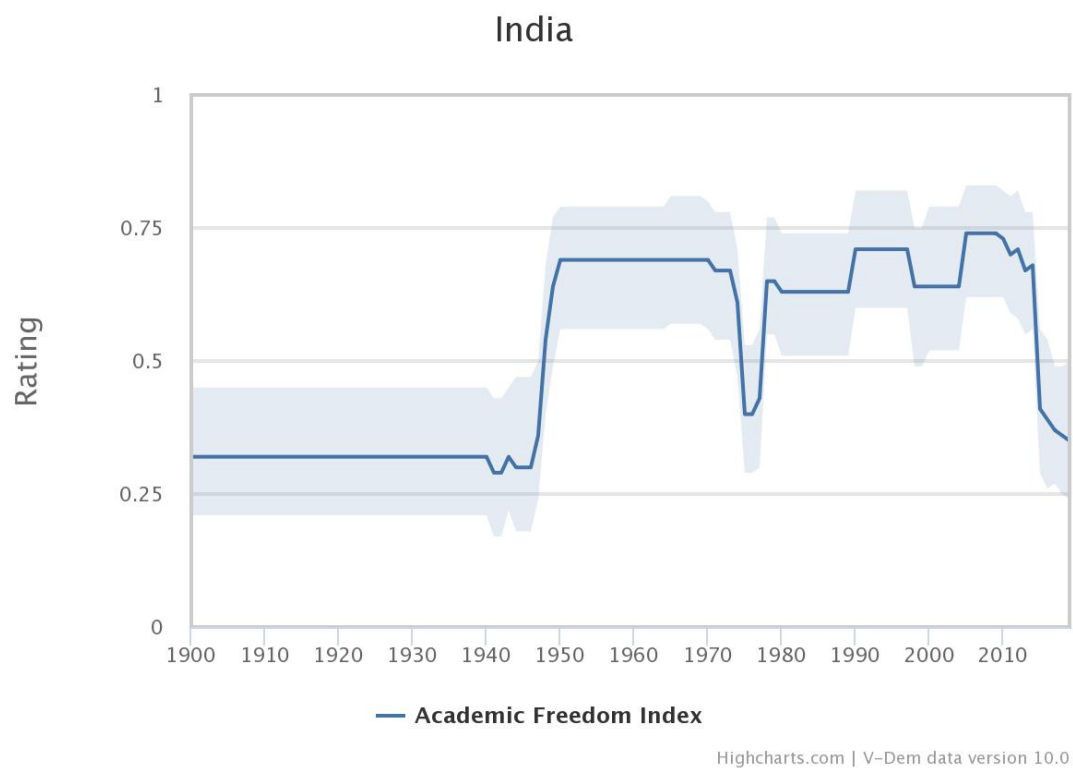


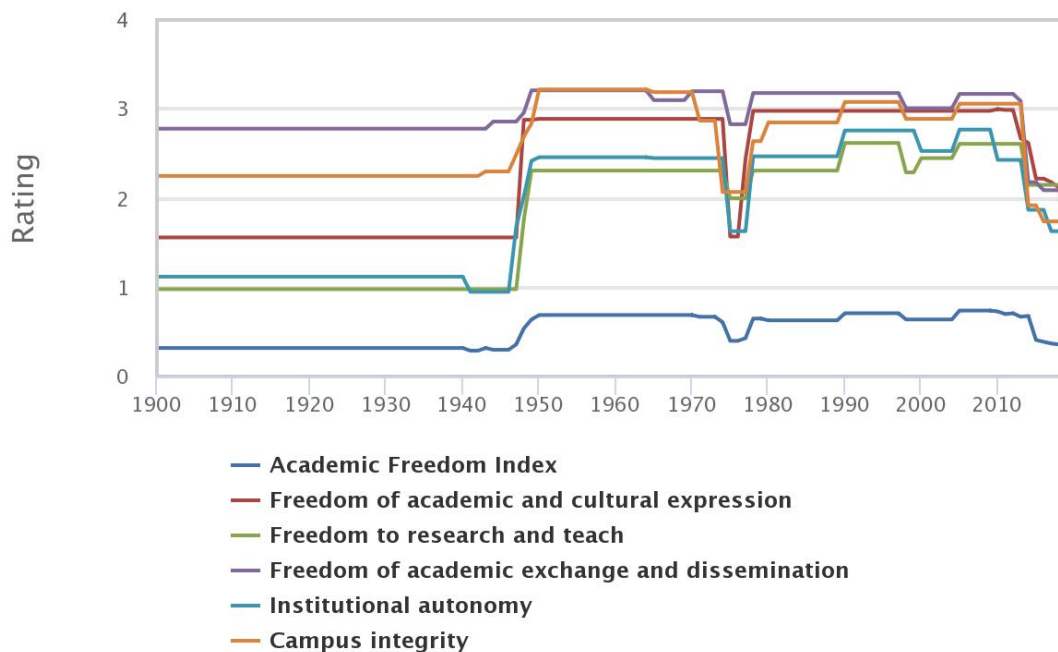
Academic Freedom In India: A Status Report, 2020

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There have been several structural concerns with academic freedom in the previous decades since independence (1947), especially during the Emergency (1975-77). However, the period since 2014 when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has seen an unprecedented assault on academic freedom as well as on academics. This is accurately reflected in the [sharp downward decline in India's position](#) in an [Academic Freedom Index](#).



Academic Freedom Index Drilldown (India)



Highcharts.com | V-Dem data version 10.0

However, no attempt to map academic freedom in India, including this one, can do justice to the vast diversity and unevenness in the higher education landscape.

According to the [All India Survey on Higher Education \(AISHE\), 2018-19](#), India has 993 universities, 39,931 colleges and 10,725 standalone institutions. Of these, 385 universities and 78% of the colleges are privately managed while 394 universities and 60.53% of the colleges are located in rural areas. 37.4 million persons (19.2 million male and 18.2 million female) are enrolled in higher education in India. The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education in India is 26.3% (18-23 years). Certain categories of citizens have less access to higher education – for instance, Scheduled Castes have a GER of 23% and Scheduled Tribes have a GER of 17.2% as compared to the national GER of 26.3%. Muslims constitute only 5.2% of the student population, compared to their overall percentage of about 14.2% in the population.

The mix of public and private universities, central and state universities (funded by the federal government and by the state government respectively), ‘deemed universities’, ‘institutes of national importance’, state aided and ‘minority institutions’ (run by religious minorities under constitutional provisions), affects the nature of institutional autonomy and subsequently, academic freedom. Public and private universities have different kinds of regulatory structures, incentives and even legal

guarantees (e.g. minority institutions and private universities are not bound by quotas for affirmative action on caste grounds for students and faculty). The state universities in India are dependent on their state governments for selection of leaders, funding and other regulatory issues. Many private colleges are for-profit professional oriented ventures run by local business families, and unlikely therefore to encourage critical extra or intra-mural discussion that might invoke questions of academic freedom. Much of the information we have on restrictions on academic freedom comes from central universities.

II. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN INDIA

As the jurist [A.G. Noorani writes](#): “Be it remembered that as creatures of statute our universities fall within the definition of 'the state' in article 12 of the Constitution and, therefore; the entire chapter on the fundamental rights applies to them in any event.”

Under Article 19(1)(a), the Indian Constitution guarantees to all citizens, “freedom of speech and expression” while 19(1)(g) ensures “the right to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.” The Constitution, however, introduces a caveat that nothing in clause 19(1)(a) “shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred in the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.”

Many of the threats to books, films and other forms of expression in India have come from (usually powerful) communities claiming their sentiments were hurt, and Governments have resorted to the threat to public order and morality in banning these forms of expression. [Gautam Bhatia, a lawyer who has written on freedom of speech](#), notes that “in judgement after judgement, the Supreme Court had decried the hecklers’ veto, clarified that the task of maintaining law and order rested with the authorities, and that the risk of vigilante-caused disturbances could not be a ground for curtailing the freedom of speech.” However, he writes, the police and other authorities continue to apply curbs because *other* laws, such as Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, allow for the charge of sedition to be levelled against dissenting

citizens, while Section 295A allows the police to ban books on the grounds of hurting religious sentiments.

Many of the cases where university authorities have denied students and faculty the right to hold public meetings, discussions, or film screenings on issues they deem ‘controversial’ would fall squarely under the scope of the right to free speech upheld by the Supreme Court. Even prior to 2014, many events – especially those touching on ‘sensitive’ issues like Kashmir or Naxalites (armed Maoists fighting the Indian state) – were called off because of threats from the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the student wing of the BJP’s parent organisation, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Not surprisingly, the ABVP’s ability to veto campus events has dramatically increased since the BJP came to power. However, there has been no attempt to take the matters to court, and increasingly, under a debilitated judiciary, less hope that they will be entertained. On the other hand, since 2014, student leaders have been charged with sedition, and various sections of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act – India’s anti-terror legislation – under which it is difficult to even get bail.

Conceivably, various other provisions in the fundamental rights charter of the Constitution could be invoked to defend academic freedom, such as the Right to Life (Article 21), which has been expansively interpreted to mean life with dignity.

Insofar as academic freedom involves expanding the scope of viewpoints that may be brought into the academy (whether of women, minorities or exploited groups like scheduled castes and tribes), one could invoke Articles 14, 15, and 16 which provide for equality, prohibit discrimination and assure equality of opportunity in public employment (especially for groups which have historically been denied this). Some cases like the discrimination against members of the Ambedkar Students Association at the University of Hyderabad or women students on the campus of Benaras Hindu University would be covered under this.

The Constitution also lays down the ‘fundamental duty’ of the state and citizens (under Part IV-A) to “develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of enquiry and reform’ (51-A, h) as well as to “strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of

endeavour and achievement.” (51-A, j). Both these should enshrine the promotion of academic freedom as a fundamental duty of states and citizens; however, this section of the Constitution is not justiciable.

India has signed and ratified the [International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights](#), of which Articles 13 and 15 are especially relevant to academic freedom in higher education. Unfortunately, Indian courts have been cautious in incorporating international conventions in their decisions, the one exception being CEDAW, which gave rise to India’s first guidelines and laws against sexual harassment at the workplace, including at universities.

III. IDENTIFYING ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The components of academic freedom are well defined and are broadly the same across countries. For instance, the [Academic Freedom Index](#) is coded on the following indicators: 1) freedom to research and teach; (2) freedom of academic exchange and dissemination; (3) institutional autonomy; (4) campus integrity; and (5) freedom of academic and cultural expression. While this article follows the same parameters, we follow a somewhat different order and emphasis, drawing on [previous research](#) on the Indian context.

3.1. *Intra-mural freedom to teach, study and have an opinion*

At one level, academic freedom is a subset of the wider freedom of expression, and pertains to the freedom of the individual teacher and student to teach and study, both within the classroom and outside. Academic freedom within the classroom is often justified by the idea of the university as a ‘marketplace of ideas’, or as a space where heretical ideas can be discussed, even if these may be a threat to public order if voiced outside. Countering this, or supplementing this, [Robert Post](#), among others, has argued that academic freedom differs from freedom of expression in that not all forms of expression can be given equal space within the classroom. Statements must be validated by the protocols of any given discipline. In this article we treat academic freedom as the right to do research, teach and study, and express oneself on different platforms, in keeping with academic conventions which are laid down by peers in the field and not on extraneous non-academic grounds.

3.2. Institutional Autonomy

In order to ensure the freedom to study, teach and research, academic freedom requires institutional autonomy – the right of the university to frame its own protocols for teaching and discussion. The nature of autonomy is well summed up by the Kothari Commission on Higher Education in India of 1966 which noted that autonomy was needed in three spheres: selection of students, selection of faculty and selection of courses as well as themes of research. There were three levels at which this autonomy was to be exercised: autonomy within a university (autonomy of individual departments), autonomy of a university with relation to the university system as a whole (such as the funding body the University Grants Commission (UGC)), autonomy of the university system as a whole (including UGC) in relationship to the state and the centre, i.e., the funding agencies.

3.3. Extra-mural freedom to express opinions

Academics are called upon to deploy their expert opinion in a variety of fields outside the classroom and the campus. Sometimes this may be directly within their research arena, at other times they are called upon as general experts in a field. It is the engagement with non-academics or the extra-mural activities of scholars which are most commonly contested, and also the site where academic freedom comes closest to freedom of expression. It is important to note that the lines between classroom and extra-mural activities are often and increasingly blurred, especially in the social sciences, given the range of sources (internet, film) that teachers draw upon, the importance of public discussions to supplement classroom teaching, and the increasing pressure on academics to have a public presence through media engagement or twitter.

Academic freedom for students must inevitably include the right to challenge existing power structures which hinder their access to knowledge, whether gender (e.g., MeToo movements), religion or caste. For students from marginalised communities, many of whom are first generation learners and who face discrimination within the classroom and outside, assertion of their rights or identity is often seen as ‘politicising the campus’. However, the purpose of education must go beyond classroom learning, and include an assertion of dignity and social mobility. To the extent that education is

as much about increasing democracy as it is about increasing ‘scientific knowledge’, extra-mural and intra-mural activities are deeply intertwined.

3.4. *The Political Economy of Higher Education*

As pointed out earlier in discussing the higher education landscape, an important influence on academic freedom is the political economy of teaching and research. The lack of tenure as a precondition for academic unfreedom is the obverse of tenure as a mechanism to ensure academic freedom. Given the increasing precarisation of the teaching workforce (a majority of jobs are now contractual), not only is it difficult to find the time to do research but there are also serious concerns about not alienating management, senior faculty etc. which limit free speech. Many institutions, especially private universities require that academics get "clearance" from their superiors when publishing, be it a research piece or an opinion piece. Further, the nature of the global publishing industry – including the high cost of accessing journals, and the inequalities of peer review – turns what appears to be a global free flow of academic knowledge into one with troughs and barriers. While issues of funding or the new concerns created by the pandemic in terms of internet inequality are critical to academic freedom, they are beyond the scope of this report.

IV: GROWING RESTRICTIONS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

4.1 Restrictions on and Subversion of Institutional Autonomy

The restrictions on institutional autonomy are affecting different spheres such as: the selection of university leaders or vice chancellors, selection of faculty, selection of students, framing of courses, and several other aspect of the university. Some of these, such as selection of university leaders, are structural constraints that go back to the colonial period.

Previous Indian Commissions of Higher Education (the S. Radhakrishnan report (1948-49), the Kothari Commission report (1964-66), and the Yashpal report of 2009) emphasised the need for autonomy in all institutions of higher education. The most recent policy document, the National Education Policy (NEP) of 2020, also

recognises the importance of academic freedom and autonomy, but the fine print of what this ‘autonomy’ will mean is still to be spelled out.

So far, the main body to regulate higher education in India has been the University Grants Commission, which was set up in 1956. The [UGC Act 1956](#) describes its core function as the coordination and determination of standards in universities, “in consultation with universities”. The UGC is responsible for disbursing funds to central universities and selected other institutions, as well as regulating fees, determining the qualifications for faculty, and setting minimum standards of instruction. [As Niraja Gopal Jayal has pointed out](#), in the last decade or so, the UGC “has seen a steady accretion of power and displayed a heightened propensity to function as an instrument of the [education] ministry.”

The UGC is only one of some 15 or so regulatory bodies for higher education, and even in universities, the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) plays a big role because of degrees like MTech, MBA, MCA, etc which come under its purview. Then there are the Councils for medicine, nursing, law, accountancy etc which determine standards in those areas, ultimately leaving the university very little space for intellectual autonomy.

The UGC has been increasingly reinterpreting its role of regulation and standard setting with the imposition and monitoring of uniformity. For instance, it introduced a choice based credit system (CBCS), which standardises the number of teaching hours per course across the country, and even proposes a ‘model syllabus’ that universities across the country can follow. The UGC has also laid down norms on how many PhD and MPhil students an individual faculty member can supervise; which journals students and faculty may publish in; the value that should be assigned to teaching, publications and other service in evaluating faculty for recruitment, among other things.

In the past, the UGC’s rectitude and the traditional protocols followed by central universities ensured a significant measure of self-governance. Decision-making on the content of syllabi, or qualifications and procedures for recruitment of students and faculty, took place through statutory faculty meetings and representative academic

councils. Increasingly, however, university leaders, beholden to the government for their appointment, are ignoring convention.

In state universities, the situation is as bad, if not worse, with several state governments attempting to directly interfere with university or college autonomy. For instance, as [Debaditya Bhattacharya documents](#), the West Bengal Universities and Colleges (Administration and Regulation) Act 2017 allows the state governor to replace the governing body of a college with their own ‘administrator’, reduces the representation of teachers and increases the number of nominees from the state government. It also allows direct governmental control over transfers of teachers from one college to another, service conditions, pay, and evaluations.

The NEP 2020 proposes to replace the UGC and other regulatory bodies with different national bodies for regulation, funding, accreditation and academic standard setting, such as the National Higher Education Regulatory Authority, the National Accreditation Authority, General Education Council and Higher Education Grants Commission. It is not clear, however, whether this will reduce the levels of external power over universities or lead to a confused increase in control.

4.2 Subversion of Faculty Selection

The case of faculty selection is being included here as an illustrative example of how conventions that upheld academic freedom and autonomy are being overturned, through the increasing appointment of university leaders and faculty on non-academic grounds, such as political affiliation. This is not a new problem, both in central and state universities, where political affiliation or simply nepotism has vitiated the process, but has become very marked since 2014. Since 2016, the Jawaharlal Nehru University Teachers Association (JNUTA) has been forced to repeatedly go to court against violations by their vice chancellor in defence of existing statutory rules and conventions.

In the past, each department shortlisted applications; this is now done according to criteria set down by the UGC (including marks in BA, MA etc.). Each department sends a ‘list of subject experts’ who form part of a selection committee. The selection committee for universities (as against undergraduate colleges) usually consists of the

Vice Chancellor, Head of Department, and Subject Experts (to ensure peer review). While Vice Chancellors always had powers to select subject experts, in the past they followed convention in going by the faculty list. Increasingly, however, as experienced by both Delhi University and JNU, and as documented in the ‘JNUTA Dossier on the Mis-Governance of JNU by its Vice Chancellor, Professor M. Jagadesh Kumar’, the vice chancellors compose the selection committee arbitrarily, so as to ensure the selection of a faculty member who is supportive of the ruling party, and who would otherwise not have qualified. In many cases, the ‘subject experts’ are complete unknowns in their fields; in some cases they are not from the relevant subject at all. The procedure may be followed on paper, but the selection is totally vitiated. Another way of subverting existing mechanisms to maintain institutional autonomy is ignoring the convention of appointing department chairs and faculty deans on the basis of rotation by seniority (date on which a person joined the university), and instead appointing people pliant to the university administration.

4.3 Political Appointments to University Leadership

Given the size of Indian universities and the several pressures from teaching, student, and staff unions, as well as from state and national politics, the best-intentioned vice chancellor faces serious problems. A former vice chancellor and professor of chemistry, [Ram Ramaswamy, notes](#): “The biggest threats to the academic freedom of an institution come from the appointment of poor leaders who, by dint of inexperience, are typically over compliant with norms imposed from the outside, while being susceptible to pressures of an unfamiliar kind.”

However, the vice chancellors themselves are increasingly political appointees, as are the heads of various bodies set up to promote research in different fields. Since 2014, the government has systematically filled positions with right-wing ideologues or pro-government sympathisers, many with no proper academic publications. Some of them have openly advocated anti-Muslim sentiments in the guise of scholarship, while others have tried to restrict the space of what is permissible on campus – for instance, [the banning of meat in women’s hostels](#). M. Jagadesh Kumar, the vice chancellor of JNU since 2016, appears to have a mandate to systematically destroy the university, seen as a left-liberal bastion.

Indian Council for Historical Research (ICHR)

Chair: Y. Sudershan Rao, July 2014-July 2017.

Qualifications: Member of the Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana, RSS History Wing, Professor of History at Kakatiya University, [no peer-reviewed publications, studying ancient Indian history from RSS angle](#)

Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR)

Chair: Braj Bihari Kumar, appointed May 2017-December 2019.

Qualifications: Founding Member of Astha Bharati (RSS front).

Blames caste on Muslim invasion, glorifies Modi, says [textbooks should not mention communal or caste conflicts](#), [nation should not tolerate Rohingyas](#) etc.

Indian Council for Philosophical Research (ICPR)

Chair: S.R. Bhatt, -2016-2019

Qualifications: Formerly Professor of Philosophy at Delhi University specialising in Ancient Indian Culture,

In 2017, ICPR organised seminar [glorifying Golwalkar as a 'robust nationalist'](#); in 2018 ICPR [cancelled a seminar because it had papers on indigenous religions](#). The RSS considers all indigenous people Hindus.

Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU)

Vice Chancellor: M. Jagadesh Kumar, appointed 2016

Qualification: Professor of Electrical Engineering at IIT Delhi; No prior administrative experience.

Closely associated with the Vignyana Bharati (RSS Science Wing); see JNUTA dossier on the problems under his tenure.

Benaras Hindu University (BHU)

Vice Chancellor: G. C. Tripathi, 2014-2017

Qualifications: RSS member, Professor of Economics at Allahabad University
No peer-reviewed publications

[Openly allowed RSS shakhas on campus](#), banned meat in girls' hostels, curtailed library timings, sacked Sandeep Pandey from BHU-IIT.

4.4 Institutional Harassment of Faculty and Students who Dissent

In the case of students who dissent, universities are routinely resorting to rustication, expulsion, and withholding of scholarships. In an emblematic case from Hyderabad Central University, a Dalit student, [Rohit Vemula](#), died by suicide, bringing to light the extent of caste discrimination and arbitrary decision-making within universities and sparking nationwide calls for an Act to address campus discrimination. Following an altercation between the Ambedkar Studies Association (ASA) and the ABVP, the union education ministry intervened on behalf of the ABVP students, putting pressure on the university to take action against the ASA. The University took unprecedented and extreme action. The ASA students were not just rusticated from their hostels, and their fellowships withheld, they were institutionally ostracised. The students responded by sleeping under a tent in the open, symbolically recreating a *velivada*, or dalit ghetto, on campus, highlighting the aspect of caste discrimination.

In the case of faculty, public universities have denied leave, stalled or refused promotions, withheld retirement benefits or tried to impose service rules which are applicable to central government employees on university faculty. This would [prohibit them from writing for the press](#), participating in demonstrations and a variety of other activities. In 2019, fortunately, the Delhi High Court stayed the JNU vice chancellor's attempts to penalise faculty for not observing these rules.

The case of Manipur University is particularly egregious. As it is, there is a [permanent army camp inside the campus](#), part of the overall militarisation of the state of Manipur which has long seen insurgency and counterinsurgency. The university was shut for several months in 2018, [as students and teachers protested against the vice chancellor, A.P. Pandey for 'administrative ineptitude' and 'saffronisation' \(carrying out the RSS agenda\)](#). [The vice chancellor suspended both the faculty and the student unions](#), and police were brought in. Pandey was finally dismissed in February 2020.

In public universities, once you have ‘permanent employment’, service rules help in avoiding dismissal. However, increasingly, universities are run on the basis of ad hoc or contractual employees (up to 40% in the case of Delhi University). In private universities, there is even less security of tenure.

Termination, however, is rare – and in two cases which have come to light, the courts have enforced the right to academic freedom of the faculty member. However, going to court is time consuming, expensive and uncertain and hence cannot really be a guarantee of academic freedom. The termination of Magsaysay awardee Dr. [Sandeep Pandey](#) from IIT BHU on grounds of being “anti-national” and showing banned films, which was [subsequently quashed by the Allahabad High Court](#), was one instance where a contract was used to discipline dissent. In another case, [Subroto Roy vs The Union of India and ors](#) which was decided by the Calcutta High Court on 9 January 2019, a professor in the management school of IIT Kharagpur whose contract had been terminated for whistleblowing on corruption, was compensated by the court. The court noted that there had been breach of contract, but since the contract period had expired, the remedy chosen was compensation. Among other issues, the petitioner had complained that his letter of appointment had assured him of IIT’s “strong tradition of academic freedom.”

The RSS – sometimes through the ABVP, or directly through the government – has also put pressure on private universities to toe the line. For instance, in 2018, the [ABVP prevented Ramachandra Guha](#), one of India’s leading historians and biographer of Mahatma Gandhi, from taking up a chair and directorship of the Gandhi winter school at Ahmedabad University (a private university), describing him as a “so-called historian”, a “directionless person” whose writings had “strengthened the activities of national disintegration, reckless behaviour in the name of personal freedom, freeing of terrorists, [and] freedom of Jammu and Kashmir.”

V. RESTRICTIONS ON INTRA-MURAL FREEDOM TO TEACH, STUDY AND HAVE AN OPINION

The most common threat to academic freedom is interference by governments in what should be taught or the restriction by non-academics and those outside a given discipline on what is taught inside the classroom. Inevitably in countries where state

funding is important, ‘national priorities’ as defined by the ruling party act as extraneous influences. In the pre-independence period in India, the major external influence on academic space was the freedom movement, with many students feeling that they should boycott classes. In the immediate post-colonial period, the emphasis was on nation building, including setting up scientific technical institutions. Most of the practices and conventions relating to academic freedom date to this period. Since 2014, whatever the BJP’s official position as government, the underlying force appears to be the RSS vision in which the [stated aim of education is to consolidate a Hindu nation, and promote education based on ‘Hindu values’](#).

Since 2014, this vision has taken the form of attempts to introduce subjects with a distinctly ‘Hindu’ focus or divert research funds to particular themes upholding the RSS’s pet concerns such as cow protection. For example, in 2020, an inter-Ministerial funding program “Scientific Utilization through Research Augmentation Prime Products from Indigenous Cows” ([SUTRA-PIC India](#)) has been planned with the support of Ministry of Science & Technology through Department of Science and Technology (DST), Department of Biotechnology (DBT), Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR)- Council of Scientific & Industrial Research (CSIR); Ministry of Ayurveda, Yoga, and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha & Homoeopathy (Ayush); Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE), Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR), and Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR).” In 2015, the Indian Science Congress allowed a symposium on Ancient Sciences through Sanskrit, at which [untenable claims were made ancient Indian flying machines, among others](#).

In 2017, in action that is quite unprecedented in the scientific community, some [12,000 scientists marched across India](#) in protest against funding cuts and an end to the “propagation of unscientific, obscurantist ideas and religious intolerance” ‘patronised by persons in high positions’, noting that “untested and unscientific ideas are being introduced into the school textbooks and curricula.””

When not promoting ancient Indian culture, the government believes in deploying universities to praise its ‘governance model’. For instance, [in BJP ruled Gujarat, the Government issued a list of 82 topics suitable for PhD theses](#), pertaining to the

(successful) execution of state and central government schemes, while in BJP ruled Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow University set [exam questions on Modi's schemes](#).

Apart from promoting their own vision, the RSS, through its teacher fronts, has objected to certain books on university syllabi. This is not the first time this has happened, and even under previous governments, there were objections to books that one party or the other found 'politically dangerous' such as [Rohinton Mistry's novel, *Such a Long Journey* which was dropped from the Mumbai University syllabus](#). However, the scale of objections has increased with the coming in of the BJP government. (*See Annexure 1 on Censorship of books/Interference with university syllabi*).

Increasingly, with a politicised and partisan student body, teachers have started noting the surveillance of lectures. Online lectures only increase this possibility.

The RSS vision of what education should be for is, however, contested by faculty and students within universities, which then leads to a second order, physical and legal, assault on academic freedom.

VI. RESTRICTIONS ON EXTRA-MURAL FREEDOM TO ACQUIRE AND EXPRESS OPINIONS

[Much of the debate around academic freedom on campuses in the US, UK, Canada and Australia](#) has centred around right wing hate speech on campus, and whether that can be stopped, i.e. the concerns are that the liberal emphasis on 'non platforming' and creating 'safe spaces' for students may stifle freedom of expression. In the Indian context, while there have been occasional attempts at stopping hate speech from the right, by and large the concerns have been generated by administrative attempts in conjunction with the ABVP, to stop speakers of other persuasions. Most of the attacks on campus integrity have come through ABVP students, or police action on (mostly Muslim or dalit) students protesting against discriminatory laws. (*See Annexure 2 on the Denial of Permission/Disruption of Seminars and Meetings on Campus*). The longstanding convention that police should not be allowed on campus is now a thing of the past, and the police are routinely present on many campuses across the country. The repression of dissent on university campuses has taken the form of arrests,

banning of student and faculty unions (as in Manipur university) and a variety of other punitive measures.

In January 2020, masked ABVP students vandalised the JNU campus and beat students and faculty, even as the police looked on. This came after months of protest against fee hikes.

In December 2019, students in Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) and Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) (both predominantly Muslim universities) were brutally targeted, with some of them ending up in ICU, for protesting against a bill amending the Citizenship Act. The Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 (CAA) for the first time in Indian history introduced religion as a criterion of citizenship. The JMI library was also vandalised by the police. Students across the country protested in solidarity with the JMI and AMU students. Women, starting with Shaheen Bagh, a locality near JMI, initiated peaceful non-violent assemblies against the CAA and in solidarity with the students. In February 2020, retaliation by the right wing led to riots, and since then, the police has been targeting students and faculty from JMI, AMU, Delhi University and elsewhere for ‘rioting’ and ‘unlawful activities’ even as those BJP leaders widely recognised to have incited the riots with their hate speech have gone unpunished.

In addition to these campus incidents of attack and arrest, both students and faculty have been arrested or suspended for social media posts. Women student leaders are badly trolled – in deeply offensive sexual terms – on social media.

Annexures 3, 4, and 5 tabulate the arrests of, physical attacks on, and suspension of students and faculty till June 2020.

VII. FREEDOM OF ACADEMIC EXCHANGE AND DISSEMINATION

One of the essential components of academic freedom is academic exchange. India’s low position within global university rankings is in part due to the low number of international students and faculty. The total number of foreign students enrolled in higher education in India in 2019 was 47,427, the bulk of which come from neighbouring countries (AISHE 2019). [African students face a great deal of racism and even physical attacks.](#)

While India is keen to improve her position in global rankings, the government has always made it [hard for foreigners to get research visas](#). Conferences involving Chinese and Pakistani scholars, in particular, have to go through several hoops including clearance by the Ministry of Home Affairs. In July 2018 [denial of visas to Pakistani scholars to attend the Association of Asian Studies in Asia conference](#) led to a huge outcry among members. Indian faculty wishing to attend conferences abroad, even during vacations, have to apply for ‘permission to leave the country’, at least six weeks in advance.

Annexure 6 has a Table on Denial of Research Visas/Restrictions on Academic Exchanges

VIII. ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN KASHMIR

It is necessary to have a special focus on Jammu and Kashmir because of the kinds of restrictions it faces on academic freedom, over and above the rest of the country. The dimensions of loss of academic freedom in Kashmir and for Kashmiri students and academics are manifold, complex and of long standing. However, they have greatly intensified since August 2019, when the constitutional provision reflecting the terms of the former princely state’s accession to India (Article 370) was read down, the state of J & K abolished and two union territories substituted in its place. The government arrested hundreds of political activists, shut down schools and colleges, and imposed a communications blockade.

8.1 Physical vulnerability of Kashmiri students in and outside Kashmir

The life circumstances for young people (particularly teens and college going students) in Kashmir have been extremely difficult [since 1989 since when they became the prime targets of the state’s policy of ‘catch and kill’](#), arbitrary arrest and mass torture. As a result, there has been an ever increasing exodus of students from Kashmir to various educational hubs in India like Delhi-NCR, Pune, Bangalore, Chandigarh and so on, where such influx has helped the growth of lucrative commercialized educational enterprises. There has been a simultaneous reduction in the possibility of getting a decent education in Kashmir.

Outside Kashmir, there are numerous reported and unreported incidents of harassment and [assault on Kashmiri students by right wing vigilante groups](#) affiliated with the current majoritarian ruling dispensation or at times by ordinary Indian citizenry provoked by nationalist hate groups. In moments of crisis and sometimes otherwise too, [Indians perceive Kashmiris as outsiders and enemies of the state](#). The frequency of assaults on them escalates during heightened India-Pakistan conflagration on the LoC, following militant attacks on Indian soldiers in Kashmir or [when the two nations engage in some sports contest](#). If India loses, this is then taken out on Kashmiri students who are seen as an extension of Pakistan. The institutions where such assaults take place often [punish the Kashmiri victims](#) and join the victimizers by making them evacuate the campuses, suspending or rustivating them. In February 2019 [two Dehradun colleges said they would no longer admit Kashmiri students](#). Kashmiri students are physically vulnerable both in Kashmir and outside Kashmir in India. They face discrimination, ill treatment and violence from society, educational institutions as well as the state.

8.2 Restrictions on the Internet and access to Information networks

Withdrawal of communication services in response to what the state perceives as their potential to cause ‘political unrest’ is a tradition that has deep roots in Kashmir, going back to the princely/colonial period. Communication and information networks in Kashmir are regularly disrupted by the state on the excuse of fighting ‘terror’ or to contain ‘external threats’. This includes disruption of postal services, newspapers, radio networks, local television channels, telephone lines, mobile and SMS services, and the Internet. Things worsened after the mass uprising in 1989 that was accompanied with insurgency and counterinsurgency. As communication systems turned digital in late 1990s, the ability of the state to restrict, police or shut communication networks down altogether also increased.

After the unilateral abolition of J&K State and its reconstitution into two union territories on 5 August 2019, once again all modes of communication were snapped to prevent expression of dissent particularly on social media. For over five months a complete Internet blockade was imposed, disrupting the academic calendar of the Kashmir educational system. This had a [devastating effect on research scholars](#),

among others. Appeals by scientists and others within India to lift the internet blockade of their colleagues and students have [fallen on deaf ears](#).

On 10 January 2020, after several months of the internet blockade, the Supreme Court ruled in [Anuradha Bhasin vs Union of India and Ors](#), that freedom of speech and expression, as well as of profession carried out over the internet were a constitutional right. However, it left it to the government to restore the internet, which then brought back only 2G. On 11 May, in response to another petition, *Foundation of Media Professionals vs Union Territory of J &K*, seeking restoration of 4G, which was especially needed during the Covid lockdown, [the Supreme Court referred the matter back to a committee](#) composed of precisely the same authorities who had denied it in the first place.

The lockdown to control Covid-19 has made the internet the only possible mode of academic exchange. The absence of assured access to the internet has effectively rendered any form of meaningful intellectual activity and exchange of ideas in Kashmir impossible. The restrictions on internet speed (allowed only to operate in 2G mode) as well as sudden disruptions that are routinely introduced, make it extremely difficult for students registered in various universities across India who have returned to Kashmir, to continue with their education, maintain contact with faculty or access online resources.

8.3 Atmosphere of fear, repression and self-censorship

Since 1989-90 [campuses in Kashmir have been frequently turned into garrisons](#) to host military and paramilitary forces brought in to the valley to fight insurgency. Many of them were used to arrest and torture young people. It took more than a decade to partially recover these institutions from such forces. The simultaneous garrisoning of armed forces and teaching on the campuses left a chilling effect from which these places never recovered.

[Autonomous student political and intellectual activity has rarely been allowed space in Kashmir](#) since 1948. In the absence of legal sanction, any form of collective student activity, if at all it takes place, is outside the realm of law. Most faculty play

safe through [self-censorship and formal, apolitical teaching](#) with no relevance to the present social and political predicament in Kashmir. They also discourage critical academic research by students so as to protect themselves from the authorities. Those who do not cause trouble are likely to be rewarded while the exceptions who speak out are victimized in various ways. Thus the academia in Kashmir have been rendered the least politically engaged part of the community unlike their counterparts elsewhere in societies where intellectual freedom is valued and protected.

8.4 The lack of intellectual freedom to discuss Kashmir inside and outside the state

Given the pressing political circumstances and human rights situation, the prevailing existential threat to the people, the place and its culture, Kashmiri students who opt for humanities, media studies, or social sciences feel naturally inclined to reflect on these issues before they can think of anything else. Where possible, creative pursuits and intellectual activity have provided an outlet to young people who have witnessed debilitating violence at close quarters. However the [prevailing atmosphere of fear and repression across campuses in India and in Kashmir](#), particularly for Kashmiris and on the issues that concern them, makes it increasingly difficult for them to engage in wholesome intellectual activity.

The increasing censorship in even the premier educational institutions in India, prevents Kashmiri students from freely reflecting on their circumstances. Academic events, seminars, documentary film screenings, and [discussions on Kashmir are frequently cancelled following threats by right wing groups](#) or by institutional decree. The February 2016 events which led to JNU student leaders being charged with sedition also originated in ABVP protests against students holding a meeting on Kashmir. [Surveillance, harassment and arrests of Kashmiri students](#) or their allies on flimsy grounds is [not uncommon](#) in India.

Some students have been covertly and overtly forced to change topics of their research or tone them down by the faculty so as not to attract the attention of the state authorities. In a recent case in Jamia Millia Islamia, the home ministry issued a show cause notice to the chairperson of a particular department over the title of a PhD thesis by a Kashmiri student that it did not agree with (personal communication).

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is important that governments, both at the centre and in the various states restore and strengthen conventions on institutional autonomy; stop criminalizing faculty and students; allow visas for all academic exchanges, especially with neighbouring countries; and ensure right of access to the internet for Kashmir.

Universities for their part must restore and strengthen conventions on institutional autonomy; and inform student and faculty unions of their rights to academic freedom and free speech. Contracts with faculty should include a clause on the protection of academic freedom, i.e., they will not be penalized for extra-mural activities. Faculty should create a network to support academics (faculty and students) at risk.

Global institutions can help by including ‘Academic Freedom’ as one indicator in university rankings. Universities abroad must stop inviting authorities responsible for attacks on academic freedom to academic seminars.

Nandini Sundar teaches at Delhi University, Gowhar Fazili teaches at Ambedkar University. The section on Kashmir was written by Gowhar and the remaining sections by Nandini. Sumit Kumar and Rajat Sonkar created the tables in the annexures.

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Annexure 1

CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS/INTERFERENCE WITH UNIVERSITY SYLLABI

S. No.	Year	Books/Articles	Author	Action	Source
1	2004	Shivaji: Hindu King in Islamic India	James Laine	Made to tender apology to HC, and book withdrawn by OUP after one Sambhaji brigade protested and vandalized the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. They alleged the book showed Maratha king Shivaji in a bad light.	https://www.outlookindia.com/newswire/story/james-laine-tenders-apology-for-remarks-on-shivaji/217962
2.	2008	Essay: Three Hundred Ramayanas...	A.K Ramanujan	Struck off from BA History Syllabi by DU's Academic Council after a 'committee' vetted it. The ABVP/NDTF claimed it hurt their religious sentiments.	http://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi/abvp-activists-run-riot-in-du-over-ramayana-essay/story-Ko76BTwjblJLZXonTDUfTK.html
3.	Oct, 2010	Such a Long Journey	Rohinton Mistry	Mumbai University drops Rohinton Mistry novel after Shiva Sena (right wing regional party) objected.	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/19/mumbai-university-removes-mistry-book
4	2014	The Hindus: An alternative History	Wendy Doniger	Dinanath Batra, RSS ideologue, objected and filed a case, claiming it denigrated Hinduism. The publisher Penguin withdrew all copies.	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/12/wendy-doniger-book-hinduism-penguin-hindus
5.	Jan, 2015	One part Woman (<i>Madhorubhagan</i>)	Perumal Murugan	Asked to apologize by Hindutva caste based outfits. Madras HC ruled in favor of the author.	https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/chennai/perumal-murugan-quits-writing/article6786990.ece
6.	Apr , 2016	India's struggle for independence	Bipin Chandra	Selling stopped by DU because freedom fighter Bhagat Singh was referred to as a 'revolutionary terrorist'	https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/banning-of-bipan-chandras-book-in-du-display-of-ignorance-historians/articleshow/52062358.cms?from=mdr
7.	Aug, 2017	Manuscript written on Sangh Parivar	Arjun Dev, Historian	Delay in publication. ICHR is unhappy about the manuscript as it makes the RSS look bad.	https://thewire.in/books/ichr-sangh-freedom-struggle-manuscript
8.	Oct, 2017	'Samajika Smuggluru Komatollu' book asked to be banned	Kancha Ilaiah	The Arya Vysya objected as "the title and some contents of the book are derogatory and offensive. Laid siege to Ilaiah's house	http://cms.newindianexpress.com/cities/hyderabad/2017/oct/08/siege-laid-to-dalit-writer-kancha-ilaiahs-home-in-hyderabad-as-arya-vysyas-object-to-book-1668677.html
9.	2017 & 2018	The Burning Forest	Nandini Sundar	NDTF sought the removal of The Burning Forest from the MA sociology syllabus on the grounds that it glorified Naxalism.	https://www.timesnownews.com/india/article/amid-arrests-of-activists-delhi-university-body-seeks-a

					ban-on-2-books-as-they-are-not-fit-for-students/277302
10.	May, 2018	4,305 journals removed from UGC-approved list, says HRD Minister	NA	It includes Oxford, Harvard and many more reputed journals. No reason given	https://www.cnbctv18.com/economy/4305-journals-removed-from-ugc-approved-list-says-hrd-minister-1812721.htm
11.	Oct, 2018	Why I am not a Hindu, God as Political Philosopher, Post-Hindu India	Kancha Ilaiah	NDTF wanted books removed from syllabus of DU Pol Sci PG syllabus on the grounds of being anti-Hindu. Objected to the word 'dalit'	http://theleaflet.in/decision-to-remove-kancha-ilaiahs-books-from-delhi-universitys-political-science-pg-syllabus-is-rss-motivated/
12.	2018	An Anthropological History of Bastar	Nandini Sundar	NDTF wanted book removed from History syllabus, DU	https://thewire.in/education/abvp-delhi-university-revised-syllabus-anti-rss-protest
13.	2018	Against Ecological Romanticism: Verrier Elwin and the Making of an Anti-modern Tribal Identity	Archana Prasad	NDTF wanted book removed from History syllabus, DU	https://thewire.in/education/abvp-delhi-university-revised-syllabus-anti-rss-protest

- This list is not exhaustive, merely illustrative

Annexure 2

DENIAL OF PERMISSION/DISRUPTION OF SEMINARS/MEETINGS/EVENTS ON CAMPUS

S. No.	Year	Place	Speakers	Subject of talk	Nature of Action	Source
1.	April 2010	JNU	JNU Forum against War on People	Cultural program" held against the Centre's 'Operation Green Hunt' against the Maoists	NSUI + ABVP disrupted the event along with supporters of the Youth For Equality, protested against holding such a meeting days after 76 security personnel were killed in Dantewada, Chhattisgarh	http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/clash-in-jnu-over-promaoist-meet/603730/
2.	Aug 2010	JNU	Tarun Vijay, RSS	ABVP organized an event on Kashmir	Kashmiri students assaulted by ABVP when they objected to wrong facts spoken during the event by both ABVP and the speaker. Tarun Vijay the speaker, called the protesting student "Osama bin laden key dalal"	http://twocircles.net/2010sep05/saffron_assault_kashmiri_students_jnu.html Note: ABVP took out a march hailing the violence of security forces in Kashmir.
3.	Jan, 2012	Symbiosis Univ, Pune	Sanjay Kak	Jashn- e- Azaadi Documentary screening	Screening stopped by ABVP calling the film 'separatist'	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/in-jaipur-replay-university-bows-to-abvp-film-fatwa/article2840515.ece
4.	Aug, 2013	FTII, Pune	Kabir Kala Manch, (KKM) Anand Patwardhan	Screening of Jai Bhim Comrade	ABVP thrashed FTII students and labeled KKM members as Naxalite	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/abvp-thrashes-ftii-student-for-not-saying-jai-narendra-modi/article5053110.ece
5.	March, 2014	EFL U, Hyderabad	Arundhati Roy	"Fractures of Indian Ideology Reimagining Democracy and Redrawing Resistance"	Permission denied No reason given	https://www.countercurrents.org/tiss210115.htm
6.	Dec,	ILS,	Anand	Screening of	Students	https://scroll.in/article/6

	2104	Pune	Patwardhan	Ram ke Naam	organizing the screening first cited threats they had received as the reason for the cancellation, but the organizers later denied this	97400/screening-of-anand-patwardhan-film-called-off-suddenly-at-pune-college-festival
7.	Feb, 2015	TISS, Mumbai	Dibyesh Anand, University of Westminster	Talk on “Deliberating Kashmir: Beyond AFSPA and Chutzpah”	Event interrupted by the director himself. Permission denied after the start of the event	https://www.indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/uk-prof-authorities-disrupted-my-kashmir-speech-at-tiss-seminar/
8.	Aug, 2015	Azam Campus	Indresh Kumar convenor of Muslim Rastriya Manch an RSS affiliate	Event on Muslim Women	Students told they had to attend the event, & failure to do so might affect their academic reputation. (Indresh was an Ajmer bomb blast accused.)	http://twocircles.net/2015aug30/1440877425.html
9.	Feb, 2016	Gwalior, Bal Bhanwan	Vivek Kumar, Sociologist JNU	Baba Saheb Ke Sapno Ka Bhartiya Samaj (Baba Saheb's Vision of Indian society)	Reported as clash between BJYM (RSS) and Ambedkar Yuva Morcha; BJYM described Vivek Kumar's speech as 'provocative and anti-national'	https://scroll.in/latest/803954/jnu-professor-attacked-by-protesters-from-bjp-youth-wing-in-gwalior
10.	Feb, 2016	JNU	Kanhaiya Kumar, Umar Khaid, Rama Naga, Anirban	JNU Sedition fiasco	ABVP claimed that anti-national slogans were raised during an event named 'A country without a post office'	https://thewire.in/rights/despise-scs-stance-on-sedition-charge-slapped-on-jnus-kanhaiya-kumar-others
11.	March, 2016	Central University, Jharkhand	M.N Panini, JNU	Lecture on Nation Building	Lecture called off under ABVP pressure. 1) Prof. Panini being a JNU professor. 2) Rumored to be academic advisor of Kanhaiya Kumar.	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/academics-with-jnu-pedigree-find-their-speeches-cancelled/article8375155.ece Note: Prof. Shrey Bhattacharjee who invited him was suspended.
12.	Mar,	DU	Prof. Chamanlal	Lecture on	15 ABVP gathered	https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/traitor-

	2016		invited by Ahvan (Student Group)	Bhagat Singh	at the event and started shouting slogans. They abused the Professor for being 'anti-national'	mud-at-bhagat-singh- lecture/cid/1515356
13.	May 2016	JU	JU Students	Female students were present when clashes broke out between Left- leaning students and activists of RSS student wing ABVP after campus screening of Vivek Agnihotri's film "Buddha in A Traffic Jam"	West Bengal BJP president Dilip Ghosh on Saturday stirred a controversy, as he dubbed "shameless" a section of Jadavpur University female students. The women brought molestation charges against ABVP activists	http://twocircles.net/20 16may14/1463242416. html
14.	21 Sept 2016	Centr al Univ ersity of Hary ana	Snehsata Manav Manoj Kumar, English dept.	Draupadi play staged in memory of Mahasweta Devi who passed away in July	ABVP burnt effigies and staged protests, mobilized armymen from neighbouring villages, filed police complaint, demanded sedition charges Two teachers reprimanded. According to the ABVP, the play is 'anti-national' as it shows Indian soldiers in poor light	https://thewire.in/freedo m-of-expression/abvp- central-university- haryana-draupadi
15.	Jan,2 017	HCU	Radhika Vemula and other students	Rohith Vemula's mother Radhika arrested	Arrested by police from HCU on the 1 st death anniversary of Rohith.	https://www.hindustanti mes.com/india- news/rohith-vemula-s- mother-students- arrested-as-protest- rocks-hyderabad- varsity/story- GcU38sGVp1ftvVWNI gLMDL.html
16.	Febr uary	Jodh pur	Nivedita Menon	History Reconstrued	Rajshree Ranawat	https://scroll.in/article/8 29656/debate-is-vital-

	2017	Univ ersity	Rajshree Ranawat	through Literature: Nation, Identity, Culture	(RR) suspended for inviting Nivedita Menon (NM); police complaint filed against RR for hosting, NM for alleged anti- national remarks on Kashmir and soldiers	for-change-says- jodhpur-professor- suspended-in-the-latest- nationalism-controversy
17.	Feb, 2017	AM U	Shehla Rashid	Social Media post	Student body filed a police complaint and cancelled a meeting in which she was invited. Question need for debates.	http://twocircles.net/20 17feb20/405011.html
18.	Feb, 2017	Ramj as Colle ge, Univ	SGTB Khalsa College Dramatics Society	Street Plays	The ABVP-led students' union issued threats to SGTB Khalsa College for allegedly anti- national themes of some of the plays at its street theatre contest	https://scroll.in/latest/83 0178/ramjas-college- protests-drama-festival- called-off-amid-fears- of-more-campus- violence
19.	Feb, 2017	Ram ajas, DU	Students and Faculty	Protest against ABVP	ABVP thrashed students entering inside college for being 'anti- national'	https://thewire.in/politic s/delhi-university- ramjas-abvp
20.	Marc h 2017	Panja b Univ ersity , Chan digar h	Seema Azad Prof. Jagmohan Singh	100 th Anniversary of 1917 revolution	PU cancelled the meeting; but SFS managed to hold the meeting under enormous pressure; 49 people including SFS president arrested	https://www.hindustanti mes.com/punjab/force- to-reckon-the-students- for-society-surge-on- panjab-university- campus/story- ob311FjkJ9lcnkpWI2V e8I.html
21.	Marc h 2017	MS Univ ersity Baro da	Prof. Ghanshyam Shah (organizer)	Workshop on the Politics of Caste and Social Movements	Official: "No particular reason" Unstated: Threat of disruption by ABVP	https://timesofindia.indi atimes.com/city/vadoda ra/msu-gets-cold-feet- on-politics-of-caste- workshop/articleshow/5 7525339.cms
22.	May, 2017	IIT Madr	R. Sooraj, student	Beef Festival	Ambedkar- Periyar Students	https://thewire.in/food/i it-madras-student-

		as			Association's attacked allegedly by members of Sangh Parivar for being anti-Hindu	attacked-for-participating-in-ban-festival
23.	Aug 2017	DSE, DU	DU Conversations and Sumangla Damodaran (AUD)	Celebrating 70 years of Democracy	Citing security reasons. Chief security officer of DU cited ABVP threats	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/feeling-protests-by-political-parties-du-conversations-about-democracy-iikrishn-unrest-cancelled-by-dse/articleshow/60206795.cms
24.	Sept, 2017	IIT Madras	Adhik Kadam, Nandini Sundar, Stalin K	Lectures themed on Social Equity	Canceled the event Admin told the NSS organisers that the speakers were controversial	https://www.thenewsmint.com/article/did-iit-madras-cancel-speakers-social-equity-because-speakers-were-controversial-68413
25.	Sept, 2017	JMI	Faculty from DU and JNU	Panel on "Shrinking Democratic Spaces in Universities"	Permission declined by authorities on the grounds that the speakers were from outside.	https://indianexpress.com/article/education/jamia-cancels-event-students-say-told-they-cannot-invite-speakers-from-outside/
26.	Sept, 2017	Allahabad Univ	Satish Deshpande etc	Jashn-e-Samvidhan	Permission denied on the grounds that it was anti-national.	https://scroll.in/article/851066/did-allahabad-university-cancel-an-event-for-fear-that-it-was-like-anti-national-programme-in-jnu
27.	Oct, 2017	KMC, Delhi	Nakul Singh Sawhney	Screening of 'Izzatnagari Asabhya Betiyan'	The event's permission was withdrawn by the HoD citing "technical faults." The students alleged that the HoD was told by a senior member of the university administration that the film was "controversial" and should not be shown.	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/ki-ori-mal-college-students-not-allowed-to-screen-film/articleshow/61192887.cms?from=mdr
28.	Mar, 2018	JNU	Atul Johri, teacher	Sexual harassment charges against JNU prof	Long March Ends in Chaos as Police Lathi Charges Protestors	https://thewire.in/education/jnu-lathicharge-long-march
29.	April, 2018	JNU	Centre for Philosophy, JNU; Indian Council for	Philosophy seminar called off	ICPR called off the seminar because papers were about adivasi religion	https://thewire.in/education/objecting-to-papers-on-advasi-religion-government-body-cans-

			Philosophical Research (ICPR) seminar		(RSS considers adivasis Hindus)	philosophy-meet
30.	Jul, 2018	DU	DU Students	The formal launch of a magazine produced by Delhi University students and an accompanying event titled, ironically, 'Dialogue on Freedom of Expression',	"It is possible the ABVP is objecting to our cover story, which is titled 'Promises Belied', on the four years of the Modi government," one of the magazine's editors told <i>a news agency</i>	https://thewire.in/education/delhi-university-cancels-dialogue-on-freedom-of-expression-after-abvp-protest Note: Magazine named DU Youth.
31.	July, 2018	MS Univ, Baroda	Kunal Kamra	Comedian's show cancelled	Cancelled for being anti-national	https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/ahmedabad/anti-national-content-vadodara-ms-university-cancels-show-by-comedian-5270514/
32.	Oct, 2018	BHU	Students	Notice from IIT BHU	Circular issued by admin warning of disciplinary action against people who shout slogans, hold protests, meeting or demonstration	https://sabrangindia.in/tags/abvp?page=1
33.	Nov, 2018	AMU	The Drama Club, A unit of AMU's cultural center	Controversy over poster	Admin - Play cancelled. Complaint filed by BJP's MP Singh.	https://www.newsclick.in/controversy-over-poster-play-amu-play-cancelled
34.	Feb, 2019	SRC C, Delhi	The Wire's deputy editor Sangeeta Barooah Pisharoty, research scholar, trade unionist and activist from Assam Nayan Jyoti, independent researcher Leki Thungon and Delhi University Prof Amrapali Basumatary	Why is the Northeast Protesting – panel discussion	Cancelled by Administration: "We were told that they received information about the possibility of violence on campus if the event was to take place. We were also told that there was no balance in our panel and all our speakers had the 'same bent of mind'," it further said.	https://www.news18.com/news/india/srccs-northeast-cell-event-on-cao-cancelled-due-to-unavoidable-circumstances-students-shocked-2470557.html Gajendra Chaudhury, a member of the politically neutral SRCC students union, said, "We checked the background of the speakers and found that they were all from one ideology — Left. So we requested the administration to cancel the event. Also, they had not routed the event through the students union."

35.	April, 2019	IIT Madras	Writer and critic, Sunil P Ilayidom	‘Art, Culture and Politics – Possibilities of a New Kerala’ – a lecture	Cancelled by IIT Madras authorities claiming that ‘political discussions’ were not allowed on campus.	https://www.edexlive.com/news/2019/apr/10/iit-madras-cancels-sunil-ilayidom-lecture-to-avoid-political-discussions-around-election-time-5747.html
36.	Aug, 2019	Presidency Univ., Kolkata	Anand Patwardhan	Screening of ‘Raam ke Naam’	Permission denied by admin	https://canceledevents.in/2019/08/27/presidency-college-kolkata-screening-of-anand-patwardhans-raam-ke-naam-august-27-2019/
37.	Oct, 2019	Gulbarga University	Kanhaiya Kumar	‘Responsibility of Youth in Protecting Indian Constitution’	VC withdrew permission, section 144 imposed Oral orders from the government	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/kanhaiyas-talk-at-gulbarga-university-called-off-after-oral-orders-from-govt/article29693727.ece
38	Dec 2019	AU Delhi	AUD Student Council (Karampura campus)	Screening of “Ram Ke Naam”	Permission declined for being anti-Hindu	https://canceledevents.in/2020/03/04/ambekar-university-delhi-screening-of-ram-ke-naam-by-anand-patwardhan-september-4-2019/
39.	Dec, 2019	Pune	Students	Firdoya Karnadak, inter-college performing arts competition, Pune	New rules framed to prohibit plays that deal with ‘sensitive’ issues like religion, India’s relationship with Pakistan, Kashmir, Babri Masjid	https://www.firstpost.com/living/short-lived-ban-on-political-plays-at-recent-competition-underscores-marathi-theatres-past-brushes-with-censorship-7794781.html
40.	Dec, 2019	IIM Bangalore	Students	Shoe Satyagrah	Not allowed to protest against CAA so the student kept their footwear instead in the protesting space.	https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/shoe-satyagraha-iim-bengaluru-use-footwear-to-register-caa-protest-defy-sec-144-admin-orders-1629895-2019-12-20
41.	Jan, 2020		Ambedkar Student Association	‘Dalit Women Speak’ event	Put on hold according to Admin. Students term it as suppression	https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/activities-on-tiss-campus-curbed-say-students-body-admin-claims-put-on-hold-till-semester-end-6305266/
43.	Jan, 2020	IIT, Kanpur	5 teachers and 6 students who	HUM DEKHENGE. Poem by	In solidarity with JMI. The students who participated	https://thewire.in/rights/faiz-ahmad-faiz-iit-kanpur-hum-dekhenge

		ur	recited the poem.	Pakistani poet Faiz	were counseled by the probing panel. And panel said that “the time and space were not appropriate for the poem”	
44.	Jan, 2020	SAU, Delhi	An informal students’ forum, the SAU Research Association	A discussion on the new citizenship regime “Dark side of democracy: Explaining CAA NRC/NPR”	institution’s acting president, A.V.S. Ramesh Chandra, tried to dissuade them from holding a discussion saying it would be unfair because “India gives you rotis”	https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/you-live-by-roti-alone-not-cao/cid/1741328
45.	Jan, 2020	BU, Karnataka	Students called Chadrashekh ar Azad for a lecture on ‘India on the Move towards Constitutiona l Crisis’	Gauri Memorial Lecture	Cancelled on grounds that the hall was already booked ; even though earlier they had taken Rs 17,700 booking charges.	https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/2020/jan/29/bu-refuses-permission-bhim-army-chief-chandrashekhar-azad-event-called-off-2095999.html
46.	Jan, 2020	IIT, Bombay	Students	Anti CAA protest	Director asked them not to protest	https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/after-director-s-directive-anti-caa-protest-continues-at-iit-bombay/story-bABKywSe5Wsl43bEv v9FZO.html
47.	Feb, 2020	Rajasthan College, Jaipur	Sitab Sharma, teacher Noman Khan, student	Debate on CAA	Guest teacher and host student got into a heated debate in a cultural fest. After the event police came and detained the student.	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/jaipur/teacher-student-spat-over-cao/articleshow/73944177.cms
48.	Feb, 2020	Viswabharati Univ	Prabhat Pattnaik	<i>Lecture on Economy linking it with Facism</i>	Cancelled by the authorities at last momente	https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/patnaiks-lecture-on-fascism-put-on-hold/cid/1746177
49.	Feb, 2020	IIT Kharagpur	Science Education Group, a group of research scholars at the IIT	Panel discussion on “Understanding Citizenship”	Permission denied	https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/iit-accused-of-denying-nod-to-talk-on-cao/cid/1744682
50.	Feb, 2020	CU	Aishe Ghosh	“Calcutta University Save Autonomy Save	Permission denied	https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/kolkata-calcutta-university-

				University Forum” a lecture		denies-permission-for-seminar-featuring-jnus-aishe-ghosh-2179801
51.	Feb, 2020	Constituti on Club of India	Discussion on how hate crimes can be prevented.	Nirbhaya event	ABVP disrupted the event for their politics.	https://thewire.in/politics/watch-asha-aurnirasha-nirbhaya-abvp
52.	Feb, 2020	TISS , Mumbai	Professor Tejal Kanitkar (Ex TISS prof)	Chairing the Bhagat Singh Memorial Lecture	Not allowed Institute administration, in its response, said Kanitkar had no academic publications related to the theme	https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/activities-on-tiss-campus-curbed-say-students-body-admin-claims-put-on-hold-till-semester-end-6305266/
53.	Feb, 2020	Modern College, Pune	Tushar Gandhi	Commemoration of 150th anniversary of M.K. Gandhi	The College was forced to cancel the scheduled program Threat letter from extremist Hindutva organisation ‘Patitpavan’	https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2020/feb/07/following-threat-from-hindu-outfit-pune-college-cancels-tushar-gandhi-lecture-on-mahatma-2100299.html
54.	Feb, 2020	TISS , Mumbai	Anand Patwardhan	Screening “Ram Ke Naam”	Event canceled. Admin said to maintain peace and harmony in campus	https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/tiss-students-barred-from-screening-documentary-on-ayodhya-on-campus/story-MBgyszJdgBAOBN6sutSGN.html
55.	Feb, 2020		Hyderabad University Professor Hoineilhing Sithlou	Food, culture, identity and Northeast India (a talk)	Canceled citing no reasons	https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/activities-on-tiss-campus-curbed-say-students-body-admin-claims-put-on-hold-till-semester-end-6305266/
56.	Feb, 2020	NID	Mallika Sarabhai (Dancer)	Convocation	Postponed Indefinitely. She has been critical of the government and specially the PM since his days as the Gujarat CM	https://mumbaimirror.indiatimes.com/mumbai/c-over-story/nid-puts-off-convocation-after-inviting-modi-critic-sarabhai/articleshow/73919024.cms

57.	Feb, 2020	AU Delhi	Prakash Karat (CPM General Sec)	A talk on the Citizenship (Amendment) Act.	He was not allowed to enter the campus. Election code violation were presented as the reason	https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/prakash-karat-stopped-from-entering-aud/article30629202.ee
58.	Mar 6, 2020	TISS, Mumbai	Jan Natya Manch	Launch of book, Halla Bol & Performance by Jan Natya Manch	Event canceled.	https://pbs.twimg.com/media/EST8qFAUUAQ=kJM?format=jpg&name=medium
59.	Mar, 2020		JNU Prof. Joy Pachau	A research methodology workshop and a public talk on “Identity formation in the multi-ethnic region	Cancelled giving no reasons	https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/activities-on-tiss-campus-curbed-say-students-body-admin-claims-put-on-hold-till-semester-end-6305266/
60.	2014 -20	BHU, AMU, DU, AU	Women Students Movement	Pinjratod movement	Against curfew and library access	https://feminisminindia.com/2017/02/23/pinjra-tod-jan-sunwai/ https://thewire.in/politics/amu-vc-puts-off-resignation-of-provost-who-accepts-students-charges https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/row-in-amu-over-no-library-access-to-women-undergrads/ https://www.hindustanimes.com/mumbai-news/no-night-curfew-at-mumbai-university-girls-hostels-students-rebuff-abvp-s-move-to-claim-credit/story-3pJPGIOob61RPXin6UWeDM.html https://indianexpress.com/article/education/mumbai-university-allow-us-to-access-library-after-11-pm-say-girl-students/

Annexure 3

ARRESTS OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS

Arrest of Faculty

S. No	Date	University/college/Institution	Name of Faculty	Charges	Nature of Action – arrested, bailed, charged	Source
1.	Apr, 2012	Jadavpur Univ	Ambikesh Mahapatra	Spreading derogatory messages against "respectable persons".	Mahapatra has been booked under several sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Information technology Act. including charges of outraging the modesty of a woman His crime was making a cartoon of WB CM Mamta Banerjee	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/West-Bengal-professor-neighbour-arrested-over-anti-Mamata-cartoons/articleshow/12650766.cms
2.	May, 2014	DU	G N Saibaba, DU teacher	UAPA	life imprisonment Maharashtra Police alleged links with Maoists	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/Delhi-University-professor-GN-Saibaba-arrested-for-alleged-Maoist-links/articleshow/34887926.cms
3.	Feb, 2016	Press Club of India	SAR Geelani, DU teacher	Sedition	Charged with raising anti-India slogans Acquitted later	https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/sar-geelani-booked-for-sedition-in-press-club-of-india-incident/articleshow/50959449.cms?from=mdr
4.	Jun, 2016	Mysore Univ	Mahesh Chandra Guru	'Insulting' Lord Ram	Dalit Professor At University Of Mysore Arrested. The complaint accuses him of insulting N. Modi and S. Irani.	https://www.scoopwhoop.com/Dalit-Professor-At-University-Of-Mysore-Arrested-For-Insulting-Lord-Ram/
5.	Sept, 2018	Manipur Univ	Students and Teachers	Manhandling	Detained by police in a midnight raid after Pro VC complained that they were	http://silchar360.blogspot.com/2019/02/death-threat-to-guwahati-college.html

					manhandling him.	
6.	Sept, 2018	EFLU	Dr Satyanarayana	Being a son-in-law	House raided by police for the suspected Maoist links of his father-in-law	https://kafila.online/2018/09/09/statement-against-the-police-raid-on-dr-satyanarayanahouse/
7.	Oct, 2018	Nagpur Univ	Shoma Sen	UAPA	Alleged Maoist links	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/activists-arrest-no-evidence-to-incriminate-shoma-sen-counsel-tells-court/article25208466.ece
8.	Feb, 2019	Icon Commerce College, Guwahati	Papri Z Banerjee	Detention	Suspended and the detained by police alleging her of being critical of army in Kashmir in a facebook post	https://thewire.in/rigths/assam-professor-detained-for-facebook-post-criticising-armys-role-in-kashmir
9	May, 2019	Jamshedpur Co-operative College	Jeetrai Hansda, teacher	Detention	In 2017 in which he allegedly supported the beef party in IIT Madras on a FB post.	https://theprint.in/india/jharkhand-teacher-arrested-for-facebook-post-on-beef-put-up-in-2017/241378/
10.	Nov, 2019	AMU	Huma Parveen	Promoting enmity and statements promoting enmity	FIR against Huma and her spouse. Complaint filed by a leader of Hindu Mahasabha. FIR said that couples post were encouraging terrorism through FB posts.	https://thewire.in/rigths/amu-kashmir-facebook-post-fir
11.	Dec 2019	AMU	Dr. Kafeel Khan	NSA	Gave a speech in the university protesting against CAA. Jailed	https://thewire.in/rigths/kafeel-khan-national-security-act-cao
12.	Jan, 2020	Osmania Univ	C Kaseem	UAPA	Alleged Maoists links	https://thewire.in/rigths/hyderabad-police-osmania-university-maoist
13.	Feb, 2020	IIT Guwahati	Aroop Jyoti Saikia	No charges; called for questioning	NIA investigated him for anti CAA views.	https://thewire.in/rigths/nia-iit-guwahati-professor
14.	Mar, 2020	Gurcharan College, Silchar	Souradeep Sengupta	promoting enmity between different groups on grounds of religion	Arrested on the complaint of students The students registered an FIR against him for “making derogatory remarks and abusing the Sanatan	https://sabrangindia.in/article/professor-arrested-after-students-file-fir-against-him-insulting-pm-modi

					Dharma”. Their FIR filed by the 10 students also stated, “He has also alleged the prime minister of the nation [w]as a mass murderer and tried to incite communal violence by making inflammatory comments against the Hindu community.”	
15.	Apr, 2020	Mumbai	Anand Teltumbde	UAPA	Alleged Maoist links	https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/elgar-case-activist-teltumbde-arrested/articleshow/75148112.cms?from=mdr

Arrest Of Students

S. No	Date	University/college	Name of Student	Charges	Nature of Action – arrested, bailed, charged	Background (including who complained, role of ABVP)	Source
1.	May, 2007	MS Univ Baroda	Chandramohan	Deeply hurting the sentiments of Faith and decency of the society at large	The arrest followed a complaint filed by a local lawyer Niraj Jain, saying he found some of the paintings put up at a department exhibition “derogatory” to Vishnu, Durga and Jesus Christ. charged with “promoting enmity between different groups on grounds of religion”		https://www.okindia.com/site/story/what-the-true-facts/234705
2.	Mar, 2014	Subharti Univ, Meerut	76 Kashmiri Students	Sedition	Charged for cheering for the opposite team (Pakistan) in a cricket match. Charges dropped		https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Kashmir-students-charged-with-sedition-freed-after-controversy-erupts/articleshow/31553407.cms
3.	Jan, 2016	FTII, Pune	40 Students	No charges	40 students arrested. Women students were manhandled. Protest against the appointment of Gajendra Chauhan (RSS appointee) as the chairperson of FTII.		https://www.tribuneindia.com/story/2016/01/15/violence-marks-ftii-entry/cid/151
4.	Feb 2016	JNU	Arrests of Student	Sedition	Accused of holding an event on the Judicial killing of Kashmiri		https://economictimes.indiatimes.com

			leaders Kanhaiya Kumar, Umar Khalid and Anirban Bhattacharya		Afzal Guru and raising anti-national slogans On bail		m/news/politics-and-nation/punjab-grills-jnusa-punjab-kanhaiya-kumar-umar-khalid-and-anirban-together/article/511534144
5.	March 2017	Punjab University, Chandigarh	Seema Azad Prof. Jagmohan Singh	Rioting	100 th Anniversary of 1917 revolution PU cancelled the meeting; but SFS managed to hold the meeting under enormous pressure 52 people including SFS president arrested. On bail	;	https://www.ustantimes.com/unjab/force-to-reckon-the-students-for-society-surge-panjab-university-campus/story/ob311FjkJ9lciWI2Ve8L.htm
5.	Apr, 2017	Punjab Univ, Chandigarh	66 Punjab Univ. student	Sedition, Rioting	Protest against fee hike Charges dropped		https://indianexpress.com/article/india/for-protest-fee-hike-66-panjab-university-students-are-booked-for-sedition-4609
6.	Jun, 2017	Lucknow Univ.	Students	Incidents of indiscipline and were issued notices for vandalising mess property, holding officials hostage, showing black flags to CM and staging protests	11 college students blocked UP CM's convoy and showed black flags Students arrested and bail denied. Suspended from LU.		https://www.ustantimes.com/cknow/lucknow-university-declines-admission-to-students-who-protested-against-cm-adityanath/story/n99gN4MpCiYSLpIgsHO.f
7.	July, 2017	Periyar Univ, TN	1 student, 1 other, both women	intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, or to any section of the public	Students held for distributing pamphlets Supporting the agitation against Hdyro carbon Methane project started by the nearby villagers. Police said the slogan in the pamphlets were jeopardizing 'national interest'		https://www.indu.com/newstional/tamil-nadu/two-women-held-for-distributing-pamphlets/article/9266643.ece

				whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity			
8.	May, 2018	BHU	Students	Attempt to murder	12 students were booked. Proctor filed the complaint. They were protesting against Proctor for campus security		https://thewirledi.com/42216-chief-proctor-royana-singh-student-prote
9.	Sept, 2018	Manipur Univ	Students and Teachers	Detention	Detained by police in a midnight raid Pro VC complained at the police station accusing them of manhandling him.		http://silchar3logspot.com/02/death-threat-to-guwahati-college.html
10.	Feb, 2019	Delhi	Veevwon Thokchom, Manipur Student Association (S)	Sedition	In custody of Manipur police for FB post against CAA		https://theleafn/veewon-thokchom-manipuri-student-leader-arrest-sedition-delhi-high-court-dismisses-plea-against-transit-remand/
11.	Feb, 2019	AMU	Students	Sedition	Scuffle with a right wing media house (Republic TV) specializing in fake and hate news. Police Booked 14 students. Alleged that the students assaulted the journalist and raised anti-India slogans		http://theleafn/sedition-aliga-muslim-university-republic-tv-dissent-democracy-free-speech/
12.	Aug, 2019	HCU	Students	Detention	6 students detained for Screening <i>Ram ke Naam</i> (film showing RSS in bad light)		https://www.1ndianexpress.com/cities/hyderabad/2019/aug/20/university-of-hyderabad-students-detained-for-screening-ram-ke-naam-documentary-campus-2021747.html
13.	Dec, 2019	BHU	Students	Rioting. Causing	12 students arrested for anti-CAA protests. On bail.		https://www.1com/india-

				hurt to public servant			news/bhu-professors-lai-signature-campaign-age-citizenship-ac-citizens-list-n-after-students-2154444
14.	Dec, 2019	HCU	Students	Detention	100+ students detained for anti-CAA protests		https://www.dive.com/news/9/dec/19/more-than-100-uoh-students-detained-even-before-anti-kaa-protest-started-96451
15.	Jan, 2020	Bihar	Sharjeel Imam (S)	Sedition, UAPA	Arrested for an anti CAA speech. In custody		https://thewire.in/ights/jnu-student-sharjeel-iman-arrested-in-bihar-on-sedition-charges
16.	Feb, 2020	KLE Institute of Tech, Hubli	3 Kashmiri students	Sedition	Inquiry in process. Allegedly raised pro-Pakistan slogan in a video		https://www.1ndu.com/newsional/karnatakrree-kashmiri-students-arrested-in-karnataka-pro-pakistan-slogans-in-video/article39614.ece
17.	Apr, 2020	Delhi	Umar Khalid, Meeran Haider, Safoora Zargar (S)	UAPA	Inquiry in process; participation in anti CAA protests. Accused of inciting riots		https://www.1ngtonpost.in/india/delhi-riots-police-books-umar-khalid-meeran-haider-safoora-zargar-under-uapa_in_5e9fc5b6a486d08c
18.	May, 2020	AMU	Farhan Zuberi, former AMSU member and Ravish Ali Khan (S)	Attempt to murder and Sedition	In custody for anti CAA protests		http://twocirclet/2020may21/7162.html
19.	May, 2020	Delhi	Devangan and Natasha from Pinjratod	UAPA	In custody for anti-CAA protests		https://scroll.in/latest/963266/devangan-and-natasha-from-pinjratod-sent-judicial-custody-for-14-days

Annexure 4

PHYSICAL ATTACKS ON STUDENTS AND FACULTY

Physical Attacks on Faculty

S. No.	Date	University/college	Name of Faculty or Event	Nature of Action beating, harassment, threat	Source
1.	Aug, 2006	Madhav College, Ujjain	H S Sabarwal	Professor died a day after being assaulted by 25-30 ABVP students angry at cancellation of student union poll. Three years later all the students were acquitted. Madhya Pradesh state is run by the BJP.	https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/cronology-of-sabharwal-case/story-icL8BUnvHMm1IW44d7Mi3N.html https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/all-accused-in-prof-sabharwal-murder-case-acquitted/story-oLVQovj6zQC5t8czTZa5A0.html
2.	Nov, 2008	DU	S A R Geelani	ABVP member spat on him at a seminar on Communalism, Fascism and Democracy: Rhetoric and Reality	http://twocircles.net/2008nov09/students_teachers_condemn_abvp_activists_vandalism_du.html
3.	Mar, 2011	BRM Agriculture College, MP	Sunder Singh Thakur	Dies after witnessing members of ABVP beating a fellow teacher. The teacher who was beaten had been charge of sexual harassment by ABVP. No official complaint registered	https://www.indiatoday.in/india/north/story/wb-prof-dies-of-shock-seeing-fellow-member-beaten-by-abvp-130271-2011-03-13
4.	Mar, 2011	Khandawa, MP	Ashok Chaudhary	Prof thrashed ABVP alleged that	https://www.ndtv.com/india-

				he sexually exploited students and thrashed him.	news/bjp-youth-workers-thrash-professor-with-sandals-449482
5.	Aug, 2015	Dharwad	M Kalburgi	Shot dead by Suspected right wing Hindu extremists	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-34105187
6.	Feb, 2016	Lucknow Univ	Rajesh Kumar	Effigy burnt, attacked by ABVP Shared article of a DU prof on FB, on the subject of JNU students being attacked	https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/jnu-agitation-lucknow-university-professor-shares-piece-on-umar-khalid-abvp-burns-effigy-blocks-class/
7.	Aug, 2018	MGCU, Motihari	Sanjay Kumar	Beaten up by RSS fronts for Facebook post against A B Vajpayee	https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/bihar-professor-beaten-up-after-sharing-facebook-post-critical-of-ab-vajpayee/story-YdOJ04WNBwvqzpFiHUpYmI.html
8.	Sep, 2018	Prof. Dinesh Gupta	Gov PG Studies, Mandsaur, MP	Threatened. The ABVP was sloganeering somewhere outside his class interrupting the class. Following this the ABVP alleged that the prof was stopping them from chanting Vande Mataram and Bharat Mata ki Jai. They also declared him anti-national. Prof apologized by falling at their feet.	https://thelogicalindian.com/news/abvp-professor-apologize/
9.	June, 2019	Kutch Univ	Girin Baxi	They blackened the face and parade and thrashed him. AVBP accused him of selectively rejecting voter registration forms.	https://www.newsclick.in/abvp-goons-blacken-face-professor-parade-him-through-campus-gujarat-varsity
10	Nov 2019	BHU	Feroz Khan	Students boycotted Prof because he	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-

				was Musli; said Muslims could not teach Sanskrit. He transferred to a different faculty. No action taken against students.	asia-india-50557616
11.	Dec, 2019	BHU	Shantilal Salvi	Hit by students using casteist slurs Supported another Prof Feroz Khan.	https://thewirehindi.com/103786/bhu-dalit-prof-says-chased-by-students-for-backing-firoze-complains-to-proctor/

Physical Attacks on Students

S. No.	Date	University/college	Name of Student or Event	Nature of Action beating, harassment, threat	Source
1.	Aug 19, 2011	St Joseph's School at Dumka, Jharkhand	In solidarity with the Anna Hazare protest against corruption ABVP demand a one day closing of all institutions to which the college didn't abide.	ABVP cadres broke chairs and tables in principal's office. According to the students, the ABVP workers also attempted to disrupt the classes by toppling benches	https://www.indiatoday.in/india/east/story/ranchi-students-boycott-classes-to-support-anna-abvp-cadres-ransack-missionary-school-139590-2011-08-19
2.	Sep, 2014	Jadavpur University	Undisclosed	A women student was dragged to men's hostel and sexually assaulted. This led to a movement "Hokkoloro" translated 'Let there be Uprising' Protest turned violent. Ruling TMC and police were involved in thrashing the students	https://www.outlookindia.com/blog/story/jadavpur-university-kolkata-midnight-police-brutality-leads-to-hokkolorob-c/3391
3.	Nov, 2015	Delhi	Students from JNU, DU and many other universities	Occupy UGC movement against withdrawal of fellowships. Protesting students were beaten by the police	https://www.thequint.com/news/india/watch-the-media-collective-explain-the-occupy-ugc-movement

4.	Jan, 2016	HCU	RohithVemula	<p>Suicide</p> <p>Dalit students (ASA) were suspended from hostel facilities. Casteism & Institutional killing. The protest continued for a long time. Students were beaten and arrested along with few HCU professors.</p>	https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/Ancient-prejudice-modern-inequality/article14007054.ece https://thewire.in/education/the-chain-of-events-leading-to-rohith-vemulas-suicide
5.	Mar, 2016	Sundraiah Vignan Kendram, Hyderabad	Kanhaiya Kumar	<p>Goraksha Samiti's Pawan Kumar threw a shoe at JNU student leaders Kanhaiya Kumar at a Seminar on Constitutional Rights. He was also denied permission to speak at HCU</p>	http://twocircles.net/2016mar24/1458826083.html
6.	Feb, 2017	Ramjas, DU	Students	<p>ABVP beat up students for organizing a seminar at which JNU student leader Umar Khalid was invited</p>	https://thewire.in/politics/delhi-university-ramjas-abvp
7.	Feb, 2017	DU	Students and Faculty	<p>A day after the Ramjas attack when DU students & faculty protested against ABVP, they were beaten by ABVP, detained by police</p>	https://thewire.in/politics/delhi-university-ramjas-abvp
8.	Apr, 2017	Pulwama Degree College	Students	<p>54 students injured Clash between Security forces and Students. The protest continued injuring 74 + many more students</p> <p>Sparked by graffiti on a wall at Pulwama Degree College in support of Burhan Wani,</p>	https://scroll.in/article/834990/why-kashmirs-students-are-facing-off-against-the-security-forces

				killed militant.	
9.	Sep, 2017	BHU	Students	Police lathi charged on women students protesting the inaction of admin in a student molestation case	https://thewire.in/education/banaras-hindu-university-lathi-charge
10.	Nov 5, 2017	MG Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi	Student's poll won by independent candidate Rahul Dubey	AVBP thrashed the supporters of the winning candidate in the hostel	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/varanasi/abvp-loses-student-union-polls-on-pm-modi-turf/articleshow/61514187.cms
11.	Nov, 2017	Narayana Junior College, Hyderabad	Jayasimha Reddy, the manager of Narayana Group	Charges of sexual harassment ABVP vandalized the office. They also hurled stones at a police patrolling car. Barged into college leading to destruction of property	https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-karnataka/Stone-throwing-during-protest-by-ABVP-in-Hubli-20-arrested/article14763604.ece
12.	Mar, 2018	Kota	Sudipta Hazarika	All-women patrolling squads set up by the local police around coaching institutes in Kota, Rajasthan, reportedly harassing students, especially girls.	https://thewire.in/gender/women-patrolling-squad-in-kota-thrashes-assam-girl-two-men-jailed-for-intervening Note: The police thrashed her and the shop owner where she was charging her mobile
13.	July, 2018	LU, Lucknow	Pooja Shukla and others	Beaten and detained by police for protesting against the arbitrary decision of LU for not showing entrance result	http://twocircles.net/2018jul05/424087.html
14.	Aug, 2018	Constitution Club of India, Delhi	Umar Khalid	JNU Student leader Umar Khalid was shot at by gunmen who had been radicalized by the anti-JNU rhetoric	https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/jnus-umar-khalid-shot-at-escapes-unhurt/article24677378.ece
15.	Sep, 2018	Zakir Hussain	Students	ABVP Vandalized property and	https://sabrangindia.in/tags/abvp?page

		College, DU		assaulted students and staff	e=1
16.	Oct, 2018	Allahabd Univ, UP	AUSU and other students	ABVP torched hostel rooms and threw crude bombs after losing the student union elections	https://sabrangindia.in/tags/abvp?page=1
17.	Sep, 2019	St. John Berchmans Inter Colleg, Mundli Tinpahar, Jharkhand	Students	<p>A mob of nearly 500 right wing extremists allegedly stormed and damaged the college, terrifying students and faculty in the process. The mob gathered with sticks, chains, iron bars, knives and pistols, and beat up tribal inmates of the Loyola Adivasi Hostel. While two boys were seriously injured, the rest were saved due to the timely intervention of sisters (nuns). Although an ambulance was called the mob allegedly did not allow it to go through until the police arrived. Fr. Kuzhively told that the police then took the boys to hospital.</p> <p>Another priest Fr. Nobor Bilung who tried to talk to the mob was also physically assaulted and sustained a head injury. The mob also allegedly sexually harassed</p>	https://www.sabragindia.in/article/right-wing-goons-vandalize-jesuit-college-jharkhand

				female students and staff. They also allegedly broke pipes, furnishing, electric and audio systems. The mob vandalised the place and stole cash and three cell phones from the office	
19.	Sep 20, 2019	Jadavpur University, West Bengal	JU students protesting against BJP MP Babul Supriyo	The ABVP invited the minister for their fresher's program, which the other students protested against. Members of Durga Vahini (RSS women's wing) also joined ABVP. ABVP burnt a tea stall outside the campus & ransacked the Arts union room near gate No. 4, the ground-floor corridor of the UG Arts building, set fire to at least six cycles and blocked the road for an hour. Also hit an amateur photographer and at least one student.	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/abvp-supporters-commit-arson-at-ju-gate-ransack-rooms-on-campus/articleshow/71209836.cms
20.	Dec, 2019	Aligarh Muslim University	Students	Brutally Beaten by police for anti-CAA protests. Two students had their hands blown off by police; others had head injuries. Allahabad High Court ordered the NHRC to probe	https://thewire.in/communalism/60-amu-students-injured-in-police-violence-university-closed-till-january-5 https://theleaflet.in/allahabad-hc-asks-nhrc-to-probe-into-police-action-against-amu-students-amidst-anti-caa-agitation/
21.	Dec, 2019	Jamia Millia Islamia	Students	Students were thrashed by the	https://thewire.in/government/jamia-

		(JMI), AMU		police; library vandalized – students were protesting against the CAA	police-attack-report https://thewire.in/government/amu-cao-protests-up-police
22.	Dec, 2019	Vadodara, Gujarat	5 students	Booked for anti CAA graffiti	https://www.deccanherald.com/national/west/gujarat-5-students-arrested-for-graffiti-on-cao-786325.html
23.	Jan 2020	JNU	JNU Student Union president Aishe Ghosh and many more	Allegedly ABVP thrashed students inside the campus	https://thewire.in/government/delhi-police-jnu-violence-aishe-ghosh
24.	Jan, 2020	Ahmedabad	NSUI	Accused ABVP	https://thewire.in/rights/ahmedabad-nsui-abvp-attack
25.	Jan, 2020	Jyoti Niwas College, Bengaluru	Students	BJP workers threatened and heckled students not to protest against CAA or else they will beat them in JNU style.	https://scroll.in/latest/949301/bengaluru-college-students-opposing-cao-allegedly-heckled-by-bjp-threatened-with-jnu-style-attack

Annexure 5

SUSPENSION OF FACUTY AND STUDENTS

Suspension of Faculty

S. No.	Year	Individual/ Group	Place	Action	Source
1.	Jan, 2016	Prof. Sandeep Pandey (Magsaysay Awardee)	IIT, BHU	Admin terminated him 1. On the suspicion of him being a Naxalite 2. For being involved in anti-national activities 3. Showing banned documentary 'India's Daughter' to his students/	https://thewire.in/politics/magsaysay-awardee-pandey-purged-from-bhu-on-anti-national-charge
2.	March, 2016	M.N Panini, JNU	Central University, Jharkhand	Lecture on Nation building called off. 1) Prof. Panini being a JNU professor. 2) Prof. Shrey Bhattacharjee who invited him was suspended.	https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/academics-with-jnu-pedigree-find-their-speeches-cancelled/article8375155.ece
3.	Feb 2017	Nivedita Menon Rajshree Ranawat	Jodhpur University	Rajshree Ranawat (RR) suspended for inviting Nivedita Menon (NM) to seminar on History Reconstructed through Literature: Nation, Identity; police complaint filed against RR for hosting, NM for alleged anti-national remarks	https://scroll.in/article/829656/debate-is-vital-for-change-says-jodhpur-professor-suspended-in-the-latest-nationalism-controversy
4.	Oct, 2017	Nivedita Menon	Delhi	Removal of Nivedita Menon as chairperson of the Centre for Comparative Politics and Political Theory at JNU. Protested by JNUTA	https://thewire.in/education/stop-victimising-jnus-nivedita-menon-academics-write-president-ram-nath-kovind
5.	April 2018	9 Teachers	Central University, Gujarat	Show cause notice to 9 teachers for attending Congress event. ABVP complained that the teachers were campaigning for Congress.	https://www.india.com/news/india/central-university-of-gujarat-serves-showcause-notice-to-nine-teachers-for-attending-congress-event-teachers-cry-foul-3025866/
6.	Dec, 2018	Md. Tajjudin, Pol Sci	Kashmir Univ	Suspended for allegedly calling Bhagat Singh a terrorist	https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/jammu-university-professor-suspended-for-allegedly-calling-bhagat-singh-a-terrorist/321049
7.	Feb, 2019	Abid Majeed	Alpine College of Management, Dehradun	Hindu activists demanded his suspension of the Kashmiri Dean. No reason given by the concerned authority. Mob pressure was the main reason for suspension. Post Pulwama	https://scroll.in/latest/913791/kashmiri-dean-of-dehradun-college-suspended-after-a-protesting-mob-demanded-it-report

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8.	Feb, 2019	Salman Shaheen	LPU, Punjab	Kashmiri Prof forced to resign after commenting on the social media post of one of his students on Pulwama.	https://www.newsclick.in/pulwama-aftermath-kashmiri-professor-forced-resign-lovely-professional-university
9.	Feb, 2019	Students	Quantum Institute, Roorkee	Student suspended and charged with anti-national post. VC alleged vandalism	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/dehradun/7-suspended-kashmiri-students-booked-for-anti-natl-posts/articleshow/68085595.cms
10.	Feb, 2019	Papri Z Banerjee	Icon Commerce College, Guwahati	Suspended and the detained by police for FB post critical of army in Kashmir.	https://thewire.in/rights/assam-professor-detained-for-facebook-post-criticising-armys-role-in-kashmir
11.	Mar, 2020	Abrar Ahmed,	Jamia Milia Islamia	Suspended and inquiry ordered for sarcastic tweet. The tweet according to the prof was a satire and he was being misunderstood.	https://www.thekashmirmonitor.net/jamia-professor-suspended-for-failing-non-muslim-students/
12.	Apr, 2020	Md. Shahid	Allahabad University	Suspended for attending an event which spread covid at Nizamuddin Markaz.	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/education/news/au-prof-who-attended-nizamuddin-markaz-suspended/articleshow/75385390.cms

Suspension of Students

S. No.	Date	Individual/Group	Place	Action	Source
1.	Feb 2018	Sadaf Rafiq Zaffar, an undergraduate student	Shree Guru Gobind Singh Tricentenary University, Haryana	Student engaged in a social media post on the atrocities done by armed force in Kashmir. The university decided to expel her, reportedly calling the posts “anti-national”	https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20191122070158754
2.	Oct 2018	Ethnic tensions on campus flared following a fight between an Indian student and an Afghan student. The university suspended three students who were allegedly involved in the fight. Hundreds later gathered on campus to demand that the university take more severe action in response to the incident	Sharda Univ, Noida	Student witnesses reported that the violence was incited by members of a right-wing Hindu extremist group from outside the university. The campus was later closed for three days, and police reportedly filed complaints for rioting against 350 individuals in connection with the protest.	https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20191122070158754
3.	March 2018	Fakeha Badami	Sai Homeopathic Medical College and Nityanand Hospital	The college management had cited “uniformity in clothing” as a reason to disallow her from entering the college premises with the hijab	https://thewire.in/education/dont-wear-a-hijab-if-you-want-to-study-here
4.	October 2018	S. Malathi	Coimbatore College	Suspended because he had no permission to organize a meeting on Bhagat Singh’s birth anniversary	https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/coimbatore-college-suspends-student-for-marking-bhagat-singh-s-birth-anniversary-1369183-2018-10-16
5.	Feb, 2019	Students	Quantum Institute, Roorkee	Student suspended and charged with anti-national post. VC alleged vandalism	https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/dehradun/7-suspended-kashmiri-students-booked-for-anti-national-posts/articleshow/68085595.cms
6.	Jan	Not available	Vishva bharti	Student suspended after he recorded a video of	https://thewire.in/education/visva-bharati-evicts-student-vc-speech

	2020		Univ	VC's speech on CAA	
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Ban on Student Groups

S.No.	Date	Place	Name of Organisation	Reason	Source
1.	May, 2015	IIT Madras	Ambedkar- Periyar Student Circle	IIT Madras 'bans' student association for spreading hatred against PM Modi	https://www.deccanherald.com/national/iit-madras-bans-student-association-for-spreading-hatred-against-pm-modi-461628.html
2	Sept 2018	IIT Kharagpur	Ambedkar Bhagat Study Circle (ABSC)	ABSC has been critical of saffornization of education and attacks on marginal. Targetted by Intelligence agencies	https://kafila.online/2018/09/09/condemn-the-conspiracy-of-hindutva-fascist-forces-against-democratic-students-organizations/

DENIAL OF RESEARCH VISAS/RESTRICTIONS ON ACADEMIC EXCHANGES

S.N o.	Date	Name of Person	Academic Event affected	Source
1	2016	George Yeo	Resigns as Chancellor of Nalanda University citing Govt. Interference	https://thewire.in/education/george-yeo-reisgnation-nalanda-university
2	2017	Patricia Sauthoff	Contract for Yoga course in Nalanda university not renewed because RSS objected to yoga being taught by a foreigner	https://thewire.in/education/false-say-yoga-isnt-political-american-scholar-whose-course-nalanda-university-cancelled
3	July 2018	Pakistani Scholars denied visa to attend the AAS in Asia conference	AAS in Asia, New Delhi	https://www.asianstudies.org/aas-statement-on-2018-aas-in-asia-conference/
4	2018	Visa denied to 30 Pakistani Medical doctors	Conference organized by Asian Pacific Association for the study of the Liver	https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20180712165201175
5	2020	Jacob Lindenthal	Visa revoked for participating in anti-CAA protest	https://thewire.in/external-affairs/jakob-lindenthal-german-student-caa-visa
6	2020	Afsara Anika Meem	Bangladeshi Student Who Posted Photos of CAA Protest Gets Notice to Leave India	https://thewire.in/education/bangladeshi-student-visva-bharati-cao-protest-leave-india-notice