

Déconstruction de la Mémoire



Le manoir — véritable coeur de Glendon depuis la fondation du collège en 1966 — est sur le point de connaître des transformations radicales. Les fonctions de ce lieu de mémoire vont être entièrement redéfinies. Ce que l'on pourrait appeler « l'ère culturelle » du manoir touche, aujourd'hui, à sa fin.

C'est en 1924 que fut posée la dernière pierre du bâtiment qui est désormais le prestigieux manoir du collège Glendon !

... Suite à la page 2

Cette montagne de livres et de dossiers du GREF était la pièce maîtresse de la dernière installation de la Galerie Glendon intitulée : *le manoir du livre et de l'oubli*.

Le manoir du livre et de l'oubli.

Suite de la page de couverture

Cette somptueuse demeure était alors la propriété privée de Monsieur et Madame Wood*. Celle-ci devint ensuite le siège de l'université York et le centre du collège Glendon à partir des années 1960'.

Dans cette perspective toute généalogique, 2004 restera, elle aussi, une année mémorable pour l'histoire de ce lieu. Mémorable, certes, mais dans quel sens ?

Tout d'abord, 2004 est le quatre-vingtième « anniversaire » du manoir. Au moins aussi âgé que les arbres du campus, cette vieille bâtisse est presque centenaire !

On aurait donc pu s'attendre à une célébration de la « naissance » de ce lieu qui est toujours resté le cœur et la mémoire de notre institution universitaire. Or, il semblerait qu'il s'agisse plutôt d'une totale renaissance.

Les quatre-vingts ans du manoir ne se fêteront pas avec la traditionnelle pièce montée ornée de bougies, mais plutôt à coups de marteaux et de burins. Ce vendredi, le 27 février, les premiers murs vont être démolis. La quasi-totalité des activités culturelles qui prenaient place dans le manoir telles que la librairie de Glendon, les éditions du GREF, la galerie d'art et le journal Pro Tem, doivent par conséquent définitivement quitter Glendon Hall. De même, la majorité des professeurs qui y avaient leurs bureaux déménagent. (voir le nouveau plan de Glendon ci-dessus). Ces jours derniers, le manoir s'est donc entièrement vidé. Il est passé d'une métamorphose à l'autre alors qu'il se voyait littéralement éventré en mille cartons de livres, de dossiers et de feuilles éparpillées.

Ce mois de février 2004 marque donc officiellement le début des « rénovations » du manoir tels que ces travaux sont présentés

par l'administration.

Or, la notion même de rénovation semble porter à confusion. À l'origine, toute activité de rénovation désigne le rétablissement d'une chose dans son état premier ou encore une remise à neuf. La nature du rapport au passé et la conception de la mémoire sont, dès lors, des éléments de réflexion essentiels.

Mercredi dernier, Glendon était très fier de recevoir John Ralston Saul, époux de la Gouverneur Générale, qui a donné une conférence sur le Canada en tant que pays moyen. Une des idées maîtresses de sa pensée était justement

actuels du manoir : rénovations, transformations ?

À ce jour, nous savons que la galerie d'art et les bureaux du Pro Tem seront transformés en une grande salle multifonction, que le GREF et la librairie seront des salles de classe et, enfin que les principaux bureaux de l'administration vont déménager au premier étage du manoir. Les travaux menés par la Junior League devraient durer jusqu'à la fin de l'année universitaire. D'autre part, le projet d'ouvrir un nouveau département de Maîtrise en Affaires publiques semble se concrétiser.

Toutes ces informations

une quarantaine d'années, le principal centre culturel.

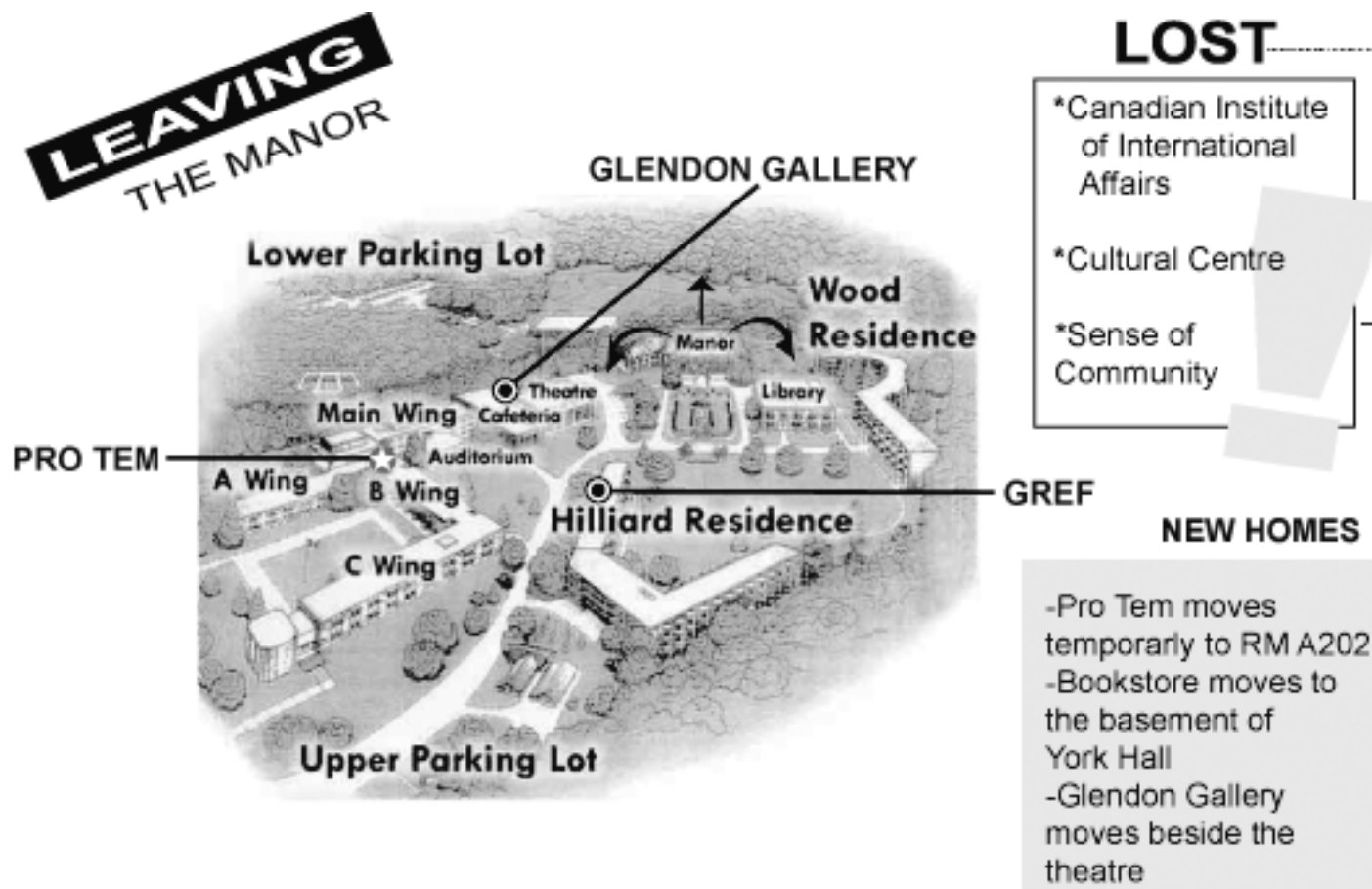
La Radio, la librairie, la galerie d'art, la maison d'édition du GREF et le journal Pro Tem ont partagé cet espace qui, de fait, a toujours été un lieu privilégié de dialogue entre livres, musiques, peintures et sculptures. En somme, le manoir était le cœur de Glendon dans le sens où il reflétait, à travers ces activités, sa vocation profondément humaniste, artistique et multiculturelle.

Comme le souligne l'ancien directeur de la Radio Glendon CKRG, Jonathan Swayze : « le manoir est le seul bâtiment non

dossiers de recherches.

Chacun de ces dossiers du GREF témoignait de l'exploration d'une nouvelle ère francophone d'Afrique, de Suisse ou encore d'Amérique. Ces mémoires d'études et de recherches font, elles aussi, partie des pierres sur lesquelles Glendon, collège bilingue, s'est peu à peu édifié. Ce véritable monument d'étude n'a malheureusement pas pu être conservé dans les archives de l'université, il est désormais au recyclage. Cette installation aurait pu s'intituler *Le manoir du livre et de l'oubli*.

Si nous ignorons encore quelles seront les con-



l'importance de l'image que le Canada offre au monde. Si l'on considère le manoir comme la « belle vitrine » de notre université, comme son image valorisante une question demeure : quelle vocation Glendon — qui se définit comme un collège bilingue d'arts libéraux — a-t-il choisi de privilégier ? Derrière ce qui peut s'apparenter à un simple déménagement, se profilent des questions fondamentales liées à l'avenir de notre institution et, dès lors, à la façon dont Glendon entend se construire une histoire.

L'image que le Collège veut mettre en avant et qui, par-là, justifie ces transformations demeure malheureusement assez floue. C'est d'ailleurs ce manque de communication dont semble avoir souffert la plupart des occupants

sont, certes, importantes mais elles ne suffisent pas à définir de façon précise la nouvelle image que Glendon semble vouloir prendre. Se soulève par conséquent la question d'identité qui est irrémédiablement liée à celle de la vocation de cette institution.

Pour revenir à l'image de l'université, Glendon se définit par deux caractéristiques essentielles : la première est le collège universitaire d'arts libéraux et la seconde est, cela va de soi, le bilinguisme de l'enseignement. Encore mercredi soir, son excellence John Ralston Saul félicitait la place accordée aux cultures francophones à la fois dans la recherche et dans l'enseignement offerts à Glendon.

Dans cette perspective, le manoir a été, pendant

institutionnel du campus. Ce ne sera malheureusement plus jamais le cas. C'est un lieu de caractère contrairement au reste des bâtiments de Glendon qui ressemblent plus à un hôpital ! » Et il est vrai que les arts se rencontraient, en anglais et en français, dans cet espace libre et ouvert.

Ceux qui ont eu la curiosité de pousser la porte d'entrée du manoir cette semaine n'ont pu manquer une installation des plus surprenantes. Le hall principal avait pris les allures de salle d'exposition digne des galeries d'art les plus modernes et les plus conceptuelles. Une masse presque monstrueuse de documents de toute nature trônait au beau milieu de l'entrée. En s'approchant de plus près, on pouvait découvrir des milliers de

séquences de ces transformations du manoir pour la vie étudiante d'une part et pour la vocation de Glendon d'autre part, nous ne pouvons souhaiter qu'une valorisation du collège qui ne peut oublier ce sur quoi il s'est édifié.

— Julie Marion Sage

* voir à ce sujet l'article de Chris Spraakman « Our manor then, and now ? » publié dans le Pro Tem, vol. 42, No. 8.

pro tem

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Venez nous voir tous les mardis après-midis dans notre bureau qui se trouve ENCORE au rez-de-chaussée du manoir.

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La conception du sécularisme en Inde

Depuis son indépendance en 1947, l'Inde a toujours misé sur le sécularisme comme force pour unir la population indienne autour d'une même conception nationale de ce pays. La question religieuse en Inde est loin d'être une affaire simple.

80 pour cent de la population est de religion hindoue, douze pour cent de religion musulmane et huit pour cent est partagé entre les Sikhs, les Jaïns, les Parsis, les Bouddhistes et les Chrétiens. Mais, ces douze pour cent de Musulmans représentent la troisième plus grosse population musulmane au monde dans un seul pays, faut-il le rappeler.

Le professeur Rajeev Bhargava de l'Université de Delhi est un spécialiste qui s'est penché sur la question. Selon lui, même si à la base le sécularisme veut dire la stricte division entre l'État et les groupes religieux pour le bénéfice de la liberté religieuse, on distingue néanmoins trois formes d'interprétation de cette doctrine.

La première forme d'État séculaire est un État où il y a reconnaissance formelle et explicite d'une religion d'État, mais où le pays est dirigé par un code civil indépendant du code religieux. Ces pays sont dirigés par des gouvernements laïcs, et la religion jouit d'une grande indépendance. Cette forme de sécularisme fait foie d'une tolérance envers les croyants d'autres religions. C'est la forme de sécularisme qui est appliqué dans la plupart des pays de l'Occident.

Une autre forme de sécularisme est celle d'une reconnaissance formelle et explicite de plusieurs religions au sein d'un même pays. Ainsi la diversité religieuse

est reconnue formellement et la tolérance se fait entre ces groupes religieux. Mais, il n'y a aucune garantie que les libertés individuelles seront les mêmes au sein des différents groupes, sans compter qu'il y a aussi le risque de persécution des athées.

Finalement il y a le cas des États qui ne reconnaissent aucune religion. Ainsi les groupes religieux ne bénéficient d'aucun statut particulier au sein des États et cela peut parfois les mettre dans une situation précaire par rapport à l'autorité de l'État. Cette forme de sécularisme place au pied d'égalité les croyants et non-croyants face à l'État.

L'Inde s'est toujours questionnée sur la position à prendre par rapport au sécularisme. Selon le professeur Barghava, l'idée maîtresse, qui semble avoir été la particularité du sécularisme à l'indienne depuis les cinquante dernières années, est le principe de la distance. Cette vision du sécularisme en est une de réconciliation et de compromis.

Le principe de distance pour l'Inde consiste à intervenir dans les affaires religieuses lorsque cela est pour le bénéfice de la population en générale et se retenir d'une telle intervention lorsque l'intérêt de la population en dépend. La séparation entre l'État et la religion devient alors plutôt floue. Même si l'État a le pouvoir d'intervenir, il se retient de le faire par souci de tolérance. Le moteur de cette interprétation du sécularisme devrait être en théorie le bien-être de la population en générale.

Mais en Inde comme ailleurs, il y a un monde entre la théorie et la réalité. Le problème de cette approche est qu'elle tombe

inévitablement dans le jeu de la politique. Le sécularisme devient biaisé en faveur d'un ou de plusieurs groupes en particulier ou dépend du reste. Il ne s'agit donc plus du bien-être de la population, mais plutôt du poids politique que représente un groupe religieux par rapport à un autre.

L'affaire Shah Bano est l'exemple classique qui illustre l'échec de cette forme de sécularisme. Shah Bano est une femme musulmane qui, après le divorce d'avec son mari, est allé devant les tribunaux indiens pour réclamer une pension alimentaire de la part de son ex-mari. Or, la Shariat ne permet pas aux femmes musulmanes d'obtenir une pension alimentaire après un divorce, mais le Code civil indien le permet. L'affaire s'est rendue jusqu'en Cour Suprême qui a statué en avril 1985 que le Code civil s'appliquait à tous les Indiens peu importe leur religion et que la religion ne pouvait pas se substituer aux lois laïcs du pays.

Mais le Premier-ministre de l'époque, Rajiv Gandhi, a refusé d'appliquer la décision de la Cour suprême et a laissé la Shariat s'appliquer pour la population de confession musulmane en Inde. Cette décision a provoqué l'ire des groupes féministes en Inde en plus de créer une situation impossible à gérer pour les autorités qui doivent maintenant appliquer différentes lois pour différentes personnes. La décision du Premier ministre Gandhi a donc été motivée par un agenda politique et par une crainte profonde de perdre les votes cruciaux de la communauté musulmane en Inde.

Le gouvernement en Inde a depuis changé. Le parti au pouvoir est le Parti Bharatiya Janata (BJP) dirigé par le Premier ministre actuel Atal Bihari Vajpayee. La venue au pou-

voir de ce parti a fait tourner la vapeur en Inde. Il s'agit d'un parti nationaliste indien qui a introduit un agenda résolument nationaliste et résolument hindou.

Depuis 1992, le parti cherche à se distancer des idéaux sécularistes et tente de faire régner le code hindou, l'hindoutva. Ils sont allés jusqu'à faire quelques coups d'éclats comme en détruisant la mosquée d'Ayodhya pour réaffirmer la suprématie de la religion indienne au dépend des autres religions en Inde.

D'un extrême à l'autre, le sécularisme en Inde s'est toujours démarqué par une interprétation biaisée en faveur de certains groupes. Jusqu'à la venue au pouvoir du BJP, ce sont le sécularisme naïf et la dictature du sécularisme qui se sont opposés. Depuis, il semble que le pays soit tourné vers une affirmation et une domination de la religion indienne.

Peu importe la situation, il n'en demeure pas moins que le sécularisme tel que pratiqué en Occident semble difficile à appliquer à la réalité indienne. Ce constat donne du poids à la théorie qui veut que le sécularisme soit d'abord et avant tout une affaire de blancs chrétiens et n'a rien à voir avec l'hindouisme. En fait, les deux seraient même contradictoires.

* Le Professeur Rajeev Bhargava enseigne au Département d'études politiques à l'Université de Delhi. Il donnait une conférence publique le 11 février dernier au Centre Munk pour les Études internationales. Le titre de sa conférence était «The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism».

- Louis-Étienne Vigneault

Documentary - Anand Patwardhan's 'War & Peace'-
<http://www.patwardhan.com/>

War & Peace is a controversial analysis of India's nuclear policy, particularly the nuclear tests of 1998 and what motivated them. Patwardhan also examines the legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki- the human and environmental costs, and the American perspective of the tragedy. Negative portrayals of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) supporters and politicians earned a ban for the film within India, although recently overturned by the Indian Supreme Court. I found the footage of Indian political rallies on nuclear tests and the BJP to be of particular interest, for it shows the reality of Indian politics on the ground.

I highly recommend this documentary to anyone who is interested in the impact of nuclear proliferation, or the current Indian socio-political landscape. It can be found at Scott library at the Keele Campus.

Book - Sunil Khilnani's 'The Idea of India' - Farrar, Straus & Giroux - 1999

'The Idea Of India' stands out not only for its content, but also the clarity and fluidity of the writing. Sunil Khilnani examines the various competing conceptions of what defines Indian identity. Religious, plural, linguistic, and ethnic definitions of Indian nationalism are addressed. Particular attention is paid to the rise and fall of Nehruvian secular democracy, and the subsequent rebirth of Hindu nationalism. I recommend this book, for it elegantly covers the dominant debate in Indian politics today. This debate spills over into the Ayodhya temple conflict, the Gujarat riots of 2002,

India's emergence as a nuclear power, and the tension between India and Pakistan.

- Zac Fillingham



Something worth striving for...

Focusing on income levels while ignoring other factors can only lead to a skewed assessment of citizen well-being. But perhaps the time has come for those of us on the left to acknowledge that plunging average income is no longer something we can simply shrug off. Sure money isn't everything, but declines in income, set against a cultural background of relentless wealth-celebration can't help but generate relative poverty. Poverty creates envy. And envy, felt consistently and acutely enough, leads to many other social ills we cannot so easily ignore, like crime and riots and beggars in the street."

- Mark Kingwell



Why India: Challenges to an Emerging Power



As a young nation, just over fifty years of age India has continued to evolve as a complex, diverse, epicentre of change. Since its birth as a nation, along with partition its people have also continued to evolve and adapt to the new crossroads that India has taken on. Her multitude of communities, languages, cultures, religions continue to thrive despite communal tensions, and the structurally stratified society. While the traditional lines of division start to blur and meld into each other, new barriers appear. Yet, India's civil society is active and flourishing in these crossroads of change. India's potential is dynamic. As the second most populated country in the world, it has the ability to lure multinationals to invest in one of the largest markets in the world. While India entered the world stage with its new economic reforms in 1991, the BJP government came to power with help of an extensive coalition. The BJP with its Hindu nationalist agenda questioned India's founding principles of democracy and secularism. Will the Indian civil society prevent the propagation of Hindu Nationalism as the national agenda? Will the economic reforms transform the structural defect of the caste system? What are the implications of India becoming a major economic power?

India only began its program of economic liberalization in 1991 under Prime Minister Narasimha Rao of the Congress Party. The party which ruled India from 1947 to 1978 under Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi. Later her son Rajiv Gandhi also took the seat as Prime Minister for a couple of terms. These leaders of the Congress were primarily of the upper castes, and held a "top-down" approach to the Indian economy. The BJP who came into power after Narasimha Rao's term intensified the process of economic liberalization. This led to the arrival of numerous international brands and multinational companies in India such as Pepsi, Coke, Nike, Reebok, IBM, Sony, G.E. and so on. Since English is one of the national languages in India, they offer the multinationals with a highly trained, English speaking sections of the society. As a result companies like General Electric (G.E.) has opened on the first call centers within India. As the forces of capitalism intensify within India, the nouveau riche or new rich have grown to form a new class in the socio-economic fabric of India. This is a byproduct of the intensification of unbalanced growth that has exacerbated the social tensions within India.

The entrance of the BJP government after the demolition of Babri Masjid (Mosque) at Ayodhya in

1991 opened up a new era in Indian politics. The demolition of the mosque not only re-ignited Hindu-Muslim conflicts in a national scale but also brought back communalism to the national agenda. A young India, already confronted with several new forces such as economic liberalization and the major changes that come with it, was now also subjected to a new form of communalism, hindu nationalism. How does a political party that was almost wiped out in the 1984 national elections winning merely 2 seats, who was the major

ferent religions. Thus when Nehru became the first Prime Minister, the constitution was drawn up to include the following: the caste-system was abolished, and India was founded on the principles of a secular, democratic-republic. Although secularism, tolerance were part of the founding principles of the nation, and preached by Gandhi and Nehru, it was difficult for the masses to trust them when they were faced with the bloodiest communal riots and the forceful division of the land, with partition. In August 1947, two nations were

Congress Party utterly dependant on her by suspending inter party democracy and debate. She did this in the national level by declaring a national emergency, to stay in power. She also teamed up with Sikh extremist leaders to compete with the moderate factions that contested the Congress Party. In this way her terms in government were plagued with rash, short-sighted decision-making which weakened people's trust in the Congress.

This was further exacerbated when her son Rajiv Gandhi was elected as Prime Minister with a landslide victory. One of the major parasites that unravelled during his term was the entrance of Hindu nationalist demands in centre stage. Until this time they had been sidelined. A Muslim woman, by the name Shah Bano filed for maintenance after being divorced. When her husband argued that it was not permissible in under the Islamic law, she sought protection under the country's civil code. When the Supreme Court supported Shah Bano, and Rajiv lent out his support to the courts, numerous Muslims took the streets in protest. In order to appease the Muslim demands due the proximity of elections Rajiv made amends to the constitution. According to this, the Islamic personal law was now higher than the civil law. Rajiv's discrepancy in policy-making made room for the Hindu nationalists to jump at this opportunity to publicize the temple- mosque dispute site at Ayodhya. They demanded for amends to the constitution as well that would enable them to carry out the demolition of the mosque. When denied, they claimed and publicized that the Congress favored Muslims to Hindus. As a result different lobby group including the prime minister's lobby to be re-elected jumped on Shah Bano's case to use it for their own benefit. This is once again another example of poor and dishonest administration of the Congress.

The disillusionment with the Congress and their upper caste leadership was widespread. It was a time of the rise and fall of coalition governments and the rise of the lower castes. The state of Uttar Pradesh saw their first lower caste head of state, a woman by the name of Mayawati. The coalition in the centre government was led by a lower caste prime Minister for a half term. The segment of Indian society that qualified as lower castes have benefitted from reservations in schools, universities, government jobs, since independence.

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force behind the demolition of the Babri mosque manage to win the confidence of a the same nation? Curiously enough they did. As a result the BJP, the now, moderate wing of hindu nationalism formed overnment in 1998 with the help of a coalition?

There are a few reasons that led to the BJP's victory. The Congress party was the major political party that mobilized the masses during the freedom struggle of India. They instilled pride, self-respect among Indians when the British were at the peak of their atrocities. Gandhi's ideology of non-violence was adopted by the Congress Party and played a significant role in the freedom movement. Gandhi and Nehru were two of the most popular figures of the Congress. The Congress party was meant to represent all religions, castes and ideologies within India. Yet, it did not manage to prevent the emergence of Pakistan. This was their biggest failure. Gandhi and Congress Party promoted tolerance and cooperation among dif-

born out of the same land: India and Pakistan. More importantly although Gandhi preached tolerance his image of an ideal Indian was that of a rural, self-sufficient, peaceful, religious Hindu. Thus the majority of Gandhi's disciples were Hindu. Although he lent out his support to the lower caste hindus, he never openly condemned the caste system as a mechanism of oppression. Similarly Nehru was a High-caste pundit, his lifestyle was urban and western, the masses could not identify with him. Hence although Nehru managed to install the two major pillars of democracy and secularism in independent India, the notion of secularism in particular was not sufficiently cultivated.

Under the leadership of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi the Congress declined tremendously. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Nehru undermined the very principles that the nation was founded on. She was the first political leader to undermine democracy and secularism while in office. She made the

"India is virtually synonymous with poverty in the Western mind... More than half the world's poorest people live in India, mostly in the rural north and east. ... approximately 300 million people - falls below the governments own poverty line."

"In the south and west, however, many Indians are enjoying unprecedented economic growth. These are regions, with population much larger than that of either Indonesia or the United States, that have seen more thoroughgoing land reform. ... India's 1998 gross national product of \$420 billion was the world's 11th largest... India has the fifth largest economy, behind those of the United States, China, Japan, and Germany." (P.3 Cohen, Steve India Rising)



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This was an important step in 1947 to enable the lower castes to have access to and to be in par with the rest of the society. These quotas were primarily in schools, jobs and so on. Have they benefited the lower castes? These quotas still remain today. They have been a highly politicized topic in Indian politics. While they have benefited sections in the lower caste, there are still sections of the society that do not have access to the basic education and food. Will quotas bring these to them? It is becoming more and more apparent that the problem of India's stratified society is structural. Hence by having quotas

is it possible to get rid of these barriers or do they re-establish them even further. For example, the Mandal Commission appointed by the government was a landmark evaluation of the status of caste distinctions and what should be done to get rid of them. The report calculated 52% of the population including Christians and Muslims required concessions, and recommended reservations of 27% in jobs. It has become the norm to fix caste disparities through quotas only, instead of confronting the root of such problems. Their report led to tremendous debate and discussion. The Supreme Court was weary to allow it. The critics of this report argued that the commission used the 1931 census

that was the last to collect data on caste. When the government tried to install these recommendations it led to riots at universities, colleges and after a few similar incidents it was abandoned.

It was a time when the social fabric of India was changing. There was mobility among the masses with the rise of the lower castes, their disillusionment and scepticism of the higher castes, economic reforms were affecting Indians at every level of the social strata. It was a time when India was trying to assert itself. This manifested in politics with the ebb and flow of coalitions, no confidence motions, uncertainty, and this is when the BJP emerged to the centre. The BJP with its strong ideology and organizationally, a stable institution came to power with the help of its coalition. The BJP who was instrumental in the demolition of the mosque at Ayodhya. Their extensive coalition forced them to moderate their agenda of Hindutva, in order to appeal to all the masses. They intensified the economic reforms, allowing more multinationals to enter, increased foreign trade in manufacturing and service industries in this way keeping India's growth rate steady. Yet, since their arrival the following have taken place: India became a nuclear power on May 11, 1998. The Kargill War against Pakistan broke out around the same time.

In 2000 the worst communal riots since independence exploded in Gujarat one of the most prosperous states of India. It seems obvious that the BJP government has tried to send out a message to the world of their arrival.

The BJP will never appeal to the entire population of India. The minority religions are becoming more weary of the BJP and their call for India to unite was a Hindu nation. Will the BJP stay in government, will they win the next elections, and what will be the implications of that, still remain to be seen. And many scholars agree that whether or not the BJP stay in power will determine enormously the course that India takes in becoming a greater power in the world. While communal tensions have intensified, caste relations changing, there has been a boost to the Indian civil society. BJP's call for Hindu Unity has threatened a major section of the Indian population, and has given an impetus to the masses to counter their narrow vision with the true image of India: diverse, pluralistic and complex and developing. As the West has started to notice the potential of India and the role it could play in the international arena, with the power of a billion inhabitants, Indians have started to believe in the strength of their civil society. Recently the World Social Forum that took place in

Mumbai in January 2004, reaffirmed the dynamic potential of a pluralistic people, united under similar beliefs. Indians have taken it upon them to campaign against a Hindutva-stricken India. And while they might only be small movements, the independent and documentary film industry is reviving from a decade of dormancy, defying the censors. The growing number of street theatre performed in villages, cities, in front of the historic India Gate in New Delhi where the flame is always burning, is indicative of movement in the core of the nation. Hence, while India's strength is being challenged to shed its cocoon and truly emerge as a dynamic power, yet hope still lingers.

— Srimoyee Mitra

This article has used the works of the following authors

Ashutosh Varshney "Contested Meanings: ..." Asian Survey 1993
Steve Cohen "India Rising" The Wilson Quarterly, 1995
Sunil Khilnani "The Idea of India, 2000"



The Evolving Sense of Indian Identity

Mention Gujarat riots / over 1k dead

The diversity of India's religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups has made defining what it is to be an Indian a controversial and sometimes violent affair. From the moment of independence back in 1947 to the turn of the millennium, the conflict over Indian identity can be simplified into secular democracy against a Hindu state.

Advocating the superiority of the Hindu religion, culture, and history over all others, Hindu nationalism in its most extreme form is something akin to fascism. It is antithetical to Jawaharlal Nehru's secular humanism, a doctrine that attempts to harness cultural and linguistic diversity as a force for balance within a democratic society.

January 30th, 1948 marked the beginning of the modern conflict between the two ideals. The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by Natharam Godse, an ardent Hindu nationalist, caused India to unite in disgust towards the movement that had murdered their beloved symbol of independence. Although Hindu nationalist institutions were outlawed in the aftermath, they rose again parallel to disillusionment with Nehruvian policies.

In the wake of the ban, Hindu

nationalists decided to politicize the movement to promote Hindutva, or 'Hindu-ness', as the defining character of Indian identity. They formed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980, diluting some of the extremist content of Hindutva in an effort to pull in the centrist, middle-class vote.

The strategy worked and the BJP formed a coalition government on the federal level for the first time in 1998. Immediately after being elected they sought to make their mark on India despite a heavily deadlocked parliament. The result was the nuclear tests in the Pokhran desert on May 11th, 1998, an event that triggered a renewed tension between India and Pakistan.

Ayodhya

The flashpoint that has come to symbolize the different conceptions of Indian identity is the Ayodhya temple issue. In 1992, a 15th century mosque was torn down by a mob of Hindu nationalists, believing it stood on the birthplace of the god Ram. 2000 people died in the nation-wide ethnic rioting that followed the destruction of the mosque.

The violent legacy of Ayodhya spilled over into the next decade.

In February 2002, a train carrying Ayodhya pilgrims was firebombed, killing 58 people. The riots that followed were particularly disturbing. Regarded as one of India's best-developed and progressive states, the BJP-run state of Gujarat erupted in ethnic riots following the train attack, and when the smoke cleared more than 1000 Muslims had been killed in retaliation.

Following the Gujarat riots, allegations ran wild that the BJP state government had turned a blind eye to the violence and failed to protect the Muslim minority. First-hand accounts told of police and soldiers standing by as mobs of Hindus razed Muslim neighborhoods. There have been few arrests made of politicians or rioters in the wake of the tragedy that augmented Muslim feelings of helplessness and anger.

The question of what to do with the ruined Babri mosque site in Ayodhya elicits passionate responses from different people across the Indian political spectrum. Hindu nationalists believe that the temple of Ram should be built. Others think it best to just leave the ruins in peace, choosing stability over the renewed violence a new temple would create.

Conflict or Conciliation

Despite the shadow of Ayodhya, there are signs that the BJP is shifting to a strategy of reconciling ethnic tensions. Since Gujarat, the BJP's once inflammatory rhetoric surrounding the Ram temple has been toned down to the point where their fundamentalist supporters are becoming agitated. Internationally, India and Pakistan have been warming up to each other, easing anti-Muslim sentiment within India.

The conflict is at an important crossroads. If the BJP continues its pragmatic policies, it could come to resemble any other centrist political party in the world. On the other hand, if the BJP slides back towards its fundamentalist roots there can be no security for India's minority groups.

India must provide domestic security for all its citizens if it is to be regarded as a legitimate world power in the new world order. A strong India needs a strong federation, and a strong federation is one that focuses on themes of unity over those of division.

— Zac Fillingham



LA VIA DOLOROSA PAR MEL GIBSON (1ère partie)

À partir du tableau de Leonard de Vinci *L'adoration des rois mages*, Normand Raymond propose une réflexion sur la crucifixion qui est le thème principal du dernier film de Mel Gibson « *La Passion* ».

Ceux qui connaissent le tableau inachevé de Leonard Da Vinci (*L'adoration des rois mages*) n'auront pas tarder de remarquer ce trait bizarre, énigmatique : le visage de cet enfant-Messie est dépourvu de toute fraîcheur. On le dirait ridé : comme si le ver était déjà dans le fruit. C'est un visage à jeu de miroir et qui porte le paysage qui l'environne.

Car si Da Vinci a choisi de nous représenter la scène en ayant recours à un contexte et à une obscurité lugubre qui ne reflètent nullement l'allégresse que devrait susciter cette naissance en tant qu'événement cosmogonique, c'est que la figure de l'enfant chrétien — qui en est le centre — incarne à lui-même un paysage moralisé. C'est un visage qui est déjà vieilli, ravagé et porteur de rides. Autrement dit, c'est un visage qui porte les marques et les traces du futur. Un futur ayant laissé sa marque sur le présent, sur le moment d'origine. Un futur donc à tendance, qui s'inscrit tel un devenir.

C'est Camus, je crois, qui disait que la crucifixion était le symbole de l'histoire humaine. Si l'image de la crucifixion porte en elle tout ce qui nous a précédés sur cette terre, le visage abîmé de cet en-

fant-Messie témoigne de ce qui est déjà-là, mais pas encore actualisé, et qui doit advenir. C'est le visage d'un enfant-Messie qui attend.

La dialectique et la destinée christologiques nous font dire que la naissance de l'enfant-Messie ne peut être une véritable origine s'il n'y a pas, après elle, une mort rédemptrice qui la suit et la surdétermine. De cette façon, la souffrance de la croix n'est pas ce qui vient après la naissance fondatrice, mais ce qui permet à cette naissance « d'être » en sa qualité de fondement. Ainsi en est-il que l'origine ne parvient pas à être origine par ses seules forces. L'intervention de la mort, la notion du sacrifice rédempteur doivent la faire advenir de toute la puissance de son retard. La naissance est déjà tendance vers une mort et un sacrifice qui doivent tout racheter. Le cercle de la théologie sanguinaire est bouclé.

Dans cette simultanéité du futur qui pèse de tout son poids sur le présent, la catégorie du ne-pas-encore est impuissante, n'offrant aucune résistance au caractère implacable d'un présent surdéterminé. Car les cadeaux des rois mages préparent l'ensevelissement. Porteur de ce qui est de trop pour le présent, le visage de l'enfant-



Messie s'effondre, se laisse dévaster par les usures du temps, par cette progression dont le passage est, au dire de Walter Benjamin, une catastrophe accumulant des ruines qui montent jusqu'au ciel.

Car le visage de cet enfant-Messie est le premier signe de ce dolorisme d'une théologie du ra-

chat et de la Rédemption; moment de naissance qui ne peut surgir, qui ne peut être premier que s'il est suivi d'un second, d'une croix déjà anticipée (d'où la présence de cet arbre sinueux placé au centre du tableau et qui le découpe en deux) qui le rattrape, le dépasse, et fait en sorte qu'il puisse véritablement être le moment ab origine de

la théologie chrétienne. Un sacrifice et des horreurs qui doivent rendre mystérieux le soit-disant don d'amour laissé par un homme. Telle est la pensée de Mel Gibson expliquant son plus récent film « *La Passion* ».

— Normand Raymond

PRO TEM CREATIVE WRITING

Only YOU Can Prevent Spontaneous Combustion

In some obscure country, I say obscure because I can't remember which, a man's head was burned to the size of an orange while his body remained intact, completely unscathed, whole, one.

Burnt crispy head, normal body. This man, well call him Bob because I've forgotten his name as well, was found by his daughter just chilling in his living room with a well toasted head. He was near a fireplace, which could explain the flames, but I'm sure any scientist would tell you that a fireplace fire wouldn't be able to get hot enough to perform this head-shrinking feat.

What you ask is the point of Bob's sad tale? I'll tell you what — spontaneous combustion, bursting into lethal, even head shrinking voodoo doctor flame with no forewarning.

I'm sure that poor crispy Bob was unaware of the fact that at any given moment, on any given day, his head could just randomly burn to the size of a citrus fruit. If Bob had been aware of this threat that looms around every

corner, behind every fire station, I'm sure he would have taken severe measures against it.

Now I ask you — what have you done lately to prevent spontaneous combustion? I'm willing to bet the farm you haven't done anything. No, you were worried about your car payment or whether your shoes matched your belt or your English paper, weren't you? It's madness, I say! Now is the time! Cast yourselves of the shackles of unexpected cremation. Let's end this threat that claims lives to tens of lives every year. Douse your campfires! Put out that cigarette! Join me in my efforts to stop these horrific deaths.

I propose that we write clothing manufacturers; I say let all clothes be made of asbestos, as long as you don't move too much your lungs should be fine. And where's the telethon for this one? Surely Jerry Lewis could climb out of his coffin for something as big as this if he can do it for muscular dystrophy. Heck, I'd even settle for Sally Struthers, as long as she didn't eat my cameramen.

What more could you want after Sally Struthers and asbestos tube tops? Well, once we have these things, let's nip this thing in the proverbial bud. We found the cure for polio; surely we can end spontaneous combustion. Let our scientist's work round the clock, forget cancer, and forget AIDS. I'm more worried about burning to a crisp one day as I walk down Washington St. than melanoma. Join me! Surely with your help we can bring spontaneous combustion to an end!

— Julie Ellis



A Glendonite Tries to Stay out of the fire down behind Proctor Fieldhouse

N.B.

Spontaneous Human Combustion is the ability of the human body to blister or smoke or otherwise ignite in the absence of an external identifiable known source of ignition. In classic spontaneous

human combustion the body burns itself more completely than can normally be achieved at a crematorium. The fires are internal in origin.

‘Not a Picture to Compare’ - The Notwist @ Lee’s Palace - February 2004

“I was permitted to hear an incredible music lying prone and indifferent to the sorrow about me. I heard the gestation of the new world, the sound of torrential rivers taking their course, the sound of stars grinding and chafing, of fountains clotted with blazing gems.”

- Henry Miller,
Tropic of Capricorn



Music lingers inside you, it lives in your head and in passing cars and from booming restaurants. Music has been the only reliable intoxicant that I have experienced in my twenty four years and until Steve Jobs starts up a pharmaceutical company to begin pumping out little tablets of soma stamped with the Apple logo, will probably be for some time.

Sometimes a band comes a long that plays the right song at the right time and the world takes on a cinematic feel: you are transported to that indefinable place of your experience and of your imagination and it waits there in flux, inspiring and

motivating you to reach for something more, something unseen and unimagined.

Germany’s The Notwist invoke melancholic emotions so effortlessly and with so much grace that it can almost be frightening. Their music comes together from disparate elements; crashing guitars, precise and pounding beats and whirling turn tables that make sounds to fall together into a broad landscape that you can almost walk in. The focal point becomes the clear and resonating voice of lead singer/guitarist/glitch-maestro Markus Archer, whose voice has a slight accent but is never difficult to understand.

“We tend to write our lyrics in English because they take on

an almost too heavy weight if we write them in German and [the lyrics] tend to get over interpreted.” programmer/keyboard player Martin Gretschnann (aka Console) explains, perhaps with too much self-effacement as the lyrics are quite meaningful. The band makes it their goal to create pop songs that stay in your heart, but are never anything but completely honest -- and this honesty is what is so intriguing about the band.

Buoyed by their first major North American release Neon Golden which has won near universal praise for its meticulous but never overwrought production. The Notwist have progressed from a hardcore punk band to one that flirts with occasional orchestral instrumentation and neo-jazz fusion.

Unfortunate opening band Themselves performed to a collectively baffled crowd which had packed in for the early show. The MC’s rapid fire delivery accompanied by some sort of stage performance that was apparently about something which borders on the political, but that I didn’t come close to understanding because of his vocal shit storm. The songs mostly had a good beat and some of the loops and synth experimentation was vaguely catchy but the over all effect was something close to an attractive girl trying to convert you to Scientology; you’d like to be able to take her seriously but you are completely unable to stop your mind from yelling ‘NO’ and you end up accepting a fake call on your cell phone so that you can excuse yourself.

Delayed by transportation issues that would eventually force them to cancel their Chicago concert

the next day, the band was forced to sound check in front of a packed crowd which was apparently quite prepared to fall in love with the band. Archer’s vocal sound check of ‘la la la la’ caused cheering and clapping and the familiar loops that were queued were like little appetizers before the main course. The band opened with a new song with just Archer on vocals and guitar and then segued into the rapturous One With the Freaks. Its chorus which has been embedded into my memory of lying on a beach in Barcelona last summer as

Shrink, Nook and 12 are available by import only in Canada and are subsequently very hard and expensive to come by) were favoured by the crowd which sang and danced along and they were stretched and stress tested by adept improvisation. Other highlights included the eastern rhythms of Neon Golden and the crowd favourite Pilot.

The final strains of the encore Consequence wavered in the air and you could almost reach up and grab onto their aching form hanging above your head. The cap-



the sun and the Mediterranean air diluted my hangover: “Have you ever been all messed up?” Archer asked rhetorically. The song gave me goose bumps and the performers (which also include Markus’s brother Micha on bass and drummer Matrin Messerschmidt) played loosely with its form, jamming out the ending to a chaotic fever pitch which would become the norm for the evening. Songs from Neon Golden (previous releases

tivated crowd swayed and a pretty blonde girl sang the refrain into her boyfriend’s ear as the wailing feedback crashed down.

- Tim Gunderson

London student may be next Playboy Model of the Year

LONDON, Ont., (CUP) --

Two years ago, Erin Connor spotted a casting call ad for Playboy magazine in Toronto.

Despite having no modeling experience, the current Fanshawe College student called the number in the ad, made an appointment and along with approximately 300 other candidates was invited to take part in a photo shoot.

“I saw the ad for a casting call and I thought ‘why not go for it and see what happens?’ It was so intimidating,” Connor said of the experience. “I thought everyone there was a model. I was so nervous.”

With five Playboy photo shoots including an appearance on the cover of the revered men’s magazine behind her, Connor’s nerves

about being photographed have settled, at least partially.

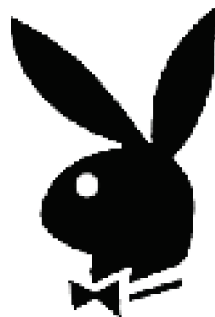
“I’ve done five [photo shoots] and at each of them I was pretty nervous. But [Playboy photo shoots] are relaxed actually,” she said. “They make you feel so special.”

Connor admits, however, that the attention can be a little too much sometimes.

“If you’re thirsty someone holds the water bottle up to your mouth. It’s like, ‘It’s ok, I can do that,’” she said while noting that photographers and assistants involved with the shoot go out of their way to make models feel comfortable.

Connor said her experience as a Playboy model has been more about personal growth and less about the notoriety and other trap-

pings that come with appearing in the world’s most famous men’s magazine.



“I’ve opened up a lot – I used to be very shy,” she said. “I just feel more independent, more self-assured trying something I’ve never tried before.”

That’s not to say that being in Playboy has been without its fringe benefits.

“The biggest thing I’ve noticed is the attention you get. I told about four people but everybody found out,” she said while laughing that her younger brother and his friends

were partly to blame.

And what Playboy model’s experience would be complete without a trip to the fabled Playboy Mansion for a party hosted by the magazine’s legendary publisher Hugh Hefner?

“Last February I went to the Valentine’s party at the Mansion – it was madness,” Connor said of the experience.

More madness could be on the way for Connor as she is one of twenty candidates for Playboy Model of the Year. The winner will be determined by webservers casting their votes for their favourite model at the Playboy website.

Winning the contest would mean another appearance on Playboy’s cover and a trip to Jamaica for Connor.

But while her friends and her brother’s friends have supported her, what do Connor’s parents think of her modeling?

“My mom was cool with it; my dad was pretty nervous, but their both pretty cool now” she said. “My mom is getting into it now, kind of like a beauty pageant mom.”

Erin Connor is nominated for the 2004 Playboy Special Editions Model of the Year. Votes can be cast online at www.playboy.com, following the links to the Special Editions 2004 page and then Model of the Year 2004.

- Mark B. Thomas

Interrobang, Fanshawe College

John Ralston Saul at Glendon



The annual John W. Holmes Memorial lecture was delivered to a capacity crowd this past Wednesday as John Ralston Saul presented a speech originally billed as being about Canada's role on the world stage and how to cope with being a middle power in an increasingly imperial world.

However, the speech soon went into a number of different areas, and in the end Mr. Ralston Saul spent a fair bit of time focusing on the value and reasoning behind diplomatic missions that Governor General Adrienne Clarkson and her office have put on during the past few years.

He spoke at length about what was accomplished during the

past few missions. He described their usefulness in raising the country's profile as well as engaging Canadian thinkers and artists with those working in the same areas.

Discussion surrounding the validity of these missions was particularly timely given that the same day it was announced that a special parliamentary committee will be launching a study to examine the mandate and travel of the Governor-General. This committee will be chaired by Liberal MP Paul Szabo and will even examine the overall purpose of having a Governor-General's office in Canada.

However, Mr. Ralston Saul did not make any specific references to the recent controversy

that followed the release of the \$5.3 million bill that it cost to send the last delegations to a group of northern countries.

Nevertheless he explained that this trip had included an unprecedented 30 roundtables as well as a number of other cultural events and that it has directly improved the cultural profile of Canada and thus its image abroad.

The next issue of Pro Tem will look into specifics about what Mr. Ralston Saul said about Glendon, Canada's image abroad, as well as his conception of the three pillars of foreign policy: diplomacy, commerce, and increasingly, culture.

How to maintain a healthy level of insanity

1. At lunch time, sit in your parked car with sunglasses on and point a hair dryer at passing cars. See if they slow down.
2. Page yourself over the intercom. Don't disguise your voice.
3. Every time someone asks you to do something, ask if they want fries with that.
4. Put your garbage can on your desk and label it "in".
5. Put decaf in the office coffee maker for 3 weeks. Once everyone has gotten over their caffeine addictions, switch to espresso.
6. In the memo field of all your cheques, write "for sexual favours".
7. Finish all your sentences with "in accordance with the prophecy."
8. Don't use any punctuation marks
9. Ask people what sex they are. Laugh hysterically after they answer.
10. Specify that your drive-thru order is "to go".
11. Put mosquito netting around your work area. Play a tape of jungle sounds all day.
12. When the money comes out of the ATM scream "I won!", "I won!" "3rd time this week!"
13. When leaving the zoo, start running towards the parking lot, yelling "run for your lives, they're loose!"
14. Tell your children over dinner. "due to the economy, we are going to have to let one of you go."



Pictured above are, from left to right, Professors Marc Audette and Alain Baudot, Gerard Stocker from the Glendon bookstore, as well as Julie Sage and Chris Spraakman from the Pro Tem. This photo was taken by Martine Rheault surrounding the piano in the front hall of the manor, February 18th 2004. This was during one of the last days that it was used as a cultural center.

Pro Tem would like to thank all those who came out to the parties that night to celebrate the independence of the newspaper as well as the end of an era - the Pro Tem in Glendon Hall. A special thanks goes to Professor Alain Baudot who has always been Pro Tem's best neighbour and a true model for our publication.

The Glendon Musical Ensemble Presents / L'Ensemble musicale de Glendon présente

March 2-3, 2004 / 2 et 3 mars 2004
Theatre Glendon / Théâtre Glendon