

दोस्तों,

चंदू ने एन0डी0ए0 छोड़ने के बाद 17 वर्ष की आयु में अपनी माँ की एक छात्रा में लिजा था -

मुझे इस सामाजिक व्यवस्था से आतंरिक दुःखनी है क्योंकि मैंने इसकी दी हुई प्रताड़नाओं को भोगा है और तुम्हें भी, अपनी माँ को भी घुटते देखा रहा हूँ। इस व्यवस्था ने हमें 35 साल में कुछ भी नहीं दिया, सिवाय एक मजबूत बुर्जुवा वर्ग के जो हमें और भी नोच-खसोट रहा है। हमको किसी की सामाजिक आर्थिक या राजनैतिक सुरक्षा नहीं दी गई है। अगर कोई कमजोर को मार देता है तब सब आँख मूंद लेते हैं। परन्तु किसी मजबूत आदमी को मार देने पर हंगामा हो जाता है। आखिर हमें अपना संवैधानिक अधिकार भी तो नहीं मिल रहा, आजादी के लिए हम यँ ही तो नहीं लड़े थे। हमने चाहा था एक देश जहाँ सब सुखी हों, क्या यही तो सुख है? मामला बहुत पेचीदा है, लिखने पर पन्नों की गिनती नहीं रहेगी। चिन्ता की कोई जरूरत नहीं, एडमिशन तो लेना ही है, काम भी होगा। शायद तुम भी किसी दिन गोकी के उपन्यास "मा" की कैरेक्टर बनाओ और मैं तुम्हारा बेटा उसका नायक, जो कभी भी सड़ी हुई व्यवस्था से समझौता नहीं करता। "

ऐसे व्यक्ति को चंद हत्यारे खत्म नहीं कर सकते। चंदू को ज़िन्दा रखने के लिए हममें से कई कुरबान हो सकते हैं। पूरे देश व्यापी आन्दोलन को जे0एन0यू0 की छात्राओं- और छात्रों ने ताठियों-गोठियों को झेलते हुए बहुत बड़ा सहारा दिया क्योंकि चंदू के दिल की धड़कन को सबसे नजदीक से हमी ने महसूस किया था। जहाँ दूसरे विश्वविद्यालयों के लोग उस शहीद की तस्वीरें माँग रहे हैं की वे अपने छात्र संघ में टाँग सकें, वहीं जिना छात्र संघ के चन्द्रशेखर तीन साल पदाधिकारी रहे उस छात्रसंघ भवन में आज भी उनकी कोई तस्वीर नहीं है। मत भूलिये की यूनेस्को भवन में मार्क्स, अम्बेडकर, भगतसिंह और जयप्रकाश नारायण की तस्वीरें अपने फर्शों से बाहर निकल कर ज़िन्दा सावाल बनकर आपसे पूछेंगी - "बोलो। चन्द्रशेखर कहाँ है।" दिवारें आपको घेर लेंगी, एक शहीद की स्मृति का हिसाब माँगेगी।

राजनीतिक भिन्नता पर काबू पाते हुए जे0एन0यू0 स्टूडेंट्स को-ओरडीनेशन कमेटी ने छात्राओं और छात्रों के बीच इस मुद्दे पर सर्वानुमति बनाई, शानदार मिशन कायम की। आज भी उसी जज़बे की जरूरत है। विदेशों में जहाँ कहीं भी जे0एन0यू0 के छात्र-छात्राएँ आगे की पढ़ाई करने गये हैं, उन्होंने अपनी क्षमता भर आन्दोलन में योगदान किया। चन्द्रशेखर स्मृत आन्दोलन के पटना, उदयपुर, मद्रास, बम्बई, कलकत्ता में हुए कन्वेंशनों में बुद्धिजीवियों छात्रों, कलाकारों का अपार समर्थन मिलता है। हम चाहते हैं कि इस पूरे आन्दोलन को संसद से अपराधियों को निकाल बाहर करने और रोजगार के मौलिक हक के लिए एक राष्ट्र-व्यापी क्रांतिकारी उभार में तबदील कर दें। वही चन्द्रशेखर को सच्ची श्रद्धांजली होगी। चन्द्रशेखर भा0क0पा १०माते११, आईसा और जे0एन0यू0 की अपनी पहचान से आगे निकल गया है। वे अब दूसरी आजादी की लड़ाई के प्रतीक बन चुके हैं। जिन संगठनों से उनका सम्बन्ध रहा, वे खुद भी कतई नहीं चाहेंगे की चन्द्रशेखर के कद को सीमित किया जाए। किन्तु चन्द्रशेखर की शहादत को जब कुछ तत्वों ने बिहार में उनकी की पार्टी के खिलाफ हस्तोत्थान करने की कोशिश की तो उन्हें मुँह की खानी पड़ी। चन्द्रशेखर की याद यूनेस्को बाजी, चुनावबाजी, हार-जीत

जीवान में हात्ता यह है कि शहाबुद्दीन को उन मुकदमों में जीवान कोर्ट ने जमानत दे दी है जिनमें जमानत हाई कोर्ट से पहले मिल ही नहीं सकती। दूसरी ओर भा0क0पा0 माले के तमाम नेताओं को फर्जी अपराधों में जेल भेजा जा रहा है। राष्ट्रीय जनता दल ने दमनचक्र चला रखा है। चुन-चुन कर इस पार्टी के जिला सचिवों को जेल के सीखियों के पीछे डाल दिया जा रहा है। वे इस पार्टी को फिर से अण्डर-गराउन्ड होने के लिए मजबूर कर देना चाहते हैं ताकि फर्जी मुठभेड़ों में वे उन्हें मार सकें। माले के द्राँतिकारी नेता अमरनाथ यादव पिछले दो सातों से जेल के भीतर हैं। उनकी जमानत के लिए सुप्रीमकोर्ट में अर्जी खुद चन्द्रशेखर ने दी थी। उस मुकदमे को वे ही देख रहे थे।

संसद से शहाबुद्दीन जैसे अपराधियों को बाहर निकालने के लिए चन्द्रशेखर स्मृत आन्दोलन 31 अगस्त, को दिल्ली में एक राष्ट्रीय कन्वेंशन आयोजित कर रहा है। इस कन्वेंशन की मुख्य मांग है कि प्रतीक स्वरूप संसद से शहाबुद्दीन की सदस्यता को खारीज किया जाए। देश भर में हस्ताक्षर अभियान इसके लिए चल रहा है। हम संसद में भारी-भरकम बहस करने वाले, अपने को लोकतन्त्र समर्थक बताने वाले, अपराध, सामप्रदायिकता और भ्रष्टाचार का विरोध करने वाले सांसदों को इस मुद्दे पर अपनी चुप्पी तोड़ने के लिए बाध्य करेंगे। तमाम बुद्धिजीवी, कलाकार, नागरेक एवं मानवाधिकार संगठन, रीपादक, छात्र-छात्राएँ, राजनैतिक विचारक, सांसद और स्वयंसेवी संस्थाओं के लोगों से हमारी अपील होगी कि इस कन्वेंशन में आयें। हमारे आन्दोलन का दायरा संकीर्ण नहीं है। महिला और दलित मुक्ति लोकतन्त्र, जनवाद नागरिक समाज, आजादी, सामाजिक न्याय और धर्म-निरपेक्षता में जो भी संगठन या व्यक्ति विश्वास करते हों उनका सहयोग हमें चाहिए।

मुम्बई में दलितों की हत्या से लेकर मद्रासों, आदिवासीयों और दिल्ली में मजदूरों का विस्थापन, यह सभी स्वात, ये सभी संघर्ष हमारे अपने ही संघर्ष हैं। लेकिन जिस आस लड़ाई में हम आज की तारीख में समरूप हैं, उसे मुकामिल किये वगैर हम चाह कर भी अपनी ताकत उन मजदूरों के हक में नहीं लगा पायेंगे। बड़े दुश्मन का मुकाबला करने के लिए, एक लक्ष्य के लिए अलग-अलग रास्तों पर काम करने वालों को साथ आना ही पड़ता है, यह नियम है। आपसी बिब्रताव का नतीजा किन ताकतों को मजबूत करता है, इसे जे0एन0यू0 के छात्र-छात्राएँ अपने अनुभव से जानते हैं, उन्हें बताने की जरूरत नहीं है।

जो जितने भी कदम हमारे साथ इस लड़ाई में चले, हमें उनका आभार मानना चाहिए। भले ही कोई हमारी अपेक्षाओं पर पूरा उतरा न उतरे लेकिन जितना भी वह आये, एक पूरी व्यवस्था को बदलने के लिए, एक नया इन्साना समाज रचने के लिए उसका छोटा से छोटा सहयोग भी अमूल्य है।

चन्द्रशेखर की माँ का आँचल अपने शहीद बेटे के खून से रंग कर परचम बन गया है। चन्द्रशेखर स्मृत आन्दोलन इसे ही तहरा रहा है ताकि एक आदमखोर व्यवस्था के खिलाफ बगावत का सहलाब उमड़ सके।

आजादी के इस पचास सालों में देश की सम्प्रभता बेची गई है, दलितों और अकालियतों, औरतों और बच्चों का कत्लेआम हुआ है। भूख, निर्धनता और अशिक्षा के दावानल पर बैठे भ्रष्टाचारी राज कर रहे हैं। अम्बेडकर और भातासिंह ने ऐसी आजादी पर स्वाँलिया निशान लगाये थे। फिर से याद करें 17 वर्षीय चंदू के शब्द "इस व्यवस्था ने हमें पौतल सात में कुछ भी नहीं दिया, सिवाए एक मजबूत दुर्जिआ वर्ग जो हमें और भी नौच-खाँट रहा है।"

संयोजन समिति

चन्द्रशेखर स्मृत आन्दोलन, नई दिल्ली

AISA salutes JNU students for their historic demonstration yesterday.

Yesterday students faced brutal police repression of their peaceful protest and marched unitedly and in huge numbers in the streets of Delhi, raising their voice against the repressive Indian State. This demonstration, historic and unprecedented in JNU's and Delhi's history, was a fitting tribute by the JNU student community to Com. Chandrashekhar. JNU students who sustained injuries have refused to see themselves as victims, and instead have perceived themselves as brave fighters in a historic movement. AISA salutes this struggle and calls upon the JNU community to prove to the Indian State that repression can't crush any movement, but will infact intensify it.

All over the country various spontaneous demonstrations and protests have been taking place - in Patna, Assam, Uttarakhand, Andhra Pradesh, etc.. All over the country democratic citizen groups, students and trade unions are eagerly waiting to participate vigorously in the movement. JNU's task at this juncture is crucial. This nation-wide movement must be coordinated and must be taken to a decisive height. For this purpose a centre needs to be created from which we reach out to the entire city and the country. A possible spot can be around Mandi House, where artist, intellectuals and others can join our movement in the shape of an indefinite dharna.

In addition the Parliaments' session on 11th April is the only occasion on which we can register a country-wide protest against an institution which represents the Indian State. Governments may come and go, but the repressive State remains and therefore, it is important to march to Parliament on 11th April. This nation-wide struggle should further register its protest on the streets of Siwan where Com. Chandrashekhar was martyred. AISA calls upon JNU students to rally to Siwan in large number on the 15th April, to participate in a Public Meeting at J.P. Chowk, and to show the rulers of Bihar that their elimination of Chandrashekhar can't shake the democratic aspirations of students and toiling masses. The movement under the leadership of JNUSU has by now reached a militant and vigorous height. AISA has confidence that JNUSU, recognizing the revolutionary and courageous spirit of the JNU students community, will live upto its responsibility of leading this historic struggle.

Sd/-
Kavita Krishnan,
President, AISA, JNU

Sd/-
Tanvir Fazal
Gen. Secy. AISA, JNU

JNU STUDENTS CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE

THE FIGHT HAS JUST BEGUN

8.4.1997

Our movement has transformed each one of us. Isolated and insignificant otherwise, the collective struggle of the last few days has given us a new dignity, a new confidence and meaning to our mundane existence.

Over the last few days our struggle has been able to challenge the repressive state machinery heroically. Our movement has braved the lumpen goondas of Laloo, forced the spokesperson of the government to face us on the streets, and pledged to carry on the fight inspite of the merciless lathi-charge near Prime Minister's residence.

But how to carry forward this struggle?

We have witnessed and complied with the suggestions of the JNUSU Council right from the start of the struggle. After the lathi charge on us we have seen only silent processions within the campus, condolence meetings both within the campus and at the City Centre. Virtually two days of void within the movement during which the JNUSU took up nothing concrete. Neither an agitation or protest programme nor even the promise of a delegation meeting the Prime Minister. And eventually another procession to Raj Ghat which obviously did not materialize at all.

Friends, over the last five days the Co-ordination Committee had been continuously suggesting the Dharna at Mandi House and march to the Parliament as concrete action-plans enjoying the consensus of the struggling students (more than 800 signatures were collected in its support). But the Union blatantly denied to discuss any such step for furthering the movement. Instead, last night it even refused to show the resolutions taken up by the council with regard to the movement, in violation of JNU convention.

And on top of it, they have called another UGBM (as per their communication to the Committee) that will result in another whole day of deliberations and, as the design seems to be, consequently inaction. But let us stand by the JNUSU. Let us come to UGBM and question the office-bearers about why they feel like raking up settled questions time and again. Friends, should we not be vigilant and not let the government slip away with just another order for enquiry that can lapse without being implemented as always happens. And what about the rest of our demands?

Immediate arrest of all the killers of Chandrashekhar, judicial enquiry into the firing at Bihar Niwas and arrest of Sadhu Yadav and his goons, enquiry into the Police atrocities on students invited by the PM, and resignation of Laloo Yadav.

Friends more than 200 students have started the Dharna at City Centre, Mandi House, as the movement for justice and democratic rights which the system tramples every moment. Infact human rights organisation and cultural activists as well as students from Jamia, DU, AMU have all started participating in our movement at the Dharna site.

We appeal to the entire JNU community, teachers, karamcharis and the JNUSU to come and join the movement to its logical end. Let us, for once, forego the usual rhetoric, petty political squabbles and articulate a real and formidable challenge to the present unjust system. Come join us at the Dharna at the City Centre and let us march to the Parliament on the 11th April, united and together.

We shall fight! We shall Win!

LET US SIT IN AT MANDI HOUSE AND PREPARE A
MARCH TO PARLIAMENT ON APRIL 11.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TILL NOW

- Chandrashekhar is killed in Siwan on March 31st by goons of the Janata Dal.
- JNU students march to Bihar Niwas on March 31st in protest and get shot by Laloo's henchmen.
- JNU students demonstrate at Jantar Mantar, seek an audience with the Home Minister and are denied any appointment.
- A co-ordination committee is formed to carry the struggle along with the leadership of the JNUSU. A huge demonstration goes to the UP steering committee office, force Jaipal Reddy to come out and grills him.
- JNU students come out in huge numbers and block ITO and Delhi gate with massive peaceful blockades.
- JNU students go with a large peaceful procession to meet the PM and are brutally attacked by RAF, police, with water cannons and lathis.
- More than 70 students remain critically injured but undeterred in their determination to carry the struggle forward.

Friends, the movement has reached a critical stage when JNU students have led a powerful and non violent movement in the streets for five continuous days under the leadership of JNUSU. We have at hand various suggestions for the movement, among which are organised silent marches within the campus, taking delegations to the President, Vice-President and other major personalities and functionaries.

We stand by all these suggestions as proposed by the JNUSU, JNUTA and JNUKS and expect more such suggestions for joint movement. But does it suffice to silently demonstrate within the campus? Especially at this stage when the movement has reached the streets, posited itself as a powerful non-violent movement against not only Chandrashekhar's death but the entire issue of criminalisation of politics, the willful destruction of all democratic norms and practices by the state structure, be it governed by any political party or organisation.

Are we repeatedly going to be mute witnesses as one after another of our friends, fellow students get killed?

The CBI inquiry does reveal the pressure we can exert on the system and Laloo, but to make it really effective we have to keep up the pressure for attaching a TIME LIMIT to it as well as press with the rest of our demands.

It is time to draw on the support being offered to us by different section of society in different parts of the country, who over the past five days have been asking for a platform where they can publicly declare their support. Mandi house is a central public place with the JNU city centre nearby as infrastructure we can draw upon.

A student movement must recognise its moment of strength, where it has roused trade unions, Universities, NGOs, women's groups, cultural groups, democratic rights groups to protest jointly against the kind of politics which resulted in Chandrashekhar's murder. This is a call for us to try and form the nodal point around which civil society will assemble and carry this democratic and peaceful movement forward.

LET US CONTINUE OUR NON VIOLENT PEACEFUL STRUGGLE BY STARTING A SIT-IN AT MANDI HOUSE TOMORROW, A PLACE WHERE FRIENDS STRUGGLING WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE CAMPUS CAN REACH OUT AND A PEACEFUL POWERFUL MOVEMENT CAN BE CARRIED OUT TILL THE END.

We are convinced that the JNUSU will provide us its able leadership as it has been doing till now. Let us move to Mandi House tomorrow, start the dharna and chart the concrete programme of action to culminate in a massive march to THE PARLIAMENT ON THE 11th.

FRIENDS OF CHANDRASHEKHAR

AISA
CPI(ML) LIBERATION FOUNDATION DAY
WHY WE NEED AN M-L POLITICS TODAY

22.4.1997

22nd April 1969 was the historic day on which a third stream of the Indian Communist Movement, crystallised into a Party, and the CPI(ML) Liberation was born. On this day, it was declared to the world that 'Naxalbari' was not a mere "peasant uprising" in a remote village in N. Bengal, which time would reduce to a heroic and futile myth. In fact it was a prelude to a successful communist revolution in India. In 1969, the CPI(ML) Liberation was established, in response to the need for a communist party which would fight all compromising trends and would carry forward the revolutionary task of the communist movement.

CPI(ML) Liberation emerged as a fundamental critique of the tradition of the communist movement as it existed up to the CPI & CP(M). The CPI, and even the CPM despite its initial revolutionary phrasemongering tailed behind a variety of centrist forces. This was due to their understanding that there were progressive sections within the Indian ruling class, with which the left should align in the task of democratic revolution. The CPI (ML) in a decisive break from the CPI-CPM, characterised the Indian State as semi-feudal and semi-colonial. It recognised the comprador nature of the Indian Bourgeoisie, and never retained any illusions about "progressive" sections of the ruling class.

The M-L movement has been branded a terrorist group by the State, and a "Robin Hood" armed squad by others. But none of this labeling can contain the revolutionary potential of this stream. On the level of tactics, the ML has passed through a series of experiments. But it has never suffered any confusion regarding the political nature of its task, which is to assert the independent path of the revolutionary Indian Left.

Today, the critical importance of the Third stream is clear as never before. In 1967, 1969, 1977, 1989, the opportunist left repeatedly tailed behind various centrist formations. In 1996, this tailist politics reached absurd heights, with Jyoti Basu stating that it was the CPM's 'historic blunder' not to head the UF Government. A Govt. in which the left in all matters, remained the tail of the 'social justice' forces which took dictation from the Congress.

The CPI-CPM's belief in the progressive nature of the 'social justice' forces stands firm even in the face of the JD- sanctioned massacres of Dalits and the murder of youth like Chandrashekhar. Even if the CPM admits that Laloo is responsible for these, they are unwilling to call for his resignation, for fear that the BJP might benefit. This so-called left is unable to recognise where the right-wing and the 'progressive' ruling class coincide, even when the BSP forms government with BJP, or when Laloo and the BJP together fund and protect the Ranvir Sena.

The Third Stream has repeatedly called for left unity, which is the need of the hour, if there is to be an independent left assertion. In the crisis generated by the tensions between the politics of a fake 'social justice', and a fascist reorientation of the ruling class, the development of a Mass Bolshevik Party is the only answer. And CPI-ML Liberation stands firm by its task of developing such a party.

sd
Kavita Krishnan
President, AISA, JNU.

sd
Tanweer Fazal
G.Secretary, AISA. JNU.

***ARREST SADHU YADAV
*ENQUIRY INTO POLICE ATROCITIES ON PROTESTING STUDENTS
AT PM'S RESIDENCE
JOIN THE DEMO. AT POLICE HQ (ITO) ON 23RD APRIL**

Friends: Our movement has reached a crucial stage. We cannot forget that none of our demands have been met in actuality. Immense popular opinion and peoples' pressure has accumulated against Sadhu Yadav who fired at peacefully protesting students at Bihar Niwas. But the FIR filed by JNU students against Sadhu Yadav has been conveniently pushed under the carpet. The complaints lodged by the JNU authorities as well as the demands of suspension of police authorities responsible for the brutal lathicharge at the PM's residence have been ignored as well. The 'concerned authorities' are waiting for us to forget our demands.

Can we forget that thousands of JNU students, teachers, bystanders as well as TV cameras were witness to the crimes that Sadhu Yadav and other goons committed on March 31st? Arrests are supposed to be made on prima facie evidence as per the legal norms. How can the police ignore so much evidence and refuse to arrest Sadhu Yadav, almost a month after his crimes?

How can the police authorities refuse to suspend the officers who committed brutal atrocities on protesting students, and how dare the police tamper with the medical reports of the injured students at a time when they were awaiting treatment?

Friends: Democracy and peoples' rights must be guarded in the country's capital atleast. If justice cannot be ensured for JNU students in New Delhi, can we ever hope to get justice for the thousands of us who are located in less privileged institutions or places?

So, even though the academic pressures are extreme, the movement and the pressure for redressal of our grievances must be kept up and the issue cannot be forgotten. The movement must not become another sporadic occasion to be exploited and recalled, in the past tense, for votes in the future. The future generations in the campus must have a sense of continuity with it. The UGBM had, according to the JNUSU President's admission, passed a resolution to put up Chandrashekhar's portrait in the JNUSU office as a model of student politics for the JNU students and the JNUSU. The JNUSU has not bothered to put up the portrait, neither has it cared to display any resolutions of the last UGBM. It is obvious, that, for them, the movement is over. Chandrashekhar's martyrdom inspired the movement because he belonged to the whole campus and not just a particular stream of left. Then why is the JNUSU unwilling to honour the memory of Chandrashekhar-a political, martyred memory-through a lasting and permanent tribute-a portrait of a student leader who gave up his life while fighting for the rights of the poor and the down trodden? So many angry questions lie ahead us. So many memories of massacre wait unavenged. The people, all over the country, are marching in solidarity with us. And we know that the people, united, shall always be victorious. Let us join the Demonstration at the Police Headquarters (ITO) tomorrow on the immediate demands of Arrest of Sadhu Yadav and Enquiry into the brutal lathicharge on protesting students at the PM's residence.

***JOIN THE DEMONSTRATION AT THE POLICE HEADQUARTERS
(ITO) TOMORROW, 23RD APRIL.**

***ASSEMBLE AT GANGA DHABHA AT 2 P.M.**

JOIN AN OPEN CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE MEETING TONIGHT, 9.30 P.M. AT THE JNUSU OFFICE TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF TOMORROW'S DEMONSTRATION AS WELL AS THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT.

22•4•1997

JNU STUDENTS CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE