CHAPTER II

POLITICAL AWARENESS

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2.1 Social Movement:

In order to find out about the participation of youth in Politics we have taken a wider basis to find out their involvement in different Social Movements. So, movements all over the world are very common because whenever specific issues affecting individual arise in the society people are organized to fight for it. There have been lots of studies going on for finding out the root cause of these movements and describing its nature.

Study of Social Movements:

The emergence of the innumerable Social Movements with manifold issues, values and demands can said to be one of the most noticeable phenomenon in all contemporary societies. Social Movements find more expression in Democratic societies and Systems rather than in any other political System and Society. Though Social Movements can not be generally viewed as movement or social or political action of a group or collectivity, or as simple protest or dissent action but is increasingly being viewed as an active agent and motivator of social change and transformation.

Social Movements are directed towards a social goal. In most cases, Movement exists to promote changes in the existing social order, but sometime they hope to preserve the status- quo in the face of threatened changes. Thus Social Movements are testimony to the belief that people can effectively shape their societies to fit a desired pattern. Viewed from both the angles, Social Movements can be said to
have inherent relationship with the process of change and transformation of society

Social Movements have existed throughout the history, but those of the last several centuries are best understood. In the 18th century Methodism swept across England and America, and it is one of the many examples of Religious-Social Movements. In the 19th century, the International Socialist Movements grew out of smaller Political struggles in individual European Countries. The issue of slavery spawned several Social Movements in the United States, most notably abolitionism in the North and secessionism in the South. The 20th century has witnessed fascist movements in Europe and the continued movements for civil rights in America. Recently many countries have seen a revival of the movements against nuclear arms.

However, with the gradual transformation of the economic and social structure of the society and as a result of Industrial Revolution, various Social Movements emerged. The Industrial Revolution brought about radical qualitative changes in the economic, scientific, technological and Political Institutions besides changing the culture and the way of life of the people. The Industrial Revolution had destroyed the structure of Federalism and replaced it with Capitalism. Development of Capitalism and its inherent contradictions gave birth to many Social Movements in history. Again in India, in the 19th century, at least at its beginning, the problems related with Social Reforms were the main ones. This consciousness was one of the main consequences of the modern western education which made the educated youth conscious about the social and religious inequalities, discrimination and rigidities. This gave rise to serious reaction among

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2 Ibid
3 Ibid
4 Ibid
6 Ibid, pp-3-4
the educated middle classes and was exemplified more coherently in the ideas of Ram Mohan Roy, Young Bengal Movement and several other streams.\(^7\)

The development of Democracy as a form of government and Democracy as the way of life of the people in almost all the societies also energized the conditions for the growth of Social Movements. The rights which are guaranteed to the people under democratic form of government and known as Fundamental Rights have also played significant role in the emergence of various Social Movements in contemporary societies. It is important to note that some of the most important events of the present century reveal the growth and development of innumerable Social and Political Movements. The most significant among them is undoubtedly the Russian Revolution of 1917. It radically changed the entire Russian society and provided a historically different social system aimed at stopping the exploitation of men by men.\(^8\) The Chinese Revolution too brought about a radical transformation of the world's most populous society.\(^9\) These two 'revolutions could hardly be called just political revolutions for they involved vast transformations of the entire structure of their societies from the state institutions to those of kinship'.\(^10\)

Discussions on history and development of Social Movements have cleared that due to the gradual development of consciousness about inequalities, injustices and exploitation of men by men among people of every Political Society, mainly, Political Societies with democratic environments, Social Movements have emerged to scrapped all these barriers which blocks the path of establishing a society based on Equality and Justice.

\(^{7}\) Mahammed, Yasin, Dasgupta, Snananda; Indian Politics, Protests And Movements, Anmol Publication Pvt Ltd New Delhi. 2003, pp-1-2

\(^{8}\) Hussain, Monirul, op.cit, p-4

\(^{9}\) Ibid, p-4

\(^{10}\) Ibid, p-4
Difference between Social/Political Movements:

More often than not, Political Scientists and Sociologists do not make a distinction between Social and Political Movements. Sociologists assume, and rightly so, that Social Movements also includes those movements, which have a clear objective of bringing about political change. Two volumes on Social Movements, (1978) edited by the Sociologist M. S. A. Rao, include two such studies: The Naxalite Movement which aims at capturing state power; and the Backward Caste Movement for asserting a higher status. Rudolf Heberle (1951) argues that all movements have political implications even if their members do not strive for political power. Political Scientists, too, are not inhabited in using the term “Social Movement.” The book on Social Movements by Wilkinson, published under the series The concept of Political Science, is suggestive of this approach.

Again, it may be mentioned that the Committee of Political Science on trend report, (Constituted by ICSSR), commissioned this study on Social Movements. This indicates the approach of Political Science towards the subject.

Though, it is very difficult to distinguish minutely between Political and Social Movements, yet, recently Andrew Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes (1987) have made a distinction between Social and Political Movements. According to them, the former do not strive for state power. Social Movements seek more autonomy rather than state power. There is a difference between social and political power and the latter is located in the state alone. According to these authors, the objective of Social Movement is social transformation. The participants get mobilized for attaining social justice. Although these writers have made a distinction between Political and Social Movements, yet it can be said after a thorough study of Social Movements that most of the historically significant Political Movements by nature and implications are Social Movements.

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11 Shah, Ghansyam, Social Movements in India: A Review Of Literature, p-20
12 Ibid, P-20
13 Ibid. p-20
14 Ibid. p-20
15 Ibid. p-20
Defining Social Movements:

The term “Social Movement” gained currency in European languages in the early 19th century. Political thinkers and authors, seeing the disruption and injustices in those societies, used the term which concerned with emancipation of exploited classes and the creation of a new society by changing property relationships. Therefore, authors and Political thinkers have reflected their ideological orientations through their definitions. It is worth mentioning that Social Scientists and Political thinkers have attempted to provide “thorough going” definitions of the concept since early fifties. The works of Rudolf Heberle (1951, 1968), Neil Smelser (1963) and John Wilson (1973) are important in this regard. Though these authors have provided definitions of Social Movement their definitions have faced severe criticism. Although, Social Scientists & Political Thinkers have provided their definitions on the subject but the earliest definition of Social Movement perhaps was provided by Danish historian Lorenz Von Stein in 1852.

The English word “Movement” is derived from the old French verb “moverir” which means to move, or stir or impel, and the mediaeval Latin “Movimentum”. The word has different connotations. In the past it was used to denote certain “liberal” “innovatory” or “progressive parties or functions” as in “Movement Party” in early nineteenth century Britain. The author uses the term to refer to “historical tendency”, “trend”, “current” or “drift”. As against these, the general English usages of “Movements” as found in Oxford English Dictionary, points to a” series of actions and endeavors of a body of persons for a special subject.”

Though many scholars have forwarded their definitions on the subject, there is no well-accepted precise definition of the term movement. It has become “All things to all men” Like many other terms, such as “Democracy”, “Masses”, “Popular”, “Equality”, Social Scientist, Political leaders and scholars who have written on

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16 Hussain, Monirul, op.cit, p-4
17 Mohanned, Yasmin, Dasgupta, Srinanda, op.cit, p-5
"Movements" often use the term "movement" differently. Some scholars use the term interchangeably with "Organization or "Union". Some use it to mean a historical trend or tendency. It is fashionable for Political leaders and Social Reformers to call their activities "Movements" even though their activities are confined to the forming of organizations with less than a dozen members. Some claim to launch movements by issuing press statements on Public issues. Like many other terms "Movement" is still regarded as a hurrah word.

The new Encyclopedia Britannica discusses Social Movement as loosely organized but sustained campaign in support of a social goal, typically, either for the implementation or the prevention of a change in society's structure or values. Although Social Movements differ in size, they are all essentially collective. That is, they result from the more or less spontaneous coming together of people whose relationships are not defined by rules and procedures but who merely share a common outlook on society. Rudolf Heberle defines Social Movements as a collective effort to transform established relations within a particular society. Neil Smelser views Social Movement as directly oriented towards a change in social institutions and social norms. Wilson defines Social Movement as a conscious collective or organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalized means. Social Movements, according to sociologists Sidney Tarrow's definition, are "Collective changes, based on common purposes and social solidarities in sustained interaction with Elites, opponents and authorities." Finally, we can refer to Zirakzadeh (1997 4-5) who suggests that contemporary Social Movements:

* Comprise a group of people who consciously attempt to build a radically new social order,

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18 Ghansyam, op cit, p-16
19 Dasgupta, op cit, p-5
20 The New Encyclopedia Of Britannica, p-922a
21Mohammed, Yasin, Dasgupta, Srinanda, p-6
22 Ibid, p-6
23 Ibid, p-6

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*Involve people of a broad range of social backgrounds and provide an outlet for the political expressions by the non-powerful, non-wealthy and non-famous, and *
*Deploy confrontational and socially disruptive tactics involving a style of politics that supplements or replaces conventional political activities like lobbying or working for a political party 25*

Needless to say, Social Movements are the demands of the times. It seeks recognition and acceptance of its ideas, demands, interest and values. Every Social Movement must have a goal or set of precise goals to reach. It is pertinent to mention here that a social movement may not reach the goal it desires—it may reach somewhere else depending on the interactions of various forces and the objective situation. The success of a social movement depends largely on its determination and capacity to reach its explicit desired goals.

2.2 Student Movement:

Student movement has been recognized as a universal phenomenon in recent times as these movements have great impacts on social, educational and political issues of the whole world. The fact is that such movements have become more organized, have well versed networking system. An analysis of student movements in both the developed and developing nations not only focuses on the students and their movements as a dynamic force for change be it educational, social, economic or political but at times as ‘a reactionary force upholding traditional elements in the society as Altbach put it, and in so doing reflects the larger social system of which the student is an integral part 26. As it is said the students of the world involve themselves to solve problems in their respective societies, their interest is not confined to the campus problems, it extends beyond the campus and includes the problems and issues of general social and political importance.

Student politics thus has two major areas of operation—‘on campus’ and ‘off campus’—although quite often issues and involvements in one area impinge on the other.\(^{27}\)

It is noteworthy that in the past also youth had quite often protested in all times against a dilapidated or stagnant social order. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), as a student, was very uncomfortable at Oxford which he later describes as a storehouse of ‘insignificant speech’.\(^{28}\) Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) ran away at the age of sixteen because none of the skills, which were being forcibly imparted to him, interested him.\(^{29}\) But prior to the twentieth century these protestations badly became social or organized movements.

**Meaning and Definitions of Student Movements:**

It is difficult to locate a movement of students alone. They are to be found with the various other sections of youth, middle strata and the rising intelligentsia. On several occasions, an organization cannot be labeled as belonging to the students alone, yet the belonging of the students’ association’s activities are to be found in them.\(^{30}\) A sociological Approach defines student movement as “a deeper problem of social change.” Cormack, for instance, states that any attempt to isolate the antecedent variables of student indiscipline must fit into the psycho cultural gestalt or sequence of life experiences extending to socio-economic changes, changes in structure of family, marital problems, religion and policies. Infact, Cormack symbolizes these changes that are taking place in India as ‘the struggle between Lakshmi and Saraswati’. She believes that Indian’s problem is not ‘student indiscipline,’ ‘corruption on party politics’—it is the deeper problem of social change.

\(^{28}\) Mehta, Prayag, (Ed.), *The Indian youth: Emerging Problems and issues*, Somaya Pub Pvt Ltd, p.79
\(^{29}\) Ibid, p.79
\(^{30}\) Rajmwal Anil, *History of Student Movement in India*, Manak Publication, New Delhi, 2001, pp.2-3
In stable societies, culture largely makes the man, and in societies undergoing social change, man largely moulds culture. Such an approach may be suitable to Indian conditions but at the same time, the historical roots would not be ignored. Moreover, it would not suffice to explain the rise of student movements in stable democracies like the UK and USA. According to Philip Altbach, students movements are generated by an emotional feelings often associated with inter-generational conflicts. They also have positive goals. As young intellectuals, they assume that they have a special historical mission to achieve what the other generation has failed to achieve or to correct imperfections in their environments. Student’s Movements are combinations of emotional responses and intellectual convictions. Moreover, the first generations of learners find it difficult to adjust to the new demands and values of society unlike those who have the advantage of generations of an emotional background in families. Some scholars, however, do not share these observations on the generation gap. Studies on the values of students and those of their parents show that the students do not differ from their parents so far as values are concerned, except in matters of dress and sexual mores. The majority of the students accept the caste system, caste customs, family Student Movements norms, the subjugated status of women, hierarchy, economic structure etc. Divergence between the two is conspicuous in the sphere of aspirations.

Student movements in different parts of the world and at different times have been concerned with issues varying from educational problems to political issues. Though students often take up issues affecting their own narrow interests, sometimes they also take up causes, which do not directly affect them. Aileen Ross (1969) classifies student’s protest into five types: (1) Political Protests; (2) Economic Protests; (3) Moral Protests; (4) Educational Protests, and (5) Protest for funs. These protests are often inter-related. The Educational Commission (1964) lists some of the factors related to the education system responsible for so-

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31 Deeka Meeta, Student Movement in Assam, p-2
33 Shah, Ghareyam, “Social Movements in India,” A review of literature P-149
called “student indiscipline” They include. (1) Mechanical and unsatisfactory nature of many curricular programmes, (2) Totally inadequate facilities for teaching and learning in many of the educational institutions, (3) Poor students – teachers – contacts, (4) Inefficiency and lack of scholarship on the part of many teachers and their failure to interest themselves in the student’s problems, (5) Absence of imagination and tact combined with firmness on the part of institutions; and (6) Prevalence of teacher’s politics in some colleges and universities. As a result of mass education there is less of teacher-taught contact. As Grayson L. Krick effectively puts it, “students proclaim that they are little more than unit in an anonymous mass, numbers on a computer tape, and to the Professor faceless beings in a lecture hall. They insist that they have no opportunity to develop meaningful personal relationship with professors who are indifferent to their needs and problems”.

Along with these factors break down of communications between students and authority is also responsible for student’s agitation in some universities. Professor Di Bona observes that the majority of students are at odds with the system. They participate in collective action ‘to do something about their miserable condition’. Sagar Ahuwalia observes such student indiscipline for the reason that they are alienated from the decision making process of the institutions.

Again, Margaret L. Cormack has also dealt with the causes of student unrest in detail. She suggests three inter-related areas of student unrest in India, namely, political-structural, professional and socio-psychological. Under the first, she includes favouritism, regionalism, castism and political affiliation as the bases of appointment and promotion in the institutions of higher education and involvement of the faculty and students in party politics. Under the second, she examines faculty administration - faculty relations and faculty - student relations. Under the socio – psychological area are such factors as the role of parents, lack

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34 Ibid. P-151
36 Shah, Ghanshyam. Social Movements in India: P-151
association between faculty and students, bad conditions in most of the hostels, lack of proper student government, etc. Edward Shills analysis brings to light several sources of student unrest and indiscipline.

He finds Indian Universities and colleges, their faculties and departments crushingly hierarchical in constitution and spirit and holds it mainly responsible for growing student unrest and indiscipline in the country. The other important factors according to Shill’s are bleak prospects of employment, the peculiar family system with preponderance of the elders, the hesitation of university and college authorities to respond to legitimate student desires and their remoteness from students and the students’ unions major interest in igniting passions among students.

A book published by Ministry of Education in 1954 identifies the cause of student unrest mainly as the destruction of old values and failures to create a new set of values. Special factors contributing to student dissatisfaction and indiscipline in the country were then noted as loss of leadership of teachers, growth of economic difficulties, defects in the system of education and general decline in idealism. Elaborating the cause of student unrest, Humayun Kabir says that, rapid increase in the number of students, many of whom were drawn from socio-economic strata that could not meet their needs, intensified the economic struggle and enhanced the feeling of financial insecurity resulting in unrest. He points out that authoritarian character of education was one reason for indiscipline. It is noteworthy that scholar have also studied the causes of Student Movement in various parts of India. Altbach’s study on student politics in Bombay (now Mumbai) is a historical and sociological case study of the development of student activism in Bombay from its start in the late 19th century.

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38 Jha, Binodendra, Student Organizations and politics: A case study of the ABVP, p-19
40 Saraswatia, S, Youth in India, ICSSR, New Delhi—1988 P-325
41 Ibid, p-325
In Altbach’s view the Student Movements in Bombay grew feeble because of the absence of guidance of a strong and able leader, decreasing prestige of political activity and most intelligent students opting out sciences and other professions. Therefore, according to Altbach, in the real sense there was no student movement in 1960s. An important finding of Altbach is that only two militant groups—the Communist dominated Bombay students’ union and the Akhil Bharatya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the later having blessing of and active support from Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha (RSS) and the Jana Sangha (now BJP) could survive in Bombay. Jacob Aikara’s study on student activism in Kerela shows that contrary to the popular belief the Indian students are ideologically oriented, especially in Kerela. This is due to tradition of political consciousness among the families of students and also due to the fact that Kerela is among the most politically conscious states in the country. Sushil Kumar while studying the student indiscipline at Kurukshetra University in 1976 found that defective and irreverent university system; unplanned growth of colleges, failure to provide for student welfare were the main causes of student indiscipline. As like that Tapas Majumdar also found intense political interest in the campus; government interference; violations of rules and neglect of code of conduct, economic insecurity, teacher-taught relationship; attitudes of teachers, - inadequacy of teachers for the profession as were the causes of student indiscipline at Delhi University in the year 1981.

In Assam also students of Gauhati University, Dibrugarh University and Assam University had been involved in various movements of Assam since independence. Bhasa Andolan (Language Movement) of 1960, Tell Andolan (Oil Movement) and finally the Bideshi Bahiskar Andolan (Foreigners Movement) known popularly as Assam Movement of 1979 are some of the best examples in this regard.

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42 Jha, Bima.deendra, Student Organization and Politics, P-21
43 See Jacob Aikara’s ‘Ideological orientations of student activism’ - Dasstane, Ramchandran & Company, Poona—1977
44 Sarasnath, S; Youth in India ICSSRP-P-332
45 Youth in India P-332
Although, various causes are identified as the causes of student indiscipline in India yet the most vital cause of student unrest or indiscipline is the interference of political parties in educational institutions, which is responsible for creating lawlessness in the institutions. Realizing the importance of student power, political parties attempt to penetrate, organize, mobilize and recruit students as a social category and a political class by-taking an interest in student’s demands and grievances and by establishing or patronizing student organizations and leaders. There seems to been keen competition among the political parties to draw cadres or workers from among the students. Every political party has its student wing and there are reports that in some universities student politicians regularly receive money from political parties.\footnote{Jha, Banodanand, Student organizations and politics; p-14.} In India at present Indian National Congress has its student wing named National Students Union of India (NSUI), Bharatya Janata Party has its student wing known as Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthy Parishad (ABVP), Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI), Student Federation of India (SFI) are the students wings of Communist party of India. These political parties have affected greatly student indiscipline.

The study of student organization is pertinent in view of their growing importance as an input structure for both the educational and political systems. They constitute a dynamic force in the university and are largely responsible for the involvement of students in partisan politics. Their importance in the Indian political system has grown so much so that they are even called ‘Miniature Political Parties’.\footnote{Hazariy, S. Student politics in India, p-4, Aashish Publishing house, New Delhi-1987}

It is important to mention that in January 1965 students in Madras had led anti-Hindi language riots and again in 1969, supported by DMK, students started anti-Hindi agitation by demonstrations, slogans, bandhs and gheraos. According to a
research study conducted by Dr. E.M. George of Kerala university, 84 percent of students and teachers interviewed affirmed that the main reason for such an activism is the affiliation of students union with political parties. The interference of political parties greatly influenced the student movements in different parts of India and it also helped in increasing their numbers which became the cause of tension of every Indian. In the year 1972-73, protest and demonstrations were staged by the students of university of Delhi and was a matter of serious concern. The table given below will show the actual picture.

**Table 2.1: Forms of student protest in the university of Delhi - 1972-73:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROTEST</th>
<th>STUDENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strike</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gherao</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharna</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstration/Rally</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycott of classes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walkout Examination Halls</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression of Resentment</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijacking of Buses</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault and intimidations</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court arrest procedures</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: ‘Academic leadership and student unrest’, Majumdar, Tapas; p-103*

As a sample, the forms of protest exhibited by students in a central university in the capital is presented in the table given above. The course of student activism that follows often betrays elements of mob behavior. The National Police Commission even recommended the setting up of a separate protection force for the residential universities to combat unrest. Even in August 1981, the Rajya

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48 Delhi, Mone: Student Movements in Assam, p-22
Sabha expressed concern over increasing lawlessness and political interference in the university campus in the country. A calling attention motion on student unrest and problems faced by some central universities was moved. A conference of vice-cancellers expressed the view that politicization of the campus must be lessened. The growing unrest and frequent strikes in central universities were also discussed in the Lok Sabha in 1982.\(^{49}\)

Though, the interference of political parties in educational institutions are bitterly criticized but at the same time it could also be recognized that student involvement in the matters of political party can play a positive part for awakening the people about various issues, their right and duties, creates consciousness about the aims, objectives and goals of the political system. It increases political participation of people in the decision-making or policy formation process which will finally strengthen the foundation of the Indian political system.

2.3 Students Movement in International Sphere:

Student movement is a well-known phenomenon in the present-day context. It is by no means a phenomenon peculiar to any particular country, it is rather a universal phenomenon. In recent years student movements have threatened and toppled a number of governments in different parts of the world. It also brought tremendous changes—social and political and has changed the basic structure of some political system.

In modern times, the first history making youth movement was witnessed in China. It is a well known fact that the Chinese revolution was a youth wrought achievement, its alumni center being Peking University.\(^{50}\) The founding of the republic in China had not brought peace order and unity. Instead, the early republican years were characterized by moral degradation, monarchist

\(^{49}\) Youth in India, p-334

\(^{50}\) Mehra, Prayag (Ed.). The Indian youth—Emerging problems & issues, p-78.
movements, war-lordism and intensified foreign imperialism. Obviously, political face lifting through the adoption of republican institutions was insufficient to regenerate the nation; something more fundamental was needed to awaken the country and the people. The new intellectuals, mostly, trained or influenced by western education or culture, advocated a radical change in the philosophical foundations of national life. They called for a re-evolution of China's cultural heritage in the light of modern western standards, a willingness to part with those elements that had made China weak, and a determination to accept western science, democracy and culture as the foundation of a new order. The new intellectuals also launched a campaign to introduce a new literature based on vernacular language instead of the classical. The efforts of the intellectuals had given a tremendous blow to Confucianism including traditional ethics, customs, human relations, and social conventions, and ushered in a new iconoclastic attitude towards China's past. Indeed, in the opinion of some, nowhere in the Chinese history since spring and autumn and the warring states periods (722-221 BC) had social and intellectual changes been so drastic and fundamental. The intellectual revolution, taking place between somewhere 1917-23, hailed a new cultural movement which has been described sometimes, perhaps exaggeratedly, as a "Chinese Renaissance". A high point in this turbulent period was the gigantic student demonstration in Pecking on May 4, 1919, where about 5000 students held a huge demonstration against the verdict of Versailles Peace Conference on Shantung. It was at once an explosion of public anger, an outburst of nationalism, a deep disappointment in the west, and a violent indictment of the "traitorous" warlord government in Peking. The May fourth incident was so powerful and far-reaching that it evoked an immediate national response which finally compelled the Chinese delegation to reject the peace treaty at Versailles.

The historic May fourth Revolution had demonstrated nationalism, public opinion and mass demonstration for the first time in Chinese history, hence, this period is commonly known as that of the May fourth movement. Again, some historians

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52 The rise of modern China, P-493
hailed the May fourth incident as the first genuine Mass movement in modern Chinese history.

Students of China also played a tough role in bringing about the changes in the society in accordance with the idea of Mao and the cultural revolution was launched in China in 1916, and was aimed at eliminating the old order, both in China as a whole and particularly within the Communist party. Recently in September 1985, students of China protested against Japan's new economic aggression and the Chinese government's ingratiating attitudes towards Japan. This protest had been timed to coincide with the 5th Anniversary of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria on September 18, 1931. The protest also served as a vehicle for the students to air other grievances, such as rising prices, economic crimes, bureaucratic irregularities and nepotism and favourism for the children of high cadres. A demonstration planned by students of Peking and Tsinghua universities on December 9, 1985, had been aborted owing to government intervention. The discontent, however, remained.

The first protest of December 1986 broke out in Hu-fei, in Anhwei province, early in the month. The student of Chinese university of science and technology, which is located within the city's electoral district, protested the local party secretaries designation of eight prospective delegates to the National People's Congress without consulting the university on December 1, 1986, a big poster appeared on the campus calling for a general boycott of the 'faked' election scheduled for December 8. At a student faculty meeting the following day, the renowned astrophysics' and the vice-president of the university, Fang Li-Chih, called for decisive action to achieve a break through in the struggle for political democracy. He repeated his much touted saying that democracy could not be bestowed from above but must be won from below - what was bestowed could be withdrawn, but what was won could not. The students of Chinese University science and technology were joined in their protests. Students from two other higher learning in the area joined with the students of Chinese university science and technology in their protest. Again, a gigantic movement like the May 4th
movement started at China in December 5 where in all 3000 students marched on the municipal government demanding democratic elections, freedom of the press and of Assembly, and immunity from prosecution and insisting that the media be allowed to report the protest. They further demanded the formation of a Democratic Alliance of all students of higher learning. The students aimed at breaking the party’s control of the press and of the students. Feeling the pressure of the students the local party authorities reluctantly agreed to assign four delegates to the university precinct and postpone the election to December 29.53

The student continued to press for election reform, chanting: “we want democracy We want liberty We want freedom of the press. No democracy, no modernization.”54

Although, the government of China control by only party, the communist party, with control over the press, but students of the country had not remained silent for long and they came out to the streets of China for peoples rights and voice demanding freedom of press and reforms in electoral process e.g., Democracy, which got huge sympathetic response in almost all the cities of China, mainly in 15 major cities and more than 150 colleges and universities. As like that of the other cities, the movement also got huge response in Shanghai. On December 19, 1986 some 30,000 students, joined by an estimated 1,00,000 workers, marched on the municipal government. This marked the high tide of protest.55 In Peking, 4,000 students marched on Tien-an-men Square and burned bundles of the party’s newspaper, the ‘Peking daily’ One of the protestors, watching the rising smoke, was heard to say elatedly: “Gone with the wind!”56 Through this demonstration the students of China wanted to bring about electoral and economic reforms in China and tried to open the window of China to contact with the outer world in which workers, other citizens of youth were also with them. These conflicting tendencies can also be seen in French student movement ‘Liberate’ founded in

53 Rise of modern China--P-874
54 Ibid, P-874
55 The Rise of Modern China–P-875
56 Ibid, p-875
1937, for whereas in certain circles there has been a display of “pacifism at any price”, there has also been a tendency towards a policy of firmness, for all those who realized that it was the only solution for French society. In later years, however, French student movements showed strong inclination towards the extreme left. The student revolt of May 1968, led by Daniel Cohn Bendit against the regime of General De Gaulle is an example.

Students of Russia also played a tough role against the tyrant Czar regime. Student of Russia were not permitted to participate in protests and demonstrations. But the critical situation of Russia and also the dominant rule of the Czar Alexzender III compelled the workers and the students to fight against the regime. On the other hand, increasing unemployment problem in Russia degraded the condition of the workers totally. Therefore, the workers came out to the streets to fight against the regime defying the orders of the Czar. The students of Russia led the protest of the worker’s organizations. It is worth mentioning that seeing the student’s involvement in a large scale in those protests and demonstrations of the workers, the police of Czar entered the university campus illegally to stop the involvement of students in these protests. The authority of Kazan University with the help of law totally banned the involvement of students in illegal deeds. Some of the students had also been rusticated from the university. A meeting in protest against it was held on December 4, 1887 under the leadership of Lenin. Resolutions demanding re-admission of the rusticated students in the university were adopted in the meeting. Reacting to the meeting, the administration continued and increased atrocities on students and deployed military force near the university campus for immediate use if needed. Lenin wrote to the Rector, strongly reacting to the act of the authority, that it would not be possible for him to continue his study in Kazan University, which administered under the shadow of imperialist Czar regime. Finally, the authority of Kazan University had rusticated all those students who joined in the protests meeting held on December 4, 1887.

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57 Deka, Meeta, Student Movement in Assam, p-14
58 Sarma, Sashi, Lenin, Soviet Revolution and India, Dutta Baruah and Co, Nalbari. First Published, 25 June, 1971, p-15
59 Lenin, Soviet Revolution and India -P-16
Students of Pakistan also took part in the demonstrations organized against the ruler of Pakistan. The students' revolt was seen in the regime of General Zia Ul Haque who promised establishment of democracy in Pakistan but failed to keep his word. Again, the military general had hanged Md. Z.A. Bhutto the elected representative of people. It is worth mentioning that on the eve of 37th Independence Day of Pakistan the people of Pakistan had threatened him and they wanted to finish the domination of Pakistan People’s party and wanted to establish democracy. Therefore, the people of Pakistan declared disobedience movement in Pakistan in 1983 on the eve of the 37th Independence day and a total 8 number of banned opposition parties of Pakistan came together to finish the six years long rule of General Gia. Atrocities on people of Pakistan continued and the leaders of the opposition were arrested and killed. The Martyrdom of student leader Nazir Abbasi has steeled the student movement further in their determined struggle against the US supported military dictatorship. Though, many protestors had lost their lives the 37th Independence day of Pakistan boost the spirit of the people’s movement and the forum of 8 opposition parties challenged the military rule of Pakistan and continued their movement, for restoration of democracy. On July 5, 1983, ‘Black Day’ was observed in whole Pakistan under the aegis of this opposition forum (MRD) which got huge response from cultivators, students, elite group, journalist and also the literatures seeking complete end of Junta rule in Pakistan. It is to be noted that the people of Pakistan witnessed youth movement against the military ruler prior to this movement. The student and youth led a nation wide agitation in Pakistan in 1968-69 against military bureaucratic rule, which had been, for the time being, subverted by the enthronement of another military Junta, headed by General Yahaya Khan.

Students Movement in Tibet has a long history. Students of Tibet have been playing a heroic role in defending Tibet from imperialist China since long. The country was involved in armed resistance from the mid 1950s to mid 1970s and

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60 Yechury, Sitaram (Ed.), Student struggle, SFI Journal Vol-4, no-6 March 1984, p-51
62 Ibid, P-42
63 The Indian youth, op cit., P-79
non-violent protest from the late 1980s to present time. ‘National Volunteer Army for the defense of Buddhism’, especially known as “Tensung” was active in Tibet from the early 1950s till mid 1970s and was mainly dominated by khampa tribesmen from Eastern Tibet and practiced random acts of violence as well as more organized guerilla campaigns against the Chinese which were commonly known as ‘Tendra’ or enemies of the faith. The armed resistance came to an end in 1974. It is worth mentioning that since the late 1980s, Monks and Nuns inside Tibet have led non-violent movement protest against China; this too has achieved little, other than emphasizing the Tibetan occupation of the moral high ground. The Dalai Lama was in favor of non-violence method and suggested that Tibetans should take the methods of Mahatma Gandhi as an example. In 1998, a radical Tibetan non-governmental organization, the Tibetan youth congress (TYC), launched in India the ultimate Gandhian Campaign, a hunger strike, designed to draw the world’s attention to the Tibetan cause. On March 10, 1998, on the occasion of 39th Anniversary of Tibetan National uprising day, six members of the TYC embarked upon a fast unto death in New Delhi. The six hunger striker represented six million people of Tibet. Their aim was for making the United Nations agree to the following demands that the UN should discuss Tibet in the General Assembly, that the UN should appoint a rapporteur to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in Tibet, that the UN should appoint a special envoy on Tibet, and that the UN should initiate a supervised plebiscite on the future of Tibet. The hunger strike ended on 26 and 27 April 1998. A tragic event in the course of entire Tibet struggle took place on April 29, 1998. During the time of hunger strike, General Fu Qquanyon, the Chief Army of the PLA of China visited India. During the second day of the break up of the strike, Thupten Ngodup, an ex-monk and Ex-Soldier, set himself alight in protest at the enforced removal of the hunger strike. He died from almost 100% burn on April 29. So, students have sacrificed their lives in the cause of Tibet Freedom.

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65 Ibid, p-49
In Nigeria from January 1959 to June 1960, Nigerian students protested against Prime Minister Harold Macmillan for the United Kingdom’s passive attitude towards apartheid and African Nationalism, against the South Africans for the Sharpeville shootings, against the French for testing Atomic weapons in the Sahara, against the European regional government for a pension bill and against the western regional government for a housing bill. Hungarian students played a positive role in 1956 against Russian invasion. The student spearheaded the rebellion, destroyed buildings, burned propaganda and newspaper offices, commanded teams of young boys and girls, and tackled Russians tanks with hand made bombs. Even in Britain, the home of conservatism, some of the campuses, like the London School of Economics and Political Science, have, specially for the last two decades, thrown forward wide spread student activities, similarly in the United States and the continent, including some of the East European countries.

Students of USA involved in the Civil Rights movement and Educational reforms movement. The students of United States have played the catalysts for powerful social movements, the anti-Vietnam war movement and the movement for Civil Rights for example American students in the early 1960s concentrated interest on arm race and nuclear testing, and when in 1963 the test ban was achieved, students turned to civil rights, problems of the poor in urban slum, the war in Vietnam conscription etc. The students of Vietnam are going to create a history fighting against the imperialist United States since long. Recently in November 2000 when President Clinton traveled to Vietnam he echoed a familiar slogan, Vietnam is not a war. It’s a country; Nevertheless, Clinton could not start a speech in his three-day visit without invoking the MIA (Mission in Action). Leave no man behind. On July 2004, the US House of Representatives passed the “Human Right Act” This bill, which has to go before the US Senate before it goes to the

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66 Deeka Meeta, Student Movement In Assam, p-13
67 Ibid, p-13
68 The Indian Youth, p-78
69 Student Movement In Assam, p-12
70 Deeka, Meeta , Students Movement In Assam, P-16
President for his signature, seeks to limit non-humanitarian aid to Vietnam, and provides funds for groups opposing the regime.

Students of Nepal have also played a heroic role against the monarch of Nepal. Recently on April 10, 2004, the daily swell of demonstrators on the streets of Kathmandu grew as members of the five party alliance that is leading the agitation were joined, for the first time, by the politically conscious professional elite of the capital, in what appears to be a reply of the 1990 Jana-Andolan that ushered in multi party democracy in Nepal. They were defying the prohibitory orders to continue the agitation against the constitutional monarch’s seizure of power and the under mining democracy. It is worth mentioning that in past couple of months, Nepal’s drift into a deepening crisis has moved into top gear with the three political forces- the king, the political parties & the Maoists. Even American policy makers who tended to view the Nepal’s crisis through the optic of ‘war against terrorism’, thus backing the king and RNA as the bulwark against the Maoists overrunning, are re-adjusting their focus. The decision to extension by ordinance of the Terrorist and Disruptive activities (control and punishment) Act 2002, for 90 days preventive detention, portends more arbitrary arrests, disappearedness, custodial violence and extra judicial killings and has been strongly protested by all concern of people including elites, conscious people of Nepal.

On April 10, a week after the launch of the latest phase of the agitation, the daily afternoon ritual demonstration at Ratna Park near the Palace, saw militant students and young party workers hurling stones at the armed police.

On April 9, the government declared many places of Kathmandu ‘riot prone’ but hundreds of people, including top political leaders such as Nepali Congress President Girija Prasad Koirala and leader of the Communist Party of Nepal Mahadev Nepal, who was arrested with 500 demonstrators violated the orders ‘This stretch of Bagh Bazar is the center of the struggle here’, a student leader.

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72 Ibid, p-62
73 Towards a showdown in Kathmandu, An article written by Ritu Manandhra, Frontline, May 7, 2004, P-57
74 Ibid, p-57
proudly arrested. The warren of streets and shops afforded many escape routes for the students.\textsuperscript{75}

To stop election anomalies and to hold transparent election, students have played an important role in the recent crisis of Ukraine. The crisis has originated after the result of the Presidential election held on the month of November 2004 was declared. It is important to note that in a crucial presidential poll in Ukraine, Moscow threw its weight behind the Prime Minister, Viktor Yanukovich, who favoured closer ties with Russia, while the US and the European Union backed the pro-western opposition leader, Viktor Yushchenko. The pro-Russian candidate was declared winner in November, 21 run off with a three percent margin, but the opposition refused to concede defeat alleging that mass vote rigging, and organized large-scale student protest in the capital Kiev that paralyzed the government machinery. After a week of rallies by supporters of two presidential contenders, Ukraine’s Parliament intervened to condemn election violations and to call for canceling the poll result to pave the way to a new election. The dispute now has moved to Supreme Court, which on Monday began to look into charges of election fraud. So students have demonstrated on the road to stop election anomalies.\textsuperscript{76} Students, once the backbone of Iran’s reformist movement, heckled and harangued the Iranian President Mohammad Khatami on December 6, 2004, accusing him of lacking the courage to deliver promised democratic reforms in the Islamic state. The students were so angered that they asked him, disrupting his speech about the democratic reforms promised by him to the students in the time of his two elections in 1997 and 2001, while the president attempted to address some 1500 students at Tehran University to mark Iran’s annual student’s day. Students of Iran vowed to bring democratic reforms to Iran.\textsuperscript{77} Like wise the other countries of the world, Germany, French, Bangladesh and Burma, and so many other countries have also played leading roles in their own countries in solving various problems and issues. Students of India have also played leading role in

\textsuperscript{75} Towards a showdown in Kathmandu, Rita Manchandra, Frontline, May 7, 2004 P-57
\textsuperscript{76} The battle for Ukraine by Vladimir Radyiilun -The Hindu, Nov. 30, 2004, Vol-127, No-284
\textsuperscript{77} Students heckle Khatami – The Hindu-Dec 7-2004 P-15
different social and reforms movements that emerged in India as like that of the students of various parts of the world participating in movements in their societies. But the students of India played, during the course of Freedom Movement of India, which finally compelled the imperialist British to leave India for good.

2.4. Origin of the Student Awakening and the Student Activities in India:

Student's involvement in politics is not a new phenomenon. As enrolment of students was limited involvement of students in various movements thus was few. Gradually students began to realize the bad effects of colonialism. With western education students learnt about the concept of Liberty, Equality etc. as being upheld by the French Revolution, American war of independence etc.

Student movement is not a new phenomenon in India, its beginning traces back to the 19th century. As, few students were enrolled so numbers of students were limited. It was a matter of great concern that with the passing of time attitudes of students increasingly acquired anti-British tendency. Social Reforms in Indian societies were very active issues of social movements in the 19th century. This awareness was behind the growth and the development of the middle class in Indian society. At the beginning students were attracted towards the social issues. Many students were influenced by the work of number of social reformers. Following reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Indian students took up various activities for social change such as encouraging widow marriage, stopping killing of girl child, initiating Land reforms etc. On the whole students became conscious of different occasions of injustice.

Gradually, these discourses were the part of political awareness. Debate, Discussions, Meetings, Petitions, Protests letters, Public meetings, and in some
special occasion even strikes were the forms adopted by the students and youths of highly educated class.

The year 1813 can be regarded as one of the milestones in the Indian history. With the acceptance of the Charter Act of 1813, government decided to spend Rupees 1 lac per year in education and education became a responsibility of the state through T.B. Macaulay’s Policy of 1813. Discharging its responsibility, the British Administration had established colleges at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in the beginning of the 19th century. The famous Hindu college was established at Calcutta in 1817 that played an important role in the history of student movement. The establishment of educational institutions continued in different parts of India. The British Administration had also established D.P.I in all the Provinces in 1854 and the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857.

Along with the rest of India, educational institutions were also established by the alien rule in Assam. With the recommendation of the general committee of Public Instruction of the GoI the Gauhati English School, the only school in Guwahati was opened in 1835 with a European Head Master. The enrolment of the school rose from 58 in 1835 to 340 at the end of the 1840. Although, the first college of Assam “Cotton College”, was established in 1901 but a college was established named “Murari Chand College” in 1892 at Sylhet which was then an integral part of undivided Assam. Again, in 1841, the second English School of Assam was started at Sivasagar Colonel Hopkinson, the agent of the Governor General and the Commissioner of Assam suggested the establishment of a college at Guwahati for economic and administrative reason was the realization of non-availability of higher educational institution in Assam for which students of Assam had to go for higher education to Calcutta.

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78 Dutta A. Assam in the Freedom Movement, Dorbari Prakashan, Calcutta, 1991, p-32
79 Debi, Mita, Student Movement in Assam, Vikas publishing house Ltd, New Delhi First-1996 p-50
80 Ibid-50
81 Ibid-50
The measure taken to spread education in India was very fast as a result total number of 388 colleges were established till the year 1857. Allahabad University followed later and had colleges in all. A separate education branch was created in 1857, under the home department. The number of educational institutions went up to 1, 14,112 in 1881-82 with an enrolment of 26, 43, 978 of which the number of girls was 1, 26, 349. It is important to note that though Assam was brought under the same umbrella of British Administration in the year 1826 yet the British Administration had not paid much importance in spreading western Education in Assam. In the year 1899 the total number of schools in Assam rose to 13, of which eight were government schools. During the period 1897-1902 the number of educational institutions rose from 2800 to 3534 and the number of students rose from 83, 638 to 103, 541. The objective of British in setting up the school and colleges was to create a class in Indian to help the British Administration. Another reason is that they needed a group of people who can interpret. This was highlighted in the speech of T.B. Maculay on February 2, 1835 regarding the controversies on medium. He thus expressed the typically colonial attitude to the education of the Indians. We must at present do our best to form “a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions of whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in morals and in intellect”. In spite of the limited objective British unknowingly helped the masses and the youth to develop a metal. The English education helped the Indian youths to acquaint themselves with the writings of great philosophers like Rousseau, Voltaire, Bacon, and Locke etc and also gave the chance to see the functioning of various democratic political systems of the west. While they found that the rights and duties which were enjoyed by the people of the west could not be enjoyed by them in India, a new thinking, new feeling were originated in the minds of educated youths in India. Indian nationalism, to a great extent, is the offspring of the economic, political, educational and missionary impact of the west.

82 Rapm Wale, Anil, History of Student Movement in India, Origins and Development (1920-1947), Manak Publications, New Delhi 2001, p-4
83 Deka, Meeta op. cit. p-50
84 Ibid-50
85 Shrikumar Nar, V, Role Of Students In Freedom Movement : With Special Reference To Madras Presidency, Konark Publishers Pvt Ltd., Delhi 1990, p-2
It originated in the minds of the early generations of the western-educated elite. The Bhadralok, the literary class of Bengal and the Chitpavan Brahmins of Bombay were the harbingers of Indian Nationalism. These educated groups cooperated with the colonial government. But after that the system of British Administration was under severe criticism. With the increasing opposition to the colonial rule, nationalism grew with differing intensity and encompassing the different strata of society and regions—hitherto unaffected by political activism. This was remarkable between 1870 and 1892 and is considered as the second phase of nationalism. This aroused political consciousness culminating in the founding of the Indian national congress in 1885. Before going to discuss the role of students in the freedom movement, we must also highlight the role played by some of the students' organizations in the early part of 19th century. Being the capital of East India Company from 1773 to 1912 Calcutta was the main centre of youth activism. As the British Administration had started already some sort of social reforms in India imposing western education, settle down by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Calcutta towards the end of the year 1814 had certainly boost the strength of reforms movement in India. Roy played a significant role in the Political, Economic, Social, Educational and Religious activities in Bengal. He also found 'Atmiya Sabha' in 1815, there was distinct yearning of Freedom and Reform. The organization of students and youths which were functioning in the early 19th century, were not political in nature. The organizations were related to social and religious reforms in society and fully co-operated with the British Administration. ‘Academic Association’ was the first student organization founded in 1828 which was related with the social reforms. The organization wanted to remove social disparities, discriminations in terms of caste, sex, strata, classes, tradition and religion etc. Again, the main inspiring figure was Henry Louis Vivian Derozia (1809-1831) who was a teacher and a journalist Teaching at Hindu college and continuing his activity later too, he left behind a band of followers who displayed powerful intellect in their attempts to break the old-age

86 Sartaran Nair. V, op cit P-3
87 Ibid—P-3
88 Megunbar; Durga Prasad. Dimension of political culture in Bengal, 1814-1857, Subbarchebs—Calcutta. 1993, PP-3-4
89 Raymwal, Aml, op cit P-7
Hindu beliefs. In a sense, Derozia was the first student and youth leader of India. Mr Derozia who was of Portuguese origin became a teacher in the age of 17 in 1826. The Young Bengal movement (1830s) was another organization of the youths of Calcutta that agitated on religious question. The young Bengal movement fought against all kinds of evils for a new social conscious. It played a notable role in the spheres of social activities. The organizations also fought over the treatment of Indian labour at Mauritius, the extension of the right of trial of Jury, introduction of English as court language and forced labour at government department etc. It is important to note that 'The Young Bengal’ was the harbinger of the political consciousness and thus among the important precursors of Indian Nationalism. Another organization, named, society and the acquisition of general knowledge was founded in a meeting at Sanskrit college, Calcutta on March 13, 1838, with the objective of promoting mutual improvement. Publication of three volumes of selected papers presented in its meetings between 1840-1843 was one of the most notable works done by the organization. It was perhaps the first organization of intellectuals where anti-British sentiments began shaping up. A notable fact was that the society was more and more becoming a centre of political discussions. The principal of the Hindu college even protested against the ‘seditious remarks’ made in one of the society’s meeting in 1843. Student’s literary and scientific society of Bombay (1848) founded by Dadabhai Naoroji inspired the social activities of the educated. The main objective of the organization was Social Reforms and discussion of Political and Religious matters were strictly excluded and social Reforms were given supreme importance in the agenda of its meetings. Commendable work had been done by this organization in the field of women education, though in the beginning it opposed strongly Female education. On the 4th of August, 1849, a resolution was adopted for establishment of Female educational institutions. It is to be noted that within 15 months the

90 Ibid-P-8
91 Elhotticharya, Bhobhani, Social Political currents in Bengal: A nineteenth century perspective, Vistas publishing House
92 Ibid-P-15
93 Rajinwale, Anil, op. cit P-11
94 Rajinwale, Anil: op. cit P-12
society had established 6 (six) schools for girls. British Indian Association (BIA) 1859, was another organization, an organization of the upper and middle class Indians including some land lords, was among the first to air the grievances of the students and the problems faced by the Indians in Education. It played a positive role, helping improve education system and securing greater say for the Indians. In 1859, the committee of the BIA addressed the Director of Public Instruction (DPI) on the gradual increase of school fees in Hindu and Colootollah branch schools, Bengal and protested strongly against the unnecessary increase of the fee structure. They often discussed the problems related with education. The associations in the various towns of Bengal presenting their problems and demanding solutions made a number of petition and memorials. For example, the Nuddea people’s association presented a memorandum dated 3 June 1872 against reductions in class, staff etc. at Krishnagar College. Student organizations along with other conscious citizens took up various important social issues. The Bengal Indian Association also agitated on the big issue of age and place of the ICS (Indian Civil Service) examinations, which became a big issue in the 1870’s. The BIA in its memorandum dated December 1, 1876, Calcutta, prayed that the maximum age up to which the candidates for the covenanted CS (Civil Service) should be allowed to complete for appointments, may be raised instead of lowered and that the competitive examinations for the native candidates for admission to the CS be held in India. The establishment of student’s Association in 1876 is one of the most important developments of the period and it was an attempt to organize the conscious Indians and developed student movement of a political nature which ultimately leading to the emergence of INC in 1885. The young Brahmos were one of the sources for the youth activities. They began taking part in politics and had close contacts with S.N.Benarjee. In 1876 a group among them declared agitation in favour of Independence from the alien government. The young members of the BIA broke away from the organization and grouped around S.N.Benarjee. One of the young Brahmos Anand Mohan Bose established the

95 Thersson, Lisbon: "Bombay: A History” P-150
96 Rajmavle, Anil: op. cit. P-22
Student’s Association in 1876. S.N. Benerjee took leadership. The movement was deeply inspired by Mazzani and by the struggle for Irish independence.

The first manifestation of political consciousness among the students of South India began to appear in the early 1880’s. This was more evident among the student of Trivandrum College situated in the capital of the princely state of Travancore. Strenuous work of a band of young men kept the tempo of the agitation for a decade and ‘focused for the time the attention of the outer world on the disabilities of the people of Travancore’.97

Student protests were also taking place in Bihar. The students acted mainly to defend their ordinary rights and to protest against the attitude of the authorities. As early as April 1, 1870 a general strike was observed in Patna College as a mark of protest against the behavior of the head master Behrendt. To cope with the situation seven students were expelled from the institution, which only worsened the situation.98 Patna College students protested again on August 31, 1875 against the tempting remarks of another Principal. They met him in connection with the management of a magic show In the soufflés that followed, his assistant was beaten up, who earlier had beaten a student.99 Students were rusticated for one year. A strong protest movement was also there in Poona, when the Finance Committee had for all practical purposes recommended the abolition of the Decan College, one of the oldest educational institutions of Maharashtra in 1886. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha along with its associates in the Decan and Southern Maratha areas had been painfully exercised by the announcement. The Sabha submitted a memorial dated November 10, 1886. As like Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Satya Dharma Samaj of Poona presented an interesting and significant memorandum to the Viceroy and the Governor General of India, Calcutta in May 1892 requesting free and compulsory education. Interestingly, it exposed some of the drawbacks of the effects of caste system on education and criticized the British

97 Sankaran Nair, V. op cit P-20
98 Dr. Jhia; Jatasiiankar, EaiIy'tooiutKxtaiKxtnanatinBihar,KPJarasawalReffiaidilnsMutesPatna, 1977 P-2
99 Ibld-P-3
role in this regard in relation thereto. It pointed out that the education system sought to be created went basically against the non-Brahmin castes. Bitterly criticized the role of Brahmins enjoying higher status in the caste system in India, the memorial pleaded for education for all. Compulsory education was much more necessary in a country like India where dark and groveling superstitions, gross and stolid ignorance and Brahminical hierarchy, priest craft and men-degrading customs had drained the nation. The memorial prayed to the British Parliament to pass a bill for free and compulsory education up to the vernacular 4th standard throughout the British India territories for all boys in the rural districts from 7 to 12 years old.\textsuperscript{100} So, these organizations through their role and functions created a mass awakening among the people of India against the evils of British Raj. Though, these organizations had no political objectives yet gradually they began to work against colonialism. Therefore, the contribution of these organizations of India which were formed in the 18th century is worth mentioning. By the last part of the 19th century, students and youths had begun to participate on a large scale in political activities and even in agitations. This was a serious matter for the alien government of India. So much so that the British rulers got alarmed and thought of taking tight measures to counter this rising trend, particularly towards the end of the century.

Although, the British succeeded in suppressing the first war of independence of 1857 or the great Sepoy Mutiny, they could not set at naught the revolution that was taking place slowly but steadily all over India. Nationalism in the modern sense of the term appeared in European vocabularies during the sixteenth century when the Nation-States were born on the ruins of the Holy Roman Empire. It came into Prominence after the French Revolution of 1789 that gave to the world the concept of popular sovereignty and self-determinations of nations. Nationalism means differently to different peoples. For those who had autocratic and despotic monarchies, nationalism meant the over throw of such institutions, for those who had inaugurated a reign of democracy and popular sovereignty it meant economic, industrial and social development, and for those less fortunate

\textsuperscript{100} Rajimwale, Anilop cit. 34
people who had been brought under foreign rule, the object of nationalism was political emancipation first and economic advancement afterwards. India could be put in the third category and as a unit of the British Empire, Indian nationalism was directed against the continuance of foreign rule. It is a matter of great concern that though Indians were fighting against the British, there was no any organization to lead the Indians unitedly against the British. The Ilbert Bill issue had paved the way to form an organization of Indians in 1885, i.e., the Indian National Congress. The architect of this organization was Allan Octavian Hume, an ICS officer of the British Government.

Hume had closely been following the trend of events, particularly during the Viceroyalty of Lyton and had been anxiously watching the clouds that were darkening the Indian horizon. The move he watched and studied the situation, the more convinced he became that, “the cure for the unrest lay in the foundation of a genuine nationalist movement.” Another Englishman, Sir William Wedderburn, also an ICS, was equally concerned about the political unrest in India. Like Hume, he also desired that the history of 1857 should not be repeated. They discussed the situation with Lord Fredrick Dufferin who replaced Ripon in 1884. With the encouragement from the Viceroy, Hume addressed, on March 1, 1883, an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University as largely representing the educated community in the country. And towards the close of 1884, the Indian National Union was formed and in 1885 in its first meeting at Gokul Das Tejpal Sanskrit College of Bombay in the month of December, and Indian National Congress was formed. It represented all the people of India irrespective of their caste and community. The claim of the Congress to be national organization was first put by M.K. Gandhi at the second Round Table conference in London before the Federal Structure Committee. He said, “The Congress is... the oldest political organization we have in India... It is what it means... national. It represents no particular community, no particular class, no particular interest. It claims to represent all Indian interests and all classes...” From the very commencement the Congress had Musalmans,
Christians, and Anglo-Indians. . . . . . . . all religious sects, creeds, represented
upon it more or less fully. 102 It is to be noted that during the first two decades of
its existence (1885-1905) the organization was led by the people who came from
the upper strata of Indian society and were in most cases the product of western
education. They had faith in the British senses of justice and fairly play and
believed that India's connection with the west through England was a boon rather
than a curse. Loyalty to British Crown was the keynote of the early congressmen.
This became clear from the presidential address delivered by president of the
organization in its conferences. W.C. Banerjee, who presided the inaugural
meeting on December 28, ended his address with these words: "She, Britain, had
given them order, she had given them railways, and above all, she had given them
the inestimable blessing of Western Education. . . . . . . Their desire to be
governed according to the ideas of government prevalent in Europe was in no way
incompatible with their loyalty to the British Government All they desired was
that the basis of the government should be wide and people should have their
proper and legitimate share in it." 103 Similarly, Pheroz Shah Mehta declared in
1890. "I have no fears but the British statesmanship will ultimately respond to the
call I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English
culture and English civilization."104 The methods of the early congress patriarchs
were quite in keeping with their faith in British Liberalism, they believed in the
peaceful presentation of their grievances to the government and in requesting the
later to redress them. The leaders of Congress who adopted the methods of
petitions and prayers for redress their grievances were known as moderates
Student agitation was also seen during the last part of the 18th century while they
fought to secure the freedom of press As the national movement had not restored
to a mass movement during the period 1870 to 1918, only thousands of small and
large maiden meetings were held for discussing the anti-Indian policies, the press
played the chief role as chief instrument carrying out the main political task of
politicization, political propaganda, education and formation and propagation of

102 B. Patrobhi Sitaranayya, The History of Indian National Congress, 1885-1935, Vol-1, Padma Publishing Ltd, 1946,
Bombay, p-20
103 Congress Presidential Addressed: The Indian National Congress (Madras, G.A.Nateson & Co., 1917), p-4
104 Ibid, P-91
nationalist ideology consolidating nationalist public opinion. Even the work of the National Congress was accomplished during these years largely through the press. As the congress had no organization of its own for carrying a political work, the newspapers did a tremendous job on behalf of the Congress by publishing its proceedings and resolutions. Again, all the major political controversies of the day were carried out through the press.

Indian nationalists firmly opposed the government’s stand in this regard and ultimately Lord Ripon replaced it in 1881. It is worth mentioning that the fight between the imperialist government and the Indian newspapers continued till India won her Independence. Surendra Nath Benarjee, one of the founding fathers of Indian National movement, was the first Indian to go to jail in performance of his duty as a journalist. A dispute concerning a family idol, a Saligram, had come up before Justice Norris of the Calcutta High Court. To decide the age of the idol, Norris ordered it to be brought to the Court and pronounced that it could not be a hundred years old. This action deeply hurt the sentiments of the Bengali Hindus. Benarjee wrote an angry editorial in the Bengalee of April 2, 1883. Comparing Norris with the notorious Jeffreys and Seroggs (British judges in the 17th century, notorious for infamous conduct as Judges), he said that Norris had done enough ‘to show how unworthy he is of his high office.’ Benarjee suggested, “Some public steps should be taken to put a quietus to the wild eccentricities of this young and raw Dispenser of Justice.” Immediately, the High Court hauled him up for contempt of court before a bench of five judges, four of them were European with the Indian judge, Romesh Chandra Mitra, dissenting, the bench convicted and sentenced him to two months imprisonment. Suddenly the people of India reacted to this act of the government. There was spontaneous hartal in the Indian part of Calcutta. Students demonstrated outside the court smashing windows and pelting the police with stones. One of the rowdy young men was Aasutosh Mukherjee who later gained fame as a distinguished vice-chancellor of Calcutta University. Demonstrations were all over Calcutta and in many other towns of Bengal, as also in Lahore, Amritsar, Agra Fyzabad, Poona and other

105 Ibid-P-107
cities. Calcutta witnessed for the first time several largely attended open-air meetings. But the man who was most frequently associated with the struggle for freedom of press during the nationalist movement was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. With the Beginning of the Swadeshi movement in the very beginning of the 19th century the national movement got momentum. Women, students and a large section of the urban and rural population of Bengal and other parts of India got actively involved in politics for the first time. The next decade saw the emergence of almost all the major political trends of the Indian National movement.