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If you have anything to share, suggest or
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COLLECTIVE

2018 • FEBRUARY • ISSUE 4

POLITICS • CULTURE • ORGANIZATION

EDITORIAL

After the RSS-BJP regime coming to power in 2014, the discourse of returning to the status-quo existing in the UPA regime has become gradually powerful within substantial sections of progressive forces, students, intellectuals and individuals. These sections had prior to 2014 been sincerely raising voices of resistance against the UPA regime. In one word, the whole politics and activities of progressive sections are now being geared towards restoration of the status-quo. It is being argued that under such a condition, the organized left-parties and other social-movements will be able to act effectively as a 'pressure group' to the government, pushing forward the pro-people agenda, so that the Congress/UPA remain accountable to the people and also stick to liberal social values.

The RSS-BJP however, has not worked towards becoming a better representative of the existing status-quo, nor to capture the political equilibrium as it existed. They have pushed the equilibrium rightwards from the outside. Any sincere political observer can see that the political equilibrium of this country is shifting and has already shifted rightwards, forcing almost everyone to adjust accordingly to make space for themselves in parliamentary politics. It is also noteworthy that such a shifting of the equilibrium of parliamentary politics has not been done primarily through parliamentary means. It has been done mainly through the changing dynamics of neo-liberal capitalism coupled with rigorous activities of Sangh Parishad, both factors essentially being extra-parliamentary. We feel, that the starting point of any left-progressive politics cannot be a call to return to the status-quo of UPA regime. It has to be

2014 में RSS समर्थित BJP सरकार के सत्ता में आने के पश्चात और बिगड़ते माहौल के बीच जो तर्क उभड़ी है वह है – 2014 से पहले की यथा-स्थिति में लौटना। यह विचार न सिर्फ समाज के एक बड़े तबके अपितु प्रगतिवादी छात्रों एवं बुद्धिजीवियों के बीच है। गौरतलब है की यह तबका 2014 से पहले भी UPA शासन में सरकार से संघर्षरत था। संक्षिप्त में कहाँ जाए तो इस प्रगतिवादी तबका की पूरी राजनीति एवं गतिविधि इस 'यथा-स्थिति' में लौटने का कौशिस के इर्द-गिर्द हो गया। इस बात के काफी तर्क दिए जा रहे हैं की संगठित बामपंथी पार्टियाँ और विभिन्न सामाजिक आंदोलन एक मज़बूत 'दबाव समूह' की भूमिका अदा कर सकते हैं और कांग्रेस सरकार को लोक-कल्याणकारी योजनाओं एवं उदारवादी सामाजिक मूल्यों के दायरे में रख सकते हैं तथा सरकार को जनता के प्रति उत्तरदायी बनाये रख सकते हैं।

गौरतलब है की RSS-BJP राजनीति का बना-बनाया 'यथा-स्थिति' या तात्कालिक 'राजनीतिक-संतुलन' बनाये रखने में कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं दिखाई। उल्टा ये लोग, अपने बाहरी अनुषांगिक संगठनों की मदद से, 'यथा-स्थिति' को और 'दक्षिणपंथ' की ओर ले गए हैं। आज देश में हालात को देखकर कोई भी राजनीतिक सचेत व्यक्ति बोल सकता है कि समाज का 'राजनीतिक संतुलन' दक्षिणपंथ की ओर झुक रहा है या इस कदर पहले ही झुक चुका है की अन्य संसदीय शक्तियों को विवश होना पर रहा है अपने को इस साँचे में ढालने के लिए। गौरतलब है की भारतीय राजनीति दक्षिणपंथ झुकाव किसी संसदीय माध्यम के तहत नहीं किया गया है। अपितु यह नव-उदारवाद के बदलते स्वरूप और संघ परिवार के बीच गठजोड़ परिणाम है। हमारा मानना है की प्रगतिवादी वामपंथी राजनीति की शुरुवात - 2014 के यथा-स्थिति की ओर लौटना नहीं, अपितु उस तथाकथित यथा-स्थिति से परे जा संभावना तलाशना है, जो वर्तमान में असंभव प्रतीत होता है परन्तु ऐसा है नहीं।

भारतीय राजनीति का दक्षिणपंथ झुकाव हाल के कुछ घटना जैसे – कांग्रेस जैसे 'धर्मनिरपेक्ष' पार्टी द्वारा अपने नेता राहुल गाँधी को 'शिव-भक्त' और 'जनेऊ-धारी' के रूप में दर्शाना या मध्य प्रदेश विधान सभा चुनाव में 'राम वनगमन यात्रा' या महिला और दलित शोषण पर चुप्पी



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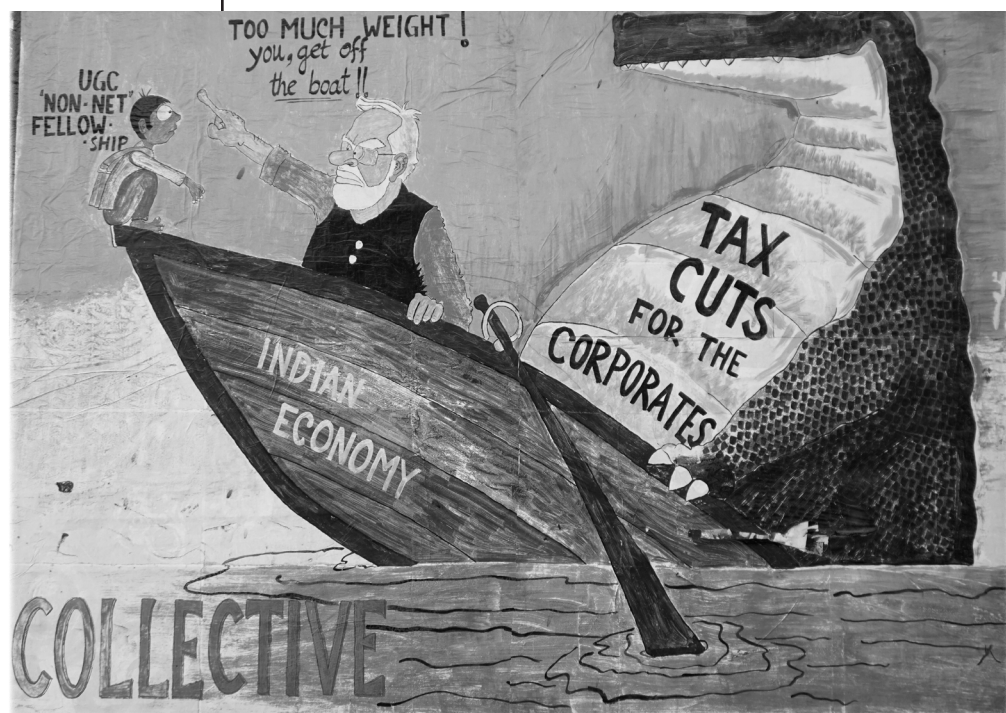
through a journey towards moving away from the status-quo and pushing for what may appear to be 'impossible' at present.

The rightward shift in politics is most clearly felt by all when Congress projects Rahul Gandhi as a Shiv-bhakt and 'Janeudhari Hindu', or takes out Ram Van Gaman Yatra in Madhya Pradesh as its assembly election propaganda, or refuses to act firmly on issues of caste-based and women's oppression. Same holds true for most of the regional parties, all of whom have the striking similarity that they can go to any extent of compromise with principles in order to ride/remain in the seat of power. Those in the Sangh Parivar, who are pushing to shift the equilibrium further rightwards, however are not sitting idle even when BJP is in the government. They are very alert to keep check on BJP, so that it do not shift away from its Hinduvta line during election. They are also busy creating fresh rounds of 'Mandir wahin banayenge' or are making fresh claims of building mandir by demolishing mosques in Varanasi and Mathura. Unfortunately, many among the progressive camp, who can clearly see the footsteps of Fascism in these processes, miss the fact that the fascist tendency was already hidden within the much celebrated 'Gujarat Model' of economic development.

Like the soft-Hinduvta consensus, a consensus has been built patiently and aggressively within the political elite of the country over last 30 years that development is good for our country and there is a single meaning of this word development. It is the codeword in India for giving away land and other natural resources at near-zero prices to corporate capital, trampling of all labour-rights towards making labour cheaper and docile, making small-production and business more and more unsustainable. The competition is between different state governments and political parties is towards restructuring the government policies to make things easier for the giant capitalists, so that they can accumulate more and more. It is evident both theoretically and through global and Indian experience that such a model of development, will only create more inequality, more dispossession from land and livelihood, more marginalization of the historically marginalized. Thus majority of the migrants, the blacks, the dalits, tribals or women continue to remain in the margin of capitalist society, continue to be less paid, their knowledge, labour and contribution remain less recognized and less valued. Capital, make communities fight for apparently scarce resources and creates the basis of emergence of political forces who then point to Mexi-

साधना शामिल है। यही हाल क्षेत्रीय पार्टियों का भी है जो सत्ता में बने रहने के लिए सिद्धांतों से समझौता करने से चूकते नहीं। संघ परिवार में सक्रिय शक्तिया जो इस कार्य में संलग्न हैं वे भी BJP शासन में चुप नहीं बैठे हैं बल्कि सुनिश्चित कर रहे हैं की चुनाव का मज़बूरी से BJP हिंदुत्व विचारधारा से दूर न चला जाए। ये लोग अयोध्या में 'मंदिर वहीं बनाएंगे' का नारा पुनः जागृत किया गया है तथा मथुरा एवं वाराणसी में मस्जिदों को हटाके मंदिर बनाने का प्रयास में लगा हुआ है। आश्चर्यजनक बात ये है की प्रगतिवादी विचार के जो लोग ये सारे घटना में फ़ासीवाद का पैरो की आहत शून पाते हैं, उनकी नजर से ये छूट जाता है की फ़ासीवादी रूझान अर्थनीति का 'गुजरात मॉडल' में ही छुपा हुआ था।

जिस तरह से धीरे-धीरे 'स्फट हिंदुत्व' विचार के प्रति एक आम-सहमति बनी, ठीक वैसे ही 'विकास' की परिभाषा के साथ हो रहा है। आज 'विकास' एक सांकेतिक शब्द हो गया है – ज़मीन एवं प्रकृतिक सम्पदा को कौड़ी के दाम में तथा समग्र श्रम-कानून को ताक पर रखकर व्यावसायिक घरानों को उपहार-स्वरूप देना। फलस्वरूप लघु उद्योग एवं व्यापार संकट में है। विभिन्न राज्य-सरकारों के बीच नियमों को ढीला करने की होड़ लगी है ताकि पूँजीवादी के पूँजी में और इजाफ़ा हो। विभिन्न वैश्विक एवं भारतीय अनुभव से जगजाहिर है की इस तरह की विकास और अधिक असामनता और ऐतिहासिक रूप से हासिए के व्यक्ति को और-और हासिए के ओर ले जाएगा। विश्व-समाज का एक बड़ा तबका जिसमें काले, दलित, आदिवासी और महिला शामिल है, लगातार पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था में हासिए पर, कम वेतन तथा ज्ञान, मज़दूरी और योगदान के बावजूद स्वीकार्यता नहीं मिली है। पूँजीवाद समाज के विभिन्न समूहों में 'प्रतिस्पर्धा' का भाव पैदा कर रहा है जिसे राजनीतिक शक्तियों का समर्थन प्राप्त है। यह अपने फ़ायदे के लिए मेक्सिकन/बिहारी/मुसलमान आदि को 'समस्या की जड़' बता



cans/Muslims/Biharis/Bangladeshis as the 'cause of all distress'.

The ruling-political establishments too always seeks to divide the population along caste/race and religious lines so as to divert their attention from basic issues of education, health, employment and poor standard of living of large majority of the population. Now, if a political force is able to divert the attention of toiling population in the name of Mandir-Masjid and gau-mata, then that is definitely more profitable for the ruling class than being compelled to give some concession to keep the pressure from toiling people within limit. This emergence of far-right and neo-authoritarian forces (or 'fascism', without going into nuance of nomenclature) is happening not only in our country but all over Europe and America, in the aftermath of the global economic crisis. Corporate capital and the communal agenda have befriended each other and one cannot be fought back in the long-term without fighting the other. Even if BJP gets defeated electorally and the neo-liberal status-quo is restored (even with a 'human-face'), BJP will come back with greater numbers and legitimacy as the crisis of capitalism intensifies.

But the question of communalism, religious fundamentalism, the rise of Sangh Parivar and Brahmanical Hindu majoritarianism in our country has a dynamic, which is the result of more historical elements. It has its root in the way Brahmanical patriarchal caste system operated in this subcontinent and in the dynamic of resistance and its resurgence. **The intervention of colonialism in the cultural domain, the process of formation of the Indian state in the colonial era and communal representation in the state process, partition and consequent processes in the post-colonial state and many other factors that have contributed to the emergence of monolithic and aggressive religious communalism.** Hindu Mahasabha, RSS and so called the Sangh Parivar have power-

"Even if BJP gets defeated electorally and the neo-liberal status-quo is restored (even with a 'human-face'), BJP will come back with greater numbers and legitimacy as the crisis of capitalism intensifies."

fully built on this history. It would be an underestimation to see RSS either merely as a violent and hooligan force causing

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रहे है।

राजनितिक शासन व्यवस्था भी अक्सर लोगों का ध्यान बुनियादी मुद्दों जैसे शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, रोज़गार एवं निम्न-जीवनस्तर से हटाने हेतु जात-race एवं धर्म में बाटती एवं उकसाती है। यदि राजनीतिक शक्ति 'मेहनतकश-तबका' का ध्यान 'मंदिर-मस्जिद' एवं 'गौ-माता' के ओर ले जाने में सफल होती है तो यह शाशक वर्ग केलिए फ़ाएदे का सबब है। इसके लिए उन्हें कुछ छूट देने से भी गुरेज़ नहीं है। विश्वभर में उग्र-दक्षिणपंथ एवं नव-उदारवादी शक्तियों का उदय देखा जा सकता है जो 2008 की वैश्विक संकट का परिणाम है। कॉर्पोरेट-पूँजीवाद और साम्प्रदायिकता के गठजोड़ को एक से लड़ने से नहीं खतम किया जा सकता। अगर 2019 में BJP के पराजय के पश्चात भी नव-उदारवाद की यथा-स्थिति बरकरार रखी जाती है तो पूँजीवाद का संकट गहराते ही BJP ज़्यादा संख्या और स्वीकार्यता से आने में सफल होगी।

परंतु साम्प्रदायिकता तथा संघ परिवार का उदय तथा ब्राह्मणवादी बहुसंख्यवाद को ऐतिहासिक परिपेक्ष्य से ही समझा जा सकता है। इसकी जड़ ब्राह्मणवादी-प्रीतिसत्तात्मक जाति-व्यवस्था में देखा जा सकता है। यह किस तरह भारतीय उपनिवेश में फैला एवं उसके विरोध की स्थिति क्या रही? इन शक्तियों का औपनिवेशिक शक्ति भारतीय संस्कृति में दखल, भारतीय राष्ट्र-राज्य की दिशा में गति तथा सांप्रदायिक प्रतिनिधित्व एवं बटवारा के परिपेक्ष में समझा जा सकता है। RSS को केवल हिंसा एवं उठा-पटक शक्ति के रूप में देखना गलतफहमी होगा क्योंकि इसने अपने बहु-आयामी संगठनों की मदद से देश की 'आम-समझ' को अपने अनुसार बदलने में सफलता प्राप्त किया है। पिछले 90 सालों में हालात इस कदर पहुँच गया है की जिनका संगठन से सीधा कोई संबंध नहीं होते हुए भी उनकी विचार एवं भाषा को अनजाने में अपना लिया है। RSS ने अपने विचारधारा का वर्चस्व विभिन्न सरकारी अंगों जैसे सेना, पुलिस, न्यायपालिका में स्थापित करना शुरू कर दिया है। ये सब के बाबजूद हमारा देश में साम्प्रदायिकता और उग्र हिंदुत्व

law and order problems or as a mere tool in the hands of the capitalist class. The long-run patient multi-dimensional activities of RSS has definitely changed the common-sense of large sections of people over the last 90 years, resulting in the fact that even those who are far from being connected to Sangh Parivar organizationally, have internalized their logic and talk in their language. They have been successful in building hegemony of their ideology in many institutions, including organs of the state like Executive, Judiciary, Army etc. Still, it would be a mistake to see the whole problem of aggressive Hinduvta in our country as a conspiracy hatched by the RSS.

We see the starting point of any left-progressive politics towards effectively combating the RSS-BJP regime through a journey towards moving away from the political equilibrium existing within present neo-liberal capitalism. This project cannot be one of return to UPA-I condition, or going back to Nehruvian era, which precisely has sown the seeds of such an aggressively masculine, communal regime, making condition of toiling people more and more wretched. When in state governments, the left cannot primary aim towards implementing the capitalist development model in the name of 'development with human face', so as to retain the seat of power with stability. For the for last forty years CPM-led governments have effectively followed this line only and ended up doing the exactly same thing as Congress or other regional parties do.

In student politics it will have to push the demand for education and employment for all, not just rhetorically, but with sincerity and militancy. It will have to firmly raise the question why, contrary to the imagination of those who laid down their lives in the freedom struggle and despite being unique in its richness of natural and human resources, majority of our population is sinking into under-education, unemployment, poverty, homelessness, poor health condition and so on. **In one word, it will have to be a revolutionary project towards a reconstruction of the nation's majority in class terms, which is the only possible way out to dismantle the majority construction in religious lines.**

The other, although inter-related plank of long term activism, needs to be designed towards an egalitarian reconstruction of the social. Here progressive politics needs to think beyond both short-term parliamentary success-failure and immediate protest response and resistance movements. Serious thought needs to be given to formulate what possible resource can be drawn from the history and traditions of our country, what possible shape the modern egalitarian values can take in our context, what organizational forms will be suitable towards changing the common-sense of the large majority of population in relatively longer-term. **Electoral defeat of BJP is necessary but is far from being sufficient, even in short-term.**

का समस्या को आरइसइस का बनाया हुआ एक साजिस के रूप में देखना गलत होगा।

हमारा मानना है की RSS-BJP को को प्रभावशाली ढंग से टक्कर देने के लिए किसी भी प्रगतिवादी बामपंथी राजनीती की शुरुवात तत्कालीन नव-उदारवाद पूंजीवादी 'राजनैतिक संतुलन' से अलग

"In one word, it will have to be a revolutionary project towards a reconstruction of the nation's majority in class terms, which is the only possible way out to dismantle the majority construction in religious lines. Electoral defeat of BJP is necessary but is far from being sufficient, even in short-term."

हो कर ही किया जा सकता है। यह योजना UPA-1 की स्थिति या नेहरू युग में वापसी का नहीं हो सकता, जहां उग्र-सम्प्रदायिकवादी शासन की नींव रखी गयी और मेहनतकश इंसानों का जीवन और बर्तन किया गया। वामपंथी राज्य-सरकारें सिर्फ सत्ता में बने रहने के लिए इस 'विकास' के मॉडल नहीं अपना सकता है जो CPI (M) के पिछले सरकारों ने किया है।

छात्र राजनीती में वामपंथ को सबके लिए शिक्षा और रोजगार की मांग की मांग केवल भाषणबाजी के आगे एक पुरजोर, उन्नत तथा ईमानदार प्रयास करना होगा। इसे उग्र रूप से प्रश्न करना होगा की क्यों प्रचुर प्रकृतिक एवं मानव संपदा के बावजूद भारत अपने स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों के स्वप्न से परे, गरीबी, अशिक्षा तथा बेरोजगारी के गर्थ में डूब रहा है। संक्षेप में यह तभी संभव है जब एक क्रान्तिकारी योजना के माध्यम से 'वर्ग' के आधार पर राष्ट्रीय बहुसंख्या को तैयार किया जाए तथा धार्मिक बहुसंख्यवाद को ध्वस्त किया जाए।

एक दूसरा अन्य दीर्घकालीन कर्तव्य की आवश्यकता है जो एक समतामूलक समाज की स्थापना में सहायक हो। यहां प्रगतिवादी राजनीती को आवश्यकता से लघु-तात्कालिक चुनावी राजनैतिकिन हार-जीत से परे और तात्कालिक प्रतिबाद के आंदोलनों से आगे जाने की जरूरत है। गंभीर विचार-विमर्श की जरूरत है, भारतीय इतिहास एवं परम्परा से क्या विचार है जो आधुनिक 'समतामूलक समाज' के निर्माण में सहायक हो सकती है। किस तरह के संगठन व्यवस्था की आवश्यकता है जो भारतीय जनमानस की तथाकथित 'आम समझ' को बदलने में सहायक होगा। **BJP की चुनावी पराजय आवश्यक है परंतु पर्याप्त नहीं है, तत्कालीन समय में भी।**

THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF JNU

Have we always been at the 'benevolence' or 'whims and fancies' of the top-officials?

In JNU, for the past several years we have seen, what comes across as an 'unprecedented' attack on the University, its space and culture, its people – students, teachers, its workers, the educational practices, everything it seems. The RSS-BJP regime in the past few years, one felt, is indeed continuing its 'shutdownJNU' agenda. One seems to have risen every morning to a new autocratic diktat, a new notice to curtail students right by the administration.

62000 per semester and the forthcoming MBA program has a fee of 6-12 lakhs.

There were then decisions to impose compulsory attendance, biometric attendance for staff, restrictions on agitations, continuous penalizing and imposition of exorbitant fines and penalties on students for protesting on any issue, and the list goes on. The Gender Sensitization Committee against Sexual

The RSS-backed Vice Chancellor of JNU has flouted many of the rules to implement their anti-student projects in the last three years. The article revisits into JNU Act, 1966 to investigate the legal structure of JNU, too see how it was so easily used by the whims and fancies of the Vice Chancellor. It raises question on the consensus of methods of running any educational and research institutions.

Harassment (GSCASH) which was running for years in JNU was scrapped in a day's time. It was superseded by a body chaired by administratively most powerful people in the University, going against the ethos of having an autonomous body for sexual harassment redressal in a college/University. Exorbitant expenditures have happened over constructions of fancy street lights, statues, online entrance examinations, inviting spiritual babas and RSS backed projects on campus, while library budgets have

The new Vice Chancellor comes to power and first thing he implements is the UGC regulation in a way that the total number of seats for students would be drastically reduced. He violated all the rules of the university, makes a mockery of the Academic Council, the highest academic decision making body of the University, according to JNU Act. The total number of MPhil and PhD seats, were cut down by 80% at one go, and the University for an entire academic year of admission saw zero intake of scholars across many departments. At the same time fees hike was introduced and most smartly executed. When first introduced in the midst of several other decisions, the increase appeared very less, and that too for the cost of the prospectus. There was not much resistance from students. The next semester almost a 200% hike in hostel and mess fees was introduced. The appeal for increasing Merit-cum-Means scholarship for postgraduate students has never been heard and eventually fees hike has been so sharp that, today, the mess fees is higher than the MCM amount students get. New course of Engineering was introduced a year later, which has an admission fess of 20000-

seen 80% fund cut, scholarships have not been disbursed for months, let alone increased. Attack on workers reached new heights with increasing contractualization in the hiring process of the workers and immense pressure and threats imposed on



them and terminating the worker leaders. For bringing such sweeping changes, the RSS-BJP backed Vice-Chancellor have violated many rules of the university. But the JNU Act (1966) has been such that there was huge reliance on the benevolence and good intention of the Vice-Chancellor, in built within the Act itself, and very less scope of actual democratic participation of students, teachers and workers of university, to make the process accountable. Let us go into the details.

Academic Council is the largest decision making body of the University regarding all academic matters, matters pertaining to standards of instruction, education, examination, etc, while Executive Council and Court are the highest executive bodies of the University, responsible for general management and administration of the University, which includes property and revenue. **The Academic Council is a body with sufficient representation of teachers across centers/schools and hence it is hard to pass anything from it, violating the opinion of overwhelmingly large section of faculty members. That is why, we see that the VC and his team has been forging minutes of the AC meeting, bypassing the meeting procedures and so on in order to pass their agenda.** Even in the AC, there was a provision for some student representation, but only for those who have secured 6 Grade Points but that too was never implemented. This too is a very regressive rule because one's Grade Point has no relation with whether students feel the person as representative of their voices.

The other statutory bodies, like the the Executive Council, was used by the Vice Chancellor to pass most of the decisions and is the highest decision-making body of the University, in almost all important issues. **It is now a body comprising of 22 members. The other important body, which is University Court, a 175 members body. There are 8000 students in JNU and more than 2000 karmacharis and workers, beyond the ones who are higher official staff or on high administrative positions and there is absolutely no representative from them in either the Court or Executive Council.** The formal process of selection of Deans and Chairperson, as laid down in the Act, is nomination by the Vice Chancellor and subsequent approval of the EC and hence the teachers have no democratic control over them. **In the Finance Committee, the majority members are not related to the university and the Vice Chancellor and Finance Officer can effectively spend funds of the university at their whims and fancies.** So, if they decide to stop journal subscription in the library or scholarship of students, not make crèche for workers children but spend lakhs on beautification



projects, keep on buying fancy cars for the officials, build statues of their choices and bring spiritual babas for 'motivation' of students, the teachers, karmacharis and students have very little to do legally. The option of coming out to streets, face consequences and fight back resolutely is always there. That is the only birthright the oppressed and exploited people always had and nobody can snatch it from them by making any law.

“A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for progress, for the adventure of ideas and for the search for truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duty adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people. But if the temple of learning itself becomes a home of narrow bigotry and petty objectives, how then will the nation prosper or a people grow in stature?”

The above is a quote from Jawaharlal Nehru's speech in Allahabad University convocation (December 13, 1947) and is very often quoted in JNU even today, to elaborate the spirit of JNU. The question that needs to be asked is what kind of institutional mechanism will actually ensure that the university will stand for humanism, tolerance, reason and progress? Clearly, in the present mechanism, a change in policy regime from welfare-ist to neo-liberal consensus, or a change of balance of power in the government body seems to radically rupture the modus-operandi of the university and push it towards its destruction. **We need to then rethink regarding what will be better institutional structures of the educational and research institutions, so that they are less susceptible to whims and fancies of top officials and become more accountable to students, teachers, karmacharis and people at large.**

‘शिक्षा संस्थानों में स्वायत्तता’: शिक्षा के अधिकार पर आघात के खिलाफ, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में प्रतिरोध के स्वर

जब हम विश्वविद्यालय लिखते या बोलते हैं, तो उसका क्या तात्पर्य होता है? अंग्रेज़ी में इसका जवाब बहुचर्चित है, "School of Universal Learning" जिसका अगर हम विवरण करें तो इसका साफ मतलब होगा हर तबके के छात्रों का संयोजन। पर यू.जी.सी (विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग) को ये परिभाषा शायद समझ नहीं आती। इसलिये तो 31 मार्च, 2018 को यू.जी.सी ने शिक्षा शुल्कों में वृद्धि की घोषणा कर उच्च शिक्षा संस्थानों को छात्रों की एक बड़ी आबादी के लिए और भी असाध्य बना दिया। इस घोषणा के अनुसार स्नातक विषयों का शुल्क बढ़ कर तकरीबन सवा लाख पहुँच गया। इस नए शुल्क को भरने की तिथि 25 जुलाई, 2018 रखी गयी थी। यह शुल्क वृद्धि यू.जी.सी द्वारा शैक्षिक संस्थानों में स्वायत्तता (ऑटोनॉमी) लागू करने के संदर्भ में की गई।

स्वायत्तता के भेस में मोहताजी का आगाज़

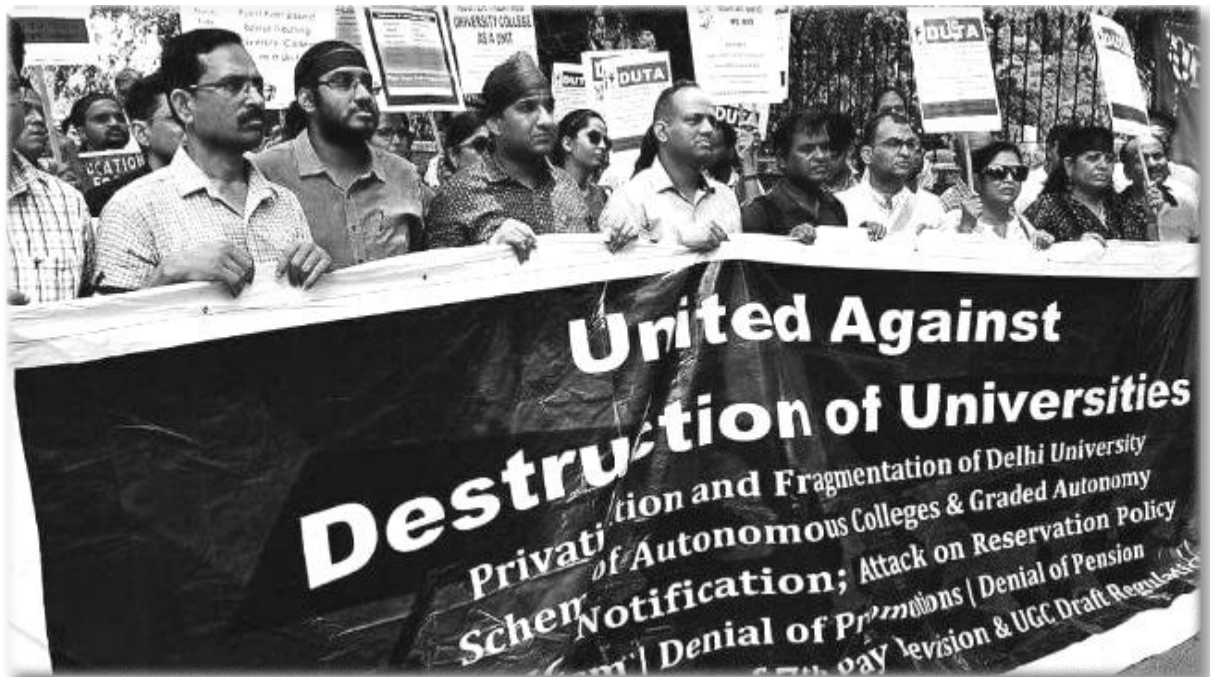
विश्वविद्यालय को चलाने वाले छात्र-शिक्षक-कर्मचारियों का समुदाय लगातार कुछ पैमानों में स्वायत्तता की मांग करता रहा है विषयों और पाठ्यक्रम सुनिश्चित करने, अध्यापकों की भर्ती की प्रक्रिया, संस्थान के परिचालन इत्यादि में सरकारों और सत्ताधारियों के विरोध में विश्वविद्यालय समुदाय के संघर्षों का इतिहास इसका साक्षी है। किंतु, वर्तमान में शैक्षिक संस्थानों पर थोपी जा रही स्वायत्तता मात्र 'आर्थिक स्वायत्तता' तक सीमित है। बल्कि वास्तविकता में इसे पूंजी और बाज़ारी ताकतों के ऊपर निर्भरता कहना बेहतर होगा। UGC द्वारा अपनाई जा रही नीति के मुताबिक सभी शैक्षिक संस्थानों को तीन तबकों में बांटा जाएगा। इसमें से सर्वोच्च तबके के संस्थानों को ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा स्वायत्तता मिलेगी, जिसके तहत यह विभिन्न प्रकार के सेल्फ-फाइनेंसिंग कोर्स शुरू कर पाएंगे जिनके लिए वे मनमानी फीस लेने के अधिकारी होंगे। इनके शिक्षकों और छात्रों का एक हिस्सा विदेशी होगा, व विदेशी संस्थानों के सहयोग का प्रावधान भी रहेगा। दूसरे दर्जे के संस्थानों को उनकी 'प्लेसमेंट' के आधार पर आर्थिक सहयोग मिलेगा। किंतु इस प्लेसमेंट को पाने के लिए उन्हें पूरी तरह पूंजीपतियों और बाज़ार के मुताबिक अपनी शिक्षा और परिचालन को ढालना होगा। तीसरे दर्जे के संस्थानों को जनशिक्षा का बेड़ा सौंपा जाएगा। छात्रों की बड़ी आबादी इन्हीं संस्थानों में पड़ेगी। इस श्रेणी में मुख्यतः दूरस्थ शिक्षा संस्थान होंगे जिनकी तादात और बढ़ाई जाएगी। 'नयी शिक्षा नीति' के तहत सोचे गए इस पूरे ढांचे के कई कथित उद्देश्य हैं -- कौशल विकास, रोज़गार लायक 'श्रमबल'

की तैयारी, 'वर्ल्ड क्लास' शिक्षा इत्यादि। किंतु इनमें से कोई भी उद्देश्य पूरे हो ना हो, इस नतीजे छात्रों का एक बड़ा हिस्सा शिक्षा के अधिकार से वंचित तो ज़रूर होगा। शिक्षा संस्थानों से बाहर किए जाने वाले छात्रों में सबसे आगे देश के गरीब, मज़दूर, किसान, दलित, आदिवासी, मुसलमान व अन्य अल्पसमुदाय होंगे, जिनमें भी छात्राओं पर असर और भी नकारात्मक होगा।

फंड कट की सरकार नहीं चलेगी अबकी बार!

इन परिवर्तनों की ज़मीन कई सालों से तैयार की जा रही थी। 2015 में ही UGC का बजट में हिस्सा 50% घटाया जा चुका था। स्वायत्तता की घोषणा के पहले ही हेफा (हॉयर एजुकेशन फाइनेंसिंग एजेंसी) की स्थापना की जा चुकी थी जो सरकार द्वारा उच्च शैक्षिक संस्थानों को पैसे देने का मुख्य जरिया होगा। किंतु यह पैसे उन्हें अनुदान के रूप में नहीं बल्कि उधार पर मिलेंगे जिन्हें संस्थान सूत समेत वापस करेंगे। लाज़िम है की इसकी पूरी वसूली संस्थान छात्रों से करने की कोशिश करेगी। इस दिशा में पहल काफी पुरानी है और सन 1995 की कांग्रेस के नेतृत्व में चल रही नरसिंहा राव की सरकार ने।

इस फैसले के विरुद्ध DUTA के बैनर के तहत छात्र और शिक्षकों का मूवमेंट हुआ। प्रोफेसरों ने इस घोषणा के विरोध में हड़ताल का ऐलान कर दिया और छात्रों की भागीदारी के साथ, केंद्रीय व विभिन्न कॉलेजों के स्तर पर यू.जी.सी के इस फैसले का विरोध किया गया। अलग अलग कॉलेज विशेष आंदोलन भी रहे, जैसे कि हिन्दू और स्टिफेंस कॉलेज में छात्र-छात्राओं ने डट कर अपने कॉलेज में स्वायत्तता का विरोध किया। वास्तव में यह हमला किसी विश्वविद्यालय या राज्य के स्तर पर नहीं रोका जा सकता, बल्कि यह विश्व आर्थिक प्रणाली के लॉजिक को चुनौती देने की मांग करता है। यह मांग करता है कि इंसानियत को परिचय देने वाले विभिन्न सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक, और वैचारिक पहलू बाज़ारू माल ना बन कर हर एक का अधिकार हों।



13-Point Roster System

Another Blow to Accessible Higher Education

The Supreme Court, on 22nd January, gave a judgement upholding an earlier Allahabad High Court judgement which mandates that reservation in faculty positions in higher education will be carried out by taking the department as a unit as opposed to the university/college being considered one unit. This system, more popularly known as the 13-point roster system, will drastically reduce the number of reserved positions across colleges and universities. When the department is taken as a unit, then at least one appointment from each reserved category will be made only when a minimum of 14 appointments

are made. However, when the university or college is taken as a unit, every reserved category gets the earmarked percentage of reservation when a minimum of 200 appointments are made. This is known as the 200 point roster system. In the new system, in a department with 14 positions the first reserved seat for an OBC candidate will be opened after 4 positions have opened

up since the constitutionally mandated reservation for OBCs is 27%. The roster system decides reservation by dividing 100 by the percentage of reservation constitutionally mandated to SC/ST and OBCs. This complicated as well as misguided set of calculations is leading to the impossibility of reservations being ensured in departments smaller than 14.

The 22nd January judgement has faced enormous criticism from students and teachers both, with protests being organized against this decision. The 13-point roster system judgement comes at a moment when we have recently seen a bill being passed introducing 10% reservation for those who are economically backward in the general category. The criterion for economic backwardness has been set at an absurd Rs 8 lakh per annum i.e. Rs 66000 per month. This betrays the ruling regime's deliberate skewing of the reasons why reservations were instituted in the first place, i.e. to remedy historical social marginalization. Coming back to education we find that despite decades-long presence of reservations in higher education and employment our universities have very little representation from SC, ST and OBC categories, particularly when it comes to Associate Professor and Professor positions. A move like the introduction of the 13-point roster system in this context is only going to worsen this situation.

On 31st January, thousands of students and teachers came together in Delhi to protest against the 13 point roster system.

are made. However, when the university or college is taken as a unit, every reserved category gets the earmarked percentage of reservation when a minimum of 200 appointments are made. This is known as the 200 point roster system. In the new system, in a department with 14 positions the first reserved seat for an OBC candidate will be opened after 4 positions have opened

ढाबा या food court?

JNU में अनेको छोटे छोटे ढाबे, जो सालों से यहाँ चल रहे हैं, उनको आज हटाया जा रहा है और उनकी जगह 'food-court' बनाये जाने का प्रस्ताव है। JNU के प्रशासन ने एक सर्कुलर में कहा है कि छात्रों के स्वास्थ्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए और सफाई तथा खाने में विविधता लाने के लिए प्रशासन, जहाँ जहाँ संभव, food-court बनवाने की कोशिश करेगी। उसी सर्कुलर में लिखा गया कि प्रशासन द्वारा मौजूदा गैर-अनुपालन करने वाली दुकानों या ढाबों को नोटिस भेजा जायेगा और उनकी निविदा रद्द कर दी जाएगी।

JNU में स्थित कई सारे ढाबों और छोटे दुकानों को बहुत दिनों से ही नोटिस जारी किए जा रहे हैं। हॉस्टल के आंगन में चाय और लिट्टी बेचने वाले राजू भैया की दुकान को प्रशासन ने, अवैध बताकर, पिछले साल से लगातार, एक के बाद एक, नोटिस भेजे हैं। छात्रों ने भी लगभग हर दिन, राजू भैया के लिए प्रशासन को आवेदन पत्र लिखे हैं और राजू भैया हर दूसरे दिन, प्रशासन भवन में, अपने, वर्षों से संग्रहित, नियमित भुगतान किये हुए बिलों, कागजों, वगैरह के साथ, इधर उधर दौड़ते भागते रहे हैं, अपनी दुकान की वैधता साबित करने के लिए। मगर वैध या अवैध

किसको कहेंगे? बात यहाँ उस योजना की है जहाँ 'hygienic' के नाम पर food-court और स्वस्थ के नाम पर कुछ भी मेहेंगा और 'branded' को करार देने की कल्पना है। यहाँ वही कानूनी और वैद होगा जो इस योजना के साथ मेल खायेगा। यह स्पष्ट है कि राजू भैया की छोटी सी दुकान ऐसे योजना के अनुकूल नहीं है।

और यह सिर्फ एक राजू भैया के दुकान की बात नहीं है। ऐसे अनेको छोटी दुकान पिछले दिनों में बंद कर दी गयी है। और सामान्य सी बात है कि यह केवल JNU का किस्सा नहीं है। आज जहाँ लाखों रुपये फीस लेके 'five-star' विश्वविद्यालय बनाने की जद्दोजहत चल रही है, वहाँ 'five-star' बंदोबस्त करना -coffee-shop और food-court बनवाना- स्वाभाविक बात है। वह एक ही 'प्लान' के दो हिस्से हैं। और गौर करने की बात है कि हमारी रूचि को भी बखूबी उसी तरह ढाला जा रहा है। इसी विश्वविद्यालय में कई साल पहले जब Nescafe जैसे multi-national brand, कॉफी स्टाल लगाने वाली थी तब, छात्रों ने उसका पुरजोर विरोध किया था और सफल भी हुए थे। मगर आज जब हज़ारों-लाखों रुपये फीस लेने के प्रचलन में शिक्षा नीलाम है तो हमारे ढाबे कैसे बचे रहेंगे?

JNU प्रशासन का अपने मज़दूरों पर हमला

JNU प्रशासन ने दिसंबर २०१८ में बोनस का अधिकार मांग कर रहे ठेका मज़दूरों को बिना नोटिस, अवैधानिक तरीके से, काम से निष्कासित किया। पिछले कई सालों से यहाँ के ठेका मज़दूर और उनकी यूनियन, ऑल इंडिया जनरल कामगर यूनियन, समान काम का समान दाम के अधिकार के लिए लड़ रहे थे। अक्टूबर में उन्हें इसके क्रियान्वयन के लिए अदालत में कुछ जीत भी मिली। इसके तुरंत बाद, जब दिवाली के समय उनका बोनस रोक दिया गया और यूनियन के प्रतिनिधि प्रशासन से बोनस की मांग करने गए, तब यूनियन के अध्यक्ष, उर्मिला, तथा एक और साथी, सुनीता, को अन्य मज़दूरों को उकसाने के आरोप में,

जबरन काम से निकाल दिया गया। उर्मिला और सुनीता दोनों ही JNU में सफाई कर्मचारी थे। मज़दूरों को अपने आंदोलन से हटाने के लिए, प्रशासन और ठेकेदार ने सभी संभावित रणनीति का सहारा लिया - मज़दूरों को डराना धमकाना, बदली करना, उर्मिला और सुनीता का उदाहरण देते हुए काम से निकाले जाने की धमकी देना, इत्यादि।

JNU में लड़ रहे ठेका मज़दूरों का कहना है कि चाहे वो ठेकेदार द्वारा ही क्यों न लाये गए हो, मगर नियम अनुसार JNU प्रशासन ही उनका प्रमुख नियोक्ता है, और उस लिहाज़ से JNU प्रशासन को ही उनकी मांग सुनने और जिम्मेदारी लेनी की जरूरत है। देश में श्रमिक वर्ग के लम्बे लड़ाई के बाद ये कानून प्राप्त किये गये थे कि अगर किसी स्थाई काम के लिए मज़दूर रक्खा जा रहा है तो उसे ठेका या अस्थायी मज़दूर नहीं स्थाई मज़दूर के हिसाब से ही नियुक्त किया जाए और अस्थायी मज़दूरों के लिए भी, वे जाहा काम कर रहे हैं, वोही उनका प्रमुख नियोक्ता (principal employer) है, नाकि ठेकेदार। मगर आज JNU जैसे प्रतिष्ठित और सरकारी संस्थान में भी न्यूनतम श्रम कानून का पालन या मज़दूरों के प्रति जिम्मेदारी लेने का कोई वातावरण नहीं दिख रहा है। मगर उर्मिला, सुनीता, और अन्य मज़दूर साथी इस व्यवस्था के खिलाफ डटकर खड़े हैं। वे न केवल अपनी नौकरी वापस पाने के लिए लड़ रहे हैं बल्कि मज़दूर संघ को भी मजबूत करने के अथक काम में जुटे हुए हैं।



The 'missing link' between Education and Employment

(continued from Page 20) The crisis we are in today has been in the making for some time now. Our country's education system has been designed in a way that bears strong continuity with the colonial past. The larger objective of education has been to consolidate the kind of stratification which exists in employment. By ensuring that only a few accessed affordable higher education while the vast majority either dropped out of school or end up doing diploma courses in technical institutes, a largely underpaid and exploited workforce was maintained.

The common school system proposed by the Kothari Commission in 1968 has never been taken seriously by successive governments while neoliberal policies have increased the inequality. Data from the report drafted by the committee for evolution of NEP 2016, chaired by T S R Subramanian, shows that despite committing to provide education to all,

of the children admitted in class 1, only about six percent of STs, eight percent of SCs, nine percent of Muslims and ten percent of OBCs are able to complete schooling till class 12. This means that more than 90% of these sections already stand outside the 'shrinking' public education system.

The twin projects of Skill India and Make in India will solidifying this kind of exclusion, as they are based on the economic policy where our country is supposed to supply cheap labour and raw material to developed capitalist countries. Domestically, the people coming from marginalized sections—adivasis, dalits, women—will get placed in unskilled and low-paying jobs.

The link between education and employment is missing in our country. The situation is such that education system today is neither expanding the horizon of our freedom nor 'paying back' in terms of better employment for most people.

Progressive Movement of IISER Mohali : Story of a Science Institute

Very recently, we saw the Indian Science Congress making headlines, rendering people dumbfounded with assertions of naming gravitational waves after our beloved Prime Minister and claiming to have stem cell technology and test tube babies thousands of years ago. This gives us a grim picture of the Indian academia and the attitude of the state towards it.

Indian Institute of Science Education and Research (IISER), Mohali was set up in 2007 with the aim of providing basic science education to students entering higher education and to conduct research using state-of-the-art facilities. The discrimination prevalent in this campus primarily concerns two sections: students and labourers.

Workers Struggle to Unionize

Contractual labourers on this campus include cleaners, security staffs and technicians. They are hired by the institute from external agencies. There are three types of arrangements through which the institute hires workers: (1) outsourcing, (2) contract outsourcing and (3) labour contracting. This division prolonged the formation of a workers' union as it was not easy to unite workers having different immediate interests. Even minimum wages prescribed by the central government were not being paid. They were also fired at the wish of the employer with the institute looking the other way. The injustice that the workers were facing led them to unionize.

"The struggle of the workers was wholeheartedly supported by the students. The workers' union has given the workers a platform to make assertions, to stand united during struggle and to face retributions. The audacity with which the administration and the officials used to behave with the workers has now been reduced."

The first demonstration was a dharna by cleaning staff in front of the Admin Block in March 2017. The wages of the security guards were hiked partially while other workers were ignored. Such a ploy to break the unity of the workers faced steady

resistance. Subsequently, three more dharnas were staged. It was only after these demonstrations that workers got the confidence to unionize. The security staff and technicians were roped in eventually and students wholeheartedly supported the union. Once workers united, the administration was forced to bend and pay heed to the workers' concerns. The struggle of the workers compelled the administration and the employing agency to implement minimum wages. The employing agency also stopped firing the workers without following due procedure.

In the meantime, the attempt to unionize met several with threats and the organisers were told to fear for their jobs. Despite such obstacles, the workers stood firm and continued their struggle till the union was formally recognised by the institute. The struggle of the workers was wholeheartedly supported by students.

The union has given the workers a platform to make bold assertions, to struggle unitedly and to face retributions. The audacity with which the administration and the officials mistreated workers has now reduced. Apart from implementing minimum wages, the institute has also formed a standing committee to look into the issues of contract labourers as demanded by the union. Its president, who works as a caretaker of hostels, is a member of this committee.

The experiment of unionization in IISER Mohali is unique. For the first time, the security guards of any institute in India have been incorporated in the workers' union and, secondly, no other science and technology institute of national importance, heavily cushioned with money, has a union of contractual labourers.

There are several problems which still need immediate resolution. Mess workers have not been incorporated into the union as they live in the hostels and work under constant surveillance. Their working hours are also an impediment. However, the union is trying its best so that mess workers can also voice their grievances and fight for their rights. Apart from the struggles for the betterment of their daily lives, the union also aims towards transformation of the consciousness of the workers. There has already been an event where the workers, including the female cleaning staff, attended a gender sensitization semi-

nar conducted in both English and Hindi for their convenience.

Student mobilizations within and beyond campus

Let us now turn towards the issues of students. Every student admitted at IISER after high school received a DST-INSPIRE scholarship of ₹5,000 every month. The first blow made by the present Union government in 2014 was the withdrawal of the provision of ₹20,000 annual contingency money. Since 2017, tuition fees have increased by leaps and bounds. While the tuition fees used to be around ₹10,000 every semester, it jumped to ₹27,500 in 2017. This massive increment defeats the very purpose of creating institutions like IISER. Let alone popularize research in science, such policies impose a heavy financial burden on students coming from economically marginalised sections of society.

There was another sudden slash on the number of recipients of the DST-INSPIRE scholarship in 2016. The next blow that the government delivered was to increase the minimum GPA required for continuation of the scholarship. While earlier one had to maintain a cumulative GPA of 6 for continuation of their scholarship, now the norm was changed and a minimum annual GPA of 7 was made mandatory.

Introducing such policies one after another was affecting student life directly and students moved against the implementation of such decisions. They organised themselves and demonstrated in the open ground to assert their dissatisfaction with such policy measures on 5 March 2018. Students from other science institutions also stood in support of IISER Mohali and they received solidarity from institutions across the country. The next month, the students of IISER Mohali and Panjab University organised themselves under the banner of India March for Science on 14 April 2018. The march was a demonstration against the anti-student policies being implemented by the centre and also the obscurantist ideas being propagated by its ministers and other personnel of the party incumbent at the centre.

PhD scholars have also been facing hardships on several issues such as the untimely disbursement of scholarships and disparity between inflation and the quantum of monthly scholarship. There was a demonstration by PhD scholars of IISER Mohali and neighbouring institutes on 30 November 2018 to register their voice against such policy measures. The students in this campus have felt the urge to them under a common platform



Protest on 5th March 2018 at IISER

to voice their grievances and are arranging cultural events, gender sensitization campaign and public talks on various social issues. The active participation of students was also seen during various social issues such as the March for Science, Kathua rape case or the murder of Gauri Lankesh. Each incident saw considerable participation from IISER Mohali, especially after the Kathua rape.

During the dharna by the cleaning staff mentioned earlier, 900 signatures were collected by the Students' Representative Council. These efforts to form a students' platform, run a study circle and unite contractual labourers were supported by a section of progressive-minded faculties. Their endeavour has been tremendously effective in framing the opinion of students in favour of vulnerable sections of society. A number of socio-economic surveys have been done by students to understand the caste composition and labour problems in the institute. Students are encouraged to perform critical and objective analysis of such pervasive social problems.

We hope that the efforts put up by the students and workers of IISER Mohali contributes towards moulding a progressive culture and prepares a firm ground for transformative politics in this campus, one that contributes towards the radical socio-economic transformation of our country. Student-labour unity must translate towards a larger form of resistance, in the face of the coupled onslaught of neoliberal policies and fascism in our country. It is imperative that the crisis of capitalism which we are passing through now generates a collective will of active resistance so that an alternative that solves these crises emerges from the ashes of this broken system. The efforts taken up by members of the IISER Mohali community hopes to leave a positive imprint on the construction of this larger struggle.

Amartyajyoti Basu (IISER)

पछास का दसवां सम्मेलन सफलतापूर्वक सम्पन्न: रिपोर्ट

परिवर्तनकामी छात्र संगठन (पछास) का दसवां सम्मेलन 6-7 अक्टूबर 2018 को हल्द्वानी (उत्तराखंड) में सफलतापूर्वक सम्पन्न हुआ। सम्मेलन में उत्तराखंड, उत्तर प्रदेश, दिल्ली व हरियाणा के प्रतिनिधियों ने भागीदारी की। सम्मेलन की तैयारियों के सिलसिले में व्यापक तौर पर प्रचार करते हुए छात्रों व जनता के बीच जाकर आर्थिक सहयोग-समर्थन लिया गया। मेहनतकश जनता ने एकजुटता प्रदर्शित करते हुए अपना पूर्ण सहयोग दिया। साथी कमलेश द्वारा 6 अक्टूबर

की सुबह पछास के झण्डे का झण्डारोहण किया गया। इसके बाद देश-दुनिया में पूंजीवाद के खिलाफ संघर्ष में मारे गये क्रांतिकारियों को याद करते हुए श्रद्धांजली दी गयी। दुनिया के छात्र-नौजवानों के साथ एकजुटता प्रदर्शित करते हुए यूथ इंटरनेशनल गीत प्रस्तुत किया गया।

सम्मेलन में शहीदों को श्रद्धांजली, शिक्षा के भगवाकरण, शिक्षा के बजट में कटौती के विरोध में, पूंजीवाद द्वारा जनित आपदाओं, बुद्धिजीवियों पर हमले व महिलाओं-बच्चियों पर हो रही हिंसा के विरोध में कुल 6 प्रस्ताव पारित किये गये। 7 अक्टूबर की दोपहर में खुले सत्र का आयोजन किया गया। जिसमें छात्रों, कई जनवादी संगठनों व मजदूर ट्रेड यूनियनों सहित जनता ने भागीदारी थी। खुले सत्र में सभा के बाद हल्द्वानी शहर में जोशीले नारों के साथ, जोरदार जुलूस निकाला गया। बेरोजगारी को खत्म करने, छात्र व जनवादी संघर्ष को आगे बढ़ाने, 'पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था का नाश हो' 'समाजवाद जिन्दाबाद' आदि के नारों से शहर गुंजायमान करते हुए जुलूस सम्मेलन स्थल तक पहुंचा।

(Source: <http://eparcham.blogspot.com>)



KVS protested in Bangalore against HECI

Students from various colleges and universities from Karnataka under the leadership of Karnataka Vidyarthi Sangathane (KVS) gathered at town hall, Bangalore and rallied on 24 th November 2018 to protest against the Higher Education Commission of India (HECI) bill or "UGC killer" as it is aptly called. In the garb of a game changer that will "improve academic standards and quality of higher education" the bill aims to bring about more control and centralization of state universities. The HECI will comprise mostly of state and central government employees and people from industry. There will be direct involvement of ministry of human resource and development hence it is more liable to the whims and fancies of the central ministers.


The excessive centralization will lead to further political interference, bureaucratization, delays and corruption. The students opposed the new HECI bill and scrapping of UGC. The bill aims to further reduce the funding of education and push universities towards privatization. They also lamented the low number of lecturers in the universities which has led to lower quality of education and demanded recruitment of permanent lecturers in universities. The news of the rally was covered by various Kannada daily newspapers. Since 17 th January 2019, students of KVS have started a jatha across all of 30 districts of Karnataka. The aim of the jatha was to raise awareness about the issues affecting the quality of higher education system. The jatha will talk against the scrapping of UGC, privatization and shrinking of democratic spaces in campus.

PROTEST MARCH

Only through Quality Education can a Nation be built!

**TOWN HALL
10 AM
24 NOVEMBER**

KARNATAKA VIDYARTHI SANGHATANE



WITHDRAW PROPOSAL TO SCRAP UGC

FILL VACANT POSTS IN UNIVERSITIES OF KARNATAKA IMMEDIATELY

CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT FOR EMPOWERING EMPLOYMENT BASED ON ONE'S EDUCATION

JOIN US WITH WRITER CHAMPA, DR. G RAMAKRISHNA, PROF. NAGARI BABAIAH, PROF. NAGARAGERE RAMESH, WRITER B SRIPAD BHAT

Student movement in Punjab University, Chandigarh

The Student Union elections in Punjab University (PU), Chandigarh last year saw Kanu Priya from Students for Society (SFS) getting elected as the first woman president. This was a decisive rejection by the student body in PU of the politics of money and muscle which has dominated the campus, like majority of other university campuses in the country. It was not only a vote for a woman president, it was also support for a politics of change and transformation. The organization to which Kanu Priya belongs i.e. SFS was at the head of a strong and militant movement in PU 2 years ago against the imposition of massive fee hike under the script of privatisation being implemented in higher education. During that movement the police resorted to brutal lathicharge, used wa-

ter canons and fired tear gas shells on the students who were protesting against the fee hike in almost all of the courses offered by the university. Some courses even saw a massive 1,000% (about 10 times) fee hike. Moreover, 52 students were arrested and many others booked under sedition for simply raising their voice to ask for accessible education for all.

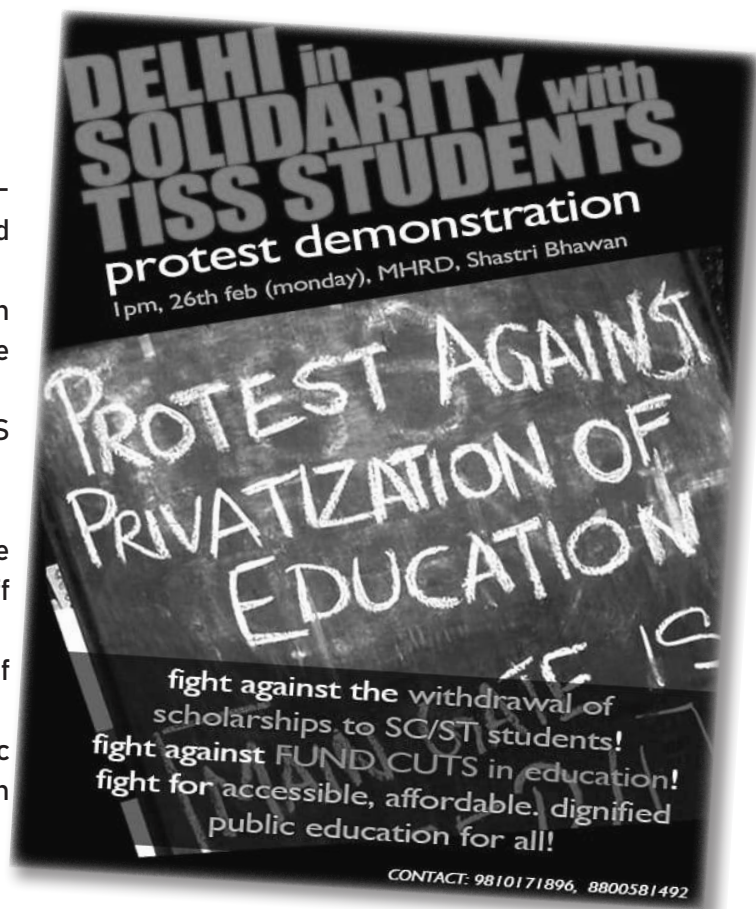
It is the legacy of that movement and the politics and determination it represented that the students of PU upheld in the union election of 2018. Immediately after the union elections, the university was again involved in a sustained movement for equitable conditions of education. Demanding 24 hours open hostel entry for women, the left-revolutionary Student For Society (SFS) and Punjab University Campus Students' Council (PUCSC) launched a sit-in protest on October 30 outside the women's hostel.

The protest led by the newly elected president, Kanu Priya saw a participation of more than 400 students, both men and women who raised slogans against the present curfew which allows women to enter the premise till 11 pm while they cannot go out after 9 pm. After 2 months of sustained and admirable struggle, the administration of the university was finally forced to concede these demands. By 15th December, 2018, 24x7 entry/exit in the hostel premises was implemented in PU along with a removal of many arbitrary fines for late entry in the regulations.



Charter of Demands of TISS movement:

1. We demand the notification for present Gol-PMS students 2016-18 and 2017-19 to pay for fee (tuition, DH, and Hostel) to be retracted with immediate effect
2. We demand the immediate rollback of the notification for 2018-20 batch Gol-PMS students, from the website and talks about payment of such fee.s.
3. The scholarship/waiver applied for GoIPMS SC, GoIPMS ST and should be applied to GoIPMS OBC students also.
4. Concerns of the students with disability
5. We demand exemptions of DH and Hostel Fees for the students of the BA MA Integrated programme of the Off Campuses from 2015 onwards.
6. We demand symbolic representation of the office of Dean SPO from SC ST OBC category.
7. The protest is going on in pursuit of our democratic rights and we demand that no punitive action be taken against students, individually or collectively.



Movements in private engineering colleges

In conversation within PDSF activists (West Bengal)

In West Bengal there has been frequent news about dis-sents and movements within students studying in Engineering colleges, particularly private engineering colleges. Would you elaborate on nature of these movements, their demands and a bit of history of movements in private engineering colleges?

Well, if we start from the history then the initial movements in the private engineering colleges started from 2000 onwards and is happening continuously thereafter. In the initial phase Jadavpur University Engineering students Union (FETSU) played an important role to facilitate these movements. However there is some significant changes in the demands of the movements from around the infrastructure, the teacher-student ratio etc to job-opportunity. During the apparent boom of the IT market, many engineering colleges started with a rented a three-storied apartment and putting some computers to it. We see that 2008-09 onwards, after the global economic meltdown, focus of the demands became centered on the placements. Specifically after 2012 these movements became very frequent and militant, little of which are covered by the newspapers. Students often gheraoed the administration and the administration called either police or local party leaders to beat and crush these protests.

How was the scenario of movements during the time when left-front government was in power? Was the situation and dealing with the student movement different?

In fact, it is the left-front government that has plunged into promoting private players to establish engineering colleges and medical colleges in the last 10 years of their regime and colleges mushroomed here and there with almost no infrastructure and very high fees along with back-door seats in the name of NRI quota. At around the same time, central conference of SFI was happening and their central slogan was- 'Stop mushrooming private engineering and medical colleges', while in West Bengal, they were thanking the left-front government for establishing private engineering colleges. Actually a lot of movements in different private engineering colleges have faced brutality from police and party-cadres in the CPM regime.

Would you elaborate on the course-structure and academics of engineering under-graduate courses and their linkage with job-market? Also, what is happening with job in most of the private engineering colleges?

Engineering students have to study more than 60 subjects in a B.E. or B.Tech course in four years. Effectively a student becomes remains busy to give exams rather than learning from

classes and laboratories. Rather than the subjects, what most of them actually learn is how to perform a specific task within a specific time. The job-market also demands this only from them. The mechanical or civil engineers get recruited for software companies in huge numbers and also perform well with a training of 3 months.

Coming to question of jobs, we get from AICTE data that out of the 8 lakh students who receives engineering degree every year 60% do not get any job on that year. Even after of passing from the top-tier institutions like IIT-Mumbai or IIT-Delhi 55% to 60% employments happens in the non-technical fields, the figure is higher in the rest of the colleges. Engineering students say nowadays that no one except Facebook meme pages care for the engineers!

What is the situation of research in engineering beyond IITs and other top-tier institutes? There is recent increase of students in engineering research. How is the scenario?

In the last one decade number of research students in engineering has been increased massively. Compared to 2010-11 in 2016-17 number of PhD enrolments have increased 14 times and in M.Tech courses this is 50 times. For last ten years the research field is getting only 0.8% of our GDP. The government also ordered CSIR that in future it have to collect 50% of its spending on its own. Only some fields like Artificial Intelligence or Genetic engineering which would be the gold producing duck of corporate capital in future are getting the funds.

"Engineering students have to study more than 60 subjects in a B.Tech course in four years. Rather than the subjects, what most engineering students actually learn is how to perform a specific task within a specific time. The job-market also actually demands this only from them"

First aspect of this increase in number of students is the worsening job market and hence students are buying time and doing M.Tech with a hope of higher employability. The second aspect is that the corporate capital do not want to bear much cost for the research and development (R&D) and is funding various projects in the government engineering

colleges to do their work at cheap prices. So the researchers are doing several projects of corporates and getting a PhD at the end of 5 years.

Engineering is mostly a job-oriented course and the scenario of jobs at present are not very well. Are engineering students aware of the recent movements and unionization happening in IT sector of India?

The movements of engineering students are mostly of sporadic nature, bursting in March-April and then silent for the rest of the year. For last two years, students in some colleges have raised the demands of students' union in private colleges. Some students are aware of IT workers movement and such discussion take place during the movements. Nonetheless if the struggles and unionization of the IT workers become strong, inevitably there would be better interaction and exchange between these two.

HOK-UNION movement in Jadavpur University

Students at Jadavpur University, Kolkata, are fighting a strong battle against the State and their administration's attempt to replace their Student Union body with a 'Council'. In 2017 the West Bengal government issued the West Bengal Universities and Colleges (Composition, Functions and Procedures for Elections to Students' Union) Rules, 2017, whereby all colleges and Universities in the state were to henceforth have only 'Councils'. **The Council will be a body of teachers nominated by the Vice Chancellor. The elected students members would only be in the capacity of class representatives. Further, as per the Rule, students with less than 60% attendance cannot be part of the Council, then ones who have any unclear financial dues or tuition fees, for whatever reason, will be ineligible.**

There cannot be any use of political organization's banners or slogans. The Council will mostly run in the directives of the state and administrative authorities. These clauses make the Council an extremely unrepresentative body and hence the student community has been resisting it to uphold their right to Union. The administration wills that the Council will be constituted in such a manner that it would be a 'apolitical' body. The logic given to replace the Union, which has been a seat of voicing dissent and student's struggle for decades in the University with a supposedly a-political Council is to apparently curb criminalization in student's election.

The proposal of instituting a Council has a continuity with the Lyngdoh Committee Recommendation (LCR) of 2006. While criminalization and involvement of money and muscle power has gone unabated in most colleges ever since, what has happened in the name of LCR is a selective move towards delegitimizing unions and organizations in some universities and colleges. LCR has hardly been used to initiate democratic electioneering processes in places where there has been no such student representations. Even lesser are instances where one could see its successful implemen



tation in actually curbing criminal activities, hooliganism, free flow of money, or use of high parliamentary connections and networks during college elections. All of this goes on, unchecked, and often with the knowledge and patronage of State and ruling regimes in State power. But one sees its implementation most often being invoked in select Universities like AMU, JNU, Jadavpur to interfere with processes of Union formation or organizational activities. This shows how this selective implementation is not accidental but clearly a design to silence dissents and struggles.

In 2018 the university administration suggested tripartite talks between the administration, the state government and students to review the policy. But the talks never took place, while the Jadavpur University Executive Council announced the decision to curb political and financial powers of the Union and replace it with a Council. But the students have vehemently opposed the decision, and the HokUnion (let there be Union) movement has been going on ever since. The student community is resolute that the attack on their right to Unionize will be challenged by the strength and collective will of the students.

Some glimpses from student movemets from across the world. The students not only protested against fees hike in higher education but also demanding greater action on climate change, road safety and education spending etc.

CHILE: In April, 2018, thousands of students and teachers marched along the Central Almendra Avenue in Santiago to denounce profit making in higher education, where they had a confrontation with police. The march was called by National Confederation of students of Chile (CONFECH) to demand the end of profit in demand. The profit making from higher education is illegal in Chile, but recently a decision was made by country's constitutional court to withdraw a law that prohibited for profit companies for controlling universities. Later the President denied that he have planned to turn back the benefits of free and assured students that there will be no profit making mechanism in education. In 2011-13 Chile saw most massive protests from students forcing the government to change policy.



ALBANIA: The students of Albania's public universities have been on the streets of Tirana since two weeks, protesting against the controversial law on higher education, poor quality of teaching, and corruption. The students have submitted eight demands to the government, where the abolition of this law is the first demands. At first, Prime Minister Rama offered some concessions regarding the abolition of tuition fees for excellent students and those from families in need and employment opportunities for 1,000 students in the public administration, etc., which were immediately rejected. According to protesters, it does not make sense to provide alternative concessions instead of addressing the root cause. The protests are expected to continue until the government undertakes the necessary measures to fulfil the students' requests.

COLOMBIA: In Colombia thousands of students had protested nationwide to increase education funding. Forty five institutions had joined the strike and the strike has taken many forms, classes at La Universidad Nacional de Colombia sede Bogotá (UN sede Bogotá) have been replaced with spaces to speak about the movement and the current threat to public education and services in Colombia. Police in Bogota used tear gas to disperse the protesters. Since, 1992, public universities in Colombia have not seen an increase in their budget despite increasing their enrolment by 130%.

BANGLADESH: On 29th July, due to a highly let loose transport system, two school going children were run down and crushed to death by speeding private bus on the street of Dhaka, this led to a massive call of protest by school children of the city against a fully privatised system of transportation. To suppress the protest the ruling regime of Bangladesh opened direct firing, and the students have been beaten up severely by police. This has resulted in even larger number of students from all over the countries to join the agitation and demand resignation of Transport Ministry.





AUSTRALIA: Last December more than 15000 Australian school students present at Parliament house to demand action on climate change. They specifically talked about Adani coal mine project. The Government response was dismissive; Prime Minister Scott Morrison said student should concentrate on education rather than activism, but protesters enjoyed substantial public support.

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Stand in solidarity with struggling Daikin AC workers

The All India General Workers' Strike on 8 and 9 January 2019 at Daikin Airconditioning India Private Limited in Rajasthan has been met by massive violence by the police force of Rajasthan and private security forces hired by the company. Its factory located in Alwar district of Rajasthan recently became the first in the 'Japanese Zone'—a special economic zone located on the Jaipur-Delhi Expressway—to have a registered workers' union.

A fact-finding report by eleven members of various youth and labour organizations has found that the makers of the 'world's number 1 AC' Daikin AC had used around 150 privately-hired 'bouncers' to attack the striking workers on the

morning of 8 January with lathis and chains, acting in cohesion with the state police force which thereafter released a FIR naming 17 workers (including the union's president and general secretary) as well as 700 'unnamed' workers. The use of rubber bullets, tear gas shells and water cannons on around 2,000 unarmed workers from Daikin AC and other factories in the belt has been reported, grievously injuring over 40, including multiple fractures and head wounds, who required immediate hospitalization.

The team has found that arrests were made flouting several constitutional protections for detainees in the late hours of 8 January and morning of 9 January in Shahjahanpur, Neemrana and Behror. Those arrested were illegally detained beyond 24 hours without legal recourse. Bail was secured for all arrested from the Behror district court on 15 January. It is known that several workers remain in hiding while others were held inside the factory premises by the company under threat of arrest upon release. **This is the third attempt by the company to clamp down on workers' right to unionise.** The first union registered after a two month strike in 2013 was stayed by the judiciary. A second attempt was stifled by terminating the majority of its office bearers and leadership. This time, the union was successfully registered after the intervention of the Rajasthan high court but has been stayed once again by a lower court on 25 January. The fact-find team's full report may be accessed here: bit.ly/2Mxlfaa



Cutting chai

Life at tea gardens between 'worker absenteeism' and 'absentee landlords'

Darjeeling tea faces an 'existential crisis.' That is what plantation owners have been claiming, ever since the industry came to a standstill in 2017 during an agitation demanding separate statehood for Gorkhaland. But workers in two 'sick,' or closed, tea plantations in the district believe that the sector's ailments are much older.

As per plantation owners' lobby Darjeeling Tea Association, a complete labour shutdown during leaf-picking season for four months in 2017, worker 'absenteeism' on the rise since the introduction of the National Rural Employment Generation Scheme (NREGS), and a downgraded credit rating by banks are to be blamed for a reported 67 per cent fall in tea production last year.

However, workers in Peshok and Dhotre tea gardens point at a history of financial mismanagement and diversion of industrial credit away from the sector, with the Government of West Bengal looking the other way. Meanwhile, the backlog of wages due along with benefits and gratuities has run up to over approximately ₹nine crore and the gardens' productivity has dipped to precipitous lows in recent years after being ignored by successive 'absentee' owners over the decades.

"While plantation owners continue to lament the 'existential crisis' of tea, India remains the fourth-largest exporter of the black leaf in the world"

The history of Peshok and Dhotre tea gardens bear parallels with that of the Indian political economy since 1947. Indraman Gurung, a worker in Peshok for over forty years, recounted how this estate used to be the landholding of a Ram Deen Rai when he started working in the plantation as an adolescent while working conditions remained feudal. In 1976, on the brink of insolvency, it was seized by the government and handed over to Tea Trading Corporation of India, a public sector company.

After working under this arrangement for almost two decades, the government withdrew, leaving its employees to suf-

fer through a complete shutdown for the next twelve years, that reduced them to, what Gurung described as, 'famine-like' conditions. It was only in 2006, with the entry of the Alchemist Group, a private conglomerate then headed by Trinamool Congress billionaire-lawmaker in the Rajya Sabha Kanwar Deep Singh, when a modicum of stability returned to workers' lives—a fragile peace that would not last more than a decade. In 2016, **Singh's firm went belly-up along with a number of other 'chit funds' associated with the Trinamool Congress and the tea gardens have been changing hands between companies linked to Singh ever since, currently owned by Fortune Chemicals Limited.**

While closing of gardens had become common in the Dooars, these are among the few gardens which have seen this fate in Darjeeling. The current generation of workers in neighbouring Dhotre had never seen the severe deprivation that a closed garden brings, says Ashish Lama, a resident of the area. The shutdown in May 2017 that lasted over a year—that is, till some of the workers arranged an informal method of plucking and selling tea leaves—forced a close to 70 per cent of those employed to leave in search of jobs in cities. Older permanent workers were reduced to precarious employment in nearby estates on contract. Lama believes that most of his neighbours would prefer to return but are unsure of stable employment in the gardens.

Margaret's Hope Tea Garden, an hour and a half away from Peshok and Dhotre, was the site of the first organized labour struggle by tea plantation workers in West Bengal. On 26 June 1955, six workers (including a pregnant woman and a 14-year-old) were shot dead by the police in this plantation to quell an uprising against its management for a practice known as hattabahar—firing workers at the slightest provocation and making them unemployable throughout the region. **It was this struggle, led by the then-undivided Communist Party of India, which led to the institution of paid leaves, maternity benefits and payment of annual bonus in tea gardens in the area.**

In A Concise History of the Darjeeling District Since 1835, an Englishman named E C Dozey records 1841 as the year when tea seeds imported from China were introduced in the Darjeeling hills by the British East India Company. But it would not be until 1862 that tea would make its way to Dhotre

(then, Dooteria), at a recorded outlay of ₹eight lakh. Dozey notes that the plantation was auctioned off within a year to a doctor in Calcutta (now, Kolkata) for a mere ₹20,000. In the 19th century, a plantation's viability was largely decided by the labour available locally. For this, it had to compete with the Gurkha (now, Gorkha) Regiment of the British Indian Army (now, Indian Army).

Today, plantation owners claim that it is out-migration from the region which is to be blamed for the sector's woes. Yet this explanation papers over deeper problems related to the way in which a plantation's ownership has been structured since colonial times and the incentives in place for 'absentee' owners to sustain garden productivity in the long run. Rising worker 'absenteeism' is not all that hard to explain in this context.

Leaf plucking in Peshok and Dhotre are now being managed informally by workers' committees. In Peshok, such a committee consists of 34 workers with representation from both the upper and lower divisions while in Dhotre, its four divisions has delegated about ten representatives each. Rajen Gurung, a tea garden worker in Peshok for almost four decades now, is now treasurer of such a committee. He claims that though the sector remains profitable, it is being weighed down by the diversion of credit raised in the name of tea gardens to other verticals under the conglomerates who own these tea gardens. Sharan Rai, president of the Peshok Tea Garden Workers' Committee, asks, 'Loss kaise hota hai aise garden mei? (How can such a garden run into losses?)' He argues that if five kilograms of green leaves purchased at roughly ₹250 from workers produces a kilogram of black tea which sells in the range of ₹800-1,000 in the domestic market alone, it is unlikely that prudent management could result in loss-making plantations.

To put this in perspective, workers in most plantations in the region were being paid ₹132.50 for eight hours of work. Unlike in Tamil Nadu and Kerala, tea plantations in West Bengal and Assam remain outside the scope of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948—a colonial hangover. Instead, tripartite negotiations between owners, workers and government representatives affix wages every three years. In Assam, this amounts to ₹167 despite the state's committee on the subject itself having recommended ₹351 as the basic wage.

In August 2018, nearly four and half lakh tea garden workers in 278 tea gardens across Darjeeling, Dooars and Terai announced a three-day strike which pushed this amount up to ₹176. (This includes a daily wage along with a component of 'benefits' in lieu of safety equipment and other tools as

well as provident fund contributions.) Chaaybagan Sangram Samiti supported the strike and workers went to different gardens to raise the demand for a daily minimum wage of ₹292. On 4 March 2019, tea garden workers from Darjeeling will also march in Delhi to make the demand for a minimum wage in tea gardens.

While plantation owners continue to lament the 'existential crisis' of tea, India remains the fourth-largest exporter of the black leaf in the world with the value of exports having risen from US\$ 731.25 million in 2016-17 to US\$ 837.33 million in 2017-18. Yet, what we find is a growing opposition to this blind navel gazing with organised workers preparing to counter this existentialism with a solid dose of class struggle.



The 'missing link' between Education and Employment

The imagination of education has always been more than just a tool to access more material benefits or better employment opportunities. Education has been associated with its emancipatory potential—towards expanding the horizon of knowledge and freedom beyond one's immediate surroundings and identities. In our country, the Brahmanical caste system had restricted education to the few. This started seeing a change in the colonial period. 19th century's social reformers believed that modern education for the downtrodden would ensure emancipation. While their imagination might have been directed towards emancipation, in reality education has played different roles in the life of the nation-state in tandem with the interests of its ruling class.

In pre-independence India we see these two imaginations operating simultaneously: while the colonial state introduced education with the aim of creating a class of loyal subjects who would partake in the running of the state machinery on a day-to-day basis, at the same time we had different experiments in alternative education such as the project of educating women undertaken by Jyotiba and Savitribai Phule, Tagore's Vishwabharati at Shantiniketan and others. After Independence, the Indian state continued with the colonial imagination of education to create loyal citizens and efficient bureaucrats or technocrats. From the period immediately after Independence to where we are today, the content of education has changed as school and higher education is increasingly privatised. The impact of privatization and commercialization of education is long-lasting. It is not only limited to restricting quality education to a small section of society. When education tends to become like any other commodity in a capitalist society, an important change takes place.

"When education becomes a commodity, it has no other use than its marketability for its producer - the teacher or the management board of a private school/university. We have seen in late '90s in Andhra Pradesh that a lot of liquor businessmen have shifted to opening private engineering and medical colleges."

One, for the producer of the commodity, be it the teachers or the management of a private school or university, it has no other 'use' than its marketability. Or we can say, it has no 'use value' but only 'exchange value'. We have seen in our country

that a lot of liquor businessmen opened private engineering and medical colleges in the late 1990s in Andhra Pradesh as such sectors were then producing a higher rate of return on investment. For them, 'quality of education' was restricted to what was most saleable.

"The link between education and employment is missing in our country. The education system today is neither expanding horizons of freedom nor is it paying back in terms of better employment for most people."

For the buyer of the commodity, that is, the students and their parents, the 'use value' of education is restricted to acquiring skills that are marketable and get higher returns in the job-market. In other words, the whole value of education both for the buyer and the seller gets restricted to acquiring material benefits. This is undoubtedly a huge loss.

But the argument that is forwarded against this is that most of us have to acquire our living, for which we require skills that get us jobs. So, the state should focus on providing education that helps students attain marketable skills that place them better off in the job market. Leaving aside whether that should be the goal of education, we can ask: is the education system of our country at present even helping students to get employed?

The general situation of employment in our country is well known. 92% of workers are in the informal sector without any social security, government jobs are meagre, the educated-and-unemployed are huge in number, contractualization is rampant and hence almost all jobs are temporary in nature. In other words, most employment is insecure, precarious, underpaid and forces one to overwork. Why is the situation so in a resource-rich country like ours?

One argument that is often forwarded is that our education system does not provide marketable skills and most people study subjects that lack market value. In order to bridge the 'skill gap,' they argue, we need more vocational education from an early age. The problem with this argument is that it sees the problem of unemployment (or underemployment) as caused by the lack of skilled labour while missing the fact that the present economic policy is failing to generate adequate quality employment. **Even if the young adults of our country acquire 'marketable' skills' most of them will not get decent jobs because, indeed, there are very few decent jobs.** (Continued on Page 9)

On 30th September 2014, a 24-year-old working class poet, Xu Lizhi took his own life in Shenzhen, China. He worked in Foxconn Company, manufacturers of the iPhone, which became known to the world in 2010 when 13 of its workers committed suicide and the tragic death incidents are continuing till now because of its horrible working conditions. So many years have passed but the brutality and hopelessness of workers' condition have not been changed. We are remembering Xu, by sharing one of his poems, which is translated by friends of 'Nao project'.

THE LAST GRAVEYARD

*Even the machine is nodding off
Sealed workshops store diseased iron
Wages concealed behind curtains
Like the love that young workers bury at the bottom of their hearts
With no time for expression, emotion crumbles into dust
They have stomachs forged of iron
Full of thick acid, sulphuric and nitric
Industry captures their tears before they have the chance to fall
Time flows by, their heads lost in fog
Output weighs down their age; pain works overtime day and night
In their lives, dizziness before their time is latent
The jig forces the skin to peel
And while it's at it, plates on a layer of aluminium alloy
Some still endure, while others are taken by illness
I am dozing between them, guarding
The last graveyard of our youth.*

(21 December, 2011)

COLLECTIVE, appeals to everybody to participate in and support

All-India Hunkar Rally

Delhi, 18 Feb 2019, organized by

ALL India Forum for Right to Education (AIFRTE)

They can cut all the flowers,
but they can't stop the spring!

Protest against

Sedition on Sudha Bharadwaj, Varavara Rao, Vernon Gonsalves, Arun Ferreira, Gautam Navlakha, Rona Wilson and others on a charge of plotting to kill Modi

Sedition on Hiren Gohain, Akhil Gogoi and Manjit Mahanta for criticizing Citizenship Amendment Bill in Assam

Sedition on Father Stan Swamy and others over Pathalgadi Movement in Jharkhand

NSA on journalist Kishorchandra Wangkhem for criticizing BJP-RSS in Manipur

Goondas Act and NSA on Tuticorin residents protesting against Vedanta's Sterlite factory and Chennai-Salem highway in Tamil Nadu

UAPA on activists fighting along with the farmers against forceful land acquisition for a power-grid in Bhangar, West Bengal

UAPA on Satyanarayan Karrela, Ajay Dasari, Shankar Lingaya and Babu Shankar for protesting against anti-worker Reliance Energy

NSA and other false cases on Dalit activist Chandrasekhar, Uttar Pradesh

Sedition on Anand Teltumbde for his alleged role in Bhima Koregaon protest against neo-Peshwai

and the thousands in Kashmir, Chhatisgarh and other states, without names.

Down with draconian laws!
Down with state repression
on progressive activists!

