

# SAHMAT

1 January 1989

Safdar Hashmi murdered in Delhi during a  
street theatre play



SAHMAT is formed by artists, actors, writers and  
academics in his memory.

Defending the right to  
freedom of expression

Confronting sectarian  
(communal) politics

Through the arts



April 12-16

**National Street Theatre Day**  
**Safdar Samaroh**  
**Artists Alert**



April 12

**National Street Theatre Day**



सफ़दर समारोह



- Every January 1st on the street at Safdar Hashmi Road.....exhibits, music, poetry, street plays..a celebration of our secular culture



UP bureaucracy set to be politicised further  
RSS chief's meeting with mandarins sparks debate

SAHMAT 8 VP House, Rafi Marg, New Delhi 110 001. Tel: 371 1276

Mobile ATTACKED SLEEPING FAMILY IN CAR  
MISSIONARY, 2  
DRNT ALIVE  
Idols smashed

BJP now plans  
set art and culture 'Right'

BJP  
Saffron brigade strike again in Gujarat

**National Street Theatre Day**  
**12 APRIL**

Violent attacks create fear psychosis among Christians

Sangh gospel for IAS old boys

Violent attacks create fear psychosis among Christians

Sangh gospel

Volte face by Joshi on saffronising education

Vandana made must in State Government love down day's schedule

UP bureaucracy set to be politicised further

राष्ट्रीय नुककड़ नाटक दिवस

IP leaders alter finals, probe ordered

सामना करे

VHP attack missionary meet

After history, BJP now plans to set art and culture 'Right'

Pak cricket team will not be allowed: Thackeray



SAHMAT







خسرو  
کھسرو  
کھسرو

हृदय ही हृदय  
जहाँ मिलकर होए  
हृदय के मैदुन में  
रहा कभीना मो

Through love  
the world of flowers  
is like a garden  
we have not effort  
within the heart the garden of love  
man's garden is the garden of love  
of the heart  
Love will, you can love  
the garden, love of the heart  
your heart, you can love  
of love  
your heart, you can love  
of heart

असकत का लाल है जल  
गह

गह



आओ कि कोई ख्वाब बुनें कल के बाइते  
वर्ना ये रात आज के खर्गल दौर की  
इस लेगी जानो-दिल की कुछ ऐसे कि जानो-दिल  
न को कोई हसी ख्वाब बुनें सकें

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लोग बातें करेंगे  
और ऐसे भी होंगे  
जो चुप ही रहेंगे  
त्रेरन्त  
हल्ला बोल

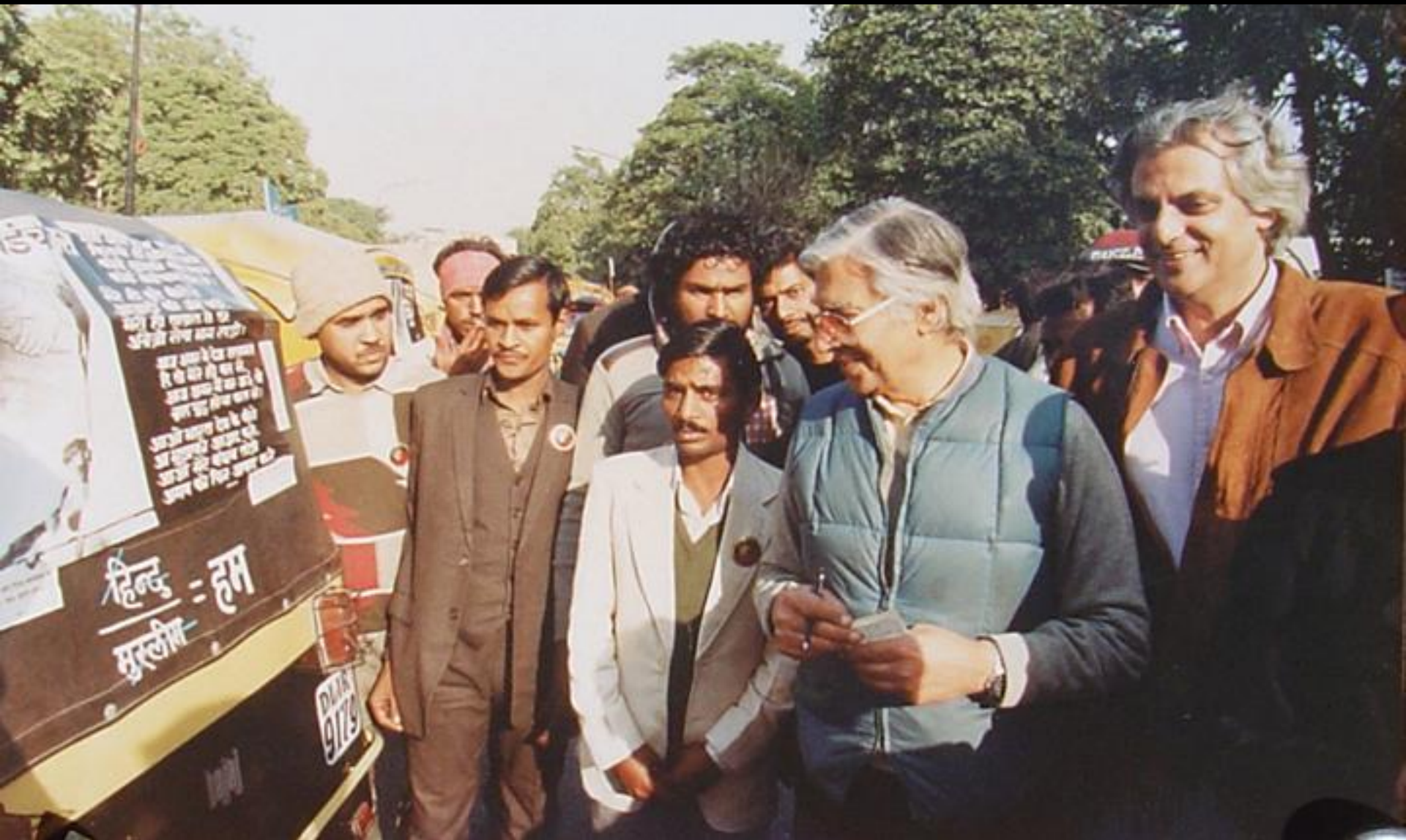
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हम कहते हैं इन्सानों में इन्सानों से प्यार रहे  
वो कहते हैं हाश्यों में त्रिशूल रहे तलवार रहे  
अब तम है कौन सी तम आवाज सनी तम क्या मानो

भीष्म साहनी  
BHISHAM SAHNI  
FRIENDS DONT REMAIN SPECTATORS  
EXPRESS CONCERN  
OR FEEL ASHAMED

14<sup>th</sup> Safdar Hashmi Memorial





आसकी बड़ा अजीब होती है पर किसी-किसी के नसीब होती है !  
छु लिया उसके दामन को मोत उसके करीब होती है !

S.R.



दिल देगें एक को वो भी किसी नैक को  
ये मन्दिर का प्रसाद नही जो बांटे हर एक को

haja

DL-1R  
9513

hance

या खुदा किसी हसी पे ये दिल फिदा ना करना  
गर फिदा करना कयामत तक कभी जुदा ना करना ।

ना ये हिन्दू की जमी है ना मुस्लमा की जमी है  
हिन्दुस्तान है जिसका नाम वो शहीदों की जमी है



देखते ही जल गये

सामिन कीच

घायल



DL1R  
TAXI  
5596

keep distance

# Images and Words







# Art on the Move







9302

WAYS OF RESISTING











# Culture and History as battleground

Ayodhya 1992



# THE TIMES OF INDIA

INDIA'S LARGEST SELLING DAILY NEWSPAPER

NO. 288 VOL. CLV • NEW DELHI, MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1992 • CAPITAL • 18 + 2 Capital Pages • Rs 2.40 ONLY

## 'SEVAKS' DEMOLISH BABRI MASJID

### Central rule in UP; BJP takes blame; nation betrayed, says PM

#### The Republic Besmirched

The worst was feared in Ayodhya; and the worst has come to pass. The disputed Babri Masjid structure has been razed to the ground. Despite solemn promises made to the Supreme Court, the Kalyan Singh government and the leaders of the Sangh parivar failed to prevent this gross act of vandalism. The failure reveals their inability or unwillingness or both to operate within the confines of the Constitution. No matter how much they try to explain away the destruction of the mosque, the fact remains that in the eyes of the nation they have effectively placed themselves outside the rule of law. The BJP, which has been in power in four states and enjoys considerable influence in several parts of the country, will have to pay a heavy price for its abysmal conduct. In one swift stroke it has forfeited its claims to be a party of governance. The nation will be well within its rights to ask how it can be entrusted with any responsibility if it lost its nerve with such abruptness during the dramatic developments on Sunday. It has invited the charge of unconstitutional behaviour.

The developments also expose the pernicious features of *hinduwa* espoused by the Sangh parivar. The doctrine draws its sustenance from hate, prejudice, bigotry and a determined and cynical refusal to abide by the pluralistic, tolerant and ethically sound character of Hinduism. To achieve its political ends, the Sangh parivar has wantonly exploited religious sentiments. Its brand of nationalism, far from uniting the Hindu community, has sown seeds of distrust and divisiveness. This would be all too evident from the consequences of the destruction of the Babri Masjid: the gulf between India's largest communities has widened; the Indian state has been thrown on the defensive and India's face has been blackened. The horrendous irony of it all is that such misery has been perpetrated in the name of Lord Ram, a name which in the hearts of millions of Hindus evokes sentiments of valour, justice and tolerance.

It is however not enough to squarely blame only the *hinduwa* forces for Sunday's developments. The central government, Parliament, the courts and all those who shape opinion cannot escape their share of the responsibility. Quite clearly, they were unable to gauge the depth

The Times of India News Service in New Delhi and Ayodhya.

December 6. THE Kalyan Singh government was today dismissed and the Uttar Pradesh assembly dissolved after 'kar sevaks' razed the Babri Masjid to the ground.

The decision to dismiss the Kalyan Singh ministry was taken unanimously at an emergency meeting of the Union Cabinet. Earlier, Mr Kalyan Singh had sent in his resignation to the governor. In an address to the nation after the cabinet meeting, the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, said the nation had been betrayed by the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad which had agreed to hold only a symbolic 'kar seva' in Ayodhya.

The BJP on its part took "moral responsibility" for today's developments in a statement issued by the party's vice-president, Mr S.S. Bhandari. When initial reports of the demolition came in, Mr Bhandari had described the attack on the masjid as akin to a "road accident".

'Kar sevaks' in thousands descended on the Babri Masjid around 11.40 am even as senior BJP leaders were addressing a mammoth gathering at the Ram Katha Kunj nearby.

The IIP police moved away as the 'kar sevaks' scaled barricades and clambered on to the domes of the mosque where saffron flags were hoisted. Then began a frenzied demolition with shovels, iron rods and pickaxes.

By nightfall, the 'kar sevaks' were fully in control and the idols of Ram Lalla which had been removed earlier were reinstated amid chanting of prayers.

As the 'kar sevaks' in hordes brought down the domes of the Babri Masjid, Sadhvi Ritambhara and Uma Bharati were seen hugging each other in celebration at the Ram Katha Kunj. Mr L.K. Advani, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee,



Breaking through barricades, 'kar sevaks' surge towards the Babri Masjid. Some 'sevaks' are all ready atop the Masjid's domes. TOI photo by T. Narayan.

repeatedly urged 'kar sevaks' not to leave the area, but nobody listened.

The mood was rebellious, unlike the mood in the morning, when saffron and saffron flags had gathered at the platform next to the shilanyas etc. In the morning, thousands of

volunteers tried to muscle out the 'kar sevaks', but they stood their ground.

This went on for some time and suddenly a group of about 30 men in yellow headbands descended on the 'kar sevaks'. They managed to

swarmed into the disputed area. Soon two 'kar sevaks' were seen atop the dome, waving saffron flags. Thereafter there was nothing to stop the 'kar sevaks' from entering. The U.P. police did not even attempt to check them. Most look-

ed by another magistrate and told to go back as the approach road to the shrine was blocked.

By now all the 'kar sevaks' were at the 2.77 acre disputed site. Many climbed to the roof of the shrine, while others gathered at the

#### Uneasy calm in walled city area

By A Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, December 6. A uneasy calm prevailed in the walled city area today as youths, agitated over the demolition of the Babri masjid domes, dared the heavy police deployment even as the Border Security Force staged a flag march. Prohibitory orders had earlier been clamped throughout the capital by the Police Commissioner, Mr M.B. Kaushal.

Slogans were raised against the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Delhi police a little after the Naib Imam called for restraint and patience. Agitated youths collected outside the south gate of Jama Masjid and quietened only after the Naib Imam rushed down on hearing of the slogan-shouting. He appealed the youths to return, but none did. They strained against the human chain formed by elders

Continued on page 3, col. 1

ALWAR, AMBALA, AMRITSAR. EVERYWHERE!

**OVERNITE EXPRESS**

THE LARGEST COBBLE SERVICE ANYWHERE

**CITY WEATHER**

**FORECAST:**  
Dull in the morning. Mostly clear sky. Clouds may increase towards afternoon and night temperature will be about 0 degrees Celsius.

**TEMPERATURE:**  
Maximum temperature on Sunday was 24.4 degrees C (Jaisal) and the rest was 22.4 degrees C (Gurgaon). Rainfall nil. Minimum: 10.0 degrees C (Jaisal).





# What then are our invocations?

### In legend:

On the left, a sketch of the city, and on the right, a sketch of the city, showing the city's layout and the city's layout.

### In the city:

On the left, a sketch of the city, and on the right, a sketch of the city, showing the city's layout and the city's layout.



# Ayodhya

## Ayudhya

What are the names that have not fallen under the gaze of the cause?

### Approaching Ayodhya

It has changed back that the city is now a city of the past.

### The Nation

As a nation, we are not a nation, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past.

### The Sacred

We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past.

### Rehistoricize

We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past.

### Journeys

We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past. We are not a nation of the past, but a nation of the past.

- Ayodhya:
- Ayojha
- Saketa
- Vinita
- Visakha
- Kosala
- Mahakosala
- Ikshyakubhooni
- Rampuri
- Ramjanambhooni
- Shachi (Faher)

### The River

The river is the lifeblood of the city. It is the river that has made the city what it is today. It is the river that has made the city what it is today.

### The City

The city is a city of the past. It is a city of the past. It is a city of the past. It is a city of the past.

# अयोध्या

The Great Procession: It is a city of the past. It is a city of the past. It is a city of the past. It is a city of the past.

The city is a city of the past. It is a city of the past. It is a city of the past. It is a city of the past.

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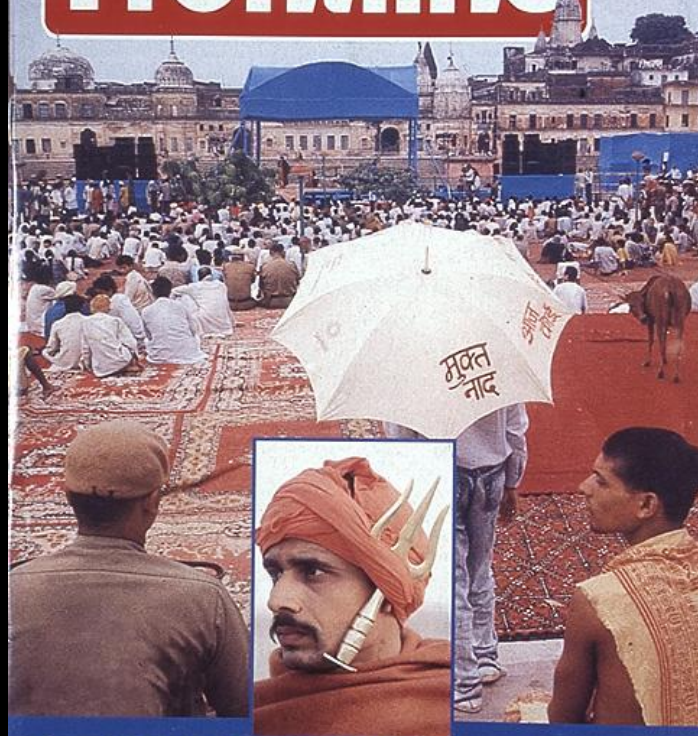




INDIA'S NATIONAL MAGAZINE from the publishers of THE HINDU

# Frontline

September 10,  
1993  
Rs. 15



## TAKING ON HINDUTVA

### The Architecture of Anandya



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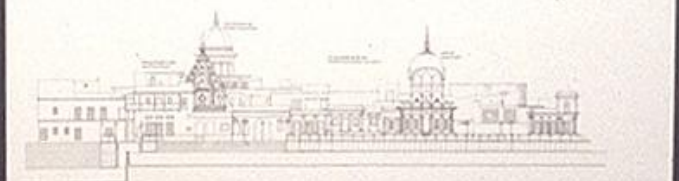
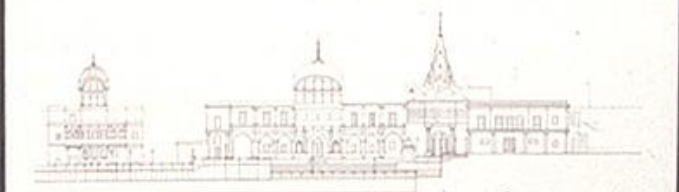


### Restoration of the Ram Ki Pahadi Chaat

The Ram Ki Pahadi Chaat is a historical building located in the city of Jaipur, India. It was built in the 18th century and is known for its unique architecture, which combines elements of Rajasthani and Mughal styles. The building is a two-story structure with a central dome and several smaller domes. It is surrounded by a wall and has a series of arches leading to the entrance. The building is in a state of disrepair and has been the subject of a restoration project. The restoration work has focused on repairing the damaged masonry and restoring the original architectural details. The project has been completed and the building is now open to the public. It is a popular tourist attraction and is well-maintained. The restoration work has been a success and has helped to preserve an important part of the city's heritage.



### The Architecture of Anandya



The History of Ayodhya



Uprising of Nationalism and local rebellions

The Nationalist movement in India was a struggle for the freedom of the country from British rule. It was a movement of the people, and it was a movement of the people. It was a movement of the people, and it was a movement of the people. It was a movement of the people, and it was a movement of the people.

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Ayodhya Palace, Capital of the Nawabs, 18th Century

The Ayodhya Palace was the capital of the Nawabs of Ayodhya. It was a magnificent building, and it was a magnificent building. It was a magnificent building, and it was a magnificent building. It was a magnificent building, and it was a magnificent building.



The History of Ayodhya



Ashfaqullah Khan

...



National movement and local uprisings

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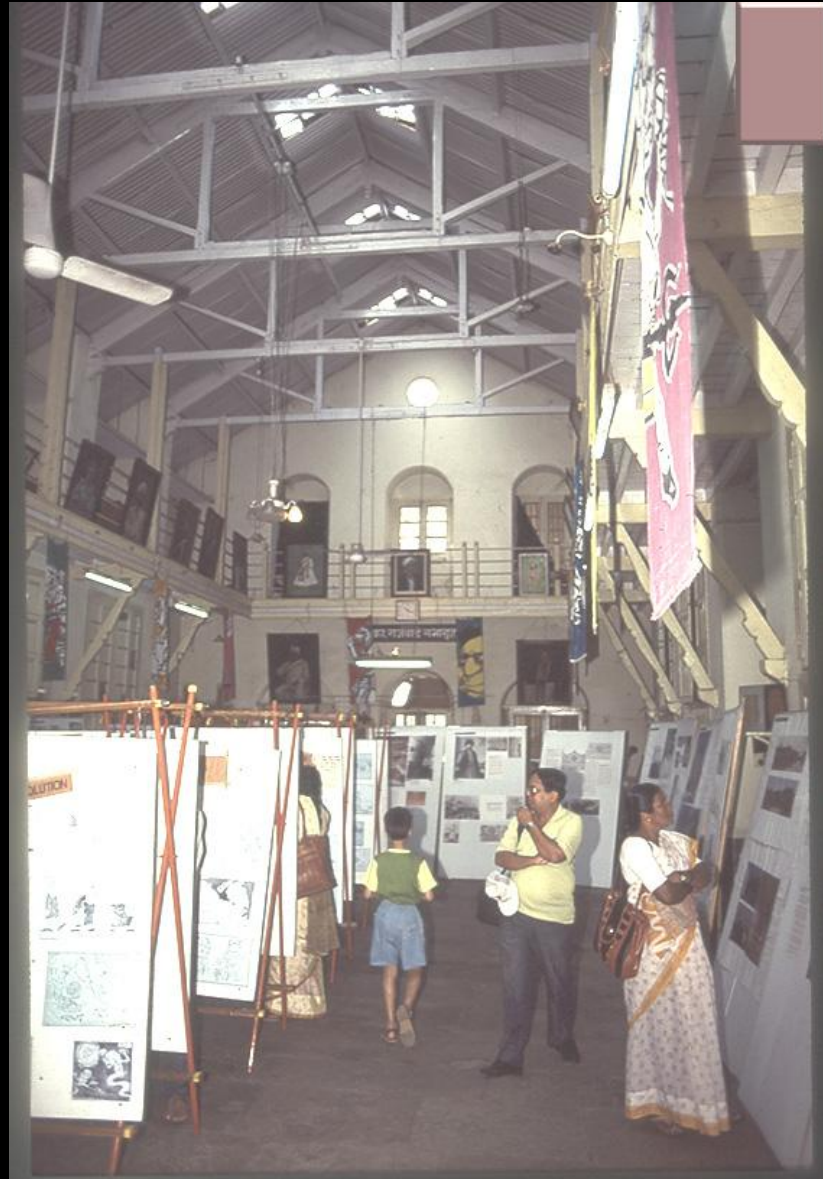
...

Swami Sahjanand Saraswati

...



**Visitors at the  
“Hum Sab Ayudhya”  
exhibition put up  
by Sahmat  
in Delhi in August...  
a free voice stilled.**





# THE HINDU

Online edition of India's National Newspaper  
Friday, July 20, 2001

## **Ayodhya returns to the Capital with a bang**

By Gaurav Vivek Bhatnagar

NEW DELHI, JULY 19. Having won a ``censorship case'' after eight years of legal battle, the Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust today re-mounted its much talked about exhibition ``Hum Sab Ayodhya'' and topped it up with a vocal recital by its ``friend'', Ms.Shubha Mudgal, here to celebrate the vindication of its stand.

The Delhi High Court had this past week declared ``null and void'' a Delhi Government notification banning exhibition of a text panel by SAHMAT delineating various versions of the Ramayana which included a









# Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar

13 April  
1919-1994  
**75**  
REMEMBERANCE

## Events leading up to the Massacre

**March 30] मार्च 30**  
Gandhi led the non-violent Indian Home Rule movement against British rule. A non-violent movement against British rule. Gandhi led the non-violent Indian Home Rule movement against British rule.

**April 8] अप्रैल 8**  
Gandhi was arrested in the non-violent Indian Home Rule movement against British rule.

**April 9] अप्रैल 9**  
A very large procession of Hindus and Muslims led by the Khilafat and the Congress leadership against the arrest of Gandhi.

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**April 10] अप्रैल 10**  
A large procession of all religions led by the Khilafat and the Congress leadership against the arrest of Gandhi.

**April 11] अप्रैल 11**  
General Dyer moved Amritsar from Jullundur and used Amritsar as a base for his operations against the non-violent Indian Home Rule movement.

**April 12] अप्रैल 12**  
A public meeting of all religions was held in Amritsar on the evening of April 12 at Jullianwala Bagh. The meeting was held in Amritsar on the evening of April 12 at Jullianwala Bagh.

**April 13] अप्रैल 13**  
The day of the Baisakhi festival. Thousands of people including women carrying children on their arms assembled at the Bagh which had just been announced and the regular one.

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The struggle for liberation in India was an epic struggle. A struggle which brought together Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, the rich and the poor, in a grand alliance against imperialism. A struggle which rested upon the vision of an India realizing to the full the creative capacities of her people.

The tragedy enacted at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on April 13, 1919, captured the spirit of this struggle. On this fateful day, tens of thousands of Indians, men, women and children, gathered at Jullianwala Bagh to protest against British oppression and colonial rule. Hundreds gave their lives for the sake of a free and independent India. We owe to this anniversary the duty to realize the dream of a free and independent India.

हिंसावादी की आवाज़ों की आवाज़ें एक-दूसरे पर नहीं थीं। एक ऐसी आवाज़ें जिन्होंने हिंदू, मुसलमान और सिखों को एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ उकहाया था। एक ऐसी आवाज़ें जो देश के सभी लोगों की आवाज़ों को एक ही आवाज़ में बदल देती थीं।

एक ऐसी आवाज़ें जो देश के सभी लोगों की आवाज़ों को एक ही आवाज़ में बदल देती थीं। एक ऐसी आवाज़ें जो देश के सभी लोगों की आवाज़ों को एक ही आवाज़ में बदल देती थीं।

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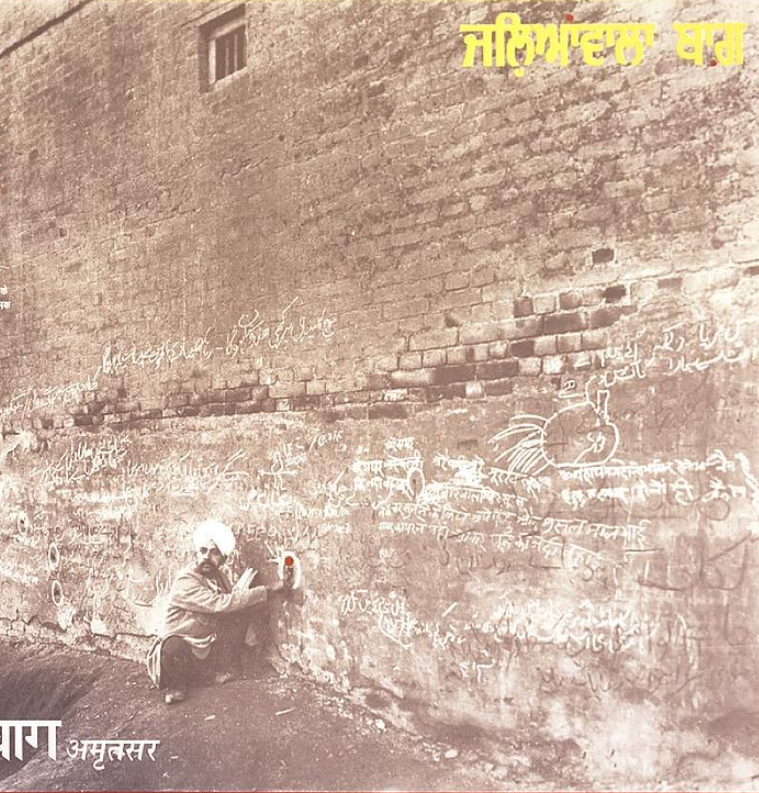
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## जलियांवाला बाग

## जलियांवाला बाग अमृतसर



Portrait of a man, likely a leader of the movement.



Portrait of a man, likely a leader of the movement.



Portrait of a man, likely a leader of the movement.

### Poetry 1919

They shall not live calmly ever in Amritsar  
The prison warden? How shall we not weep  
The bars that surround and the hands that seize  
The loneliness with which we have to cope  
Let his little anguish be our little rage  
To watch the tower of the tower's might  
That winks with malice across the range of hills  
And man with shame their ancient heritage  
O beautiful O broken and betrayed  
Broken down and unremembered  
O beautiful prison O martyred  
The sacred memory of the prison shall  
Shall prove the first and foremost of Punjab's freedom  
And guard the birthplace of our Liberty!  
Sarbjit Nanda



A photograph of a street scene in Amritsar.

### NEWS ITEM

On 13 April 1919, British troops opened fire on a crowd of unarmed Indians gathered at Jullianwala Bagh in Amritsar. The British troops fired on the crowd, killing 379 people and wounding 1,200. This was the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.



Portrait of a man, likely a leader of the movement.

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In Defence of our Secular Tradition

# UDHAM SINGH

CENTENARY 1899 - 1999

# ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਉਧਮ ਸਿੰਘ

Ram

*Mohamed Singh Azad*



1899

Born in Suran, Punjab  
December 20.

1907

Orphaned at a very young age, he was brought up in the Central Khewa Punjigar Orphanage in Amritsar.

1919

April 13, Jallianwala Bagh  
It is popularly believed that Udharn Singh was present at the Bagh during the firing, and might have been injured in the arm by a bullet. What is certain is that the incident and the subsequent torture and humiliations heaped on the populace in Amritsar and Punjab left an indelible impression on Udharn Singh's mind, and he vowed to avenge the incident.

1920's

Traveled and worked as a mechanic and carpenter in Africa and the Middle East. He moved to the USA and in California came under the influence of the Ghader Party. Udharn Singh married an American and had two sons, and lived in Michigan and New York. He smuggled three revolvers back into India on his return.

1927-31

Arrested for possession of weapons and revolutionary activity. For four years he was in Multan Central Prison and Marvul Jail where he met Bhagat Singh before his execution.

1931

After his release from prison, Udharn Singh opened a sign-painting shop in Ghanta Ghar Chowk, in Amritsar, where his name plate read: Ram Mohamed Singh Azad.

1934

Left for London and began planning his revenge.

1940

March 12: Meeting of the East India Association at Cavendish Hall in London. Udharn Singh fired six shots after the meeting: Sir Michael O'Dwyer was killed, Lord Zetland, Sir Louis Dane and Lord Lamington were injured.

July 21: Udharn Singh was hanged.

The revolutionaries played an exemplary role in the Indian people's epic struggle for freedom. Motivated by a deep sense of patriotism and an aspiration for an egalitarian social order, these young men and women did not flinch from sacrificing their lives for the cause and have inspired generations of Indians.

The only legend among the people during the freedom struggle, overcoming distinctions of religion and caste, was the foundation of a modern India. Udharn Singh, hanged for avenging the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, symbolized this unity and the goal that made it possible, in the name he adopted for himself: Ram Mohamed Singh Azad.

*"I do not care about the sentence of death. It means nothing at all. I am dying for a purpose... I hate nothing against the English people at all. I hate more English friends in King in England than I hate in India. I have great sympathy with the workers of England. I am against the imperialist government... Inqilab Zindabad... Down with British imperialism!"*



0761



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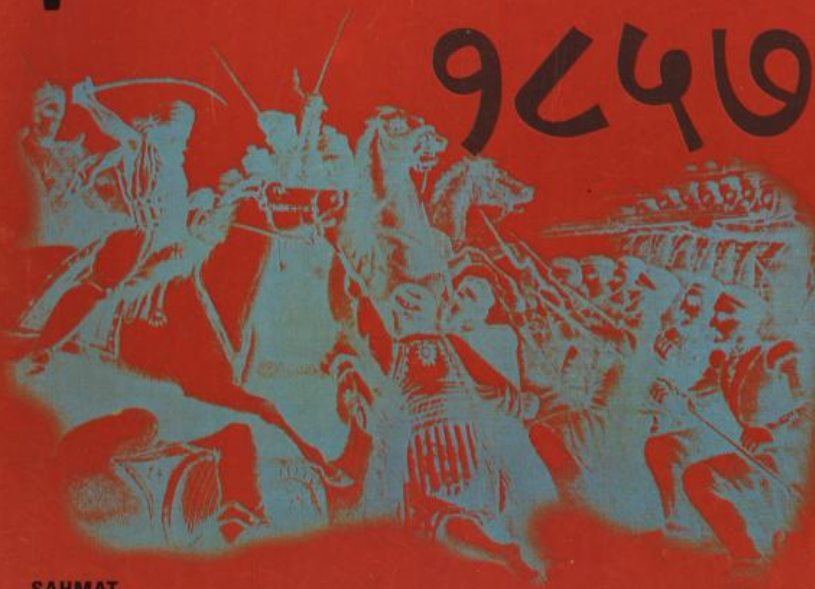
**Red the Earth,**

that year, that year ...

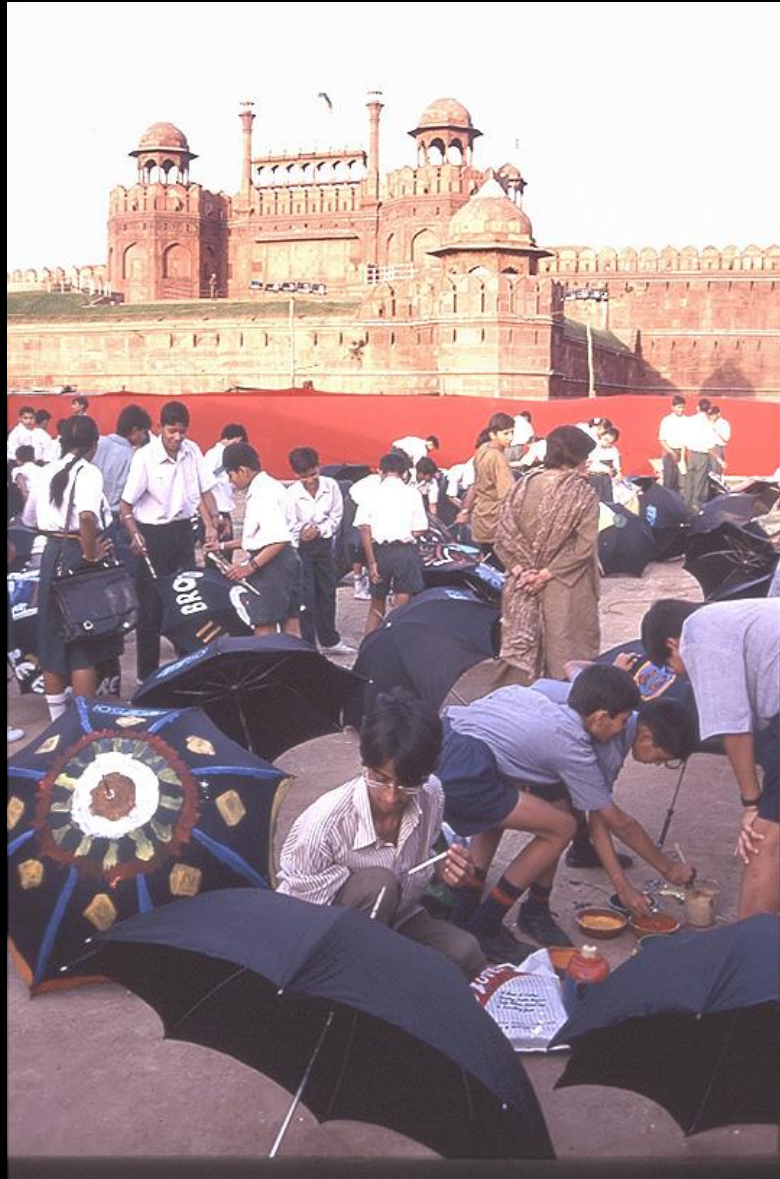
**1857**

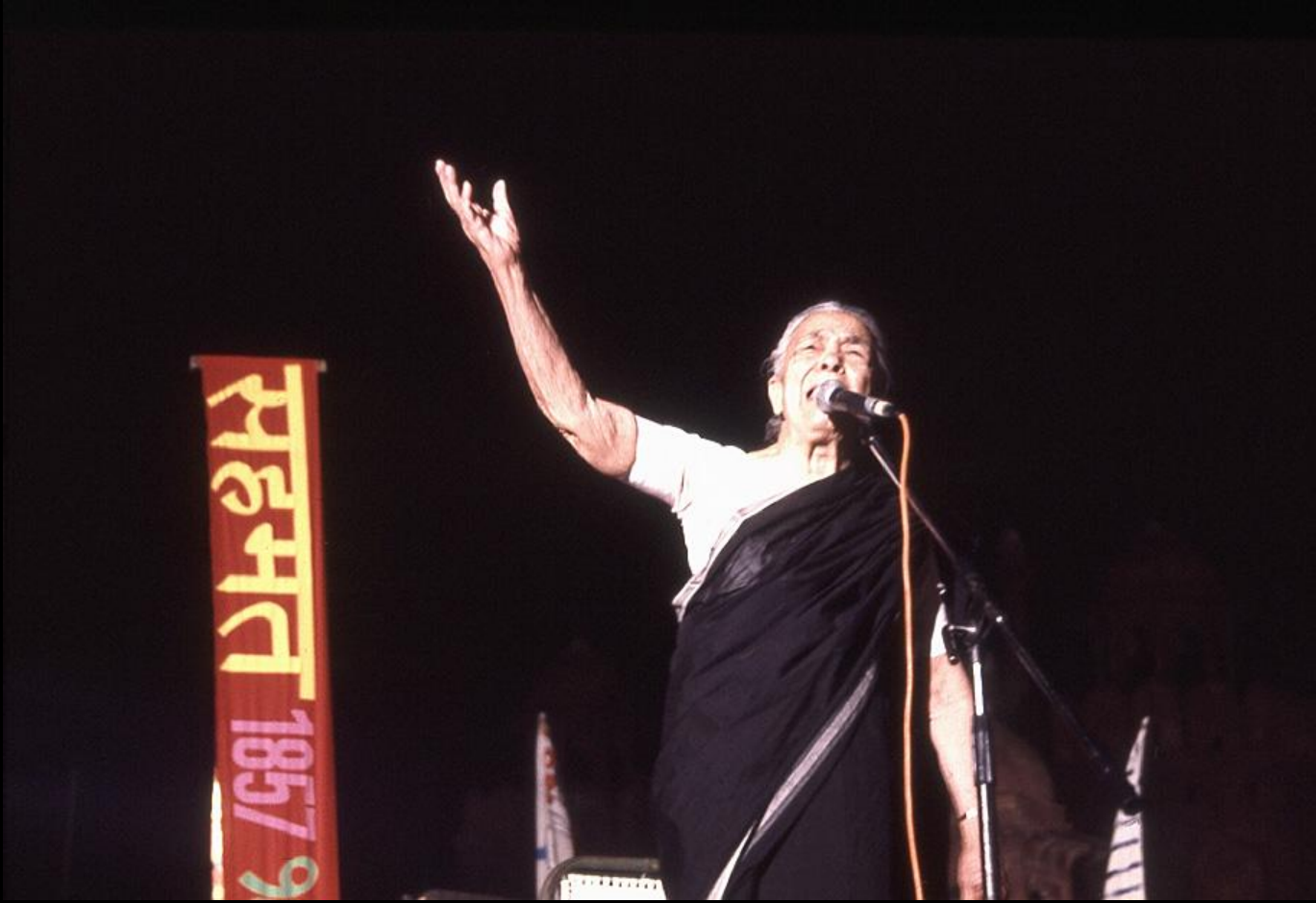
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An Exposé



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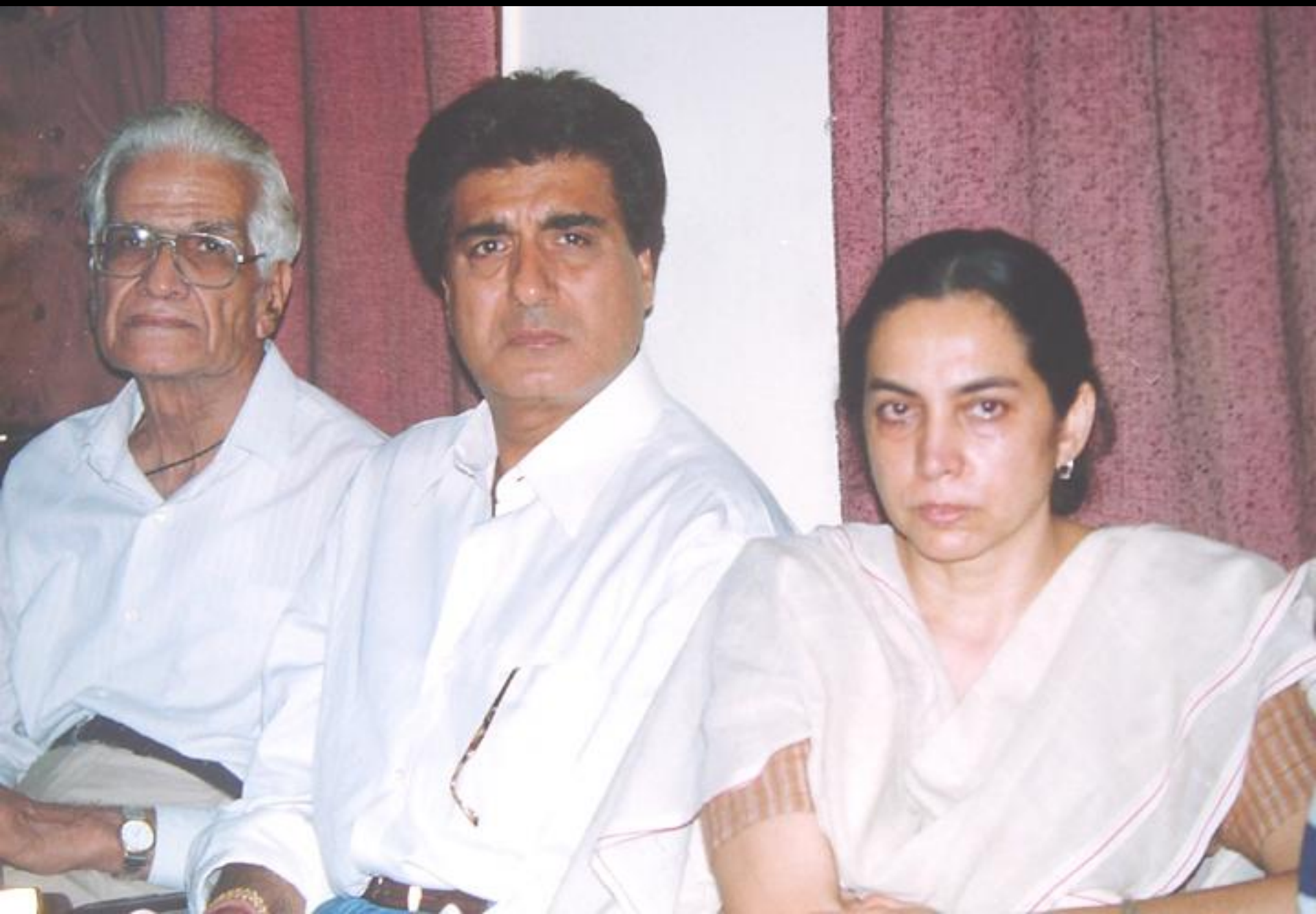
# Punish the Guilty Testimony of Survivors

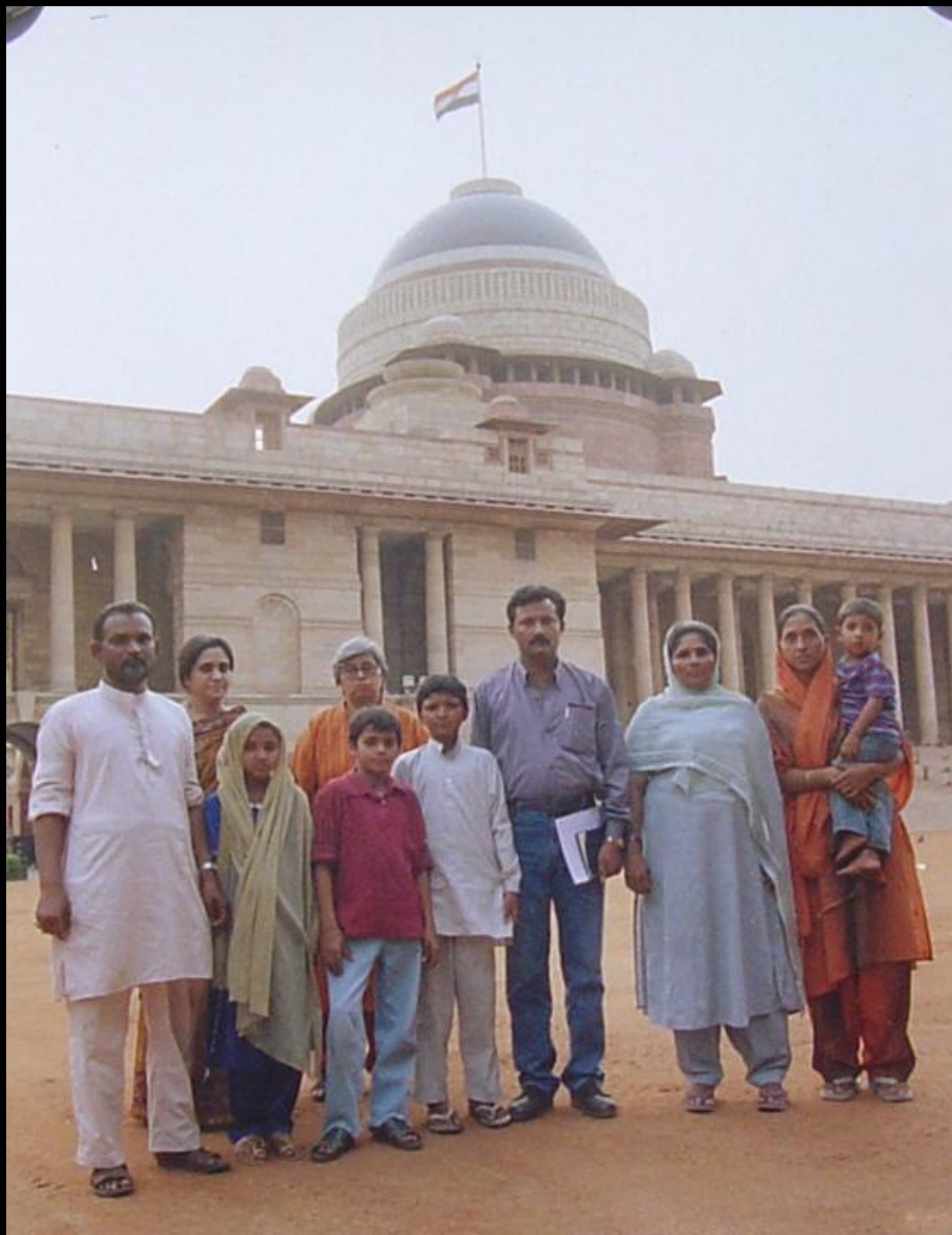
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के एन पणिवकर

राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन का  
प्रारंभ: विद्रोह से  
आंदोलन की ओर

पी साइनाथ

सूचना माध्यम और  
कारगिल





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हिन्दी कविता अयोध्या के बाद

दूसरी जिल्द



संपादक  
असद जैदी



# दस बरस

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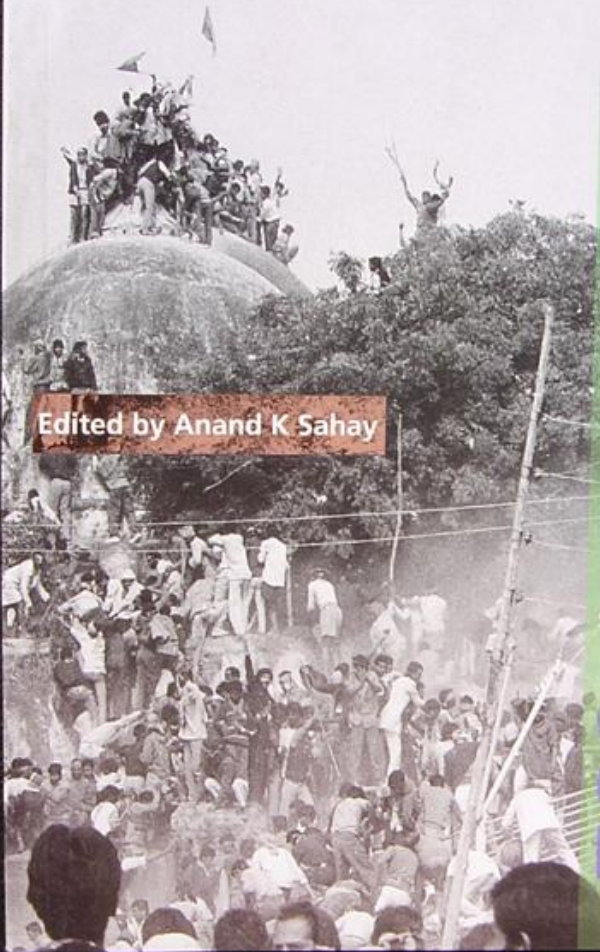
Aijaz Ahmad  
Javeed Alam  
Neera Chandhoke  
Sudhir Chandra  
Rajeev Dhavan  
Irfan Habib  
Mushirul Hasan  
Zoya Hasan  
Manjari Katju  
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'आपके लोगों का इतिहास के साथ-साथ भूगोल भी गड़बड़ है। आपके आतंकवादी अपने ही देश के लोगों को मार रहे हैं।'

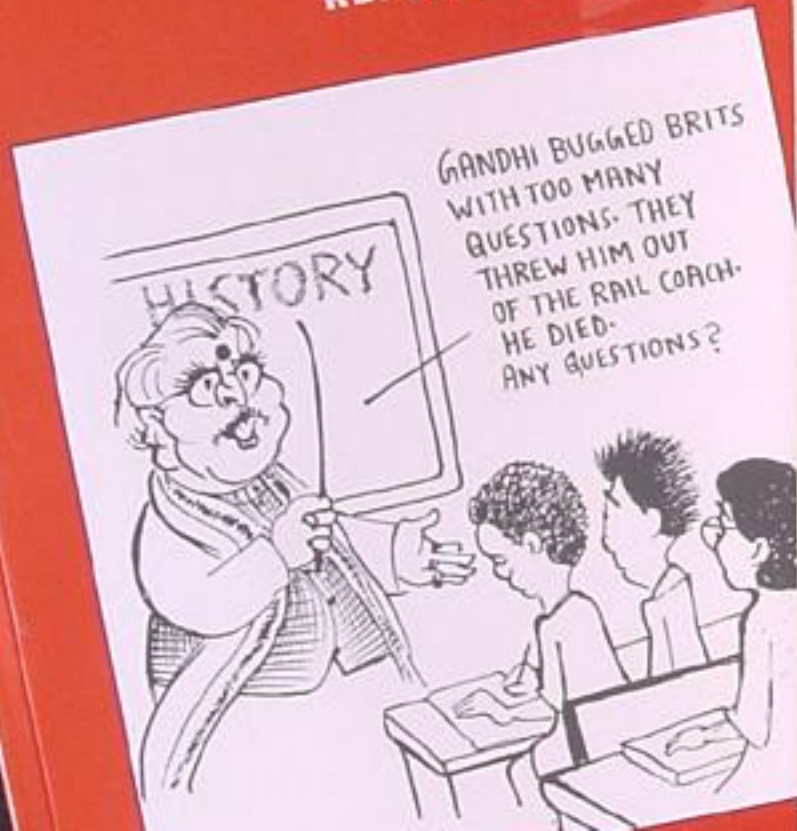


'यह गाड़ी हमारी यात्रा के लिए उचित है। इसमें साइलेंसर नहीं है, यह खूब धुआं उगलती है, और इसमें ब्रेक भी नहीं है।'

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10

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