An excerpt from

Eleven Naked Emperors—

The Crisis of Charismatic Succession in the Hare Krishna Movement (1977-1987)

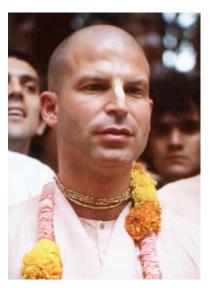
A soon-to-be-published book by

Henry Doktorski

Aftermath

"There is much to learn from those who do things wrong."— David Osborn (Swami Bhakti-Bhavan Vishnu),

Our Affectionate Guardians (1996)

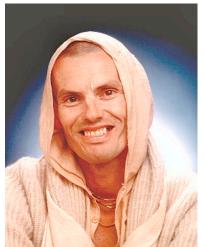


BHAGAVAN GOSWAMI (William Ehrlichman) left ISKCON in 1986 in a scandal with a woman soon after discovering that his own children from his previous marriage had been abused in the ISKCON gurukula. He explained, "The infighting between godbrothers which started seeping into our zone, the feelings of attraction that developed towards the woman I left with, the recognition of how extreme the child abuse was, the strange behaviors of many of my contemporaries in their august positions, and I suppose the sheer weight of the zonal responsibilities created the vortex for my leaving [ISKCON]."

Since then, Ehrlichman has occasionally participated in ISKCON functions. I personally heard him speak at a New Vrindaban Festival of Inspiration panel discussion about child abuse in ISKCON in 2003.

BHAVANANDA GOSWAMI (Charles Bacis) returned to Australia after he lost his ISKCON guruship. An Australian newspaper reported in June 2000 that he had retired: "Bhavananda dasa lives in Sydney and works at reception at the Hare Krishna temple in North Sydney a few days a week. He says he has retired, not having had a management position for 13 years." Today he serves as the Creative Director for the proposed Temple of the Vedic Planetarium, slated to be built at ISKCON Mayapur, India. The structure will be 350 feet tall and cost an estimated \$95 million. 4





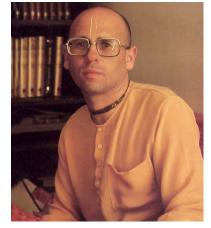
HAMSADUTTA SWAMI (Hans Kary) was stripped of his ISKCON duties and sannyasa position in 1983. After becoming addicted to alcohol and pain pills, he moved to New Vrindaban and took shelter of Kirtanananda Swami for about a year (1985-1986) for rehabilitation. He returned to California where he rented an apartment near the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic in San Francisco and enrolled in their drug rehabilitation program. Later he acquired a trailer park near Cloverdale, California, where he lived with his wife and son. Around this time, he spoke about the zonal-acharya era of ISKCON to his godbrother Kailasa-Chandra, and admitted, "We went way too far, and we couldn't pull it off."

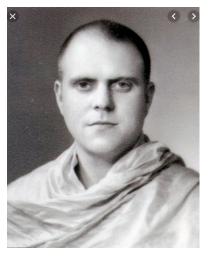
In 1993 Hamsadutta published a collection of essays, letters and articles, "Srila Prabhupada: His Movement and You," which presented arguments and evidence in support of the continuation of the disciplic succession as a ritvik, or representative of Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada. At this time, Hamsadutta directed all his former "disciples" to regard Prabhupada as their spiritual master. Today he continues to practice as a ritvik representative of Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada.



HARIKESH SWAMI (Robert Campagnola) collapsed due to stress in the summer of 1998, and soon after resigned from all ISKCON duties. The GBC accepted his resignation in 1999. Since then he has resumed the jazz/rock musical career that he had abandoned when he joined ISKCON in 1970. In 2014, Campagnola published a book, *Living Energy*, which claims to be an introduction to the process of "mystic spirituality".⁶

HRDAYANANDA GOSWAMI (Howard J. Resnick), on the order of the GBC, completed Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada's unfinished translation of and commentary on *Shrimad-bhagavatam* (which had originally been assigned to Pradyumna). He attended the University of California in 1991 as a student of World Religions. He continued his studies at Harvard University, where he received his Ph. D. in Sanskrit and Indian Studies in 1996. In 2013, he launched a project called Krishna West to help facilitate ISKCON's outreach to Western audiences.⁷



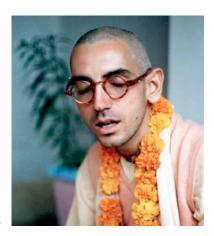


JAYAPATAKA SWAMI (John Gordan Erdman) has continued to serve as an initiating guru in ISKCON with home base in Mayapur, India. He had a serious brain hemorrhage in October 2008 and spent four months in the Bhaktivedanta Hospital in Mumbai. He returned to Mayapur in February 2009 with permanent disabilities. He reportedly has over 50,000 initiated disciples.

JAYATIRTHA SWAMI (James Edward Immel) left ISKCON in 1982 and took shelter of B. R. Shridhar Maharaja in Navadvipa.

He returned to London, where he formed a Hare Krishna splinter sect and renamed his disciples using Biblical names. During this same time period, Jayatirtha moved to Nepal with some of his disciples and formed the "Order of Pilgrims."

He was decapitated on his 39th birthday (November 13, 1987) in London by a disciple who was known as "a man on the edge with a fanatical and unpredictable streak, who proclaimed himself to be the topmost disciple." The British biweekly newspaper, *Evening Standard*, noted, "I had to rid the world of his evil,' confesses killer."



The assistant editor for the *ISKCON World Review*, Nori Muster wrote, "One of his [Jayatirtha's] followers stabbed and decapitated him in the London hardware store where he worked. Police arrested the killer, whom they found at the scene of the crime, lost in a psychotic state and holding the guru's head in his lap."

A year earlier, in 1986, Jayatirtha and about one hundred disciples lived on property owned by Atreya-Rsi surrounded by Redwood forests near the village of Philo in Mendocino County, California, about 120 miles northwest of San Francisco. (The author visited this



property with Kirtanananda Swami, Atreya-Rsi, and a few godbrothers in April 1985. At the time, Atreya-Rsi said he wanted to create a Krishna conscious farm community.) When Jayatirtha and his disciples came to live on the land, he turned it into an LSD commune.

KIRTANANANDA SWAMI (Keith Gordon Ham) was excommunicated from ISKCON in 1987. Nearly all of his disciples and followers stayed with him, except those in Africa who were reinitiated by Bhakti-Tirtha Swami. New Vrindaban and its satellite preaching centers were expelled from ISKCON in 1988. In 1991, he was convicted on racketeering charges and served two years under house arrest. He won his appeal and returned triumphantly to

New Vrindaban in 1993. A few months later, Kirtanananda Swami was observed having intimate relations with a male teenage disciple in the bed of his Winnebago van. The community split into two camps: those who believed the allegations and wanted him removed from office, and those who believed the allegations were malicious rumors and continued to worship him as acharya. Some devoted disciples announced, "Coffins should be procured for those envious demons who blaspheme Krishna's pure devotee, the spiritual master."

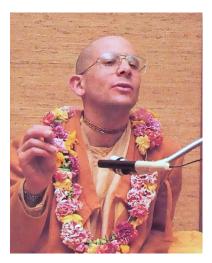
Kirtanananda Swami left New Vrindaban and retired to his cabin at Silent Mountain—a sandstone quarry near Littleton, West Virginia. In 1996, he appeared again in court and pleaded guilty to one count of mail fraud after his once-devoted disciple, Tirtha Swami, who was serving a life sentence in the West Virginia Penitentiary for the murders of Sulochan and Chakradhari, agreed to testify that ten years earlier his spiritual master had ordered him to assassinate the two dissident devotees.

Kirtanananda Swami spent eight years in Federal penitentiaries until he was released in 2004. Unwelcome at New Vrindaban, which had returned to ISKCON, he lived for four years with his faithful disciples at the Interfaith Sanctuary in the Lower East Side of Manhattan. After he allegedly attempted to fondle a young male guest in the groin, the temple board of directors tried to evict him from the building. Eventually he lost most of his last U. S. disciples.

In 2008, Kirtanananda Swami moved permanently to India where he still had many hundreds of adoring disciples and thousands of faithful followers who believed that he had been unfairly excommunicated from ISKCON, unfairly convicted in a court of law, unfairly expelled from New Vrindaban, and unfairly blasphemed by members of his own temple in New York City. In an amazing twist of mental gymnastics, his faithful followers and disciples in India and Pakistan believe the many accusations of inappropriate sexual behavior against Kirtanananda were "set up" by his enemies: the alleged victims of sexual abuse (boys and young men). They believe these boys and young men were the factual perpetrators of the crimes, and Kirtanananda was the innocent victim.

According to their understanding, the boys and young men (who faithful Bhaktipada disciples claim were ISKCON sympathizers) conspired to drug Kirtanananda with an overdose of pain medication, and in his helpless and unconscious state they sexually molested the spiritual master to defame his good name and thereby allow ISKCON to take over his assets and properties. Kirtanananda died of kidney failure in 2011. His disciples and followers are presently building his samadhi in Vrindaban and writing his biography, *Shrila Bhaktipada-lilamrita: The Nectarine Pastimes of Shrila Bhaktipada.*

In Kirtanananda's last will and testament, he designated a single successor to inherit his earthly and heavenly kingdom. "I leave all my material and spiritual assets to Madhusudan dasa . . [popularly known as Bapuji] to be used in Krishna's service in Ulhasnagar and throughout India. He will be Successor, Guru in India, Pakistan and all other centres and no one else from my side." At least one other disciple, however, claims he was also personally ordered by his spiritual master to begin initiating disciples, despite the omission of his name in the will, and he has a signed letter from Kirtanananda to support his claim. ¹⁰



RAMESVARA SWAMI (Robert Grant) resigned from ISKCON in 1986 after he was discovered having an amorous relationship with an underage gurukula girl. One of his former disciples recalled, "In 1986 was when Ramesvara, the zonal guru for Los Angeles, resigned his position and left ISKCON over his inappropriate contact with a minor-aged gurukula girl. He was also under a cloud of suspicion for drug trafficking, allegations that he helped facilitate Sulochan's murder, and a 1977 murder in Newport Beach."

After leaving ISKCON, Ramesvara returned to the business world, but has recently been involved in ISKCON activities. In the summer of 2008 he attended the annual Festival of India in Los Angeles, and met a godbrother

(Hamsavatar dasa/Howard Beckman) who had been grievously injured when Ramesvara had recommended that Hamsavatar's wife leave her husband to devote herself fully to her guru. Ramesvara seemed to have been deeply sorry, for he bowed at his godbrother's feet and begged forgiveness. Hamsavatara dasa recalled their meeting:

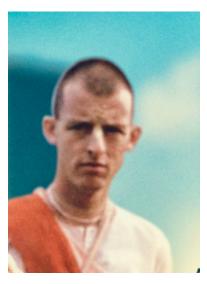
In the summer of 2008 . . . [at] the annual Festival of India held in Los Angeles, . . . I saw someone I recognized. He was the now ex-swami, Ramesvara, who had caused me so much grief back in the seventies when my first wife became one of his fanatic followers. . . . Suddenly an intense and powerful revulsion for this man welled up inside of me. As I walked over to him, we locked eyes. "Don't I know you?" he asked.

"Yes, don't you remember me?" My answer was somewhat curt. I reminded him of how he had once treated me, how he had voiced his approval for my wife to leave me to better serve him, thinking little to nothing about what my daughter's life would be like without her father's presence.

As I related my side of the story to him, he began to remember, and his eyes filled with tears, which streamed uncontrollably down his face. He bowed his head and said, "I'm so sorry. I hurt so many people. How can you ever forgive me? You can't. I know that." And then he sank down to his knees and grasped my ankles, saying repeatedly, "I'm so sorry. I'm so sorry." 12

On May 9, 2015, I attended the New Vrindaban Festival of Inspiration during which Ramesvara presented a seminar on the 1969 and 1979 BBT marathons to produce paintings for Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada's *Krishna Book* and *Bhagavad-gita As It Is.* He said he was currently working on a book on the same topic.

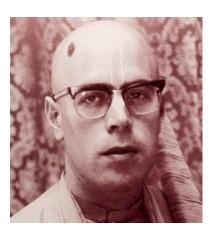
Three years later, during the summer of 2018, I happened to see Ramesvara taking prasadam sitting alone in a booth at the Los Angeles ISKCON restaurant. He wore a white dhoti and looked old and lonely. I was with a friend, and decided to spend a minute with the former ISKCON "spiritual master" after I finished lunch. Ramesvara and I had some friendly exchanges when I visited New Dwaraka some 34 years ago. However, when my friend and I had finished eating and I got up to see Ramesvara, he was engaged in what seemed to be an acrimonious conversation with someone else, so I never got to speak to him at that time.



SATSVARUPA DASA GOSWAMI (Stephen Guarino) remained a spiritual master in ISKCON and has published over 150 books, including poems, memoirs, essays, novels, and studies based on the Vaishnava scriptures. In the recent years, he has created hundreds of paintings, drawings, and sculptures in a contemporary style in an attempt to capture and express his absorption in the culture of Krishna consciousness. Others claim, however, his art reveals macabre influences.

In 2002, he suffered a physical and emotional collapse from chronic migraine headaches and agreed to cease initiating disciples. Soon after he was discovered having a romantic relationship with a female disciple. In 2012 Satsvarupa's autobiography, *The Story of My Life*, Vol. 1, was published. The "Legacy of His Holiness Satsvarupa dasa Goswami"

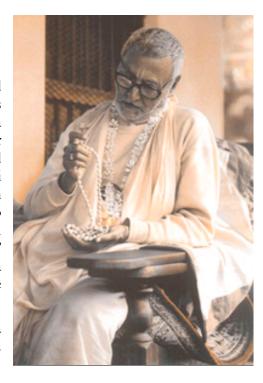
website announced his Vyasapuja observance at Stuyvesant, New York, Veterans of Foreign Wars Hall on August 24, 2019. 14



TAMAL-KRISHNA GOSWAMI (Thomas G. Herzig) continued in ISKCON as a spiritual master but died in a car crash in March 2002 at Phuliya in West Bengal, India. He had been working on his doctorate in religion at Cambridge University.

BHAKTI-RAKSAK SHRIDHAR MAHARAJA passed away on August 12, 1988. His disciples noted, "His Divine Grace Shrila Bhakti-Raksak Shridhar-Deva Goswami Maharaja departed from this world to enter into his eternal pastimes. His departure did not herald the departure of one of the great stars of the Shri Gaudiya-Vaishnava firmament, but that of the moon itself. Even the Earth herself trembled on two occasions, forecasting and punctuating the event. A divine temple, "The Temple of Union in Separation," was erected at his holy shrine at Shri Chaitanya Saraswat Math, Navadvipa, and worship will continue throughout the generations." ¹⁵

In 1996, one of B. R. Shridhar Maharaja's shishya disciples wrote a book, Our Affectionate Guardians,



which attempts to exonerate Shridhar Maharaja from any wrongdoings. In an email to the author, B. B. Vishnu Maharaja (formerly Bhavananda Raya dasa) noted, "The book, Our Affectionate Guardians, I have to say, burst from me. I had to write it. It was compelled from within. It is an explanation of who we really are. It is a part of our spiritual history and required more than a year of research to gather the facts and evidence needed to do it properly."

Six years after the publication of *Our Affectionate Guardians*, at the March 2002 GBC meetings, the GBC resolved, "That the impression that may exist in some circles that the GBC Body regards Shripada B. R. Shridhar Maharaja as responsible for ISKCON's accepting the zonal-acharya system is erroneous. . . . Any imputation that Shripada B. R. Shridhar Maharaja is responsible is wrong." ¹⁶

B. B. Vishnu Maharaja noted, "It was by [B. G.] Narasingha Maharaja's direct preaching to a three-person Iscon committee organized by Maharaja's insistent prodding, that brought about a GBC resolution. This resolution stated that Shrila Shridhar Maharaja was not responsible for the zonal acharya system. I have all the transcripts of the meetings in 1978 of the GBC with Shrila Shridhar Maharaja and the GBC only heard what they wanted to hear and neglected Maharaja's crystal clear warnings and stipulations and went ahead and did what they wanted in contrast to that. This is important as a point because most of their leaders and many devotees within Iscon continue to think and speak negatively of Shrila Shridhar Maharaja to this day. Thus the institutional *aparada* continues and this is like a cancer within which affects all of them." ¹⁷

JADURANI DEVI DASI (Judy Koslovsky-Guarino), who was beaten at New Vrindaban in 1980 for criticizing the zonal acharyas, twelve years later met Bhaktivedanta Narayana Maharaja, who claimed that Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, prior to his passing in 1977, requested him to "give his association to his Western disciples and help them to understand the deep truths of the Vaishnava philosophy in the line of Shrila Rupa Goswami Prabhupada." 18,19



Jadurani became inspired to serve Bhaktivedanta

Narayana Maharaja and his mission. She began illustrating her shiksha guru's books and now goes by the name Shyamarani devi dasi. She is still involved in preaching and has written 25 articles published on the Bhaktivedanta Memorial Library website. In 1996, the GBC issued a paper—"Keeping Faith with Shrila Prabhupada"—that declared, "those who keep faith with Shrila Prabhupada cannot follow H. H. Narayana Maharaja." When I asked her if she would allow me to interview her for this book, she politely declined.



KAILASA-CHANDRA DASA (Mark Goodwin), after serving as Sulochan's editor in the summer of 1985, traveled to the Berkeley temple and briefly affiliated with, in its formative stages, what he hoped could become a Krishna revolution. However, after two prominent ISKCON leaders in the Bay Area (who had asked him to join them there) accepted institutional guru status from the GBC in early 1986, Kailasa-Chandra opted to continue his preaching elsewhere.

He moved to the Mount Kailasa ashram in the foothills of Lake County, California on the invitation of Eric Johanson (then known as Vrindaban-Chandra Swami). The two founded *The*

Vaishnava Foundation, a forum dedicated to presenting "the philosophy of Krishna consciousness as it was presented most recently by our spiritual master, His Divine Grace A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada," with a special focus on "the need to discriminate between sentimentally-driven Krishna consciousness and Krishna consciousness which is actually based on the instructions of the previous spiritual masters."

Kailasa-Chandra has never claimed to be, nor acted as, a diksha-guru, but instead simply as an initiated brahmin and representative preacher for Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada and Krishna. Since the late 1980s, he has given seven Vaishnava Foundation members Sanskrit names, but has not initiated any disciples. In the early 1990s he moved to Newton County in Arkansas.

Today Kailasa-Chandra lives in a cabin on seventeen acres of land deep in the woods in the rugged Boston Mountains of the Arkansas Ozarks. Although mostly living in seclusion, he is an active preacher and serves as leader of the Vaishnava Foundation, a writer of philosophical articles (especially for the website "Rebuilding Krishna Consciousness from the Ground Up: Return to Square One,")²⁴ and a counselor to devotees who visit him at his ashram and also to those who correspond from a distance by electronic methods of communication. Kailasa-Chandra conducts a weekly conference call via SKYPE for members of the Vaishnava Foundation.



PRADYUMNA DASA (Paul H. Sherbow) was forced out of ISKCON, and entered into an academic career after receiving a degree in Middle Eastern Studies from Columbia University. He serves as a senior researcher at the International Secretariat of the World Conference of Religions for Peace (WCRP), a global, multi-religious organization. He also teaches Hinduism at Rutgers University in New Jersey. His papers and articles have been published in scholarly publications from Oxford and Columbia Universities, the *Journal of Vaishnava Studies*, and

Nama-Rupa Journal.²⁵

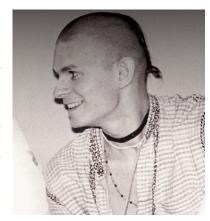
At the March 1999 GBC meetings, an apology was offered to Pradyumna, who twenty-one years earlier had tried to warn his godbrothers and sisters about the inherent instability of the zonal-acharya system and who had been subsequently shunned by the society. The GBC regretfully noted:

The GBC Body extends its heartfelt apologies to Shriman Pradyumna dasa Adhikari for any offences caused in its dealings with him in 1978-9. During this period Pradyumna Prabhu wrote to the GBC via Satsvarupa dasa Goswami warning them of serious repercussions with the zonal-acharya system in his letter dated 7th August 1978. Unfortunately Pradyumna Prabhu's good advice was not taken seriously. In retrospect the GBC Body and ISKCON could have benefited greatly by heeding his well-meant and pertinent observations.

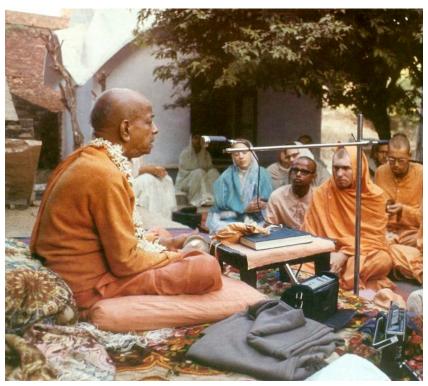
Although it is now many years hence, we nevertheless wish to state publicly that we sincerely regret the actions and words of the GBC Body that contributed to his leaving his active service in ISKCON. We unreservedly and humbly beg the forgiveness of Pradyumna Prabhu for any offences caused to him by our dealings.²⁶

At the same March 1999 GBC meetings, an apology was offered to "the followers of Shrila Prabhupada who were offended or hurt by our past decisions resulting in the excesses and abuses of the zonal-acharya system and its ongoing ramifications." When I contacted Pradyumna by e-mail and asked for an interview for this book, he politely declined.

RAVINDRA-SVARUPA DASA (William H. Deadwyler, III) retired from his position as Philadelphia temple president and GBC member. He and his wife moved to Potomac, Maryland, where he intends to continue scholarly pursuits such as research and writing. He lectured on *Shrimad-bhagavatam* during the 2015 New Vrindaban Festival of Inspiration, and presented two seminars titled, "Shrila Prabhupada as the Soul of ISKCON," and "The Way Up is the Way Down: Becoming Lower than the Straw." He very generously spoke with me for about an hour during the 2015 Festival of Inspiration at New Vrindaban, but since then, has not responded to my efforts to communicate with him.



YASHODANANDAN SWAMI left ISKCON in 1983 and went to law school. In 1992 he moved from Canada to California where today he works as a paralegal and preaches the Ritvik System with the Los Angeles Hare Krishna Society.²⁸ He asked me not to reveal his legal name in this book.



His Divine Grace A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada giving a lecture on *Nectar of Devotion* (Radha-Damodar temple courtyard, Vrindaban, India: October 1972). Yashodananda dasa Brahmachari, with chadar covering his head, sits behind the microphone stand.

End Notes

- ¹ William Ehrlichman (Bhagavan), cited at "Bhagavan Das, ACBSP," http://www.bhagavanacbsp.com/biography2.php (accessed April 16, 2015).
- ² Martin Daly, "Peace, love tainted by shame," *The Age*, Melbourne, Australia (June 18, 2000), http://surrealist.org/gurukula/articles/theage.html (accessed April 16, 2015).
- ³ Temple of the Vedic Planetarium, http://tovp.org/about-us/meet-the-team/ (accessed June 8, 2015).
- ⁴ Nirguna devi dasi, TOVP Seva Office, ISKCON Mayapur, e-mail to the author (June 9, 2015).
- ⁵ Hamsadutta, cited by Kailasa-Chandra, "They Ignored Their Limitations," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fkn8NY6McEs (accessed February 3, 2019).
- ⁶ "Living Energy," http://www.amazon.com/Living-Energy-Robert-Campagnola/dp/1496139704/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1430141236&sr=8-1&keywords=%22robert+campagnola%22 (accessed April 27, 2015).
- ⁷ Website of Howard J. Resnick (Hrdayananda Goswami), http://www.hdgoswami.com/about/h-d-goswami (accessed April 16, 2015).
- 8 Nori Muster, Betrayal of the Spirit, 168.
- 9 "Documentary On Shrila Bhaktipada and Bapuji, Part 5 of 5, Yaadon Ka Safar," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NWzWnflY9zY (accessed May 3, 2014).
- ¹⁰ Keith Gordon Ham (Kirtanananda Swami), letter to Rama Krishna Swami from Silent Mountain (c. 1995-1996) posted on http://www.prabhuji.net/en/teachings/images/prabhuji/?GalleryID=175 (accessed August 17, 2014).
- ¹¹ Nori J. Muster, *Child of the Cult* (2012).
- ¹² Howard Beckman (Hamsavatar), Tempting the Devil in the Name of God, 370-371.
- ¹³ "I have sometimes acted wrongly. . . . Out of lust, I misbehaved and committed adultery." Stephen Guarino (Satsvarupa dasa Goswami), *The Story of My Life*, Vol. 1 (2012), 262.
- ¹⁴ http://www.sdglegacy.com.
- ¹⁵ The International Pure Bhakti Yoga Society website, http://ShrilaShridhargoswamiMaharaja.blogspot.com (accessed February 2, 2019).
- 16 "MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ISKCON, GBC SOCIETY, SHRI DHAM MAYAPUR (MARCH 1-12, 2002), http://www.dandavats.com/wp-content/uploads/GBCresolutions/GBCRES02.htm (accessed June 16, 2015).
- ¹⁷ David Osborn (B. B. Vishnu Maharaja), email to the author (June 16, 2019).
- ¹⁸ "Shrila Bhaktivedanta Narayana Goswami Maharaja" http://www.purebhakti.com/teachers/bhakti-yoga-masters/791-shri-shrimad-Bhaktivedanta Narayana-gosvami-Maharaja.html (accessed April 14, 2015).
- ¹⁹ A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada's request to Narayana Maharaja to help his disciples is confirmed in "Transcendental Nectar of the Month: Diary of the Personal Secretary to His Divine Grace Shrila Prabhupada" (September 1977), p. 9, which states, "When Narayana Maharaja finally arrived, Prabhupada began to speak to him. . . . Prabhupada asked that he look after his disciples. "They don't have anything hereditary. They are born in mleccha and yavana family. Whatever I could I taught them and they are also doing with their full capacity. If you all work jointly then, the whole world is there.""
- ²⁰ About Shyamarani devi dasi, http://www.purebhakti.com/teachers/bhakti-yoga-teachers/757-shrimati-Shyamarani-devi-dasi.html (accessed April 14, 2015).
- ²¹ See http://www.bvml.org/contemporary/index.htm#15 (accessed April 28, 2016).
- ²² "Official ISKCON GBC Paper on Narayana Maharaja," http://www.harekrishna.org/gbc/themes/narayana7.htm (accessed April 14, 2015).
- ²³ See http://www.therealexplanation.org (accessed April 20, 2016).
- ²⁴ http://returntosquareone.com (accessed April 4, 2015).

²⁵ "Mr. Paul H. Sherbow: Yoga Teacher," http://www.zoominfo.com/p/Paul-Sherbow/36342555 (accessed September 2, 2015).

²⁶ 1999 GBC Resolutions, http://gbc.iskcon.org/2012/03/18/1999/ (accessed April 12, 2015).

²⁷ 1999 GBC Resolutions, http://gbc.iskcon.org/2012/03/18/1999/ (accessed April 12, 2015).

²⁸ The Hare Krishna Society website can be found at: http://krishnaconsciousnessmovement.com.