

'60

years and Full Steam...Enterprise India' screams a hoarding in front of the Shastri Bhawan, the office of the Union Human Resources Development Ministry. Underneath it sit ragged trousered people begging for alms. The hoarding above their heads has a graph depicting the growth of our economy in terms of GDP. Yes, the country is going full steam as the hoarding tells us but for whom and in which direction is the question. The answer to this question is not too difficult to find. The same hoarding gives it. It is in the phrase 'Enterprise India,' UPA government's equivalent to 'Shining India'. One meaning for the word enterprise according to the Cambridge dictionary is 'a society in which personal achievement, the creation of wealth and the development of private business is encouraged'.

Our country is going full steam for all those people who received 'encouragement' from the government to develop their private business and created enormous personal wealth. But unfortunately their numbers are limited. The vast majority of the people of our country are poor and destitute. Their life instead of going at 'full steam' is losing its steam. Who is responsible for this? What is the role of the government? Who are benefiting from the policies that are formulated by the government? Did they benefit the people sitting under the hoardings and on the pavements or did they benefit the people who ply in fancy cars on the roads smiling slickly at these hoardings? On whose side does the government stand and whose interests does it protect? These are the questions for which we should find answers.

The Congress Party had fought the 2004 Parliament elections criticising the BJP's slogan of 'Shining India'. The Congress had said that India under BJP is shining for the rich and the poor are facing severe hardships. It had promised to address the concerns and needs of the aam aadmi if it was voted to power. The people of the country had witnessed the actual disconnect between the BJP's slogan and the reality and voted it out of power. The UPA has interpreted the verdict as a vote **"for parties irrevocably committed to the daily well-being of the common man across the country"**. Congress had assumed office on the basis of the National Common Minimum Programme (NCMP). This document ends with the promise that "This is a common minimum programme (CMP) for the UPA government. **It is, by no means, a comprehensive agenda. It is a starting point that highlights the main priorities, policies and programmes. The UPA is committed to the implementation of the CMP. This CMP is the foundation for another CMP-collective maximum performance"**. This is the basis, on which the Left parties have decided to extend outside support to the Congress-led UPA government.

Our assessment of the UPA government's performance in these three and half years has to take the NCMP as the benchmark. On education it had made some very important commitments.

1. "The UPA government pledges to raise public spending in education to least 6% of GDP with at least half this amount being spent on primary and secondary sectors.
2. The UPA will ensure that nobody is denied professional education because he or she is poor".

The first of these two commitments effectively meant that the government would strive to strengthen the government sector in education by increasing its spending and providing all the necessary basic facilities to the students. The second commitment, as pointed out by many studies carried out by this government through the CABE and other agencies, can be realised only by increasing the number of government educational institutions in the higher education sector. Three and half years after, there is virtually little or no progress on both these counts. Instead of striving for 'maximum performance' the government has failed even in the 'minimum implementation' of its promises. Yes, there is an increase in

the budgetary allocations for education but they are nowhere in tune with the promised amounts. As the Economic Survey tabled in the Parliament points out the percent of GDP spent on education is only 2.87% (when the NDA remitted office it was 2.74%).

Instead of increasing the resources allocated to education, the state is paving way for the private and foreign institutes to open their shops and earn profits. The whimsical reasons given for that are the paucity of resources and the need to concentrate on the universalisation of elementary education. The falsity of these two notions is discussed time and again and it needs no mention here. The real reason behind the limited resources allocated to education is the adherence to the neo-liberal economic policies that not only directs the state to cut its social expenditure but also to 'increase the avenues for maximisation of profits to both foreign and domestic capital'

It is true that the decade after the nineties also saw a great expansion in the education sector. The most important point that needs to be noted here is that the expansion took place mainly in the private sector. In fifteen years between 1990-91 and 2005-06, 12,316 new colleges were started, most of them in the private sector. In the same manner the number of universities till 1990-91 was 185 and this has increased to 369 by 2005. This increase was made possible not just by starting new state universities. The highest number of universities established in this period was in the private sector under the guise of 'deemed universities'. Their number increased from 29 to 109, which is an increase by an astonishing 276%. Thus it is no wonder that this huge expansion in the education sector did not bring about any substantial change in the number of youth in higher education in the age group of 17-23 years. It still remains at an abysmal level of 9%. This ratio is less than the average of various lower middle-income countries in the world.

In spite of the proven track record that privatisation does not ensure access to education as promised in the CMP but in fact curtails it, the government is eager to proceed in the same direction. According to reports the government is trying to introduce a Bill in the Parliament to allow the entry of foreign universities and education providers in our country. The government is arguing that

this is necessary to increase the avenues to access higher education. It is for us to explore if the reasons given by the government are genuine, or if they are wrong, find out the real reasons.

Let us hear from the horse's mouth, here the World Bank, whether the government's wishful thinking would materialise. "The globalisation of higher education can have damaging as well as beneficial consequences. **It can lead to unregulated and poor quality higher education, with the worldwide marketing of fraudulent degrees or other so-called higher education credentials a clear example. Franchise universities have also been problematic; where the parent university meets quality standards set in the home country but offers a substandard education through its franchised programs in other countries. The sponsoring institution, mainly in the United States or Europe, often has a "prestige name" and is motivated by pecuniary gain, not by spreading academic excellence to developing countries**". (*Higher Education Peril and Promise UNESCO, World Bank Report*) Even when the World Bank is talking in these lines, our government is shamelessly ready to argue for foreign education providers in 'augmenting the capacity' and 'improve access' in higher education. It is just like thinking that the British have ruled our country not for draining our wealth but 'civilising us' and introduced their education system only to 'educate' Indians. It is obvious from the above quote from the World Bank report that the reasons given by the government are wrong. What are the real reasons?

The recent stand of the government on the nuclear deal with the US provides us with an answer. The government wants to go-ahead with the deal in spite of the widespread opposition to it from various quarters in our country because it had already committed to it with the US government. Satisfying the interests of the US and keeping its promises to the US have thus become a priority to the government instead of catering to the needs of the people of our country and keeping its promises made to them. The same pro-imperialist attitude is reflected even in the education sector, which it has promised to open up for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). India is one of the few countries that have opened their entire education sector for trade under the GATS treaty. It is really unfortunate that the present government offered trade in higher educa-

tion services in its revised offer in August 2005 negotiations ignoring the dissent of the people of our country. Trade in education is one of the chief profit earners for the US in its trade in services. 'Global trade in higher education is large; it is estimated at more than US\$30 billion per annum'. The government is unusually eager to help the huge educational corporations in US, UK, Australia and other nations to earn profits by marketing their education system in our country.

The imperialist pressures on the government to adhere to the WTO commitments and GATS negotiations, which the government too was eager to oblige, are pushing our education system into crisis. Education is an annual budget of one thousand billion dollars worldwide. The sector employs more than 50 million teachers, and above all it has a billion potential customers in the form of students. The main goal of GATS negotiations is to pave way for the progressively higher level of trade liberalization in the sector of educational services. The Government of India is being asked to provide freedom of operations to all those investors who have an agenda of profit making and are essentially looking for commercially attractive opportunities to put their money in the business of higher education.

The Indian government already allows 100% foreign direct investment (FDI) in education. Foreign institutions have been allowed to exist under 'recognized by AICTE and UGC' category of institutions. Currently, the government allows these institutions to be established under the provision of 5 years contract, which also provides for the termination of the same contract using the clause of a review after three years, if adversely affected. It is the big business and not the scientific and teaching communities that has a stake in the trade in educational services.

What makes it even more disgusting is the fact that the government is going through all these moves amidst a spate of reports against the foreign education providers. "A recent survey in India showed that of 144 foreign providers advertising tertiary education programs in the newspapers, 46 were neither recognized nor accredited in their countries of origin" (Powar and Bhalla 2001, quoted by World Bank). According to noted academic and educational administrator and director of IIT Kanpur, M. Anandkrishnan, in an interview he has given to Frontline "their motive (the foreign edu-

cation providers) is only commercial; they have not established any campuses of their own in this country. These institutions have only tied up with private Indian institutions for commercial motives and, that too, not with the best institutions in this country". He laments about the sad state affairs in our country saying, "India is one country where anybody can come and advertise all kinds of degrees. In fact, there have been plenty of offers from what the Americans call the "diploma and degree mills". By this they mean that these are not legal entities and their degrees are worthless". He states that many such fraudulent institutions are prosecuted in other countries for cheating students while in India they are allowed to reap super-profits cashing in on our ignorance and the benevolence of our government.

Our government may act benevolently but education traders do not. The government instead of correcting this situation is planning to further aggravate the situation. In the name of saving valuable foreign exchange from moving away from our country, it wants to help the students going abroad to study by opening the education sector for foreign players. It states, "In 2004, nearly 14 per cent of all international students in the US were from India. A majority of these students seek graduate degrees, but there is mounting interest for undergraduate courses... It is therefore quite clear that there is a huge excess demand in India for quality higher education, which is being met by foreign campuses". The 'quality education' in demand will not be satisfied with the second and third grade institutions that are operating their courses here. As Prof C.P. Chandrasekhar writes in Frontline "Moreover, the reason why such educational access is being demanded needs to be addressed. It is indeed true that the National Science Foundation of the United States reported (in its publication Science and Engineering Indicators 2006) that more than 63,000 of the 279,000 foreign graduate students enrolled in U.S. universities in 2004 were Indians. But it also pointed to the fact that of the 3,238 Indian recipients of science and engineering doctorates in the U.S. in 2003, nearly 90 per cent planned to stay on in that country, with two-thirds having definite plans to stay. If the demand for a foreign education is because such a degree is necessary to access jobs outside the country, then provision of such degrees need not be a priority for the government".

A look into the case of Australia, which took a lead in the establishment of offshore campuses in the countries of Southeast Asia, is enough to show us that foreign educational providers are not concerned about quality of education they provide in other countries. Studies undertaken for the evaluation of quality of education imparted in these international institutions indicate that not only these institutions have proved to be unviable investments for the Australian higher educational institutions but also they are now beginning to cut down on the facilities provided abroad with the aim to reduce their costs. This has obviously impacted on the quality of higher education being imparted through the offshore campuses of these Australian higher education institutions.

In spite of all this our government is intent on opening our education sector without any concern for the implications and ignoring all the warnings. The government is presuming that the foreign education providers would flock to India to offer the Indian students courses in frontier technologies such as biotechnology, computer sciences, material sciences, etc. It is also hoping to control the foreign providers through the incentive of putting the condition of ceiling of 74% on foreign investment to attract them in frontier areas. It seems to have forgotten that to realise technology import and obtain technological capabilities for adaptation and improvement India had to practice the direct regulation of technological behaviour of foreign companies. Indirect controls in the form of foreign direct investment ceilings were hardly effective for the purpose of obtaining at least technological know-how. There is also experience of last fifty years that foreign companies do not want to part usually with their frontier technologies; how can we forget the experience of steel, oil, electronics, drugs, supercomputing and so on. Today on the top of GATS there is also TRIPs in the WTO to give them protection over their proprietary software in the field of learning technology.

Foreign education providers would not develop courses for the Indian society but will only be interested in selling degrees of those courses that will fetch them profits. "Markets require profit and this can crowd out important educational duties and opportunities. Basic sciences and the humanities, for example, are essential for national development. They are likely to be under funded..." (World

Bank) A cursory look at the courses offered by the 144 existing foreign education providers in our country shows that most of the degrees in offer are in hospitality and management services. Basic sciences will bear the brunt of this attack. Depending on private and foreign players will only worsen the situation. Crying hoarse over the depleting quality in science education and lack of interest among students for the basic sciences and research will not help as all these are fallouts of fallacious policies.

It may be worth recalling here that even the US has not made any commitment to open up its primary to higher education for trade. The US has made a proposal to open up only for 'Adult and Other education' allowing market access under 'consumption abroad' mode, 'commercial presence' mode with some limitations and unbound 'presence of natural persons' mode-except for horizontal commitments. Our government wants to be more loyal than the king and wants to place the entire education system on a platter to satiate the thirst for profits of the imperialist countries

The foreign education providers that have come to our country are not top-graded institutes but second or third grade institutes and their motive is purely commercial. These institutions have only tied up with private Indian institutions for commercial motives and, that too, not with the best institutions in this country. The government is ready to bend to any extent to satisfy the commercial interests of the foreign and private institutions but is not ready even to consider the academic interests of the people of our country. It was for 'adequate flexibility to such (foreign) universities in setting syllabus, hiring teachers, screening students and setting the fee levels'. It is doing whatever it can to facilitate their entry into our country despite the all round opposition from various sections of the academic community. The recent decisions of the UGC to increase the fees in government institutes and universities, promoting private participation in education, reducing state subsidy to education, reducing the scholarships and encouraging student loans instead are all efforts to satisfy the GATS conditions and facilitate the foreign education providers (FEP).

Why is the government so eagerly advocating privatisation of education and increase in fees together with permitting foreign institutes in our country? There is a provision in the GATS treaty

that states that trade in services cannot be allowed in services that are in the exclusive domain of the state or government. "However, we need to remember that public education services provided free of cost on a non-commercial basis and not in competition with other service suppliers is outside the purview of GATS". So the government first wants to free education of these shackles and then place the entire education system on platter before the foreign players. India has reached a stage now wherein there exists considerable demand for higher education, which the government is not willing to satisfy. And unfortunately there is no education service that is 'provided free of cost'-not even the primary education where we have thousands of private institutions that charge exorbitant fees. So the entire 'education market' is up for grabs for foreign players and the government does not want any hurdles and is crying for relaxation of even the existing few. Providing state subsidies to government institutions and also free-ships and scholarships to students are all looked at as signs of discrimination and thus imperialist agencies are exerting pressure on the government to do away with them and enable a level playing field.

Higher fees and reduced subsidies to education means that the poor and the marginalised sections in the country are thrown out of education sector. The doors of education are for all practical purposes closed for them. This is in quite contrast to the UPAs promise of ensuring 'access to education irrespective of his or her ability to pay'. This anomaly cannot be corrected unless there is a course correction in the government policies. This means that the government has to steer its policies away from the interests of the imperialist forces and not succumb to their pressures. Does the government have the will to stand for the interests of its people and against the interests of the imperialist forces?

The answer for this question is unfortunately in the negative though the UPA has promised otherwise in the NCMP. "In keeping with the stance adopted by the late Shri Murasoli Maran at Doha, the UPA government will fully protect the national interest, particularly of farmers, in all WTO negotiations. Commitments made earlier will be adhered to, even as efforts are mounted to ensure that all agreements reflect our concerns fully particularly in the area of intellectual property and agriculture. The UPA government will use

the flexibility afforded in existing WTO agreements to fully protect Indian agriculture and industry. The UPA government will play a proactive role in strengthening the emerging solidarity of developing countries in the shape of G-20 in the WTO".

We have seen how the UPA government has failed to keep this promise to the people in negotiating with the imperialist countries in the education sector. Instead the government is keen to please somebody else. A joint forum of representatives of Indian and US corporates set up to develop a 'strategic economic partnership' between the two countries had made some 30 recommendations that our government is keen to implement. One among them is to allow FDI in education, a proposal that the government is keen to implement as a show of its commitment to the 'strategic alliance'.

The same is the story even in agriculture and industrial sectors. Cosmetic changes like announcing some relief packages cannot resolve the serious agrarian crisis that the country faces today. The government should show the will to wriggle out of the stranglehold of the imperialist forces. Can we expect this to happen voluntarily from the government that had willingly entered into this imperialist cobweb? No and that is the reason why the government has failed to solve the agrarian crisis in our country and stop the suicides of the poor peasants. The efforts of the government to open retail trade to foreign players like Wal-mart is also part of its efforts to please the interests of the American big business instead of protecting the interests of the millions of Indians involved in retail trade.

The government is pursuing all these policies to cement not only a strategic economic alliance with the US but also a strategic defence alliance without any concern for the country. The nuclear deal that the government and the Congress party are singing paeans is in fact a blow to the self-respect of our country and a threat to our sovereignty. This is once again against the promises that the UPA has made to the people of our country. "The UPA government will pursue an independent foreign policy keeping in mind its past traditions. This policy will seek to promote multi-polarity in world relations and oppose all attempts at unilateralism... Even as it pursues closer engagement and relations with the USA, the UPA government will maintain the independence of India's foreign policy

position on all regional and global issues. The UPA is committed to deepening ties with Russia and Europe as well".

Nowhere in the CMP was it mentioned that the government will go for 'strategic alliance' with the US instead what was clearly mentioned was that it would follow 'independent foreign policy'. The government wants to implement the same pro-US policies pursued by the BJP-led NDA, unmindful and forgetting the fact that this was in fact one of the reasons for the defeat of the BJP alliance in the 2004 Parliament elections. It has to remember that if it wants to continue with the same policies as its predecessor, it has to get ready to meet the same fate too i.e. rejection by the people. The Congress will have none to blame it fails to learn its lessons from history.

The UPA alliance led by the Congress takes pride of its connections with the word Gandhi and flaunts it every now and then to parade its-now lost-anti-imperialist legacy. Here is what Mahatma Gandhi has said about the rulers who do not care for public opinion. "For me every ruler is alien that defies public opinion". The present government is defying public opinion and proceeding with its policy of forming a strategic alliance with the US. Take the issue of the nuclear deal. Majority of the Parliament members, elected by the people of this country are opposed to this deal but the government wants to proceed with it. For the first time in the history of independent India the government has signed a deal that is subordinate to the law of another country, the Hyde Act. To add salt to the injury is another fact that the two houses of the American Parliament have thoroughly discussed the agreement and passed the above law to ensure that the Indian government is bound to serve the interests of their country while our government is not ready to heed to the voice of our Parliament.

The government and especially the Prime Minister are claiming that the deal is necessary to bring electricity to every Indian household and meet the energy requirements of the 'enterprise India'. At present nuclear energy is meeting only 3% of India's energy needs and even if the deal comes through the electricity generated will be only 7% of our needs. This too is possible if the government's assumption that after the deal materialises we have FDI and technology necessary to increase our nuclear power pro-

Table: Cost of Nuclear and Coal Based Power Stations

Item	Capital Cost of Coal Fired Plant (Rs. Crore)	Capital Cost of Nuclear Plant with Domestic PWR Reactors (Rs. Crore)	Capital Cost of Nuclear Plant with imported LWR Reactors (Rs. Crore)
1 MW	3.73	8.1	12.1
10,000 MW	37,300	81,000	121,000
40,000 MW	149,200	324,000	484,000

duction by 300% is realised. And even this nominal electricity produced comes at a huge price.

In the '60's and '70's, there was a lot of euphoria about nuclear power. By the 80's, it became clear that nuclear power was expensive. In the West, nuclear plants routinely overshot their budgets and the time required to erect them. With discovery of gas in large quantities and increased efficiency of thermal power plants, nuclear plants were perceived to be too expensive. Nuclear power plants are about 25%-30% more expensive, even when using domestic technology and equipment. If imported reactors for nuclear power are considered, the situation becomes even worse. The cost of power from nuclear plants, as compared to that from coal-fired plants, is also quite a bit higher. Electricity produced by coal-fired plants today at the plant end (not as delivered to the consumer) cost about Rs. 2.50 depending on the coal cost at the location. For nuclear plants with domestic reactors, the cost is about Rs. 3.90 per unit. For imported reactors, it is about Rs. 5.50 per unit. Can a farmer or a middle class employee afford to pay such high prices? Certainly no. Even in the US not a single nuclear plant was set up since 1996. This shows that even they consider that nuclear energy is unviable as a source for power generation.

Not only is nuclear power more expensive, it will also have adverse effects on the entire electricity sector. Going in for huge investments for imported nuclear power plants - three times the cost of similar coal fired units would mean starving the Indian economy of other investments. It would mean either giving up much larger investments in the power sector or starving other infrastructure

sectors. It is clear from all these facts that the deal, if its main achievement as projected is to cater to the electricity needs, is not worthy of it. It serves only one purpose and that is to benefit the US companies involved in nuclear commerce.

Is it not shameful for a country as mighty as India to sacrifice many of its principles to accrue profits for the US corporations? Our cherished principles of non-alignment will be lost, independent foreign policy will be sacrificed and most of all we will be made dependent on the US for our military and economic needs. We have already witnessed this during the vote against Iran in the IAEA, not once but twice when we have voted along with the US changing our stand. For the first time since independence, a process of Americanisation of the Indian military has begun after the signing of the Defence Framework Agreement with the US. Using the nuclear deal as bait many corporations in the US are working overtime to secure the multi-billion dollar military contracts from our country even though they might not fit our requirements. 123=126 is the slogan going around in the US, meaning that the 123 Agreement will pave way for securing the contract for the 126 multi-role combat aircraft for which India is going to float global tenders very soon. Coinciding with the opening up of India to the US in defence matters, Israel has emerged as a front-runner among India's arms suppliers. So India is slowly slipping into the embrace of the two most hated powers in the world-US and Israel.

The hatred towards the US should neither be construed as a blind hatred or hatred towards the people of that country. Nobody hates the people of the US because they are not responsible for the policies pursued by their government and moreover they too are suffering due to its policies. More than 67% of the US citizens hate their President because of the mindless policies of his administration.

US is hated because of its imperialist policies. It is the only country in the world that has actually killed and maimed millions in Japan with the use of the atom bomb. It is the nation with the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons and delivery systems. It maintains a current arsenal of around 9,960 intact warheads, of which 5,735 are considered active or operational. Above all it is a nation that has ruthlessly devastated Iraq, its rich ancient civilization, killed millions of people, ruined Afghanistan and always trying to use all

the means at its disposal to destroy the countries that challenge its inhuman policies. Almost all the major terrorist organisations in the world today have benefited from direct or indirect support of the US at one point of time in the history-including its dreaded foe now, Osama Bin Laden. It imposed inhuman blockade against Cuba for decades together, tried to kill its President and had a hand in murdering innocent citizens by encouraging terrorist activities against Cuba. It does not care about the international opinion against its actions. No wonder it bypasses UN at will to implement its writ. Joining hands with one who has blood all over we are sure to lose our reputation as a country that has stood for peace and together with it many of our allies in the developing world. The irony is that all this being done at a time when the government is celebrating 100 years of non-violent satyagraha launched by Mahatma Gandhi!

123 Agreement, defence co-operation agreement, FDI in education, FDI in retail, FDI in insurance and opening up of the finance sector are all various tentacles of the same octopus that is trying to drag us into this poisonous embrace. Justifying this deadly embrace, the Prime Minister is stating that history beckons us and we should not miss the bus. We were offered a lift in this bus because of the 'sagacity' of George Bush, a person who is hated by most of his country people and regarded as the most unpopular President, but according to our Prime Minister the greatest friend of India. Any ride in this bus is a ride to disaster and history of various countries in the world testify this fact. The government wants to hitch a ride in this bus-of-death by agreeing to forgo our intellectual self-reliance, self-respect and sovereignty.

The government, on one hand is thus burying the glorious anti-imperialist traditions of the people of our country while on the other it is trying to fool the people by cosmetically paying lip service to the 150th Anniversary of the First War of Indian Independence, birth centenary of Bhagat Singh and the 60th anniversary of our independence. It is the duty of all the patriotic people of our country to resist these attempts of the government and protect our country's interests. It is all the more important for the students and youth of our country to resist these attempts, as they are the future of this country.

Some of the 'powerful friends' of the US-both inside and out-

side of our country-have already unleashed a campaign saying that those who are opposed to the nuclear deal and strategic alliance with the US are not patriots. It is worthy to remember what Mahatma Gandhi had meant by patriotism. "By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people". We should always remember that even during the British rule in our country, there were people who craving for titles like Rai Bahadur and Raj Bahadur talked about the modernisation aspect of the British and urged the people to support the British rule. They believed in the Royal Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858. "It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward". The elite of that day characterised this as a 'magna carta' obtained from the British rulers. They made it clear through words and deeds that they shall ever remain 'loyal and respectful' to the rulers who had 'graciously bestowed' upon them their rights and privileges. For them this was what patriotism meant. History does not remember them. But the people of the country were not so naïve as to fall in their trap. Majority of the people have endured hardships under the British and were victims of the British policies. They saw through these phrases, pretensions and masks. They identified those people who stood for them, fought along with them, suffered and sacrificed everything-even lives-for their welfare as real patriots. In the same manner future generations of our country will remember only those who critically examined the policies of US imperialism, stood and fought against them and not those apologetics of imperialism.

For the advocates of strategic alliance with the US, people of the country mean only the rich and the elite. They are blind to the Indian reality and refuse to see 77% of the working people earning less than Rs 20 per day and anybody other than them as people. They do not acknowledge their voices and concerns. Any real patriot inheriting the rich anti-imperialist legacy has to be sensitive to the needs, concerns and aspirations of this vast majority of our people. It is our duty to raise our voice and make ourselves heard above the media created din. If we do not make our voices heard, the rich and elite minority will claim themselves to be the 'whole

people' and formulate policies detrimental to the interests of the majority. This will spell an end to our hard won independence, democracy, sovereignty and intellectual self-reliance. We should always remember the African saying: "When your house is burning, it's no use beating the tom-toms". Imperialism cannot be fought just by shouting insults against it. Imperialism is trying to 'burn' our country and there is only one way to save it-pour water over the designs of imperialism. It should be fought tooth and nail and this is only one way before us. We should stand united in opposing the pro-US tilt of our government. We should unequivocally state that the government would lose its steam if it does not hear these concerns:

No to FDI in education

No to foreign universities

No to 123 Nuclear Agreement with the US

No to Defence Co-operation Agreement with the US

No to strategic alliance with the US.