

NATIONALISM AT FIFTY

"In believing that we are a nation, we are chasing a great delusion. We can only attempt to become a nation-in-the-making".

----B.R. Ambedkar, on the eve of drafting the Constitution

Where does this agenda of nation-making stand, 50 years after India was declared a nation? The freedom movement evoked a sense of nationalism whose essential thrust was anti-imperialist. This movement, with its legacy of Tebhaga, Punnapra - Vayalar, Telengana, and the revolutionary models from Alluri Sitarama Raju to Bhagat Singh, had the potential seeds of a democratic, egalitarian and sovereign nation. But, the ruling elites who took over in 1947, strait-jacketed these traditions to a version of Indianness which had nothing to offer, beyond symbols of "composite culture", like Ustad Bismillah Khan playing the Shehnai in the Vishwanath Temple at Varanasi, blind to the notice outside the same temple, barring entry to "untouchables and mlechas". A starry-eyed Indianness of this kind, which made no attempt to democratically transform society was necessarily brittle. As social and regional conflicts sharpened, what remained of it was the slogan of "unity and integrity", invoked in wars against Pakistan or China, or against our own people in Kashmir or the North East.

The crushing of democratic movements by the Indian State as well as its promotion of anti-Pakistan jingoism, made natural space for the Sangh Parivar, which is now trying to steal the worn out mantle of nationalism from the beleaguered Congress. The RSS which had no role in the anti-imperialist struggle, and had infact dubbed the anti-British struggle "reactionary", (Golwalkar, Bunch of Thoughts) now found a chance to complete its long cherished but never fulfilled dream of a "one-culture, one-language, one-nation, Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan" (Golwalkar, 1947) model of Indian nationalism.

On the one hand, the juggernaut of a homogenised Hindutva steamrolls over not only religious minorities but even pluralities within Hinduism; it thus poses a threat to national unity and is therefore anti-national. On the other, the votaries of globalisation are undermining national sovereignty and autonomy and hence the very concept of nationhood. Nationalism at 50, is therefore under attack from both these forces. And on the political horizon, the RSS-backed BJP, by successfully dovetailing US-dominated globalisation and majoritarian nationalism, has emerged as the most powerful enemy of the nation today.

If Indian nationalism is indeed to be (re)defined and salvaged, which traditions of the Indian national movement need to be invoked, and which to be critically reassessed? Which are the social questions which need to be answered? And which social forces can emerge as the champions of Indian nationalism today?

For a discussion of these questions, AISA invites you to public meeting :

'Nationalism at 50'.

Speakers : INTIAZ AHMAD (Lokayan)
 YOGENDRA YADAV (CSDS)

GANGA MESS

Date: 25.09.97

TIME : 9:30 PM

Sd/-
ASHOK SHARMA
President, AISA, JNU

Sd/-
KAVITA KRISHNAN
Gen.Secy., AISA, JNU

28.09.97
UNITY AGAINST A POLITICS OF FEAR
UNITY FOR DEMOCRATIC SPACE

There have been other times in the history of JNU when students were not let into their own campus without I-cards, when meeting, interacting, drinking in the open at night was an obscenity for moral brigades in the Union and the administration. This is not the time to spell out the implications of ABVP politics. The implications are foreknown, especially among women, who can sense the cordons being drawn, trying to force people back into their rooms, trying to force minds into conformism and fear. But when the ABVP, and the administration use the press to force on no images of ourselves that we not recognise it is time for us to remember who we are and what we believe in.

Against this daily cycle of repression, rumour and despair we will roll out the wheels of memory. This past year we have had our own unstoppable cycles of protest with liberating solidarities formed among students against administration apathy, academic sycophancy and a brutal national politics which killed our former President Chandrashekhar Prasad.

When we fall back into the routines of an everyday time and space, we still recognise those who shouted, sang, marched, wept and spilled blood in these movements. We return to private spaces knowing we will meet again.

And in response to this we have a President and his organisation who will not use his powers to protect us; who vowed to fight the ABVP from within the Union but gave them constitutional space and would not transcend the constitution to stop them when they violated it. We ask the outgoing President to open the gates of JNU and deal with the show-cause notice which has been issued on the girl for being at Parthasarthy Rocks.

We have seen every other organisation, whether it is AISA, AISF, DSU, put up pamphlets congratulating the participation of the JNU community, but who regard as with suspicion and contempt. Our cultural and economic insecurities and wounds are manipulated in this campus of 3000 odd, dividing us into miniscule vote banks. We are never called to take decisions, occupy platforms, form group, and when we do, they jeer at us openly.

We can win back our democratic space by throwing off the constrictions of dogmatic nationality, of cold calculation, of a politics of fear. We will win back Parthasarthy Rocks, the sense of a University, the streets, the nights, the library, the speeches, songs, the classrooms, and mess-tables and divest them of banalities and rhetoric.

Let us have articulations of the official, old, new, extended and expanded forms of every ideology. Let the organisation not fill the campus with the deadening din of their names and positions but speak out their ideological differences. Let them be strengthened through democratisation.

Two prior calls for organisational unity among left have failed, firstly because they are unable to meet over a table, and because general students remained outside the process. Some among the 'independent' students who have various ideological leanings want to be part of the decision-making processes which shape campus politics. We feel also that there are several other unknown faces on this campus on whom all the left organisations depend as their "floating vote bank", who have shaped the history of this campus but cannot identify themselves with the platforms of the existing left organisations. We are issuing a call for left unity over the history we have spelt out, and the future which we will elaborate. All those students who want a praxis to arise out of their hopes and labour of the past years, all those organisations who will come together on a platform while they maintain their differences and practice, are asked to support this call with strength and declare their response to it.

Anu, Sonali, Subhayu, Rinky P., Leela, Subhasish, Sheeba K.M. Umamaheshwari, Partho, Himanshu, Bodhisattwa, Sharmadip, Aparna, Rochelle, Swaha, Shalini, Kalp Lata, Bhawna, Sanjiv, Rajarshi, Anindo.

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Chandrashekhar Smriti Andolan

Contact Office: 170-A, Uttarakhand, J.N.U., New Delhi -110 067

Phone : 6177492

Friends,

Chandrashekhar Prasad, 33, twice president of JNU Students Union and a CPI(ML) leader was killed in broad daylight while addressing a public meeting at J.P. Chowk in Siwan on 31 March, along with his comrade Shyam Narayan Yadav. Chandrashekhar Smriti Andolan evolved out of the series of nationwide protests involving students and a broad spectrum of intelligentsia. The ghastly murder has brought into sharp focus the criminal takeover of political space in the fiftieth year of independence.

Both Chandrashekhar and Shyam Narayan came from deprived social background and had earned their stature as political leaders through an uncompromising struggle against communal forces. Their political murder at the hands of RJD MP Mohd. Shahabuddin has also unmasked the real face of a political trend which masquerades still as the champion of secularism and social justice while in reality they have sunk soul deep into criminality, corruption, politics of murder and massacres of dalits and downtrodden. We invite you to a

National Convention

on

Criminal Takeover of Political Space and Chandrashekhar's Martyrdom in the 50th year of Independence

Date: 31 August, 1997

Time: 1.30 p.m.

Venue: Sapru House Auditorium (Near Mandi House), New Delhi

Programme:

- ☆ Deliberations on the topic by delegates from all over India and eminent citizens from different walks of public life.
- ☆ A documentary in the memory of Chandrashekhar to be released by Srimati Kaushalya Devi, mother of Chandrashekhar
- ☆ Release of 'Samkaleen Janmat', the journal of Chandrashekhar Smriti Andolan'.
- ☆ A delegation meets Lok Sabha Speaker to submit memorandum and signatures collected through an all-India signature campaign demanding annulment of RJD MP Shahabuddin's membership of Parliament.

R.S.V.P.

Kamal Mitra Chenoy
Arvind N. Das
Samshul Islam
Arijit Mitra
Ranjit Abhigyan

Namwar Singh
Pankaj Bisht
Amit Sengupta
Vidyasagar
Lal Bahadur Singh

Nikhil Wagle
Achin Vanaik
Anuradha Chenoy
Krishna Ananth
Pranay Krishna

Anand Patwardhan
Krishna Kumar
Shakeel Ahmad Khan
Siyaram Sharma
Basant Chaudhary

DRAFT FOR CONVENTION

..... AND JUSTICE FOR CHANDRASHEKHAR BECAUSE HIS DEATH IS UNACCEPTABLE

It has been almost five months since Chandrashekhar died. He was young, just about 34; bearded, lean and wiry, with one tooth half-broken, almost always very shy and never, never aggressive. Even when he obsessively fought the Hindutva fanatics in the campus of JNU, often with others, often absolutely alone. Chandu was a quiet person, raw and lucid, and he valued his pauses, as much as his convictions.

For him, the entire country, especially the rural interior, was the terrain of political struggle and liberation. But rural Bihar was his own cinematic reality, a dialectic which he was chasing, because he had to reconcile the opposites. For Chandrashekhar, the entire universe of love and hatred became effortlessly transformed in this dark, dark by-lanes of continuous meticulous human suffering, in the compulsive acceptance of this suffering and in the inevitable rebellion in this suffering. Chandu's cinema begin from this moment of resurrection- the search for light in this perpetual, stagnant twilight. The search for liberation where there was nothing but clear, abject slavery. Even fifty years after independence. Yes, Even fifty years after. As the rulers and their inheritors wallow in and celebrate the totality of absolute lies and absolute tragedies.

*Since he was child and adolescent, Chandrashekhar felt and saw, this ongoing farce of fifty years, its real nightmares. He saw at point blank range, poverty's terrible tragedies, made inevitable by the logic of the class and caste system which stands brutally against the poor and crushed people of our own country. Chandu used to say, when accused of vested political ambitions, **"What greater and nobler ambition can a man have in this world of opportunism, than to live and die like Bhagat Singh?"** Many of us who remember him now, as our friend and Comrade, cannot but help remember Bhagat Singh and the great revolutionary trend he represented.*

No, we are not trying to mythologise him. We are only trying to resurrect the politics of young dreamers, who are not afraid anymore. Because they are so precious. Because their death is unacceptable.

Chandu wanted to go back to his village. He wanted to enter this dead-end of Indian reality and find a by-lane, a back-street, a dead river, a highway — where independence means truly what it means: equality, social justice, secularism, political, cultural and economic liberation. Not as slogans, merely, but also as slogans. Not as speeches, or praxis, merely, but also as speeches and praxis. Not as silence, surely, not as silence. But also as silence. Thinking, feeling, introspective silence.

Now that every thing is silent except his clear absence, and his clear presence, we want to remember this young revolutionary who broke barriers and dead-ends, and resurrected a hundred thousand dreams for all of us to share. Even when he is dead. Shot dead. In cold blood. Six bullets in his body. Pumped repeatedly with calculated

precision. The clotted sign of his blood, near a shop which hurriedly put down its shutters in sheer terror, as Chandu tried to survive, might still be there. It might be still there at J.P. Chowk, in Siwan, where he was murdered on 31st march last, by the goons of JD MP and now RJD MP Mohd. Shahabuddin.

These signs remain as civilisational testimonies of a post-noon, early evening massacre, as Chandu and his comrades were just about addressing a street corner meeting, so near the statue of Jai Prakash Narain, whose 'socialist' follower, Laloo Prasad Yadav, now runs an empire of loot, murder, mass massacres. Along with Chandu, local CPI-ML Liberation leader Shyam Narayan Yadav was also killed. In the indiscriminate firing a nineteen years old, cart-puller- Bhuteli Mianalso lost his life.

Chandrashekhar was publicly speaking against the fodder scam, on that fateful day of 31st March 1997. He was also reminding the local populace that the repeated massacres of dalits and the poorest of the poor in the interiors of Bihar by feudal, private armies like the Ranvir sena, is actually masterminded by the dominant power groups, old and new, with the blessings and active collusion of forces ranging from BJP to the ruling party led by its supremo Laloo Yadav himself, from the center of his corrupt empire in Patna. This street corner meeting in Siwan, suddenly bathed in blood of these young people, will haunt the conscience of this nation outside the luxurious, one-dimensional circle of 50 years; it will haunt the public spaces of JNU, and all public spaces, where words are answered by mafia bullets, political discourse by criminal discourse, the right to speak by the right to assassinate.

That is why, JNU students launched a massive and sustained upsurge against the Siwan massacre. Chandrashekhar, twice president of the JNU Student's Union, had transcended all sectarian dimensions in his sudden and shocking death. This political murder became a rallying point for students who faced police firing, Sadhu Yadav and JD goons, para-military lathi charges and sustained terror tactics of mass arrests. In wave after wave they came, with slogans, songs, placards, and posters of Chandu's sober face, and shook the civil society and became a national agenda. The media responded. Civil liberties groups, trade unions, teachers, writers, peasant fronts, students & intelligentsia from all over the Country from Karbi Anglong, Guwahati and Manipur University in the North East, though Bihar, Rajasthan and U.P. to Tamil Nadu, Bengal, Kerala and UP hills waged spontaneous protest against the killing of Chandrashekhar. The JNU Students Struggle Coordination Committee intensified the movement, defied Section 144, gheraoed the UF headquarters, blocked traffic at ITO, Delhi Gate and Bhikaji Cama Place, blocked vantage points of the political establishment, immobilised the state machinery, and broke barricades and rushed towards the Prime Minister's house, then occupied by Mr. H.D. Deve Gowda. Brutal lathi charge followed. Hundred were injured; but the recovery was fast, resolute; a steely resolve marked this movement of students of JNU.

Ten thousand student and ordinary people from all over the Country marched to Siwan on 14th April last and held a meeting at the same spot where Chandu's voice was crushed. This was a direct challenge to Shahabuddin, whose writ of terror, extortion and killings runs in Siwan. Fifteen thousand students youth of AISA and RYA from all states, marched to parliament on 29th April, broke several barricades and fought pitched battles

with the police. The police did what it knows best-- it smashed hands, heads, legs, bodies.

But the spirit of the movement cannot be smashed it is this spirit which remains the essence of this convention. A democratic, non sectarian, secular and progressive spirit which defines the agenda of criminalisation and Chandrashekhar's challenge as its principle paradigm.

The independent fact finding team on the Siwan killings has clearly implicated Shahabuddin as the man behind the 31 March killings. With more than 25 murder and other cases on him and at least 100 murders at his hands, Shahabuddin remains on a free man, in fact a right hand man of Laloo Yadav. He is an 'honorable' RJD MP; the killers of Chandrashekhar are free; the CBI enquiry promised by Laloo under pressure from the movement, has not moved an inch; Sadhu Yadav who snatched a police rifle to shoot student and teachers on 31 March night at Bihar Niwas now calls the shots from 1, Anne Marg, Patna, the Chief Minister's opulent residence. Nothing has moved in support of justice. Injustice has entrenched itself everywhere, and murderers and mafias rule the Political system. Criminals have manipulated and subverted the democratic institutions of this country; there is no accountability, no idealism, no fair play. Instead, perverse cynicism haunts the nation.

The convention and the demand for expulsion of Shahabuddin from the Parliament, should be seen and understood in this larger context. This is not to suggest that he is alone in the Parliament who symbolizes the criminal takeover of the political space. The list of the historysheeters in the Parliament cuts across the political spectrum. It is important to revive and resurrect the authenticity of people's democracy, which stands with the people, against the criminal political mafia, against fascist-- totalitarian communalist, against an anti-poor economic establishment sold out to the western private corporations and against a political state which violates human rights as a norm repeatedly, again and again.

India in its fiftieth year of independence poses a spectacle where custodial deaths, encounter killings, rape and atrocities on women, massacre of dalits, right wing communal onslaught, unemployment, privatisation of education, infringement of academic autonomy through reports like that of Rastogi Committee hardly makes one too proud about the state of nation. Chandrashekhar stands as a martyr outside this whole farcical and official celebration of the official and distorted sense of history trumpeted by the ruling class. He exhorts even in his death, to wage an uncompromising struggle; in fact, a second war of independence against the 'anti-nation' within the nation, to liberate the motherland again.

In that sense, this convention is a movement against static, perverse time. It is in memory of Chandrashekhar as much as the radical agenda he had dreamt and fought for, and for which he laid down his life. His life was precious. In death, he has become more precious to all of us. This is why, we are determined, not to let Chandu die again.

ASSERT STUDENT POWER IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE JUNTA

JUN'S original plans and layout include 54 hostels for students. These hostels exist only in the original designs, and the VC repeats to us that JNU is "not a residential campus".
Meanwhile

* JNU land meant for hostels is being arbitrarily leased out to outside institutes and bodies. In July 1997, the Executive Council of JNU congratulated the Vice Chancellor on his achievement of leasing JNU land to an autonomous institute for Plant Genome Research.

* Earlier on the administration leased out land at the rate of Re.1 a year for 30 years to the Railways, for a reservation counter which would serve, not just JNU students, but the whole of South Delhi.

Students and teachers cannot offer "incentives" to the tune of what government officials and the like can. The result is that our land goes to those who can clinch deals with the Administration, while our careers and academics suffer due to lack of accommodation.

The administration has also shown scant respect for the concerns of students and teacher about a safe and secure campus. Despite repeated complaints about the security, the "Inquiry Committee" provides the Security a "clean chit". While cases of sexual harassment become routine in JNU, the security continues to think that their job is to harass students who are sitting around harmlessly in groups or couples and are unconcerned and unavailable when incidents of molestation occur.

--- DEFEAT THE POLITICS OF COLLUSION, TREACHERY AND HYPOCRISY.

The E.C. meeting which endorsed the leasing of land was held on 2nd July 1997 and the minutes of this meeting were available to the JNUSU President. However, he felt no need to inform the student body, leave alone launch an agitation, leaving it to the SFI-AISF to bring up the issue on the eve of election. This is hardly surprising, given that the erstwhile JNUSU proudly announces the Railway Reservation counter as one of its achievements.

The JNUSU, during its tenure itself, maintained a silence on the Administration's "clean chit" to the security. While students rise up in protest against an insensitive VC, Admin and security, one section of the JNUSU led by the President from SFI would publicly ditch the students and aid the Admin in its cover-ups. The other section comprising the ABVP leaders, meanwhile, regularly feed a sensation-hungry press with cooked-up stories about JNU. Mr. Govind Mishra encouraged the JNU security to harass JNU's own students, whom he claims were compromising JNU's morality!

Friends, it is not the Security's job to police the action of JNU's students safety, and prevention of aggression towards women, should be their concern, rather than a peeping-torn morality. And Mr. Mishra, who supported the students who wrote anti-women pamphlets after Suttlej Nite, has no business acting as the custodian of JNU's morality or encouraging the JNU security to police students habits or clothing.

In order to demand

* A revamped and responsible security system on the campus,

* Withdrawal of recent leases to outside institutes,

AISA calls upon JNU students to participate in JUNTA'S march in large numbers tomorrow at 11 A.M. near Administrative Block.

sd/-

Shok Sharma
President, AISA, JNU

sd/-

Kavita Krishnan
Gen. Secy, AISA, JNU.

* Our campus sanitation and medicare facilities leave much to be desired. We demand a clean and hygienic campus and better functioning and stock of medicines in the Health Centre.

* We demand separate Centres for the study of Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy and Gandhian studies.

* We want to ensure fulfillment of SC/ST Quota.

* SFCs should be revived and made effective.

* MCM should be enhanced and linked to the mess bill.

* The Science Schools are suffering from Govt. moves to freeze grants for fellowship, lab facilities, etc. These moves should be vigorously opposed.

* Financial assistance should be provided to deserving non fellowship M. Phil/Ph. D. students.

* Library facilities, the pillar of JNU academics, are also suffering from cuts in grants. These should be vehemently opposed and rather efforts should be made for procurement of necessary books, journals, etc. on a regular basis.

* Internet facility should be made available to students of each centre, through extension of terminals in all the centres.

* See of Foreign student of third World countries should be in accordance with human development index.

This is our agenda for the coming year and we believe through the platform of JNUSU we will get a chance to pursue and fulfill these demands. Support the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad for a Nationalist and working JNUSU that responds to the problems of the students and ensures their redressal. We have done a lot in the last one year and with your active help and support we propose to do a lot more in the coming year.

VANDE MATARAM! BHARAT MATA KI JAI !!

A.B.V.P Candidates for **J.N.U.S.U.**

CENTRAL PANEL

PRESIDENT : GOVIND CHANDRA MISHRA
VICE- PRESIDENT : CHITRASEN ROUT
GEN-SECRETARY : JATIN KR. MOHANTY
JOINT-SECRETARY : RANDHIR KR. JHA

A.B.V.P



Election Manifesto 1997

Towards a Nationalist

and

Vibrant JNUSU

AKHIL BHARATIYA VIDYARTHI PARISHAD
Jawahar Lal Nehru University UNIT

Friends,

The Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad is working for the last fifty years in the field of education, with the mission of complete National Reconstruction. With this ultimate objective, ABVP's nation-wide activities are geared towards :

1. Consolidating all Nationalist forces.
2. Movement for educational reform.
3. Initiation of a debate on systemic changes.

For decades since Independence, there was considered to be a national consensus on the Nehruvian paradigm of socialism secularism, which considered the assertion of the national identity of this country as comunal and reactionary. They worshipped socialism and considered the Soviet Union as a glorious example.

The events of the last five years have demonstrated the hollowness of this ideological superstructure. The Soviet Union has collapsed and their secularism has led to vote-bank and appeasement politics.

A decisive ideological battle has begun covering the entire social, economic, cultural and political fabric of our national life. The traditional yardstick of socialism secularism is being rejected in favour of Cultural Nationalism as the standard or yardstick for political discourse.

As a student organisation participating in a historic process of change, our role in the wider national context can be summarized as :

1. Intense feeling of nationalism, unadulterated love for the Motherland and a proud and informed assertion of national identity, reflected in

(a) Awakening students and masses to the dangers to national unity and security from unchecked infiltration swamping West Bengal, Assam, North-East and other parts of the country, proxy warfare and terrorism, firing on our troops, by hostile neighbours; we must ensure such awakening and exposing antinational elements.

(b) Involving students in the struggle for economic freedom, from the invasion by multinationals and international financial institutions, in the struggle for Swadeshi as an alternative paradigm of development.

2. Social equality and harmony : The spirit of social equality, rejecting caste and vote bank politics and to fight injustice, untouchability and exploitation of the weaker sections of our society, who must be provided not only education and employment facilities but also social justice, equality and an intense feeling of brotherhood born out of the realisation that everybody is a son of the Motherland whatever be his caste.

Another aspect of social equality is empowerment of women and equality of status, both in the family and in society. A woman with a status of equality can be the best agent of change in fact social change needs substantial participation by women in all fields of national life.

3. Educational and campus reform : The movement for saving the campuses of our country and easing unhealthy influences from them will go on relentlessly, identifying and redressing campus problems, encouraging curricular and extra-curricular activities. It is our long-standing demand that 10% of the budget be allocated for Education and that the Right to work be made a Fundamental Right.

THE AGENDA FOR THE JNU CAMPUS :

Last year the ABVP had for the first time won a majority in the Students Council. We had promised a Nationalist and Accountable JNUSU. Much has been done in this direction during the short span of less than a year and much more remains to be done.

★ The two major concerns facing the campus at this time are that of security and hostel facility. Recent incidents in the campus raise questions about how safe are we, especially the girl students. Campus environment should be made safe and secure for everybody, through involvement and participation of as many people as possible and also through increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the security personnel. Unrestricted entry of outsiders should not be allowed, especially after certain hours.

★ Regarding specific problems faced by girl students, we have demanded the setting up of a Women's Grievance Cell, affiliated to the Delhi Chapter of the National Commission for Women and consisting of members from all the representative institutions of JNU.

★ Apart from this, our first priority is to tackle the acute hostel problem. Allotment of one wing of Tapti Hostel has eased the problem for girl students accommodation to some extent. We demand the immediate completion and allotment to the other wing, completion of the Mess, and construction of two more hostels so that all outstation students can be provided hostel facility and no one is forced to reside outside in rented rooms.

★ With regard to transportation, though the situation is much improved at present due to the efforts of the last one year when three new buses were inducted and 666 was revived, we plan to ensure that more bus routes terminate in JNU so as to lessen the dependence on 615. We also want to ensure U-Specials for JNU, linking the campus to the various parts of Delhi, for the benefit of day-scholars and others who have to commute regularly.

★ We plan to ensure 24 hours water supply to all the hostels in the campus, as is now being supplied to some hostels.

★ JNU has an Employment Cell for its students which is almost non-functional. We propose to revive this, which will provide employment facilities for the alumni, and shift its functioning from Old Campus to the Ad Block for the convenience of students. Apart from, there should be placement cells in the major centres.

★ Immediate functioning of the JNU Railway Reservation Counter which has already been sanctioned.

RE-LIVE THE LEGACY OF UNITED STRUGGLES!

JNU is at a crossroads today. For all those of us who are committed to intervening at this crucial juncture, it is at once the worst of times and the best of times.

On the morning of 18th October last year, when the results of a fateful election and its momentous implications dawned on us, hundreds of us had tears in our eyes, a determination for unity against the organised attacks on all our freedoms, which we anticipated. In the year that followed, students of JNU repeatedly rallied together to live up to that pledge of united struggle. As the fascist forces arrogantly attempted to swallow up and demolish all existing democratic institutions, students indefatigably created new and various spaces, methods and languages. If UGBMs were impossible and the JNUSU office was out of bounds, students made the streets of JNU come alive with songs, protests and slogans. Public meetings stopped being occasions for 'speakers' to address 'audiences'; they became a vibrant mechanism for students to come together, debate, take decisions, launch and give direction to movements. If the students gave unity a new and enriched meaning, however, this unity came in for attack as well. Even that section of JNUSU leadership on which the highest hopes were pinned, repeatedly betrayed and ignored the students collective will. While hostel I-cards, land-leases and fee hikes were pushed with the JNUSU's collaboration, student assertions against sexual harassment were rejected by the JNUSU which chose to endorse the Administration's 'cleanchits' to sexual offenders and negligent security officials. Today, as we prepare to enter the decisive process of elections, once again, it is time for stock-taking and reflection.

The fact is, that in the decade of the 90s, this campus was drawn inexorably into the vortex of mainstream politics. Simultaneous landmarks of Mandal and Mandir ensured that JNU, too, would experience the undesirable polarisations, the reactionary assertions, the most concentrated expression of which is the ABVP. With all models of governance in India, whether the Congress, or the Congress-controlled, 'Left'-Supported UP, all determined to privatise higher education, JNU had to seek, and did create, new models of struggle and student assertion which would offer a new model of uncompromising struggle for a national student movement.

In this phase, if AISA arose as a force in JNU, it was not the result of an alien project of some organisational leaders, but the organised articulation of the democratic consciousness and long-cherished dreams of this campus itself; dreams and sentiments which the hitherto existing 'left' politics had been unable to articulate, and which had receded before the concentrated right-wing assaults. If these right-wing assertions of the 90s broke JNU's islandism, the new model of resistance to the assaults was also developed by JNU and broke out of the boundaries of JNU. If this model was exemplified by Com. Chandrashekhar, his life-choices and his martyrdom, it was also exemplified by the overwhelming student assertion that followed it.

Creative, spontaneous and participative assertions of the broadest possible sections of JNU Students, is what has provided the rationale for AISA's very existence. This is why AISA welcomes the leaflet dated 28.9.97, by several students, calling for unity against a politics of fear and for our democratic spaces. This call gives AISA renewed hope that students' united struggles will be kept alive, against fascist aggressions as well as against opportunist politics.

If the past year has been the worst of times, marked by attempts to shrink democratic spaces, we will learn from them; as we can learn from the vibrant and massive movements which were times of comradeship, debate and unity in struggle. It is the experiences of those movements which must be our beacon, uniting us for a revolutionary politics that is our only hope of saving democratic spaces in the face of virulent right-wing assertions.

sd/- Ashok Sharma,
President, AISA, JNU

sd/- Kavita Krishnan
Gen.Secy., AISA JNU

ROUT FORCES OF LUMPENISM AND COMPROMISE

The gleaming issues facing us in the campus have not been resolved despite repeated hues and cries by the JNUSU. But when and with what swiftness and commitment have the solutions been sought? The only unmistakable commitment had been to woo students and confuse them. That is why the "August Revolution" has began and rest assured all these would fizzle out after the JNUSU election. The solutions to accomodation problem, transport, electrical repairing, seat reduction, growing lumpenism and cultural decadence, de-politicisation and de-democratisation of campus are some of the major outstanding issues. They have been embellished and preapted in the last one year, but roots of these had been laid down earlier and it is not a *all of a sudden phenomenon*.

The approach of ABVP-SFI led JNUSU towards struggles of students with massive participation had been that of revocation and treachery. How can we forget the way, when the entire campus and others turned out on the streets to fight against state repression? The movement, however, continued due to its repute through the formation of the Coordination Committee. The Dayanand episode is another pronounced instance of traitorousness, where the "nationalists" of both colours conspire to enable the VC make a shameless escape. The visit of the UGC chairperson is yet another example where the president of JNUSU (the other part of the leadership being absent) urged students not to shout slogans. Well, we can go on, but then we had made the point clear.

The ABVP, the champions of nationalism and culture, has unmashed its ugly face in this campus. Their nationalism melts away when they see dollar bills. They hardly mind selling their "Bharat Mata" to MNCs and imperialist powers for some commission and most of these nationalists aspire to go to West to get some dollar for some abasement. They talk of Swadeshi in DCM-TOYOTAites and SWARAJ-MAZDAites. The Delhi Govt. of these nationalists have sold out all our national heros to MNCs. So much for their nationalism. And for their culture? Less said is better. For petty money packets they can dance with Jackson and shout with Yanni. The inherent lumpenism that is in their blood need not be elaborated. Today they are also talking of non-violence, whose definition can be seen from Ayodhya, from Seelampur, from Bombay again and again, be it against minority community or be it dalits.

This has led to the sentiment amongst the student community that these lumpens should not come to JNUSU again. Many of us have tried the move of unifying the progressive sections so that the votes are not divided. However, SFI-AISF had a characteristic response to this by not willing to be party to this at all. They have exposed themselves and their shout of anti-ABVP is bogus. Their real fear is the revolutionary forces.

Respecting the sentiments of the people we have decided to contest for one post, so that votes are not divided and we can propagate our politics. Our politics has a history --history of students' struggles and integration of them to various issues of society. However small may we be, we believe that keeping politics primary and keeping away from manipulation and compromise alone can strengthen the students' cause. We assert that one revolutionary carries more weight than hundreds of reactionary and revisionist forces.

Sd/-

Arun Dev

Incharge, PDSU Campaigning Team

NEED FOR THE BAHUJAN UNITY FOR COMPLETE TRANSFER OF POWER

"Hinduism does not appeal to my conscience. My self-respect can not assimilate Hinduism... The religion that does not recognize you as a human being, or give you water to drink, or allow you to enter the temples is not worthy to be called a religion... The religion that asks its adherents to suffer to touch of animals but not to touch of Human beings is not a religion but a mockery".
- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Leftist (SFI-AISF-AISA) and Rightist forces are famous for violence and vandalism not only in JNU but outside also. If BJP has groups like, VHP and Bajrang Dal, the CPM is not behind which is running Action Group to suppress the voice of voiceless people and CPI(ML) is famous for *Chai Inch Chhota Kar Denge*. SFI-AISF & AISA should not be seen different from their parental organisations. The violence and vandalism which took place in front of EC office by ABVP was a creation of all left parties contesting election in this campus. The left parties failed to stop ABVP by ballot then they made all possible efforts to cancel nomination papers of not only ABVP but NSUI and BSF supported joint secretary candidate also. The leftists are famous to create and exploit the opportunity: what exactly they have done on 10.10.97. Their intention was clear, they wanted to create an emphobia of ABVP in this campus so that the freshers may turn in favour of the leftist in which they failed once again. BSF-RCJD alliance can only stop ABVP in this campus and BSP-RJD are capable enough to stop BJP all over the country. Leftist and rightist are representing the same interest group i.e. BSOs. The real proletariat - SCs/STs, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and OBCs must capture the temple of power and they are enough in number by strengthening their unity.

The S.Cs. Constitute 1/6 of the total population. A majority of them have only their body as an asset. More than 80% of these do not own land. They are landless cultivators, which is a mishomer. They cultivate but they do not own land. They are dependent on those who own their land on paper and totally at their mercy. The contribution of the S.Cs to the country's economy, in terms of Physical labour is the highest. Economic circumstances force particularly S.C. women to contribute Physical labour while the per capita income of the S.Cs is the lowest.

The most startling thing about planned development of the OBCs is nothing systematic was done in this direction upto 1990, i.e. forty six years after independence, and forty years after the process of five year plans started. The failure to recognize the OBCs at the central level also meant that no efforts were made by the planners and resource distributors at the national level for their development and welfare. This had resulted in the deprivation of OBCs of their legitimate dues and share in the fruits of development and welfare in independent India and above their historical deprivation and exploitation.

The Muslims are the worse victims of the BSO's. In decision making posts in All India Administrative Service -2.14%; Indian Police Service-3%; Central Secretariat Service : Selection Grade-1.43%; Grade-I-1.27%; Section Officers-0.72% and Assistants-0.42% whereas in Pre-Independence Era Muslims representation more than double in Comparison to their population. This is the high time for the muslims to come out from leftist hangover and join hand with Bahujan to defeat Leftist and Rightist BSO.

JAI BHIM

VOTE AND SUPORT BSF-RCJD PANEL IN FORTY-COMING ELECTION(20/10/97)

SANTANU KUMAR DAS - Presidential Candidate
ANJUN HUSSAIN - Vice Presidential Candidate
SHAHID AKHTAR ANSARI - General Secretary Candidate
KUKU PANYANG - Joint Secretary(Independent)
BISHNU CHARAN MALLICK- SSS Councillor
Chandrashekhar Ram, Nikhil Kumar, M.K. Hussain for BSF & RCJD

THEY PLATFORM FOR UNITED STUDENTS STRUGGLE

Just imagine for a while that ABVP does not exist in the campus; can anyone think of the *raison d'etre* of left in general and AISA in particular or vice versa. Both ABVP and the left thrive in this campus just by slandering each other. The slogans like 'chhe inch chhotta' and 'Jala do Mitado' legitimatised the concept of violence in the minds of the students in the campus and unfortunately ABVP has started to practice precisely that. The incident at the EC's office is a testimony to the above said.

It is surprising that both these blocks fight with each other inspite of being complementary to each other, at least with respect to the degradation of the campus culture. It is for the students of J.N.U. to note that the replacement of the culture of debate and discussion by a culture of violence, verbal altercations, hijacking of issues, parallel union activities etc. is not a mere coincidence but has a direct relationship with the emergence of ABVP & AISA in the early 1990s. Both these radical outfits came up in the campus simultaneously and strengthened each other by exploiting the sentiments of the students. Both are communal by their own rights. Violence is preached by the Left and the Right puts it to practice. The Right performs the act and the Left makes it to do it. In this way they enrich each other in a way that tends to negate the cause of the students community in general.

Turning the pages of history one discerns that, this process of mutual strengthening has started long back. One doesn't require Solomonic wisdom to infer that the formation of Pakistan (a demand of the Muslim League) was accepted in principle by Communists and was ensured by the rightist 'Communal-fascists'.

In this backdrop, we, the Free Thinkers, seek the view of the student community, as their conscience speaks. We believe that the indifference and inactivity of 'not-power-hungry' students has given a free go for the designs of the 'Left' and 'Right' dirty politics. The Free Thinkers warns the students community that if they do not expose these ultra-radicals and rightist-communal forces then the culture of the premier university would deteriorate further.

J.N.U., the citadel of learning of our country is a place which is the *rendezvous* of the emergence of alternative paradigm of human development. Sticking to dogmatic principles makes the otherwise fragrance sprinkling blossoming mind to talk like a parrot and that pains the heart of a free thinker which shall ultimately force him/her to gulp Hemlock.

Think rationally, have dedication of purpose and come along with the Free Thinkers to reconstruct the culture of debate and discussion.

PRESIDENT
Priyabrata Behera

	COUNCILLORS	
SL	SIS	SSS
Preeti Sharma	Kalicharan Sethi	Deepika Lohia

Sd/-
GIRIJA B. NANDA
RAM SINGH
(Election Coordinators)

ATTEND OUR FIRST ELECTION MEETING IN
GODAVARI MESS TODAY AT 9.30 PM

STUDENTS FEDERATION OF INDIA - ALL INDIA STUDENTS FEDERATION
ON THIS DAY LAST YEAR COM. SHAKEEL AHMED BAKSH, SFI ACTIVIST
WAS STABBED TO DEATH BY SOME ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENTS IN JAMIA MILLIA
ISLAMIA UNIVERSITY WHEN HE PROTESTED AGAINST EVE TEASING. SFI-AISF
PLEDGES TO CARRY FORWARD THE UNFINISHED STRUGGLE OF COM. SHAKEEL
AGAINST SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND GENDER OPPRESSION.

14/10/97

The recent spate of violence specially directed against women in the campus has shaken the very foundations of the progressive forces of culture established and nurtured by the left democratic forces of sexual JNU. It is not mere coincidence that the rise of the ABVP has been matched by an equal increase in attacks on women and cases of sexual harassment. The privatisation of the campus security force and the administration's criminal apathy and neglect have helped to further encourage these tendencies. Moreover, the amazingly callous and high handed manner in which the administration chose to handle the Periyar incident was a clear pointer to the nexus between the administration and the ABVP, and the coalition level of their understanding.

It is no surprise, therefore, that even when the failure is at the level of the administration and the ABVP's physical intimidation, the level of suspicion is being directed against the common student. The issue of the hostel I-card clearly exposes the fact that the administration is more keen to curtail the freedom and democratic rights of the students than sincerely addressing the issue. The SFI-AISF demand that the recent Supreme Court guidelines on sexual harassment be immediately taken up, and a sincere attempt be made to constitute a democratically elected 'complaint committee', rather than raising the perverse logic of 'protection' (read as curtailed freedom).

Attend 2nd Election Meeting Tonight in Jhelum Mess at 9:30 P.M.

Attend 2nd Election Meeting Tonight in Jhelum Mess at 9:30 P.M.
Speakers : Com. Brinda Karat, Gen. Secy., AIDWA
Guest Speakers : Com. Atul Kumar Anjan, Ex-President, BHU, N.C., C.P.I.
Com. Ravi, Central Campaign Committee, SFI-AISF

Sd/- P. V. Aniyar,

14/10/97

Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad's agenda for national reconstruction is inclusive and encompasses marginalised sections of Indian society, Vanvasis, labour, kisans and Dalits. ABVP believes in empowering the marginalised sections through integration instead of fuelling confrontation. That is why we have consistently supported reservations for those who have been exploited and discriminated throughout centuries. The problem of inequality is not merely a matter of economic equity but is a matter of social status and cultural dignity. The Indian cultural ethos recognises divinity in every being and has no place for social inequality. An intense feeling of brotherhood born out of this realisation will eradicate caste differences and inequalities. We firmly believe that the programmes of social upliftment and economic help along with assertion of individual dignity through the inclusive agenda of Hindutva will strengthen and sustain the feeling of brotherhood.

The ideology of Hindutva has been the guiding principle of not only Vidyarthi Parishad but also Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), the largest trade union in India, Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram and Bharatiya Kisan Sangh (BKS). It should be of no surprise that the overwhelming majority of Indian working class is solidly behind BMS or that Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram has empowered lakhs of tribals from North-East, Vananchal (Jharkhand), Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh etc. The challenge thrown up by the vote bank politics of caste is to be met by socially combining constructive work with struggle. It is also necessary to espouse the cause of those who even today suffer from inequality, injustice and degradation. ABVP has consistently espoused the aspirations of Dalits, Tribals and OBCs for social justice as is evident from the unflinching support to the renaming of Marathwada University as Babasaneb Ambedkar University and in reservations for OBCs.

The most important aspect of social equality is status of women in the family and in the society. Special effort to educate all in this regard is necessary. A woman with a status of equality can be the best agent of change. In fact social change needs substantial participation of women. ABVP views women as 'shakti', embodiment of power and as agent of social change. The empowerment of women is an important part of the agenda of Hindutva and has become all the more important today due to commodification of women by rising consumerism and its consequent threat to a healthy family system. We fully support 33% reservation for women in elective bodies.

The Communists are trying their best to hoodwink the marginalised Vanvasis, Dalits and workers by promising radical changes not in "praxis" but by pedantic theorising. The communists and other left overs of the left are harping on "conflict" and "contradictions" and are trying to gain a foothold by encouraging casteism in alliance with "progressive" leaders like Mulayam Singh and Pappu Yadav. But as with communists all over the world the "internal contradictions" of the JNU communists has only resulted in their showing off of their theorising skills and has exposed their inability to play a meaningful role in empowering Vanvasis, Dalits, women and workers. Although the leftists dominated the JNUSU for the past 26 years they could not ensure fulfillment of SC/ST quota in the admissions. ABVP pledges to continue its effort to get the SC/ST quota fulfilled by the administration.

ABVP stands for swadeshi security and social harmony. For a conflict free society and to ensure social justice for all let us support ABVP.

VANDE MATARAM!

Sd/-

Manish Kumar

Election Campaign Coordinator

ELECTION COMMITTEE

Pradeep Tandon, Pramod Singh, Rabi Ranjan, Sonali, Vandana Jha, Uma Shankar, Rajeev Tiwari, Manvendra, Pradeep Dabral, Vikran, Avinash, Manish Chiranjiv, Rakesh.

YOUR CANDIDATES FOR THE FORTHCOMING JNUSU ELECTIONS (20TH OCT 1997)

President : GOVIND CHANDRA MISHRA
Vice President : CHITRASEN ROUT
General Secretary : JATIN KR. MOHANTY
Joint Secretary : RANDHIR KR. JHA

S.L.	SSS	SIS
AMITABH	ASHUTOSH	DEEPAK
ERFAN KHAN	BIRENDRA	KRISHNA
MUKUL	MANAS	PRAVEEN
SUBHOJIT	SHAILESH	SANDEEP
VARSHA	TANU	SUMIT
Part-Time:		
MUKESH		

Support and Elect the entire ABVP Panel

* Election Office: 38, Periyar Hostel

VANDE MATARAM!