



## ARTISTS PROTEST

On 13 July 1999, a small number of Shiv Sainiks held a demonstration in front of Delhi's hotel Le Meridien and burnt an effigy of Dilip Kumar. They had announced their intention well in advance of the action, and performed their ritual of fire in the presence of a large number of policemen.

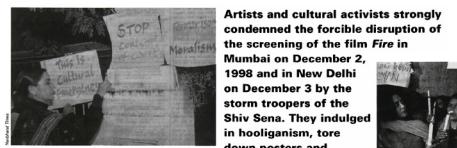
Dilip Kumar commands the affection of millions of Indians and is a great symbol of our composite cultural traditions. This attack is part of the terror campaign that has been unleashed against some of our eminent artists; and a part of the campaign of terror that has been going on in India against all liberal, progressive and secular people. Whether or not Dilip Kumar should retain any or all the awards he has received in the course of his distinguished career is entirely up to him, and no one in this country can be granted the right to hound and terrorise him in the garb of patriotism.

*The Asian Age* 11 July 1999  
**Pakistan honour no Nishan**  
on Dilip Kumar's patriotism'

## Say NO to Cultural Policing



## SAY NO TO CULTURAL POLICING



Demonstrating at the home minister's residence in New Delhi, artists, cultural activists and political leaders condemned the attack on one of our most respected film personalities, which comes as part of a cycle of violence unleashed by the new morality police.

The attack on Dilip Kumar's residence in Mumbai following the actor's approach to the Supreme Court was an affront to civilised norms and a grievous blow to creative freedoms.

Artists and cultural activists strongly condemned the forcible disruption of the screening of the film *Fire* in Mumbai on December 2, 1998 and in New Delhi on December 3 by the storm troopers of the Shiv Sena. They indulged in hooliganism, tore down posters and smashed window panes.

### Attack on Fire: Fundamentalist intolerance to Creative expression



## IN PURSUIT OF A HIDDEN AGENDA

## REJECT THEM FOR DESTROYING INSTITUTIONS

THE HINDU TIMES 28 JUN 1998

18 new members, with close links to the Hindutva movement, appointed at the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR). The primary aim of ousting liberal historians was to rewrite history with a communal perspective.



Election Commission had to stop setting up of National Reconstruction Corps or Rashtriya Punarnirman Vahini to inculcate 'nationalist values' among youth.

Members closely associated with the Sangh Parivar brought into the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla.

A paper prepared by an RSS outfit seeking to 'Indianise, nationalise and spiritualise' the education system appended to the agenda paper of the state education ministers' conference.

A pro-Parivar chairman of the UGC appointed by the caretaker government.

होशियार, खबरदार, जागते रहो!

## SAY NO TO CULTURAL POLICING

On May 1, 1999,

Samudaya, a theatre group of Karnataka was attacked by hoodlums led by the BJP councillor M. Nagaraj, while performing a play on communal harmony at Anekal, a taluka town near Bangalore.



Artists and concerned citizens organised protests in Delhi and Bangalore.

Demonstrating at the BJP office in Delhi, the artists said in a statement that the attack on creative persons and creative activity is nothing new for the Sangh Parivar and appealed to all to resist such acts. Attack on Karnataka street theatre group condemned

## STOP THE GOONS

## REJECT NUCLEAR ADVENTURISM

Why did a 50-day coalition on the verge of collapse rush into an act which three infinitely more stable regimes had considered - and rejected?

On that day the papers were full of public criticism of the PM by Ramakrishna Hegde. 'Tired', 'fatigued', 'indecisive' was how Hegde described Vajapayee and his government.

*Outlook*, May 25, 1998



BUT WHAT OF NATIONAL SECURITY?  
Within a week Pakistan exploded a nuclear device. Within three months the Kargil intrusion began.

## ध्यान दें ATTENTION PARIVAR HYPOCRISY



As many as half of the 180 BJP MPs, including L. K. Advani, have studied in Christian-run institutions. Their children and grand-children also go to convent schools. RSS Chief Rajinder Singh is an alumnus of St. Josephs, Nainital.

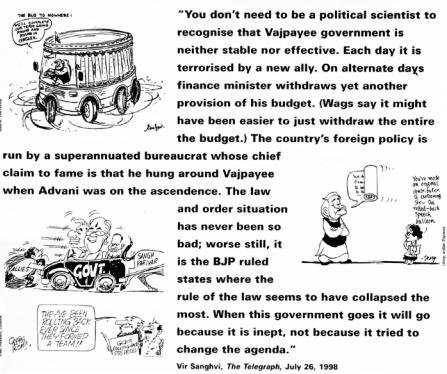


In its 'swadeshi' drive, the Bajrang Dal in Surat is being helped by an MNC, Motorola. The saffron dal has acquired an eight-set walkie talkie system for Rs. 86,000/- it costs upwards of Rs. 1 lakh--to keep vigil on all things phoren.

ENOUGH! NO MORE!

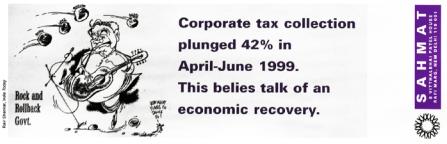
I am a little baffled by their logic: Coke is western culture, but the nuclear bomb is an old Indian tradition?  
Arunabha Roy

## An Inept Govt: A Roll-back Govt



"You don't need to be a political scientist to recognise that Vajapayee government is neither stable nor effective. Each day it is terrorised by a new ally. On alternate days finance minister withdraws yet another provision of his budget. (Wags say it might have been easier to just withdraw the entire budget.) The country's foreign policy is run by a superannuated bureaucrat whose chief claim to fame is that he hung around Vajapayee when Advani was on the ascendance. The law and order situation has never been so bad; worse still, it is the BJP ruled states where the rule of the law seems to have collapsed the most. When this government goes it will go because it is inept, not because it tried to change the agenda."

Vir Sanghvi, *The Telegraph*, July 26, 1998



Corporate tax collection plunged 42% in April-June 1999. This belies talk of an economic recovery.



## Abortive Attempt to Impose Hindutva in Education



The state education ministers, conference in October 1998 revealed the full scope of the Hindutva agenda. The HRD ministry inserted many tendentious items into the agenda to be presented to the conference by P. D. Chitlangia of the Vidyabharti schools established by the RSS since 1978:

Article 30, granting constitutional exception to assuage insecure minorities, sought to be generalised so that religious instruction becomes the rule.

Introduction of Saraswati Vandana as a 'culturally symbolic' prayer in educational institutions.

Curricula to be altered only for girls at the higher level to include training in 'home keeping'.

STOP THE GOONS

## DON'T FORGET THIS VANDALISM Lumpens act as morality brigade



### Targeting institutions of learning

After stepping up attacks on the minority communities, the VHP in Gujarat turned its attention to institutions of higher learning. On July 20, 1998, a group of 100 to 150 armed persons entered the campus of the Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology (CEPT) in Ahmedabad. They attacked students and faculty members: several students were stabbed and some were abused, abducted and beaten. The mob ransacked studios, destroyed artwork, damaged windows and broke into the library and the offices.

The lumpen elements have an unwritten sanction to handle such issues (of misplaced nationality, morality and so on) in the way we saw at CEPT and other places in Gujarat. This is ominous.



STOP THE GOONS

## REJECT

## NUCLEAR ADVENTURISM

Why did a 50-day coalition on the verge of collapse rush into an act which three infinitely more stable regimes had considered - and rejected?

On that day the papers were full of public criticism of the PM by Ramakrishna Hegde. 'Tired', 'fatigued', 'indecisive' was how Hegde described Vajapayee and his government.



BUT WHAT OF NATIONAL SECURITY?  
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## HARVEST OF HATRED posters

# WHAT DO THEY STAND FOR?

The RSS is not nationalist because its definition of the Indian nation is so restricted that a greater part of the regions, literatures, and religions stand excluded. The multiple historical strands which form the network of national consciousness are clipped. Above all, the RSS is not nationalist because it is unable to incorporate the ideals of liberty, justice and equality which would modern nationalism.

The Times of India, July 7, 1998

The RSS is quintessentially a petit bourgeois organisation... which imitated western ideas of militant nationalism on a puny scale. In many ways, the RSS is a colonial caricature in its dress code as well as in the paramilitary drill.

The Times of India, July 7, 1998



**SAHMAT**  
SAHMAT: A CIVIC ACTION GROUP AGAINST HATEFUL PRACTICES

# REJECT THEM FOR RE-WRITING HISTORY

A full fifty years after the assassination of the Mahatma, the Bharatiya Janata Party in its latest in-house journal, *BJP Today*, has as its lead story - *Who Plotted Gandhi's Assassination? A Fresh Assessment*.

It is being seen as an attempt to wash off the stain on the RSS. The cover story in *BJP Today* has been written by Mr. R. Chandrachudan, who was a sub-editor in *The Hindustan Times* during those tumultuous days. The article says and suggests that it is "possible" that British Intelligence may have "got round to Godse" to influence him to murder the Mahatma. Even if one assumes that it was the hitherto unknown British Intelligence, that would mean that Godse's mind, fed on a hate Gandhi RSS propaganda, must have been found by the Intelligence network to be the most fertile ground for sowing the seeds of treason.

The Hindu, September 18, 1998



No civilised society grants the right to kill a man on grounds of difference of opinion.

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# SAY NO TO TALIBANISATION

Delhi's BJP government wanted to remove churches from the list of places of worship because sacramental wine is distributed here. "...they know that a Delhi's famous Bhairon temple the standard offering is hard liquor, usually rum in large quantities. This has not provoked anyone to suggest that the place be declared a "drinking den".

Indra Malhotra (The Hindu, July 8, 1998)

In July VHP organised a 'mango ice-cream picnic' at Delhi's Lodhi Garden to "propagate the idea of Akhand Bharat". When they finished there were mangled gates and railings, damaged pathways and trampled plants. They wanted "Pakistan and Bangladesh to be united with their motherland".

"Indian girls must adopt either sari or salwar kameez which conforms to our culture"

Hari Vishnu Dalmya (The Times of India, August 16, 1998)

Delhi's BJP government tried to implement a dress code for school girls, claiming they were doing it as a precaution against dengue fever.

Schools, parents, teachers and students protested the thinly disguised imposition of a dress code. Why not a burkha? Wouldn't that be the best option against mosquitoes? It is worth mentioning that at no point did the RSS offer to give up the khaki knicker to protect its cadre.



**STOP THE GOONS**

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A series of *Parichay Mala* booklets distributed by the VHP explicitly mentions terrorizing Christians and Muslims in its "Hinduisations" drive and lists the following instances of violence as 'achievements':

- Forcible occupation of places of worship of other religions
- Occupation of missionary-run schools
- Physical assault on members of the minority community
- Inducing people to reconvert to Hinduism

Atul Behari Vajpeyi

# VHP'S PRIDE NATION'S SHAME



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# ENOUGH! NO MORE!

Violence against Christians in six districts of Gujarat, including burning of churches and chapels; begging Bal Thackeray to allow cricket matches to be played with Pakistan for one more year; the denial to Sonia Gandhi of any right to criticise the RSS and its Sangh Parivar over the atrocities and the brutal killing of a missionary serving the poor and the needy together with his two young sons, to the accompaniment of slogans in praise of the Bajrang Dal; all these add up to a very unflattering reflection on the Vajpayee government for its failure to act.

The Statesman, January 2, 1999

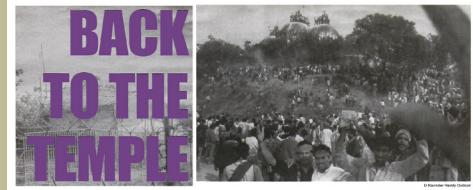


The President has led the nation in expressing disgust at the latest assault on our secular credentials...

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# BACK TO THE TEMPLE



"No construction activity for a temple is going on anywhere near the disputed site."

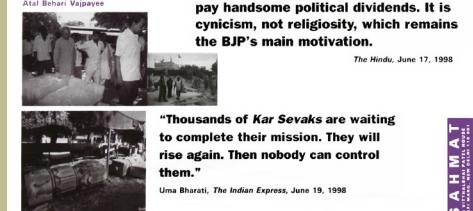
Atul Behari Vajpeyi

The BJP is willing once more to plunge the country into the same communal maelstrom as it did six years ago. It has no compunctions either about the trauma which the country experienced or the widening of the communal gulf... obviously it believes that whipping up a frenzy all over again on this issue will pay handsome political dividends. It is cynicism, not religiosity, which remains the BJP's main motivation.

The Hindu, June 17, 1998

"Thousands of *Kar Sevaks* are waiting to complete their mission. They will rise again. Then nobody can control them."

Uma Bharati, The Indian Express, June 19, 1998



दौशियार, खबरदार, जागते रहो!

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# HARVEST OF HATRED

From December 25 to 31, 1998, 'forces of Hindutva' set fire to nine and vandalised eleven churches across Dangs, the smallest district in Gujarat.



"In pre-planned, guerrilla-style manoeuvre, night after night through the week, hundreds of these men descended on to the villages to break, vandalise and set fire as per their fancy, churches, prayer houses and beat up men and women of the Christian faith.

It is an attack on the fundamental rights and personal freedom that the Indian constitution assures to all citizens of the country. It threatens to reduce democracy to majoritarianism."

The Pioneer, January 4, 1999

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# DAMNING INDICTMENT OF BJP-SHIV SENA SRIKRISHNA COMMISSION

"The immediate causes of the communal riots on December 1992 were: (a) the demolition of Babri Masjid; (b) the aggravation of Muslim sentiments by the Hindus with their celebration rallies, and (c) the insensitive and harsh approach of the police while handling the protesting mobs which initially were not violent."

"From January 8, 1993 the Shiv Sena and Shiv Sainiks took the lead in organising attacks on Muslims and their properties under the guidance of several leaders of Shiv Sena from the level of Shaka Pramukh to the Shiv Sena Pramukh Bal Thackeray who, like a veteran general, commanded his loyal Shiv Sainiks to retaliate by organised attacks against Muslims."

The Statesman, January 2, 1999



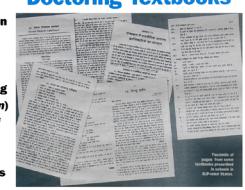
The response of police to appeals from desperate victims, particularly Muslims, was cynical and utterly indifferent. On occasions, the response was that they were unable to leave the appointed post; on others, the attitude was that one Muslim killed was one Muslim less."

**STOP THE GOONS**

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# POISONING YOUNG MINDS

Doctoring Textbooks



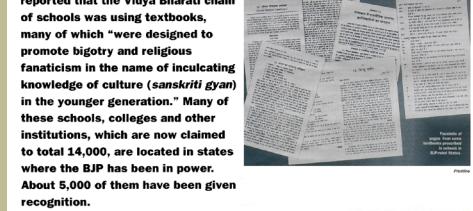
In 1996, the National Council of Educational Research and Training reported that the Vidyabharti chain of schools was using textbooks, many of which "were designed to promote bigotry and religious fanaticism in the name of inculcating knowledge of culture (sanskriti gyan) in the younger generation." Many of these schools, colleges and other institutions, which are now claimed to total 14,000, are located in states where the BJP has been in power. About 5,000 of them have been given recognition.

**Crude Communalism**

In Uttar Pradesh, three pages of *Ithihasa*, *Bhag 2*, taught in high school, are devoted to KB Hedgewar, founder of the RSS, while the entire history of the freedom movement after 1857 is covered in twenty pages.

Atul Behari Vajpeyi

In Rajasthan, *Nutan Gadya Padya Sangrahan* prescribed for Class IX has four articles introduced in 1998, one each by RSS chief Rajendra Singh; Tarun Vijay, editor of RSS weekly *Panchayany*; K. S. Sudarshan, RSS ideologue; and Dr Jalam Singh Raviot of the Swadeshi Jagran Manch.



**STOP THE GOONS**

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## What price Nuclearisation?

- one nuclear bomb (Rs 4 crore) can finance the construction of 3200 houses for the rural poor
- producing an arsenal of 150 bombs (Rs 600 crore) can provide drinking water to 37,000 villages
- 150 bombs cost as much as the total Central Government Budget outlay on public health in 1998-99
- one nuclear dyad strike force costs (Rs 4000 crore) more than the Central Government Budget outlay on elementary and secondary education in 1998-99
- one nuclear-powered submarine (Rs 4000 crore) is the same as the cost of setting up a 1000 mw power plant
- one triad strike force (Rs 2500 crore plus) is approximately the same as what the Central Government spends on elementary education every year
- the full nuclear weaponisation programme - Rs 40,000 in Rs 50,000 crore - can be used to remove the entire rural housing shortage estimated at 15 million units in 1997; or it can be used to set in place an educational system that provides primary education for all Indian children of school-going age.

N. Ram, Riding the Nuclear Tiger



### Reject the politics of adventurism



SAHMAT  
SAFEGUARDING HUMAN RIGHTS  
MONITORING POLITICAL ABUSES

## REJECT THE POLITICS OF ADVENTURISM

Nuclear parity has neutralised India's superiority in conventional arms. Pakistan could risk the Kargil operation because they knew that Vajpayee would hesitate to hit back across the LOC or the international border in Punjab.

Outlook, July 5, 1999



"Pokhran is likely to prove more economical than a huge stockpile of Sukhoi aircraft and Bofors guns."

RSS chief Rajinder Singh at BARC

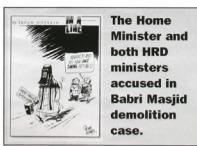
## REJECT THEM!

### SANGH PARIVAR A Shelter for Criminals

"From petty thefts to roadside shoot-outs, leaders of the BJP at Unnao are defending criminals at every step. The pressure of the saffron leaders is so much that most of the officials have opted for transfers"

The Prime Minister and the Home Minister asked the UP Chief Minister to get rid of 25 ministers with criminal links.

The Telegraph, July 23, 1998



STOP THE GOONS

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MONITORING POLITICAL ABUSES



## NO MORE AYODHYAS

### VHP-Bajrang Dal target Sufi Shrine in Karnataka



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MONITORING POLITICAL ABUSES

### Resist them!

On December 3, 1998 more than 10,000 supporters of the saffron brigade came close to triggering off a blood bath at the Baba Budangiri shrine in Karnataka.

For centuries the Baba Budangiri shrine has been a symbol of Hindu-Muslim amity.

The list of shrines to be 'liberated' seems to be growing; activists have announced similar plans for a dargah in Raichur.

## होशियार खबरदार जागते रहो



They [Bajrang Dal] are in reality good people and nationalistic.

Kushabau Thakre

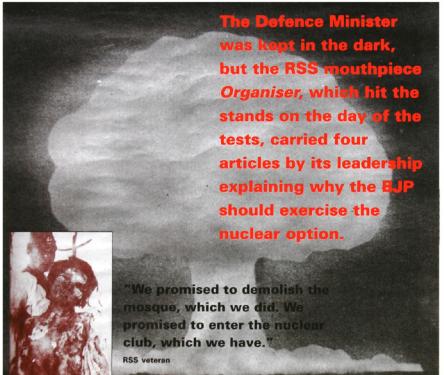


Riding the anti-Sikh sentiments, the Bajrang Dal organised several trishul dhaaran functions throughout the country. The activists were given a knife-like trident to be slung across the shoulder - an answer to the kirpan... Born to counter 'Sikh militancy', it has since identified new targets.

Outlook, February 8, 1999

## THE RSS BOMB

The Defence Minister was kept in the dark, but the RSS mouthpiece Organiser, which hit the stands on the day of the tests, carried four articles by its leadership explaining why the BJP should exercise the nuclear option.



"We promised to demolish the mosque, which we did. We promised to enter the nuclear club, which we have."

RSS veteran

"Never before had I seen such an appalling sight."

Eyewitness, Hiroshima, August 6, 1945

REJECT NUCLEAR ADVENTURISM

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MONITORING POLITICAL ABUSES

## ENOUGH! NO MORE!

### A PRO-HOARDER GOVERNMENT ACTS AGAINST THE POOR



Beyond a point, the government could do little about the price rise, especially of onions and other vegetables. ...under the law of the land it is not illegal for traders to hoard.

Atal Behari Vajpayee

Commodity	Per kg	Per kg after
Onions	Rs 5	Rs 12
Tomatoes	Rs 5	Rs 10
Onions	Rs 12	Rs 20
Beans	Rs 28	Rs 40
Capsicum	Rs 28	Rs 40
Tomato	Rs 176	Rs 184
Chesse per kg	Rs 72	Rs 75
Chicken	Rs 76	Rs 14
Chicken oil	Rs 15	Rs 20
Bananas per kg	Rs 15	Rs 20

Let not the hoarders be elected again

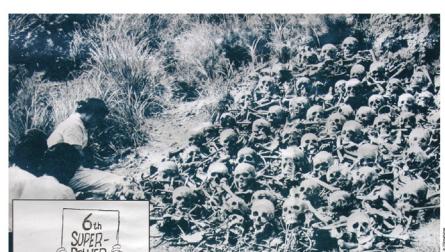
इसे भूलन्ये मत!

Essential Supplies Maintenance Act allowed to lapse.

What the BJP gave us -  
Onions at Rs 80  
Potatoes at Rs 40  
Oct - Nov. 1998



## ENOUGH! NO MORE!



"I regard the employment of the atom bomb for the wholesale destruction of men, women and children as the most diabolical use of science."

Mahatma Gandhi

तय करो किस ओर हो तुम

India was already a great nation before May 11, 1998. It would have become an even greater nation if 44 percent of its people did not live in abject poverty.

Outlook, May 21, 1998

"Protection of minorities is the hallmark of a civilised state, only totalitarian regimes are vindictive to minorities"



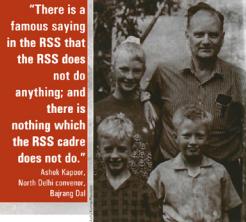
I remember a Bible being burnt somewhere in the state (Gujarat) and the chief minister promised to look into the incident. But then these sporadic incidents increased. Churches were being torched and they don't burn down on their own. Ultimately what happened in that Christmas week convinced me that things had gone out of hand.

Fali Nariman, who resigned as the state government's senior counsel in the Narmada case to protest against the Gujarat government's failure to protect Christians

तय करो किस ओर हो तुम

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MONITORING POLITICAL ABUSES

## STOP THE GOONS



"There is sufficient proof that Dara Singh was with the Bajrang Dal."

Madan Lal Khurana

POLICE REPORT REVEALS DARA SINGH WAS 'BJP SUPPORTER'

"Those who want to destroy the Hindus must fear us..."

We want them to fear us. Even the government is afraid of us..."

Swaroop Jain, All India Convenor, Bajrang Dal

"Barely 300 yards from the chapel door Staines and his children slept in the station wagon. I saw a mob surrounding the vehicle. I heard shouting, shouting, brickbusting, banging of doors. They were shouting *mero, mero* and *zindabad*. Then suddenly the station wagon was in flames. The mob prevented all rescue efforts. When they left an hour later, Staines and his children lay charred. It was gruesome. I'll never forget."

Shubhankar Gupta, long time friend of Graham Staines

तय करो किस ओर हो तुम

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## REMEMBER THIS!



• President's Rule imposed in Bihar dismissing the popularly elected government

• Central teams sent to non-BJP states of Tamilnadu, Bihar and West Bengal to study law and order



• RSS activists appointed as governors in UP, MP and Bihar

• Removal and appointment of governors by a defeated BJP government without states' consent

## DEFEAT BJP save federalism



तय करो किस ओर हो तुम



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## इसे भूलिये मत

### Long queues for Piyaz and Aalu

Onions sold at Rs 80 and Potatoes at Rs 40 a kg. Prices of all essential items have gone up in the last 16 months.



### Reject this government of hoarders!

"the strong body of traders which has supported us for thirty years, are doing exactly what they please..."

BJP leader

Administered Price Hike - January 1999

	Earlier Rs	New Rs
Rice per kg	5.50	9.05
Wheat per kg	4.50	6.50
Sugar per kg	11.40	12.00
Urea 50 kgs	183	200
Cooking gas cylinder	130	146

रोटी ही तो मुद्दा है

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## इसे भूलिये मत

### Sena goons dig up Kotla pitch BJP's abject surrender



"This can be very embarrassing for the Indian government ...a nuclear power and they cannot control a person like Bal Thackeray!"  
Sikandar Bakht, ex-cricketer

...a classic spectacle of a minority... holding a whole nation - a whole sub-continent of cricket lovers to ransom...

The intelligence bureau had warned the home ministry of possible damage to cricket pitches well before it happened on January 6, at Kotla grounds in Delhi. Subsequently the Sena hoodlums ransacked the BCCI office in Mumbai, destroying the 1983 World Cup trophy.

#### Treaty of Mumbai: Peace without honour

"The Union Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani has 'signed' a 'Treaty of Mumbai' (one year reprieve for holding Indo-Pak cricket matches) with the Shiv Sena Chief Mr Bal Thackeray; it is a surrender document."

The Hindu, January 22, 1999

ENOUGH! NO MORE!

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