CHAPTER VI

SOCILOGICAL STUDY OF STUDENT'S MOVEMENTS, UNREST, AND STRIKES
Concept of Students' Movements:

One of the dramatic and social phenomena of the present century has been the emergence of students movements throughout the world. In every part of the world these movements have altered the nature of politics. Even in the countries that are on "Cold war" they have almost obliterated all politics. These kinds of student movements are quite active in Asiatic countries like India, Iran, China, Japan and Turkey. As such, in these countries, students play a crucial role in political changes as well as in changing or toppling of the governments. Students today are a new social force, especially in the West. Students in every part of the world, i.e., in Asia, Europe, Africa, U.S.A. and Latin America have made their impact on the roles for changing and toppling of the governments by strikes and revolts. It is noticeable that they have played the most striking role in the advanced industrial countries, whether capitalist or socialist. So, it will be relevant here to discuss, what is the meaning and the reason of their strikes and revolts? What is the sociological character of students movements? There are two main theories today for explaining the student movements and their unrest. One of the most important factors for students revolution and violence is the inexperienced Assistant Professor whose intellectual capability and judgment is not satisfactory and not as good as their predecessors. They know nothing about their duties regarding teaching and training the students who are thirsty for new ideas and facts.

The lecturers should be aware that the students are not
content with the matters which have been taught to them repeated by since last many so years. The lecturers should study new books for acquiring fresh knowledge and ideas for their students.

Another factor which has availed influence on the students revolt in both the universities. The students suffer from excessive frustration that they have no place in the political affairs of their societies. Another factor motivating students discontent, may stem from the writings of some famous political leaders about the political systems of the World. The students appreciate that all population in their countries should be in state of welfare.

The student are the sons of their country and genuine Government should be their guard. This way alone they will not have any quarrel or opposition of each other. The authorities must find out the reasons of students revolt; and they must know what all socio-economic and political roots the movements have.

Student unrest has been one of India's most serious educational and political problem. Student agitation in India has caused state governments to fall and it has forced the central government to revise its language policies. Students have paralysed colleges and universities and have caused serious
damage to public facilities as well as to educational institutions. While there has been much discussion of the problem of student unrest and activism in India, there has been little analysis of the underlying problems students face in a society marked simultaneously by modernization and severe economic and educational crises.

Student political involvement has not been peculiar to India. Students in many of the developing countries have succeeded in toppling governments and in effecting significant social and political changes. In Indonesia, students were as crucial an element in the development of the Nationalist movement, and student leaders helped to form a national entity of a disparate group. Students in Korea, Japan, and Turkey led political upheavals. In Latin America, students led a massive educational reform in the early twentieth century, while in other countries students were active in cultural revivals. In almost all of the developing nations the student community constitutes a primary source of trained manpower, and an important epetus to the process of modernization. The elites which will have the responsibility for shaping the affairs of the emerging nations are, to a large degree, recruited from the Universities.

The 1920's brought education and political changes to India. The establishment of new colleges, many without stable financial arrangements, lowered standards in higher education
and increased the competition for jobs. Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement of 1930 was the first major mass agitation initiated by the Congress. This movement was also the first political struggle in which students were involved in large numbers. The Non-cooperation Movement stimulated the foundation of a National Student Federation in India.

The most militant and highly organised period of the Indian Student movement during the 1942 - 'Quit India' struggle. The struggle was the apex of the student movement in India, involving for the first time a majority of the students.

The transformation of the political student movement in India has altered campus-life. The political parties in India have adopted an ambivalent attitude toward student in recent years.

No other issue in India educational life has received more publicity than the problem of Student indiscipline. It is not a new problem in India. Even before the nationalist movement mobilized large numbers of students for political action, Indian students had engaged in the out-bursts of direct action, usually, spontaneous and aimed at the local campus issues, such as difficult examinations or poor living conditions.
The Indian examination system has also had implications for student political movement and unrest. The economic uncertainty of many Indian students in an important cause for ambivalence and indiscipline. Despite the fact that the Indian University-system has become large and varied in the past two decades, the University Community in India and in other developing nations stands in the sharp contrast to the rest of the society. India's student movement have been important in providing a corps of active workers during the independence struggle, in giving ideological training and a political sense to a generation of nationalist leadership.

For the present, however, there is no organized and politically sophisticated student movement such as exists in some of the developing areas. However one can expect continued student frustration and unrest since the task of educational reform seems beyond the abilities of hard pressed administrators and government officials and combination of frustration and idealism in Indian students will continue to provide serious political activism and unrest.

Asiatic Students as the New Proletariats;

The universities and colleges, today, are no longer primarily concerned with the transmission of a cultural heritage. They are fast becoming a central element of the
forces of production in both capitalist and socialist countries. The advancement of knowledge and technical progress are the promoters of the new society, as the accumulation of capital was the motor of industrial society. The University does not occupy the same place now as the great capitalist enterprise formerly did. The student movements have the same important as the labour movements of the past had. The peculiar features of the student revolt are the contradictory mixtures of apathy and fiery insurrection that bear great resemblance with the social characteristics of the working class in the first phase of industrialization. In both the cases, the aim of the radical movements is expressive rather than instrumental. It has been just the same in Western and developed societies. Student activities in advanced industrial countries may presage a new form of social conflict engendered by a new form of social domination. Student movements are not pressure groups designed to recuse the advancement of their sectional interests within an accepted status group. The idea of the University as a community of teacher and taught is illusory. Students and teachers must acknowledge their own interests and establish new institutions based, not on the idea of community, but on the inherent and permanent conflict; just as capital and labour are in structural conflict with each other in the factory.

This description seems to have certain merits, and appears to be an attempt to grapple with the magnitude of
students' radicalism as a phenomenon, and to provide a comprehensive theory of it. The students, unlike the workers, do not constitute a class. The situation of the working class is a permanent one, it is a life situation, contrary to it, one of the most important social characteristics of the students is that their situation is always transient.

In underdeveloped countries, power to make political and economic decisions is dictated from outside the university by the state apparatus which reflects the power of the dominant class, not the university professors but the owners of capital.

The political upheavals within the university, in the past few years have not been the product of an imaginary substitution of workers by students. The encroachment of the scientific and military needs of neo-capitalism upon a largely unreformed system of higher education did not necessitate the invention of a new mode of production to explain it. In these countries, this is not surprising, since the situation confronted by the students is unprecedented. Students and teachers are both being forced into a new form of conflict, in which there are no pre-established rules.

The nature and role of the students, today is officially espoused with bureaucratic orthodoxy in Iran and India. Accordingly, the students are painted as an elite group. But, in the West, the student militancy has become a diversion from true struggle which is, in fact, taking place on the factory -
floor. Thus, the socialist students there by and large, forget their own status, whereas the Eastern students have been much more serious about their struggle. In Iran, students are not to be identified with the capitalists. They are a distinct social group, which has produced distinct forms of struggle.

The Generational Gap and Students Unrest

The main cause of the World-wide student unrest is the growing gap between generations. Intellectual and cultural advancements are, now, quite apparent and significant in many subjects and ideological concepts. They are so rapid that the communication between age-groups is becoming very difficult. In the last twenty or thirty years, our basic motions of time and space have been changed. Television and teaching aid machines have transformed the mechanisms of assimilation of all knowledge. In all parts of the World, especially in Iran, techniques of instruction have been changed so that the persons of older generation may not be able to follow the lessons learnt even by primary school children. The concepts, images and symbols of culture have also gone through a process of change. But, it is not so rapid as a great extent, believe in their ancient images and cultural symbols. Iranian students have accepted the Western civilization more than the Indians. New sciences and disciplines have sprung up, reforming and overhauling the conceptions about the man and the nature.

Every new generation through and different mental universe for
stepping into adulthood. By going through this process, the cultural gap between them and their predecessors is constantly widening. Such gaps have always existed in the past and have acted as indirect reflection of generational gaps today in Iran. The faster history moves, the wider the gap becomes, and the deeper the socio-political fissures it may reveal.

The sociological and political bases of the students revolt are thus, complemented with and intensified by a cultural base, inherent in the scientific advances in the last few years. Sociological, political and cultural causes of students revolt are different both in India and Iran. During my stay in India, I have found that Indians are self-content, agreeable and sociable people. Even educated persons manifest the same characteristics. It is perfectly different in Iran. It is, thus, an obvious reason that there are too many strikes every year in Tehran and other Iranian universities for changing their conditions of living, whereas there are not so many strikes in Aligarh Muslim University. From the point of political causes, I think, it is a different situation. India is the most democratic country in Asia, as every Indian student is free to take part in any political party, whether it is communist or socialist, but it is impossible for Tehran University students to act in that way. For example, they are not allowed to take part in communist party; as such, there is no communist
party in this country. I think, it is a cause of why most of the Tehran university students aspire to take part in political activities and that is why most of the Persian students who go to European and American countries take part in political activities and most of them become the office-bearers and leaders of those international students unions. It may be one of the causes that they develop some complexes in them against the political activities, just like the suppressed desires emphasised by psychology. Another reason for student unrest is the rapid increase in the number of students engaged in higher education in Tehran university. If we compare the increase in the number of the students in the last ten years, we will find that it is beyond all imagination. This dramatic increase can also be noticed by permitting the low level of government expenditures on education. Unwillingness of the government to raise grants for students in proportion to the rises in prices has equally been aggravating. Some of the Tehran university students have to maintain themselves with approximately Rs.300/- only. Out of which Rs.100/- are spent, exclusively on rent alone. These students are not the pampered products of the welfare state. Most of the Tehran university students live a luxurious life with good living conditions. It means that they spend more than Rs.1000/- to 2000 per month on such a life. They have private cars and hire costly living apartments. Thus, this a distinct disparity in the living
conditions of the Tehran. Mostly the poor students are more intelligent and rationally nature. Most of the big strikes get no mention through the participation of the poor, and not the rich, students. It is, perfectly, different in the case of Aligarh students. There most of the students come from a similar class. All the eligible students, in A.M.U., get scholarships from the university or other institutions in India. There is some equality between the students. That is why, we can not see big strikes there, as just we see in Tehran university. Economic and social discriminations and differences in the social classes are another reason for the student rest. Rise in the number of students reflects a profound change in their social situation. Every year the number of students in Tehran university is increasing but they are still a minority group, and their social destination has shifted. In the past, the Tehran university prepared its students for Medicine Law, Civil Services or Theology. So they were only studying in their specialised fields of subjects, merely, for their livelihood as Doctors, Lawyers and Engineers without taking part in a political activities. But in the time present, the predominant goal of students are divided between industry, teaching and academic researches. This changing social function of higher education has been reflected in the introduction of new subjects, particularly in social sciences, which encourage the students to understand the realities of life,
and participate in many political activities and movements. Tehran thus has shared the general sociological precondition for the rise of students movements. The expansion of political activities has been rapid as compared to Aligarh Muslim University.

**Students and the State**

The demand that students should enjoy the same legal right as other citizens is a rudimentary right. The students organizations should have the same freedom to raise and dispose off funds as any other public body does. The relationship between students and the state should be just like the one in the case of other institutions and the state. In Tehran it is not so. We presume that the students are not to be allowed to express their opinions freely and frankly. Most of the Tehran University students are aware of World's political developments, relations between various governments and students political activities all over the World; So they are desirous to take part in political movements; but the state and university leaders and authorities do not permit them for taking part in such activities. It is different in Aligarh University. During my stay there, I have never seen any strike or political activity. I think that it is because there is a democratic pattern of government there. They are satisfied as everyone there is allowed to say what he thinks to be right, just and beneficial for the state or university. At present, the standard of living of all the students in Tehran is facing crisis. The grants to them
have been frozen, with the result that some students have been compelled to leave their university courses. It is now proposed by official government circles to say even this reduced level by introducing loans which would penalise the students most difficult years of their studies. Now a days, the state offer some students various kinds of jobs, as teaching in government schools or work in various ministries to get a low level salary which suffices only for their requirements as a student. In Aligarh there are scholarships for meritorious students, out of which they can save some money after paying their hostel dues. So, in this condition, higher education is impossible for the poor students. Consequently, the students demand complete democratization of the education system for getting an access to higher education and abolishing discrimination between the rich and the poor students. Resistance by the students against the government's economic policies have become a part of the general resistance to the government's curtailment of social services. Students, in a developed capitalist country like Iran, are not to be taken as unwanted burden. The expenditures incurred on them should not be considered as extravagance. This society needs the services of these intellectuals, whose skills can only be best availed only when they get higher education. After having this facility the students would not become parasites for this country. Contrary to popular beliefs, the students are forced to make themselves
work hard. From this point of view, it is so in India.

The Condition of University Education and
The Courses which Lead to Revolt:

In Tehran, students usually demand the democratic ways to control over the education system. But, it is not so, as there are always conflicts between the student and the teaching staff for syllabuses and methods of assessment. They have not been successful to this day. But, it is possible that they can be able to win control over the staff in the future because every year they go on strikes. Other educational demands can safely be turned towards reformative directions. The extent of students movements at the stage of higher education reveals the students' power and force which is inherent in them. It will be useful to consider here the common objections to the idea of students power. Some of the staff-members argue that the students are a transitory social group which has no stable existence. After getting higher education they disintegrate and step into adult working occupations. The academic staff is the permanent community, engaged in imparting higher education. Therefore, it has the right to power of decision within it. Other staff members are of the opinion that students are an ignorant community. They are learning what they do not know as yet. In comparison to students, the teachers apprehend about themselves that they possess all scientific knowledge. So, they
are equipped to determine what should be taught. These arguments might have some weightage in the past, but it is not much convincing in the present age. After the recent upheavals, we know, the students' experiences at the stage of higher education are absolutely crucial in their life. Their whole future careers may be determined at this stage. Not only this, their ideas, attitudes and beliefs, their whole conception of the future world are formed in this period of education and learning. So, the contention that students are not competent to express their opinion about determining the contents of courses is equally chauvinistic. They have just as much right, to share in power and control over universities and colleges, as the staff claims to have for itself. The claim that democracy is impossible in all institutions other than parliament is a confession of the authoritarian nature of modern capitalism. Socialist thought, by contrast, asserts that democracy will only be concrete and authentic when it is extended to all the institutions of society, whether economic, political or cultural. The movement for attaining students' power, today is a natural descendant of this lineage. It is to be said that only a student movement can prove its mettle within the campus and make a serious contribution to the movements outside it. Students have a specific contribution to make to socialist struggles.
It is true to say that revolutionary ideas take birth from the concrete engagement in mass struggles. Conflicts in higher education, simultaneously, mirror wider social conflicts. Iran is a semi-industrialised country which has started to technocratize, its higher education contrarily, India is an industrialised country heading towards higher education. This situation creates conflicts between the older or traditional style of higher education and the new technocratic model which is more on the extreme than has been experienced elsewhere.

In Tehran, students attack on all that is rotten in both the old and the new forms of education. Whereas, Aligarh students only strike on the old forms of education. The changes taking place in Tehran and Aligarh universities have been quite slow in their process. Tehran university has shown itself always ready to absorb what is new on the academic scene. Same is the case with Aligarh. If, some times, we see strikes in Tehran University, it may arise from the shortage of scientific and good trained Professors. Most of the Iranian scientists and Professors desire to work in foreign universities, especially in U.S.A. Also, most of the Iranian students, who are studying in European and American universities prefer to settle down there, and dont come back to their country. Some of the Tehran University teachers, who do have not sufficient knowledge about their subject, expect their students to exhibit
more knowledge that what they are taught. This expectation vindicates discontentment. Consequently, the students revolt against them. But, it is not the practice of all the Tehran University teachers. Some of them really have a good knowledge about their courses and are willing to guide their students to acquire good knowledge. Most of the Tehran University teachers work for more than 30 to 40 hours per week for earning more money. Thus, they do not have enough time to study and do research work. They save their salary for many of the extra and unnecessary expenditures. Some other teachers work for about 10 hours per week and spend their time for studies and research work. Comparatively, Aligarh teachers usually work for the time they are assigned and earn the salary they are entitled of. Thus, the teachers who are willing to do research work they have enough time for it at their disposal. All of them have similar living conditions. They have accepted poverty just like some of the Tehran University teachers who do not work for more than usual periods of teaching assigned to them. The behaviour of some Tehran University teachers is not friendly with their students, rather, to say, they are rude to them and behave badly with them. They teach less and expect more. Therefore, the students are always angry with them and revolt against them. Another factor which accelerates student unrest is an increasingly critical shortage of teachers. Every year the number of students increases while
the number of teachers does not, proportionably, increase to meet the requirements. Thus, the load of work on them increases and spreads discontentment amongst them. The teachers do not have a national union of theirs which can plead their cause regarding the revision of their salary and improvement in their existing status of living. As such nobody prefers to become a teacher in these conditions. A trained teacher at twenty five years of age after finishing Ph.D. earns 300 dollars only per month. This salary hardly suffices and meets their expenditures on daily living.

When we assess this situation in the light of the conditions which have existed in the past eight years in the University, it is not hard to realise why Tehran University finds it difficult to provide enough teachers. The teachers are not free to talk and teach any subject which they like, while the students are obliged to learn these subjects which are not all interesting for them. Most of the students are not admitted in the courses which they aspired to pursue; but they could not fulfill their desire as they could not succeed in entrance examinations. Being disappointed, they get admission in some other subject. Here, they do not feel well adjusted, and as such, they frequently manifest their discontentment through recurrent revolts. These are the general situations which exist in higher education in the Tehran University. Some of
the above factors might be existing in Aligarh from the point of the monthly salary, and shortage of teachers. But the teachers in Aligarh Muslim University are free to discussing any thing that they like and there is no entrance examination for non-professional subjects. That is why there are not as many revolts and strikes in Aligarh Muslim University as there are there in Tehran University. These which exist in both the Universities. Here I attempt to suggest some solutions for their problems. There are about 60% in the Tehran University in over faculties for whom the living accommodation hardly exists. Most of the students are obliged to live outside the University campus. The economic resources restrict the government to spend sufficiently on social services and education. Though education is an urgent and inevitable social and economic investment, the extent of increase in the expenditures on the social services constrains the government to cut its budget according to its economic means of income. Education in capitalist countries is not suitably planned for a real education. When it is hit by in difference it, consequently, affects academic faculties, teaching and living accommodations become unsatisfactory. Students, especially the poor ones, do not get proper care and attention with the increase in number and size of the educational institutions. All sorts of methods are adopted to reduce students income while make the students'
financial life even harder. Thus the educational progress has always hampered. At present the university controls the intellectual heights and the expansion of higher education which make the foundations more irrational, and thereby, it further insinuates the students to become aware of their inferior situation. Hence, the students demand a truly comprehensive structure of higher education. In Tehran University we do not notice any more development in the education system. But, in Aligarh Muslim University, we mark the possibilities of a developed education system, as all the professors there work as real teachers of their students. As far as the hostels are concerned, the cost of living is not very high in comparison with the amenities they are provided. Aligarh Muslim University is a residential university. Therefore, all the students live in the university hostels where the charges for boarding and lodging are very cheap. There are two divergent pressures, increasingly exerted, upon Tehran university students, viz, the examination system requires students to represent themselves solely as individuals, while, at the same time, students and young graduates are more frequently being required to work together, although quality of this sort of work is neither satisfactory nor up to the mark. Students are expected to examine critically the principles of their own subjects. They expected to prove themselves as sharp minded for permeating their education. These inner contradictions push the students towards revolt and
and unrest. It is no more a wonder that, in Tehran university students of Science, Law, Engineering and Medicine are desirous to study sociology as a subsidiary subject. The Arts students, as a whole, are appreciatively inclines towards studying sociology. Through the study of this subject, they know, they would be able to gather sufficient knowledge about different societies. Further, they would also be able to compare their own society with other ones in different situations. It is in this context that the demand for students' power arises. The Tehran University students can not criticize the existing social system of their country, except they have to accept blindly what they are told by their teachers. The teachers have a vested interest in preserving their individual place in their disciplines, whereas the students are interested in removing this atomization. The authorities are bent on shaping the students on their own images; but the students are concerned about deciding themselves for the crucial questions. They are struggling to find a compromising point between their problems and their education. The rapid expansion of higher education automatically brings about a charge in students' viewpoint about education system in Tehran University and Aligarh Muslim University. Higher education was previously, considered as a privilege, but now it is thought to be a right. By bringing to light the actual power difference between the staff and the students, we are able to point out the power rests with the decision making group, i.e., the teaching staff,
in the college. In such a situation, the students might often treat the staff as their enemy. Although, there are often contradictions within the staff's own ranks, especially between the junior and senior staff, power usually rests in the hands of the senior staff. This type of contradictions between the staff and students often leads the students to revolt against the university authorities.

The Examination system and Students Revolt.

There are many reasons for students revolt against of examinations. Firstly, in Tehran University the teaching method is quite faulty. Students never recognise a class of teachers as the real educators. Consequently, this adds further difficulty in maintaining discipline during the examinations. They consulted a number of books for preparing their courses. But, it is a misfortune that they are not properly assessed for their original knowledge, as their teachers have a different set of knowledge which discredits the students. Thus, they fail in some of their examinations. This injustice instigates them to revolt against their examiners. This practice. This practice is also prevalent in Aligarh Muslim University, but with a little difference. In Aligarh Muslim University, there are many sessional tests which students have to pass every month. The content of the questions of tests are those that have been taught by the teacher in the class. Now, if the students are unable to reproduce the same content of faces they are discredited.
Thus, the problem of difference opinion between the teacher and the student gets an access. There is another difference between Aligarh Muslim University and Tehran University which is related with the system of semester examinations. In Aligarh Muslim University, there are two groups of subjects, viz., compulsory and optional, up to the level of undergraduate classes. The students should pass all their subjects to get a degree. If they fail in any of their subjects, compulsory or optional they can join the next higher semester and clear the uncredited courses in the meantime. But, in Tehran University, it is somewhat different. If a student wants to get a degree he should pass all his subjects, whether compulsory or subsidiary. Moreover, it is necessary to pass all the compulsory subjects for joining the next higher semester. It also happens that a student is withheld in a semester for only one discredited compulsory subject. This failure of the student only for one course creates frustration in him and he revolts against the examination system. In Tehran University, in subsidiaries, they can pass it during their four years courses for B.A. or B.Sc., or two years courses for M.A. or M.Sc. degree. The course of B.A. or B.Sc., in Tehran University, is four years with 140 units, but, in Aligarh Muslim University B.A. or B.Sc. course is 3 years only with 120 credits.

Secondly, there is inevitably a certain friction between the students and teachers' opinions, as the teachers, usually,
represent the age that has passed years ago, whereas the students align themselves with the age present. Students are now studying many new books which have been published in other parts of the world and have been translated into Persian. So they are in a position to acquire new ideas and knowledge from outside Iran as well. They wish to discuss with their teachers about the informations they have gathered from different sources when the teachers abstain to discuss, frictious arise. In Aligarh Muslim University, the situation is quite different. There the teachers show patience and try is satify their students in all the way.

Thirdly, the students are taught for the whole working hours with a fully packed. They have to do strenuous preparations, use more than required usual aids and deal with more topics than what is required for one complete academic year. This extra-ordinary burden, again, incites them to revolt against the exmining body. K

Fourthly, nearly at the time of the commencement of the examinations, especially in Tehran University, which is not a residential university and where a lot of students are obliged to lodge at far off places as the rents near the University are too high and the students are notable to pay these high rents, every day they are obliged to cover a long and complicated
distance. Some of the students have to change two or three bus routes with more than an hour's time wasted once or twice in a day. These long and arduous journeys are inevitable for these students. The system of traffic in Tehran is very bad. Suppose some of them can not reach in time to the University for their examinations, they will eventually be at a loss and the result of it will be to study in the same semester once again. Others who can reach the university for their examinations they face another ordeal: They have to write detailed and exhaustive answers to the questions they have been asked. Their success depends on how and to what length they have answered. It depends on the examiners to agree or disagree with these answers and credit or discredit the students according to their own appreciations. Contrary to it, in Aligarh Muslim University, being a residential one, the students are not obliged to take a long journey every day. They live in hostels which are at the maximum at a distance of not more than five minutes by walk. Thus, all the Aligarh students can reach in time for their examinations. All the Tehran University students have to work hard during their examinations, more than in all other months of the year. The amount of work and the bulk of notes would have met less fierce resentment if its purpose had been more obvious. For some subjects, all the students, apart from mathematics students, are obliged to prepare a long essay on a subject of his own choice within his main field of study.
to complete their examinations. Arts students should gather
original documents to profound new theories. Such essays may
also be required, during the course of studies as individual
researches and studies. Some oral examinations are also arranged
for the students in addition to the written examinations. This
type of examination suits the diverse nature of the courses
and may allow some students to do well in some aspects. This

The standard of education is not very high in some of
the faculties, whereas in others the standard is quite high.
Every year some students, who are studying in Tehran University
fail to complete their courses. The percentage of failed students
in the faculties of Tehran University is not constant. Why
is there this varying wastage of the energy of students? One
argument is, that, such students did not attempt to acquire
and remembers the required material. If it is so, why in some
faculties the percentage of failure is high while in others it
is low. The vast fluctuations between various failure percentages
clearly indicate one thing; that is, the existing system of
examinations is a random process of selection. Now the question
is as what kind of test should be set assess the achievements
of the students? A test of what? In these days, the educational
aims are assessed in terms of examinations instead of examina-
tions being assessed in terms of aims. Examinations can be
specifically attached from two points of issue; the first,
reliability of examinations, and secondly, the relevance of examinations. They do not test the intellectual ability of the students, but what they do test are the conflicts with the liberal aims of education. As far as the criterion of reliability is concerned, the assessment of the examiners is notoriously arbitrary and subjective business. The range of marks awarded, variations in the marking criteria, differences in the standards expected by various examiners, and other factors, such as the temperament of the examiners, their mood and health at the time of marking a certain paper matters a lot for the future of a student. So we do not have an adequate system of examination. We are, therefore, compelled our outdated systems of assessment. But, the change in the system requires the power to change it. Since the number of sympathetic lecturers is not yet sufficient, change depends mainly on the initiative of the students. It is a limitation that the students lack power, which at present lies in the hands of the examiners. After the examinations, it is the examiners alone who give their judgements. When the results are placed on the notice board, the real exercise of power comes to be known to all. It often makes the students to think that they should make effort to overthrow the University management and replace it with students power which is democratic and the only solution of the existing injustice, for it is the students' lives which are at the stake. Students, we would be able to prevent them from revolt.
One of reasons for the students unrest is that students are intended to transform the educational system from authoritarian model, i.e., teachers and staff as the rules and students as subjects, to the democratic one, i.e., teachers and students as the partners in the same task. So, the essential situation of students' training ought to be for the development of democratic forms; the concept of a shared creativity, where the learner is more inspired than 'taught' by the older generation. Unfortunately, the potential of this situation is obscured by a great deal of what goes on in today's university education system. In this way we should mark that how the students politics deals with this education system and how is the formidable confusion is created by the government and other official policies in this field, which seem to be designed to sabotage everything of value in it.

The main problem of the new order is itself, quite an old one. It is necessary to work on an integrated programme of education, which must be rather flexible and generalized. In the forms of expression, both intellectual and emotional, such a programme will not produce the geniuses of bourgeois might alone, but the meritorious persons among the common people. It must produce the designers of the social structure, who are aware of the wider meaning of their
work and are able to match the great creative challenges presented by changing materials and techniques. Unfortunately, the development of such an educational programme in Tehran University is weak. A lot of Tehran University students are studying in the Arts Faculty, whereas every year our country is becoming more technicalised and needs a board of technicians. So, the Arts graduates would remain unemployed; and the, out of disgust, organise big strikes against this system of education. They demand more facilities for technical schools which the government fails to provide. Hence they revolt against the university authorities. In India, every year, a large number of unemployed graduates come out portals of universities. This creates a frustration among the India youths and they education Probably they are afraid that they will get no job after completing their education. The victims of such arts and science students. In Tehran university, the Arts students are torn between two contrasting attitudes, and face an acute conflict which leads them to revolt against the existing education and social system. Arts students are overwhelmingly rebellious and unwilling for any sort of organization. The lack of solidarity in their institutions and the lack of coherence in their programmes of study means that no model of cooperation has been presented to them. They are being torn apart in the way that
they are unable to build up their own educational world, their
own kind of unity between theory and practice. The choos
implies some freedom which is being better tained by some
Faculties as compared with others. It is becoming evident to
everyone that the present state of affairs will not continue
for a longtime. Every year, there are too many demands for
radical reforms in some of the Faculties of Tehran university.
But, to this day, there has been less success in this effort.
The underlying causes of revolt in Tehran university are
discontentment of students in the case of education system
and university rules and regulations. Same is the situation in
Aligarh Muslim University where the efforts for reforms further
aggravate the disgust and revolt. Here too, the Arts,
students are the main banner-holders of revolts demanding
reforms. They are about a quarter of the whole students' popu-
lation at the level of higher education. It is, thus, obvious
from what we have said that the challenge of organization by
these students is alarming. The tasks of such organizations are
very far-reaching. They are going to involve every aspect of
educational system, ideology, and the higher political strategy
of educational affairs. In the past, in spite of this challenge,
the organization of students was very poor in the most of the
Faculties. They had been unable to get any recognition for
their union as an organization. There was no students union
organization in Tehran University. Often Facilities forbade from
such organisations by pasting their orders on the notice boards. This restricted the occasional use of a classrooms for students' meetings. There is no journal or magazine published by Tehran University students for providing informations about their activities. Every year the authorities fail to conform to certain political schismata of students unions. But, the contact the movements taking place in other developed countries, encourage the Tehran University students. The build up their own theories and bring them to practice which gives birth to some problems, like students revolts.

In a wider perspective of the revolutionary movements, it should not be forgotten that students will act as the vanguard of revolution. In future, I think, we will have an educational system in which teachers, and students will be having an equal footing and cooperate with each other in creative tasks. This concept is essential for any programme of students. Power will become a quite natural phenomena; and it will be fairly easily attainable, not only in Tehran and Aligarh universities but in all universities of the world as is common in some European Universities in these days.

Circumstances Prevailing in The Students Unions and Organizations:

I think, every university should have some organization of its students for discussing the political problems, because every student appreciates to know something about the social
Economical and political problems of his country and its concern with international problems. It is also necessary for the University leaders and authorities to arrange some social sessions for students to discuss everyday problems as one of their business, and entertainments, vacation tasks, cultural activities (such as drama and debates), etc., as the other engagement of them. It is a tendency of students that they often fail to perform their duties. We find that Tehran university students are lagging behind in political activities and the Ali arh students lack and adequate leadership. This absence of proper leadership reflects itself in the failures of student movements in relation to the international institutions of activities. If the Tehran students want to arrange sessions for discussing problems posed by the government and which in any way offend the government politics, they will have to face the police as a repercussion. This danger makes them to abstain from cooperating and they cannot establishing relations with the youth organizations dealing with international affairs of students in the World. If ever, the Tehran university students are allowed to discuss, they are allowed to discuss only about their educational policies. Now if their proposals go quite against the university provisions, they will be ignored with complete indifference. If the students desire to have some organizations and unions of their own it becomes necessary for
them to have the support of the educational and political pressure groups, which may assist them in getting their rights and demands fulfilled. But, such sympathy is limited only to the abolition of test system of examinations, payment of students national insurance dues, lodgings, sports facilities, As is evident, and the pay and conditions of teachers. There is genuine students union and real organization. That is why, some students revolts come on the surface and the campaigns against the educational and political system of the University continue. In these days, most of the students know foreign languages and are aware of the students organizations and unions in other parts of the World. In this way they feel that they should have their own organizations which can honestly represent them. With this motive they attack the existing educational and political system and offer a resistance to the university authorities. Various campaigns against the systems of test, teachers' salaries and behaviour, student's housing and welfare were never linked to make intelligible the structure of educational system. While the university authorities arrange meetings after meetings and pretend that they are not satisfied with present condition of the students. But, the students very definitely realise this sympathy is a hoax. The executive staff alone takes the fundamental decisions about the implementation of the policy. They think that in this way. They can prevent the students from undesirable activities, but it does not prove fruitful, as their presumptions
are based on false grounds. The executive committee, which tries to keep politics out of students' domain, is generally composed of the persons who have wrong notions for the young generation. We believe that it is not wise to hold that the role of students should be confined only to an academic political forum. Probably, they are afraid that politics brings with it the conflicts of the real world inside the educational campus and deviate the students from their primary business of education. This situation, in the past ten years, in the Tehran university, has eventually drifted the students towards revolt against the authorities who have always tried to pose themselves as a tyrant squad fighting against the students' union. The growing opposition of the students' union, however, depends on the growth of parallel organizations which try to keep students ignorant of the present political developments. But, I presume, that now a days the opposition of students' activities means hampering the existence of a peaceful campus. If we compare Tehran University with Aligarh Muslim University, we will come to agree with the above contentions. In Aligarh Muslim University, there is an organization for the students to choose some of their fellow students as president, vice-presidents and secretary through elections. Thus, they can solve their social and political difficulties by their representatives. Their University authorities and even their government have full regard for these representatives. It is also a normal procedure in every parts
of the World. The students are an educated class in every society, so they can discuss their political and social problems by themselves without any inhibition. If the authorities prevent them from continuing their activities, it is obvious that they will resort to revolt against them. That is why, in Tehran University, there are many revolts and strikes against the government or their authorities. Whereas, we do not notice, in Aligarh Muslim University, frequent revolts and strikes every year. It is the right of the students to take part in political activities. It is a usual practice all over the world. For example, the liberal, labour and communist student groups in U.S.A. criticise their government for taking part in the Vietnam war. Thus, in every country, it is necessary to have a students organisation which can assist in international affairs. Where the students are coolly and rationally educated about the facts of life and the world politics the chances of students revolt do not normally arise. Students organizations in some universities, sometimes, have succeeded in changing the perspective of their students regarding the standpoint they have about their movements, examination system, nature of the courses, disciplinary lowerers of the university authorities. I think, if they give an ear to the students proposals, they will minimise the chances of their revolts. What is needed is a programme which can enable the students to get proper suggestion about the social and political affairs in their societies. This is what is the
practice of the developed countries. A genuine students movement will grow out of a real struggle. The university struggles are simply a function of the comparatively small number of student militants. A developed, autonomous student movement with a clear theoretical perspective would be able to obtain wide inroads of control within university. I think communication between the students' organization in all the countries is necessary for determining their aims. Thus, one of the most important current developments is that the increasingly frustrated militants in universities are planning disaffiliate themselves from most of the aims of various students organizations. This is, somewhat, a unique decision which they have taken in the current few years.

CAUSES OF STUDENTS' UNREST

Indo-Iran Societies have had long history of students' unrest. But for different matter, students in Iran are against the political system and university leadership, while in India the students have shown rebellion against the traditional rigid requirements of their caste and class system and their social institutions such as ancient culture, religion, ancient family rules and regulations.

The Government and educational authorities in these two countries are faced with such indiscipline every year. These are increasing not only in these two societies, but in all parts
of the world, even in developed countries. We are witnessing students' revolution in the University Campus and classes. Sometimes it take form of rudeness against the University authorities. In these cases, only the students are not blame for such actions, but some of the political leaders and University authorities are blamed. In these conditions instead of getting close touch with the students they create them many problems and make them angry. That is why one of the most important students demands in their revolt is changing their political system and University authorities. Not only the authorities are the cause of students unrest, but sometimes the teachers are responsible for student unrest.

Most of the teachers in capitalist countries never take care of their students except teaching them in the classroom. In Tehran University, most of the teachers take classes more than 30 hours per week as an extra work to earn more monthly salary. So how do they can guide and help their students. I think they no concern with the affairs of their students. So why should the students have any respect for such teachers? We thought are agree that the teachers are not now-a-days in close touch with the taught, it is one of the reasons for students' unrest. I think it would be better that Tehran University student be allowed to continue their activities, while for Aligarh student there is difference to be allowed or not. But if the rulers let them to be free they would never take part in political movements like Tehran students.

We know that most of the youth are misled and have taken to
crush wrong paths. Whereas they I have seen that during the students' unrest, the universities instead of helping and guiding their students' have decided to cancel grants-in-aid or scholarship which it turn make the revolt hardly and fail to control indiscipline among their students. Poorness between the public people from the point of bad economic and political planning of the government may be other reason for students' unrest. It may be due to the lack of certain necessary amenities or facilities which the student community may be feeling in some educational institutions as I describe in previous chapter. Most of these indiscipline and agitations arising from social and economical problems. That is why every year the numbers of students' unrest in underdeveloped and undeveloped countries are increasing comparing with developed countries. In asiatic countries the students' unrest is growing at alarming rate and it spread all over the country like an avalanche. I believe that the students would be the victims of their rulers except in the case rulers think, they are just their sons. If the government use more force against the students agitation not only they would not be able to stop it, but it make students violent stronger. In this case the army would have to be deployed and attack to the students, finally the problem would be more dangerous. Everyone who can understand the youth problem will criticise such government action against the students. In my opinion the best way for preventing such a case is guiding them in right way through the legal force which is used only to the
minimum. The university campus in Asiatic country should be free of the police interference if it want to remain a quiet place. It is only duty of the university authorities to look up all the political affairs which are responsible for all the students' activities. If they feel they are going in a wrong way it would be better to guide them in a friendly way not behaving with them as enemies. There are many students who are willing to continue their studies. If some of them make difficulties and grievances, the educational authorities should solve it peacefully by the end of this discussion, I think students' association and union in every university is necessary, to solve the students' problems. In such institutions all the students can describe their ideas and demands, then, the student leaders try to get close touch with the university authorities and governmental rulers and most of their problems will be solved and the rate of students' unrest will be diminished and decreased.

**Student strikes:**

Before description of Aligarh and Tehran universities strikes it would be better that we study it as a world-wide phenomenon. We can not say that every strike has only a single reason. It is a social and collective action. So it should have many reasons. Strike is a collective demonstrate. It is evident that students join protest movements for a variety of reasons. We know that in 1972 near about one fifth of World
students have taken part in strikes, whereas the reasons of their strikes were different. There were two big strikes in Tehran university in last two years. It should be noted that there is neither a real students' union in Tehran university nor any students' leadership there. In the year 1971, some foreign acts have passed in Tehran which students do not approve them. In spite of that, there was not any students' union. An important strike took place in Faculty of Law and Engineering. This strike continued up to the university authorities have to close it. After closing the Engineering Faculty for one year, strike spread in all the Faculties of Tehran university. The police control it from the outside and then after the students' rebellion and rebelliousness, the police have to enter into the Tehran university. Police was able to control the students. After scattering the students, university closed. So there was no a place for students to come together. I mention before in spite of that there was neither any students' union nor taking part in political party. There was an important strike there. It means it may be possible that students guided from outside of University campus by the persons who were not students. Our university authorities found the students leaders put them in prison. After some research, some of them become free. A few persons who were guilty in students' strikes are now in prison. In this academic year, Tehran university students join another protest movements for freedom of their friends.
this time soonly the leaders were found and taken by police. There are 19 faculties in Tehran university, but most of the strikes are in law faculty, Engineering, Social Science and Sciences. There are numbers of Tehran university students who are not willing to leave their classrooms and take part in such activities and unruly behaviour unless forced to by other students. Such students usually belong to rich families. In Aligarh university there are not many political activities between the students in spite of existing students' union. There were two strike in Aligarh university in the last three years. The first was for enacting and approving a bill in Parliament to omit the name of Muslim of this university and Hindu from Banaras University. Some of the student leaders arrange and strikes, But the police control them. Delhi and Parliament then they want to put the Muslim name over this university. They did so, but the percent for Muslims admission omitted.

In the year 1973 there was another strike in Aligarh but without big protest movements. I think Dr. Rais Ahmad, Dean, Faculty of Science did a lecture against the students. The students' Union stood against the Dean. Demand of students' Union was changing the Dean only. But the government approved him again as the Dean, Faculty of Science. Students' Union threatened him and make strike but police control and chased them. So they put on this posters over the University walls.
The members of the F.R.S. express their sense of shock at the brutal lathi charge on the students by the police, in the exhibition on 3rd February 1973.

It is obvious from the manner in which the police surrounded the students, and chased them up to the Muzzamil Gate that the attack was pre-planned. The nature of severe injuries sustained by the students reveals that the police were not interested so much in maintaining law and order, as in intimidating the students who were legitimately demanding their right to enter the Qawwali Pandal as they possessed the ticket.

We are of the opinion that the district administration had the courage to attack the students to hide its own mismanagement and because of the weakness of the student movement in Aligarh.

For a long time the vested interests have thavarted the unity of students by dividing them on communal issues and thus have made it easier for the state to repress them. If we want to avoid the recurrence of such incidents it is necessary that we recognize these enemies in the garb of friends and do not allow them to exploit us. We can resist state repression and guard our rights only if we build a united democratic student movement in Aligarh.
We requested all the students of Aligarh to stand together to protest against this incident. We demand that an inquiry by no less a person than a judge of High Court should immediately be instituted. And those who are found guilty should be suitably punished.

In the end, we should like to congratulate the students on their exemplary behaviour who inspite of the gravest provocation by the police acted with great restraint and avoided any harm to public property in the exhibition.

Unite to Struggle Against Dirty capitalist Government

- ASGHAR MEDHI
  President

- RAFAI OMAR
  Secretary.

Before the strike take place the University closed for 3 months. The president was put on the prison and university has now re-opened peacefully. It is evidence, that if, a foreigner ask the university authorities what is the reason of students strikes they will answer it occurred because the students wanted holidays and made the youth Festival an excuse to go on strike. But the reasons are something else as I mentioned before. Every students strike has a great demonstration except the last strike in Ali arh university in April 1973 only closed by a notice through the university. While in Tehran university
the major problem in organizing student movements is that there is no any political party or they have not an enduring leadership. But when they want to make a strike the students remain at their college, for a short periods of time till they arrange a temporary association to get public decision for the way and situation of their strike. Thus, leadership is passed on in a very haphazard and temporary way. In this way most of the students may be deeply concerned and influenced with some project or type of student activity and it may be able to keep students united to follow the temporary leaders. After a few days that strike goes to a violent position. You can not see the leaders. That is why I believe these strike are organized by those who are not students.

Table No.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Percent of students who have taken part in strikes</th>
<th>Students percent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aligarh</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table we can realize that the total numbers of students who have taken parts on student strikes are more than Aligarh. Number of active Female in Tehran university
are more than Aligarh and we realize that, the girls in Tehran university are more socialized comparing with the girls in Aligarh university.

Students Indiscipline as a Mechanism on Social reforms:

In recent years the students in all universities of the world have been in turmoil, so all the universities have been described as "The unquiet campus". That is why such student movements and activities have attracted much public attention, and many researchers in most parts of the world are doing research about the revolt and indiscipline of the young generation.

Most of the university authorities feels that they constitute abnormal behaviour or irrational action. I think in India and Iran the cause of students' indiscipline trace of defective system of education, which does not meet the requirements of the present-day life. In Aligarh and Tehran universities another cause for students' indiscipline may be trace out of a problem that they have not enough chance and opportunity to express their personality. In may own society there is social indiscipline and there is national indiscipline. While in India the important cause of indiscipline is the division of this society into many castes. We know that there are many social Economical, Political and educational factors which have important impression on students' indiscipline. I think it is
In Aligarh university medium of instruction is English but the English standard is low between the students and even some unexperienced lecturers. This factor has an important role on Aligarh students' indiscipline. So, the only effective remedy for this case of indiscipline is changing the medium of instruction into their national language at least in undergraduate courses. Now-a-days indiscipline among the youth is increasing and will always remain as a social phenomenon. In recent years, as a result of aggravation from political pressure, students' indiscipline increased. In Tehran university students were protesting against the high level tuition and the rising price of their books which have written by their teachers and published by their university.

But in Aligarh university most of the students were protesting against bad conditions in their hostels, which included lack of drinking water, and by an unpopular warden, or by thieving their things in the hostels.

In Tehran University students protested against the "misbehaviour of their staff" and it so for Aligarh students. I believe in Iran and India the students are beginning to play a significant role in education, and it may be possible that they change their educational system.

In most European countries students administer jointly with the government and sit on numerous government commissions dealing with youth, education, sports, cultural affairs and
similar matters.

In Mexico and Colombia students are assigned important roles and their demonstrations are taken seriously by the politicians. Publicity given to recent students protest in the United states with the regard to the civil rights movements and to the war in Vietnam has overshadowed students influence on education. Harold Tazior, former president of Sarah Lawrence college, said recently, that the students had become the "most powerful invisible force in the reform of education in the United States.

It is evident that most of the students' unrest in all parts of the world is leading toward the initiating of reforms in the educational systems of different countries. We know that in recent days there is a speedy system of communications and transportations between all countries of the world, such as Radio and T.V., newspapers, aeroplanes and so on. That is why I believe the students in these two countries will play a significant role in education.

1. Bakke, p. 220