationalist (Hindutva) movement, including Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) paramilitary, and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), raise concerns about her allegiance to America's interests.

Background on the RSS and Modi

- **RSS Overview:** The RSS is a Hindu nationalist paramilitary organization in India that promotes the establishment of a Hindu nation through the oppression and extermination of Christians and Muslims.
- **Modi's Record:** Modi, a lifelong member of the RSS and India's Prime Minister since 2014, has been implicated in grave human rights violations, including the 2002 Gujarat massacre of 2,000 Muslims. This earned him a U.S. travel ban from 2005-2014.

Gabbard's Hindutva Ties

- **Financial Backing:** Gabbard has accepted substantial campaign donations from RSS and BJP-affiliated donors, including the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) and the Overseas Friends of BJP, a registered Foreign Agent in the U.S. Many of these donors worked to get Modi elected, even traveling from America to India to campaign for him. In exchange, Gabbard has opposed U.S. efforts to hold Hindutva accountable for human rights abuses.
- **Advocacy and Influence:** She has spoken at numerous RSS-linked events (including in India), hosted RSS-BJP representatives at her wedding, and even worn the BJP logo at OFBJP events.
- **Defender of Hindutva Ideology:** Gabbard has publicly defended Hindu nationalism as "pride in one's religion," despite its documented role in violence and oppression.

Executive Summary:

Compromised by Foreign Influence

Threat to America First Policies

- **India's Authoritarian Shift:** Under Modi, India has become increasingly autocratic, with rampant violence against religious minorities, bans on religious conversion, and systemic oppression of dissidents.
- **Transnational Repression:** India has exported its oppressive practices, including the assassination of a Canadian citizen on Canadian soil and an attempted assassination of a U.S. citizen. Such actions blatantly violate North American sovereignty.
- **Gabbard's Complicit Silence:** Her refusal to condemn these acts raises concerns that, as DNI, she would shield Modi's regime and block investigations into foreign interference.

National Security Implications

- **Compromised Leadership:** Gabbard's close ties to a foreign nationalist movement make her unfit to lead the intelligence community, which must remain independent of foreign influence.
- **Risk to Sovereignty:** Allowing someone with such connections to serve as DNI could jeopardize U.S. sovereignty and endanger American citizens.

Call to Action

- **Protect U.S. Interests:** Congress must prioritize national security by opposing Gabbard's appointment.
- **Safeguard American Sovereignty:** Rejecting this nomination sends a clear message that foreign influence in U.S. leadership will not be tolerated.

Conclusion

- **Unfit for the Role:** Tulsi Gabbard's record of prioritizing foreign interests, participating in events promoting a Hindu supremacist political movement, and defending oppressive ideologies disqualifies her for the position of DNI. Congress must act to ensure that U.S. intelligence leadership serves the American people — not foreign agendas.

Intro: Gabbard's Hindu Nationalist Ties

Tulsi Gabbard, the former U.S. Representative from Hawaii and 2020 Democratic presidential candidate, is a controversial and nebulous figure in American politics. From endorsing U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders as the progressive choice in 2016 to endorsing Donald Trump in 2024, Gabbard has proven a political chameleon whose principles and allegiances are malleable.

This can be explained by the greatest influence on Gabbard's political career: her connections to the family of Hindu nationalist organizations known as the "Sangh Parivar" and her support for Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

This dossier examines those ties and how they have shaped — and even made — her political career. These ties have NOTHING to do with religion but are explicitly and specifically about a particular ideology (Hindu nationalism) and interconnected organizations in both India and the U.S. which promote it.

The length and depth of Tulsi Gabbard's relationship with the Hindu nationalist movement suggests that she is politically compromised. As detailed in this dossier, Gabbard's oldest, largest, and most faithful campaign donors and allies 1) belong to American affiliates of the Sangh Parivar; 2) maintain intimate ties with Sangh Parivar parent groups in India; and 3) worked to get Modi elected in India as well as to promote him in America.

This also has nothing to do with U.S. political parties. As one of Gabbard's most faithful Hindu nationalist supporters, Bharat Barai, put it when questioned about backing her: *"It doesn't matter to me whether it is a Republican or Democrat."* As one of the U.S.'s chief champions of Modi, Barai's implicit message seems to be he doesn't care about partisanship but only about who will side with Modi's global agenda. Tulsi Gabbard has been that person.

Will Gabbard put American interests before those of Hindu nationalists, particularly as the Modi regime is recently accused of attempting to assassinate its critics in North America? Due to her Hindutva ties, which explicitly mean having ties to a foreign government, confirming Tulsi Gabbard as Director of National Intelligence is a threat to U.S. national security.

Background on Hindu Nationalism

Hindu nationalism, also known as Hindutva, is a political ideology that seeks to define Indian culture and identity in terms of Hindu supremacist values and beliefs. The primary organization promoting this ideology is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), founded in 1925. The RSS and its affiliated organizations, collectively known as the Sangh Parivar, advocate for the primacy of Hinduism in India and often promote discrimination and organize violence against religious minorities, particularly Muslims and Christians.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), currently led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, is the political wing of the Sangh Parivar. Modi himself has a long history with the RSS, having been a full-time worker (pracharak) for the organization before entering politics. Other major Sangh Parivar affiliates include the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP, the religious wing) and Sewa Bharati (the charitable wing).



Sangh Parivar Violence

The Sangh Parivar is implicated in many acts of communal violence in India, particularly targeting religious minorities such as Christians and Muslims.

1992 Babri Masjid Demolition and Subsequent Massacre

One of the most significant events associated with the Sangh Parivar was the mob demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on December 6, 1992. The VHP, along with other Sangh organizations, claimed the mosque was built on the birthplace of the Hindu god Ram.

A large group of activists, including members of the VHP, RSS, and BJP, demolished the 16th-century mosque, sparking widespread communal violence across India, resulting in the deaths of at least 2,000 people, mostly Muslims. The demolition was allegedly planned months in advance by top Sangh leaders.



Sangh Parivar Violence

2002 Gujarat Massacre

The 2002 Gujarat Massacre was the largest-scale anti-minority violence by the Sangh Parivar. The massacre, which lasted for several months, resulted in the deaths of up to 2,000 Indian Muslims.

Widespread allegations of state complicity in the violence included Modi, who was then Chief Minister of Gujarat. Modi was accused of condoning the violence and allowing police and government officials to direct attackers and provide them with lists of Muslim-owned properties. After the massacre, Modi was banned from the U.S., the U.K., and other Western nations.

2008 Odisha Massacre

In 2008, the state of Odisha (formerly Orissa) witnessed a series of attacks against Christians, primarily in the Kandhamal district. These attacks were led by the Sangh Parivar, including elected officials from the BJP. The violence resulted in the deaths of nearly 100 Christians, the destruction of hundreds of churches and homes, and the displacement of tens of thousands of people.



Sangh Parivar Violence

The Sangh Parivar is implicated in numerous other instances of communal violence across India. These include:

- The 1992-1993 Bombay riots, which followed the Babri Masjid demolition and claimed over 700 lives, mostly Muslims.
- The 1989 Bhagalpur violence in Bihar, where over 1,000 people were killed in riots allegedly instigated by VHP processions.
- Attacks on Christians in Gujarat and other parts of India, which intensified after the BJP came to power at the national level in 1998 and again in 2014.

Sangh Parivar organizations use communal violence to strengthen their political power base. Human Rights Watch, for instance classifies violence against Indian Christians and Muslims as a tactic used by the Sangh to encourage and exploit communal tensions for political ends.

The violence often follows a similar pattern: the use of hate speech and propaganda to inflame communal tensions, followed by coordinated attacks on minority communities. In most cases, there is evidence of state complicity, with police and local authorities either failing to intervene or actively participating in the violence.

Such violence occurs at a large-scale level every few years, but it also occurs on a daily basis via mob attacks on Church services, vigilante violence against people accused of not being “Hindu enough,” lynchings in the streets, and more.

The impact of this violence extends beyond the immediate loss of life and property. It has led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people, the destruction of places of worship and cultural heritage, and has deepened the divisions between religious communities in India.

Despite numerous investigations and commissions, most of those responsible for orchestrating and carrying out these acts of violence have not been brought to justice, contributing to a culture of impunity.

American Sangh Parivar Outfits

The Sangh Parivar has many international wings which are directly linked to the parent groups in India. These include:

- Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS, the U.S. wing of the RSS)
- Vishwa Hindu Parishad of America (VHPA, the U.S. wing of the VHP)
- Overseas Friends of the BJP (OFBJP, the U.S. wing of the BJP)
- Sewa International (SI, the U.S. wing of Sewa Bharati)
- Ekal Vidyalaya (an organization founded in the U.S. to provide “single-teacher” schools in India for indoctrinating schoolchildren in RSS ideology)

Hindutva Family of Hate

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is an all-male paramilitary organization that advances the ethnonationalist political ideology of Hindutva. It operates overseas as the Hindu SS. The HSS has taken over leadership of the Sangh Parivar (RSS Family) at points when the RSS was banned in India.



VHP / VHPA

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad advocates a militant vision of Hinduism. The VHP played a key role in the 1992 mob destruction of the Babri Masjid and subsequent riots. The VHP-America was the first Sangh group established in US in the 1970s.



ABVP / HSC

The RSS created the ABVP in India in 1948 as a student wing, and it has often used violence. The VHPA formed the US-based Hindu Students Council in the 1990s. The HSC serves as a feeder for other Hindu Right groups in America.



BJP / OFBJP



The political wing advances Hindutva in government. BJP leaders, many of whom are RSS men, have overseen a precipitous rise in human rights abuses in India. Overseas Friends of BJP solicits diasporic financial support and disseminates Hindutva propaganda abroad.

SEWA BHARTHI / INTERNATIONAL



The outreach branch focuses on outreach, including to lower caste groups and indigenous Indian communities. Sewa International and the US-based IDRF often use humanitarian crises in India to raise funds and then divert donations to Hindutva projects, like missionary efforts (ghar wapsi).

The corollaries are clear. The RSS is at the heart. The HSS is the international — and, in America, the U.S. — wing. Everything else in the Sangh Parivar (the family of Hindu nationalist organizations) springs from the RSS-HSS. Inside India, most Sangh Parivar groups openly adopt a supremacist ideology and overtly embrace the Hindutva idea of excluding non-Hindus from public life. Outside of India, most Sangh groups use a politically expedient approach of “multiculturalism” and “minority rights” to gain power in their adopted countries while implicitly supporting persecution of minorities in India itself.

American Sangh Parivar Outfits

These American “wings” of the Sangh Parivar are affiliated with their Indian counterparts in ways such as:

- American Sangh Parivar outfits like the HSS and VHPA were founded by emigrants who were originally members of the RSS and VHP in India.
- HSS and VHPA leaders often travel to India to receive training at camps hosted by the RSS and VHP.
- American Sangh Parivar outfits raise money in the U.S. before sending millions of dollars to their counterparts in India.
- Sangh Parivar leaders are frequently brought from India to tour and inspect units of the American Sangh Parivar.
- American Sangh Parivar leaders organize activities in the U.S., and also travel to India, to support election of the BJP.

Leaders of American Sangh Parivar typically hold over-lapping leadership positions with multiple organizations. Cross-pollinated leadership is common.

For example, Ramesh Bhutada is both the vice-president of HSS-USA and the chair of Sewa International — and he has also worked with OFBJP.



Gabbard donors – Ramesh Bhutada (3rd from top right), Vijay Pallod (bottom right), & Ramesh Shah (3rd from bottom right) – wear RSS uniform in India.

Overview: Gabbard's Hindutva Ties



Tulsi Gabbard wearing the BJP scarf at a June 2014 OFBJP gathering in Los Angeles

Three major pillars prove Tulsi Gabbard's extensive ties to Hindu nationalism:

- 1. Campaign Donations:** According to analysis of Federal Election Commission records, at least 105 current and former officers and members of American Sangh affiliates (including the HSS, VHPA, and OFBJP), and their families, have donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to Gabbard's campaigns since 2011.
- 2. Event Attendance and Personal Relationships:** Gabbard attended and keynoted a minimum of 12 Sangh Parivar events from 2012 to 2015, including in India. These include events for the HSS, the VHPA, and the OFBJP (the OFBJP is now registered as a Foreign Agent in America as it is directly controlled by India's BJP). She has additionally cultivated personal relationships with key Hindutva leaders.
- 3. Rhetoric/Policy:** Gabbard repeatedly used her official position to 1) roadblock attempts to criticize Hindu nationalist violence and 2) offer apologetics for Modi and Hindu nationalism in general. This includes her 2013 opposition to H. Res. 417, condemnation of a 2014 Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission hearing on the conditions in India, and 2019 apologetics for the 2002 Gujarat massacre (which left 2,000 Muslims dead at the hands of Hindutva actors) and justification of Hindu nationalism.

Campaign Financing By U.S. Hindutva

Gabbard's connections to Hindu nationalist groups and figures have translated into crucial financial and political support:

1. **Out-of-State Donations:** While serving as a U.S. representative from Hawaii, a large portion of Gabbard's campaign contributions come from out-of-state Hindutva donors, often after keynoting Sangh Parivar events.
2. **Fundraising Events:** Gabbard has been hosted at numerous fundraising events organized by Hindutva leaders which often generated tens of thousands of donations. These include events featuring major American Hindutva leaders like Bharat Barai, Ramesh Bhutada, and Mihir Meghani.

Extent of Hindutva Donations

Between 2011-2014, up to 24% per year of Gabbard's campaign donations came from identifiable Sangh and pro-Modi sources. These donations must be contextualized as often coming from donors who were simultaneously working, from America, to get Modi elected in India. Specifically:

In her first congressional campaign (2011-2012):

- Gabbard received nearly \$94,000 (about 10% of total itemized individual donations) from clearly identifiable Sangh and pro-Modi sources.
- By the end of 2012, this amount had grown to about \$190,000 out of \$923,000 total (over 20%).

In 2013, her first year in office:

- About \$112,600 of Gabbard's itemized individual donations (20.7%) came from Sangh and pro-Modi sources.
- Over \$90,000 of that was given in June and July alone.

In 2014, while running for re-election to a 2nd term:

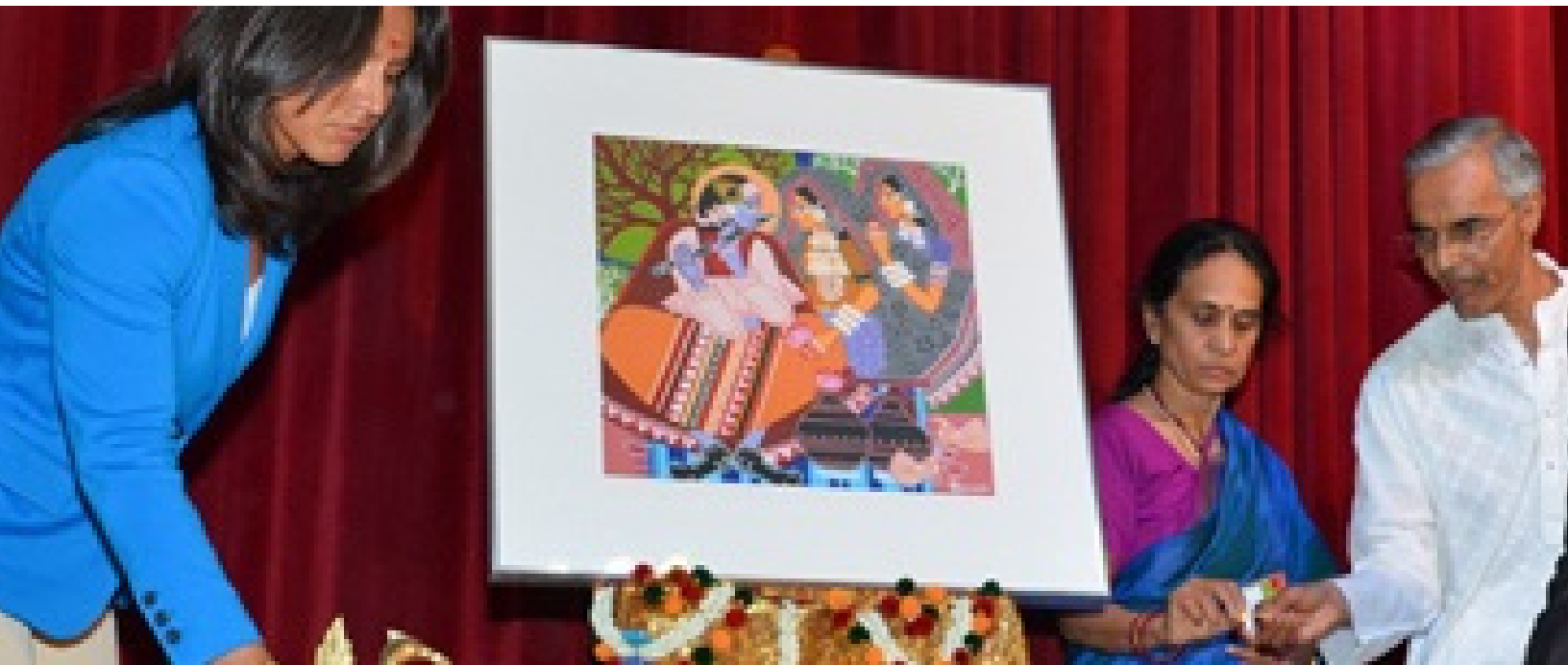
- \$123,000 of Gabbard's itemized individual donations (about 24% of the total) came from Sangh and pro-Modi sources.

The extent of financial support from Hindutva sources — *combined with her associations as well as her rhetoric and policies* — strongly suggest that, especially as she was campaigning for her reelection to a second term in 2012, she owed much of her political success to backing by the American Sangh Parivar.

Tulsi Gabbard's Key Hindutva Donors

Gabbard has received hundreds of thousands of dollars from Hindutva-linked donors to both her U.S. congressional and presidential campaigns since 2011. At one point, up to 25 percent per year of her total itemized individual campaign donations came from such sources — that point being when many of those donors were simultaneously working to elect Modi in India. Some of the top donors who are most intimately linked to Modi and the Sangh Parivar in India include the following individuals (*and their direct family members*):

- **Bharat Barai. Total: \$25,405.** Barai is a longtime executive with the VHPA. He hosted Modi in his home in Chicagoland in the 1990s, organized multiple videoconferences with Modi and American Hindutva supporters in the 2000s, led a 650-member team to India in 2014 to campaign for Modi's election, and helped organize a "rockstar reception" to host and promote Modi in New York City. He is now a registered Foreign Agent in the U.S.
- **Ramesh Bhutada. Total: \$37,400.** Bhutada is the longtime vice-president of the HSS-USA. He has hosted the chief of the RSS in his home in Houston, organized a 700-person phone-bank to call from America to India to urge people to vote for Modi, and helped organize a "rockstar reception" to host and promote Modi in Houston.



Tulsi Gabbard at an event in Houston, TX with donor Ramesh Bhutada of HSS-USA (far right).

Tulsi Gabbard's Key Hindutva Donors

- **Mihir Meghani. Total: \$47,651.** Meghani, co-founder of Hindu American Foundation (HAF), is notorious for penning a defense of the BJP's embrace of "Hindutva" as "the great Hindu nationalist ideology," spending time in India in the 1990s with RSS leaders, and serving as a leader of the VHPA. In 2013, he issued a fundraising letter mentioning Gabbard in which he indicated he was only donating to candidates who supported Modi.
- **Suhag Shukla. Total: \$11,850.** Shukla, as Executive Director of HAF, oversees an organization which has been accused of serving as an American political advocacy group for Modi. A D.C. staffer in 2014 reported that HAF was "definitely trying to undermine anyone in Washington who is critical of Modi." Suhag's husband, Aseem, has penned articles attacking Human Rights Watch for its "character assassination" of Modi in accusing him, based on evidence, of involvement in the 2002 Gujarat Massacre.



Tulsi Gabbard with Suhag Shukla (left) and her husband, Aseem Shukla (right).

Tulsi Gabbard's Key Hindutva Donors

- **Rajiv Pandit. Total: \$25,000.** Pandit is a director of HAF and a former Governing Councillor of VHPA.
- **Shekar Reddy. Total: \$16,500.** Reddy is a director with Ekal Vidyalaya, a project of the VHPA.
- **Ravi Tilak. Total: \$25,800.** Tilak has been a leader in the OFBJP's Los Angeles chapter.
- **Avadhesh Agarwal. Total: \$21,600.** Agarwal has been a leader in the OFBJP's Los Angeles chapter.



Tulsi Gabbard with donor Rajiv Pandit (right).



Donor Avadhesh Agarwal at an OFBJP event in Los Angeles.



Tulsi Gabbard (far right) with OFBJP-linked donor Ravi Tilak (far left) at the World Hindu Economic forum in Los Angeles in 2016. The forum is a project created by India's VHP and RSS.

Sangh Events and Fundraisers

Gabbard has spoken at a dozen or more events organized by the Sangh Parivar from 2012-2015 (including two in India) — as well as many Sangh fundraisers for her political campaigns. These are just a few examples:

- In August 2012, a week after winning her primary election, Gabbard spoke at her first Sangh event: a VHPA conference in San Jose, California.
- In September 2012, Gabbard attended her first Sangh fundraiser, hosted in Florida by OFBJP National Councillor Satya Shaw.
- In October 2012, Gabbard attended her second Sangh fundraiser, hosted in Texas by Vijay Pallod, who later traveled to India to campaign for Modi.
- In June 2013, Gabbard keynoted her first HSS event in Chicago.
- In October 2013, Gabbard keynoted two VHPA events in Atlanta. At the second event, one of the hosts demanded she invite Modi — who was still banned from the U.S. — to address a Joint Session of Congress.
- In November 2013, Gabbard keynoted an HSS event in Australia.

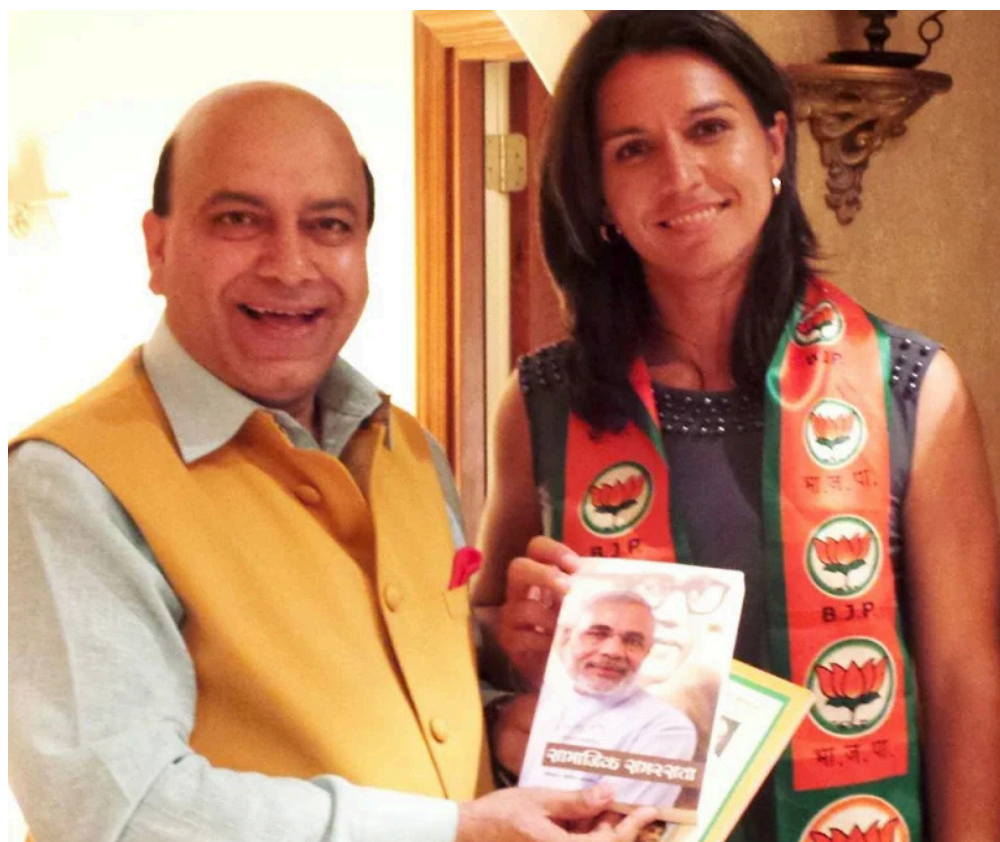


Tulsi Gabbard at an HSS event in Chicago in 2013.

Sangh Events and Fundraisers

Some of Gabbard's most significant open association with the Sangh came in 2014, immediately after Modi was elected.

- In June 2014, she keynoted an OFBJP banquet in Los Angeles celebrating Modi's election. Pictures from the event show her wearing a BJP scarf throughout. In return, she received thousands of dollars in donations from OFBJP leaders (like Ravi Tilak) as well as from the then HSS president.
- Also in June 2014, an organizer of an OFBJP event in Atlanta told his 700-person audience that Gabbard "has been doing work for you" by opposing a U.S. congressional "resolution against Narendra Modi" before his election. In return, he told them: "Open up your check books. Write a check for her because she's fighting election in 2014."
- In August 2014, Gabbard keynoted an OFBJP event in Atlanta alongside Vijay Jolly, a BJP politician from India who was then serving as head of chief of the BJP's Foreign Affairs Cell. Speaking to an audience of mostly American citizens, Gabbard praised them for their "hard work" to get Modi elected and said it only happened because of them. In return, she received thousands more in campaign donations from Sangh-linked Georgia donors.



Gabbard wearing BJP scarf and posing with then BJP Foreign Affairs Cell Chief Vijay Jolly,

OFBJP Interference in Reelection

When speaking at the August 2014 OFBJP banquet in Atlanta, which was hosted to celebrate Modi's victory in India, Gabbard was then running for reelection to a second term. At the event, which was organized to promote a foreign political party:

- OFBJP organizer Dhiru Shah, master of ceremonies, stated: "It's necessary that we support a person like Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard. And whatever the donations you make is not enough, because she needs to win."
- Vijay Jolly, then the BJP's Foreign Affairs Cell Chief, stated: "We are sure, with the support of the people of Indian origin, the non-resident Indians and, of course, the US citizens, your victory later this year is a foregone conclusion.... I'm predicting today for your victory." Jolly also compared Gabbard's electoral success to Modi's.
- Jolly noted in his speech that it was his third time meeting Gabbard, suggesting that the two had interacted repeatedly before Modi's election.
- When questioned in 2020 about wearing a BJP scarf, Gabbard responded: "Somebody put something around my neck and snapped a picture without my knowing what it was." Her answer did not reflect that she wore the BJP scarf at two separate events in two separate states, that both events were hosted by the OFBJP to celebrate the victory of the BJP, and that the picture from Atlanta was taken with her co-speaker, who is a BJP politician. Her response implies duplicity.



Gabbard with Ved Nanda (center; then president of HSS-North America) and Saumitra Gokhale (HSS's Global Coordinator). Gokhale has called Gabbard "a very close friend of the Sangh."

Intimate Relationships With Hindutva

Beyond her relationships with Hindutva as a politician, Gabbard appears to have much deeper and more intimate connections to some major Sangh figures and pro-Hindutva organizations, both those in the U.S. and from India.

- **Ram Madhav:** Madhav was national spokesperson for the RSS from 2003 to 2014, at which time he became a national spokesperson for the BJP. In 2015, Madhav flew to Hawaii to attend and speak at Gabbard's wedding. He presented her with a personal gift directly from Modi.
- **The Bhutada Family:** Vijay Pallod, the cousin-in-law of HSS Vice-President Ramesh Bhutada, was the first Sangh-affiliated donor to support Gabbard. Pallod, along with the entire Bhutada family (Ramesh, his son Rishi, and their wives) flew to Hawaii to attend Gabbard's 2015 wedding.
- **The Hindu American Foundation (HAF):** Gabbard's ties with HAF are so close that Gabbard has said, while in office, that she was in touch with them "if not on a daily basis, probably a weekly basis." Additionally, shortly before she decided to run for president, she met with HAF Executive Director Suhag Shukla in her DC office.



Bhutada Family (Rishi, 3rd from left and Ramesh, 2nd from right) at Gabbard's wedding

Rhetoric/Policy Supporting Hindutva

Gabbard's support for Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, before and after his initial election in 2014, are a foundational aspect of her political career:

1. **Opposition to Anti-Modi Resolution:** In 2013, Gabbard opposed House Resolution 417, which criticized Hindu nationalist violence like the 2002 Gujarat riots that occurred under Modi's watch as Chief Minister.
2. **Visa Ban Opposition:** Gabbard vocally opposed the George W. Bush administration's decision to deny Modi a visa in 2005 due to his alleged role in the 2002 Gujarat riots. She was one of the few members of U.S. Congress who met with BJP President Rajnath Singh in 2013 when he visited the U.S. to lobby for lifting Modi's visa ban.
3. **Personal Meetings:** Gabbard has met with Modi at least four times. She was one of the first U.S. politicians to meet with Modi after his election as Prime Minister in 2014. In that first meeting, she gifted him her childhood copy of the Bhagavad Gita. The warmth and intimacy of her welcome of Modi — after he was banned from the U.S. for nearly 10 years — indicated that she was attempting to rehabilitate his image.
4. **Pro-Modi Rhetoric:** Gabbard has consistently praised Modi, calling him an “indispensable partner” to the United States and pushing for enhanced cooperation between the two countries. In India, in 2015, she argued that there was a “lot of misinformation” about the Sangh's 2002 Gujarat Massacre. In 2019, running for president, she further justified the massacre.
5. **Defense of Hindu Nationalism:** Gabbard has argued that “Hindu nationalism” simply means “expressing pride in one's religion.”



RSS-BJP's Ram Madhav (left) speaking at Gabbard's wedding

National Security Concerns

Tulsi Gabbard's ties to Hindu nationalist groups, particularly those linked to the Indian government, are so foundational to her national political career that it makes her deeply compromised as the U.S. Director of National Intelligence. The complex interplay between diaspora politics, foreign policy, and domestic political ambitions exemplified by Gabbard's case rings alarm bells about the influence of foreign ideological movements on U.S. politicians

Some specific national security concerns — as well as concerns about the safety of Modi critics in the U.S. — include:

- 1. Foreign Influence Concerns:** This is the most obvious and fundamental concern. At the outset of her national political career, Gabbard's major political donors were people intimately involved in working to get Modi elected and promoting him abroad afterwards. They gave her money while she advocated for a pro-Modi agenda. Gabbard's choice to wear a scarf emblazoned with the BJP logo, while speaking at events hosted by an organization (the OFBJP) which later became a registered Foreign Agent, suggest — at the very least — extreme lack of discretion.
- 2. Indian-American Protests Against Gabbard:** This is a safety concern. As members of the Indian diaspora have made themselves known to Gabbard through several peaceful, First Amendment protests against her RSS-BJP ties, questions arise about the risk of retaliatory action against them.
- 3. Assassinations:** This is both a safety concern and a national security concern. After the Modi regime was accused of successfully assassinating a Canadian Sikh in Vancouver and plotting to assassinate an American Sikh in New York City, there are ongoing investigations and prosecutions by the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These incidents raise serious concerns about violation of our national sovereignty. Considering Gabbard's deep and long-standing ties to Modi, his U.S. supporters, and the Hindutva movement (all of which generally support or otherwise justify these assassinations), placing her in the D.N.I. role may compromise these investigations — and, if nothing else, Gabbard has a major conflict of interest when it comes to objectively dealing with these assassination plots.

