

For SAHMAT

Twenty years in the life of a movement is not just a significant milestone but an appropriate moment to take stock. The journey travelled by SAHMAT, captured in its exhibition, "Image Music Text: SAHMAT: 20 Years", is a powerful and painful one. It unravels the narrative of cracks and fault lines that render India weak, through the documentation of a powerful and creative resistance that has always been among us, with the people. From the pre-Babri demolition mobilisations to the musical performances on the banks of the Sarayu in Ayodhya, in protests against the US invasion of Iraq, Gujarat 2002 and beyond, India's best and most renowned visual artists and musicians have reaffirmed a deep commitment to secular traditions and intellectual freedom.

The brutality of Safdar Hashmi's killing evoked widespread protests against the authoritarian use of political power that has been manifest in many forms, including the insidious virus of communalism. Safdar, an activist and writer, poet and theatre performer, was a man of remarkable talent. SAHMAT, formed in tribute to Safdar, has been a vocal and dedicated platform for not just creative freedom but the artist's commitment to society.

Safdar was killed, beaten to death in broad daylight, in Sahibabad on the outskirts of Delhi where he and his associates from the Jana Natya Manch were staging a street play, *Halla Bol*, against corruption while municipal elections were being held on January 1, 1989. The troupe, which included his wife, Moloyshree, was back performing the play within three days of the tragic loss. It was 14 years later, on November 5, 2003, that additional sessions judge, CD Rai, convicted 10 of the accused to life imprisonment (two of the accused had died in the interim). Delivering the verdict, the judge observed: "Valuable lives were wasted in the incident. It is a case of political vendetta and if the criminals were not punished, the hatred in society would continue." Safdar's untimely death fuelled artists and academics to create a unique platform of resistance that has been active ever since.

For us at *Communalism Combat*, launched in 1993, it has been a shared journey, of fellow travellers and comrades. To bring this document, a chronicle of SAHMAT's journey, to our readers, is a rare privilege.

Our salaams to SAHMAT on its 20th anniversary.

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Designed and Curated by Ram Rahman

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IMAGE MUSICITE SAHMAT 20 YEARS

Twenty years in the life of a collective like SAHMAT, seems a good point in our journey to take stock of the two decades which have shaped the images, words and music you see in this exhibition. Artists and intellectuals, writers, poets, musicians and actors have had an extremely profound impact on last the two centuries which have shaped us as a modern nation. The last two decades have been specially charged with an increasingly rapid social upheaval. Communal politics reared its ugly head, globalised market economic forces attempted to overthrow the socialist values which had been upheld by progressive groups. The destruction of the Babri Masjid was the biggest shock to the nation after independence. The Gujarat pogroms were a warning signal that we too could slip into the kinds of fascism experienced by many parts of the world in the past century. While sections of the corporate world flourished, poverty increased and the scale of farmer suicides showed the ugly face of the desperation facing much of rural India. Culture became a battlefield and history was being re-written to justify and support contemporary oppression. The media environment changed dramatically through the two decades, with a huge expansion in television, the growth of the internet and the proliferation of mobile telephony.

The journey of SAHMAT has paralleled these historical upheavals, and the group has been a platform for the creative and

intellectual community to intervene in these political and social debates through their own practices. It has become a unique platform for a multi-disciplinary approach to both understand and uphold the democratic values which have sustained us culturally. This exhibit maps that creative history and is a record of the voice of resistance which has been raised over twenty years.

IMAGE Visual artists have been the backbone of SAHMAT since its inception. The Artists Alert exhibit in 1989 was not just a protest but also helped raise the corpus which ran the group for many years. The primary funding has consistently come from generous donations from the arts community, through actual donations, donations of their work, and most of all, their time. The group has created exhibitions which have been informal, streetside travelling shows like Images and Words, conceptually and formally innovative shows like Postcards for Gandhi, a Gift for India. Public arts projects like Art on the Move. Artists have also always been involved in creating the tents for the annual January 1st memorials to Safdar.

MUSIC Music has been key to the performative events SAHMAT has initiated since 1989. The Sufi and Bhakti traditions were a key source of inspiration, as their poetry was and is a popular people's tradition of resistance to orthodoxies and a reassertion of the truly secular fabric of our culture. It has been a platform for classical musicians like Shubha Mudgal to explore more radical experiments with texts in their repertoire, as well as for artists like Indian Ocean and Madan Gopal Singh. It has enabled a brotherhood of the folk, classical and experimental musicians, to place their music and poetry and their message of love before the kinds of audiences not normally exposed to such music. Contemporary dance has often accompanied these performances.

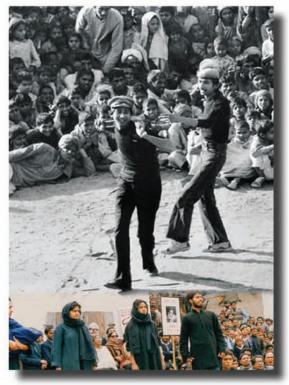
TEXT The written word in the form of children's books, posters, magazines, pamphlets and booklets and in exhibitions has been extremely important to the strategies evolved by SAHMAT. These have been produced in the many languages of our country. Our work with historians has had a public face in the travelling exhibitions like Hum Sab Ayodhya, The Making of India, and 1857. Posters re-examining the national movement: Jallianwallah Bagh, 1857, Gandhi, revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh and Udham Singh and broadsides like Ayodhya are all text heavy and were designed as informational broadsides. Progressive writers like Premchand have been celebrated in a variety of media. The typographic and graphic style the group has developed has been a conscious exploration of an alternative and radical aesthetic. Banners and stage backdrops have been another important exploration of the text.

Ram Rahman

Madan Gopal Singh sings at the MF Husain Gallery, Jamia Millia Islamia









Safdar Hashmi 12 April 1954 - 2 January 1989

If it needed Safdar among us to die in order to recall that an artist is not so innocuous, then we must pay a certain price for this awareness. That price may be as private as self-reflection in which we allow our convictions to be put to the test. But Safdar's terrible sacrifice should also make us face up to the present, to become historically alert.

And make us recognize that there are times when you have to close ranks with your fellowartists and raise your voice. It is not only a question of the freedom of expression, though in all societies this still claims many sacrifices before it is won. The question is to make your identity and your practice sufficiently complex so that it is not easily appropriated or easily destroyed by antagonist forces. It may sometimes mean that an artist chooses to intensify his or her solitude, challenging the pragmatic rules of conduct.

This is a difficult choice too, and we should know how to honour art. But there are other ways to challenge the given circumstances, opposite ways: to break the isolation of specialist role that our societies prefer, to engage in multifarious forms of creativity to demystify art practice. The subject-matter of art need not, must not, become uniform or populist, but it is important to create alternative forums in which further acts of public intervention are possible. Geeta Kapur 1989

Twenty years ago, on 1 January 1989, Safdar Hashmi – political activist, actor, playwright, poet – was fatally attacked in broad daylight while performing a street play in Sahibabad, a working-class area just outside Delhi. He had been deeply committed, like so many young men and women of his generation, to the anti-imperialist, secular and egalitarian values that were woven into the rich fabric of the nation's liberation struggle. Safdar moved close to the Left, eventually joining the Communist Party of India (Marxist), to pursue his goal of being part of a social order worthy of a free people.

Tragically, it would be the manner of his death at the hands of a politically patronized mafia that would single him out. The spontaneous, nationwide wave of revulsion, grief and resistance aroused by his brutal murder transformed him into a powerful symbol of the very values that had been sought to be crushed by his death. Such a death belongs to the revolutionary martyr.

Safdar was thirty-four years old when he died. Those years, during which he initially tried to find himself in an academic career, eventually encompassed an intense period of revolutionary activity when circumstances and a maturing inclination brought together an early interest in theatre and a growing political commitment. They were years of political theatre, street theatre, and the growth of the Jana Natya Manch into a forum for evolving a conception of an alternative people's theatre and culture.

The goal of strengthening bonds of democratic unity among creative artists had been an important focus of Safdar's aesthetic and political activities. That it should have been achieved so significantly through his death, and through the solidarity surrounding the activities of the Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust (SAHMAT) formed soon after, has sustained and strengthened the resolve of those who uphold the values and objectives that Safdar has come to symbolize. *Madhu Prasad*

IMAGE MUSIC TEXT SAHMAT 20 YEARS





Jatin Das, Homage to Safdar Hashmi, 1989, Artists Alert



STREET THEATRE

The occasion may be a strike or an agitation or a mournful day after a manmade tragedy...the location may be a factory gate, a pavement, a busy market place, a barn, a school playground, a park in a residential area or any open space available...street theatre artists reach out to people...to inform and agitate them into acton...it is people's theatre in the true sense.

The most definite origin of this form of theatre can be traced back to the presentation of Mayakovsky's 'Mystery Bouffe' in Moscow on the first anniversary of the October Revolution, in 1918. This theatre became a vital tool of Soviet revolutionaries' propaganda in the later years. Shows incorporating interpretations of important events and social phenomena went to the people, at their places of work and residences.

Though street theatre has escaped media attention, it has made its space among working class people in many areas. This has, however, resulted in a conflict between proponents of street theatre and proscenium theatre. The former accuse the latter of being cultural renegades whose theatre is only for a select 'high nose' group, lacking social relevance. The proscenium hardcores, on the other hand, condemn street theatre saying that it is only politics, too simplistic and crude to be considered a form of art at all.

What is actually desirable is that proscenium theatre should imbibe some of the spirit of the street theatre and special skills developed within it and street theatre people need to learn a lot from their counterparts in terms of finesse in performance. This is desperately required if street theatre is to be safeguarded because its very handiness is allowing it to be used by people who are not even familiar with its basic philosophies.

Street theatre, however, is here to stay. An effective tool of change in hour society, it is also, slowly but surely, making a place of its own as a valid form of art. *Safdar Hashmi*



सफदर हाएमी मार्ग SAFDAR HASHMI MAR

CHILDREN'S BOOKS BY SAFDAR

Shortly after Safdar's murder in 1989, a series of books for children with stories and poems written by Safdar in Hindi were published. These were illustrated by artists, both senior and upcoming. Exhibited here are the original drawings and paintings, along with the published books. In later years, books on Gandhi and stories by Premchand have also been published.





Nilima Sheikh, Sare Mausam Acche, 1990





BV Suresh, Gadbad Ghotala, 1989

Above: Nilima Sheikh, Sare Mausam Acche, 1990



MAGE MUSICITE SAHMAT 20 YEARS





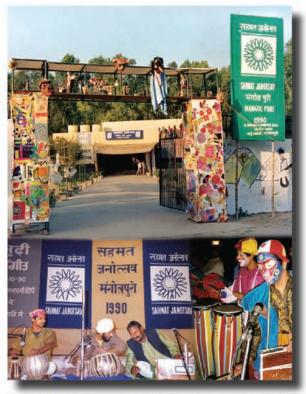
Surendran Nair, *Kitaben*, 1989 Mona Rai, *Red Flower*, 1989







IMAGE MUSICITE SAHMAT 20 YEARS



JANOTSAV - 1990

The idea of Janotsav originated with Safdar Hashmi. Committed to a view of culture that integrated skills with concern for the oppressed and the goal of a life of dignity for all, Safdar visualized Janotsav not as an event staged for passive audiences but as a process generative of a popular, participative and critical cultural movement. His death, resulting from a murderous assault while performing a street play, prevented Safdar from developing the idea any further. The formation of SAHMAT, following an unprecedented protest movement across the country, ensured that Safdar's perspective continued to grow through the involvement of scores of artists.

Within SAHMAT, the concept of Janotsav developed through discussions, workshops and projected programmes of action. The aim was to help build a genuinely people's culture by promoting encounters of the people with skilled practitioners of various art forms. The site chosen for Janotsav was Mangolpuri, a large resettlement colony in west Delhi, with a population of over one-and-half lakhs mostly from the working and lower-middle classes.

Janotsav consisted of a series of workshops and interactive programmes conducted over a month, from 8 October to 11 November 1990, with the following persons/ institutions as coordinators:

Music: Kajal Ghosh, Madangopal Singh Photography: Parthiv Shah Fine Art: Paul, Pratibha Dakoji Theatre: Habib Tanvir, Ashish Ghosh

Street Theatre: Rati Bartholomew, Jana Natya Manch Environmental Projects: Romi Khosla, NISTADS Visual Arts: Vivan Sundaram, Shamshad Literature and Poetry: M.M.P. Singh, Gauhar Raza

Dance: Bharat Sharma, Madhavi Mudgal

Video/TV: Sashi Kumar, CENDIT

Puppetry and Creative Writing: Dadi Pudumjee, Randhir Khare

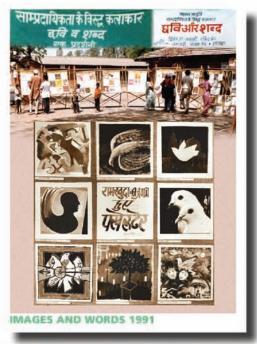
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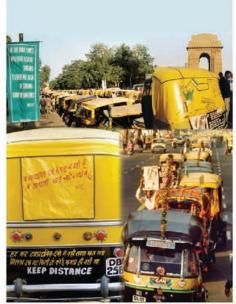






MAGE MUSICIPAL SAHMAT 20 YEARS





SLOGANS FOR COMMUNAL HARMONY, 1990

As part of the on-going programme, SAHMAT's next project was 'Artists Against Communalism: Images and Words'. 400 artists, writers, poets, photographers, theatre persons and film-makers contributed visual or textual messages against communalism. The statements, each of which was on an 11" x11" piece of canvas, were incorporated into 3 ft x 3 ft panels for exhibition. Sent in from all parts of India and written in all its languages, this unique exhibition, first held in New Delhi on April 12, 1991, has been displayed in many other cities as well.

Orijit Sen designed the structures of bamboo and jute on which the statements were displayed. These are easily dismantled, transported and re-assembled in parks, on the roadside, in a market-place or in a hall. The informality of the display format allowed us to take the exhibition among the people, and so encouraged a response and involvment quite distinct from the passive 'viewing' associated with more formal exhibitions. At Delhi's famed Chandni Chowk, the centre of the capital's retail and commercial activity, one viewer read aloud the displayed text for his companions. A rickshaw-puller nearby responded. Another viewer joined in. The text was entered into, amplified; the image directly responded to, questioned. Madhu Prasad



MAGE WUSICE SAHMAT 20 YEARS



ARTISTS AGAINST COMMUNALISM

THE PLEDGE

We the artists' community of India, are deeply pained by the growth of communalism which has assumed unprecedented proportions in recent days.

All artistic endeavour in India, both traditionally and in contemporary times, has been exemplary in upholding values of secularism and cultural pluralism.

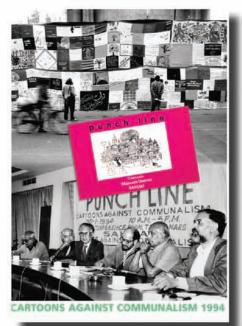
We wish to emphasize the paramount importance of peace, and appeal to the nation's conscience to rise above this tide of hatred and violence. signed by artists

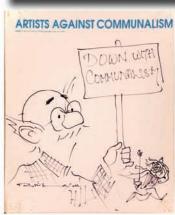












Laxman goes on to define cartooning as "the art of disapproval and complaint. It treats men and matters with a certain healthy scepticism and good-humoured ridicule, but never malice. A cartoon attempts to preserve the sense of humour of the community which is so essential for survival in day-to-day existence."

Laxman's point is unexceptionable and the cartoon can at last be said to have come of age in the Indian print media. The preceding year, 1993, can definitely be categorized as the 'Year of the Cartoonist' as the purveyors of the genre — junior and senior — en bloc extended the frontiers of the form in a manner unprecedented in our times, by succeeding in making political and social points far more effectively and radically than even the edit writers in the press. What was most striking was the way in which they took communal politics head on and laid bare the hollow claims of politicians seeking to ride piggyback on the religious sentiments of people.

This has taken some time coming. One of the curiosities of Indian newspaper cartooning has been the relative sluggishness of its maturing in comparison to disciplines like reporting, editing and photography. This despite the roaring headstart it received from the dipped-in-vitriol diatribes of the father of them all, Shankar, for whom cartooning was but politics by other means. This master of line economy and pungent words spawned an entire generation of acolytes who polished the pocket and window cartoons in our papers to their present level of sophistication. Yet real, political/inter-

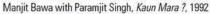
ventionist cartooning seemed to have generally missed them by.

O.V. Vijayan and Rajinder Puri were, perhaps, the exceptions in this. One still remembers with a shudder the devastating Vijayan cartoon in The Hindu on the old Jan Sangh (the original model of the presently more souped-up BJP). In printing Jan Sangh's election symbol of the oil lamp on a ballot box, he had savaged it with just two words captioned below — 'Mein Lampf'. And this was in the late 1960s. The politics in Vijayan's cartoons, however, often tended to get hijacked by his intensely dark vision, preventing its 'real' content from manifesting. Rajinder Puri, on the other hand, has been a political creature through and through, whose heaviness of strokes and slashes masks the mercurial lightness of his polemics.

In their company Laxman, with his ever-silent 'Common Man', and Abu Abraham, the two other master cartoonists of our time, stand out for their style and conceptual tightness, which is what eventually contributes the meat to the genre and its practice in India. For example, soon after Abu returned, in the late 1960s, from his stint in England to join The Indian Express and spawn an elegant range of 'animal' cartoons (Gulzarilal Nanda as a cat; Jagjivan Ram as a big fish; Morarji Desai as an owl; Indira Gandhi as a beaknosed stork; Kamaraj as a fox; etc.), he indicated in an interview his method of conceptualization with admirable clarity: "An elephant is, after all, a pig with an elongated nose." One phrase like that, and an entire process opened out before you. (excerpt from essay by Sadanand Menon)









Parthiv Shah, poster, Dec 8, 1992

THE TIMES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1992

CAPITAL

Artists hold protest

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, December 11.

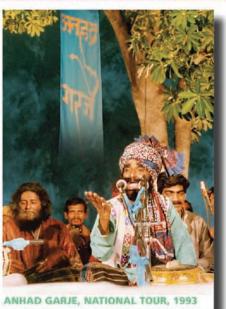
NEW DELHI, December 11.

In a logic reminiscent of the ladvocates of the Ram Mandir at Ayodhya, the city police tried in vain today to persuade some 500 artists, writers, photographers and other intellectuals to shift the venue of their protest meet from the Safdar Hashmi Marg (near the Mandi House circle) to a "less prominent and sensitive" area. The meet had been planned as early as Monday, and prominently announced in all the major dailies. The city police too had been informed in a letter about the nature of protest — paintings, photographs, songs and street plays. But the venue and time had been ignored until the event was underway this evening. After viewing Manjit Bawa's canvas, the Ayodhya photographs compiled by Ram Rehman, and hearing the soulful singing of Madan Gopal Singh and Susmit Bose, the police were too perplexed to use force.



Painters Manjit Bawa and Paramjit Singh (in glasses) marking their 'protest' against the Ayodhya events at a meet in the Capital on Friday. — TOI

MAGE MUSICIFICATION SAHMAT 20 YEARS



Manjit Bawa and Allan Fagir, 1st Jan, 1993

subcontinent may be described as a transcultural reaching out. One sees at its core a tremendous fluidity of emotion. At times, it passionately disavows the simple mystical oppositions of the 'I' in perennial separation from the 'other'. Even if there is a clamour for the unmediated communion between the two in traditional Sufi poetry, the other is somehow always seen to command from a height. The sub-continental view develops in an altogether different direction. It unequivocally places the subject's substantiality at the centre. No spiritual effect is possible without that. As such, there is no mystical transcendence at the expense of terrestrial experience. The unity of the 'I' and the 'other' is above all the unity of the people. In this respect alone, the sub-continental Sufi experience

may be seen to be a radical and decisive

move away from its largely ritual-ridden

especially in the Northern regions of the

sub-continent, creates a pulsating edge

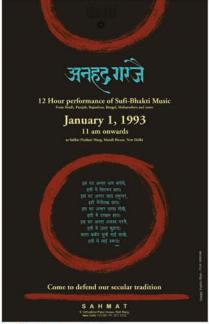
against all forms of communal strife and

Persian antecedents. Its development

The Sufi experience within the Indian

SUFI MUSIC - 1993

discord. It throbs with mercurial energy and calls for an urgent need to intervene. Its anxieties assume a highly irreverent voice and a genuinly selfcritical projection. In its anger and protest it spares no one just as in its love it embraces all. Its subjects are here and now. The Hindus and the Muslims in a transcultural mix of creative joy. Their unity invariably spills out of religious boundaries. The dominant images and emotions come directly from the people's experience of the lived. There is an almost tactile face of these images. This is the level where the people have become one without being the same. Leading Sufi poets such as Baba Farid, Shah Husain, Sultan Bahu, Bulle Shah, Shah Mohammad, Shah Latif poetically journey across the plurality of time- the days, weeks, months etc. - or play with the essential structures of communionnumbers, alphabets, words, phrases etc. All these become not only the units of the poetical pulse- the beat in Sufi music being one of its most important aspects, but more importantly, the carriers of the poet's longing for a carnivalesque unity of the people. Madan Gopal Singh



Parthiv Shah, Poster, 1993



AYODHYA AND AFTER - 1992-93

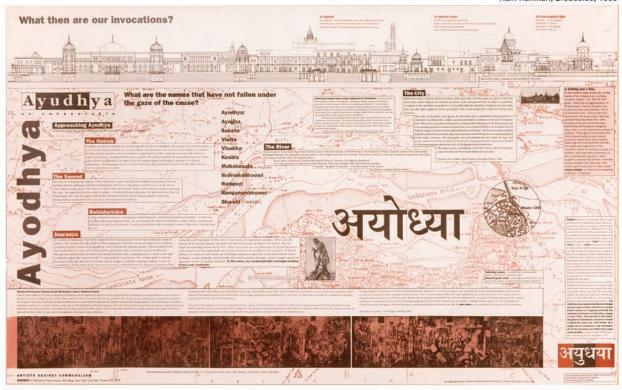
When the Babri Masjid was demolished on December 6th 1992, SAHMAT had already conceived its Sufi-Bhakti event, Anhad Garje, for the 1st of January, 1993. The morning after the demolition, we led a delegation to meet President Shankar Dayal Sharma to call for the arrest of the perpetrators and the immediate dismantling of any temporary and make-shift temple on the ruins. A poster, Aaj Koi Nara Na Hoga...was printed in the lakhs, plastered on the streets of Delhi and inserted into newspapers in many localities. At the end of that week we defied Section 144 and held a cultural sit-in on Safdar Hashmi Marg, at which poets read poetry, singers sang and painters painted on the street. Manjit Bawa's canvas, Kaun Mara, is in this show, Anhad Garie, which ran for 17 hours, had an added resonance in the immediate aftermath of the shocking demolition. The response led us to travel with the concert to Bombay, Lucknow, Surat, Vadodara and Ahmedabad - all of which had seen terrible communal riots. At Lucknow, friends from Faizabad and Ayodhya appealed to us to bring it to Ayodhya,

where the siege and terror of the Hindutva forces had not been broken. But we felt the demolition had been such a fundamentally transformative assault that we needed to approach Ayodhya with thought, sensitivity, political clarity and resolve. The intense debates and discussions resulted in our broadside, Ayodhya - What then are our invocations? which was printed and disseminated in the thousands. This was a conceptual mapping of ways of approaching the fraught issues which the entire Ayodhya movement led by Hindutva groups had brought to the fore, particularly concerning cultural indentities, modernity, indeed the very notion of a secular democracy, religiosity, history and its interpretation. This provided the blueprint for the exhibition Hum Sab Ayodhya and Mukt Naad in Ayodhya on August 15th 1993, where thousands of artists, writers and performers gathered and performed on the ghats on the banks of the Sarayu, breaking the siege, in a creative resistance to the divisiveness of the Hindutva hordes. The concerted attack by the Sangh Parivar on Hum Sab Ayodhya was a classic example of the threats of violence, fear, rumour

and allegations of 'hurt to religious sentiment' which have been their weapons of choice in all their attacks in subsequent years — on writers, artists, film-makers, historians, theatre artists and institutions. That attack, which led many to retreat from what had been a secular, liberal space, only clarified the battle for SAHMAT. History and its interpretations or mis-interpretations and the communalising of education became a central focus of SAHMAT's actions.

A decade after Ayodhya, the Gujarat pogroms led us to a different strategy. While SAHMAT raised relief funds from the sale of artists' work, we organised a two-day public hearing with victims of the carnage in Delhi as an interaction with the creative community, the press, intelligentsia and members of Parliament in conjunction with Communalism Combat from Bombay. A delegation of victims met the President, KR Narayanan. This dialogue with the legislative institutions has become an important part of SAHMAT's functioning. Ram Rahman











Alex Mathew, Graves and Groves, Hum Sab Ayodhya,

Rama-Katha

Contrary to popular belief, particularly in northern India, there are several other important versions of Rama-Katha, besides Valmiki's Ramayana in Sanskrit and Tulsidas's Ramayanas in Hindi. Each version is accepted as authentic by its respective audience.

Valmiki's Ramayana is not described as a text on albarma or classified as an tithasa. It is referred to as a kanya or an adikarya, a poetic composition. Rama is seen variously as the ideal Kshatriya, the perfect man, and due to his descent from the solar line, as a solar deity. It was only in later editions refashioned by Brahmin authors, that Rama was said to be an incarnation of Vishmu. There were also other changes and additions. Ravana emerged as a ten-headed monster. Sita's banishment from Ayodhya, her life in the hermitage of Valmiki and birth of her sons Lava and Kusha appeared in Uttarakanda.

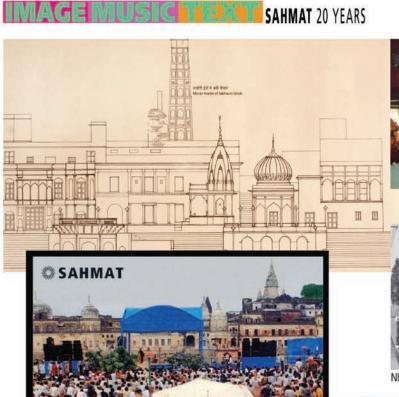
Rama-Katha in Buddhist Traditions

The Dasaratha Jataka, dating back to somewhere between 4th and 2nd century B.C., is probably older than the one by Valmiki. In this version, Sita is not the wife but the sister of Rama At the end of the exile when Rama returns to Ayodhya, Sita is made queen-consort of Rama and they rule jointly for sixteen

thousand years. Rama is said to have descended from Ikshvaku, from whom the clan of the Buddha also claims descent.

Rama-Katha in Jaina Traditions

Paumacharyam of the Jainas, composed by Vimalasuri in 3rd century, begins not by giving the genealogy of Rama, but of Ravana and then of Hanuman. We are told that rakshassas were not devils but normal human beings. Ravana was not a tenheaded monster but was described as such because he wore a necklace of nine gem-stones which reflected his face. Similarly,





RSS attacking Hum Sab Ayodhya, Pune, 1994



NRI group protests Hum Sab Ayodhya, Los Angeles, 1994



Poster, Ram Rahman Released at Mukt Naad, Ayodhya, the Indian cricket team sent messages against communalism.

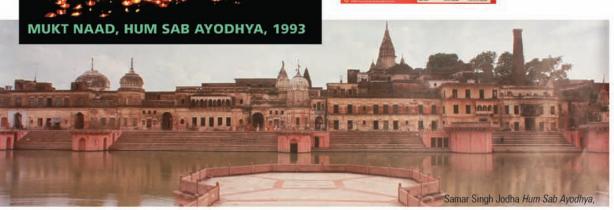
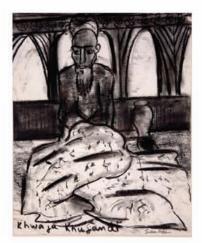


IMAGE MUSICIPE SAHMAT 20 YEARS







From Hum Sab Ayodhya, 1993, Sufi Saints by Bhupen Khakhar, Gulam Mohammed Sheikh, Surendran Nair



Ram Rahman Poster, 1994







POSTCARDS FOR GANDHI 1994

During discussions within SAHMAT, it was felt that the group had the potential to create and initiate projects that would engage artists more actively within their own individual practices, the collective product of which could be a kind of marker in the contemporary art scene. Contemporary shifts in Indian politics have caused a widespread reassessment of the legacy of the national movement - a modernising, secular and socialist tradition. It has become imperative to defend cultural space from the onslaught of the 'cultural nationalism' of the right wing - a monolithic Hindu-based identity that would be imposed on the whole of India in order to 'unify' the nation. This contradicts and denies the existing complexity of the mosaic which has made South Asia such a rich cauldron of multiple ethnic, racial, religious and philosophical traditions, the cross-fertilisations between which have produced the vibrancy of its culture. The spirit of progressive values generated throughout Indian society during the national movement needs to be rekindled, especially as the very same groups who plotted Gandhi's assassination gain widespread legitimacy. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the 125th anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's birth coincided in 1994. The Jallianwala Bagh episode in 1919 marked a turning point in the national movement. Events preceding and following this unprecedented act of political terror by an imperialist power had helped, quite ironically, to define a modern national identity, in which the old paradigm of a glorious past started to be replaced by a new vision of India's cultural ethos and heritage. In leading the national struggle, Gandhi pushed the frontiers of this new ethos by invoking symbols from India's cultural heritage in a way that was both unique and highly effective. The charkha, swadeshi, the Dandi March and non-violence were concepts that became potent symbols which were elaborated during the course of the struggle. They continue to find contemporary resonances and interpretations in our own time. A major feature of Gandhi's creative contribution in moving the masses was to articulate a new subjectivity of the Indian people. This was achieved by making liberation political, social and personal, manifested in political and individual practice as an integral part of the new subjectivity. Liberation

from fear at a personal level led to social and political liberation. Oppression emanating from inequalities of religious beliefs, gender and caste had to be countered as a part of the struggle to liberate the nation. The creativity of the Indian people during the cause of the national struggle and the later nation-building has been greatly influenced by the new subjectivity voiced by Gandhi. Another major trend of immense importance during this period was the 'objective' understanding of political and social processes of social development from the left. At the national level, the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) and the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA), as well as several other regional groups, articulated this trend. Major SAHMAT projects are conceived through workshops which involve the core group in Delhi along with people from other parts of India, and are structured around lectures by historians and academics in discussion sessions with artists where ideas are thrown up and evolved. 'Postcards for Gandhi' developed in such a workshop, along with a yearlong series of events to commemorate the 125th year of Gandhi's birth. Gandhi used the inexpensive postcard to communicate with thousands of people through



Bhupen Khakhar Stamps, 1997



Madhvi Parekh, Bapu, 1995

quick, short notes. This seemed a potent symbol to evoke in the days of e-mail, particularly in India, where the postcard is still the cheapest and most widely used means of communication. One hundred artists and photographers each made six postcard-size works constructing their own understanding of Gandhi - his political leadership, his philosophy, and his relevance to contemporary India. These were exhibited simultaneously in six galleries across the country, each artist being represented in every city by one original work. All were for sale at a uniform, reasonable price, and one work of each artist was printed as a postcard for even wider dissemination. This was one of the first projects to attempt to engage a large number of artists collectively to work on a single theme. A book, Addressing Gandhi, was released by the president of India to accompany the show, with one reproduction by each artist. This was one of the first projects to attempt to engage a large number of artists to collectively work on a single theme.

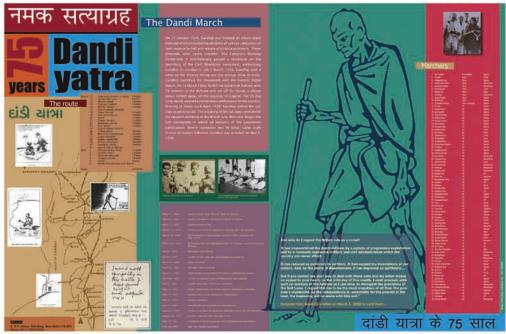
Looking back from 2009, it is clear that this project had a big impact, as it reclaimed Gandhi as a subject in contemporary art, and has since led to major bodies of work in the oeuvre of many artists. Ram Rahman



Ram Rahman



Kriti Arora, Spin My Cotton, From Making History Our Own 2004



Parthiv Shah Poster, 2005 Deepak Shinde





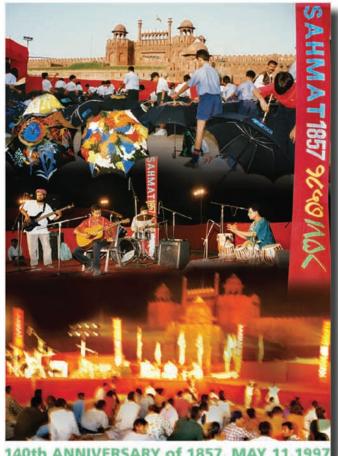
Ram Rahman, Poster

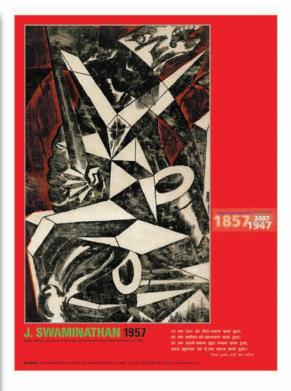


N Pushpamala, *My Mother as Jhansi Ki Rani*, From *Making History Our Own* 2007



Sachin Karne, From The Making of India 2004





1857 Street exhibit at Khooni Darwaza Delhi, 2007 Design Rajinder Arora

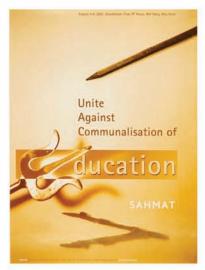




CONVENTION ON EDUCATION 2001

SAHMAT had organised a National Convention during 4-6 August 2001 to discuss communalisation of education. The Convention which was attended among others by leaders of secular political parties, education ministers from nine states and the chief minister of Chattisgarh had demanded:

- The central government should initiate the process of consulting states in matters of national education policy by immediately convening the meeting of the state education ministers and to consulting Central Advisory Board of Education.
- The document 'National Curriculum Framework for School Education, should be withdrawn and no other document released till a national concensus is evolved.
- The UGC circular that introduces the so called 'indigenous systems of knowledge' as university level courses while starving the universities of funds should be withdrawn.





ART ON THE MOVE March-April 2001

Many of SAHMAT's activities have been conducted in public spaces and on the street. Indeed, making public space and public domain coincide, SAHMAT's cultural activists have practised advocacy, protest, debate and propaganda at contested sites across the country.

Plays, concerts and demonstrations, as well as 'art exhibitions' have been staged in the open. One of its projects, Art on the Move, conceived by Vivan Sundaram, took this one step further by finding a vehicular form, a wheeled cart or a cycle-rickshaw, for navigating the art-object into unlikely places in the city.

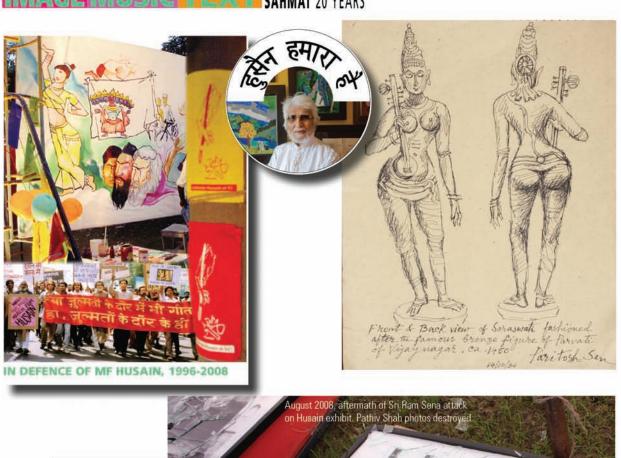
From among many artists' proposals, sixteen artists were invited to a workshop in Delhi where they fabricated their artworks on wheels by taking cues from such modes of transport as ordinary people use – the bicycling labourer, the street-vendor and the rickshaw-puller. Taking a readymade 'base' of such humble vehicles, these artists built iconic, architectural, circus-like and ritual forms, and then demonstrated their viability by riding, pushing, pulling the composite structure out before the spectators and on to the road.

In an imaginative rendering of three key terms — art, mobility, public space — SAHMAT's Art on the Move was among the early projects seeking a wider engagement of artists with the city and its people.



Nicola Duruvasula







Protest against attack on Baroda Fine Arts Faculty, 14 May 2007

IMAGE MUSICITEXT

SAHMAT 20 YEARS



The 50th year of Indian independence will be celebrated throughout the year in many different ways. The Indian art scene has developed a peculiar tendency for extravagant showcasing of assorted works where the state and private dealers make an easy go of it in the name of the national. There is an increasing need for non-institutional, democratic, informal initiatives that chip at this emerging monolith.

By its very nature SAHMAT works as an alternative space to mainstream politics and commerce. Gift for India is part of a series of exhibitions marking historical moments in the life of the nation, but it works like something of a gesture. We send out a participatory signal and receive a response in the same spirit.

We invited artists from all over the world to send a gift box and the response, despite the short time, was overwhelming, Almost 200 artists' gift boxes constitute the exhibition. This spontaneous response makes up a subtext which says that in a world of commodification, artists of considerable international reputation are happy to join with peers. strangers, young artists, to extend themselves creatively, and generously. The care with which some of our foreign participants have conceived and crafted this small sculptural project is gratifying. The messages that have come with the boxes endorsing the idea, SAHMAT's existence and artists' solidarity on a common imaginative ground, make the project truly a gift among friends. Vivan Sundaram

Vida Yovanovich



KS Radhakrishnan



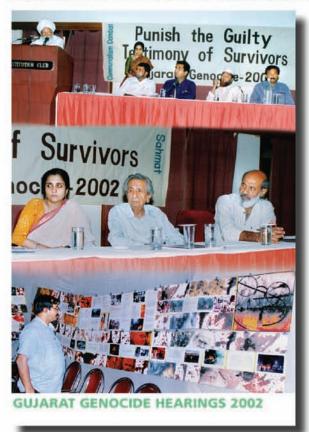


Ranjana Appoo



Iftikhar and Elizabeth Dadi

MAGE WUSIGE SAHMAT 20 YEARS





Communalism Combat --- SAHMAT April 26, 2002

Forty six victim survivors of the Gujarat carnage from twelve districts of the state, gave testimony before the nation's capital in the first collective public hearing of the state sponsored genocide. Young children, women and men bared the brute violence and humiliation suffered before an audience of school children, activists, academics and former prime ministers VP Singh and Deve Gowda. Delhi CM Sheila Dixit, members of parliament and elected representatives of state assemblies lent solidarity.

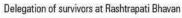


Raj Babbar, Arpana Caur



Harkrishan Singh Surjeet, Madhu Dandavate, Romila Thapar, VP Singh

The accounts gave a detailed and chilling account of the premediation behind the violence. Communalism Combat's special issue Gujarat Genocide 2002 (March April 2002) was also released here. During the two day stay in Delhi, the victim survivors also led a delgeation to President KR Narayanan. Travelling by road from Gujarat, they has to be provided armed escort for the journey.









SAHMAT presents an exhibition "Ways of Resisting:1992-2002" of artworks, photographs, videos and archival material that represent ways of resisting the rise of fundamentalist and fascist forces. Many of the works assembled in the project have been part of political activism since the 1990s: of artists who have worked with collectives to confront the forces of regression. Several other works have the longer-term agenda of developing a critical language that reflects and critiques the historical situation: the distortion of democratic and secular values, and the parodying of these values by the rightwing ruling coalition.

There are multimedia installations and sculpture that present political allegories to understand the present. The artists are Rumanna Hussain, Nalini Malani, N.N.Rimzon, Navjot Altaf, Sheba Chhachhi, Jehangir Jani, Pushpamala N. Walter d' Souza, Probir Gupta, Enas M.J. Veer Munshi, Tejal Shah and Vivan Sundaram.

The work by painters who question the easy appropriation of the Indian tradition (of its myths and symbols) by the distorting ideology of Hindutva and who thereby reclaim an iconography that speaks about a creatively plural and syncretic culture. Akbar Padamsee, Gulammohammed Sheikh, Nilima Sheikh, Surendran Nair, Atul Dodiya, Arpana Caur, Arpita Singh.

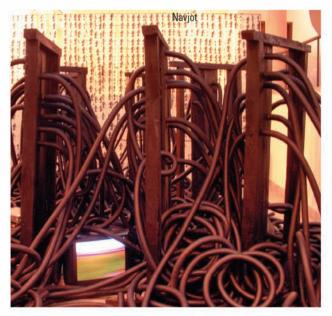
This will be complemented by the work of painters who speak in a more urban/contemporary vocabulary of secularism: Altaf, Sudhir Patwardhan, Suranjan Basu, Jitish Kallat, Nataraj Sharma, Gargi Raina, Savi Savarkar, Riyas Komu, Indersalim. The exhibition has a section of photographs in a range of genres: reportage to documentary to narrative. Pablo Bartholomew, Prashant Panjiar, Ram Rahman, Parthiv Shah and press photographs from Mumbai.

A documentary section will reflect upon the long-term changes that the ruling ideology is effecting — and on the modes of opposition devised by the artists groups in the public domain. SAHMAT: all India, Open Circle: Mumbai, Voices against Violence: Baroda , Visthar: Bangalore. Relatedly, there will be a continuous screening of video documentaries and thematized narratives about the consequences of an ideological mind-set that valorizes (male) aggression and justifies violence against already marginalized groups and communities in society. Films by Madhushree Dutta, Sohoni Ghosh, Gopal Menon, Anand Patwardhan, Gauhar Raza, Saba Devan & Rahul Roy, Teesta Setalvad, Lalit Vachani, Suma Jossan. Virendra Saini.

The exhibition has been curated by Vivan Sundaram.







MAGE MUSICE SAHMAT 20 YEARS

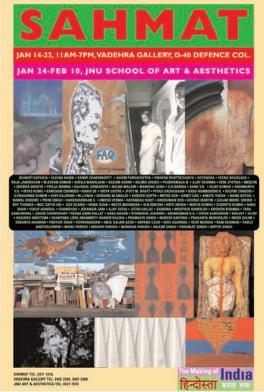














MAKING HISTORY OUR OWN 2007

The year 2007 is going to be celebrated as the 60th year of Independence as well as the 150th year of the 1857 uprising. This year also marks the centenary of Bhagat Singh, PC Joshi as well as the launching of the Satyagraha movement by Gandhi in South Africa. As all these anniversaries overlap, there are going to be a number of celebrations across the country, and there is bound to be a surge of nationalist sentiment. We at Sahmat have thought hard at how we can engage meaningfully and creatively with these histories in a series of projects next year.

We propose a project titled *Making History Our Own.* It occurred to us that we are all, as individuals, and in our creative practice — an embodiment of precisely those complex lineages, inspirations and personal trajectories, as well as those larger histories — which have made our culture so unique in its layering. The idea is that we make a work which acknowledges our personal roots, our inspirations, our teachers, our gurus — our own histories, which collectively will be a visual history of ourselves, made by ourselves — Making History our own. Our inspirations come from so many sources and cultures, from literature, from music, from dance, from architecture, from our personal experiences. Collectively expressed, this can be a unique project which becomes a visual history of who we are now. *Ram Rahman*



SAHMAT MAKING HISTORY OUR OWN

HG Arunkumar, Detail









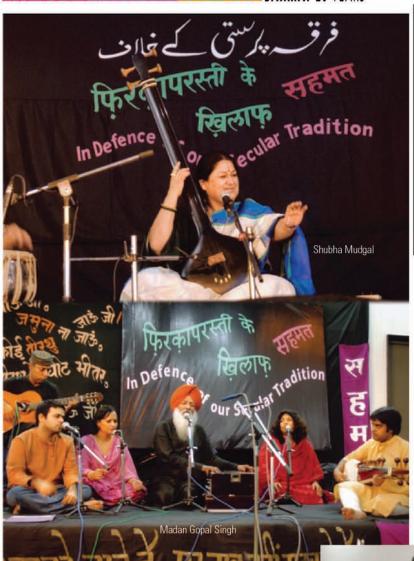


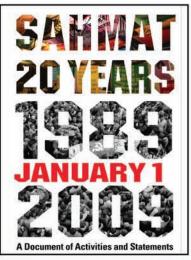
NATIONAL STREET THEATRE DAY AND CITY LIGHTS-STREET PHOTOGRAPHY PROCESSION, 2008

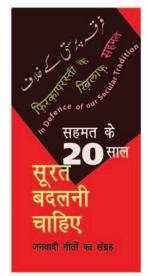
Safdar Hashmi Marg, Mandi House, New Delhi. Street plays were accompanied by City Lights, an exhibition of photographs on marginalised workers and victimised citizens of the city, which were carried as a walking street exhibit procession. Photographs of event by Dinesh Khanna



IMAGE MUSICIPE SAHMAT 20 YEARS









Javed Malick, MK Raina, Habib Tanvir, Zohra Sehgal

Sahmat Publications

1989-2008

Books - Hindi

Ped (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Mickey Patel, 1989 (Bengali and Malayalam, 1994), Rs 50

Gadbad Ghotala (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by B.V. Suresh, 1989 (Bengali and Malayalam, 1994), Rs 50

Holi (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Mohandas N.N., 1989, Rs 50

Baag ki Sair (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Vasudevan Akkitham, 1989, Rs 50

Bansuriwala (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Arpita Singh, 1989, Rs 50

Natak ki Duniya (children's plays), by Safdar Hashmi, 1989, Rs 70

Duniya Sabki (children's poems), by Safdar Hashmi, 1989, Rs 50

Moteram ka Satyagrah (play), 1989, Rs 50

Sare Mausam Acchhey (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Nilima Sheikh, 1990, Rs 50

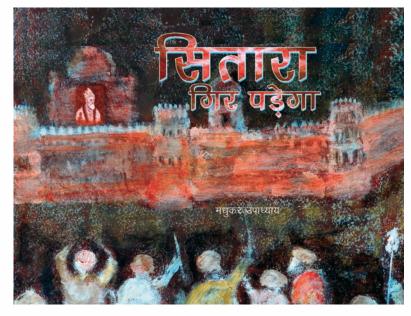
Kitaben (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Surendran Nair, 1990, Rs 50

Chowk Chowk Par Gali Gali Mein - I (street plays), 1990, Rs 60

Chowk Chowk Par Gali Gali Mein - II (street plays), 1990, Rs 60

Yeh Samay 1: Sampradayikta aur Sanskriti ke Sawal, 1993, Rs 20

Yeh Aisa Samay Hai (A collection of poems), 1994, Rs 150



Apni Zabaan (A collection of poems), 1994, Rs 30

Aaj ka Path (A collection of stories), 1994, Rs 150

Yeh Samay 2: Arya: Mithak aur Yatharth, by Romila Thapar, 1995, Rs 20

Yeh Samay 3: Sanskriti, Chetana, Vichardhara, by K.N. Panikkar, 1995, Rs 20

Yeh Samay 4: Adhunik Bharat ka Uday, by Ravinder Kumar, 1995, Rs 20

Yeh Samay 5: Hamare Daur mein Phasiwad, by Aijaz Ahmad, 1995, Rs 20

Yeh Samay 6: Bharatiya Arthik Vikas ke Ayam, by Prabhat Patnaik and C.P. Chandrasekhar, 1995, Rs 20

Panchwa Chirag (story of Safdar Hashmi as told by his mother), by Q.A. Hashmi, 1995, Rs 60

Bapu ka Aitihasik Mukadma (children's book), written by Mulk Raj Anand, illustrated by Shamshad, 1995 (Bengali, 1995), Rs 50

Bapu (children's book), written by Umashankar Joshi, illustrated by Madhvi Parekh, 1995 (Bengali, 1995), Rs 50 Champa (children's book), written and illustrated by Haku Shah, 1995 (Bengali, Gujarati, 1995), Rs 50

Bharatiya Itihas mein Madhya Kal, 1999, Rs 50

Muktnaad (monthly journal), 1999–2004, Rs 30 per issue

Sampradayik Rajniti, by Ram Puniyani, 2001, Rs 60

Yeh Samay 7: Sindhu Sabhyata ke Aryakaran ki Koshish, 2001, Rs 20

Yeh Samay 8: Vivek par Hamla, 2002, Rs 20

Yeh Samay 9: Itihas ka Punarlekhan aur Sangh Parivar, 2002, Rs 20

Yeh Samay 10: Vo Premchand se Darte Hain, 2002, Rs 30

Das Baras, I and II (A collection of poems, marking the 10th anniversary of the Babri Masjid demolition), 2002, Rs 240

Gandhi, Ek Punarvichar, 2004, Rs 50

COMMUNALISM COMBAT MARCH 2009

Dhundhle Padchinh (on the Dandi March), by Madhukar Upadhyaya, 2005, Rs 150

Idgah, story by Premchand, illustrated by Jehangir Jani, 2005, Rs 60

Munshi Premchand, ed. Rajendra Sharma, 2005, Rs 60

Muktnaad (biannual journal), 2005 onwards, yearly subscription: Rs 80

Yeh Samay 11: Parampara, Alochana aur Hindi Navjagran, 2006, Rs 30

Yeh Samay 12: Gujarat: Bhoolne ke Virudh, 2006, Rs 30

Yeh Samay 13: Hamare Daur ka Samrajyavad, by Aijaz Ahmad, 2006, Rs 30

Akbar, ed. Rajendra Sharma, 2007, Rs 60

Golwalkar Ya Bhagat Singh, ed. Rajendra Sharma, 2007, Rs 60

1857: Ajab Saal Tha Vo Ajab Saal Tha Vo, ed. Rajendra Sharma, 2007, Rs 60

Sitara Gir Padega (on the 1857 Revolt), written by Madhukar Upadhyaya, illustrated by Sanjay Sharma, 2007, Rs 150

Bhookh, ed. Rajendra Sharma, 2008, Rs 60

Bahas Ananta, ed. Rajendra Sharma, 2008, Rs 100

Soorat Badalni Chahiye (poems), 2008, Rs 40

Phootegi Phir Bhor (poems), 2008, Rs 25

Books - English

Red Flower (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Mona Rai, 1989, Rs 50

Right to Perform (essays on theatre and culture), by Safdar Hashmi, 1989, Rs 150

Safdar (catalogue of protest), 1989, Rs 10

Artists Alert (exhibition catalogue), 1989, Rs 20

Images and Words (exhibition catalogue), 1992, Rs 25

Muktnaad/Hum Sab Ayodhya (on the 'Ram Katha' panel controversy). 1993. Rs 75

Punchline (cartoons against communalism), 1994, Rs 50

Sahmat as Represented in the Press, 1991–1994, 1994, Rs 105

Addressing Gandhi, 1995, Rs 900

Resources against Communalism and Religious Fundamentalism, 1996, Rs 25

Red the Earth, 1997, Rs 20 (2007, Rs 50)

Gift for India (exhibition catalogue), 1997, Rs 500

Secularism Alert, 1999, Rs 10

Indian People in the Struggle for Freedom, 1999, Rs 70

Investigative Journalism or Slander?: Do You Have More Questions, Mr. Shourie?, V.M. Jha, 2000, Rs 10

A Modest Proposal and Other Rhymes for the Times (poems), by Badri Raina, 2000, Rs 35

The Saffron Agenda in Education: An Expose, 2001, Rs 40

Against Communalisation of Education, 2001, Rs 75

Communal Politics: A Primer, by Ram Puniyani, 2001, Rs 120

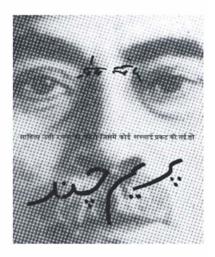
Drawing the Battle Lines, 2002, Rs 150

Saffronised and Substandard (a critique of the new NCERT textbooks), 2002, Rs 75

The Assault on History, 2002, Rs 60

Communalism, Civil Society and the State, 2002, Rs 120

The Republic Besmirched: 6 December 1992, 2002, Rs 60



Plagiarised and Communalised, 2003, Rs 80

Making of India (exhibition catalogue), 2004, Rs 50

Barbarians at the Gate, 2004, Rs 20

Against Communalisation of Archaeology, 2004, Rs 20

Gandhi Reconsidered: Towards a Secular and Modern India, 2004, Rs 80

The Savarkar Controversy, 2004, Rs 50

Economic Agenda, 2004, Rs 50

The Republic of Hunger, Utsa Patnaik, 2004, Rs 20

Debating Education, 2005, Rs 30

Debating Education II: Commercialisation of Education, 2005, Rs 30

Debating Education III: The Reservation Issue, 2006, Rs 30

Iconography Now, 2006, Rs 150

Red the Earth, 2006, Rs 50

Harassing Husain, 2007, Rs 20

Justice Now, 2007, Rs 60

M.F. Husain ... Petitioner, 2008, Rs 100

20 Years of Sahmat, 2008, Rs 250

Books - Urdu

Firgaparasti aur Tehzeeb ke Sawal, 1993, Rs 10

Ped (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by Mickey Patel, 1994, Rs 50

Gadbad Ghotala (children's book), poem by Safdar Hashmi, illustrated by B.V. Suresh, 1994, Rs 50

 ${\it Panchwa~Chirag~(story~of~Safdar~Hashmi~as~told~by~his~mother),~by~Q.A.~Hashmi,~1995,~Rs~150}$

Audio cassettes / Video cassettes / CDs

Safdar (video and CD), 1989, Rs 200

Anhad Garje (audio and video), 1993, Rs 200

Manasbana (audio), 1995, Rs 80

Zikeyaar (audio), 1997, Rs 25

Jung-e-Azadi (CD), 1997, Rs 150

Aaj ke Naam (video), 1997, Rs 150

Anhad Garje (audio CD), 2007, Rs 300

Anhad Garje (VCD), 2008, Rs 500

Cards

Images and Words (set of 4 cards), 1991, Rs 20

Postcards for Gandhi (set of 100 cards), 1995, Rs 200

Premchand (set of 25 cards), 2005, Rs 125

Artists' cards (set of 50 cards), 2008, Rs 300

Calendars

Artists' Stamps, 1997, designed by Rajinder Arora, Rs 25

Premchand, 2005, designed by Rajinder Arora, Rs 100

Gandhi/Dandi March, 2006, designed by Rajinder Arora, Rs 30

Che Guevara, 2007, designed by Kanishka Prasad and Shruti Singhi, Rs 30 1857 Year Planner, designed by Rajinder Arora, Rs 30

Making History Our Own, designed by Rajinder Arora, 2008, Rs 30

Street Theatre Day, designed by Kanishka Prasad and Shruti Singhi, 2009, Rs 50

20 Years Sahmat Journal, designed by Rajinder Arora, 2009, Rs 200

Posters

Ham Sab Ayodhya, Jallianwala Bagh, Dastak, Udham Singh, Ten years of SAHMAT, Peace, Bhagat Singh, Manas Bana, Delhi 1857: designed by Ram Rahman

1857 Pledge, Gandhi Death Anniversary (2 posters), Dandi March, Anhad Garje, Safdar (2 posters), Vigilant, Anti-war poster: designed by Parthiv Shah

Anti-war poster: designed by Shamshad

1857, by J. Swaminathan

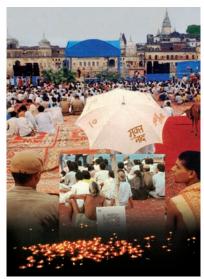
Gandhi (2 posters): designed by Vivan Sundaram

Premchand: designed by Ishtihaar

10 Years of Sahmat: designed by Rummana Husain

National Street Theatre Day (20 posters): designed by Ram Rahman, Parthiv Shah and Ishtihaar

In Defence of Our Secular Tradition: With works by M.F. Husain, Vivan Sundaram, Manu Parekh, Manjit Bawa, Gulammohammed Sheikh, Akbar Padamsee, Gopi Gajwani, Haku Shah, Shamshad, Mickey Patel, Orijit Sen, Arpita Singh, Nalini Malani, Vasudevan Akkitham, Abul Kalam Azad, Surendran Nair, Alex Mathew, N.N. Rimzon, Ajay Kumar





To be released soon

Ways of Resisting

a video film by Vivan Sundaram based on the exhibition **Ways of Resisting** (23 December 2002 - 4 January 2003)
Camera: Shankar Chandra

20 Years of SAHMAT: MUSIC

a video film by Anant Raina

with excerpts from music from SAHMAT programmes