

Save Education!

Save Country!

Where the Mind is  
**WITHOUT FEAR**



An AISA Publication

If you had kept your thumb  
history would have happened  
somehow differently.

But... you gave your thumb  
and history also  
became theirs.

EKLAVYA,  
since that day  
they have not  
even given you a glance.  
Forgive me, EKLAVYA,  
I won't be fooled now  
by their sweet words.  
My thumb  
will never be broken...



- Shashikant Hingonerkar -

लड़ो पढ़ाई करने को, पढ़ो समाज बदलने को

**aisa**

**Save Education! Save Country!  
Where the Mind is Without Fear**

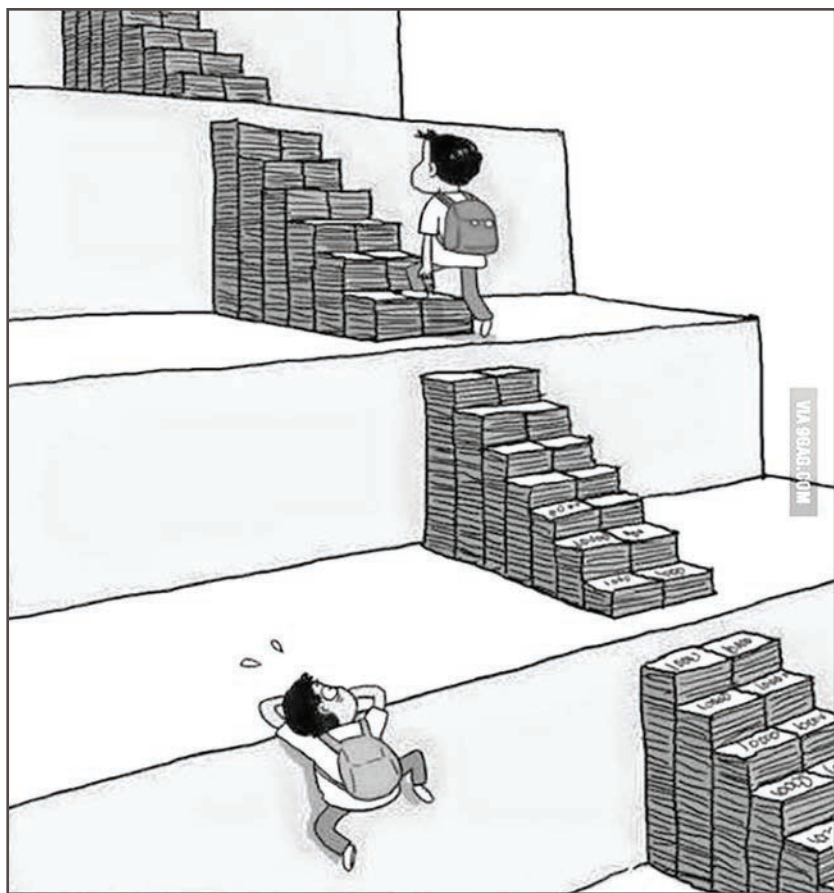
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July 2017

Save Education! Save Country!

# Where the Mind is Without Fear

An AISA Publication



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हमने सुना है,  
कि जिनको चुना है,  
वो कहने लगे है,  
कि पूछना मना है!

# INTRODUCTION

Rabindranath Tagore gave expression to the meaning of 'nation', education, and its values thus in his famous poem:

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high  
Where knowledge is free  
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments  
By narrow domestic walls  
Where words come out from the depth of truth  
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection  
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way  
Into the dreary desert sand of dead habit  
Where the mind is led forward by thee  
Into ever-widening thought and action  
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake

(from Rabindranath Tagore's poem 'Chitto Jetha Bhoyshunyo' /  
"Where the Mind is Without Fear" in 'Gitanjali')

A country's foundations are laid on its education system. The standing of common people in a country's democracy can be gauged by how easily people can access education, and of what quality is that education. The progress of a nation rests on the shoulders of its youth and its students. Therefore, it should be the responsibility of the State to educate its youth and to nurture them as citizens equipped with values of logic, science, progress and democracy.

As citizens of India, education is our constitutional right. In order to ensure education for every child and young person our Constitution states in Article 45, "Every child must be provided education till the age of 14 in the next 10 years (i.e. by 1960)." Sections 14 and 25 of Article 45 state that quality education is not possible without equitable education to all; whereas market logic claims that it is possible to provide quality education only to a limited number of people who can afford to pay for it. This is how the market creates and legitimises discrimination in education. Till today no country in the world has succeeded in achieving quality education without providing equitable education. Now it is up to our governments to decide whether they are loyal to the country's Constitution and its people – or to the will of the profit-hungry market! It is unfortunate that the government that endlessly goes on 'nationalist' phrase-mongering, has declared

war against the entire education system, the future of the country's youth, and thus, the future of the country itself.

The government's education policy today is consciously snatching away citizens' right to equitable and quality education. Since the 1990s, India's governments, under explicit diktats from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, imposed privatization policies to deteriorate and destroy the country's public funded education system. First, preparations were made to ensure poor infrastructure and facilities and poor quality of education in government schools, and then these shortcomings were propagated widely as part of a deliberate defamation campaign. Thus, children in a poor country like India were forced to chase after education in private schools, since government schools were in such a bad state. And this state of affairs is then cited by the Government as a basis for dismantling the system of Government schooling itself! An instance of this strategy can be seen in the recent NITI Aayog report recommending private takeover of government schools in the coming three years, on the ground that "there were 3,70,000 schools (accounting for 36 per cent of all government-run schools in the country) with less than 50 students each during 2014-15" (Manish Anand, 'Government schools to take private route: Niti Aayog', *New Indian Express*, May 07, 2017).

The speed at which higher education is being destroyed and privatized is even more rapid. Fees are being continuously hiked in public-funded Universities. The 'UGC Notification 5 May 2016' is being forcibly imposed on campuses in order to close all doors to research in M.Phil. and PhD. Frenetic attacks are being made on campus democracy and the culture of debate. In 2016 the government cut UGC funds by 50% and the process of cuts is still on. There is an all-out assault on higher education, whereby attempts are being made to destroy the quality of the country's best educational institutions and push them towards privatization in the name of 'autonomy.'

Supporters of BJP-RSS ideology and members of their organizations, irrespective of their lack of actual qualifications, and in blatant violation of norms and rules, are being appointed as Directors, Chairpersons, and Vice Chancellors of educational institutions. As a result the quality of education offered by these institutions is being systematically undermined. On the other hand, private colleges and universities are being opened with great rapidity and in large numbers. There is not a single such private institution which has not received massive government subsidies – for land, infrastructure and tax exemptions. In other words, the government which is slashing spending and seats in public

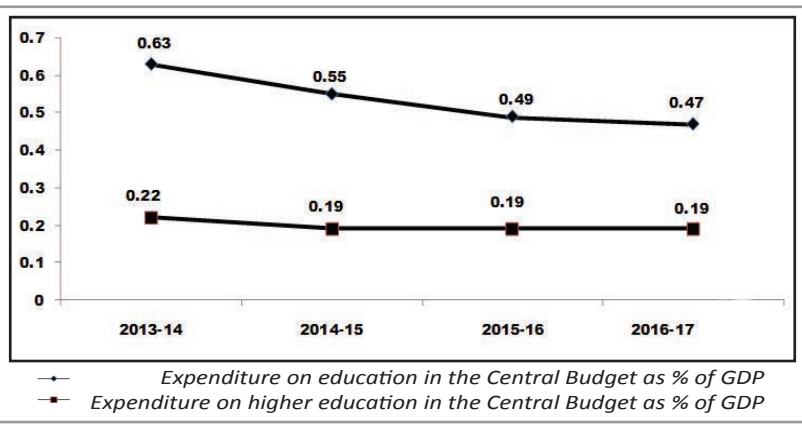


educational institutions to undermine their good performance, is very willing to hand over the public money to private profit-seeking institutions.

'Patriotism', 'Development', and 'Young India' are mere gimmicky rhetoric for the Modi government. Its real aim is to pander to the corporates and serve global capital. The government's policies are tailored to ensure that the country's young generation is not equipped with higher education and research capabilities, modern technology and progressive values, and is instead groomed only to be a ready supply of cheap labour for the global capital. The BJP government is gambling away the country's future to hand over education, research, and technology – and the opportunities generated by them – on a platter to swell profits for global capital. The future of the country lies in the future of its youth and students. A large portion of the country's youth is either being denied education or being pushed to acquire just enough "skills" in the name of education to prepare them as cheap labour for corporates. The government wants to crush the courage to ask questions by attacking campus democracy and the culture of debate. They want obedient and cheap labour for their 'Skill India' and 'Make in India' projects – but not thinking workers and alert citizens who will ask questions or demand rights.

At this juncture the urgent challenge before us is to understand the seriousness of these attacks and resist them with equal seriousness. Sometimes by new notifications; sometimes through legal means and other times through extra-legal means, from schooling to higher education – there is an all-encompassing plan to destroy India's own intellectual strength and independent research, and deprive the poor, the marginalised, Dalits, adivasis, women and minorities: that is, the vast majority of India's people, of their right to equitable education of the best quality. At the same time there is an attempt to turn the clock back and push the country back to feudal, obscurantist values instead of modern, democratic ones.

In this booklet, we have attempted to identify and analyse the popular rhetoric of 'nationalism' in which the attacks on education are being packaged; the corporate interests being served by these attacks; the ideological content of these attacks; the poor condition of school education and solutions to it; the repression unleashed on students in various campuses and their resistance to it. This booklet presents some facts, arguments, and ideas about the challenges facing education in our country today. We hope that this booklet will be of some help for activists of student-youth movements and people's movements that are fighting to create a democratic and just India. □



## PSU banks write off Rs 1.54 lakh crore bad loans

BY PTI | UPDATED: DEC 07, 2016, 10:28 PM IST



**Rs 7.4 lakh cr debt at write-off risk; keep a watch on the banks in distress**

By Amit Mudgill, ETMarkets.com | Updated: Dec 20, 2016, 03:25 PM IST

## Govt Must Bail Out Troubled Big Borrowers At Time, Says CEA Arvind Subramanian

Falling Budget for Education, But Rising Bonanza for Corporates through Tax Relief & Write-Off Loan!

INDIA NEWS | National

### अडाणी की कंपनियों को दिए कर्ज के रिकॉर्ड की जानकारी नहीं दी जा सकती: सीआईसी

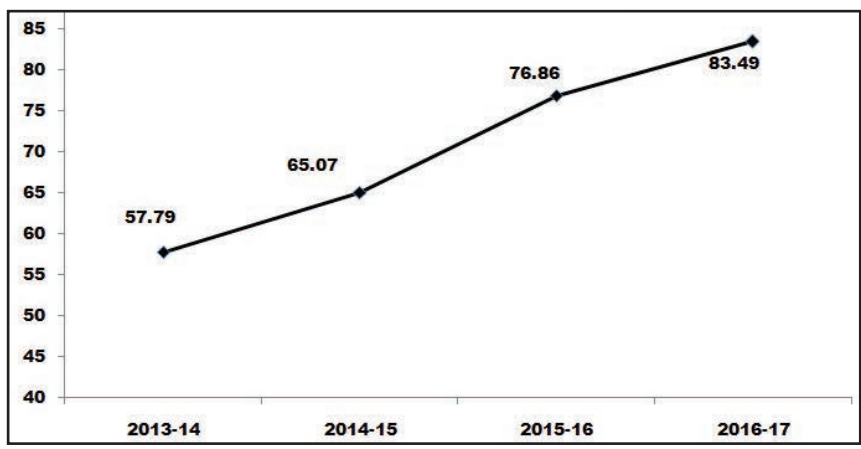
एएनडी/ नई दिल्ली Updated Sun, 27 Nov 2016 11:55 PM IST

बाद में पढ़ें

Home > Business > Banking And Finance > Non performing assets: Bad loan recovery by banks only gets worse in four years

### Non-performing assets: Bad loan recovery by banks only gets worse in four years

According to the RBI, the rate of recovery was 18.4 per cent, or Rs 32,000 crore out of the total NPAs of Rs 173,800 crore reported in March 2014.



Revenue loss in Union Budget due to exemptions in Corporate Tax (in Rs. '000 crores)

## What Is This Model of Nationalism - Where Corporates Are Allowed to Loot and Plunder, But Students Are Deprived of Their Education and Future?

We are all witness to the fact that immediately upon coming to power the Modi government has started attacks on students' democratic rights, social justice, and the culture of debate in many educational institutions across the country. Please recall how a diktat was issued to ban the 'Ambedkar Periyar Study Circle' at IIT Chennai. Recall how the appointment of Gajendra Chouhan was forcibly imposed upon FTII. Recall how even government Ministries were shamelessly active in the grievous institutional murder of Dalit research scholar Rohith Vemula in Hyderabad Central University. Remember how police attacks were unleashed on JNU, how attempts were made to defame it and how BJP-RSS leaders launched an all-out campaign to close down JNU with the slogan 'Shut Down JNU'.

This anti – student, anti-education attitude of the BJP government has become full-fledged today. The government policy of huge seat cuts in government universities, fee-hikes and scholarship withdrawals have put the entire student community at risk, throwing the future of students, education, and the entire country into a deep crisis.



## Attacks on Students' Future

### Fee-Hikes And Scholarship Cuts: Pandering To Privatization And Education Mafia, Preparing To Push Out Students!

Recently a concerted attempt was made to implement enormous fee hikes in Punjab University. The scale of the fee hike was so huge that fees of Rs 7,000 and Rs 9,000 were hiked to Rs 90,000 and Rs 1 lakh: a hike to tune of 1,100%! This is a direct declaration by the government that they intend to push out students from education. The astounding fact is that initially cases of sedition were slapped on 66 students for opposing this fee hike!

The Chandigarh police (which is under the Central Government) brutally lathi-charged the protesting students. 58 students were jailed. The message is clear: the government is hell bent upon destroying the country's education system and wants to crush all dissent by creating an atmosphere of fear and terror among the students. What is this definition of the 'nation' the BJP government wants to create, where students cannot even speak out against their own eviction from education without being branded 'anti-national and beaten'!

But in the end the government had to bow down under pressure from the students' concerted resistance. In the face of severe repression by the government and the police, the students built up a united struggle which forced the government to take back the huge fee hikes.

Similarly, a proposal for huge fee hikes was placed in the Academic Council of Allahabad University. In spite of strong protests by the students, the administration closed down hostels and forcibly imposed a 200% fee hike on the students. This hike was withdrawn only because of students' determined protests. Fees for several courses at Lucknow University were hiked by more than double, and a course which had a fee of Rs 16,000 was hiked to Rs 35,000. Fees at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences have also been doubled. In April 2016, fees for IIT's undergraduate program were hiked from Rs 90,000 a year to Rs 2 lakh a year. Hostel charges, mess charges, exam fees,

NEWS

#### Chandigarh Police Slap Sedition Charges On 66 Panjab University Students Protesting A Fee Hike

Apparently the complainant "was misinterpreted" by the police.

#### TISS announces closure of 3 centres: Students demand answers

Most of the students at TISS weren't on campus at the time of the announcement

tuition fees etc have been hiked many times in IIT Mumbai, IIT Kharagpur, IIT Delhi and other IITs.

In 2015, the UGC made a concerted attempt to withdraw non-NET fellowships for research students all over the country. The 'Occupy UGC' movement that resonated countrywide, forced the Government to roll back this move. In its latest blow to close avenues for research, the UGC in May 2017 scuttled the biannual NET-JRF exam and reduced the number of NET and JRF qualifying students from 15% to 6%.

In Bihar higher education scholarships for OBC/SC/ST/ Minority students for many courses have been cut by up to 80%. In West Bengal it has been declared that non-NET fellowships will be fully withdrawn from April 2017 onwards. In May 2017, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences also cut back on fellowships given to students from socially deprived backgrounds.

The truth is that this government wants education to become a commodity for sale in the market which will bring profit to global capital and the country's rich moneybags.

## Students Barred from Entry to Research: Series of Attacks Launched Through UGC

When the Modi government's attempt to withdraw the Non-NET Fellowships in 2015 was forced back in the face of countrywide students' protests, the government changed tack. Now, with the UGC Notification of 5 May 2016, they have stopped students from getting admission to research. And if students do not get admission to research in the first place, then where is the question of fellowships and scholarships? We shall talk about this issue in detail in the next chapter.

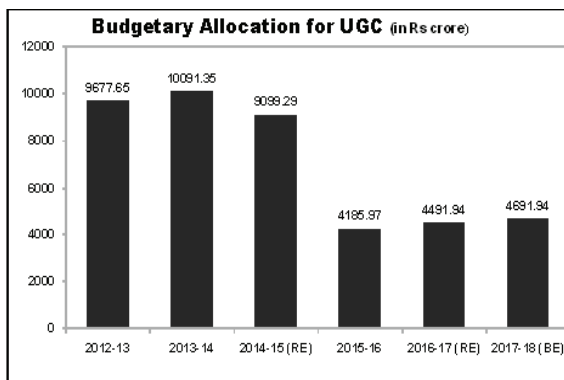
This was not all. On 2 June 2017 UGC launched a fresh attack on students with a Notification announcing drastic seat cuts. It divided Universities into categories and NET was made compulsory for admission to PhD in all the so-called Category-3 Universities. Along with this diktat, it was also announced that NET would henceforth be conducted once a year instead of twice a year. And one more attack: now only 6% candidates would be

**HRD ministry backs CBSE to conduct UGC-  
NET once a year**

FIRSTPOST. 27/6/17

**JNU seat cut row: Hiding under garb of  
'improving' research is a systematic  
clampdown on higher education**

declared successful in NET, whereas earlier it used to be 15%. In other words, NET has been made mandatory for admission to research – but there is a drastic cut in NET seats. The ‘net’ result is that students are being pushed out of research.



In addition to seat cuts, a campaign to shut down departments is also underway. A directive was issued to shut down the departments of Gender Studies, Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy and a department related to Human Rights at Tata Institute of Social Sciences. The government has made it clear that henceforth they will not give funds to run these departments. It is another matter that in the face of pressure from students’ protests, the TISS administration had to say that the departments would not be closed for this financial year (*Hindustan Times*, 28 March 2017).

The graph above shows how under the NDA rule the budgetary allocations for UGC has been slashed by as much as 50%.

Even according to the government publication ‘All India Survey of Higher Education’ (2015-16), of the total number of students in higher education only 0.7% and 0.4% take admission to M. Phil and PhD respectively. With the existing numbers being so low already, instead of encouraging the country’s youth to go in for research, the government is pushing students out of research.

## Privatization in the Name of ‘Autonomy’

Through the proposed 2 June 2017 Regulation, the UGC is making preparations for the privatization of premier public institutions of higher education in the name of ‘autonomy’. In this proposed Regulation the UGC has divided the different Universities of the country into 3 Categories on

Hindustan Times 7/3/17

**Autonomy to DU colleges a move towards privatisation, say teachers**

the basis of NAAC and NIRF rankings. It has announced ‘autonomy’ for the premier public

institutions which come under Category-1. The meaning is clear: the government wants to keep political control over higher education institutions but in the matter of resources it wants them to be dependent on the market and corporate houses. All this is being done in the name of 'autonomy' whereas true 'autonomy' would have been if the government let go of political control over institutions of higher education while accepting full responsibility for funding – because higher education institutions should be autonomous from political control as well as from the profit motives of the market. In the Government's doublespeak, 'autonomy' is a misleading term that actually means both 'dependence on the market' as well as 'political control'.

*This is a Government which specializes in false promises wrapped up in smart word-play; let us take a look at its blueprint for 'autonomy':*

Category-1 colleges/institutes have been given full freedom to open self-financed courses without even having to take permission from the UGC for this. Such departments or courses will either be financed by private families (certainly for profit only) or the students will have to directly pay the cost. It is clear that excellent institutions built with hard-earned public money and generations of academic contribution are being opened for private profit in the name of 'self-financed courses' – and in the process their academic excellence and values of socio-economic inclusion are being jeopardised.

Full freedom has been given to open extra courses (regular and distance), research parks, centres affiliated to University societies etc. The University will not be given any funds from the government for this. Clearly then, the required funds will have to be raised by the institutions by giving their campuses, syllabi and projects over to private hands and by hiking students' fees.

Institutions in this category have been kept out of the supervision and enquiry of the UGC. Moreover, such public colleges/universities have also been given the freedom to be run with 'cooperation' from foreign institutions. Evaluation of the performance of such institutions will be done on the basis of their own self-reports. Note the haste evinced by the government to destroy the quality and inclusive character of the country's best institutions and give them over to private hands for the purpose of earning profit!

Category-1 institutions have been given the right and the suggestion that they should hire 'talented' teachers from other institutions at honorariums higher than that fixed by the government. But the extra money required for this will not be provided by the government; it will have to come from the pockets of the students. Thus, only those who can pay high fees will have the right to study under 'good' teachers. This provision is actually for the

## Higher Education in India: Some Key Indicators

### Low Enrolment and Marginalization of Deprived Communities:

- In India, the gross enrolment ratio in higher education is 24.5. That is for every 100 persons in the age group 18-23 years in India, only 24.5 people access higher education. India not only falls far below the world average of 34.4, but lags behind even a poor and developing countries like Algeria (34.6%), Brazil (46.4%), Chile (86.6%), Argentina (82.9%), and Thailand (52.5%). The rate of enrolment in higher education for developed countries is as follows: USA (86.7%), France (64.4%), Britain (65.5%). (Source: UNESCO Report, date.uis.unesco.org)
- The gross enrolment ratio in India is even lower for deprived sections: for Scheduled Castes, it is 19.9 and for Scheduled Tribes, it is 14.2.
- Scheduled Tribes students constitute only 4.9% of the total enrolment and meagre 4.7% students belong to Muslim Minority, while they respectively comprise 8.6% and 14.2% of the country's population.
- Female enrolment is almost always lower than male, for instance, PhD level enrolment has a skewed ratio of 59% male and 41% female.
- Out of the total number of teachers, 61% are male and 39% are female. Teachers from SC, ST and Muslim community constitute respectively only 7.5%, 2.1% and 3.4% of total teachers.

### Scarce Research Opportunities:

- Only 1.7% Colleges run a Ph.D. programme and a mere 33% Colleges run Post Graduate Level programmes.
- The majority of the total students in higher education (79.3%) are enrolled in Undergraduate level programmes. 11.3% are enrolled in post graduation. A mere 0.7% and less than 0.4% is enrolled respectively in M.Phil. and Ph.D.
- In science, after completion of post graduation, 6.5% students are opting for Ph.D. While Social Science has only 2.3% students pursuing Ph.D. after post graduation.

### Free Hand to Private Profiteers:

- 78% of total Colleges of the country are privately managed.
- 76% of standalone institutions (teacher training institutes, nursing institutes etc) are run by the private sector.
- Out of total 754 Universities, 277 Universities (37%) are in private hands.

(Data from All India Survey of Higher Education, 2015 – 16)



purpose of turning institutions into 'teacher-markets' where 'market-friendly' courses will be the norm.

In order to implement this blueprint the government has already fitted BJP-Sangh ideologues and persons from their organizational ambit into the posts of VC, Director, Chairman etc. On the one hand the government is making appointments, running institutions, and even changing syllabi according to its politics; on the other hand institutions are being given over to private hands for resources. And the irony is that this is being called 'autonomy'.

## Attack on Research in the Field of Science: No Institution Is Safe, Not Even CSIR and the IITs

As early as June 2015 the government's Science and Technology Ministry gave directions to many institutions like CSIR and the IITs to make sure that their research laboratories generate their own funds. Therefore, drastic cuts are being done in research opportunities and needs. Students are being forced to pay hefty fees. Research topics and running of institutions are being made a profitable ground for private capital. The Health Ministry has issued directions to shut down the National Nutritional Monitoring Bureau (NNMB). Citing paucity of funds, CSIR has placed restrictions on travel grants for researchers. The Department of Atomic Energy has cut its research fund by 15% (*The Hindu*, 28 October 2015).

In June 2017, CSIR (the country's biggest research institute) declared officially that it has gone into a state of 'financial emergency'. The institute has no money left for starting any research projects; at the same time the government has flatly refused to provide any funds.

It is clear that the government is obstructing even basic research work in science through its policies. On the one hand the government is pushing the current framework of research work in the scientific world towards privatization; on the other hand it is obeying the instructions of the World Bank to completely shut down State-funded research. Thus, it is holding India's dreams of development and self-reliance hostage to corporate interests.

**IITs asked to partner industries  
for funding research projects**  
SMRITI KAK RAMACHANDRAN up with public money. ernment's vie

**Govt. tells labs: fund  
research by yourself**

## How 'Nationalist' is It to Destroy Education and Employment?

How come a government which is always busy distributing certificates of 'Nationalism' and 'Anti-Nationalism' to others, is so hell-bent upon destroying the future of students and youth of our own country?

The truth is that global capital wants our education system and research institutions destroyed; it would like that developed and prosperous countries should do research as per their profit and preference, while developing countries like India should become their appendages, clients and consumers. Global corporates would like to cash in on our dreams and they would like us to become a cheap labour force for them. And our Government, by destroying avenues of India's own independent research, is serving the interests of global capital.

If, after completing M.A., the road to M.Phil. and Ph.D. will remain closed or uncertain and there will be no NET-JRF, of what use is the M.A. then? Thus students are being discouraged to take admission in M.A. also. The politics is clear—this government does not wish to prepare a young generation equipped with higher education. It wants India's youth to remain largely a source of cheap labour for global capital. We must ask the BJP-ABVP: what kind of 'nationalism' is it to play so cruelly with the youth of the nation? How 'nationalist' is it to sacrifice education and research – the very foundation of a country's freedom and self-reliant development – to the interests of global capital?

Take a look at the Modi government's priorities where education is concerned:

- The share of expenditure in education in the Central Budget has been slashed from 4.57% in 2013-14 to 3.65% in 2016-17.
- The total allocation for education in Central Budget as proportion of GDP has been reduced from 0.63% in 2013 to 0.47% in 2016-17.

So, whose interests does the Modi Government actually prioritize?

- In 2016-17 the Modi government gave big corporates tax waivers to the tune of Rs 83,492 crores. In 2013-14 this amount was Rs 57,793 crores. (Source: 'Revenues Foregone' statements of the 2013-14 and 2016-17 Central Budgets)

- According to 'India Ratings', till March 2016 loans from banks to corporates amounting to about Rs 13 lakh crores have not been repaid and have come under the category of 'bad loans' (*DNA*, May 13, 2016).
- During the Modi regime there has been a huge fall in the 'bad loan' collection owed by corporates to banks. In 2013-14 the collection rate was 22% which has fallen to 10% in 2016-17 (*Indian Express*, January 03, 2017).
- Between 2013 and 2016 public banks have waived/ written-off 'bad loans' worth Rs 1.54 lakh crores owed by corporates (*Economic Times*, December 07, 2016)
- Last year SBI alone waived Rs 7,000 crores owed by 63 big capitalist defaulters (*DNA*, November 06, 2016)
- In reply to an RTI the Central Information Commission has said that the amount of money given by SBI to the Adani group cannot be made public (*Live Mint*, December 27, 2016)!
- Pandering to the corporate has reached such a level that Prime Minister Modi's Chief Economic Advisor Arvind Subramaniam said in an address in Kochi on 14 March 2017, "*The Government should waive the loans of big corporates; this is proper and this is the way capitalism works*" (*PTI*, March 14, 2017).
- What is interesting is that this government is gifting away people's money to its favourite corporates Adani and Ambani not only within the country but also through international accords. During his Bangladesh visit in 2015 PM Modi gave Bangladesh a loan of 2 billion dollars. Later when Sheikh Hasina came to Delhi in 2017 the Modi government gave Bangladesh a loan of 5 billion dollars (about Rs 32,314 crores). These 'loans' were given with a view

A leading educational institution like JNU, well known for its inclusive character and academic excellence, sustains itself with government funding of about Rs 170 crores per year. In the year 2016-17, government sops to super-rich corporates, through exemptions in corporate tax were to the tune of Rs 83,492 crores: an amount that could instead fund 491 affordable and good quality Universities like JNU! Why does the Government so blatantly prioritise corporate greed over students' need?

to enable Adani and Ambani to start their power projects in Bangladesh (*Business Standard*, April 09, 2017).

Two things are very clear – whose interests the Modi government defends at all costs – and who is the target of its attacks! The Government is excluding the country's students and youth from education, employment and democratic rights. It is constantly attacking the country's educational institutions and higher education at the behest of global capital. On the other hand, the ruling BJP and Sangh Parivar are spreading the poison of communal frenzy among the people of the country. The politics of hate and terror are being played in the guise of 'Gau-raksha', 'Ram Mandir', 'Hindu Rashtra' and 'anti- Love Jihad'. It is becoming clear that this is a conspiracy to arm the youth of the country with 'Trishul' instead of pen and eliminate thinking, questioning minds. Society is being divided on the basis of communal hatred and frenzy. Meanwhile the statistics tell us clearly that the people's money is being handed over to a few favoured corporates, who are well known for their support for Modi. The old ploy of "Divide, Loot, and Rule" is being used again.

The foundation of a country's freedom and self-reliant development lies in good quality Universities for the younger generation and opportunity for education and employment. Come, friends, let us expose and resist this all-round attack on the education system, our students and younger generation, and the future of our country. This is the true touchstone of nationalism. We appeal to students and youth to come forward and play their role in this historic responsibility! □



# UGC Notification, 5 May 2016: A Conspiracy to Evict Students from Research

By imposing the UGC Notification 2016 on all the Universities in the country, the Government has made its intentions towards research and higher education clear. Under this conspiracy:

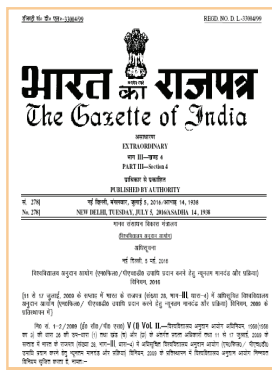
- M.Phil./Ph.D. seats in JNU have been cut from 970 to 102. In other words, an 86% seat cut! There are ZERO MPhil/PhD seats in major Centres like History, Sociology, Political Science, Russian Studies, Hindi, Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit.
- Huge seat cuts have also been made in Mahatma Gandhi International Hindi University, Wardha, under this regulation. Last year there were 240 M.Phil. seats which have now been reduced to 67. Similarly, PhD seats have been reduced from 65 to 31.
- In Haryana Central University M.Phil.seats for Hindi Literature have been reduced from 10 to 3. This is the condition of most Universities in the country.

The BJP government is bent upon throwing all standards, rules and regulations to the winds and imposing seat cuts through its stooge Vice Chancellors in JNU and other institutions.

## Why Does the Government Want to Do This?

1. Before the UGC Notification 2016 this government had tried its utmost to end Non-NET Fellowships. But when our movements like 'Occupy UGC' struggle forced them to step back in that matter, they have changed tack. Now they want to end student admissions! If there are no admissions to research courses, then there is no question of research fellowships.

2. This government wants to push the entire country back into medieval obscurantism through its political ideology – and research



(which depends on rational questions) is a threat to the agenda of obscurantism. If there is no research, people will start believing that the aeroplane was invented ages before the Wright Brothers, in the mythological 'Dwapar' or the 'Treta' eras; that plastic surgery is not the contribution of the modern age to the medical world but had been practiced in ancient times when an elephant's head was transplanted on Ganesha's shoulders! This is exactly what the Sangh, its government, and its various organizations like the ABVP want: they feel threatened by research and scientific temper. They want the country and its people to remain in the grip of obscurantist and feudal values while they quietly sell the country's riches and resources to capitalist and corporate moneybags.

3. The Government's education policy is pandering to the global market by putting the country's sovereignty at risk – but this policy is disguised of their inflammatory 'nationalism'. Global corporations do not want countries like India to be able to produce any independent research according to the needs and priorities of its own people: they want Indians to remain consumers as well as cheap labour for the corporations.

4. The BJP government first uses the UGC to bring the UGC Notification of 5 May 2016 – an attack on research. It then puts up its own Party lawyers to fight the case for seat-cut in Court. Two lawyers —Tushar Mehta and Monica Arora — argued in Court to assert that this UGC Notification is 'binding' on all universities including the Central Universities. Tushar Mehta, well-known for his closeness to Modi-Amit Shah duo, had been 'successfully defending' them in several cases and



*JNU Students' protest at MHRD  
against UGC notification*

has been made Additional Solicitor-General of the country. Monica Arora was the DUSU President from ABVP in 1993-94 and a BJP candidate for the Delhi Assembly elections in 2003. **Think about it:** why is the BJP top brass so desperately interested in destroying the country's avenues for research and students' future?

5. This is a government that rests on '*jumlas*' (empty rhetoric and misleading word-play). And there is a '*jumla*' here also. The UGC Notification has been clothed in the garb of 'improving the quality of research' – but the result is 'seat cuts' and shrinking of the space for research. If we are to believe the 'Notification', there should be a fixed ratio between teacher and research scholar. There can be two methods for this. First, by increasing the number of teachers; second, by reducing the number of scholars by curtailing admissions in research. It is obvious that the first method can be the only rational one – the second method is like chopping off the branch one is sitting on! But in JNU and other institutions we are being told that we can achieve the required ratio only by ending registrations in research. In other words, registrations in research will be stopped for the next several years. See the '*jumla*': the government says 'quality', but they implement 'seat-cuts'! The interesting thing is that teachers at JNU say they want to teach and guide research students; they have no complaint of extra burden, and they are standing with the students in the fight against seat-cuts. Not only that, JNU has recently been declared the 'Best University' on the basis of the quality produced by the current teacher-student ratio. Yet, the VC and the government are attacking this 'Best University' and



destroying its excellence in research, using ‘teacher-research scholar ratio’ as a pretext! What does this show but malicious intent? Instead of achieving the ‘ratio’ by increasing the number of teachers, they are pushing students out and closing the doors to opportunity. This attitude towards the country’s research, its students and its best Universities exposes the bluff of the Government's claims of ‘nationalism’!

6. Finally, let's ask : can a mechanical ‘rule of number/ratio’ ensure quality, where supervisors are allotted NOT on the basis of students’ area of choice or faculty’s area of expertise, but only on whether a faculty has fewer students than the UGC-specified cap? Is that not an absurd criteria that will surely discourage students and undermine research? Is research all about some number game or specific areas pursued by scholars and faculty members according to their areas of interest and expertise?

## Dangerous Long-Term Repercussions

- Today the number of seats in JNU is fixed as per the CEI (Central Educational Institutes) Act 2006 (93<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional amendment) – that is, the Act increasing seats by 54% in order to implement 27% OBC reservation has determined the number of seats in educational institutions. Can this be reduced by another Act or interfered with in any way? The government is just misusing its political power to impose this measure.

- Even in theory, it is evident how illogical and anti-education this UGC Notification is. A research course is started in a University and students are registered as per the teacher-scholar ration ‘formula’. What next? As M.Phil. is a 2 year course and Ph.D. a 5 year course, no admissions will be possible in that University to M. Phil for the next 2 years and to PhD for the next 5 years. Thus, whether or not a Post Graduate can continue his studies further will depend on the random factor of the year in which he happens to complete his MA! This is a direct violation of the rights of students who, obviously, complete their MA in different years.

- Note also that the NET-JRF regulation says that you must register your name for research within 2 years of clearing JRF; otherwise you will not be eligible for the JRF scholarship. But with this new Notification, since there will be no annual admissions to MPhil./Ph.D. in all institutions, passing the exam to secure a JRF fellowship may well be wasted since one may not get a research seat for up to five years.



- When seats for admission in any department become few and fragmented, it will become impossible to implement reservation. In such a situation reservation can very easily be flouted.

- Seat-cuts in M.Phil./Ph.D. after post-graduation a clear signal, “The Road Ahead is Closed”. If, after completing MA, admissions in M. Phil./Ph.D. is uncertain or closed and NET-JRF pointless, then why do M.A. at all? In this way students will be discouraged to take admission in M.A. also. The politics is clear. This government does not want a younger generation equipped with higher education and capabilities of critical thinking and research. It wants to create a reserve of cheap and pliant labour force for the corporates.

- The government’s imposition of the UGC Notification on the country will not only close research opportunities but also have far-reaching repercussions. If M.Phil./Ph.D./NET-JRF are ended, where will teachers for primary and secondary school education come from? Who will prepare their syllabi? Who will prepare their textbooks? Who will give training for what should be taught and how it should be taught?

- This entire conspiracy is being orchestrated in the interests of the global capital. Global capital does not want that research should be done in developing countries. Research should be done by global capital while we are ready buyers and provide cheap labour. This is the objective sought to be achieved through the UGC Notification.

We must expose and resist this conspiracy at every level. We must ask questions of those who, on our campuses, claim to stand for ‘*Gyan-Sheel-Ekta*’ (ABVP’s slogan meaning ‘Knowledge, Discipline, Unity’) – but who are actually traitors to the future of the country. The need of the hour is to intensify the ideological struggle against the Government and the political forces which are playing this dangerous game with students’ lives. They must be opposed and isolated on society and campuses, on the streets, in Parliament and in the courts. We are committed to a united campaign by Universities, students’ unions, teachers, and progressive citizens against this ‘Notification’. Come, let us march forward together to save our future and the future of higher education and research. □

# Systematic Saffronisation of Education: Partisan Appointments, Political Takeover and Tampering With Textbooks

On March, 2017, the Rashtriya Swayamasevak Sangh (RSS) organized a workshop in Delhi, *Gyan Sangam*, to decide on its “policy” on education. Vice Chancellors from 20 central universities and 31 state universities and around 750 people associated with the academia across the country participated in this workshop. RSS is neither an academic organization connected to the fields of education, art or history, nor it is a unit of the Indian Government. Then, what kind of “policy” RSS wants to implement through its workshop? Even before this, under the diktats of the RSS bosses, the Modi Government pledged to “extend the *Swacch Bharat Abhiyan*” to “cleansing” culture and education (*Telegraph*, Sept 8, 2015)! The meaning is quite simple and clear - education will be “cleansed” of eminent and well-qualified teachers and rational content and replaced with BJP - RSS stooges and obscurantist, hate-mongering propaganda. Syllabi will be “cleansed” of science, reason and facts and replaced with myths and superstitions.

The BJP Government vehemently wants to push its political agenda, based on its divisive and dangerous definition of “culture”, religion and myth, in the entire education system. On one hand, this agenda aims to distance students and youth from research, logic, and science – and drive them instead towards superstitions, obscurantism, backwardness, and irrationality. On the other hand, through this, the RSS-BJP through saffronized education, also prepare the “commonsense” for its divisive and reactionary politics of hatred, terror, and frenzy in the society and country. The Sangh-manufactured commonsense has been throttling the rights of women, minorities, Dalits and all other oppressed sections. BJP has made the saffronisation of education its one of the main agendas in different ways.

## Saffron Appointments

Since the Modi Government came into power, RSS-dictated appointments have been imposed as the new normal across colleges, university campuses and research institutions. The pattern is hard to miss; these appointments overstep any requirement for academic competence of the appointee, while the loyalty to the Sangh-BJP is considered as the only “eligibility”. Most dangerously, all these newly appointed heads have desperately started to impose the Sangh’s reactionary, divisive, destructive and anti-people ideology on the institutions. Let us see a few instances:

| Name                   | Post  | 'Credentials'- In Words & Deeds  |
|------------------------|---|--|
| Y. S. Rao              | Chairman, Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR)      | Wrote in his blog, “Ancient caste system worked well”  |
| Vishram Jamdar         | Chairman, NIT– Nagpur                                       | Sent Smirti Irani the job application with the reminder that he was an “RSS person”  |
| Gajendra Chauhan       | Chairman, FTII  | “Notable” appearances in films like <i>Jungle Love</i> , <i>Bhayanak Panja</i> , <i>Khuli Khidki</i> etc. Real talent – “Modi worshipper”.                           |
| Lokesh Chandra         | President, Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR)     | Said in an interview, “Modi is reincarnation of God, greater than Gandhi and <i>has made a much more meaningful impact on the lives of the poor than Karl Marx</i> ” |
| Girish Tripathi        | VC, BHU   | Comments include gems like “The Government belongs to RSS”, “Girls who study at night are immoral”, “Consumption of non-vegetarian food makes women ‘impure’” etc    |
| Zafar Yunus Sareshwala | Chancellor, Maulana Azad National Urdu University (MANUU)   | The Gujarati businessman with dubious credentials was “gifted” with the post of chancellor for being Modi’s highly trusted “Muslim” camp-follower.                   |
| Braj Bihari Kumar      | Chairman, Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) | Wrote, “Modi has proved himself to be the best Prime Minister” and “Caste in its present form and untouchability are a result of Arab, Turk and Mughal invasion”.    |

## RSS Dictated Curriculum:

- The RSS-BJP doesn't just appoint its blind supporters in academic and research institutions – it also continues to impose the dangerous saffron agenda from schools to colleges, from the democratic decision-making bodies of educational institutions to the curriculum.

- The Gujarat government has divided schools on religious grounds, imposing green school-uniforms for areas with majority of Muslim population and saffron uniforms for Hindu-majority schools (*Indian Express*, April 14, 2015).

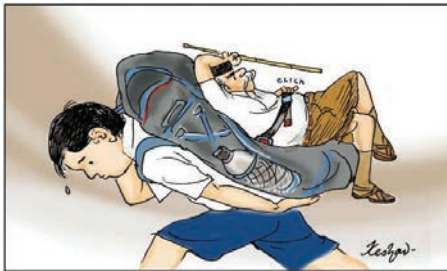
- In Madhya Pradesh, the BJP's Shivraj Government declared to make *surya namaskar* compulsory in schools (*Times of India*, Jan 12, 2016). BJP Governments everywhere are trying to appropriate and saffronize Yoga also, branding it a Hindu practice and forcing non-Hindus also to perform it. By doing so, they do a disservice to yoga also, which is actually rooted in our materialist traditions.

- In a chapter on "Guru-disciple relations" of the Class IX Hindi textbook published by the "Gujarat State School Textbook Board", Jesus Christ was described as the "devil" (*Indian Express*, June 9, 2017).

- Another Gujarat textbook defined *roza* fasts as 'an infectious disease that causes diarrhoea' (*Catch News*, July 12, 2017).

- In a Rajasthan school textbook, Asaram (accused of sexually assaulting a minor girl in his ashram, and infamous for blaming the Delhi gang-rape victim for her own rape) was listed among the "great saints" with Buddha, Mother Teresa and Guru Nanak (*Hindu*, August 2, 2015). Another textbook reads "even a donkey is better than a housewife for its "loyalty to its master" (*TOI*, April 4, 2006).

- In a class XII sociology book published by the Maharashtra State Education Board, a blatantly anti-woman statement was made, "If a girl is ugly and handicapped, it becomes very difficult for her to get married. To



Courtesy: *The Hindu*

marry her, the girl's bridegroom and his family demand more dowry." (*Wire.in*, Feb 2, 2017)

- A booklet from the Ayush Ministry of the Government declared, "Pregnant women should control their lust." (*Indian Express*, June 14, 2017).

- RSS meddling in the education system amounts to far more than just a few random or ridiculous examples. The Sangh's absurd pronouncements and blatant falsehoods like "Aryans were the original natives of this land", "the Qutub Minar was built by the emperor Samudragupta and its real name was Vishnu Sthambha" are presented as absolute facts in school syllabus. The battles for power between Shivaji and Afzal Khan, Akbar and Maharana Pratap were given communal colour (Ram Puniyani, *India: RSS - BJP and the Importance of Education for Hindutva*, South Asia Citizen's Web, February 17, 2017) It is also important to note that it was the British who introduced communal history-writing in India to pursue their politics of "divide and rule". The same history is now picked up by the RSS. They desperately want to claim that India was originally a Hindu nation from time immemorial with a glorious past, which got tarnished by the 'foreigner/' invader ' Muslims.

- Dinanath Batra was the secretary of RSS's school network *Vidya Bharti* and he is also the founding member of Sangh's *Shiksha Bachao Andolan Samiti* (Save Education Movement Committee), set up for the saffronisation of education. Batra's writings are made textbooks in government schools in different BJP ruled states like Gujarat, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh. His books are published by the "Gujarat State School Textbook Board" with an introduction by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi and are read across 35,000 schools in the state. Few samples from Batra's books:

- "Tejomay Bharat", the compulsory book for primary and secondary students, declares that aeroplane, plastic surgery etc are not inventions of modern science but were discovered at the time of the Vedas; and India discovered "stem cell" treatment a thousand years back. The "proof" is drawn from the *Mahabharata's* stories of Kunti and Gandhari giving births to respectively Karna and hundred *Kauravas* (*Indian Express*, July 27, 2014). The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are great epics of Indian literature: they are rich literary texts. It is Batra and his *Sanghi* ilk who ridicule and belittle these epics by reading them 'literally' to discover 'evidence' of aeroplanes and plastic surgery, or to read them as literal narrations of history.

- Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar are integral parts of "*akhand bhara*" (the Sanghi dream of 'Undivided India'. The students in schools are asked to draw the map of India combining all these countries. (*Indian Express*, July 25, 2014) If this is what children should be taught in schools,



# Calling himself 'RSS person,' applicant praises Irani, weeks later is made chief of Nagpur NIT

Meet the new ICCR chief: Modi avatar of god, bigger than Gandhi

PAGE 1

SUBHAJIT ROY  
NEW DELHI (L/OCCURREN?)

After Gandhi loyalists, with links to  
landlords of the erstwhile Soviet  
Union, Irani is being brought in as

# SANGHAM

From books in schools to posts in universities, the RSS is charting out broad policy-level changes in education.

BY VAMSI K. VADARI reports

## Sudershan Rao's appointment as ICHR chief raises brows

Akshaya Mukul, TNN | Jul 17, 2014

Ancient caste system worked well, says the newly appointed ICHR head!

Most worrisome was RSS affiliate being part of the discussion, says an official

For Appointments In Academic Institutes, One Should Have - Zero Academic Credibility & Only RSS Loyalty!

51 University VCs Attend RSS Workshop on Making Education More Indian

Research reality check at RSS workshop for V-Cs, teachers



AT CVAN Sangam, the RSS's first national workshop of vice-chancellors and teachers where the outfit's chief Mohan Bhagwat was present, some-

cently worked as the all-India sahachar pramukh, is the convenor of the workshop. He is also a former ICHR member. The workshop is being held in the Bharatgaon campus of education, Nandikumar said. The meet was held at Hansraj College, New Delhi, during Saturday, July 12.

ing to turn research projects into 'for-profit' ventures over the next two years."

As part of the 'Dehradun Declaration,' all laboratories signed up to "develop a revenue model in a business-like manner with a clear cost-benefit analysis."

### 'Indigenous science'

"The most worrisome aspect was representatives from Vigyan Bharati, an organisation affiliated to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) being part of this discussion. The idea was to ensure 'indigenous science' was also promoted. But what was the RSS doing in this meeting," said a senior official who was a part of the meet.

AIIMS head to DU VC, top law officer to Medanta boss, all meet RSS chief

Bhagwat told them change can come only if govt and society work together  
Indian Express 25/10/14

Home - India - Dinanath Batra's moral science and verse will enter Haryana textbooks

Dinanath Batra's moral science and verse will enter Haryana textbooks

book on Hinduism

New ICSSR chief: Caste because of invasions, Modi is best PM

RITIKA CHOPRA  
NEW DELHI MAY 8

PAGE ONE  
ANCHOR

Kumar succeeded Subodh Thakur, who was the council's chairman since April 2011. The 56-year-old was identified by the



social in dialogue between 2015 and 2016.  
Victim of intolerance

government of the people own investment is coming way, no cases of corruption have been reported.

## PM takes leaf from Batra book: Mahabharat genetics, Lord Ganesha surgery

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 27

SEEMING to take a page out of Dina Nath Batra's book, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has linked medical science to mythology, citing "plastic surgery" and "genetic science" to explain the creation of Lord Ganesha and Karna respectively.

Speaking at a function in Mumbai on Saturday, he said, "Medical science ki duniya mein hum gaur kar sakte hain ki hamara desh kisi samay mein kya tha. Mahabharat mein Karna ki katha, hum sab Karna ke vishay mein Mahabharat mein padhite hain. Lekin kahi humne thoda 99 JUNE 2017 Last Updated at 12:34 PM NATIONAL



## New Rajasthan Textbooks Make Way For RSS Ideologue Savarkar, Remove Nehru And Give Passing Mention to Gandhi

Many see BJP's revision of history as a way of saffronising education and glamorizing one side of the history while eliminating the other.

India Today in

New Delhi, June 12, 2017 | UPDATED 11:32 IST

## Textbook blunder: Jesus Christ called 'demon' in Gujarat Class 9 book

Language textbook has used the word 'daivaan' (demon) before Jesus Christ instead of intended

## Gender bias being propagated in Rajasthan textbooks: Experts

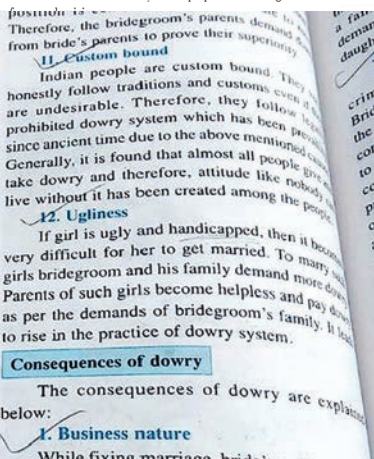
Resist this Obscurantist, Unscientific and Socially Divisive Propaganda in the Name of Education!

Learning Sanskrit has many benefits, those who learn Sanskrit "never commits suicide ..."

Sanskrit Shikshak Sangh  
President D K Jha

## Families pay dowry when girls are ugly: Maharashtra textbook stretches reason

An insensitive assertion made in the book, used by thousands of students over the last two years to prepare for the Higher Secondary Certificate board examinations, has drawn widespread criticism.



## 'Good height, great complexion': Rajasthan textbook lists 'desirable traits' for entrepreneurs

एक सफल उद्यमी के गुणों की एक निश्चित सूची बनाना कठिन है। लेकिन विभिन्न विद्वानों द्वारा बतलाये गये गुणों के आधार पर एक सफल उद्यमी में निम्नलिखित गुण होने चाहिए।

### 1. शारीरिक गुण – (Physical Qualities)

1. उत्तम स्वास्थ्य (Good Health)– उद्यमी का सबसे बड़ा गुण उत्तम स्वास्थ्य होना चाहिए, क्योंकि स्वस्थ व्यक्ति ही उपक्रम के अन्य कार्यों को प्रभावी ढंग से पूरा कर सकता है। इसके अलावा उत्तम स्वास्थ्य होने से कार्यक्षमता में वृद्धि भी हो जाती है।

2. प्रभावशाली व्यक्तित्व (Effective Personalities)- उद्यमी का व्यक्तित्व प्रभावशाली होना चाहिए। उसकी अच्छी ऊँचाई, सुंदर रंग, शालीनता, गंभीरता, धीरता एवं उत्साह आदि होने चाहिए ताकि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति से प्रभावी ढंग से व्यवहार एवं बातचीत की जा सके।

3. प्रसन्न मुद्रा (Cheerful looking) – उद्यमी में प्रसन्न मुद्रा का भी गुण होना चाहिए। यदि वह प्रसन्न, हँसमुख एवं तरोताजा रहता है तो अगला पक्षकार उससे प्रभावित हो जाता है।

why does not Mr Modi refer to Nepal or Bhutan as mere parts of 'Undivided India' rather than as sovereign nations when he visits them?

➤ Another book by Batra displays shocking racism: "At a dinner with a Briton, Radhakrishnan (President of India) said, "Friends, one day God felt like making rotis. When he was cooking the rotis, the first one was cooked less and the English were born. The second one stayed longer on the fire and the Negroes were born. Alert his first two mistakes, when God went on to cook the third roti, it came out just right and as a result Indians were born." Instead of a rational and scientific temper that is the hallmark of any modern education system, our school textbooks are being filled with such hate-spewing, racist and communal rubbish.

- Communal propagandists are given pride of place in syllabi in place of secular figures. Makhn Lal Chaturvedi National University of Journalism and Mass Communication, Bhopal replaced studies on Nehruvian socialism with that of right-wing ideologue Deendayal Upadhyay for postgraduate students (*Hindustan Times*, March 22, 2017).

- Recently, a diary and planner printed by Vadodara's Maharaja Sayajirao University (MSU) administration absurdly credited sages from ancient India for their "contribution to science" — from "developing nuclear technology" to "discovering rockets and aeroplanes" (*Huffington Post*, March 9, 2017). Nobel Laureate Venkatraman Ramakrishnan, an alumnus of MSU, thoroughly criticized these absurd publications which brought much disrepute to the university and to the country (*Indian Express*, March 24, 2017).

- Absurdly, Narendra Modi, at the opening of a Reliance hospital in Mumbai, claimed that there must have been a plastic surgeon who fixed an elephant's head on *Ganesha*. (*Indian Express*, October 28, 2014)

- The Lucknow University Vice-Chancellor is planning to establish "Savarkar Research Centre", where research will be conducted on the Savarkar's "values" and "sermons" for society-building (*Dainik Jagran*, May 29, 2017). Savarkar was the first to propound the communal *Two Nation Theory*; he advocated rape as an instrument of communal violence (in his book *Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History*); and he abjectly begged pardon of the British Raj several times in order to secure freedom from jail.

According to our Constitution, the role of education is to build a democratic, secular, just and enlightened republic. The BJP-RSS are changing this very objective of education through saffron appointments in educational institutions and changing books and syllabi by pushing a retrograde, feudal, anti-history and anti-science worldview. □



## BJP Leaders and Sangh Ideologues Hate the Idea of Equality For Women and Dalits

### BJP Leaders' Insults to Women Students

While the Modi Government gives slogans of 'Beti Bachao Beti Padhao' (Save Daughters, Educate Daughters), leaders of the BJP and the RSS continuously insult and attack women students in Universities.

- In BHU, where the VC proudly *proclaims he is an RSS man*, we can see a glimpse of what women's status will be in a 'Hindu Rashtra' – women students are not allowed to eat non-vegetarian food, not allowed to use mobile phones in hostels at night, not allowed equal access to libraries, and forced to sign affidavits that they will not participate in protests or political activities (see details on page 48-49).

- BJP MLA from Rajasthan Gyan Dev Ahuja declared (*India Today*, Feb 23, 2016) that *JNU students "dance naked" and "more than 3,000 condoms and anti-pregnancy injections are used daily" on the campus and that "bad things are done to our daughters and sisters"*. Basically, Gyandev Ahuja is painting JNU as immoral because JNU is a place where women assert their freedom and equality, lead Unions and shine in academic and social activities alike.

- Jawahar Yadav, former Officer on Special Duty to Haryana Chief Minister Manohar Lal Khattar declared that *protesting female students at JNU campus are "worse than prostitutes"* (*PTI*, Feb 13, 2016).

- Leaders like Ahuja and Yadav imply that women who assert their equality in studies and in society are 'anti-national' because in the Sangh's concept of Hindu Nation, women will be denied equality. The RSS in fact wanted *Manusmriti* (which is anti-Dalit and which says women must be always subordinate to fathers, husbands and sons) to be India's Constitution (Shamsul Islam, in *India Resists and Countercurrents*, Jan 17, 2017). This is why UP Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath echoed the Manusmriti and wrote on his website that *"a woman is protected in her childhood by her father, by her husband in her youth and by her son in her old age — so that way a woman is not capable of being left free or independent."* He said *women should not enjoy reservations*

*in panchayats, assembly or parliament because it would affect their “primary role as wives and mothers” (Economic Times, March 20, 2017).*

- BJP’s West Bengal President Dilip Ghosh, now a BJP MLA from the state, declared that *Jadavpur University’s women students who accused ABVP members of molesting them, are “shameless” (behaya) and that women who did not want to be molested should not go out to protest. He said “Those who fear so much for their modesty, why did they go there? This is shamelessness. Making such allegations (of molestation) is very cheap” (Indian Express, May 15, 2016).*

- Pro-RSS ideologue Professor Makarand Paranjape of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) gave a public talk (<http://www.southasiasolidarity.org/2017/05/11/professor-makarand-paranjape-audio-extract/>) on April 27, 2017, at the School of Law, Queen Mary, University of London which was hosted by another pro-RSS ideologue Prakash Shah, one of the foremost opponents of the proposed law against caste discrimination in the UK. In that talk, Paranjape *complained about JNU’s system of deprivation points for students from backward regions and for women students. He complained that “95% students are women in my discipline.”* In a society and country where women are systematically denied equality and have to struggle to access higher education, Paranjape *objects to the fact that “JNU very proudly tells everyone that we have more women students, with 55% women and 45% male students.”* He demands that *JNU must “scrap this extra quota for women.”*

## RSS and BJP Attack Ideas of Annihilation of Caste, Dalit and OBC Equality

- In November 2015, the RSS organ *Panchajanya* carried a cover feature branding JNU as a “*citadel of divisiveness*” based on the fact that its curriculum and its student politics promote ideas of equality for women and oppressed castes. It objected to so-called “caste struggle” by Left and Ambedkarite groups that introduced deprivation points for students from underprivileged regions and social backgrounds, and defended OBC reservations (*Scroll.in*, November 7, 2016). The *Panchjanya* objected to *the inclusion of “human rights, women’s rights, religious freedom, discrimination and exclusion, sexual justice and secularism” in the JNU curriculum.* It declared that JNU’s academic centres like the Centre for the Study of Discrimination and Exclusion, Centre for Women’s Studies and North East India Studies Programme

had been set up as part of a “Leftist conspiracy” to divide society. In the RSS worldview, discrimination and hatred on the basis of caste, gender, religion and region/ethnicity does not “divide society”, but struggles or positive measures against such discrimination “divide society”!

- Following the ideology expressed in the RSS organ *Panchajanya*, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) shut down three of its centres - Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policies, Advanced Centre for Women’s Studies and the Nodal Centre for Excellence under the Scheme of Human Rights – claiming that the UGC refused to release funds for these centres (*Hindustan Times*, March 28, 2017) .

- At Hyderabad Central University, the BJP Central Ministers like Bandaru Dattatreya and Smriti Irani branded Ambedkarite activists like Rohith Vemula as “anti-national” because of their secular and anti-caste ideology, and their harassment resulted in the institutional murder of Rohith.

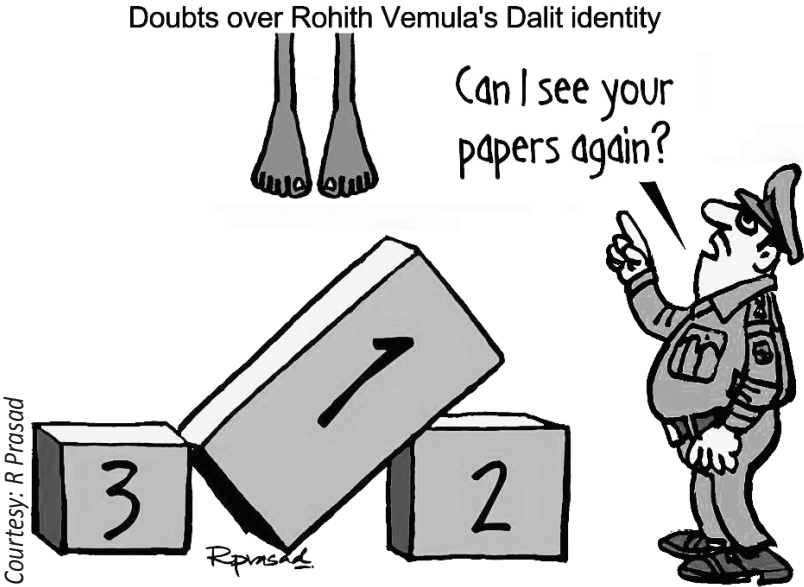
- Professor Makarand Paranjape in his University of London talk echoed the ideology of the RSS *Panchajanya*, saying that *JNU’s “backward points” for students from extremely backward regions of the country and caste-based reservations for Dalit and OBC students had turned JNU and other Central Universities into “dens of parasites” that produced “incompetents” and “nincompoops.”* Paranjape, in his talk, *lied that OBC reservations means that “there are very few seats available for the general quota”* – because in the first place, there is no “general quota”, and secondly, there was a proportionate increase in general seats in 2008 when OBC reservations in higher education were introduced.

- Paranjape, who *described himself as a “Hindu activist,” opposed Dr Ambedkar’s call to annihilate caste, declaring, “I think of caste as an important aspect of identity and citizenship and you can’t annihilate these things. Caste is astivta, asmita, pehchan (identity) and this is not good to annihilate.”*

- Paranjape declared, like the RSS organ *Panchajanya* that *“identity politics of dalits and adivasis” has led to “social divisiveness and hatred and violence”* – *but he was all praise for the “identity politics” of the “Hindu majority” represented by Modi and the “white majority” represented by Trump.* He said that *the “recent upsurge of dominant groups - white majoritarianism, majoritarianism represented by Trump in the US and Modi in India – is an identity politics of a new kind, a rather new phenomenon, unless you go back to Nazism... In India we have*

a certain version of that in the majority – the Hindus are the majority – being consolidated under the umbrella of Hindutva and BJP.”

In other words, Paranjape himself openly and admiringly compared the politics of Trump and Modi to that of Hitler and Nazi fascism. Can we forget that Nazism propagated the idea of white racial superiority and killed millions of Jews whom they branded as racially inferior? Can we forget that Nazism preached that women must be confined to Kinder, Küche, Kirche, or ‘children, kitchen, church’? Do we want an India of the RSS’ dreams in which minorities, Dalits, oppressed castes and women will be branded as inferior and denied the right to demand and fight for equality? □



## The Deepening Crisis in School Education

School education forms the foundation of all education. It is, therefore, one of the most essential things for building a democratic society and nation. The government's insistence on commodifying education has made school education extremely discriminatory. Today, India's entire school education is divided into 'rich' and 'poor'. On the one hand there are expensive schools like GD



Goenka, Scindia, Doon School and DPS; while on the other hand there are lakhs of government schools without sufficient teachers, without school-buildings, and in a decrepit condition. It does not require much imagination to figure out which section of children will go to which schools. Who is being deprived of the opportunity to move forward? They are the working people, the poor, the deprived and the middle class sections whose children cannot get a good education in the present conditions. This amounts to about 90% of the country's population. We are actually faced with an education system which cannot contain within itself a large portion of the country's population. The education policies of the government cover barely 10% of the population.

We need to understand: an inequitable education system can never provide quality education for society as a whole. No country in the world is an exception to this – this is why, the most developed countries in the world opted to provide free and compulsory education of a very high quality through neighbourhood government schools. Free and compulsory education is the only basis upon which a country like India can provide its people with equitable and quality education.

But the government today, busy serving capitalists, is conspiring to completely destroy the country's education system. A relentless phase of attacks is on. Here are some examples of the kinds of crisis our country's school education system is facing:

- In various states, Government schools are being systematically destroyed so that students can be forced to opt for private schools. For



instance, the recent NITI Aayog report recommending private takeover of government schools in the coming three years, on the basis of its findings that “there were 3,70,000 schools (accounting for 36 per cent of all government-run schools in the country) with less than 50 students each during 2014-15” (Manish Anand, ‘Government schools to take private route: Niti Aayog’, *New Indian Express*, May 7, 2017) First, the Government deliberately ruins the schools it is responsible for running; then it blames the schools rather than the Government for their own dilapidated situation – and then its policy pundits argue that since the Government-run schools are in bad shape, let’s hand them over to private profiteers! Government schools are run by the Government – and so the Government is to blame for their poor condition. An elected Government cannot pretend that Government-run schools are doomed to be in poor shape. Rather than making the poor condition of Government schools an excuse for privatisation, the Government must accept the responsibility for ensuring that its schools are of the best quality.

### **The story of Finland:**

In the 1970s Finland's world ranking in education was quite poor. Its place was among the lowest. That led to huge people's protest and the people came forward and captured the private schools. After that the government implemented a 'common school system' and started bearing the full cost of education in that country. Quality education was made free and compulsory. Salaries were raised and respect and dignity ensured for the teaching profession. In just 30 years, Finland topped the world in the field of providing education to its citizens - and this universal and equitable education plays a big role in its development.

- Many State governments have requested big corporate houses to formulate the State's education policy. In 2000 the NDA government had formed a 'Birla-Ambani Committee' to recommend education policies for the country. Mukesh Ambani and Kumar Mangalam Birla – both CEOs of super-rich corporates – were members of this committee. The committee's 'report' states clearly that it was actually written by a Chennai company! Naturally, these corporates recommended that education be taken away from governments and handed over to private profiteers.

**NEWS**  
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 The report was presented by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development

**Extreme Neglect of Primary Education in Budget 2017**  
 BY ANSHUL KUMAR | 14/01/2017 | LEAVE A COMMENT

- Central governments have time and again invited various IT companies to formulate Information and Technology policies in education.

- Only 19% of the students studying in Class III at government schools are able to read the text books even of Class II. At government schools in Uttar Pradesh this percentage is only 7%. (Source: Based on NCERT and National Achievement Survey statistics)

- Government schools are being continuously downgraded as part of a planned conspiracy. The state of governments' non-seriousness is such that many times teachers are given responsibilities of conducting various censuses or election duty. The quality of teaching and infrastructure in government schools is being continuously lowered, with teaching being contractualized and schools being starved of funds. As a result, the number of children studying in government schools is continuously falling. In 2007-08 72.6% students took admission in government schools for primary education. In 2014 this percentage was reduced to 62%. The BJP is carrying forward those same policies of the Congress with great alacrity and this percentage is further dropping now. Why can't Governments appoint the best teachers, pay them a dignified salary, ensure the best infrastructure in each government school and make sure classes are held regularly, so that even the poorest children have access to the very best education? See the box for the story of Finland – why can't that story be India's as well?

- Education is being made an expensive 'commodity' up for sale in private schools. Recently hefty fee-hikes in private schools have been much in the news. Apart from fees, guardians are also forced to buy school-uniforms, shoes and socks and other such items at exorbitantly high rates from the school itself. In many private schools in small towns



guardians have to pay Rs 20,000 to 40,000 for the admission of 3-4 year-old children to 'play schools'. After all this they have to pay separately to 'buy' education from coaching centres!

- The government is announcing, through its policies, that it does not have enough money to educate all the children of India. But the government is giving the

people's money through Public Private Partnership (PPP) to corporate houses, education mafia and NGOs for running educational institutions.

- Through its policies the government is telling the 80% poor people in the country that it is of no purpose for them to educate their children; better to put them to work! That is why child labour laws have been 'changed' so that children even below the age of 14 can be legally made to work. PM Modi, who claims to have 'sold tea as a child', has encouraged child labour by getting the child labour laws 'changed' by Parliament in July 2014. According to the new law children between the ages of 14 and 18 can now made to do work which is 'not dangerous'. Moreover, the new law also allows children under the age of 14 to be made to work in the 'family' or for the 'family enterprise'. This change in the law will adversely affect children from poor and deprived families.

- Guardians are constrained to put their children in expensive schools in order to give them a good education. Thinking that expensive schools in cities provide a good education, people from rural areas are fast gravitating towards the cities. In order to give their children a good education, families are forced to get cut off from their society and their land. In many cases, middle class families are forced to sell their land for their children's education. So far, land was being grabbed for capitalist factories, dams, canals, expressways etc but now even education is forcing people to sell off their land!

- In our country, the rate of children who are admitted to Class I and go on to finish Class XII is very poor – the drop-out rate is high. This problem is even deeper in the socially deprived sections. Among adivasi, Dalit, Muslim, and OBC children the rate of children who finish twelve years of schooling is respectively 6%, 8%, 9% and 10%. That



is, if 100 adivasi children take admission to Class I, only 6 of them manage to pass out from Class XII. 90% or more of the deprived sections are not able to pass Class XII! The system of reservation in the country is for higher education. As such, even if the provisions of reservation policy are duly implemented, it has no meaning for 90% of the deprived sections – because without a Class XII degree,



Courtesy: [abtaknews.com](http://abtaknews.com)

students cannot access higher education anyway. We need to struggle for a schooling system that is committed to ensuring that each child enters Class I – and passes out from Class XII successfully.

- The government can name only two initiatives as efforts at quality education—the ‘Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya’ initiated in the education policy of 1986 and the ‘Kendriya Vidyalayas’. There are about 1125 Kendriya Vidyalayas in the country, while there are about 660 Navodaya Vidyalayas. Every district has one Navodaya Vidyalaya except for Tamil Nadu. According to the rules every year 80 students are selected for Class VI for these schools. Each district has an average of 15-20 lakh students in the school-going age group. Do only 80 children in each district in India need quality education? Our demand is that the 14 lakh government schools in the country should be upgraded and given the funding and status of Kendriya Vidyalayas. If these 14 lakh primary schools have a complete number of teachers drawing a respectable

It is relevant to recollect the Sahuji Maharaj, Raja of the Kolhapur princely state. During his reign Sahuji Maharaj had made all education from KG to PG free in his state. He made special arrangements for the education of all children from deprived sections. He opened separate schools and hostels for adivasi, dalit and OBC students. Sahuji spent more on education in Kolhapur in that period than the British Raj spent in the entire Bombay Presidency (which covered all of today's Maharashtra, the whole of Gujarat, and some districts in Karnataka and Telengana). Why can't elected Governments of democratic India today match Sahuji Maharaj's efforts?



"Punishment"

Courtesy: Blog Schools Matter

Production is carried on for profit, not for use... The profit motive, in conjunction with competition among capitalists, is responsible for an instability in the accumulation and utilization of capital... Unlimited competition leads to a huge waste of labor, and to that crippling of the social consciousness of individuals...

This crippling of individuals I consider the worst evil of capitalism. Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for his future career.

I am convinced there is only *one* way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals.

- Albert Einstein (*Why Socialism*, 1949)

salary, if all the schools are equipped with libraries, laboratories, computers, if they have the best syllabi, if they are fully funded by the government—then and only then can those 78% children pass Class XII who, even after 70 years of independence, are deprived of this. Only then can we move in the direction of building an equitable society. But it is astonishing that the governments of this country are more concerned about filling the treasure-chests of a few Adanis and Ambanis even if it means pushing the future of 54 crore students and youth into darkness.

Governments' policy in India today is to limit the country's education and resultant opportunities to the already privileged section of the society. Moreover, the World Bank wants that India should continuously reduce its spending on education, health and social security so that global capital can invest more in these areas and rake in profits. The loyalty of governments to capitalists is such that they want to deprive a majority of the country's population of the right to education even though it is guaranteed in our Constitution. The school education policies made by the Central government and different State governments are pro-rich and pro-imperialist - students, youth, and the country's citizens must oppose this.

## The Only Solution: A Common School System

If all the people in this country are to truly get equitable education of a uniformly high quality, there is only one solution – stop the private takeover and sale of education and instead implement a neighbourhood common school system. The government must guarantee that all children and youth of the country get an equal and equitable opportunity to go to school. Private educational institutions and coaching centres should either be taken over by the government or closed down. The government should bear the full cost of education. It should be mandatory for every citizen to send their children to the nearest government school in the neighbourhood. That is, the child of the Chief Minister should study in the same school as the child from the hutments just behind the CM's residence. Children from a poor family in your neighbourhood and mine should study in the same school as the children of the socially and economically powerful families in that neighbourhood. The common school system can be the only interpretation of the Constitution's mandates on matters relating to education. That is the inherent spirit of our fundamental right to 'equality of opportunity'. □

## School on the Street:

### When Conditions Are Adverse, We Shall Hold School On The Street!

A very interesting and strong form of people's protest has emerged in Bhojpur against the abysmal condition of education in Bihar. The movement is called: *School on the Street*. Under the leadership of AISA and RYA this movement is becoming stronger and more popular day by day.

Education in Bihar is in the worst imaginable condition. There is a huge dearth of teachers, and loot of development funds; basic facilities like drinking water, 8 hours' teaching, classrooms, toilets, books and scholarship are missing. Teaching is only for name's sake or reduced to a formality in most schools. Even 70 years after independence the children of Dalits, workers, minorities, and the poor have no option but to study in these schools without the basic minimum facilities. To highlight and resist these conditions, 'schools on the street' have been organized in partnership with students, guardians, and common citizens. In this unique campaign, classes for children were held on the streets. In the meanwhile, discussions were also held on the pathetic condition of schools. Quality education and proper facilities in schools without delay were demanded from the government and the regional authorities.



Young activists campaigned among people in the area as a prelude to holding the 'school on the street' classes; a torchlight rally with the children and their guardians was held on the evening of the last day of the campaign, during which all the people resolved to fight for their children's education and future. On the following day the 'school on the street' was held, starting with the school bell, and the national anthem. Then a second bell signified the start of teaching and learning. In the afternoon recess break, the children had a meal, after which classes recommenced. Meanwhile the authorities/officials were called to the spot and had to listen and respond to people's thoughts and arguments on the problems faced in the schools.

## **'School on the Street': A few significant victories of a people's protest campaign**

First Phase: Agiaon

Land was allotted for a school after 3 days of the 'School on the Street' campaign in village Meghariyan (Agiaon, Bhojpur). After the campaign an enquiry team visited the school in village Ahiley and spoke to the children and guardians about their problems. Action is expected to be taken after the enquiry team makes its report.

2nd Phase: Charpokhri Bazaar

The administration was made to implement the assurances they had given during the course of the campaign. Accordingly, land for the Urdu School in village Pasaur which had been captured by dominant sections was freed and the process of building the school started. The school at village Kavvakhori used to be run in the Community Hall. By 24 May land in the village was identified and provided for the school. Till now this school had only one teacher; this number was raised to two.

3rd Phase: Narayanpur

The school here runs on time. Instead of 2 periods, there are 5 periods of study. There was one toilet in the school which used to remain shut. Now this toilet has been opened. The process of building a second toilet has also been started. The quality of the mid-day meal has been improved. □

# Intensifying Attacks and Resistance

## Notes from Campuses

Today, the Modi Government's policy level assaults on education have taken full shape. And to smoothly impose these policies, the heads of colleges and universities are appointed not on the basis of their academic credibility or commitment to education, but according to their loyalty to the anti-education, anti-people agenda of the RSS and BJP.

### **Jawaharlal Nehru University:**

#### BJP Government-RSS-VC's "Shut Down JNU" Program Continues Even Today

The university is a space for research and critical thinking, needing freedom of expression and tolerance towards differing and dissenting worldviews to thrive. Low fees, inclusive admission policies, the culture of debate and dissent and raising pro-people voices are the hallmark of JNU which makes the institution one of the few of its kind, not only in India but also in the entire world. It is because of these values that JNU ranks first among all of India's Universities. Today, there is a systematic attack on JNU's values and its excellence. The BJP Government has appointed M Jagadesh Kumar as the Vice Chancellor of the university only for this purpose. He took charge on 27th January, 2016. Here is a summary of the continuing attacks on JNU from that time :

- On the excuse of an event held on 9th February, 2016, the BJP-RSS-ABVP aided by vicious media trials started a propaganda war pillorying JNU as "anti-national". Doctored videos were aired in an attempt to incite mob lynching of JNU students, making students and teachers extremely insecure outside the campus. As a result, the JNUSU President was beaten in the Court compound by a frenzied mob of BJP supported goons claiming to be 'lawyers'. The VC invited the Delhi Police and the irresponsible and right-wing media inside the campus, trying his best to aid the very same forces that were branding JNU as "anti-national". His actions not only led to the arrests of the students, but also to student leaders being calculatedly targeted and subjected to severe punishments without any evidence. Note that more than a year after 9 February 2016, the Delhi Police has been unable to file charge-sheets against the JNU students charged with



sedition – because they are fully aware that they have no ‘evidence’ - except the doctored videos – to show that these students shouted any offensive slogans.

- JNU, sadly, has had its own brush with the trend of mob-lynching being witnessed all over the country in last three years of Modi rule. On the night of 14th October 2016, a first year M.Sc. Biotechnology student Najeeb Ahmed was mercilessly assaulted and threatened by a group of ABVP lumpens inside the premises of JNU's Mahi-Mandavi hostel. From the very next day, Najeeb has been missing and is yet to be found. The JNU Administration, instead of filing a complaint regarding the missing student with the police, issued a notice describing Najeeb as the ‘accused’! Both JNU VC and Delhi police colluded to shield the perpetrators of violence on Najeeb. Delhi Police did not question the ABVP cadres who beat up Najeeb nor examined their call records. The Delhi High Court reprimanded the role of Delhi Police and the JNU administration in the matter. It is the responsibility of the Vice Chancellor as the institutional head to guarantee justice for a student who was attacked inside the campus and then went missing. But the JNU VC in a brazen display of his partisan politics, refused to act on the reports of the Wardens’ Committee and Proctorial Board which nailed the crime by the ABVP cadres. Instead, the JNUSU office bearers and other students have been punished with extortionary fines of Rs. 20,000 for their ‘crime’ of protesting for justice for Najeeb. After the JNUSU President refused to pay this unjust fine, the JNU VC, in a most draconian manner, moved to terminate his studentship. For the past year, the JNUSU has stood robustly with the courageous struggle of Najeeb’s mother in her fight (inside and outside Court) to find out her son.

- On the night of 11th November 2016, the VC, in an arbitrary move, cordoned off the decades-old site of students' protest at the Administrative Block with glass walls and iron grills. For decades, JNU students and JNUSU had been using this



space for peaceful protests including hunger strikes and dharna. This move is to surely aimed at destroying the protest culture of the campus and turning it into a jail.

- JNU administration has unleashed a policy of punishment, suspension, and serving “notices” to the students protesting government policies and the administration’s attacks on the campus. Students and activists associated with left-progressive movements are being served “notices” and slapped with steep fines and other punishments. Punishments were pronounced on student leaders for participating in the “Justice for Najeeb” movement, for holding a cultural event to mark “May Day”, for hosting film screenings and for writing the slogan “Jai Bhim”, or putting up JNUSU banner near administrative block.

- In fact, the partisan and vindictive role of VC in violation of all norms has become so brazen that even two Chief Proctors have resigned within a year of this VC’s tenure!

The attacks by the VC seek to demolish all those governing institutions and principles which contributed towards JNU’s unique academic excellence and social standing:

- ✓ Attempts were made to reject the criteria of seniority for the appointment of the Chairperson of JNU’s academic Centres, making ideological and organizational closeness to the Sangh as sole basis for appointment.
- ✓ The existing rules of appointment of wardens were side-lined and several BJP-ABVP-RSS cadres were selected as wardens through “shortcut” methods.
- ✓ During the 2016 entrance examination, the JNU administration demanded “answer-keys” from all the departments even before the examination took place. However, the faculty members rejected this absurd demand outright. But we can clearly see the agenda of the VC and administration behind this.



✓ When the Vice Chancellor held an “orientation” program for new students, representatives from the JNUSU and the GSCASH were not even invited: instead, the ABVP was in-charge for the co-ordination of the entire program.

✓ For all important administrative and decision making posts, RSS members or loyalists are being appointed and vested with arbitrary powers.

✓ Administration conducts intrusive surveillance of activities of a range of ideological viewpoints – except those of the RSS and ABVP. Plans are afoot to put a virtual stop to JNU's proud tradition of public meetings in hostel messes.

The VC has “hijacked” platforms like Academic Council and Executive Council to push forward his dangerous agenda, passing reactionary, undemocratic and anti-student policies :

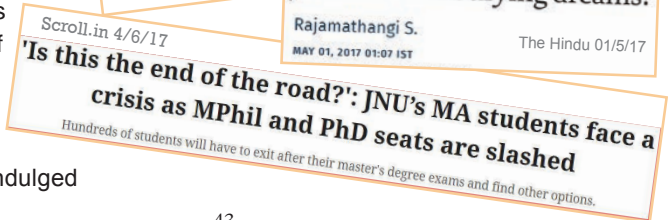
➤ In the 3rd February 2017 Executive Council meeting, several anti-students, anti-JNU proposals were claimed to have been "passed", which have the potential to completely destroy the institution.

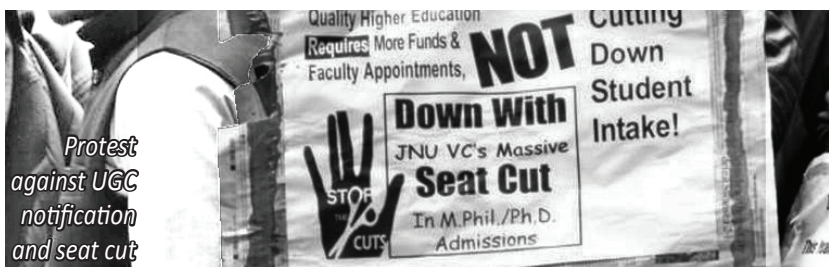
➤ The VC has transgressed all statutory bodies of the university to change well-established rules of faculty appointment – instead vesting himself with arbitrary powers to make partisan political appointments.

➤ Attempts were made to forcibly introduce new courses and subjects according to the Government's agenda of saffronisation of education, destroying the academic autonomy of the university. Courses like “Vedic Culture”, “Yoga”, AYUSH etc. are being imposed without the necessary academic infrastructure, rigour, or rationale.

➤ And in a disastrous move, the VC has slashed the seats for M.Phil./Ph.D. admissions from 970 to 102 in 2017 in the name of “5 May 2016 UGC Notification,” without allowing for any discussion in the Academic Council. When an overwhelming majority of 143rd Academic Council held on 9 May 2017 opposed the seat-cut move, the VC, fearing defeat, arbitrarily adjourned the meeting. On 16th June 2017, when the 143rd AC meeting was reconvened, the VC blatantly misused the power of Chair to declare the agenda to be 'passed', trampling upon the process of deliberations

and voting in the AC. In this reconvened session of the 143rd Academic Council, the VC 'invited' a teacher who is not a member of AC. This special 'invitee' along with some of VC's cronies indulged





in wanton disruption and even physical violence to utterly disrupt AC proceedings, while the VC unilaterally declared all anti-student agendas to be 'passed' and left the meeting without allowing for any voting or recording of anyone's views. Not wanting any record of this pre-planned violence and violations of procedures, the VC did not get the reconvened AC meeting video-recorded, as the original AC meeting had been. When JNUSU, acting as whistle-blowers, released evidence of this violence, the VC suspended them from participating in any statutory body and initiated 'enquiries' against them!

- Unable to defend his anti-academic actions within university's statutory bodies, the VC is himself disrupting these bodies and then using the service of BJP lawyers to defend his illegal actions in Court. So open thuggery and violation of all norms and procedures has become the 'Standard Operating Procedure' of the JNU VC; and a massive seat-cut and regressive courses are being imposed on JNU despite the fact that the majority of AC members opposed these moves.
- And now, the RSS' ideological war on Universities has reached absurd heights with the JNU VC's proposal to install an Army tank in the campus – accompanied by shrill cries from pro-BJP army men proclaiming the 'capture' of JNU and other campuses!

## Jamia Millia Islamia:

### Continuing Struggles against the Campus Emergency

- In 2015, Jamia students who pioneered the #PadsAgainstSexism campaign in the campus to fight against the taboos on menstruation and against sexist attitudes to women, were served notices and threatened with punishment.
- In April 2016, the Jamia administration arbitrarily declared a massive hike in its new prospectus. For instance, the enrolment fee for a course like BE (Civil) was hiked from Rs. 8000 to Rs. 38,000. The unrelenting struggle of the students forced the admin to return Rs. 20,000 to the students enrolled in this course.

- Students and activists who raise their voice against the Jamia administration are being systematically targeted and harassed by “notice”, “show cause notice” and “suspension”.

- On 13 August, 2016, just before the Independence Day, on the clear signal of BJP government, officers from the Intelligence department along with Delhi Police barged into Jamia hostels without any prior permission to purposefully create panic among the student community. They had to immediately step back after massive protests from the students. Being a minority institution, Jamia was often targeted and students were persecuted in the recent past in the garb of “anti-terror” actions. This time, the administration and the government had to face a massive fight-back. *Baba-e-Ghalib* in the campus was turned into the centre of the struggle for five continuous days and the administration was finally forced to issue a written apology and an assurance that they will not repeat this in future. This movement wrote a new chapter in the history of Jamia. Campus democracy, culture of debate and dialogue and student union election became the popular demands of the campus. Political activities like public meetings, bringing out leaflets and posters, conducting class campaigns and so on, have now become regular in Jamia.

- In March 2017, the administration once again tried to increase the fees. But immediate protests against this anti-student decision forced the administration to roll back fee hike.

- In an attempt to bypass the long-standing demand for student union elections, Jamia tried to float the proposal of a ‘student council’ in which CRs (class representatives) will be appointed and approved by the administration. This was a brazen display of insensitivity on the part of the administration towards a genuine demand of the student community. The students rejected this proposal in totality and at present, there is a stay on the student council election.

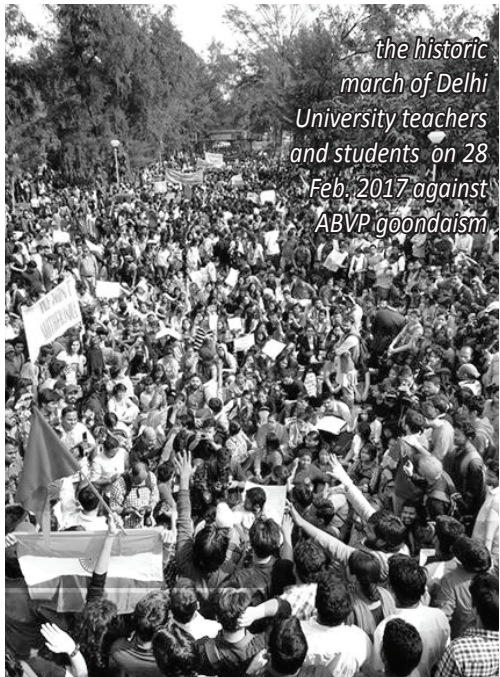
After a long period of time, today, we are witnessing a resurgence of the student movement in Jamia. For a long period of time, the administration under the diktats of the Government had kept suspended the campus democracy in Jamia. The new churning must be further strengthened and emboldened to fight against multipronged attacks on the university and as well as other educational institutions across the country.

## Delhi University:

Sanghi Lumpenism with Patronage of Administration, Police and Government

With 77 colleges and 5 affiliated colleges, DU is a public university, which through its regular (1, 32,000) and part-time programmes (2, 61,000) provides education to a population of nearly 4 lakh students. The current government is systematically trying to destroy its public funded character by pushing policies of privatization. The ruling party is also hell-bent on demolishing campus democracy by giving the ABVP the power and confidence to violently bully and silence all other voices. The government is not satisfied enough by having provided money, land, water and electricity to the numerous private colleges and universities that have mushroomed in and around Delhi. They now want to push even these 4 lakh students towards these private institutes! The trick is simple and clear – declare fee hikes, patronize lumpenism, keep the faculty positions vacant and destroy the quality of public universities like DU to an extent that the students will be forced to rush towards private colleges and universities.

- After Modi came into power, the ABVP has started getting absolute patronage from all ends – University administrations, Police as well as Central Cabinet Ministers, leading to a “*Mere Paas Mantri Hai*” syndrome (where ABVP leaders can threaten everyone saying ‘The Minister in the Government are with us’). Even after repeated lumpenism by ABVP across different colleges in DU, no action has ever been taken against them. ABVP indulged in massive vandalism in Kirori Mal College during the screening of *Muzzafarnagar Baki Hai*. They brazenly issued open threats to a



theatre group from Khalsa College. Recently, ABVP violently attacked the “help desk” organized by AISA to help students who are interested in joining DU.

- ABVP appears to have been provided total license from the University administration, police and the government to obstruct or vandalize any event or attack any student, if they just differ from the RSS - BJP ideology. Recently, the lumpen brigade shamelessly resorted to stone throwing and even beating up students and faculty members during a programme on “Culture of Resistance” in Ramjas College, in front of the police and the media.

- On the other hand, to further the agenda of privatization, an announcement has been already made to grant “financial autonomy” to seven colleges of DU. Prominent colleges like St. Stephens, Hindu College, Hansraj College, Shri Ram College of Commerce, PGDAV and Venkateshwara Colleges are being told to “generate the fund to run the colleges from the students”. This is a clear-cut conspiracy to increase the already hiked fees of these institutions.

Today the government along with its pocket student organization ABVP is hell-bent on destroying even the slightest shred of campus democracy still left. On the other hand, the administration is unashamedly handing over the higher education to the market. The present generation must wage an uncompromising struggle to save DU, the biggest provider of public funded education in the national capital.

## **Banaras Hindu University:**

### **RSS-Dictated Suspension of Campus Democracy and Rights of Women and Other Deprived Sections**

Today, BHU is one of the most prominent examples of how administrations can kill campus democracy and attack all voices demanding equality and rights. Soon after BJP came into power, the Modi government appointed Girish Chandra Tripathi as the Vice Chancellor of the university. Assuming that “since the government belongs to the RSS, hence BHU must also belong to the RSS”, he has suspended even the regular democratic functioning of the campus. It is not just that RSS camps are being organized in BHU, there is a determined conspiracy to convert the entire university into an RSS *shakha*.

- In May 2016, there was a strong demand from the BHU student community to restore the 24-hour library facility (which had been in place

earlier). 9 students were suspended for 2 years for raising this demand, and the reason for suspension, cited by the BHU administration was “organizing *dharna* in the campus”. It is important to note, in campuses like BHU, even the minimum democratic activities like distributing leaflets or staging *dharnas* are banned. When the students resolutely continued to protest even after the suspensions, the administration tried to frame them in very serious charges like 307. After a year of protracted struggles, in a historic victory of the student community and rebuff to the BHU VC, the Supreme Court removed the suspension and all criminal charges and instructed BHU to re-conduct of exams for the suspended students.

- Recently, the issue of blatant gender discrimination in BHU became a huge issue in the national media and as well as in the Parliament. On one hand BJP claims to give the slogan of *Beti Padhao, Beti Bachao* (Educate the daughter, Save the daughter), and on the other hand in Varanasi, the constituency of the Prime Minister, the women students of BHU have been deprived of even their basic rights. Today the BHU administration is serving the role of the custodian of patriarchal social values :

- Women students of BHU of the Mahila Mahavidyalaya (MMV) and their parents are forced to give an undertaking at the time of enrolment that they will not participate in any protest or *dharna*.
- In this age of digital India, no internet facility is provided in the girls’ hostels. The concern being that this may lead to girls “going astray”!
- At the undergraduate level, female students do not get admission in the main departments of Arts and Social Sciences and they are also offered relatively fewer subject combinations.
- As per the UGC guidelines there should be no discrimination against female students regarding hostel timings or provision of facilities



on the grounds of campus security. However, in BHU it is the Sangh's guidelines that are forcefully implemented, not the UGC's guidelines. The female students are locked up inside the hostels after 8 pm. After 10 pm at night, there is a ban even on talking over the phone and going from one hostel to another within the campus compound.

➤ Non-vegetarian food is banned in the messes of the girls' hostels.  
➤ According to the BHU VC, the girls who wish to study after 10 pm are 'immoral'!

- A report, recently presented in the Parliament on the incidents of harassment and oppression against Dalits in campuses, shows BHU is ranked number one. Disregarding any kind of social diversity, there is an outright domination of one particular caste in the decision-making bodies of the university like the academic and the executive councils.

- Recently, the Allahabad High Court put a stay on all appointments in BHU since reservation policy had been flouted in broad daylight. General candidates were being appointed to more than the seats due to them and the reserved seats were being left vacant labelling the candidates as "none found suitable".

- BHU is being systematically developed as a workshop of the RSS. While there is a ban on all forums of democratic political discussions and expression, - programmes, *shakhas* and baton-wielding rallies of RSS and ABVP are being allowed with full administrative support and protection.

- In coming days, the struggles for basic infrastructural facilities like 24x7 library, to ensure freedom of expression and culture of debates and dialogues on the campus, and to establish gender and social justice in BHU must continue relentlessly.

## Allahabad University:

### Disenfranchisement of Students from Campus Democracy and the Rights for Higher Education

Allahabad University has become the BJP government's new laboratory for its agenda of attacks on campuses in the recent times.

- On 20 November 2015, BJP leader Yogi Adityanath, notorious for his venomous communal hatemongering, was called to "inaugurate" the student union's office. The student union President along with other progressive student organisations organised a strong protest. On the shameful directions of the AU administration, ABVP cadres not only beat up common students during the program, but student leaders opposing Adityanath were also viciously targeted.

- In 2017, the AU administration forcibly implemented “hostel washout” (complete eviction from hostels) and started to push anti-student policies. The decision of massive fee hike of more than 200% was taken, which, however was reversed later by the students’ protests.

- Recently, the fees for filling the admission forms of various courses were also increased. In courses like journalism, the fee was hiked from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1500.

- The irony with this government is that whenever it talks of “quality” in education, it translates into depriving common students’ access to education. To stop a large number of students from entering Allahabad University, a compulsory ‘minimum eligibility mark’ has been imposed. This was clearly with the objective of seat cuts. After a movement by the student community, the administration had to partially backtrack from this decision.

- In 2016, as a result of a determined students’ struggle, Masters Courses were started in several colleges such as C.M.P. Degree College, Allahabad Degree College, Ishwar Saran Degree College, Jagat Taran Degree College and others. By ensuring that some seats remain vacant through different rules and regulations, the administration is now dangerously trying to create logic for once again closing these courses in the constituent colleges of AU.

- Let us also look at the extremely non-serious attitude of the university administration and the government towards higher education and research. This year, no seat for research was being advertised for admission in Hindi, History (Ancient, Medieval and Modern), Agricultural Chemistry, Arabic, Persian and others. However, one day before the last date of form submission, the students came to know from the Facebook wall of a Professor in Hindi that in the department there were 13 vacant





seats for research! After talking to faculty members in several other departments, it was revealed that merely 2-3 students were doing research under their guidance. Ironically, just some days back the administration was busy patting its own back claiming that 8-10 students were being supervised by each faculty member. Similarly, 2 seats each in Arabic and Persian were changed to 2 seats alone, only in Persian.

- Almost 80-90% of students of AU are forced to wander in search for rented rooms, since there is no provision of hostels for them.
- Nearly 525 teaching posts are vacant in the university. Neither the government, nor the administration appears to have any intentions of filling them. (*Hindustan Times*, March 9, 2017).
- 24/7 Central library is a long-pending demand of the student community in AU. However, the university administration is not at all willing to listen. In 2016, after a protracted struggle, books begin to be issued to the undergraduate students. But even now, books are only issued to the students of Arts Faculty and this facility is not available to the students of Science, Commerce and Law.
- The students of AU even have to struggle to ensure toilets for female students in the university! The administration has not taken any action on this kind of basic infrastructural issue, despite issuing written assurance.

In spite of granting central university status to Allahabad University, the successive governments have neither paid attention to the improvement of quality of education in the university, nor to development of basic facilities available in the campus. The Modi government, through its anti-student policies, has further worsened the already dismal state of the University.



## Lucknow University:

### Steadily Deteriorating Conditions Under RSS Diktats

- The Lucknow University VC Dr. S.P. Singh has imposed a ban on all seminars on democratic issues, but he himself has delivered a speech on “Savarkar’s concept of a Hindu nation” in a seminar organised by Savarkar Vichar Manch! On this occasion, he also proudly announced that a “Savarkar Research Centre” will be established in LU.
- The rules for Ph.D. admission were also purposefully changed. Earlier the students who have JRF were called straight for the interview. Other NET qualified and non-NET students had to appear for both written exam and interview. The students with NET were given priority in this. This year the administration changed this rule in order to manipulate admission process and enrol students of its choice. Now every student will have to appear for both the written exam. and interview and the priority given to students with JRF or NET has been arbitrarily removed.
- ABVP lumpens are continuously encouraged by the administration to the beat up the students who are raising voices for their rights and demands.
- Neither the government nor the LU administration has any interest in ensuring basic facilities like hostels, messes, libraries and laboratories.

## Punjab University:

### Historic Students’ Resistance

Punjab University students’ movement has emerged as a massive challenge against Government’s anti-student policy onslaughts of seat-cuts and fee hike. 60% of the financial support required for the running of PU is contributed by the central government and 40% by the state government. The university faced twin attacks from the BJP Government through massive seat cuts in one hand and on the other hand, a whopping fee hike of 1100%. The students of Punjab University valiantly fought a decisive battle against this all-round assault.

- Here is a quick look at the nature of the massive fee hike: the fees for B. Pharma course was increased from Rs.5080 to Rs. 50,000, for MA in journalism the fee was increased from Rs. 5290 to Rs. 30,000. In dental course, it was increased from Rs. 86,400 to Rs. 1.5 lakh. The course whose fee was Rs. 7000 was hiked to Rs. 90,000 and the course whose fee was Rs.9000 was hiked to Rs. 1 lakh. This is a clear announcement

by the government to push out students coming from poor economic background from the ambit of higher education.

- On 11 April 2017, the Chandigarh police unleashed a brutal lathicharge on the students protesting against fee hike. 58 students were sent to jail. The BJP government desperately wanted to create fear and terror among agitating students to suffocate all voices of resistance.

- Charges of “sedition” were filed against 66 students for protesting against fee hike! BJP and ABVP continued to attack the protesting students terming them “anti-national” and “Naxalites”. What definition of the “nation” does the government wants to endorse where students cannot even protest to demand the right to study?

- To break the unity of this spitted struggle, the university administration declared that this fee hike will be implemented only on the Punjab University campus and not on constituent colleges. However, despite this, the students of various colleges continued to firmly carry forward the struggle.

- While the BJP government was trying to push forward anti-student policies of fee hike, ABVP was busy trying to lead the movement astray. During their “staged” hunger strike, the President of the BJP’s Chandigarh unit, Sanjay Tandon, reached the venue and went away saying “Fee hike is legitimate, why are you all sitting here?” The same day, the ABVP president,

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HINDUSTAN TIMES VIA GETTY IMAGES

Clash between the protesting students and police during All Party protest for Fee hike outside VC office Panjab University on April 11, 2017 in Chandigarh, India.

Krishna Seran, issued a statement to the media that they are “protesting” not against the fee hike but to demand the resignation of the VC!

- But under the escalating pressure of the continuous student protests, the PU administration was forced to call an emergency meeting of the senate committee in which the agenda was false cases filed against the students and fee hike. The meeting was scheduled on 7 May and the students gheraoed the meeting. They determinedly remained in the venue from 9 am in the morning to 8 pm at night. Seeing the unshakable unity of the students and their massive anger, the senate committee was forced to bend. They were forced to roll back the fee hike and withdraw the cases against the students.

The student movement of the Punjab University against the government’s anti-education policies and the dictatorial attitude of the university administration is a milestone in the history of student movement. The PU movement has undoubtedly provided a new energy to students across campuses who are struggling for affordable and inclusive higher education.

## **Bihar:**

Entire Education System under Control of Private Education Mafia and Coaching Institutes, “Setting” and Corruption

The Nitish Kumar government claims to be running on the principles of “social justice”, but in reality it is moving on the same direction that of the Modi government when it comes to education policies. Modi and Nitish Kumar seem to be almost alike in their attempts to divert attention of the masses from issues of education, health and other basic necessities.

Because of the privatisation of education and massive cuts in employment opportunities, scams in the spheres of education and employment have become a routine affair in Bihar. The Government is not at all interested to revamp the pathetic condition in the education system :

- While the national literacy rate is 64.8%, Bihar's literacy rate is 47%. Women's literacy rate in India is 53.7%, while in the context of Bihar, it is only 33.1%. In Kishanganj district of Bihar, only 18.49% of women are literate. (from 2001 census)

- While the average number of colleges per lakh students in India is 26, in Bihar it is only 6 colleges per lakh students.

- The "Toppers' Scam" of 2016 brought to light the corruption widespread in the educational institutes and the state education department of Bihar. Similarly, in 2017, the leaks of papers during the BSSC exams and the subsequent efforts by the government to save the ministers and the officers have clearly shown the institutional corruption rampant in Bihar.

- In 2017, the gang rape and the brutal murder of a Dalit girl Dika, a class X student of the Ambedkar Ballika Vidyalaya in Vaishali horrifically revealed the actual state of Dalits and women in educational institutes in Bihar. Both the administration and the police shamefully tried to cover up the entire case. It was because of the continuous pressure built by the movements of AISA and AIPWA, FIR was finally filed in this case.

- The brutal oppression unleashed on students who were protesting against the Patna University's Arts & Crafts College's principal, who hurled casteist and sexist abuses, have visibly exposed the hypocrisy of Bihar government's pretence of "social justice."





The anti - student policies of both the centre and the state government are further destroying the already decrepit condition of the universities in Bihar.

## Patna University:

### On the Path of Systematic Destruction

- 70% teaching and administrative posts are vacant in Patna University.
- The students are forced to study outdated non-revised syllabus.
- In order to collect money from the students in the name of employment generating education, “vocational courses” are mushrooming. These courses neither have their own departments nor quality teachers. It would be outrightly laughable to even talk about existence of any placement cell.
  - There is a huge dearth of hostels and in existing hostels, there are not even basic infrastructures.
  - Since 2012, student union elections have not taken place.
  - The state of the library is pathetic and in the name of renovation, the Central Library of PU is still being kept closed.
  - The way Modi government at the centre has done a massive seat-cut in the M.Phil./Ph.D. courses, in the same way, the Bihar government wants to destroy the higher education system. Patna University has not even conducted the P.R.T. test for enrolment in Ph.D. since last four years!

Magadh, Mithila, Veer Kunwar Singh, Jai Prakash Narayan,  
B.N. Mandal, Tilka Manjhi and Bihar University:

### Same Story in All

- Massive irregularities and disturbances during sessions and exams have become routine affairs. For instance, in Jai Prakash University, the Part-I exams for the batches of 2014, 2015 and 2016 have still not been conducted!
- In all universities, more than half of the posts for teachers and administrative staffs are vacant. In JP University, 75-80% faculty and staff posts are vacant. In the university's Hariom College, Mariwa there is only one teacher.
- In most colleges, there are only exam related formalities in the name of studies.
- The students are forced to depend exclusively on private coaching for their courses.
- There is a huge lack of hostels for the students. The few hostels that exist are in extremely pitiable condition. The Lalit Nayaran University covers four districts (Madhubani, Darbhanga, Samastipur and Begusarai) and has 44 colleges, while there is a single hostel for just 100 students.
- There is also an absolute lack of courses and any diversity among courses offered at Masters Level. The B. N. Mandal University spans over 7 districts, however only in 4 colleges in 4 districts, Masters Courses are available. Even in that situation, there is only one college where there is a History department.
- Even basic facilities like libraries, reading rooms and laboratories are not provided to the students.



## Jadavpur University:

### Twin Assaults by Sangh and Privatisation

Jadavpur campus is well known for its culture of debates and discussions. In the past few days, several attacks have been unleashed on the university by the state government and as well as by the Sangh brigade.

- The RSS -BJP and their cronies have desperately taken up the task of maligning the reputation of Jadavpur.
- This year, the non-NET fellowship was suddenly stopped in JU.
- No seats were made available for enrolment for M.Phil.-Ph.D. in inter-disciplinary departments and subjects this year.
- A Masters course in Mass Communication has been recently started in the university and the fee for the course is Rs.30, 000 per year, which is absurdly 30 times the fee of other courses!

## Maharashtra:

### Fresh Attempts to Push New Policies for Privatization of Education

- In Mumbai University, around 80,000 seats (almost one third of the total seats) are under self financing scheme. (*Times of India*, May 24, 2015)
- On 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2017 Maharashtra assembly has passed a bill which provides permissions to establish “private self-finance University” in Pune. (*NDTV*, March 22, 2017)
- With this the Maharashtra assembly is planning to provide permissions to set up 5 more private universities very soon. (*Hindustan Times*, April 1, 2017)
- Though the BJP government in Maharashtra tries to portray itself as a well-wisher of the tribal students, it does not think twice before attacking their rights with anti-people policies. The numbers of hostels for the tribal students in the state are very few and they lack even basic facilities. In fact, some of the hostels are being

Hindustan Times 1/4/17

**Maha likely to get five private universities offering unique courses**

State education minister Vinod Tawde said that the approvals for the five universities were pending since the tenure of the

NDTV 22/3/17

**Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Passes Bill To Set Up Self Financing University In Pune**

Times of India 24/5/15

**Now, self-financed courses make up a 3rd of degree seats**



run in rented houses. The government has further announced “Deen Dayal Upadhyay Scheme”, according to which these hostels will be shut down and in return, some money will be handed over to the students.

## Tata Institute of Social Sciences:

the Administration’s Scheme of Fund Cut, CCTV and Aadhar Card

Following the education policies of the Modi government, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences has hiked the fee by 200%. The assistance that was earlier provided by the institute to the SC, ST and OBC students to be able to pay the hefty fees has also been stopped. Further, the agenda of suspension of campus democracy has been vehemently adopted. It

**SCHOLARSHIPS, LOANS AND STUDENT AID POLICY**

1. From this Semester onwards, the Institute will not be able to provide financial aid to students from SC/ST/OBC category (with family income below GoI norms). Relevant Central Government Ministries — Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment and Ministry of Tribal Affairs — and State Governments have not reimbursed the cost borne by the Institute, despite repeated requests. As the costs incurred by TISS on this account have not been reimbursed, the Institute faces a deficit of over Rs.20 Crores.
2. The Institute requests the concerned students to mobilise resources for tuition fee, hostel and dining hall charges. Arrangements have been made with nationalised banks to facilitate

**TISS blames Centre for aid rollback for backward students**

Mumbai city news: TISS director S Parasuraman said he would issue a clarification on the issue.

is being made compulsory for the students to provide information about Aadhar-card and to ensure the attendance. The administration is trying to install the biometrics machine and there are also talks of installing CCTV cameras across the campus. The students have vigorously opposed these proposals right from the beginning; however the government and the TISS administration are hell bent on their agenda of surveillance and stifling of students’ basic rights.



## Hyderabad Central University:

Intensified Attacks by VC Apparao and Government on Social Justice, Campus Democracy and the Culture of Debate-Discussion



HCU VC Appa Rao, who on the directions from the Central Ministers, Smriti Irani and Bandaru Dattatreya, orchestrated the institutional murder of the Ph.D. research scholar Rohith Vemula, shamefully continues to be the head of the institution. On the directions of the Sangh-BJP government, he has further intensified attacks on campus democracy, democratic rights of the students and the culture of debate and discussions -

- Recently, in order to put an end to the students' activities, the administration has brought out a new anti-student "constitution" for the student union without even consulting the students. The administration intends to implement this from 15 August, 2017. According to this new "constitution", the supreme head of the student union will be the VC himself. How ironical indeed that the VC wants to be the head of the student union which is elected to fight against the anti-student policies of the administration and the VC.
- Recently, around 23 March, the administrative imposed a ban on any kind of protest within 200 metres of the administrative and the academic building.
- The administration is also trying its best to police activities of the students by putting up CCTV cameras in several places of the campus.
- Today there is an obvious conspiracy to turn HCU into a jail. Even common "public meetings" on political issues are not being allowed to be held. It has become extremely difficult to be able to call a speaker from outside or even get "permission" for any programme. □



OPPRESSION IS YOUR  
PRIVILEGE  
PROTEST IS OUR RIGHT !!



बराबरी का हक  
बराबरी का दावा  
नहीं तो मुठभेड़  
और धावा...

★  
वसु

*I am grass  
I will grow over  
Whatever you do or get done!  
Although you bombard the university,  
Turn every hostel into debris,  
Although you bulldoze our log-cabins...*

*What will you do to me?  
I am grass, I shall do my job  
I will grow over,  
Whatever you do or get done!*

- Avtar Singh Pash

