THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN INDIA

BY

M. MUNI REDDY

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"BUT the Indian National Congress itself depends, and should depend for its strength, influence and power on such Movements as Labour Movement, Youth Movement, Peasant Movement, Women Movement, and Student Movement."

Subhash Chandra Bose

This book is respectfully and affectionately:

DEDICATED TO

NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE
PRESIDENT
Hakumate Azad Hind

and

EX.-PRESIDENT
All-India Students’ Congress 1940
PREFACE

So far, no book dealing with either the development or the history of the student movement in India has been published. The subject does not seem to have attracted the attention it deserves. After the Forty Two's freedom struggle, our leaders not only have recognised the dynamic force of the student community as the vanguard of the nation but have been taking lively interest in the student movement of our country.

An attempt has been made in these chapters to trace out the history of the student movement in India and the role it played in the freedom struggles. Apart from these, an attempt has also been made dispassionately to make our students understand the objects and functions of a student organisation. A reorganisation scheme has been given here with a view to strengthen the student organisation on right perceptive and evolve a homogeneous and well-knit organisation. How far the attempt has succeeded is for the readers to judge. As there is no authoritative literature on the subject, the factual portions are drawn from Mitra's Annual Reports, News Papers, Weekly News Paper articles, Student Journals etc. Other books have also been consulted to study the various problems connected with the student movement in India and abroad. If this book helps to make its problems better known and sympathetically understood by the students in particular and the public in general, it will have fulfilled its purpose. The conclusions and suggestions are based on
close observation which I was able to make as a student of current politics. But the full responsibility for the opinions expressed in the book rests upon me.

If however, you find that the book could be improved in any way, the author would be glad to receive your comments and suggestions.

I am greatly indebted to Sjt. Amarendra Nath Roy, one of the founders of the student movement in India, who has read with great care the proof of the whole book and verified the facts. In fact, it was owing to his encouragement, criticisms, valuable suggestions and guidance that I was able to complete this book earlier.

My indebtedness to my friends Jagdish Chandra Dikshit, Y. K. Rajgopal, Mohammad Hashim Kidwai, Dr. Ramchandran, Brijesh Chandra Mathur and Pratap Singh who generously helped me in lending their cooperation in different forms.

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December, 1946.

M. MUNI REDDY.

Lucknow University.
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CHAPTER I.
Introduction.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;.............Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake."

Composed by the poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore, for the Calcutta Session 1905 and recited by him on every 26th January at Shantiniketan.

An earnest attempt has been made to trace the history of the student movement in India and the heroic role it played in Indian politics during the country’s critical days. The growing importance of the student organisation cannot be easily brushed aside either by the public or by the students. If the student organisation were to reorganise on a more definite and scientific basis, its achievements in every field and especially its final struggle in co-operation with the revolutionaries, the proletariat and semi-proletariate, against all exploitation and for the establishment of a Socialistic State in our country will be written in letters of gold in the history of our country. But the student movement in India is still in its making. Since 1920, many attempts have been made to form an All-India Student organisation. It was Congress leaders who took the initiative to form an all-India body in order to mobilize the students for the Country’s cause. Till 1931 All-India Students’ Conferences were held in the sessions of the Indian National Congress, to keep them in touch with the day to day political affairs of.
the country. Their main intention was to kindle the burning patriotic spirit of the youths and absorb them in the national work after their educational career. Eminent Congress leaders presided over the Conferences and guided the students during the sessions. Further, it was the force of circumstances, and the abrupt revolutionary changes at home and abroad that made students to form an all-India body in 1936. Even then, students activities in different provinces as well as in Indian-India were very spordic and could not be brought under one banner. The new forces that were thrown up by the 1942 insurrection, paved the way for a real and genuine All-India Students, Organisation to combat all the evil reactionary forces that were at work. Though the real need is realised, an All-India body is established, due to the deep rooted power-politics and party bickerings among students and political parties that are working in the student organisation, coupled with lack of foresight, courage and leadership the whole organisation is misguided.

For the last forty years the student organisations have been functioning. But most of the students are ignorant of the aims, objects and nature of a student organisation. An ordinary student is under the impression that they are all political organisations, financed by the political parties, occasionally fighting for the demands of students to get their support for their own glorification. There are students who are perplexed by the existence of many student organisations for they do
not know which organisation they should join. Moreover, factional fights become inevitable in an organisation which is broad based and include members who owe allegiance to various parties. The speeches that are generally delivered on the student platforms, are no more than emotional eruptions and they cannot bring the new elements into the fold of the organisations. The long range result of the slogan-shouting demonstrations will be, that the so-called student leaders who represent different political parties will develop a psychology of myth-making, hero worship, crude emotionalism and spontaneous undisciplined outbursts, with the result that the common student, mixed with distrust and confusion is kept away from the student organisation. After the split of the All-India Student's Federation at Nagpur, the confusion among the students was worse confounded. Any dispassionate student of current politics has to admit the existence of a psychological distrust in the mind of the public and more so among the students against communist party of India and their activities, with the result, that the students were left in lurch because both the student organisations, the Nationalist student's Federation and the Communist controlled Student's Federation, claimed that their's was the genuine parental organisation. When students could not understand the different organisations, it would really be much to expect the students to know the power and party politics. Even the college students are under
the impression that the underground workers live beneath the ground in some cells constructed to carry on the struggle against the government. Many student workers do not understand the above factors. Most of us in India, are followers of hearts and not heads. Wider interest of the nation or society is neglected or sacrificed in preference to personal ambitions or gains. These only show the poor development of political and social consciousness.

In our country, loyalty to oneself or to a group is the accepted standard beyond which our mind refuses to expand. When our student leaders indulge in party bickerings, very little time is left for them to study books and for a rational accumulation of knowledge, except rising some slogans. Only they will have to wait as to which side the wind blows and change their colours. Some student leaders can be purchased in times. To make students understand all these pit-falls, I have raised controversial issues affecting the student problems and dealt them dispassionately without any prejudice.

As it is an objective study, we have to discuss the student movement in all its co-relations in order to bring home to our students the existing flaws. At present, the student politics is nothing but the minature of the all India politics. Many political parties have made their way into the student organisations after 1936 to recruit students for their parties by making the student platform their recruiting ground. Therefore, any study of the student movement cannot be
made without a critical analysis of political parties and their role in the student movement in India. No doubt, seething criticisms are made to make students understand the problems. Facts cannot be ignored. Genuine and scientific study of student politics will make our way easier which might help us to prepare the student organisation to meet any eventuality. Till we achieve our goal, freedom, there cannot be only one party student organisation. More than all these, as long as the student organisation do not remain as non-sectarian body, the student community cannot achieve its desired ends. It has its own programme to carry out and until and unless the youths are not given proper organisational training, and better understanding of our country and its problems, students will be failing in their duties.

Some of our leaders are taking a keen interest in the students politics after the 1942 struggle. Formerly it was only political leftist parties who were keen about the student organisations. After the release of the congress leaders, the Congress Representative Assemblies appointed Student Sub Committees to guide and activise the students and to bring them closer and closer to the workers and the peasants. It is amazing to note that the Convener of the Student’s Sub-Committee, U.P. Sjt Sampurnanand, a great intellectual and ex-member of the Congress Socialist party was given to understand that the All-India Students’ Congress was organised by the Congress Socialist
students with the help of the underground workers. Even Pandit Nehru, in one of his speeches mentioned that the C. S. P. has organised the students' Congress. This kind of subtle propaganda by the C.S.P. students, has kept the Congress leaders and students in absolute darkness. Therefore, an objective study is essential which might pave the way for the leaders to guide the students in right perspective.

Whether the student organisation should affiliate itself with any party or co-operate with any party programme is a much disputed and debatable problem which I have discussed in different chapters and a special study is made in the second chapter "What is a student organisation?"

All the anti-imperialistic forces will unite with conflicting ideologies to achieve national independence. Once national revolution or the Bourgeoisie Democratic Revolution is complete, the role of the Congress seems to change from fighting organisation to a reactionary and tory organisation. Then it will always be a thickvoiced block-head, to hamper all progressive attempts. Many leaders of to-day will play the part of the reactionaries worst than the conservative elements in England. Proletariat revolution will be led by the new forces and the revolutionary parties. The students as a dependent force of the most progressive forces, the proletariat, semi-proletariat, the peasants and the revolutionary parties, will have to co-operate with them for which they must organise themselves efficiently as the torch bearers of freedom.
CHAPTER II.

"Mistakes are the forerunners of the correct."

What is a Student Organisation?

A student organisation may be defined as an association of students whose main object is to redress the grievances of the student community and to equip themselves to be good citizens. This is a narrow definition of a student organisation. According to the constitution of the University Labour Federation, in England, it is defined "as an association of students whose objects include the study and extension of socialist opinion and activity among students, each enjoying equal status within the Federation." The objects of the University Labour Federation according to Article 5. run as follows:—1. "To further the study and propagation of the socialistic opinion amongst students; 2. to further political activity of a socialistic character amongst students; 3. to encourage students to organise for the fulfilment of their responsibilities and maintenance of their rights; 4. to bring students into contact and to strengthen their bonds with Youth Movement as a whole, specially the Working-Class Youth; 5. to bring students into contact with the Labour Movement and the Working-Class; 6. through the Bulletin, 'University Forward,' University Labour Federation.
penalty of law. The same old revolutionary associations by different names do exist today; and they have kept up their revolutionary character. The magnificent role of the student community during the Non-Co-operation days cannot be forgotten. The Student Movement in China, Russia, Germany, Spain and Egypt placed before the Indian students a new philosophy of life and a new life of action. In its early days, the student movement did not take any organised shape, although a large section of students participated in the national struggle launched by the Indian National Congress.

An All-India Student's Conference was held on the 25th December, 1920 at Nagpur. According to the Articles of the constitution, the objects were as follows:—

(a) "The physical, intellectual and moral development of students of India; (b) to promote the interest of students in every part of the country; (c) to promote patriotism, education and citizenship among students of India." One of the main objects of the All-Indian Students' Federation is to prepare students to take their due share in the struggle for complete national freedom. All its activities are to be centered round for the fulfilment of this object. It is very proper for the student body, for it is the minimum programme on which almost all students, whether they be Gandhi-ites, Revolutionary Socialists, Congress Socialists, 1942 Communists, Revolutionary Com-
munists, Trotskyites or other forces, can collaborate.

India being a colonial country, the student organisation is started on quite different basis than that of the student organisation in a free country. A student organisation in a free country is started first, to educate the student community in order to redress the grievances of the students and fight for their rights. Secondly, to carry out the nation building-programme, thirdly, to co-operate with the progressive forces of their country to elevate the position of their country in every possible way and to take part in every national crisis, and finally, to strengthen the bonds of students with the Youth Movements in other countries. It is essential to understand and compare the student movement in a free country and the student movement in a colonial country, specially of our country, which might facilitate our student organisation to set right its defects if any and form a well unified organisation to serve the needs of the student community and the country.

A brief survey of Student Movements in Different Countries.

In its comparatively brief span of 23 years of life, the British Student Movement has established itself as one of the finest in the world. In 1936 students were ill organised and were isolated from the rest of the people and so they were lacking in social responsibilities that a large number of them were
working with the most reactionary section of the ruling class and other political parties. Another striking cause for them to realise for a well-knit organisation was the unemployment problem and the future safety of their country. Further, the important events that were taking place, and the different ideologies that prevailed in the society made them to realise that an organisation based on national lines should be started to redress their grievances and educate themselves to play their bit as citizens of their country. The events in Spain in 1936, still probed some students, the necessity of a student organisation on a socialistic lines. It became the expression of the aims of the most politically advanced sections of the student community. These forward sections became alive of the growing needs of the people, and linked themselves with the progressive sections in the country that were fighting on the same principles.

They formed National Union of Students. It was primarily an organisation of students that was mainly concerned with issues of students. Their first concern was the development of the Universities. They looked to the fast developing National Union of Students for leadership. Students realised that unpolitical organisation as National Union of Students could truly represent the interest of the whole body Students. So, this organisation was formed to voice student issues
and grievances. The next development in the British Student Movement was, all those Unions and their central federating and co-ordinating body, the University Labour Federation, formed to have a well-knit united student organisation which could guide the federated Unions from time to time. It has made the organisation the key to any advance. In short, the University Labour Federation is not a political party. It is a federation of Socialist Associations each of which is free to work out its own policy. The University is not a federating debating club but gives a lead on major political issues and thus, work for the advancement of the country. The members discuss political situation with their fellow students, sell books, pamphlets and ask money to carry on the organisational work. These things, meetings, study circles, mass literature sales, social activities, etc., are not separate aspects of the life of the Socialist Associations. Thus in every sphere they work for the upliftment of students. These Associations have their own cricket clubs, tennies clubs, theaters and own large properties. Once an Englishman remarked "We do not produce book-worms but we produce men who will be good citizens and who can rule others." Such is the energetic work of the University Labour Federation.

When there is a National crisis, students jump into the Movement whole-heartedly to vindicate their
honour to their country. When their country was threatened from every side, their only slogan was “freedom is in danger.” Students were found that their whole life was organised on a war footing. Courses were cut down. Their time was taken up by military services. Students were engaged in war-work-schemes in their spare time. In short, their lives were spent mostly in trenches and in the battle-fields to defend their country. Even before the war, it must be noted that students were involved in great popular movements which swept the country from time to time.

In a free country, there is much scope for an all-round development among students and this can be seen among Scottish Universities whose existence is not to produce dummies, clerks and slaves but militant men who can rule themselves and others. It is only in the Scottish Universities students elect the second officer of the University, namely the Lord Rector. This election by the student bodies not only created a sense of discipline, democracy and their creative geniuses for the demand of their just grievances but a certain rudimentary sense of Student Unity. The credit goes to the Scottish Universities for having established fully democratically elected Councils representing all students, called the “Students’ Representative Council.” It was the first of its kind in the world and other Universities such as Paris and
Boulgone respectively followed the Scottish example. Another development which paved the way for strengthening such young forces was these Councils were recognised officially by a statute in 1889 and thereby they were entitled to make representation on all student issues to the University Court and Senatus.

The World War I and its repercussions on social, political and economic conditions, led to a renewed demand, for student organisations, to face the ever increasing problems that confronted every one and much more so students who had to shoulder greater responsibilities as future citizens. Inter University Conference was held. The student Representative Councils were more centralised after 1920. The student Movement began to mobilize all its available forces and energy and in 1936 democratic organisation took a step further with the result that the students were left in full control of the Universities.

The final stage in the development of the Scottish Student Movement can be traced to 1943 and onwards. In January 1943, Students' Conference was held and the Scottish Students had the opportunity of putting forward their ideas and proposals on matters affecting students, whether political, social, economic or educational. The Conference was attended by 250 student representatives form 18 different Scottish Universities and Colleges. Many far reaching changes were introduced not only in the development of the Uni-
versities but in their Scottish University Unions. This is said to be the land-mark in the history of the Scottish Student Movement.

To sum up, it is a history of Independent Student Organisation and initiative. At present, the National University Union is becoming the movement of Scottish people for social and educational advancement thus making the cause of the country its own.

Another striking factor in the development of the student movement in a free country can be seen in all its matured form in U. S. S. R. It is only country where freedom of speech, thought and association is given full expression to enhance the cause of humanity and to build a new world order, and to annihilate all kinds of exploitation. Students in U. S. S. R. are asked to mix with the peasants and workers. They have to work in collective farms and in factories with the workers in order to build Socialist Society. Annual Olympic Sports are encouraged where boys from villages and cities take part to bring them together for better understanding and mutual cooperation. Apart from these activities, out of 150 million people, in 1936 they had five crores of standing Army. Besides this, in 1935, 10,000 girls were given pilot training and 10,000 students were given special training in horse riding and other field work for thousands of students. Not only students-
are well equipped in every department of life, but the State looks after students both as national assets and the hope of the country and the world.

The valiant work of the Soviet students in their country's struggle, and the care that the Soviet Government gives to them can best be judged by the following quotation from "Provada's" editorial September, 1942...........

"Many students and scientific workers volunteered for the Red Army in the very first days of the war. From Leningrad alone, 2,500 people have gone to the front. Fifty thousand Moscow students participated in building the defence line which became grave of many thousands of Germans. Students of Pskov Pedagogical Institute, who are fighting in guerilla detachments, enjoy great authority among the guerillas as daring organisers and true people's avengers.

"But the scientific and Pedagogical work in the university goes on. Many students and scientific workers are engaged in solving important scientific problems for defence purposes..............Soviet students are devoting their strength and energy to the defence of their motherland. But the motherland demands from them also that they study, that they master knowledge and become valuable specialists. Here in they are fulfilling their duty towards their motherland!
"The second scholastic begins under difficult and complicated conditions. . . . The syllabus will not be cut down but will be carried out according to the normal programme. . . . The whole programme of students must be organised in a flexible way so to enable students working in the defence industry to study.

"Successful university work also depends to a great extent on economic and practical organisation, on the preparation of buildings, on fuel supply, student's homes, etc. All these difficulties can be surmounted. . . . .

"Many universities evacuated from temporarily enemy-occupied districts suffer very seriously from shortage and lack of organisation. . . . Conditions cannot be equal to those of peace time but the most elementary conditions for normal university work must be established.

"The Soviet students will respond to proper organisation with a love for work and conscientiousness. They will be prepared to take up arms at any moment and go into battle against the hated enemy."

Education is a national concern. So it is made not only free but compulsory. It seeks, physical and intellectual, moral and spiritual welfare of its children. Soviet education aims at producing the complete
citizen, bringing the children into close contact with Soviet Industrial productive life that they may learn in course of their contacts with the factory life. Why such a system exists? What place it occupies in the social order of the day and its future scope?

Parents are made to take special care in visiting schools which will promote healthy co-operation among parents, boys and the teachers. The attitude of teachers to children has been well put by a principal. "We do not want to produce little anarchists. We are educating the children in good life habits and not just teaching them the subjects. They should not be interested in lessons, but must have respect for teachers and for others and must behave in a cultivated way in consequence. We must not forget that while our children understand why they study and generally interested in getting an education they are nevertheless children, and as such need guiding and training throughout their school career. The function of a teacher is that of an educator. The teachers play the part of older comrades to whom the children tell their troubles and difficulties and whom they learn to love. Character, and self-discipline is over emphasised in Russian education. Mr. Hewlett Johnson comparing the range of education in U. S. S. R. says: "Today 18.4 percent of the Russian population attend elementary and secondary schools as against England 14.5 percent while 3.5 percent.
"The Soviets spend £39 per annum on the Turkmen child living on the Northern slopes of the Himalaya Mountains. British spends 1s. 6d. or Rs. -/15/- on the Indian child. The Soviets spend £ 5/10/- or Rs. 72/- on the Turkmen child health services; Britain spends 1d. or Re. /1/- on the Indian child."

"It is easy," says, Ilya Ehraburg, "to bring up ten thousand of a select at the expense of the rest, to create an enlightened artistocracy set up against the ignorant millions. We are seeking something quite different, enlightenment for all, all includes all the nationalities."

After a brief study of different Student Movements in free countries, we must analyse as to what should be the Student Movement in a colonial country like India. In a colonial country too, a student organisation exists, first to serve the student community, secondly, to carry out constructive or nation-building programme, thirdly, to fight for the country's liberation and fourthly, to have contact with other student communities of different countries to build a better world. But the misconception in India is, that the student organisation exists to co-operate with progressive political parties for the emancipation of our motherland. So for in India, we are carried away by mere slogans and hero worship. We gather like clouds in Conferences and
down pour speeches and disappear without placing a rational programme to bring the whole student community round the banner of the student organisation. Moreover, the student politics has become the menature of All India politics. Most of the Leftist Parties if analysed rationally and scientifically they are illorganised with regressive policy and programme. They exist for name and fame and do not understand the real issues that are at stake. These parties look to the student organisation as a recruiting ground. Now the question may be raised as to why should not the motto of the student organisation be “freedom of the country” first? When this is asked, one is probed deep into the subject concerned and ponder over important factors to understand the underlying realities. Further, some of the eminent leaders plead that the students should carry out the constructive programme. Professor Agarwal in a book “Students and constructive programme” has insisted that students should take up constructive work. This issue is to be solved by anylasing the sturture of the students. In other words, the class spirit in the student community will make one understand whether students should take up constructive programme or a student organisation should serve the student community.

Student organisation exists to serve the student community. Why this is so? This leads one to analyse the structure of the student community in India.
Student Community and its Deplorable condition.

In Northern India except in Bengal province, there are only two classes, the rich and the poor, the influence of the middle class is very little. So the poor people do not send their boys to Schools and Colleges. Moreover, the foundation of the educational system is such it has become the monopoly of a few privileged. They study either to rule the people like Loyal Subjects of the British sucking the blood of the poor in every possible way or to be Land-Lords whose duty is to see that the poor man is deprived of his existence in the society. The middle class is very little and so little in number they go either to Civil Intelligencia Department or other petty clerikal jobs or to work for the greatness of the Land-Lord or rich man. The deploarable condition of those who belong to the middle class and the poor is horrible and they are not given proper facilities for a natural growth of faculties. Under these conditions, either the poor students will be forced to take to questionable means or some part time job and continue their studies.

As far as the Bengal Province is concerned, in many respects it is akin to South India. Most of the revolutionaries come from middle class. Even to-day it is the middle class that controls the society. The political consciousness is greater in Bengal Province than any other province. Its sacrifices and its role in
Indian politics is uncomparably with other provinces. So far as the class spirit either in the student community or in the society is concerned, it can be compared with that of South India. In days to come when the poorer strata is enlightened, revolutionaries of that class will play a tremendous role in the political arena.

In South India the position is more interesting. The education is not the privilege of the Upper and Middle Classes but also of the lowest strata. An all-round study of the economic existing conditions that surrounds them will bring home the essential feature on the subject. Added to the social and economic conditions, the Brhamin and non-Brhamin question is another striking factor that will make one understand the real position. In some of the provinces in Northern India too, these problems are likely to crop up, as soon as the lower classes become politically conscious. At present, the society is dominated by the present leadership of the Indian National Congress and other so-called the major Leftist parties like C. S. P. who exploit the dumb millions under the garb of many ideologies, are not only allied with the rich but derive their strength from them. Further, they only satisfy the masses by their sugar-coating words. Villages, for instance, in the U. P. in Northern India are backward by 30 years when compared to South India. If one were to see the condition of the villages near the Fashionable Lucknow City he will have to wonder
as to how the leaders of the U. P. can go from place to place fighting for the Civil Liberties of others. Thanks to the Ex-District Congress President, Stj. Triloki Singh who is running from village to village to organise village Panchayates. Further, the credit goes to the unchallenged leader of Unao, Mr. V. D. Tripathi for organising a mighty Kisan Movement in the whole of his district. Under the leadership of Mr. Sibban Lal Saxena, the Kisan movement is gaining a strong ground in Gorakhpur district. The new workers who have come into the Congress are making their way into villages, inspite of the many obstacles put in their way by the leaders who look them with suspicion lest they may loose their leadership. The above problems will have to be faced by the self-made and puffed-up leaders who have ignored and deserted the poor to the canons of the Bourgeoisie. As soon as the lower classes begin to analyse their position and become politically conscious the cries of higher-up will have to be faced.

As far as the conditions of the poor students in South India, it is very deplorable. When they do not have books to read, clothes to wear what to say of their health. Very many Students will not have proper meals. Thanks to the Mysore Government efforts for having opened Canteens in some of the Colleges and Schools where poor students are given a morsel of food in the afternoons.

The most striking factor that has affected the student community is the growing Brhamin and non-
Brhamin feelings. It has taken deep roots among the students. The Brhamin community in South India is considered to be an enlightened community and it is an admitted fact that 90 per cent of them are educated. They are a class of landless community and mainly depend upon the Government jobs, clerical jobs in private concerns and some people serve as Purohits. No doubt, some people who are in high governmental position do own large property but India is a country where selfishness is the accepted dogma, without which the so-called upper classes cannot thrive. It is assumed that at one time all the governmental jobs were filled up by the the Brahim community. Whenever a non-Brahmin entered any department either he was not allowed to thrive or was kept away without any increment. But now it has become vice-versa. A Brhamin who was once getting Rs. 30/- is still getting the same amount without any increment. It is unfortunate in India that in every family there will be more than half a dozen parasites and the whole burden of the family has to be borne by the family head. With that meagre sum of Rs. 30/- how can a poor man educate his children and feed the whole lot? The children when they enter the schools and if they cannot manage themselves, some of them take to many regrettable methods to pull on their lives. There is what is known as “Weekly Meal System” by which a poor student will approach some rich persons and every day the student is provided
ed meals in turn in one of their houses. A poor student is nothing but a beggar. And it is difficult to expect always good treatment from others. How he is expected to behave with those who give him bread is left to the imagination of the readers. It is said that once a poor student went to a Principal with folded hands and told him that he was taking 'weekly meals' and the person whose turn of feeding him was not in the station hence he was starving. The Principal was an English gentle-man and was horrified at the incident because the Principal thought that he did not take his meal for one week and immediately gave him Rs. 10/- and awarded full free-ship. This is one of the simple example of the many horrible lots, that haunts the poor students like male ghosts. More horrible tragedy is that some poor students take to questionable methods to maintain themselves. One shudders to see the demoralisation among some poor students. If the whole situation is taken into consideration there is much degradation and demoralisation among the poor students in South India.

What are the sacrifices the country expects from these persons? How can they solve their poverty? Who is to help them? These are the outstanding questions that one can put.

When such is the condition of the poor students, by the time they leave University either they will
T. B. patients on account of the hard pressed conditions during their college career or their duty is to pray for their daily bread. Why we produce so many 'traitors' 'dummies' 'book-worms'? It is on account of poverty. How can those who are born with silver spoons understand the difficulties of the poor students. Will their hurly-burly politics give them bread? Once an Englishman rightly remarked "In India, life ends within the college career, whereas in England life begins after the college career". A poor student after his college career, either he will turn to be a traitor to the Nation or a clerk with all slavish qualities to grind his own ends, and thus, he is detrimental to the very interest of the country. Whatever may be the system of education that is being given to us, the condition of the poor students as such, unless the student organisation comes to their help not only we have no hope of producing militant students who can serve our country but the students will not muster round the student organisation. If the student organisation is not going to reorganise on progressive lines with a revolutionary programme, we must be content with "Book-Worms, Dummies, Loyalists, Clerks and Quislings."

It is the poverty in our country that is responsible for the production of the millions of people with markedly inferior physique, low vitality and ill-health. It is an extremity of distitution. Why should the poor students be saved? This outstanding question
will go to make as to what is a student organisation. Are the students to fight for their rights or fight for country’s struggle? This is another problem that one has to think.

Students are the torch bearers of freedom not only in a colonial country but in every country. In all countries, it is only students who brought revolutions and fought for rights of man. When this aspect is considered, Indian students, had played a tremendous role in politics. The August Revolution of 1942 was fought and run by the students, workers and peasants and not by leaders who were wandering hither and thither making themselves revolutionaries at the cost of others. In early twenties of the present century when All-India students’ Federation was not in existence, more than 3,000 students of Bengal had to undergo various terms of imprisonment. The contribution of the Revolutionary students to the freedom struggle was immense while the students could not organise an All-India body. Many Bengal Students had joined revolutionary parties like Anausualena Samati and Bala Sena, called Hindustan Republican Army, before 1930. The magnificent role played by those heroes is very difficult to trace as there is no authoritative literature on their activities and the real facts are not forth coming. From the very beginning of our freedom struggle, the student community has proved itself to be the Vanguard of the Nation. Hence to amiliorate the condition of the poor students and to
bring all students under the banner of the student organisation, the first duty of the organisation is to serve the student community. If the student organisation exists to serve the student community all students will rally round the student leaders and the student leaders and students in their turn will muster round the National leaders in times of National crisis. How students can be brought under the banner of student organisation is candidly discussed in different phases of the "Student Movement in India". Further this aspect is fully dealt in the "Scheme of Reorganisation of All-India student" Chapter XI.

Second important function of a student organisation is to carry out the constructive programme or Nation-Building programme. When student organisation serves the student community, by its own programme it serves the society or carries out constructive programme. As for instance, during these years, student organisations collect huge amounts to run the Conferences, to run the activity of the student organisations and to contribute to the funds like Kamala Nehru Hospital and such other purposes. There are many poor students who cannot maintain themselves and live under miserable conditons. If such students are paid Rs. 10/- a month as stipend the students themselves will go to villages and slums to carry out constructive programme every day for an hour or two. Again in times of Congress elections it is only students who work for the success of the
Congress candidates. Huge amounts are spent on these elections. If the same amount is paid to the poor students much constructive programme is carried out. Further, if the students were to approach Citizens, rich students and other Congress and leadeas, they will leberally contribute some books by their names. If the student organisation were to collect books and maintain a good library, not only those students who have no books will be very much benefitted, but simple and interesting books can be given to villagers and workers. More than all that, as it is an age of ideologies, those who subscribe to different political thoughts, will contribute books to propagate their views thereby many students will understand the issues. By these works not only constructive programme is carried out but the student community itself is served. Unless this kind of service is done to convince the students, the common student will not come into the organisation. Students are ignorant of many issues and their environment. The above factors are fully discussed and analysed in the Chapter VIII "Sixth Phase of the student movement in India." This is noticed very clearly after the 1942 insurrection whre in party politics became the feature of the Indian student movement.

Thirdly, the student organisation exists to work for the freedom of the country. This is the most important of all the objects. When one analyses the problem of freedom, all its co-relations must be studied.
Some people are under the impression that student organisation exists only to fight for the freedom of the country. No doubt, all the activities of students are centered round the freedom struggle. In every National struggle it is only students who suffer most. But, unless they enlighten themselves as to what for they are fighting and for whose liberty they are fighting, it is of no avail of their selfless sacrifices. The student community is one of the powerful force in any country and unless all students muster round their leaders in times of National crisis, the freedom struggle cannot be a powerful one. Moreover, they must know the art of governing themselves to place a correct line of thought before the country. All the activities of the student organisation intend that they will learn the art of administration. And they are to enlighten the masses. Unless the man in the street is told as to what for we are fighting it is no freedom-fight. The freedom is not for a few wealthy persons but for all. If the student organisation were to fight for such a freedom they must live with the masses, undersand their difficulties and solve all their burning promblems of the day.

Lastly the student organissation exists to develop brotherlyhood with other student organisations in different countries of the world, in order to build a better world.

_Student Organisation and Political Parties in India._

While analysing as to what is a student organisation in a dependent country, like India, we must discuss
whether a student organisation can ally itself with any political organisation or party to achieve its ends. While discussing this aspect it will lead to survey all the existing political parties in the country. When the above problem is studied in free countries, student organisations have allied from time to time with the progressive parties. This is well brought out in the case of the British Student Movement. Where as in case of India we have to make a searching analysis from different angles and a dispassionate study is essential to make this problem clear. Glaring defects if any must be pointed out so that the student organisation might set right its mistakes.

In India the student organisation is organised independently. According to the constitution of the organisation it is only non-political but non-partisan.

From the beginning of the student movement, the organisation in one way or the other has allied with one party or the other. From time to Northern India, our leaders have been giving warnings to students to keep away from party politics and they insisted that students should study all political, social and economic problems to equip themselves to shoulder the burden of future. When we state that the student organisations in Northern India ally themselves with political parties and in South they are kept away from the parties we must study all their co-relations, the differences and
causes. In Northern India except Bengal province class consciousness is little when compared to South India. The poor people have no access to society and are treated like animals and things. In the absence of middle class, the country produces leaders who are pests in society. In such a society if students were to come either into student organisation or political parties they cannot have independent existence. They are forced to ally themselves with one leader or the other. Students who come out of such middle class have three distinct qualities. If they are independent, they are revolutionary. They cannot be brought into party politics. If students cannot be brought round the leaders, they will be termed as disruptors and will be disowned and disrespected. They will be called as informers. Second feature of such students is that they will have to become Yes—Yes men of some leader and work for the greatness of him. The third feature of them is that they must become bread winners. Why many a student movement fizzle out? It is on account of these pests who control student organisations. In short, we must say that it is money that rules our country.

Secondly, unlike South India, it is not the work and worth that counts in a leader but money. When students have no separate existence, the student leaders or some workers will try to adjust themselves to get the sympathies of leaders. When such is the case, the student movement in Northern India is part and parcel of political organisation and leaders.
In South India, the student organisation do not, as a body, ally with any party. No doubt, in any National crisis it is students that jump into the movement whole-heartedly. As members of the Congress, they do co-operate with the Indian National Congress and other leftist groups. Indian National Congress being the parental organisation some of its work and programme is carried out by students. The striking feature of students in South India is that the majority of students wear khadi which reflects solely the urge for constructive work. But the real issue is, that no political party has any control over the students' organisation. Again the local or provincial newspapers do not give so much publicity to the student organisation. The reason being the class consciousness is fully felt. The rich are a few in number. They have no hold on the society. Besides, middle class being very potent do not allow the rich or the poor to have control over the body politic. This glaring fact can be illustrated from the Municipal elections held in 1938 and 1945 in Bangalore. In 1938, in the Municipal elections the Congress had captured all the 26 seats. It was the only time in the annuls of the history of our country when cent per cent seats were captured by a single party. Whereas in 1945 the State Congress could not capture 11 out of 26. Why this is so? Are the people so backward to disown their own parental national organisation? The reason is, the middle
class which is predominant will not be carried away by emotions and sentiments and it considers only work and worth. When such is the case, no political leader is puffed up. No student organisation will be so much subservient to the leaders or purchase the sympathies of the leaders at any prize. It is worth noting in this connection to mention the resolution passed in the fifteenth session of the Andhra Students' Conference in 1938. The Conference met on the 29th January 1938 and passed a resolution critisizing the attitude of the leading Congressmen towards the Federation and urged uncompromising opposition to it. From the discussions that we have, it is evident that the student movement in the North is part and parcel of the political organisation. The fact cannot be ignored. We must discuss how far political parties have manu-pulated and made the student organisation a recruiting ground for their own selfish ends. These problems have been exhaustively studied in the "VIII Chapter, sixth phase of the student movement in India, and the subsequent chapters, 'Reactionary' and 'Communal' student organisations. Now we must ponder over the main issues whether the student organisation can ally itself with any political party and this leads us to study the political parties in India.

A Brief Survey of Political Parties in India.

If we analyse the Indian National Congress towards the close of the last century many new parties have made their way into the organisation. Time was when
politics was a holiday past-time of the pot-bellied persons among the upper classes. They volubly quoted Burk and passed resolution praying Her Benign Majesty to hold competitive examinations for entry into the higher cadres of the steel framework of the British Empire. Of course, they talked of Swaraj being their birthright, of which they hoped to regain possession by a process of patent medicancy.

There were a number of people who laughed at the very idea of those moderates and declared that they would overthrow the British Imperialism by the application of force, the only historical method of attaining political freedom. Such dangerous persons were dubbed as 'Extremists' and they were kept out of the Congress by the sober elements of the slave-aristocracy created under the British rule.

But what was more, a new method of ascertaining the claim not by means of resolutions, petitions and deputations to the bureaucracy but through direct action in the form of the boycott of the British goods was introduced. It was taken up with great enthusiasm in Bengal and spread to the other parts of the country as well. The Government retaliated by adopting a policy of open and violent repression which drove the movement underground and provoked sporadic outbursts of revolutionary activities. Indian National Congress reacted to these developments in the country at large by displaying the signs of dissensions in its ranks. At this stage a new
party came into existence, representing mainly petty bourgeoisie who had been drawn into the movement. But this policy, which was regarded as 'Extremism' was resented by the old leadership of the Congress; the conflict between the two classes came to a head in 1906, and caused a split, which left the moderates in full control of the Congress and the extremists chose not to flitter away their energies by a futile fight with the 'Moderates'.

The moderates were rewarded by the government for their staunch constitutionalism with a few small concessions which nevertheless seemed to have pleased them so much that in 1908 at the Madras Congress Session, Rash Behari Ghosh, in his Presidential address in a very ecstasy of joy, cried, "The clouds are now breaking in blessing over your heads, slacking the parched and thirsty earth. The time of singing birds is come and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."

Meanwhile ignoring the birds and the turtles, the government haunted down every one it suspected of extremism, and had them all locked up or deported. The division of Bengal into Western and Eastern, added oil to the already burning fire. Revolutionary movement spread in Northern India. They were all independent actions. It was organised in Bengal, the C. P., the U. P., and the Punjab. Their aim was to raise a national militia to overthrow the government. Many lives were lost, many daring
patriots died in the fight. Some militant students were also drawn into the movement. There were revolutionary parties like Anusulana Samity and Yugantar party that were led by Rash Behari Bose. They were aiming to make agreements with foreign governments to snatch freedom from the unwilling hands. Then followed the happenings of the Jallianwala Bagh where 320 were shot dead and 1200 wounded. The Indian National Congress did not help them but publicly denounced them. The supporters too turned their faces aside which made these revolutionaries to resort to 'political decoyties' to finance their parties, and by these most of them were caught. Either they were locked up or deported to Andaman Islands. However intense the emotional feelings in them and however diehard their determination, they could not attain their chosen path on All-India basis, with the result that an efficient espionage system was able to disrupt, though not liquidate their forces. This we have to discuss in the next chapter in detail. Till 1935 sporadic revolutionary activities were in sight. When they saw that Gandhiji too denounced them, they began to organise themselves on new basis. In the Presidential address Pandit Nehru in 1936 said, "Terrorism as such is practically non-existent now in Bengal or in any part of India. Terrorism is always a sign of political immaturity in a people just as so-called constitutionalism where there is no democratic constitution, is a sign of political senility. Our national
movement has long out-grown immature stage, and even the old individuals who in the past indulged in terrorist acts have apparently given up that tragic and futile philosophy." The term 'Revolutionary Movement' is very wrongly interpreted by our leaders, Government and some of the leftist parties to grind their own ends as 'Terrorist Movement in India.' Even in the House of Commons, the movement was described as the "Terrorist Movement," to crush the growing popularity of the revolutionaries in India. As a matter of fact, there is ocean of difference between 'terrorist activities' and 'revolutionary activities'. Terrorism as such has no aim and no object and the very term means to create terror. Whereas revolutionary movement has definite aims, objects and an ideology. This term is used by our leaders who are born with silver spoons in their mouths and who are addicted to issue only paper statements, indulge in prating, and use all available methods to make themselves great in the eyes of a backward country which reeks with superstition, bigotry and blind faith. Further, from 1919 Gandhiji's appearance on the scene with his strange theory of Non-Violence as the basic modus operandi of political rebellion, had great influence in the country. The old revolutionary groups did not keep away from politics. In 1927 five extremists organised a party known as Communist Party of India. Till 1935 they did not come into the student organisation. As the party was illegal, underground and very anti-imperia-
listic in its character, they were considered to be revolutionaries. Every one had soft corner for them. They became anti-national and reactionary to the very core and at last they lost their revolutionary character. The Communist Party of India and the students are dealt in the chapter IX 'Reactionary Student Organisations'.

In 1934 the old revolutionaries wanted to form another party. But in 1934 the Congress Socialist Party came into existence. It was formed by a few intellectuals, with the support of the rightists like Nehru to stem the growing tide of the Communists and other leftists and to show people that the Congress too has leftists in their fold. The C. S. P. brought into it the old revolutionaries with the pretext that theirs is a revolutionary party. The old revolutionaries worked with them for four years. The Communist too came into the Congress with the intention to capture the organisation in 1936. The C. S. P. directed its energies towards the Communists and other leftists to disrupt them and indulged in power politics and vice-versa. The C.S. P. which was attracting youths under the garb of Marxian ideology played a most opportunist role in Ramgarh Congress Session which made the revolutionaries to leave their organisation. When all the leftists were united to capture the Indian National Congress, the C. S. P. did not co-operate with them. The Communists too deserted the leftists, which made Subhash to resign his Presidentship. He was harrased by the
revolutionary parties. The revolutionaries and the youths were left in lurch which paved the way for a new party as Revolutionary Socialist Party of India. In 1940 the communists failed to capture the student platform, the C. S. P. was left unguarded and installed its men like the Communists and began to manoeuvre in the student organisation after the Communists exit. The C. S. P. and its role in student politics is discussed in the 'VIII Chapter Sixth phase of the student movement in India.'

"Revolutionary Socialist Party of India" was formed in 1940 and its chief founder is Com. Jogesh Chandra Chatterji. It was not an illegal party till 1945. It consists of old revolutionaries whose presence and existence was fatal to the British and the Capitalists in the country. It has kept up its revolutionary character up to the present day. It is one of the most powerful party in Bengal to-day. Their number is near about 4,000 and mostly it is confined to the Bengal province. Now it is making a head way in other provinces. A revolutionary party like R. S. P. I. must be able to chalk out a revolutionary programme to educate the proletariat and peasants as first step to bring out revolution to establish Socialism in India. So far Bengal's contribution to the freedom struggle is immense. It is a land of revolutionaries and freedom-loving people, as such the revolutionary party's role cannot be under-estimated, even though the masses will be more revolutionary than the
party in times of action. Every ditch becomes a trench and every house a fort and it is not those who indulge in vain talks, tub-thumping oration and power politics who can face such a crisis. It is only the potent of the potent, bravest of the brave who can face revolution. A party which fights for power, a party whose intention is to dominate other parties by any method, a party which is nothing but a debating club, a party which attracts weaklings will play nothing but reactionary role in times of crisis and in times of revolution. A revolutionary party enrolls such members who can undergo any hardship and enlighten the masses and students in the right perceptive to bring the revolution to a successful termination. If R. S. P. intends to play such a role and keep up its revolutionary character it should not commit the blunders as the other parties by showing double loyalty, half to rightists and half to leftists. Ramgarh and Tripuri incidents must ring in the ears of a real leftist day and night so that he may not commit the same blunders and become reactionary.

Why so much is said about R. S. P.? They are also working in the student front, and the party in Bengal being a strong one may take to power politics which will lead to corruption not only among themselves but it will corrupt others too. Power, no doubt, is good but power for its own sake is not only detrimental to the interest of the party concerned but to the interest of the country at large. The futurity does
not depend upon raising slogans or speaking a ton of theory without understanding the realities. Theoretical knowledge is useless if it is not expressed in practice.

Maganlal Bhagdi and his comrades who were confined to jail in 1932 under the Arms Act were released in 1937 soon after the formation of the Congress Ministry in the C. P. When they saw power politics among the leftist intellectuals, they formed their own party "Hindustan Red Army of C. P." They began to organise poor strata and worked in the villages. Before 1941 they were working in close co-operation with the Communist party of India. When the Communist party changed its revolutionary policy to a reactionary one, Maganlal and his party came into the clutches of the Congress Socialists. They were 1,000 strong in number and in 1942 they played a heroic role. They marched into the streets and captured the government. Com. Maganlal Bhagdi was a three days Governor of C. P. in 1942. The insurrection of 1942 could not last long. The ruthless forces of the British imperialistic forces chased every one of them and its leader had to flee to Bombay. The memorable words of the leader of the Russian revolution of 1917, Maltewartes are worth remembering, "Our second mistake in the July insurrection may be considered to be this, we spent in almost three days in marching in the streets, instead of immediately occupying all the
institutions, banks, palaces, Railway road stations, telegraphic offices and arresting the whole provisional Government, etc." When we look to the August insurrection the same thing happened in India. All the C. S. P. leaders who were in absconsion did not lead them on right times. They were busy hither and thither in amassing money from the capitalists under the pretexst of launching the fight against the British. Perhaps their hands were full with power politics before 1942, and stabbing the leftists one after another and did not have time for preparations. During 1942 in C. P. Com. Maganlal was the Governor for three days, in Bihar there was no government for a month and half and the government had to take questionable methods to suppress the rebellious people. Even in Mysore State in one of the taluks Isure National Government was set up and a student was the president for three days. Alas! how many days they could hold when there are no enlightened leaders to guide the masses at such a time. Today it has become a fashion to speak of revolution. Can these revolutionary rebellious sons and daughters of the C. S. P. face a revolution?

As Trotsky says "Revolution is the most ruthless of all methods of solving historic problems". It is not these who speak shilly-shalling and dilly-dalling words face a revolution. If one howls aloud on the platform in India, he is a revolutionary. The conception of the world revolution as visualised by Lenin was quite
different though Trotsky worked tirelessly with Lenin. Lenin, the head of the Bolshevik Party and the then government, gave Trotsky a blank check endorsing with his signature, any order or command which Trotsky saw fit to write upon". Why Lenin gave the blank paper endorsing his signature? Because of his appreciation of Trotsky’s work for having formed the "Red Army of Russia" and for his qualities like "Effective presence, beautiful broad gesture, mighty rhythm of speech, absolutely loud voice, wonderful compactness, literariness of phrase, wealth of imagery, scoring irony, flowing pathos, and absolutely extraordinary logic, really steel like in its clarity. These are the qualities of Trotsky’s speech. He can speak epigrammatically, shot a few well aimed arrows, and he can pronounce such majestic political discourses". Most of all suited to their parts were the two strongest of the strong——Lenin and Trotsky. The C. S. P. leaders too, can give any kind of certificate to their comrades. Com. Usuf Mehrally in an article ‘Achyut Patwardan,’ writes, “Unbending purpose behind a cheering smile, a mind sparkling like a flashing blade, a generosity to friend and foe, almost unbelievable, these describe that famous fugitive, Achyut Patwardan. More than any one else, it was he who provided the direction and continuity to the rebellion of 1942——.”

"After a fruitless search, for the great fugitive thoroughly exhausted in body and mind, the head of the police was returning to report his failure. By a strange
coincidence Achyut was also returning by the same train! It was not only the same train, but also the same compartment, and even in the same seat and even side by side by which the fugitive and his pursuer were travelling together! And only a few inches of space separated his prize from his grasp. The officer got down at Poona, but Achyut and history continued the journey”. It is related by his comrade. If it is related by Achyut himself, it would have been a wonderful Cock and Bull story to be read and appreciated before the masses and C. S. P. revolutionaries. In our country students seldom care to study politics as a branch of social science, or to analyse the phenomena of social life in a scientific way. The student community at present tends to ally itself with movements which satisfy the emotions rather than sentiments. Moreover, politics of our country reeks with superstition, blind faith, hero-worship, bigotry, hatred and racialism. The so-called revolutionary parties do exploit the students by instilling their boys in key places and try to play the role of Donquexot.

That tireless son of India, Maganlal and his comrades-in-arms, whose sacrifices are second to none have greater responsibilities, towards the people than the hurly-burly politics where personal and selfish ends are magnified into fundamental differences. His organisation is not on the student front. Though he is working with C. S. P. he must aim to educate the masses for whose liberty and freedom he is fighting.
There is another party started by Com. Manobendra Nath Roy, the Radical Democratic Party. So far it could not play an important role either in the student front or in Indian politics. On account of the irrational policy it died a natural death after 1942. In 1939 Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose organised "FORWARD-BLOCK" when he was not supported by the so-called leftist parties. The government did not sleep till they arrested every member. Even the name terrified the John Bull Government. If he was free he would have organised a mighty party of enthusiastic youths to whom he was the embodiment of freedom. Now they have made it crystal clear of their ideology, programme and policy and it is to be seen how far they will work for ideas. As the "Forward-Block" is working in the student organisation they must learn the lessons from history without which they will have to suffer from the same defects as C. S. P. suffers to-day.

Apart from the illegal and youth organisations, there are four more parties working in India. They are H. R. S. A. (Hindustan Socialist Republican Army) mostly confined to the U. P. and Bolshevick party of India, Trotskyite party of India, and Revolutionary Communist Party of India. Except H. S. R. A. the rest of the parties are working in labour and student fronts. Their programme and policy must be seen in the near future. After this survey, we must consider whether a student organisation can ally itself with any political party or work in close co-operation with any party.
In England, the University Labour Federation is the National Student Organisation. Students can look to the organisation to help them to solve their local problems and to educate them on great issues of the day. Students can use their organisation for their benefit, develop and improve it according to their needs. In fact, it is an organisation developed and improved by the rank and file of the members. There are no political bosses who can install their men to make the platform a recruiting ground; no rich supports to get lifts with private axes to grind. The whole organisation is shaped by the desire of preceding generation of students, and its way forward is determined from time to time by those members who work for it and build it. Consequently, they are the real leaders of the U. L. F. At every annual conference they thrash out the line of action they have to follow. At the Council meetings hotly disputing, criticising and re-formulating their policy, they are the blood and tissues of the U. L. F. without which the whole organisation lacks life and meaning.

They are not guided by any political party. The U. L. F. is a Federation of National Union of students, each unit is free to carry out its policy without any outside influence and interference. When it is said that there are no political bosses, it does not mean that there are no members who hold different political outlook. The policy of the organisation is such a general
character allowing of great variations within its sections. But on certain issues like the defeat of Fascism, extension of democratic ideals, freedom and self-determination of all nations, are the general principles on which the entire membership of the U. L. F. is untied. But there will be difference of opinions on the way these things are to be achieved. In other words, their aims and objects are same but the means to achieve their ends may differ. These differences have their full expressions in the Unions. In that way its policy is common to all other U. L. F. sections and individuals. They sympathise with the working-class in many ways. The "FORWARD" the U. L. F. mouth piece says, "the U. L. F. is not a Federation of debating Societies nor an organisation which 'goes in for' politics for the 'fun of it'. It is a serious and responsible organisation with very definite aims: to strengthen the student movement, and to give a lead to the students on all subjects which concern them. As such, it needs to give a lead on all major political issues, it needs to campaign for their issues, and thus to strengthen the U. L. F. as a whole. In these respects it is like all other sections of the labour movement throughout the country."

So far in England Labour Party is considered to be one of the foremost party started on ideological basis aiming to establish Socialism in that country. They could form the government thrice and at present the Labour government is functioning. Being the most
progressive party in England the relationship between the student organisation and the Labour Party must be considered. Until 1940, the U. L. F. was affiliated to the Labour party, and hundreds of its members joined the Labour Party on the basis of contacting through the U. L. F. In 1940, however, the U. L. F. was disaffiliated, as a result of a conflict between them. New developments are seen now even there. Many political parties have been formed in England already. The Trotskyits, Leninists and Stalinites are growing stronger and stronger and consequently, the same parties will try to enter the student organisations to recruit members. Further in England freedom of speech and association are not restricted and the relation among the different parties and the students is to be seen.

How the student movement in U. S. S. R. is working with the political parties? Their's is Communism. The working class is able to use state power to overcome all the evils which others in capitalistic world suffer. The Society is not constituted on a verticle basis or on heirarchical structure, but horizontal basis. For them there is no unemployment, no economic crisis, no struggle for the elementary rights such as equality in education, access to the society and land, etc. For them equality has real meaning. For them democracy is not just half a loaf—better than breadless Fascism. This they have shown to the world in the Second World War. In U. S. S. R. the future is full of guarantees.
For their children there is peace and security. Even then there are political parties working within the State differing on fundamental issues. The student movement, unchecked, is functioning with different sections but their main object is to serve the people. They work as students in the student organisations but when they go out of their colleges they work in their respective parties. The student organisation is fully alive to the fact that it is not the resolutions or speeches but living with masses they can work for the people and humanity. We have seen how in free countries the student organisations are working with the political parties.

How far the student organisation can co-operate with political parties in India must be discussed. We have already discussed in brief the existing political parties in our country. If a student organisation were to work with a party it must have the same ideology, same objects and aims. This calls forth the discussion of the ideology of students and their class spirit.

A political party is an organisation or an association of individuals having some object and an ideology working to fulfill them. A political party is organised in a subjected nation to achieve freedom secondly to work for the progress of the nation and the humanity at large. The desired ends of the party depends upon its ideology. The victorious party after achieving national independence, will set up a provisional Interim government and with the help of the Consti-
tuent Assembly it will settle the form of government. If it is a revolutionary or Socialist or Communist Party, after achieving the national independence it will work for the social revolution. It will set up provisional revolutionary Interim government. Through Constituent Assembly it will establish Socialism ultimately, and march with other socialistic states. This is in a narrow sense the reason of starting a political party in a subject nation.

Student community is not a class by itself. It is a homogeneous body composed of many elements who belong to many political thoughts. Some political parties in India contend that students by themselves constitute a class and can be organised on class basis just like the working class. It is recruited from all classes; hence it is a cross section of the society. Another point that we have to bear in mind is that we must consider it from Indian point of view. Except Bengal in northern India middle class is not a powerful factor to control the body politic. The poor have no access to the society. In South India it is vice versa. In India at present, student population constitute the intellectualia of the country in its embryonic stage. Intellectuals however decisive role they may have in the society, are not a class. They are the intermediaries between the conflicting classes and active participants in their conflicts. In spite of the good intentions and idealism they may fall into the hands of the reaction-
aries. In India, our direct action in the past were based on the masses, and especially the peasantry, but the backbone and leadership were always supplied by middle class. The middle classes are a vague group or groups; at the top, a handful of them closely allied with capitalists and the British imperialism; at the bottom are the dispossessed and other groups who have been progressively crushed by economic circumstances and out of those ranks come the advanced political workers and revolutionaries; in between are the central groups, which tend often to side with the advanced elements, but which also have the alliances with the upper groups and live in the hope of joining their superior ranks. A middle class leadership thus often distracted leadership looking in two directions at the same time. In times of struggle when unity of aim and activity are essential, this two-faced leadership is bound to injure the cause and to hold back when a forward move is called for. When the lowest strata is admitted and given equal chances then the influence of that upper strata wanes away. Then only students can be classified as a class. Even then the student community will be a dependent factor in the society as in U. S. S. R. In U. S. S. R. one finds student taking an active interest in the education of the farmers and factory workers, and thus contributing to build up the Socialist society.

Another factor that is to be considered is the deology. An 'ideology' is similar in the social
sphere of what is called "Rationalisation" in the sphere of individual phylosophy. It is the expression of hopes, wishes, fears, ideals, not hypothesis about events—James Durnham says, "Thus the theory of evolution or of relativity or of the electron composition of matter are scientific theories, whereas the doctrines of preambles to the Declaration of the Independence or the Constitution of the U.S.A., the Nazi Racial Doctrine, Marxian dialectical materialism are ideologies. Each group insists that its ideology is universal in validity and expresses the interest of humanity as a whole; and each group tries to win the universal acceptance for its ideologies." Therefore, unless the student community is a homogeneous class it cannot hold any ideology. It is a non-sectarian allying itself with many groups. Thus it cannot work with any political party. It is worth noting in this connection to quote the warnings of our leaders. In the third All-India Students' Conference in 1938, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya leader of the C. S. P. in her inaugural address said, "Youth should develop its own distinctive qualities. Justice and equality should be their watchword. Those who are invited to speak should not exploit that opportunity to voice forth their opinions and attempt to bring round the youths to their side." Mr. Masani, in his presidential address in the same Conference said, "I hope you will guard against and resist any attempt by any political party or any group what-
soever to dominate and control the student Federation." Subhash, the torch-bearer of freedom, in a message to the second U. P. Conference said, "I am decidedly of opinion that the platform of the student movement should be broad-based and should be opened to all shades of opinion. It would be a disastrous if students belonging to a particular party or group were to attempt to capture the organisation to the exclusion of other students. If this happens the student movement will split and several student organisations will come into existence. In your deliberations, hold aloft before your eyes the idea of liberty, equality, and fraternity and progress and remember always that liberty means emancipation from bondage of every kind —Political, Social and Economic. From all the discussions from any angle the notion of working with a political party is harmful and detrimental to the interest of the student community. Students being the torch-bearers of freedom they must always adopt a forward policy."
CHAPTER III

First Phase of the Student Movement in India—1894-1919.

Awake!

Waken, O mother! thy children implore thee,
Who kneel in thy presence to serve and adore thee!
The night is aflush with a dream of the morrow,
Why still dost thou sleep in thy bondage of sorrow?
Awaken and sever the woes that enthrall us,
And hallow our hands for the triumphs that call us!

Are we not thine, O Belov'd, to inherit
The manifold pride and power of thy spirit?
Ne'er shall we fail thee, forsake thee or falter,
Whose hearts are thy home and thy shield and thy alter.

Lo! we would thrill the high stars with thy story,
And set thee again in the forefront of glory.

Sarojini Naidu.

To trace the history of the student movement in India unless we take note of different factors that contributed to its formation, growth and development, we will not be able to appreciate it in all its aspects. India, being a colonial country it is but natural nationalism finds its full expression in its youths. The factors
that contributed to such inner fermentation must be noted with all its relations and effects on the Indian student community.

After the great Indian Revolution of 1857, Indian patriotism found a place not only in the powerful pens of great leaders but the genius of the Indian poets also began to run in these very channels and they sought to kindle and keep alive love for Mother India, and its freedom by writing patriotic poems on the pattern of Western National authors. The period between 1858-1877 was a period of lull and pacification after the first storm of the Indian Revolution in 1857. Since periods of political lull and tumult mostly alternate, Indian national movement at its second stage entered into stormy channels of criticism and resentment against the British rule through the eminent men of letters, poets and workers. The writings and national songs had great effect on the student community.

In the foregoing chapter we have already stated that the present education given to us is rotten. We have discussed how far it is detrimental to our progress. This is the second important factor that contributed for the establishment, growth and development of the student movement in our country. We must examine at length the system of education that is given to us by the foreign country.
Higher education was imparted in this country even in ancient days. There is abundant evidence to show that the education in our country, was well organised, wide-spread and easily available. Dr. Amarnath Jha says, "it was in keeping with the social frame-work; it was in harmony with the spirits of men's dreams; it sustained both the spiritual and the material needs of the country. Institutions of higher learning were richly endowed; they attracted scholars from far and near; many of the savants had an international reputation. Taxila, Nalanda, Mithila, Navadvipa, to mention only a few, were centres of learning and culture." It is said that in the Nalanda University, there were more than 1,000 professors and it is up to the readers to imagine the population of the University. Apart from these Universities the system of Gurukul-Ashram and its wide range of education keeping in fit with the times cannot be ignored.

The beginning of English education can be traced to the year 1792 during the Company's regime. One of the Directors of the company remarked on the beginning of education: 'we had just lost America as our folly, in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India, and that if the natives required anything in the way of education they must come to England for it.' In 1813 the Parlia-
ment in England sanctioned one lac of rupees for the education of the natives of India. Aims of the organisers of the English education was expressed by Macaully as follows: "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern and a class of persons Indians in blood and colour but English in taste, opinions, words and intellect." The creation of this class was also intended to supply recruits for the clerkship and other administrative offices.

For our clear understanding of this kind of education, we must go into the details and ponder over as to how this education had contributed for the patriotic spirit among the students. The educational history falls into six periods:—The fourth period is important for our study namely 'the University Commission of 1904, and the reforms'. Lord Curzon called a Conference of European educational experts at Simla in September 1901 to advise the government regarding the educational reforms. Accordingly, the Conference recommended certain changes in the educational system. Next year a second Conference was held to confirm the proceedings of the first Conference. The recommendations can be summed up into five categories.

Firstly, the reorganisation of the University Government; the University Senates were reduced to 100 members to make them uniform, of whom 80 were to be nominated by the Government, 10 were to be
elected by the University registered graduates and 10 by the Faculties.

The second of these was the strict control over the boys to check independent movement among the students.

Thirdly, the conditions, under which the students lived and worked in large cities, were wretched. As they were free in cities they could not resist the temptation of actively participating in politics which was running high ever since the advent of Lord Curzon.

Prescribing text books was solely left to the Universities by which they put an end to the advent of national and patriotic books. And lastly, the control of students through examinations also served the purpose of the Government.

By these recommendations, the University was virtually turned into a department of the State. The power of nominating 80 out of 100 members of the Senate and of renewing the nominations every five years was very great. By this the members had to be subservient to the Senate lest they may lose their chance in the next turn. Further, this kind of education had become the only avenue to a respectable position to the middle classes in the later periods. Sir Asbutosh Mukerji—a man of rare intellectual powers and wonderful attainments in different fields of
education—by his foresight policy did very much to improve the educational system. In important provinces and in big Indian States, Universities were established in the later stages. When there was no freedom of speech, and all kinds of restrictions were placed on the students they wanted to organise themselves to fight for their rights as in other countries. In a message for the ‘Student Tribune’ in September 1938 Subhash Bose said, “Throughout my life I have been interested in the Student Movement, because when I was a student, I had to undergo a great deal of persecution and was made to feel the due necessity of a student movement. I am glad that the All-India Students’ Federation is making headway since its inception. . . . ” So much so, the English education was one of the factors for the realisation of the students unity and for the formation of an All-India Students’ Organisation.

Towards the close of the last century, national consciousness was introduced by the forceful writings of Dayananda, Bankim, Vivekanand and Tilak among the students. Added to these writings, effective dissemination of western influence and ideas through English education and their missionary institutions, the popularity of European literature and ways of living, travels to and from Europe, above all, the examples of the patriots who prepared to lay down their lives for the sake of their nation and their country, the belief of political institutions, are solely an affair of
invention with a view to secure the greatest good for the greatest number; and the ruling race had no longer descended down to us as ordained by God; and the national slogans and cries, as ‘Bharat Mata ki Jai,’ ‘Inqilab Zindabad,’ ‘Vande Mataram,’ have all contributed to the deepening of the national sentiments in the student community. These factors can be counted as the third factor for the establishment and growth of the student organisations throughout the country.

The first spark of the Swadeshi-cum-boycott movement of 1905 was really lightened by Lord Curzon who intentionally tried to wound the feelings of Indians and especially the Bengalis in his Convocation address before the students and the then citizens of Bengal in the Calcutta Senate Hall in the capacity of Chancellor in 1905. This happened when the University convocation for the conferment of degrees was summoned. Dr P. K. Ray and Profulla Chandra Ray attired in their Doctor’s red robes and other educational leaders in picturesque academic dresses forming the Chancellor’s procession with the University officials and honoured judge of the High Court—Rashbehari Ghosh and other celebrities, led the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India and Chancellor, Lord Curzon to his exalted seat on the dais.
There was a hush of expectancy before Lord Curzon stood on his feet to deliver his written address. The speech was crisp, brilliant and vigorous, but very acid and pungent. His unnecessary references to the weaknesses of the Bengali temperament and character—specially his uncalled for and cynical characterisation of Bengali’s enthusiasm as ‘sodawater bottle effervescence’, produced resentment inside the Convocation Hall and a very unpleasant reaction in the press outside when the address appeared in the newspapers next morning.

The natural sequel followed in the shape of mammoth meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta where distinguished leaders of the time like Rashbehari Ghosh, the leader of the High Court Bar and one of the idols of the intellegentia and a speaker of the very literary and refined English, condemned in unmistakable terms the address of Lord Curzon in the Convocation Hall as an insult to the nation itself.

Due to the wrritings of national and political leaders and the far-reaching changes in the foreign countries, the extra-territorial question relating to the ill treatment of Indians in South Africa, and a victory of small power like Japan over Russia, the Manchuria war in 1904-1905, aroused national sentiments to an unknown degree. A small power like Japan by her tenacity and patriotism and zeal, had broken the idea of European powers. Indians, therefore, on sentimental
grounds thought they can also choose, expell the British and acquire Swaraj. Added to these the stinging insults piled upon the Indians and especially on the Bengalis by an Englishman touched the hearts of every Indian, may he be a Musalman or a Hindu. When the whole nation united to drive the English out of India, the British very cunningly wanted to create rifts among the Indians themselves. Further, the Muslims were waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the British Government as they had suffered under the British rule. We shall make searching analysis of the treatment of the Muslims under the British Imperialism between 1857-1900 in India, in the X chapter. Therefore, the plans of partitioning Bengal secretly conceived and elaborated in the Councils of the Viceroy and the British Cabinet, were publicised in the country in order to create rifts among the Indians and to kill patriotism among the Muslims.

As soon as the nation came to know the British ways and means of divide and rule policy, the nation's indignation rose spontaneously to fever-height and Surendranath Banerji and his adherents in the districts—Ananda Chandra Roy of Dacca, Ashwini Kumar Dutt of Barisal, Ambica Charan Majumdar of Faridpur, Umesh Chandra Gupta of Rangpur, Kishori Mohan Choudhry of Rajshahi, Anath Bandhu Guha of Mymensingh, Gatra Mohan Sen of Chittagong and the leaders of the time, propagandised the Swadeshi cult all over the country. Bipin Chandra Pal, the hero No. 1 of the
youth and the student community of those days were raised to immediate action. Meetings were held all over Bengal condemning the Partition scheme; challenging speeches were delivered and a call was given to the Nation to unite and resist the plan of disrupting Bengal and striking at the core of the Nation’s strength—by all legitimate means. A country-wide boycott of British goods was proclaimed by the leaders of India in various provinces. The students and youths carried it further and extended to all British institutions. It was the real signal for the political and revolutionary consciousness among the youths and the students of our country.

Students in Eden Hindu Hostel, began their debut in the political arena, by burning, with great fanfare, of the effigy of Curzon and by a bonfire of the British made clothing gathered from the Hostel boarders. Immediately after, a students’ rally was addressed by Sj. Hirendranath Dutt. They decided to boycott the college examination in spite of some disgruntled sycophants. Meanwhile the agitation had already been launched by the students in different institutions all over the country. In Calcutta, Sj. Radha Kumud Mukerjee, a student who was to sit for P. R. S. had joined the movement. The University authorities and the Government threatened the students through circulars with severe disciplinary actions. The result was open defiance of the circulars and the first success was achieved by Sachindra Prasad Bose, a 4th year student boycotter at Rangpur, when in response to his fiery
address, Rangpur rose as one man and declared the opening of a national school after the boycott of the Government High School.

Sj. Nripendra Chandra Benerjee who took active part in the movement agreed with his friends to serve in a National High School as volunteers and promote national education without the help of the government. The students picketed Manchester cloth in the Burrah-bazar area. Sir Bamfylde Fuler, the new Lt. Governor of East Bengal was a man of exitable and impulsive temperament and was easily led to see 'Red' everywhere. The instances of burning of the British merchandise, throwing of liverpool salt into rivers, sinking of boats laden with salt were multiplying. In one instance, Sir Bamfylde went beyond the limits gubernatorial propriety. He, personally ordered the Headmaster of Madripur High School in Faridpur District, Sj. Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, a very learned man and widely respected to flog the students of the school for having joined the demonstration. Naturally he had to refuse and resign. Madripur had National Schools not only in the town but also in far away villages.

At Rangpur, shortly after the student leaders arrived and made the acquaintance of the leaders who received them, the leaders found that the town was in great ferment. The Magistrate got the leaders and the local leaders arrested. When the case went up to the High Court it ended in acquittal of the Swadeshi group.
A Conference was held at Barisal, Sj. Nripendra Chandra Benerjee and the party made their way to attend the Conference. All of them marched a mile from the Conference Pandal and were formed into lines and asked to proceed in ordered formation to the Pandal along the broad streets. The shouting of our national cry 'Bande Mataram' had been interdicted by a government circular some times before it had been decided that every delegate should cry 'Bande Mataram' as he proceeded. As the procession started with the national slogans, the policemen set on lathies and belaboured them, and the police proceeded to the second and third lines who had by that time gone out to the streets with broken and bleeding heads, and one of them, Chitranjan who was profusely bleeding and continued to shout 'Bande Mataram.' Bipin Chandra Pal and Choudhary prevented the District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent, two Englishmen, from attacking the fourth line. Surendra Nath and Choudhry were at once put under arrest and summarily fined Rs. 50/- each after a mock trial by the Magistrate. Meanwhile the processionists, numbering some hundreds marched to the Conference Pandal with great excitement. Both the leaders who were under arrest joined their compatriots soon. Mr. Rasul read his dignified address in an atmosphere of calm silence. The Conference passed resolutions of countrywide boycott of British goods, establishment of national agencies of education and the nation's determination to carry on
the fight till the partition would be reversed and Bengal would be again one. In 1906, in the Calcutta Congress Session under the presidency of Dada Bhai Naroji adopted complete National Independence as its supreme ultimate demand. The Surat Session witnessed a big change in Congress which was rent in two parties — (1) the extremists led by Sj. Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Arbid Ghosh refused to accept the inadequate reforms and concessions and were for complete Independence to be secured by the active subversive agitation to implement their programme of winning public opinion to their side. (2) the moderates who believed in begging His Majesty the King for a few concessions and to hold competitive examinations for the entry into higher cadre.

In Bengal, Sakharam Ganesh Deoskar, Varindra Ghosh and other Bengalee youths with students went creating ill feelings against the ruling class and big demonstrations were arranged in colleges and schools and big processions were led by the student leaders to boycott the British goods. It is in this period that many Revolutionary Youth Organisations came into existence, which played a tremendous role in days to come. As already said that the far reaching changes outside India, and Japan’s victory over Russia convinced the youths of our country that the freedom would not be attained by appeals and as a boon from heaven but by bringing out a revolution in the country, they thought of snatching the freedom from the unwilling hands.
With that end in view they organised the Revolutionary Parties in different parts of the vast country and mighty preparations were set in motion from 1908 under the leadership of Rash Behari Bose. Many militant students joined the revolutionary organisations.

In 1906 Yugantar Party came into existence. In Decca and in Calcutta Anushilan Samety was formed. Both the parties co-operated under militant leader Rash Bihari Bose and sent many students abroad to mobilize the Indian students and to be in contact with foreign governments. They sought their help in every possible manner. Mr. Abini Mukerji, a student, was sent to Germany to be in touch with the German government and in the later stage they formed an agreement with them for effective help.

Upendra Nath and Berendra Dr. Savarkar formed 'Young India League' in Maharashtra in 1906, and combined with other Revolutionary parties to have united action simultaneously. At the same time 'Nai Hava' (New Air) was formed in the Punjab to mobilize the youths and the students for the revolutionary activities. By this time Shyam Ji Krishna Verma and V. D. Savarkar were organising the students in England to help Indian revolutionaries. Germany which was preparing for a war did not give the Indian revolutionaries any help till 1914. In 1914 the Indian revolutionaries were promised much help by Germany, in case of any revolt against the government.
During the regime of Lord Minto, waves of Swadeshi movement swept the country from one end to the other. In 1905-1908 there was much agitation in the U. P., Punjab, Tamilnad, Andhra, the C. P., Maharashtra and Bengal. In Bengal a Magistrate whipped many students and immediately he was transferred to Muzzafarpur where Khudi Ram Bose on 20th April 1908 tried to murder that Magistrate. It is at this time, Bala Gangadhar Tilak was sentenced for 6 years for his article, wherein he stated, "The military system of the governent cannot be disbanded by bombs but at least its attention can be drawn towards the feelings of the Youths which speaks of its strength." The change of capitol from Calcutta to Delhi and the redistribution of the provinces was resented very much by the Indians. It was not done according to linguistic basis but to create ill feelings and bitterness among the Indians and to create the provincial feelings. This is expressed in the maxim 'Divide Empera' on which the whole administration is based upon. On 23rd December 1912 when the formal ceremony of declaring Delhi as Capitol of British India was being performed by Lord Harding, the then Governor-General, a bomb was thrown on him killing one of his body guards by Rash Behari Bose where he himself was wounded. Immediately Rash Behari Bose, the renowned revolutionary leader of the most of the parties till 1919 absconded. This gave the incentive to the youths and students to rally and support the
revolutionaries to fight the British. Many arrests were made and the revolutionaries were harassed by the police and military forces. The revolutionaries too inflicted heavy toll on the military and police side. Thus the Swadeshi Movement paved the way for a revolutionary outlook on the part of the youths and the students especially in the Northern India. The government did not spare them. Some of the revolutionaries had to flee from their mother country. Though we are not concerned with the revolutionary movement that took place in our country in our study, still a passing phase of it must be dealt with because students were directly attached to the revolutionary movement that swept our country. Many students were directly involved and carried it even in foreign countries to help their comrades-in-arms in their mother-country. In 1906 in the Punjab Ajit Singh, Ambika Prasad, Shanqul Huq ran away to Iran to save their lives from the British Imperialism. They began to organise the Indian students to render help to their brethren in India. Har Dayal who had come from Burma went to Egypt to meet the youths and the students to send effective help to the revolutionaries in India. Har Dayal went away to California and St. Francisco as an exile. Babu Guru Dutt Singh come in a Japanese ship "Komataagamaru from Hankow to Bankok on the 23rd May 1914, to give directions to his comrades. America's Gadar Dal's first delegate and a renowned revolutionary. Kartar
Singh was educating himself in engineering aerodrome. Further, Har Dayal went to Istanbul made an alliance with Turky Youth League. From Turkey he made his way to Germany to meet his comrades and know the progress of their work. In Germany there was 'Indian Nationalist League' organised by their distinguished revolutionaries, Tarak Nath Das, Changak Raman Pelli and Bankim. Meanwhile, Rash Behari Bose went in disguise from India to Germany as Rabindranath Tagore's nephew through Japan, to make final arrangements to send the unwilling British by one master stroke as soon as the war began. As soon as the war was declared by Germany on England Indian National Congress became most obedient to His Majesty the King Emperor and promised everything the Indians held sacred for the victory of the British, forgetting the insults they have piled against the nation. The slavish qualities which had taken such deep roots in Indian soil and the Divine qualities that are bestowed on our most generous people could not but wish the success of our Godly rulers, the British. The Swadishi and boycott movement and the Bengal Partition and ill feelings towards the Englishmen had vanished into the air like morning mist.

As soon as the war broke out the revolutionaries played a worthy part and had it not been traitors, quislings and sycophants, the revolutionaries would have swept away the British armies from India. It is not our main concern to trace the history or the failure of
FIRST PHASE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN INDIA—1894-1919.

This second Revolution in India. But most of the revolutionaries were students and Youths hence, a birdside view is to be made though not its full picture of the Revolutionary Movement in India. As Rash Behari went to Germany, he sent a messenger, Mukarji, a student to India with full instructions. On his way he was suspected and all the instructions were out. It was the death blow to the revolutionary movement. Again, Mr. Narendra Battacharya, now known as M. N. Roy was sent to Bankok to take the instructions from a Lawyer. There he quarrelled with him and the Lawyer betrayed the Indians and went over to the C. I. D.'s Camp and foiled the whole plan. The three ammunition ships that had to land on Indian sea.shore could not reach. Emdon which had to divert the whole British Armies to the South by firing at the Light House of Madras and bombard certain places according to the plan and and bring the revolutionary prisoners from Andamans too had foiled.

1500 to 2000 Gadar Dal people came to India spreading themselves in the armies of China. Siam and Malaya to invade India from Burma Pail Road. A few prominent figures among many were Singh, Vasu, Vishnu, Ganesh Pingle, Ali Ahmad Sidiqui and H. Faroqqui Ali, in the Gadar Dal League. As there were only a few English Soldiers in India at that time they expected that Indian Soldiers would rise up to the occasion when they start their fight.
From the other side the picture was still more convincing from a revolutionary point of view. As soon as the Andaman revolutionary prisoners land in the lower and upper Bengal, the revolutionaries in different parts of India should capture their respective places thus sweeping the whole Norther India at a time Emdon would deviate the whole of the British Armies from Northern India to South by attacking Madras itself. Due to Bankok lawyer's dishonesty the whole plans were upset and most of the revolutionaries either were shot dead or deported or captured. Many daring revolutionaries either lost their lives or were caught by the government. Among them the chief leaders of some of the groups were Aruvinda Ghose, M. N. Roy, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Swamy Vivekanada's brother, Dr. Savarkar, Veer Savarkar. Many others played a note worthy part in those days. Among these revolutioners Jogeh Chandra Chaterjee is active and organising the Revolutionary Socialist Party in India.

In the post war period we got few concessions including Separate electorate which has eaten the very vitals of our nation. And to our credit the ruling class has generously given up their discouraging Industrialisation of India and dumped English capital in the name of Industrialisation and opened several Companies. In this connection we must note the repression of the people by the government which resulted in Tilauk's Home Rule Movement, and Champaram
Satyagrah and Motaige-Chemsford Reforms wherein the British government declared that it would give Dominion Status within the frame work of the British Common Wealth in course of time. Students at every time sympathised with the national aspirations and supported the national leaders in all their moves. Some students too were drawn into the Satyagrah movement at every time and worked tirelessly with the Congress in times of national crisis. Only after 1920 students in thousands joined Congress directly and worked for the success of the Congress. During the troubled days of Jallianwala Bagh there were strikes, demonstrations and Fasts in the country. The students and workers participated in the demonstrations. An all India Protest Day was fixed to show the sympathy for the sufferers, 13th April was observed as Jallianwala Bagh Day with strike and public demonstrations in all parts of the country. The government was reluctant to take any action against the culprits but sent back that infamous man O Dyer who was responsible for hundreds cold blooded murders of innocent Indians. England received O Dyer with open arms and gave millions of rupees for the defence of that saviour of English fair name. Public memory is not short to forget how another treacherous enemy of our country, Warren Hastings was presented with a golden sword by the citizens of London, for having crushed the Indian nationalism and aspirations. From the 13th to 15th the country was ablaze with a few demonstrations and
strikes. But the government was too strong for such an uproar. For two full years there was practically lull and pacification after this great storm that swept the country from one corner to the other. But the revolutionaries went on taking revenge against Englishmen without any guidance and leadership. It is only after 1922, they again set their forces in action for future preparations.

The third stage of political agitation, therefore, is characterised by the growth of (1) Revolutionaries, who would have extrminated the British rule if they were not betrayed by anybody. When they failed to achieve their object, they took to the secret policy of murder of white men of the government and carried on the revolutionary movement in India. Secondly the period is marked for the political consciousness among the masses, youths and the students who participated in all the national movements. Thirdly, the Swadeshi and boycott movement of British goods took such deep roots among the people, even to-day, it is one of the great weapons in our hands to cut the pockets of the British to stop the drainage of the resources and wealth of the nation. Fourthly, the cry of "Vande Mataram" as the national slogan and other revolutionary slogans inspired the youths and students of the day. Lastly, students were drawn into the political movements of the country though they did not have any organisation of their own. But it is only in this period that political baptism took place for the students.
CHAPTER IV

Second Phase of the Student Movement in India—1920-1928.

National Call

In the special session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta on September 4th, 1920, under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai, formed a Sub-Committee to draft instructions to carry on the Non-Co-operation resolution of the congress.

"We consider gradual withdrawal of boys and girls from Schools and Colleges and earnest attempts to establish National Institutions. Meanwhile reliance should be placed on private education and should be apprenticed to patriotic merchants and artisans. Vigorous propaganda should be organised and carried on among parents, School Masters and School boys, who are 18 years of age. Canvassing should go on for volunteer teachers and when parents and School-Masters other than those under direct government control agree, those schools give immediate notice to the government dispensing all control or aid by way of inspection or otherwise. They should be educated at National Schools with such modifications in the training as local circumstances may require. If men of educa-
tion take interest in the movement of truly Nationalising our education, local Committee of inspection and guidance may be formed ultimately resulting in provincial or District Universities. Lists of parents who have themselves withdrawn and school masters who have resigned, and the list of local schools established as also of volunteer teachers, should be sent to the provincial headquarters and should be published.

By a National Institution it is meant any Educational Institution that does not receive aid from government, is not in any way controlled or inspected by government, and is not affiliated to any University established by Government.”

Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers visited Aligarh on the 12th October 1920, in the course of their tour in Upper India preaching Non-Co-operation, especially withdrawal of boys from the Schools and Colleges and lawyers from practice. A strong under current of unrest amongst Student population was swaying their College life. The patriotic ardour characteristic of youths could not help being roused in the surcharged atmosphere. It was great test which they were hardly prepared. On the 12th October the students of Aligarh on their own accord held a mass meeting in the Union Club and invited Mahatma Gandhi and Ali Brothers to enlighten them of the situation. The seeds were sown by the leaders and the leaders and the students did not attend their Colleges
from that day, and instead they held several mass meetings to enlighten the masses of the real issues that were at stake. In the Punjab the situation in Schools and Colleges seemed out of control. Maratmajji and the Ali Brothers rushed up to the Punjab and held Conferences with the Students on the 20th and 21st October. Added to these mighty risings, on the day the Sikh League, which was then holding its annual session, made it clear in the Conference that the Khalsa was even more over-whelmingly for Non-Co-operation than Hindus and Muslims. Nineteen members out of some fifty of the Lahore Anjuman-Islamia professed Non-Co-operation and resolved to refuse government aid for the Islamia College and to differentiate from the official University. On the 25th October great exitement prevailed in Lahore. The students of D. A. V. College and Islamia College walked out of their Colleges and joined by other students, formed a huge procession headed by Dr. Kitchulew and Mr. and Mrs. Rambhug Dutt. They marched on from institutions calling out the students to join the strike. The authorities of these institutions brought in police to guard their institutions. Another important problem was that many students did not understand the real significance of the Non-Co-operation and many students felt that by boycotting colleges how it could help the cause of the country.

The guardians did not allow boys to get out of the control of the authorities and the authorities too did
their bit in their turn to see that the movement fizzle
out. By the 25th November 1920 Lahore was quiet
and the students returned to their respective colleges.
Thus in the Punjab the movement in the students
fizzled out.

At Amritsar, the professors of Khalsa College, the
great College of Sikh Community, sent a joint letter to
the Lt.-Governor to withdraw the government grant
to the College before 5th November failing which they
threatened to resign in a body. The students in their
turn sent a letter to the Managing Committee to follow
the National Leaders and the Sikh League decision to
refuse the government aid at that critical juncture.
The affairs in the Punjab in 1919 touched the Sikh
Community so deeply, young and old alike since been
smarting under the inhumanities of crowling and flog-
ging perpetrated. The result was that the Council of
the Khalsa College met on 31st October and passed a
resoultion as proposed and the College was easily trans-
formed into a National Institution cut off from the
official control.

Meanwhile at Aligarh, the centre of the Muslim
culture in India, the situation was becoming alarming:
day by day. The students were out of hand, there was
a free talk among every one that this great institution
will be turned as the National University. The Prin-
cipal was in panic and wired to the authorities, for
the police help and the trustees and the guardians-

about the worst situation created by the students. The Non-Co-operation leaders, the Ali-Brothers, Dr. Ansari Hakim Ajmal Khan, Messers. Moazzan Ali, Mustafa Khan and Ismail Khan, in all nine trustees of the College, presented an ultimatum to the Secretary and the Principal on the 12th October asking the trustees not to receive any aid from the government and to sever the governmental interference with the College in any way failing which they appealed to the Professors and students, guardians and parents to take steps against those who went against the Nation and Islam Religion.

The students then went off to pack up their belongings and had carried in motor lorries and other conveyances into the bungalows outside the College grounds where preparations were being made for a new National College.

The student movement in other parts of the country was not very serious. At Delhi, Principal, Gidwary of the Ranjas College resigned his post and joined the National University at Ahmedabad. Professor Sharf of the St. Steppen's College strongly urged for the Nationalisation of Educational Institutions. At Bombay, Agra, Calcutta, Dacca, Benares and other small towns preperations were made to launch the National boycott movement.

At Calcutta Muslim students of the Madarasa, the Mohammadan High School, made common cause with
the Aligarh students and left their school which remained deserted for about a fortnight and after that most of the students returned.

On the November 10th the first Convention of college students of the U. P. was held at Agra. Delegates from all the U. P. Colleges numbering about 400 met under Dr. Gourish Prasad of the Hindu University. It concluded its session after passing the following resolution:

"In view of the present National need of the country, this Convention calls on all the students of the U. P. to respond enthusiastically to the call of the Nation through Mahatma Gandhi, supported by the Indian National Congress and urges upon them to be prepared for all necessary sacrifices including gradual withdrawal from the government aided institutions and other help effectively in the country's first bid for freedom." At Benares the Hindu University students showed signs of unrest, Pandit Malvia, the father of the University, visited Benares and held a long discussion with the students on November 1st. In a long speech full of burning eloquence for which he was so famous, Pandit unfolded to the students the deplorable position of the country and declared that Non-Co-operation was at this stage imperative, but he advised the students not to come out of the colleges which he said will spell utter ruin of their prospect of future work. A Student Non-co-operation Committee was at
once formed and a daily bulletin for propaganda work was started. Fraternal greetings and visits were exchanged with the new National University at Aligarh. The leaders of the Non-Co-operation went on giving guidance to the students.

The All-India College Students' Conference.

The All-India College students' Conference was held on 25 December 1920 at Nagpur under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai.

The president in the course of his address bitterly criticised the present system of education that was given to Indian students. He explained at length how it was denationalising the students. He advised the students to study the problems affecting the whole of India and expected that the present students would sow the seeds for a better understanding of the difficulties of the masses.

Referring next to the creation and the constitution of a student organisation for India he said:—"The object of this organisation as I understand it was to create a permanent organisation of college students, those who have passed beyond metric standard, to look after their interest and to advise the general body of students in the country. I am not one of those who believe that students, particularly University students, ought not to meddle in politics. I think it is most
stupid theory and an impossible theory too. It is the creation not of confused brains but of dishonest brains.'

Turning to the question of students and Non-Co-operation he advised the law students to leave the University at once and for the arts students he asked them to watch the situation, and if the situation demanded them to do they should leave the colleges unhesitatingly. But for the Medical and Science students he advised them not to come out of classes. He promised that the creation of National Colleges was in consideration but placed before the students the hurdles that they had to cross in creating such National Institutions.

He gave a vivid picture of what they meant by Swaraj and exhorted the audience to support their National leaders and sacrifice for the cause of the Motherland.

In conclusion he said:—"It will be my duty to help you, by absolutely tolerant of any differences of opinion that may arise. To me it matters little which way you decide. As said already the decision of this Non-Co-operation resolution lies with others, that is, the Indian National Congress and you will be simply following the Congress."

The Conference met again on the 26th December 1920, with Mr. Picthal, Editor of the Bombay
Chronical in the chair. There was a heated discussion on the boycott of the government aided Schools and Colleges. Several students took part in the debate. After a long discussion, the president declared that the resolution was carried, to which poll was demanded, and the result was as follows:—

Madras 50 for and one against; Bombay 87 for and 22 against; Bengal 42 for and 27 against; Central India unanimous for; U. P., unanimous for; Bihar unanimous for; Punjab almost unanimous for; Central Provinces 132 for and 32 against. So the resolution on amended Non-Co-operation and boycott of Schools and Colleges was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Many other resolutions also were adopted in the Conference. The most important resolution concerning students ran as follows:—"This Conference accepts the constitution drafted by the reception Committee of the All-India College Students' Conference and as amended by the Subject Committee."

In accordance with the resolution of the Nagpur Students' Conference, an attempt was made by students early in 1921 to take the initiative themselves to nationalise their education. The first spark of the students revolt was struck at the Bangabasi College, the most independent and nationalistic of Calcutta Colleges. At 16th January fore-noon practically most of the students came out of their classes. They had
given a notice to the authorities to nationalise the institution. When their demand was not considered, they walked out of their college, formed a procession and marched through the streets singing national songs and asking their fellow students to come out. Ripon College was emptied and nearly half of the City College. About 500 students assembled at Mirjapur Square where a mammoth meeting of students was held and addressed by Messers Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Vahid Husain, C. R. Das and other Congress leaders.

In the following days mammoth meetings were held, huge processions of youthful enthusiasts marched through the streets, singing national songs, picketing Schools and Colleges and the University, and the agitation was kept at white heat. All the Colleges were emptied. The authorities officially decided not to take any drastic step against the strikers. But the Ripon College Principal irrationally pressed the professors for their unpunctuality with the result that seven professors at once resigned. It seemed that as if whole professors in Calcutta were in the company with the students. On the 17th Mr. C. R. Das addressed seven large meetings of students and asked them to hold on till new National Colleges were opened within the next fortnight, Mr. C. F. Andrew from "Shanti-niketan" wired signifying his intention to join the New National University. The news that C. R. Das had given up his practice at the Bar and sacrificed his
princely income and had given all property to the national movement took the hearts of young men by storm. There was something electric in the atmosphere to goad the youth rush into new channels which promised new hope and fresh life. Professor H. K. Sarkar, a brilliant professor of the Calcutta University resigned. Another brilliant Professor of the Calcutta University Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Ph. D., assistant Eassy Master, Calcutta Mint, gave up his government service and dedicated himself to the Charaka Movement. A few more resignations followed. Had even a hundred out of the thousand and odd professors of Calcutta came out to lead the students, it would have been a crowning success, and the Calcutta University would have undergone a thorough process of nationalisation. Students were left alone and they had to chose their own leaders from among themselves, and the whole mass of 10,000 students hung upon single-handed activity of Mr. C. R. Das. The fever very rapidly spread amongst students in the mofassil. The example set up by Calcutta was followed in every part of the country. At Mymensing, Faridpur, Chandpur, Dacca and other towns, Colleges were closed. An outstanding method of picketing pursued by the students consisted in lying flat on the ground, side by side on the payment, blocking entrance to the Colleges. Some European officers in some Colleges entered forcibly trampling upon human beings. As a result of this new method, only
150 out of 500 candidates could appear in the B. L. examination. On the 19th Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, the Vice-Chancellor, addressed the strikers and told them that he was prepared to sever his connections with the government, if he was paid one crore to run a National University and requested the Non-Co-operation Committee to consider this seriously. Mr C. R. Das took up this challenge of the Vice-Chancellor and addressed a letter that he was prepared to pay the said amount if the Vice-Chancellor was prepared to retire from the High Court Bench and lead the National Education Movement. Nothing, however, came out of it. Again, on 19th C. F. Andrew who had promised to join the New National University as soon as it started addressed a large gathering of students on "Swaraj."

On January 23rd Mahatmaji went to Calcutta. This helped the agitation still more. A great spirit of national awakening found a new influence into the youthful hearts. At a huge meeting attended by tens of thousands of students, Mahatmaji praised the students for their heroic stand. He explained at length the programme and policy of the Indian National Congress and the Non-Co-operation Movement that was sweeping this land from Hymalia to Kanya Kumari. He urged them to boycott every government college and asked them to take up Charakha. "Swaraj first and education after" was Mahatmaji's creed. He said, "In the fight with the bureaucracy for
Swaraj, students are to be the Vanguard, marching forth with into the interior of the country preaching the Non-Co-operation carrying the massage of economic independence through Charaka, spinning wheel, to establish Swaraj within a year." But it was too hard for those to whom it was addressed to understand and put into practice Mahatmaji's ideals.

The great enthusiasm of the students of Calcutta of the apparent success with which the University was almost paralysed gradually began to rouse the student world all over India; but the strike fever was nowhere in much evidence except at Lahore where it was little less intense than in Calcutta.

A series of articles contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai in the papers, "Bande Mataram" exhorting students to boycott University examinations and leave colleges, proved irresistible. On January 15th, in the course of an open letter he asked the managing committee of D. A. V. College to nationalise the institution as was visualised by the trustees. He assured a sum of Rs. 50,000 a year as a humble contribution to make the deficiency of income of the University, if it is nationalised. But nothing came out of it.

On the January 24th, news spread that the students of D. A. V. College had refused to attend their classes. Two days before, some four hundred students of the college had sent an application to the Principal request-
ing him to invite Lala Lajpat Rai to address the students in the college, on the subject of Non-Co-operation. But the local managing committee had no objection to Lala Rajpat Rai addressing the students but on account of the seditious meetings Act, they could not invite him. The principal then addressed the students and requested them that those who were participants in the Non-Co-operation should not disturb those sheepy ones and asked the students to carry on their movement if the students were to co-operate with them.

After the address of the principal, most of the boys entered the classes. But students who were unwilling, met on the lawn of the hostel, and passed a resolution requesting the principal to close the college next day to enable the students to proceed to Gujaranwalla, where a Conference had been arranged between Non-Co-operation leaders and the students to discuss the matters in all aspects with Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders. But the principal informed the students that such of them as applied for leave would have their applications granted. Accordingly next day, January 25th some 500 students of the D. A. V. College, joined by their companions from other colleges, marched all the way from Lahore to Gujaranwalla a distance of 40 miles, to hold the linged for Conference with Non-Co-operation leaders. A large number of students of local Khalsa college, and schools attended and great enthusiasm prevailed. The leaders addressed the students and explained them the implication of this great
movement. Students were apprised of the realities and they discussed the pros and cons of every aspect. Lala Lajpat Rai asked the D. A. V. College students to leave the college at once. So long as they would be inside the college the authorities would do nothing to give them national and technical education. He would be the last man to see the Dayanand college ruined and destroyed, as he had given twenty-five years of his life to build that college, and had worked day and nigh for it. He wanted the D. A. V. College to be a National college and its students to be national workers and not slaves and job hunters. In conclusion he appealed to the students to think over the matter dispassionately.

This meeting was followed by the Punjab students' Conference held at Gurjarawalla on the 30th January with Dr. Kitchlew as president. A resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority approving the Indian National Congress programme and demanded that students should sacrifice for the sake of the country at its critical juncture to attain the full freedom of the country.

Meanwhile the other Lahore colleges had been affected, the Foreman Christian college and Sanatan Dharam college became soon involved. The students went on strike wholesale on the 27th and passed at their meeting resolution similar to those of the D. A. V. college students. The students of the Government
college and Law college were visibly hesitating because of the most oppressive nature of the authorities and the atmosphere in which they were brought up. Even then, the authorities had at last closed the college for several days, varying from one week to a month, by the end of February 21, the movement quieted down and students were tired of the movement on account of the pressure of their parents and the authorities. All the colleges reopened and on 31st February more than 60 per cent returned.

The leaders of the N. C. O. movement exhorted the students to go out of their colleges and take up national service. A leading barrister, suspended practice and engaged himself in the constructive work of the national education. The Swarajya Sabha, the Home-Rule League, and the National Union organised mammoth meeting where Mahatmaji and the Ali Brothers explained to students the significance of the duties of students. After their speeches, daily public meetings were arranged by the students themselves. Some seven hundred students in all left their education and enrolled themselves under the N. C. O. banner. But the instructions were not serious and there was no dramatic hiatus of a sudden strike as at Calcutta. Perhaps, they had a clear understanding of the consequences of boycott of colleges than elsewhere. One more striking factor that contributed to this kind of sullenness among the students was the two leaders were
leading the movement in Bombay. One was headed by Mr. V. J. Patel whose creed was that the students should desert their colleges in order that the students may carry N. C. O. propaganda in the villages and remote parts of the country: and the other was headed by Mr. Jayakar who wanted education but a nationalised variety. Further, his party was busy in organising national colleges and schools.

In Madras Province the movement did not catch except in the Godavari district and Trichinopoly where students were in ferment for a short time. On January 22nd the Godavari District Students' Conference was held at Rajamamundry and the occasion was utilised in carrying the boycott campaign but with little success. Madras city and Province including all colleges and schools went on hartal as a mark of protest of indignation against the government for its repressive policy at Calcutta and the imprisonment of Messrs. Yaqub Husain, Gopal Menon and party.

On the 24th September at the senate of the Calcutta University, the Vice chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, made the following statement regarding the effects of Non-Co-operation Movement in Bengal. "It is clear that between 40,000 and 50,000 boys below college age have left schools and had been reduced idle and have had their education interrupted if not finally brought to an end. The University had lost rupees two-
lakhs sixty three thousand in the shape of examination fees and he appealed for public help. On the 9th November 21 Mahatama Gandhi presided over the convocation of National College, Lahore and conferred degrees on graduates. He exhorted students to take up national service with a view to activise the youths in the country.

The second session of the All-India Students' Conference was held at Ahmedabad on 29th December, under the presidency of Smt. Sarojini Naidu. The audience numbered 3000. Representative students of all provinces were present. In her presidential address, she described the rule of the British government and the atrocities committed by them on the dumb millions. In her inspiring speech, she asked the students to follow the call of the National leaders. She explained the students the meaning of the pledge and said that they are the recruits in the great army of freedom and soldiers in the army of peace. She exhorted them to take up constructive work.

After Mrs. Naidu's address, the Conference was adjourned for a couple of hours, during which the subjects committee met and carried several resolutions. When the conference reassembled, those present included Hakim Ajmalkhan, Swami Shradhanand and Dr. Ansari. The following important resolutions were adopted in the Conference:—
1. Hoping that the obedience to the mandate of the Congress, the students above the age of eighteen would suspend their educational activities and enrol as volunteers.

2. Protesting against the age limit of seventeen for those who wanted to be volunteers, and urging that all college students irrespective of age limit be allowed to become volunteers. (This resolution was moved and supported by those college students who were under the age of eighteen.)

At this stage we must note the new developments and changes in the student movement. The students in the Government and Law colleges were hesitating to go on strike during those days on account of the most oppressive nature of the college authorities and their parents. When the authorities themselves closed the colleges, students who were at their threshold of their youths lingered to attend the colleges in order to be in the good books of the government for their own selfish ends. Further, the pressure of the parents too is to be accounted for the failure of the movement which made the students to desert their leaders. By the end of February 1921 the movement too quieted down in the public. But the active and militant students did not return to their respective colleges. They took to constructive work enrolling themselves as Congressmen. Such students who were eager to establish National Colleges, had to divert their energies
for that purpose. At they did not have an unified well knit All-India student organisation, they could not possibly have contact with colleges, Districts and Provinces. They wanted to have constant and systematic programme through which they hoped to activise the non-political students and carry constructive programme. These causes paved the way to call the All-India Students' Conference on December 27th 1929. Another note worthy feature of this Conference was that many high rank Congress leaders were present in the Conference and stimulated a sense of spirit among youths.

3. Asking all the students to learn hand-weaving and to wear khadi made cloths;

4. Congradulating Lala Lajpat Rai their first president for going to jail in a spirit of self-sacrifice;

5. Changing the name of the Conference from College Students to the Hind Vidyarthi Mahasabha, and amending the constitution to creat a Working Committee of 21 members who would act as the Executive of the big Committee. Srimati Naidu in her concluding speech laid great stress to the constructive programme of the Congress and asked the students to follow Mahatmaji's creed of non-violence and march on to the villages carrying the flames of freedom.

The third All-India Students' Conference met at Gaya on December 1922, under the presidency of Babu
Bhagavan Das of Benares. A large number of delegates including a few ladies mostly from Bengal attended the session. Mr. Nathuni Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee in his welcome address strongly pleaded for a common platform between those non-co-operation students and co-operation students lest the gulf would grow wider and common ruin overtake them all. He urged that the time was at their disposal should be properly utilised in preparing themselves successfully to take part in politics. Village schools and constructive work should be tackled he said.

Babu Bhagavan Das in his Presidential address, described to them the use of the modern education. In a long speech he depicted them the good characteristics from Koran, Gita, and asked the students to cultivate good habits. Reverting to political discussion he asked that the student organisations should not be tail of any party. Otherwise he feared that the organisation might only be an appendage to some political organisation, and the spirits that they found among the political parties would also be solidified and to certain extent carried in the student life.

The Conference recorded emphatic condemnation of the inhuman treatment accorded by the government to Lala Lajpat Rai.

The Conference congratulated all the students who took part in the national struggle for freedom, and
called upon all the students to stand shoulder to shoulder as best as they could and systematically promote a Spirit of Self-Sacrifice and Patriotism among students and all their support to expedite the cause of the Nation's fight for freedom.

After the third All-India students' session we have to note the diversification amongst students, that is, political-minded students who took interest and suffered at the hands of the authorities and the non-political students who for the one reason or the other could not take part in the national movement. The gulf was growing wider and wider day by day. In the next fourth session of the All-India Students' Conference the question of amicability among the said groups cropped up.

The fourth session of the All-India Students' Conference was held on the 30th December, 1923 in the Congress Pandal under the presidency of Mr. C. R. Das.

Mr. V. Venkata Rao, who had under gone one year imprisonment, as the Chariman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address said, that the first advancement to the credit of the students' Conferences was the mental revolution in the minds of students. He conceded that the programme of boycott had failed but the principle was alive as long as the Indians were not free. The Conference
would consider whether those who boycotted educational institutions and those non-participants work amicably.

Mr. C. R. Das in his extempore speech explained the students the meaning and difference between Swaraj and Independence. "What is Independence? He said, it is a negative virtue. You may have independence to-morrow if the British leave India and yet you may be far away from the goal of Swaraj. You may have monarchy in India because we have fallen away from the higher ideals. Swaraj is Independence, but Independence is not Swaraj. Swaraj is not depend upon any one, but on Yourself." He dealt elaborately on the question of national unity, communal problems and asked the students to study all the problems scientifically. He explained the difference that he had with his comrades who differ on certain points of the 'non-co-operation.' He said, "the councils and Law Courts and the educational institutions arrest my growth I claimed to be entitled to break them as under, to demolish them, to destroy them—This is the price of the constructive work." I claim he said, "by the Devine Right to break the chains to destroy things of evil. Let all students take part in the glory of the battle."

Concluding his speech, he said, this ideal of non-co-operation calls upon students to leave the governmental educational Institutions. I know the students
who are turn out of their houses by their parents because they left the Governmental Educational Institutions. Shame to those parents who have turned out their children and Shame on myself that I could not prevent it though I saw it with my own eyes (here Mr. Das broke out in tears). If you have not got the courage to non-co-operate, assist those who have non-co-operated. If you take two morsels of food give one to your brother. During the vacation you can go to the villages and educate the people, teach them and above all teach them how to spin and weave in this silent way."
CHAPTER V

Third Phase of the Student Movement in India—1924-1934.

"Awake, the doors of Morning fly apart,
    The chains of Darkness cracks at last,
The buds begin to smile, and past
    Is Night, the Dawn creeps in with a happy heart,
Awake, arise, and throw the veil aside,
    Prepare to march, to run to fly;
The day of Revolution's nigh,
    The times of mans triumph and of pride."

—Josh Malihabadi.

It may be remembered that during the Swadeshi days, that is the days of anti-partition, Bengal was in a state of ferment which did not leave the student community untouched. Along with other people, the students of Bengal joined the struggle and made a noble contribution to the popular victory. The idea of harnessing the patriotic impulses of the students by forming a permanent organisation found favour with some public men and a Students’ Association was formed.

Subsequently the partition of Bengal was annulled by the government and the ferment of the partition
days died out. People took to their avocations and
the students left politics for books, University honours
and successful careers. Their interest henceforward
became purely very academical. There were, no doubt,
students who led away by their emotional fervour,
joined revolutionary Associations and committed acts
of voilence to free their country. Many of them had
to sacrifice their lives in the actions and those that
were left behind, formed Revolutionary Parties in the
latter periods.

There came the days of Non-Co-operation move-
ment. The sage of Gujarat waved his magic wand and
awakened the country from its age-long stupor. It was
a mass movement embracing every section of the popu-
lation. A new vision of a regenerated India goaded the
people on a thorny and perilous path. At the call of
Mahatma, students came out from schools and colleges
in their thousands and joined the national movement.

Then, after the Non-Co-operation movement was
suspended, the country reverted to its normal conditions,
the students never kept quiet. The idea of harness-
ing the youthful energy and rich idealism of students
was not entirely lost sight of; and the impact of new
movements in different countries fostered and stimulat-
ed it. The student movement in China, Russia
Germany, Spain and Egypt, created a new vision
amongst students in India. The All-India students' Conven
vention at first was held at Nagpur and then at
Madras. Conferences of students of Bengal were held
at Serajganj, Faridpur, and Krishna Nagar and attempts were made for the formation of the Provincial Students Organisation.

Things were moving on in a humdrum way when a sudden change was brought about rather unexpectedly. The Simon Commission landed at Bombay on the 3rd February 1928 and as a response to the mandate of the Indian National Congress, there was a spontaneous Hartal all over the country and students joined the national forces. For this, they were the victims of repression from which grew a spirit of solidarity among students hitherto to inconceivable. Some enthusiastic students with a view to utilise the new spirit for the benefit of students formed the Students' Organising Committee. This was formed by taking representatives from the different Colleges and Schools of Calcutta and did a good deal of propaganda to popularise the student movement. It drafted the constitution of the All Bengal Students' Association and organised the All-Bengal Students' Conference. This Conference which was held on the 22nd September 1928 under the presidency of Pandit Nehru was of highly representative character and it was a unique success and it brought into existence the All-Bengal Students' Association. The idea that was in the minds of the organisers of this Association was to develop a country wide organisation entirely immured and controlled by students which could bring about a true Student Movement in the country.
The formation of the All-Bengal Students' Association at the Conference in September, 1928, was really the first serious attempt to bring the Student Community of Bengal within a well-knit and broad based organisation. The attempt was not really to create a platform for political activity; the leaders of the movement had ideas which went very much further. Pandit Nehru who presided over the Conference also guided the deliberations of the first Council of the A. B. S. A. which met immediately after and gave very valuable suggestions about the organisation and the programme of work. Within the first year of its work, and before the second Conference was held at Mymensingh under the presidenship of Dr. Md. Alam of Punjab in September, 1929, the Association had a net work of active branches throughout the province. The enrolled membership reached 20,000, and the annual report submitted at the second Conference showed that the Association had organised a wide range of extra curricular activities. The English journal published by the A. B. S. A. "India To-morrow," edited by Amerendra Nath Roy reached a high standard and had as contributors many notable men in India and abroad. The Association made contact with students Association in foreign countries and several students through the Dentsche Academy and other sources were sent to Europe for higher technical education. At Calcutta a regular course of extensive lectures was arranged which attracted wide attention. The Calcutta University was
approached for the modification of the examination system and later a deputation waited on the Vice-Chancellor and made certain suggestions for change, some of which, particularly the introduction of the Compartmental System, have recently been accepted by the authorities.

The Association carried on its normal activities till the revolutionary upheaval of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha movement in 1930. Mahatma Gandhi's special message to the students had an electric effect: the message ran thus: "Every revolution in modern times has found the students in the forefront. This, because it is peaceful ought not to be less attractive for that." The schools and Colleges were soon abandoned and thousands of students took to national work. The students under the auspices of the A. B. S. A. had taken a large burden of the Satyagraha Movement in Bengal. At Calcutta a very successful campaign for the boycott of British goods was organised by the A. B. S. A. in spite of the terrible repression by the police. The campaign reached such fever heat that the European business community was perturbed and these dangerous activities of the Calcutta Students was twice referred to in the fortnightly reports which the Secretary of State for India at that time submitted to the British Parliament about the conditions in India. Very soon the A. B. S. A. with all its debrick branches was declared an unlawful organisation and the ban continued till 1934 but for a short interlude at the time
of the Gandhi Irwin pact in 1931.

The All-Bengal Students' Conference was held in the Shardanand Park, Calcutta on the 22nd September 1923, under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Uruquhart, Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University, opening the Conference declared that no University should stifle discussion of public affairs by students. He warned them, however, against rushing to action. Preparation for their work in the maturer years would make it possible for them to discover modes unknown to their elders.

Mr. Promode Kumar Ghosal, a student who had to leave the Presidency College in connection with the last Hartal disturbances, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, explained in detail, the inauguration of the Youth Movement in Bengal with a detailed programme, inculding Co-operative work in villages.

Pandit Nehru, in his presidential address gave an account of the miserable condition of our people. He explained at length, how the youths of the world are revolting against the 'old dying order' Then he praised Russia for the magnificent role it had played. He asked the students to study the problems to shoulder the future responsibilities

Twenty resolutions were adopted in the Conference. Resolutions moved and carried regarding the Constitu-
tion of All-India Students' Federation, organisation of Provincial and District Committees and starting of an English Journal for the students exclusively.

By another resolution recomending free and compulsory education for the villages, demanding the release of Rhrag Bahadur and for organising volunteer Corps were also adopted unanimously. After the vote of thanks to the chair the Conference dispersed.

The Students' Conference was held at Matihari on 4th October 1928. Prof. Vaswani, the president elect owing to illness could not attend the session and Dr. Rajendra Babu read the Vaswani's address.

The speech was very inspiring to the youths. "The nature of to-morrow is being made not in the paper resolutions of our Conferences and Councils", he said, "but in the deep silent resolves of some among the students of to-day. "He declared," You and such of you in different parts of India I salute as the builders of to-morrow". He wanted that the students should not be imitative and said that the new Creation was the call of the Spirit of Future. He said," A new creation is, not imitation Shakti is creative. Imitation is weakness. He wanted that the youths must have creative nature and should not be carbons. He reviewed the youth movements of different countries and especially of Russia, Italy and Germany. He payed a glowing tribute to Musolny's creative nature and said,
"The Youth Movement organised by Binto Musolony has done much for Italy. Musolony I regard as second to none among the living men of action." He also said that the Russian youths have given new impetus to growing needs of the time. In conclusion he said, "Open it and spread the store of your knowledge and live in the service of the poor. And believe me, you that are young will break the Mother's Chains! And you will be among the builders who build a mighty temple of New Liberty."

Presiding over the first session of the Punjab Students' Conference, held at Bardalagh Hall, Lahore, on the 6th October 1928, Dr. Alam advised the students to rebel against the communalism which he considered was responsible for India's multitudinous troubles and pleaded for the abolition of denominational institutions and separate electorate.

"India depends soley upon its youths for the great revolution in ideas not only to benifit herself but remove misery and suffering of mankind throughout the world. To revolt and rebel is the preivilige of youths; but revolt not against the individuals, rebel not against the groups; rebel and revolt against old ideas, customs and institutions and covictions."

"What I really require of you, young men, to-day is not so much lessons in Milton and Shakespeare but real pluck of life. You are destined to become future
administrators of India and nothing should prevent you from taking prominent part in political life of the country.

"Think dangerously. There can be no progress in this world unless people begin to think dangerously against the existing order of things," declared Lala Lajpat Rai in course of his opening address at the Conference. Continuing Lalaji referred to the question whether the students should take part in politics or not. "Politics," said Lalaji, "is the very breath of life of the people subject to foreign rule. You cannot get without politics, and those who ask you not to take part in politics, ask you to become hypocritical." He advised the students to study the conditions of our people.

On 30th November 1928, a number of students were hurt in a clash at Lucknow where students had gathered with black flags to "welcome" Sir Jhon Simon and members of the Commission. Students refusing to move were charged by the police and mounten Sawars with batons injuring a large number of students and others.

The All-India Students' Convention opened on the 30th December 1929, in the Congress Pandal, Lahore under the presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia. A large number of students all over India attended the Convention. Among the prominent persons present on the dias were Pandit Nehru, Mr. Srinivasa lyengar, Sardar Valla Bhai Patel Dr. Kitchilew, Swamy Par-kashanand, Moulana Zaffarali, Mr.
Ranga Swamy Iyengar, Mr. Govida Kanta Malvia and Professors of the local colleges.

Mr. Ranbir Singh welcoming the delegates paid glowing tributes to the Bengal Association from whom they derived inspiration. The Secretary Mr. Shukdev Rao who was working unceasingly was arrested a few days before the Convention. He exhorted the students to prepare for a struggle against the Government.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia read out messages from Mahatma Gandhi amidst loud cheers. The message ran as follows: “The first duty of the students is self-control, discipline and promotion of Khadi work.”

Pandit Nehru then, addressed the gathering. He asked the students to organise units in every province, and prove worthy sons of India. He wanted that people should think that the student movement is not only the movement of words but deeds.

Sardar Patel in a speech said that he did not know English and whatever he knew, he studiedly forgot it. He asked the students to go back to villages, and see how the peasants live there and try their level best to ameliorate their conditions. He advised the students to speak little and work more. “Battle of freedom, said Sardar Patel, “was won by deeds and not by words.” Then followed Moulana Zaffar Ali Khan’s address. He asked the students to discard fear. ‘Fear,’ he said; “will make them meek and cowards.”
Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia then delivered his presidential address extempore. He advised them to equip themselves fully before going the battle of life. He wanted that every one in India should think that “Love of country is the first duty.”

The following resolutions were adopted in the Convention: “Resolved that an all-India Students Union be formed with the object of promoting (a) the physical, intellectual and moral developments of students of India on National lines. (b) to promote the interest of students in every part of the country. (c) to promote partiotism, and education and citizenship among students of India.

(2) This Convention urges students of all Colleges and schools to from Unions of their own and affiliate them to the All-India Students’ Union through their respective Provincial Unions. (3) Resolved that the Organising Committee with power to co-opt be appointed for the purpose to be started hereafter, with Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia as the President, and with the Secretary of the Punjab Students’ Union as the Secretary of the All-India body consisting four representatives from each province to be nominated by the Working Committee of the Provincial Union, if any, and when such Union does not exist, to be elected from among the delegates as represented in this Convention by themselves, the upper limit being fifty.
The objects of the appointment of the Committee are:

(a) drawing up of the constitution of the proposed A. I. S. U.

(b) carrying on systematic propaganda and popularising the idea of the All-India Students' Union.

(c) drawing up a programme of work.

The time and place for the meeting be Benares.

4. Resolved that the next session of the A. I. S. U., be held in a place where the Indian National Congress holds its session to be in close touch with the Congress leaders.

5. Resolved that it is unfair and unpatriotic not to allow a student, who is under trial, to sit for his examination during the period of his detention; this Convention expresses the hope that such unfairness shall be avoided in future.

6. The Convention appeals to all students to take a vow to use only khaddar and to avoid the use of foreign goods as far as possible.

7. The Convention condemns the present evil practice of stipulating a marriage, and appeals to patriotic sons of India to refuse to be a party to such a marriage where any dowry is stipulated for.
8. This Convention regrets on their colleagues Shukdev Roy and Verendra being arrested just before the A. I. S. Convention.

9. Resolved that the Convention places on record its high appreciation of martyrdom of our colleague Jatindra Nath Das and condemns the action of the Government in having failed to accede to his legitimate demands."

On 19th January 1930, the following resolution regarding the celebration of the Independence Day was adopted at a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Students' Association:—

That the following programme be adopted for the celebration; (1) All Student Organisations be asked to hoist a National Flag in their respective office buildings at the time appointed by the Indian National Congress; 2. The Independence Day Flags with the name of A. I. S. U., and a suitable motto inscribed on them be distributed freely and students be asked to attend their classes on the following day by waving the flag; (3) That processions of students starting from their respective offices will parade the main streets and join the 'Independence Day' meeting of the Indian National Congress.

Splendid response was made by the student community of Calcutta to the appeal issued by the All-Bengal Students' Association, to observe the 9th February
1930 as the Students Day. This was not as the President of the A. B. S. U., put it. It was the anniversary of the ideas underlying the Student Movement. The movement as such it was on that day students felt that they have distinctive interests, duties, and rights apart from the general interest of the country to which they belong.

In the early hours of the morning, musical processions paraded the streets while volunteers with A. B. S. A., badges busy through out the day making collections in order the aims and objects for which the Student Movement stood could be effectively carried out. Promoters of the movement were not unmindful of the spectacular side of the demonstrators. Rockets and shells packed with leaflets were displayed by the Sinla Byam Samity in the evening. Demonstrations of physical feats, drills and parades were also held by the Samity.

Sir C. V. Raman addressing the gathering, explained how students in Germany work for their country. "Truly the function of a University is not to manufacture book worms; it is to make men who can worthily hold their own in life and show that they are the worthy sons of a worthy country. We in India, have no empires to govern, we have no colonies to rule. But have our own country in which we seek to live in which we seek to find expression of natural culture and our national genius," said Raman.
Sj. Ajit Dutt, Secretary of the A. B. S. A. Day celebration sub-committee, read out the statement in which he appealed to youths to rally round the banner of the A. B. S. A. and spread the student movement like wild fire touching every corner of the province and the country, to over throw the British government.

There was a striking and rebellious demonstration of the student world of Bengal which had been stirred to its very depth by the country-wide ferment created by the unique struggle for Independence launched by Mahatma Gandhi, on Sunday noon, 6th April 1930 at Albert Hall, Calcutta, when the special session of the All-Bengal Students' Convention was held under the auspices of the A. B. S. A. in an atmosphere of solemnity and serenity, to discuss and decide upon the duties of the student community in the history of the Nation's Struggle for Independence. There was a writ large on every face the intense desire to contribute his quota to the National Struggle. Every heart throbbed with a new pulsation. An atmosphere of perfect serenity and peacefulness prevailed. 700 delegates from all over the District Associations affiliated to A. B. S. A. attended the Convention. The A. B. S. A. requested the Bengal Presidency Students' Association to participate in the deliberations of that momentous Convention. They did not, however, respond to the invitation.
The president of the Convention, Sj. J. M. Sen Gupta, addressing the Youths, appealed to students to stand shoulder to shoulder, in the grave hour of the country to over throw the British Imperialism. He gave an account of students who had participated in the struggle for freedom in different countries and paid homage to those who had taken part in the last struggle for freedom and said, "they who will have to shoulder the greater responsibility in future must play an eminent role to save their country with full vigour and patriotism."

Many resolutions were adopted in the Convention to take an active part in the coming struggle.

Sj. Santosh Kumar Bagley, a members of the Rajshahi branch of the A. B. S. A. who visited Mahabathan on Sunday morning when the Salt Law was broken there under the auspices of Sj. Satish Chandra Das Gupta of the Bengal Civil Disobedience Council, brought with him a chattlek of Salt manufactured at Mahabathan which was sold in action at the Convention for Rs. 100/-.

The Calcutta Police, mostly Europeans, under the leadership of Mr. Gordon, made a lathy attack on the unarmed peaceful and non-violent assemblage, mostly of students, in the College Square with the result several persons were injured. About 40 students were arrested. The occasion for the lathy demonstra-
tion by the Police, was a meeting held under the auspices of the Bengal National Militia for the purpose of distributing and reading out extracts from literature declared to be proscribed by the government. On 27th January, 1930, the Police made lathy charge and opened fire on a huge crowd assembled at the Triplicane Beach Madras, and its vicinity to condemn the alleged attack on Satyagrah volunteers on the 26th April. Many among the crowd received lathy blows and boynet wounds. There were many students among the wounded. Three were shot dead and ten were removed to hospital. On the side of the Police all officers were wounded.

On 14th July, 1930 the Calcutta students started picketing the Presidency College, when a batch of 15 student volunteers came in a procession but were dispersed following a lathy charge by the police who were already there. Some time after the dispersal, the members of the A. B. S. A. managed to send some of the pickets inside the College precincts through a private passage who went upstairs. The Principal re questioned police help, who were waiting outside, and 17 of the pickets were arrested. Following their arrests, many of the college students who were in their respective classes came out as a protest against the arrests.

On 18th July, 1930 Seven girl picketers, most of them students, were arrested in two batches while
picketing at the job of Bethome College for girls. They were taken in prison-vans some-where in suberbs and were released later on. After the arrest of the second batch of girls, about 800 in number rushed towards the gates but were held up by their professors with the assistance of the police. On the 19th July, wild scene was witnessed at the Scottish Church College, where a large number of students rushed towards the College shouting, 'Revolutionary' slogans with a view to bring the students out. Again on the 30th July, students who were expelled from the Colleges were arrested by the police in the class room and the students were very badly beaten. After this incident, 50% of the students came out of the classes as a protest against the brutal attack of the police. The examinations could not be held on account of the heavy picketing by the boys. When students were not allowed to enter the classes, police were called in by the authorities and 17 students were arrested.

On the 9th September, 1930 a big crowd including students collected on Howrah grounds to receive Mrs. Slade' alias Mirabai. The police arrested many women and boys. It was alleged that some students from Ashtosh Buildings threw stones on a police party, thereupon, the police entered the building and beat the post-graduate students to their hearts content.

In the month of November, Mrs. Kamala Nehru, led a group of students and outsiders in spite of the
orders not to enter the Civil Lines. She violated the rules and led the procession through the Civil Lines to Purushotham Das Park. A bonfire of foreign clothes which the processionists had collected, was made at the junction of Albert and Ednonstons Roads.

In an atmosphere big with grave issues of supreme national importance, the third session of the All-Bengal Students' Conference was held in Calcutta, on the 6th March, 1931, under the presidenship of Srimati Kamala Devi Chatopadyayya. The Conference Hall was packed to suffocation.

Mr. C. R. Reddy, in the course of his inaugural address, touching on current politics, "Our Government," he said, "is giving us two kinds of honours: the New Year's Honours and the New Era's Honours. The Year's Honours consist of Rai Bahadur, Dewan Bahadur and other grades of Dewan Bahadurships which we want to put an end to as soon as possible, and the New Era's Honours consist of lathy blows, jails and other modes of repression."

Mr. Reddy stated that the students of Bengal had already proved themselves before the Nation and the World to be missionaries in the cause of our Motherland. He pointed out that three thousand members of the A. B. S. A. had gone to jails in compliance with the orders of our esteemed leaders of the nation.
He congratulated the A. B. S. A. for the splendid organisation they have in Bengal and expressed great hope for the future India if the students in other provinces could organise themselves in the same way, develop the same capacity and spirit of sacrifice and suffering.

"Vigilance," he said, "should be our motto. Try to organise the rural education scheme. Try to give the benefit of knowledge, derived from schools and University, to the rural flok."

In the course of her presidential address, Srimati Kalama Devi reviewed the political situation in the country and concluded her speech by answering a question whether students should take active part in politics or not.

The Conference met for two days continuously to consider organisational matters and passed several resolutions.

An attempt was made on the life of Sir Ernest Hotson, acting governor of Bombay, at Poona on 22nd July, 1931, when the Governor was entering the reading room of the library at Fergusson College, Mr. Vasu dev Cogate, a student, who fired two revolver shots at him. The first round hit his coat just above the heart but was stopped by the metal steel of the pocket book. The second round went wide and could not be traced. The student was taken into custody.
On 28th October, 1931, Mr. L. G. Durno, District Magistrate of Dacca was shot at. The police raided the student messes and private houses nearby. During these raids it was alleged that seargents and constables assembled and the private belongings of the students including cash money were found missing after the raid. 50 students had to be admitted into the Mitford Hospital.

Every Year along with the session of the Indian National Congress a Conference of the students being held to bring the students into a common organisation of students. It was a sort of a training ground for the students. But the attempt had failed not on account of the lack of interest either amongst student leaders or our leaders but due to the impedements that were placed in the way by the then government. At the time of the struggle, including student organisations were made illegal. In the year, 1931 the Sind students were not in a mood to convene the Conference along with the Indian National Congress. But after some consultation, Messrs. Tirith G. Sabhani, H. P. Mirchandani, A. J. Mantora, H. G. Butani, B. T. Sahani, H. R. Wadwhani, V. I. Jagliani and some other friends undertook to convene the Conference on the condition that a real attempt would be made at the Conference to form an All India Students' Federation. The Conference was fairly representative. Almost every province was represented. Mr. A. J. Mantora
was the Chairman and Mr. Tirith as General Secretary conducted the Conference.

The Conference was held in the Kalikdevi Hall, Karachi on the 26th March, 1931 under the presidency of Pandit Nehru. About 700 delegates and the members of the Reception Committee and most of the eminent Congress leaders were present.

Mr. Tirith G. Sabhani, the General Secretary, in his inaugural address deplored that students could not play a full role in the freedom struggle. He exhorted the students to form an All-India Students' Federation to prepare students to face the coming national crisis.

Mr. A. J. Montora, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address said, "we have in Sind every year a student Conference since, 1917. We have Students' Samagams (associations) in almost every district and town. The membership is open to all those who accept the creed of Swadeshi, and the Samagams have fairly done good work in spreading the gospel of Swadeshism. We have a permanent Swadeshi Exhibition, a Students information bureau and a literary magazine in Sindi, 'Phulwari' by name." He appealed to the students to realise the graphic situation in which they were put up and form an All-India Students' body, to consolidate their position.

Reverting to political situation in the country, he summarized the failure of the struggle and asked the
students to take note of the defects and march forward.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, delivering his presidential address, reviewed the situation in the country and explained to the students the main objects for which they were fighting for all the years. Concluding his speech he said, "let the young men be quite clear about the idea of complete freedom social equality. The time for shouting the slogans has passed away, and the young men must act, for action alone counts."

A number of resolutions were passed in the Conference and the important were:

"The Conference resolves that an A. I. S. F. be formed and immediate steps be taken to establish student organisations in all the Provinces. For this purpose, a Provisional Committee be appointed with the following members:

1. Sjt. Y. J. Mehrally (Chairman) from Bombay;
2. Sjt. Tirith G. Sabhani (General Secretary) from Sindh;
3. Sjt. Menon (General Secretary) from Madras;
4. Miss Justshi from Lahore;
5. Rohit Mehta from Gujarat;
6. Abinath Battacharya from Bengal;
7. R. N. Mukerji from U. P.;
8. Arungsu de from Bengal;
9 Dastin from Bombay."

When the national movement reached its peak all the organisations were made illegal by the government. There was severe repression in every part of
India. Many youths went underground joined the Revolutionary Associations which resulted in violent outbursts. If these revolutionaries had any support from the so-called the leaders who professed for an all out revolution and a change in the old rotten dilapidated customs and practices as they preached on the platform, the course of history would have changed. They gave no quarters to such revolutionaries and instead, they did everything in their power to decry them, so much so that they were dislodged from place to place.

On the 6th January, 1932, while addressing the Convocation of the Calcutta University His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, was fired at five times, but was unhurt. Bena Das a girl student of Diocesan College was arrested immediately on the spot with a revolver. In the trial she read out a written statement as follows: "I fired at the governor, impelled by the love of my country, which is being repressed. I thought that the only way to death was by offering myself at the feet of my Country, and thus make an end to all my sufferings. I invite the attention of all, to the situation created by the measures of the government which can unsex even a frail woman like myself, brought up in all the best traditions of Indian womanhood. I can assure all, that I have no sort of feelings against Sir Stanley Jackson, the man, who is just as good as my father. But the Governor
of Bengal represents a system which has kept enslaved 300 millions of my countrymen."

On the 20th July, 1932, Sayida Khatoon and Tarulata and two post graduate students were arrested while leading a procession along College Street, Calcutta following the Students' Conference and they were sentenced for the various terms of imprisonment, ranging from 4 to 6 months rigorous—College girl students were arrested on July 22nd ranging from 4 to 6 months R-I, for leading a procession along the Royal Exchange Place.

On the 5th August, 1932, "editor of the Statesmen" was shot by Alul Kumar Sen, aged 20 or 22, an ex-student Jadavpur Technical College and who was an active worker of A. B. S. A. While the student was caught by an office Durwan, he swallowed poison on the way and died. It was reported that the assailant was suspected to be Denish Chandra Muzumdar, great revolutionary leader who was sentenced to transportation for life in connection with the Delhousi Square Bomb outrage and who escaped from Midnapore Central Jail.

On the 3rd August, 1933 two girl students of the Diocesan College were arrested on a charge of possession of revolvers without licences. In this connection some south Calcutta houses were searched. Again,
on the 10th August, 3 Bengal girls were arrested, following the search of their respective houses, it was alleged, in connection with the revolutionary activities. A Bengal Youth too was arrested and it was alleged that he was in possession of a revolver. On the 24th October, Miss Jyotikanna Dutta, 4 year class student of the Diocesan College, was sentenced to 4 years R. I. on a charge of unlicensed revolver and ammunition. It was stated that on the complaint of another girl student who missed Rs. 12/- from her room, the hostel authorities instituted a search, in course of which two revolvers, two pistols and a lot of ammunition was found in her person.

It may be remembered that in 1932 Jan. C. D. Movement started again after the failure of the Round Table Conference. The students took a leading part again, and A. B. S. A. was again declared illegal. Period of unparalleled repression set in which the students were the worst sufferers. When repression reached its heights many militant youths and students took to revolutionary activities.
CHAPTER VI

Fourth Phase of the Student Movement in India—1934-1940.

"Let us remember that our true quality, our sincerity and steadfastness of purpose will be tested not in those rare and exhilarating moments that may heroic gestures on our part; but in the faithful and unwearied performance of our day to day labours for the progress, welfare and emancipation of our motherland, by our undefeated courage in the midst of oft repeated failures and frustrations and by the undimmed radiance of our faith in the splendour of India's destiny and her high place among the free nations of a world, reborn out of chaos and destruction." Srimati Sarojini Naidu.

Once the student community is awakened and brought in to the field, it is no easy task to demobilise it. Every political organisation, be it Students', Federation or Youth League was banned and made illegal during the last national struggle. Revolutionary Movement, swept Northern India from one corner to the other. The government with all its imperialistic forces and traitors could not liquidate the revolutionary forces. If the government had speared them, if the revolutionaries had penetrated
into the masses, and the student community; the history of our country would have turned into a different course. The then Congress leaders and middle class leadership could not accommodate the revolutionaries, but helped the government in one way or the other and condemned their activities lest their leadership and the upper-middle vested interests be jeopardised. For instance, the life of 55 years old revolutionary Com. Jogesh Chandra Cahterji has been a sermon on sacrifice and suffering. The lot of revolutionaty prisoners in this country had been terribly hard indeed and it must be admitted that the inhuman torture, handicaps and hardships to which they have been subjected to had not been brought to the public notice. Very few of us know anything of either revolutionaries or revolutionary movement in India. When Jogesh Chaterji undertook Fast', to ameliorate the conditions of political prisoners in 1946, Pandit Nehru, plainly said, that Jogesh was wrong in undertaking Hunger-Strike because it should be the last resort. How can those who are given sumptuous meals and all the paraphernalia that is required to lead a happy life in the A. Class Prison understand the miserable condition of a revolutionary or third Class Prisoner? Thus the whole revolutionary movement is hushed up from the public and the Youths. Jogesh Chandra Chaterji, the founder of the Revolutionary Party of India, come to Western Provinces in 1923-1925, to organise revolutionary Youths and to mobilise the other revolutionary forces with a view to give a
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Deadly blow to the petty-fogging, dry, heartless and unimaginative government and to the hierarchical society that sucks the blood of the masses. But he was arrested in 1925 and was sentenced for 13 years.

Till 1935 the revolutionary upsurge was in full swing in Northern India though all its leaders were locked up. When the revolutionary movement cooled down, the situation was exploited by a group of young and energetic Congress workers with vague leftist inclinations. This tendency arose mainly among students. Their minds were surcharged with revolutionary outlook. The suppression of the Chinese revolution by Marshall Chan-kai-shak, and the American and British imperialists, the triumph of the Fascist counter revolution in Europe, the rise of Hitler and Nazism, the world economic depression, the success of the Five Years Plan in Russia—all these features contributed to their socialistic leanings. What really moved them was, the sense that something was wrong in the national movement of our country and the method of fight—Non-violent and Non-Co-operation. The outcome of this feeling was due to the Communist Party and the Congress Socialists supported by youths who were afresh from the foreign Universities who participated in the Non-violent and Non-Co-operation struggle in 1930-33. One of the main planks of the programme of these two parties was to organise students on all-India scale. This was noticeable in the welcome address of the president of the Reception Committee in 1936, All-India Students'
Session. The Communist Party which was anti-imperialist could attract enthusiastic youths, and in days to come it paved the way for it to have control over student organisations in some parts of the country. Whereas the C. S. P. which is the creation of the rightists to stem the growing power of the Communists and Leftism in India, also played a notable role in the student movement of our country. We have to make searching analysis of both the parties and their role in student politics in different chapters to bring home to our students, political parties and their influence and effects on the student politics. However, the affinity between the new born leftist parties and the students, helped them in organising the All-India students' Federation in 1936. One striking feature of the student movement was, it was an organisation of young enthusiasts, differing each from the other on almost everything. All of them were not inclined towards socialism. Com. Giriga Saran Singh, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the A. I. S. F. in 1941, after the split at Nagpur pointed out, "we, however, stand for complete unity among students, and the very fact that so many groups with conflicting ideologies, like the Forward Blocists, the C. S. P., the Congress Nationalist, the red front Communists, the Royists, and many other undefined elements are working together like a team is sufficient to prove that we have not grudged the presence of a handful of others, irrespective of the opinion they hold."
Another feature of this phase was the contest to capture the student organisation. It was the beginning of the beginnings. Most of the groups within the A. I. S. F. claimed to be leftists and in the very name there were never ending bickerings and factual fights now and then; controversial issues were raised which paved the way for splits as early as in 1938, but it was bridged after a tussel of three months by the intervention of Subhash Chandra Bose in Ramgarha Congress. It reflected mainly general level of political consciousness among students at a time when they ought to have consolidated their forces to fulfill the objects of the A. I. S. F.

In this phase of the student movement, ideological conflicts and opportunist role were exhibited among students. In the year 1939 December, in the Delhi Convention of the A. I. S. F. under the presidency of Subhash Chandra Bose, Forward Bloc tendency prevailed among students. On the one side, Forward Blocists, Royists and independents and on the other gandhites C. S, Pers and Communists staged a demonstration and an amendment was passed by the later group by a narrow majority.

In short, the student movement in the period between 1936-1940, was the hey day, when the students jumped at everything to the tune of "Down with British Imperialism and Long live the Revolution."

Another important feature of the student movement was, the growth and development of the student
organisations in Indian States, Mysore State and Kashmir State. In Mysore State the student organisation came into existence as early as 1935 and its organisers were Messers Sidda Ramanna, Prabu Dev, Vasanthiah, Krishna Dev, Mohmmad Shareeff Hussain and M. Muni Reddy. They conducted lectures for the examination going students and constructive programme was carried out. But after one year the organisation collapsed and it was reorganised in 1938. They held all-Mysore Students’ Conference under the presidency of Sarat Chandra Bose. It was only after 1942 they could play a very notable role in the country’s struggle and in the Student Movement of our country. In Kashmir the chief organisers were Messers. Kailash Nath Bombzai, S. K. Kak, Aziz and S. P. Sahni. They also conducted Conferences and in the coming years they played a worthy role in the Student Movement.

Certain events which preceded for the formation of All-India Students’ organisation need be studied here. One of them was the University students’ Conference where students found the first opportunity deliberating in a provincial Conference. For a few years the Conferences were held under the auspices of the Political Science Department, Lucknow.

A few students from the London and Scottish Universities, come to India in a team to visit different
Universities and to have debating matches. The Lucknow also invited the (British Good Will mission) debating team. Mr. G. N. Gurtu, the president of the Union presided. Dr. Paranjpai, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University was present. Mr. Gurtu speaking from the Chair, vehemently criticised the unconstitutional and undemocratic action of the Vice-Chancellor in nominating a committee to revise the Union Constitution which the students themselves would have done it. Mr. Gurtu was expelled from the University by the Vice Chancellor. An agitation was launched by the students which resulted in the withdrawal of the expulsion order. This was the first instance of an organised action by the students.

The Swadeshi League of Lucknow sponsored by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Sj. B. Gopi Nath Srivastava also contributed a great deal to the formation of A. I. S. Movement after 1936. It was this League which created workers like Messers. Prem Narain Bhargava, Balram Singh, Miss. Pushpavati Narain who were to lead the student movement in India in future. These Congress minded students captured the Uniniversity Union and the U. P. Students' Federation and convened an all-India Conference on August 19th, 1936 under the presidency of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Before we proceed to discuss the formation of the A. I. S·F. we must take note of the famous Shaklatwala
incident. On 20th January 1935 King George V died and a condolence meeting was held in the University, Dr. Paranjpai presided. The death of King George V and Sakhatwala were almost simultaneous. Therefore, a few student leaders namely Messers. Shafiq Naqui, A. J. Kidwai and Jagdish Rastogi in the meeting wanted to move a condolence resolution on the sad demise of Shakhatwala which the Vice-Chancellor objected. There ensued a great pendimonium in the meeting and the students could not force through a condolence resolution on Shakhatwala. V. C. took a serious view of the situation and expelled the above mentioned students. They came back to the University but they keenly felt that they should organise A.I. S. F. An attempt was made by the students of this University on behalf of the U. P. Unity Students' Federation. A Reception Committee was formed originally with Dr. A. N. Jha as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Dr. A. N. Jha gave hearty co-operation to make the first Conference a success. This was organised with a view to further cultural and intellectual growth among students. Representatives of the different Universities came to participate in it. But later on when it was published that Mr. Jinnah will preside over the Conference and Pandit Nehru will inaugurate Dr. Jha left the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee to be occupied by Prem Narain Bhargava. Prem Narian turned the Conference into the Students' Federation Conference.
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The delegates to the Conference were not all political so much so, that one of the delegates from Allahabad Mr. Amelendra Sanyal moved a condolence resolution in the Conference on the death of King George V. Mr. Batliwala objected to this resolution but the president allowed it.

Com. Batliwala was deputed by the Communist Party to capture the organisation. The Communist delegates tried to make Com. Batliwala the General Secretary of the A. I. S. F. but their attempts were foiled, and Prem Narian Bhargava the convener of the Conference become the General, Secretary of the All-India students’ Federation.

The all-India Students’ Conference commenced its session at Lucknow on the 12th August 1936 under the presidency of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of his inaugural address, said that he had been accused for always feeling shy of solving the immediate problems confronting the country but unless everything was seen with a broader out look the people would be apt to lose themselves in trivial things and would not be able to see anything in its true perspective.

He continued that he was always interested in the happenings in foreign countries because he thought that India’s problems were but a reflex of fight between the progressive and reactionary forces witnessed all over the world.
Referring to the communal problems Pandit Nehru characterised as a "nuisance" and observed that such problems were made to crop up in subject countries by the rulers. Concluding Pandit Nehru exhorted the students to make themselves worthy to keep the torch of freedom alight and ready to be handed down to the present generation.

Welcoming the delegates to the Conference, Mr. Prem Narayan bhargava, Convener and Chairman of the Reception Committee, urged that students to rally round the banner of students' Federation. He emphasised in the Conference the necessity of a well-nit organisation to prepare themselves for the coming fight for freedom. Mr. Bhargava gave an account of the Student organisations in different countries.

In the course of his presidential address Mr. M. A. Jinnah, deplored the lack of common platform in the country where the best minds of all communities could meet and devise ways and means to solve various and patently unsolvable problems which were crying for solution at a critical juncture in this country. He was at one with Mr. Nehru that students should not indulge in aggressive politics and find themselves in the vortex of political whirlpool but as leaders of tomorrow, they should keep abreast of world problems. Further, he warned the people against preaching idealism which was already torn by differences and pru
dices. He exhorted the students not to be led away by emotions but to probe deeply into problems and face realities.

Mr. Jinnah added that the country was pulsing and was throbbing with new life and asserted that India was bound to gain the objective and not withstanding the present differences among the various communities.

Concluding Mr. Jinnah observed that he would not mind a revolution, even blood-shed, if it brought the self-government within 24 hours. He exhorted the students to cultivate toleration and fellow-feeling and there by minimise regrettable differences and pave the way for the ultimate goal of Independence.

*The All-India Students' Conference.*

The special session of the All-India Students' Federation was held at Lahore on the 22nd November, 1936 under the presidency of Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose.

In the presidential address Mr. Bose said, "It is you who can create, because courage to destroy all that is evil must necessarily proceed the will and the imagination to build. It is again those who can lead, for leadership requires idealistic enthusiasm and reckless abandon, of which youth alone are capable." He said, "I look to the youth of my country to evolve a
movement, essentially political and economic, but at the same time, social and cultural.

He ascertained that the youth are more potential than the old because they have greater fervour, greater imagination and greater determination. He wondered as how politics could be banned from schools and colleges when it admits no banishment?"

While concluding his speech he said, "Young men and women, I call upon you to take a vow in your minds. I will not rest. I will not rest until the freedom of my country has been achieved. I will not rest until unemployment and poverty have become things of the past. I will not rest until the masses—the peasants and workers—have come to their own."

The main business transacted in the Conference was, the Charter which contained the governing principles according to which special rights and demands in each particular province should be formulated. Further, the important resolutions adopted were as follows:—

1. "This Conference of the students of India strongly condemns the policy of detaining the students and demands the immediate release of Mr. Jagatjit Sircar, a member of the Working Committee of the A. I. S. F. who has been detained in Bengal under Bengal Criminal Law Act.

This Conference considers it desirable to start an All-India Students' Volunteer Organisation and autho-
rises the Working Committee to devise ways and means for establishing such an organisation at an early date.

This Conference calls upon the students of the different Universities to tackle in their vacation, the problem of illiteracy; to this end it suggests that groups of students should tour villages and slums and actively carry on the constructive programme.

This Conference is of opinion that the presidential address delivered by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee at the last All-India Hindu Youths' Conference held at Lahore in which he referred to 'Hindu Nation' and 'Hindu Empire, etc.' was malicious and did not represent the view point of any section of the Indian students and therefore this Conference condemns it.

This Conference resolves to observe an All-India Day and the programme to be fixed by the W. C. of the A. I. S. F.

In view of the fact that one of the objects of the A. I. S. F. is to encourage intellectual co-operation between the Indian students and students abroad, this Conference resolves to apply for affiliation to the world Student Association."

Mr. Bhargava was declared General Secretary till the next session.

According to the directions of the All-India Students' Federation strikes were conducted in colleges.
and institutions and in various places demands of students were placed before the authorities when the authorities could not comply with at the request of students, students went on strikes in Bengal, Madras, Aligarh and the whole of U. P., Bombay and Lahore.

With the All-India Students' Conference the Student movement in this phase entered second year. A journal, mouthpiece of the All-India Students' Federation, the strongest pillar of its structure, 'The Students' Tribune,' was started to popularise the National organisation. No doubt, in the beginning it could not make a headway on account of lack of hearty cooperation on the part of the Units. Even they could not get a correct picture of the work done by the various provincial units. During the Inaugural Session of the Federation some workers felt the necessity of an organ. The work was solely taken by the Punjab comrades in the month of September, 1937.

During this period many strikes were conducted by students to get their demands redressed. Further, Conferences were conducted to bring students under one banner. Another important contribution to the student movement was the State Students' organisations. The Deccan States Students' Conference was held on the 4th and 5th June, 1937 at Kudchi (Dist. Belgaum) under the able presidency of Dr. G. S. Khair. Mr. B. L. Rande, Sangli, and Mr. B. M. Athavel acted as the president of the Reception Com-
mittee and Secretaries. As many as 60 to 70 representatives were present. Mr. K. F. Nariman and Mr. Bhopatkar addressed the Conference. Some 20 resolutions were adopted in the Conference.

Mr. Probodh, All-India Student leader and the editor of the Students' Tribune inaugurated the All-Kashmir Students' Federation and desolved all Unions and Leagues that had loomed up among students.

The Federation then affiliated itself to the Punjab Students' Federation. Mr. Bomzai was elected as the president.

The Madras Students' Federation started a journal, 'Student' to organise the students of the South.

There was firing in Bangalore when Mr. K. F. Nariman was arrested. When he addressed the students of Bangalore he was asked to leave the State. Students resented the action of the Government. Police opened fire on the student processions. As a result of which one student was killed and several wounded. Bangalore Students' Day was observed all over the country. The student movement in Mysore had only a short history behind it. Till 1934 though they did not have a well-knit all-Mysore student organisation, in the two cities, Bangalore and Mysore they did a good deal of constructive work.

The Student movement in Kerala maintained an attitude of comparative indifference. With the
exception of Travancore Student rising brought about by an increase in school fees, and a few strikes and demonstrations during the Civil Disobedience Movement, nothing had taken place among students until the formation of the All-Kerala Students' Federation. The deplorable conditions of the country and the national and international events which took place around them left the student of Kerala unperturbed. During the Civil Disobedience, a student organisation was formed and an All-Malabar Students' Conference was convened under the presidency of Sj. Nariman. After the C. D. Movement the organisation died a natural death. The Calicut Students' Union was responsible for the formation of the All-Kerala Students' Federation.

The Conference of All-Kerala Students' was held under the presidency of Sj. Soumendranath Tagore, and 70 delegates attended the Conference. Many resolutions were adopted in the Conference. The Conference formulated a number of demands and when the authorities did not comply with the request of the students, strikes ensued.

The A.I. S. F. appointed a propaganda sub-committee consisting the following members on 21st August 1937:

Messers Ansar Harwani of Aligarh, M. L. Sha of Bombay, and Balram Singh of Lucknow discussed on the following subjects:—The need of the students'
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organisation, Immediate task of the students, International student movement, Defects of present day education in India, Students and politics, Female education and Unemployment.

By another directive, the A. I. S. F. asked the units to approach their respective ministers of education to present and request to concede following immediate demands of students. The demands were as follows:—

"There should be a reduction of fees at least by 50% all round, for all University and Board examinations. 2. Free and compulsory education should be provided. 3. Text books should be so chosen that anti-national and anti-democratic ideas be removed. The University should have their own publishing house to publish their text books and shall make no profits out of them. 4. There should be complete freedom of speech and organisation of students within schools and colleges outside as well. 5. Media of instruction should be vernacular as far as possible and general development of indigenous culture should be allowed free scope for development. Hindustani should be made compulsory. 6. Legislation for compulsory recognition of students' Union by the University and other educational institutions should be enacted with a provison allowing their representatives to submit their demands and grievances from time to time before them. 7. Special seat for student representation on the governing bodies of the Universities and other educational institutions should
be provided. 8. The University should pursue the policy of vacational training more consistently and more persistently. 9. Ways and means of immediate relief to the unemployed should be devised and put into operation. 10. Travelling concessions and other facilities should be obtained from Railway and Steamship Companies by educational authorities so that a student can easily travel all over India and study at first hand. 11. No recognition should be granted to any foreign educational body except on footing of equality and reciprocity. 12. Any student organisation fostering communal or sectarian spirit should not be permitted in any form. 13. No discrimination either communal or sex basis in educational institutions should be made. 14. Free and military education be imparted in colleges and schools to students between 14 and 23 years of age provided no compulsory and military service is made obligatory. 15. Civic and economics and elementary science made compulsory in secondary education. 16. All degrading punishments should, such as caning and beating, be abolished."

The Madras All-India students' session had the importance of its own. During a short span of two years the Student Movement made a tremendous progress with rapid strides. The initial organisational stage had been surpassed. The session was confronted with serious and more important problems regarding the movement. It had to give a definite shape to the general demands of students. It had to publish thesis to propagate the
organisation and to bring all students under its banner. The strikes became the order of the day and the organisation had to guide them on right lines. Even in the very first year were more than 50,000 students on its roles, and nearly 1000 student organisations in various places. There were many student organisations still unaffiliated to the all-India Students' organisation. Hence the importance of the Madras Session.

The All-India Students' Conference commenced its session in Madras on the 1st January 1938, at the pandal erected on the Medical College grounds, with Mr. M. R. Masani in the chair. There was a large gathering of students.

Mr. Sarvothama Setty, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed Srimati Kamladevi Chatto padhyaya and delegates.

Shrimati Kamladevi, inaugurating the Conference, said that in these days one could not minimise the importance of gatherings of Youths and students. Every body had come to realise the important role which students had to play in the national life. The world, to-day is in a disturbed condition, not merely in India but everywhere. It was but befitting that students bestic themselves and take interest in all subjects. Students acquire knowledge at a heavy cost and they were disappointed after their studies and not getting a job. The youth should find out the root cause of this order.
the removal of such irksome bans as that on the national flag and that on the participation of students in politics.

Discussing the place of the students' movement in the political life of the country, Mr. Masani declared:

"In a Conference like this it is all unnecessary to affirm that students should and can take active part in politics. One of the objects of the Students' Federation is to prepare students to take their due share in the struggle for complete national freedom. It is very proper objective for the student body, for it is the minimum programme on which almost all students, whether they be socialists, Gandhites or nationalists, can collaborate. While, however, a students' organisation should have a political objective, it would not take place of a political party. It should be political but non-partisan, and its doors should be opened wide enough to admit students of all shades of progressive thought. I hope you will guard against all attempts by any political party or group whatsoever to dominate and control the Students' Federation."

"It is a truism" Mr. Masani said, "that the first job of a student is to study. But study is not confined to the reading of the books and passing of the University Examinations. Such study looses most of its value unless it is supplemented by the study of the actual facts of life. And this can be obtained best by living contact with the people and their poverty, their hardships, and
their struggle for existence. Besides, such contacts are the best corrective to dogmatism. Study consists of trying to find out the things ourselves, and not taking on trust. If we are trying to break bonds of old religions we must not invent new ones for ourselves. The acceptance blindly and unquestioningly of the teaching of Manu, Mahomad or Marx is equally to be avoided."

Referring to Gandhiji’s Wardha Scheme, Mr. Masani discussed the full implications in all its aspects and described the attempt to make education self-supporting as a retrograde move.

Concluding, the president drew the attention of the delegates to the Conference to one of the objects of the Students’ Federation which was to encourage co-operation between the students of India and the other parts of the world.

During the past years two developments had taken place in this connection. One was the formation of an organisation of Indian Students in England which would act as a link between them and the western world. The other was the participation of Indian Students in international gatherings of students in Europe where students from all countries met to consider their attitude towards happenings in countries like Spain and China. He hoped that the Indian students, through the All India Students’ Federation, would play a greater part in future in the International Student Movement.
Resolutions were then taken up for consideration. It must be noted that controversial resolutions were placed before the Conference with the result that differences arose among the delegates. The main resolutions were as follows:

A resolution put from the chair, pointing out the necessity of having an All-India Students' Volunteer Corps was passed unanimously.

Mr. T. Godimallah (Bombay) moved a resolution calling upon the students' Federation to organise actively an effective agitation against the inauguration of the Federation, and urging the Indian National Congress to organise a boycott of the King's visit and create deadlocks.

Mr. Ansar Harvani (Lahore) seconded the resolution, which was then carried.

Considerable discussion and differences ensued on the following resolution moved by Mr. P. Krishna Murthy (Guntur).

"This Conference is of emphatic opinion that Soviet Russia is the one country in the whole world, which is consistently following the policy of peace and progress; while its very existence serves as the Beacon-Light to the oppressed nationalities in general and the International Student Movement in particular. It calls upon all students in the different countries of the world emphatically to condemn any aggression by Fasc-
ist or Imperialist countries on the Soviet Union and help it morally and materially in the event of any attack. This Conference congratulates the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics on its successful completion of twenty years of Socialististic Constitution in Russia and views with great satisfaction the inauguration of the new Constitution, the most democratic in the world.”

Mr. P. A. Mukerjee (Calcutta) seconded the resolution.

Mr. M. L. Shaw moved that the last sentence relating to the inauguration of the new Constitution be deleted. He was of the opinion that the election had not been conducted in a purely democratic way. The amendment was duly seconded.

Mr. Rajbans Krishna (Lahore) opposed the amendment. He said that they should not bind themselves to communism or socialism.

Messrs. Thirumala Rao (Madras) D. Shankar (Lahore). T. Godimullah (Bombay), Ansar Harvani and V. Mujumdar participated in the debate.

Mr. Ansar Harvani said that the resolution was a premature one, if passed would give an idea to the Student movement that the organisation exists only for the benefit of only one party. He appealed to the mover of the resolution to withdraw the same.

The mover sought leave of the gathering to withdraw the resolution. The House refused to give permission and the discussion continued.
Mr. Ranjit Mujumdar also said that the resolution was a premature one. The amendment was declared carried, but on the contrary, it was found that the majority was against the amendment.

Thereupon a poll by grouping of provincial delegates as provided in the Constitution of the Federation was demanded.

It was found that only two out of eleven provinces which had sent delegates had paid the delegation fees. The President, after some discussion, desired to know whether it was advisable to carry on the proceedings with the delegates from two provinces alone and suggested that the mover might be allowed to withdraw the motion to get out of the difficulty.

The Conference then accorded permission to withdraw the motion and the motion was accordingly withdrawn. The Conference then adjourned to meet on the next day.


The Conference resumed its session next morning. As soon as Mr. Masani, the president, took his seat, he made a statement and dissolved the Conference.

In his statement, Mr. Masani said that at a late stage of the previous day's proceedings, certain points of order were raised by some delegates as to the right of the delegates from several provinces to be present and to
participate in the proceedings, as those provinces defaulted in the payment of delegation fees, and they pointed that the proceedings were invalid. The president said that his attempts to reach unanimity had failed and it was impossible to continue the proceedings and he could do nothing but dissolve the Conference.

Mr. Masani requested the old Working Committee and its General Secretary to convene a fresh Conference at an early date at a suitable place and see that such a Conference was duly constituted in accordance with the constitution of the Federation.

Mr. Masani added that it was unfortunate that circumstances beyond his control should have created such a situation. He hoped, however, that when they meet again, they would make up for the lost time. He had personally received the utmost kindness from all delegates and thanked the Madras Students for their hospitality. He also appealed to the public of Madras to appreciate their position. Mr. Masani, after declaring the Conference dissolved, left the Conference Pandal.

Mr. P. N. Bhargava, the General Secretary, also left the pandal with the papers. About a dozen delegates then walked out of the pandal.

The delegates remaining behind, decided to continue the proceedings and elected Mr. K. Sarvottama Setty, the Chairman of the Reception Committee as the president.
The meeting then passed 'no-confidence' motion against the President Mr. Masani, Mr. P. N. Bhargava, the General Secretary and members of the Working Committee.

Among the resolutions that were passed in the afternoon in the Subjects Committee meeting, were placed before the House and declared passed. Important of them being:

It was resolved to request the authorities of the various Universities and educational institutions to adopt the vernacular as the medium of instruction.

By another resolution, moved from the chair, fixing Orissa as the next venue of the Conference calling upon the Federation of the various provinces to submit within two months scheme for the removal of illiteracy and pending approval of such a scheme by the Working Committee, calling upon the students to participate actively in all existing schemes for the liquidation of illiteracy, asking the Working Committee to prepare a scheme for starting all-India students to use only Swadeshi articles, deciding to observe an All-India Students' Day on a date and according to the programme to be fixed by the Working Committee and requesting the Government to take steps to deal with the undernurishment of children, to make physical training compulsory and to give compulsory military training to all students without any obligation were adopted.
By another resolution the Conference directed all student organisations to organise Students’ anti-war Committees and explain to students the implications of the imperialistic war and when war actually did break out to organise the students not to participate in it.

Mr. Promod Sen moved an amendment to the effect that if British imperialism joined such a war the students should strengthen the hands of anti-imperialistic forces in the country. The resolution as amended was passed.

Another resolution passed ran as follows. “This Conference feels that students have a vital part to play in the future political destiny of India and so welcomes the increasing realisation of our leaders of this fact. But, it views with apprehension the reservations that are made by distinguished leaders regarding the Students activities in politics. In particular, this Conference disagrees with the advice given to students not to participate in direct political activity, as such political activities are not dictated by the character of the Provincial Governments, but by fundamental basis of the imperialist rule in India. This Conference asserts the rights of the students to strike, and regrets the attitude of those political leaders who advise the students to abandon the fundamental right to strike."

By another resolution the Conference strongly recommended to various provincial student organisations the formation, at an early date, of concrete proposals whereby both past and present students could contri-
dute their best to the urgent and necessary work of rural reconstruction. Such proposals, after the formulation with reference to the conditions of particular provinces, to be submitted to the interprovincial criticism so that the way might be paved for an All-India programme in the near future.

By the last resolution a protest was registered against the presence of the C. I. D. reporters at the Conference and the Madras Ministry was asked to take steps to see that such a course was not adopted in future.

The Conference was then adjourned to meet again on the next day informally to discuss the constitution of the Federation.

In the third day celebrations, by a resolution, the delegates called on all provincial governments to take administrative steps forthwith for meeting certain immediate demands of students. They were: the withdrawal of all government circulars prohibiting the students or teachers from taking part in any political activity or join in any political party, and the abolition of canning and other corporal punishment and the grant to students a fair trial before they were rusticated from Schools and Colleges. Also asked the governments to refuse grants to educational institutions which were being run on communal lines and in which the religious instructions were compulsory. The resolution which was moved by Mr. P. Krishna Murthy and was duly seconded by Mr. R. Murthy.
FOURTH PHASE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN INDIA—1934-1940.

Mr. T. Godiwallah moved a resolution which was adopted, congratulating the students of Spain and China on their brave stand. Mr. Gupta seconded the resolution.

The meeting then considered certain changes in the Constitution of the All-India Students' Federation.

Bringing the proceeding to a close, the President hoped that the Student body of India would preserve a united front in respect of their common ideals.

Fourth All-India Students' Conference.

The Fourth session of the All-India Students’ Conference commenced in Calcutta on the 1st January, 1939. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Bengal Congress Party, in opening of the Conference said:—

"I have been summoned here to open the Conference. I do so with greatest readiness and enthusiasm, but I am not ashamed to confess that I do it feeling all the time like the fifth wheel of a coach, whose utility is "nil" and decorative value questionable."

After giving a vivid picture of a student life in his days, Mr. Bose said, "always shun and shed unnecessary appendages. Be simple, be simple more still. Missing and hitting a series of disillusioned oldish celebrities and pseudo-celebrities is not as exhilarating a game as missing and hitting cricket, foot balls and tennis balls. Leave old men to their unimaginative
ways. Act up to the secret conviction of youth that they are all lot of useless fogies. I know what your kandid views are. You say among yourselves that their insides are always as bald as their pates sometimes are. So, do not pretend to seek inspiration from them, but pursue your own head long course. If that leads you to wisdom so much the better; if that leads you to mistakes even that is not as bad as it might seem; but do not, if you prize the spring time of your life, stand waiting for the limping mentors which would have your sparkle and fire 'sicklied' over with pale cast of thought."

Mr. Boše at length after surveying the political situation in the country said. "to my thinking, Socialism or Communism or whatever you may call it—the label is of little significance as long as we agree about the substance of things—is such an idea its fundamental note is love and not, as has many times been asserted, hatred. The ceaseless instance on class—war does, however, tend to throw the sumnier, the more altruistic, and the more missianic espect of Socialism some what into shade. This has undoubtedly lessened the moral appeal of Socialism, for men and nations who by tredition and temperament are not drawn to the intolerant conflict. On a recent occasion, I tried to bring out this idea and, while declaring myself a Socialist, voiced my disinclination for class—conflict. This was naturally provoked criticism. The orthodox Communist would no more hear of the disentangling of his
creed of class—war than the orthodox geometricians would hear of squering of circle. But this, I submit, is love of dogma, not of truth. I connot understand why Marxists of all people should object to any modification and adoption of their masters' doctrine, when he himself had said that changes in human thought were determined by the material conditions of life taken as a whole. This sound doctrine, entitles to reshape Socialist doctrine, in confirmity with the conditions in which it is to be applied. Marx took a similar line with his master Hegel's doctrine and reoriented it in a manner which the latter would have been first to repudiate. Yet Marx is no less of a Hegelian for that."

In conclusion he continued, "Comrades, I welcome you all to your spiritual home. It is not a city of a "dreaming spires"; nevertheless, it is your spiritual home, for it is here that the student movement had its birth abut three decades ago. The site on which you and I have assembled here to-day is almost a classic ground. It is hallowed by the memories of Lala Mohan Ghose and Sunder Nath Benarji, Anand Mohan Bose, Abdul Rasul, Arbinda Bose and Bapen Chandra Pal, Desabandu Chitharenjan Das and Despyra Jaithendra Mohen Sen Gupta. Bear proudly the torch of freedom which they have handed over to you and hand it over in your turn, pure and unsullied to those who are coming after you, with these words I declare this Conference open."
In the course of his presidential address, Dr. K. M. Ashraf said:—

"I frankly confess with a sense of extreme hesitation and embarrassment when I rise to address you on this occasion. Ten or twelve years ago the task of the president of the All-India Students' Federation if there was one, was comparatively simple and even pleasant. You are faced with a concrete situation and living problem and you want straight and clear answer to the various issues that face you. Comparatively young in years, yours is a privileged class which brings freshness and vigour in every problem. Like older people you are obsessed with inherent and acquired inhibitions and you look to the future with confidence. It is not surprising that the old guard has been mercilessly treated by younger elements in some countries, and from that I see I feel it richly deserves the fate."

Referring to the student movement in India, Dr. Ashraf said, essentially democratic and anti-imperialist in its nature it has allied with the progressive youths of the other countries, and it is a matter of some satisfaction to all of us that the All-India Students' Federation has already been represented at the world Peace Conference and the world Youth Congress. He gave an account of the international situation and said: "by the logic of the situation we too have to build up
a united front of all democratic and progressive forces in India, and let us be clear as to the direction it takes on the national and international lines."

The president in continuation of the student movement said, "after all why you have come to organise a student movement in this country on all India basis. The answer is simple. What you seek is simple and should belong to you as a matter of right. You seek education, you want employment, you wish to live a happy and peaceful life. In short, you stand for liberty, peace and progress both individually and as a group. These demands are by no means unreasonable. Our country potentially is one of the richest in the world. It should have more than enough to allow for youngmen and women a chance to work and study to make best of his or her creative capacity. The question uppermost in your mind is who is responsible for the wreckage of your hopes, for wastage of your lives. And the answer bring you in the conflict with the present social system in the first instance, against the British Imperialism and its allies. This incidently solves the question whether students should take part in politics. I do not think how you can keep out."

The President went on analysing the root cause of the unemployment, poverty and bitterly criticised the existing system of education. He asked the students to keep away from the communal organisations and reactionary forces that may disturb the very anti-
imperialistic forces like the Student organisation. He also pointed out the ills of the Bengal Huq Ministry which he characterised it as the detrimental to the interests of the country and Bengal particularly. So the president insisted that students not to do anything with any communal organisation. Passing on to the students activities he said, "during the last three years there has been a development in the country. This reflects the growing strength of the All-India Students' Federation. By now all the provinces have their branches in them, and the Punjab which was not represented this year in our Conference is reorganising itself on healthy lines and will soon be with you. Some of your branches have started social work of an educative nature and in Godiwalla Memorandum has given an appreciate lead in this direction. In many places many of your members have joined literacy campaign now being started by the Congress Governments. In political field a number of students are engaged in the working among the peasants with a view to organise peasants and workers. Two of your members are actually in prison to-day. In short, the record of the All-India Students' Federation is a satisfactory one and I take this opportunity in congratulating all the good work the Federation done. Above all, I must congratulate you on the solidarity which you have shown by unifying your ranks here in Calcutta.

I hope and pray that unity will develop and grow as years pass by. I have a few observations here to
make in connection with the organisational work of the Federation. So far the Federation is primarily urban in its character and your members are mainly enrolled from among the College students. This is a serious limitation. For, in India, if anti-imperialist movement, especially in these days of the mass struggle everywhere, keep on functioning with in the limits, I am afraid, we will be beset with serious problems of outlook and methods of work." "I find more," he concluded, "we have done nothing to organise social and recreational activities among students. We should organise during holidays and in a word, the programme of the Federation, should embody within it the demands and wants of the students. I am sure you will adopt concrete proposals towards this and in this Conference. In conclusion I thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to preside over this occasion."

The following important resolutions concerning the students and the country were adopted at the second day's sitting of the Conference on the 2nd January 1939.

1. "This Conference resolves that immediate steps be taken to realise, as soon as possible the following fundamental demands of the students:—

Resolutions Second-Day

That legislation for the compulsory recognition of the only non-communal and non-sectarian Students' Union by the Universities and by the educational auth-
orities be enacted, and that representatives of the students from such organisations be authorised to submit their demands and grievances from time to time, or as they may arise and that schools and Colleges which foster Communal or sectarian spirit shall not be recognised and all the institutions run for commercial ends be municipalised.

(2) That there shall be complete freedom of speech and organisation in the Colleges.

(3) That free and compulsory education shall be provided for all on the basis of one school for every unit of 500 souls.

(4) That compulsory military training in Colleges, without any obligation to serve in any imperialist war be immediately introduced.

(5) That productive vocational education based on modern methods of production shall be immediately be provided in all schools and Colleges.

(6) That municipalities and other local bodies or other statutory bodies be authorised to take over such private schools as run for profit only to the proprietors.

(7) That secondary education shall be from unnecessary departmental interference, and that the control and supervision over these institutions be entrusted to a statutory body organised on a democratic basis and functioning as the responsible authority.
(8) That the constitution of the Universities be remodelled freeing the Universities from the needless Govermental interference, democratising the constitution of their legislative authority, including there on representatives of the University Students and providing for elected and responsible Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and the Executive.

(9) That the University be required, if necessary by legislation, immediately to put into practice the following demands:—

(a) that the general cost of the educational and particularly the examination fees be reduced by at least 50 percent, (b) that the books and other requirements of University education should be so selected, produced and supplied so as to produce national democratic ideas, and at less cost, (c) that the instructions shall be provided through the medium of an Indian language, and every encouragement shall be given to development of indigenous culture, (d) that foreign missionary organisations be completely excluded from any concern with higher education, and that no grant of public funds be made to such organisations, (e) no discrimination be made, either on communal or sex basis in any educational institution.

10. That the department of the Public Education be completely overhauled and the adminstration and control of educational institutions be entrusted to this department reconstituted on national basis.
The Conference considers the following to be the immediate requirements of the students of the country, which can and immediately be granted by administrative action, which would offer a wide scope to students in the pursuit of their academic activities. It, therefore, calls upon the provincial Governments and all authorities concerned forthwith to:—(a) amend the circulars issued by the circulars of Madras, Orissa, Bengal, U. P., and Mysore as to give wider latitude to students and teachers to take part in any political activity or join any political organisation; (b) abolish all degrading or humiliating form of punishment; (c) discontinue any grants from the public funds to any educational institution making religious instruction of a given sect compulsory; (d) give all facilities to all post-graduate students to have access to all public and college libraries (e) supplementary and compartmental examinations; and (f) substitute percentage system by tutorial one.

2. This Conference condemns the repressive policy of Government of Bengal against the student movement as visualised in the arrest of active student workers like Com. V. Duby, Promode Sen, Dharithri Ganguli and others and demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the prosecution instituted against Com. Dharithri Ganguly.

3. The Conference congratulates the States people on their heroic stand and feels proud that students are taking part in this struggle.
1. The All-India Students’ Conference looks up with pride to the World Students’ Association and declares its whole hearted support to its programme against Fascism and warmly appreciates its work for the solidarity of the progressive students of the world.

2. The Conference condemns the imperialist repression against the students of Burma which has resulted in the death among others, of the Vice-President the All-Burma Students’ Union and expresses its sympathy and solidarity with them.

3. This Conference appreciates the work done by the Indian delegates to the World Youth Congress at New York under the leadership of Comrade Yusuf Meherally and support the Wassor peace pact.”

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then, addressed the Conference. In his speech, Pandit Nehru asked the students not to bring leaders from outside the province to preside over the Students’ Conference. He gave an account of his student life and asked them to stand on their own legs and not to depend on others. Mr. Nehru, in his long speech analysed the political situation and criticised the communalists. Reverting to student movement Pandit Nehru said, “You must come to this clear decision that the student movement must be broad-based and must not in any account become sectarian. We have in India various ideologies with their conflicts. I would not mind students forming separate organisations
for the study of certain ideologies. If they want to make the Students’ Federation narrow it would be utterly wrong. For in that way the Federation would not prosper but would lead to bitterness, weakness, and disintegration. They had in India a number of disintegrating factors in the body politic and in public life. And it is for young men and women to fight these disrupting and disintegrating factors."

The Conference ended with Revolutionary Slogans.

The All India Students’ Conference.

About five hundred delegates from different provinces and four thousand visitors were present at the fifth annual session of All-India Students’ Federation Convention which commenced at New Delhi on the first January 1940, under the presidency of Sj. Subhash Chandra Bose.

Mr. M. Farooqui, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address, referred to the growing tendencies on the part of many of them to make the students’ Federation an arena of party politics and deplored that their time should be wasted in party bickerings. He suggested a two-fold programme to strengthen the student movement to make a head way. First, they must take up the demands of the students affecting the average student and start an agitation for the fulfillment of the
same through their organisation, Students' Federation. He wanted that the Federation should conduct study circles in schools and Colleges with a view to create political consciousness among the student masses. Secondly, they must carry on "Mass Contact" in order to carry on constructive work among the masses. In concluding his speech, he advised the students to talk less of politics and take up seriously the work of strengthening their organisation.

Sj. Subhash in his presidential address, urged that the leftists should announce clearly in advance with what object and with what mental attitude they would start the struggle whether it was launched by the Right or by the Left. Standing in the midst of a complex situation today, he said, "it is just possible that you may feel perplexed for a while. The vacillating, zig zag policy of the Congress High Command increases one's bewilderment. The menacing attitude of some communal organisations added to one's difficulties. The want of unity among the Leftists themselves well-nigh unnerves an ordinary mortal. But though you stand with your back to the wall, do not for one moment lose courage or self-confidence. Remember, Comrades, that the Left Movement today is on its trial. Its future will depend on how you and I come out of this ordeal."

Mr. Bose at length, explained the students how they should aim a mighty blow against the foreigners
and deplored the conditions and disunity among the Leftists and Rightists and the regressive policy of the present Congress High Command. He asked the students to understand their present difficulties and to muster round their leaders to launch a struggle to snatch away freedom from the unwilling hands. He warned the Leftists the rifts that existed among themselves and appealed to the students to co-operate with him in his efforts.

Heated discussions for over an hour took place on a resolution advising the students to celebrate the Independence Day on January 26th, in open session of the Federation. An amendment sponsored by the Leftist group regarding "undue stress has been given upon Charkha, Khadi, spinning etc.," by the Congress High Command. The amendment when put to vote, was declared lost by 167 to 151 votes and the original resolution was carried.

When the Convention resumed session in that evening, it was resolved to send warm greetings on behalf on Indian students to the Bureau of the World students' Association, Paris.

By another resolution, the Convention decided to send a message to the students of Britain stressing the necessity of a real understanding between the students of all nations and thereby serving the International
Student Movement, the cause of peace, of freedom, and cultural progress.

The resolution on girl students, passed by the Convention, pointed out that most of the girl students kept aloof from the activities of All India Students' Federation during the last three years, and urged the necessity of organizing them and suggested the formation of Girl Students' Committees to work in cooperation with the provincial branches of the Federation. With a view to ensure that larger number of students belonging to the minority Communities and the Muslim students in particular join the Federation, the Convention decided that singing Vende Mataram which unfortunately been invested with communal significance should be avoided, the banner of the All-India Students' Federation should be displayed at students gatherings; it should be emphasised that the Federation was not connected with any political party and strikes on communal issues should be discouraged.

The resolution on war was passed by the students' Federation Convention, and declared "the present war between rival imperialist Powers is directed towards a new partition of the World and is, therefore, against the interest of the people."

The Communist students before the next session preplanned to capture the student organisation at Nagpur. To this affect they sent a secret circular to
all the Communist students as to how they should conduct themselves in the Conference and the plans they should adopt. According to the circular, 13th item runs as follows:—“Our comrades from different provinces must make contacts immediately on arrival. The provincial fractions must elect their representatives to the All-India fraction, which will draft resolutions, arrange speakers and take decisions regarding tactics in the Conference, with regard to office bearers etc., These decisions will be carried back to the provincial fractions which must then get the greatest support possible from other provincial delegations for the decisions.

“The All-India fraction itself will elect a small guiding committee which will function the whole time and take urgent decisions when it is not possible to call the whole fraction.”

“If we understand clearly the issues before us, if we worked at the Conference as a united and disciplined body, there can be doubt, that we can through success of the whole Conference and can nullify the other groups.” Thus they went with the determination to split the Conference into bits and set up their own Conference. The sixth session of the All India Students’ Conference which commenced at Nagpur on the 25th, December 1940, witnessed a rupture in the organisation; the delegates from Bihar, Bengal, and United Provinces seceding almost in a body. Trouble
FOURTH PHASE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN INDIA—1934-1940.

arose in regard to the Federation elections in Bengal. Communists, whose opposition to the Gandhian leadership become a fanciful cry, try to put up a number of delegates with a view to capture the organisation. This was strongly resented to by a large number of delegates who viewed with approbation the Individual Satyagraha Movement and Gandhiji’s leadership.

Thus two rival Conferences were held in the evening, one at the Pandal under the presidentship of Professor Hiran Mookerjee of Calcutta and the other at the Convocation Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Madan Mohan Prasad of Allahabad.

Dr. K. M. Ashraf inaugurated, Hiren Mookerjee presided over the Conference. Dr. Ashraf described Mr. Gandhi’s Satyagraha Movement as a very poor protest against the imposition of belligerency on India.”

Mr. Mukerjee dwelt on the achievements of the Soviet Union. The other section led by Mr. M. L. Sha, General Secretary of the Federation and Mr. Arbind Bose held a meeting at the University Convocation Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Madan Mohan Prasad, President of the Bihar Youth League and former President of the Allahabad University Union. Mr. Prasad in his speech, described the Satyagraha Movement as “a very dignified protest.”

Meanwhile Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University was meeting both the groups informally in an endeavour to unite them.
All efforts of a compromise having failed, delegates again met in two Conferences on that night and passed two set of resolutions, relating inter alia to students' attitude towards war and the various demands of the Students.

The Conference was held at the Geeta Jayanti grounds under the presidency of Mr. Hiren Mukerjee who characterised Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League and the "Hindustan" slogan of the Hidusabha as reactionary and disruptive. The Conference also declared that the present leadership of the Indian National Congress had failed to achieve unity among the different communities.

The Conference expressed the opinion that the influence of the "reactionary leadership" of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha should be curtailed and appealed for a "Voluntary Federation of regional based on mutual confidence."
CHAPTER VII
Fifth Phase of the Student Movement in India, 1941-1943

Will any sell the radiant sun in heaven
    To buy a glow worm instead
Will any sit with folded hands
    When freedom dearer than sight is denied?
Will any common earthly pleasures
    Deny himself the glory of freedom?
Will not the world scoff at you
    If you sell both your eyes for a picture?

(Songs of Bharati, National poet of Tamilnad.)

The chief features of this phase of the Student Movement was first to explain students the split that occurred at Nagpur and the differences between the nationalist forces and the Communist students. The student leaders had to reorganise the whole disrupted organisation with a new force and on a better footing, to part-take in the coming freedom struggle. The chief pillars of the A. I. S. F. were: Coms. Balram Singh, A. J. Zaidi, Ansar Harwani, Ashok Nath Verma, S. M. Jaffar, Madhan Mohan Prasad, Rajendra Pratap, Girija Saran Singh, Sidheshwar Prasad, Nawal Kishore Jha, Alok Gupta, Ambika Singh, Rajendra Prasad Singh, M. L. Shah, Natwar Ghodi, S. K. Pai, Jafar Ali, S. N.
Kumar, Talyani, Yash, Bombzai, Sangal, Arbinda Bose, Arun Sen, Krishna Chatterji, Birendra Roy, Miss Nirmala Roy, Radhakrishna Pillai, Achuthan, Venkateshwaralu, Shanti Shigu Roy. These were a few among many student leaders at that time who determined to crush the reactionary forces who were out to stab the coming struggle. Among these leaders there were outstanding organisers with All-India reputation.

Mr. Balram Singh was one of the undisputed leader of U. P. known for his organisational capacities and tireless work. It is he who with his selfless comrades never gave shelter to disruptors, the Communists, in the whole of the province, though they tried their utmost to snatch power from him. To his fortune the All-India student leader Ansar Harwani, worked with him at the critical times. Ansar Harwani, one of those student heroes who was responsible for the downfall of the Communists dislodged such reactionary forces from place to place. Arbinda Bose was one of the executive Committee members of the A. I. S. F. and worked for the student community. Singh Roy, the leader of the Holwell monument agitation, was locked up in jail as soon as the government came to know the mighty preparations of the youths to cut of the chains of bondage. But how could such indomitable spirit be killed even by repeated imprisonments. Small in stature but giant in courage, a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Arun Sen, the inheritor of the glorious traditions of the student movement in Bengal,
was no more free to lead his province. As one of the front row leaders of the student movement of the province, his presence was indispensable for the effective defence of Bengal at a time, when the whole country was threatened from within and without. The embodiment of courage and militancy Com. S. M. Jaffar, who dedicated his life for the service of the country and the student community, and whose time and talents were at the disposal of the A. I. S. F. was confined in the Lucknow Central Jail. Yash, of the Punjab, was one of the chief militant leaders of the student movement in this phase. The guidance of Ansar and Yash, the renowned leaders of the student movement must be written in letters of gold. Both of these youth leaders remained in abstention till January, 1943, guiding the students in different places; only after 1943 the Police Raj could chase them from their hiding places. These were some of the flowers of Indian Youth, on whose shoulders the burden of re-organising the whole student movement fell after the split of the A. I. S. F. in 1941.

Another contribution in this phase of the student movement was the Girl Students’ Conference held to organise the girl student workers to participate in the national struggle and in the student movement. On the request of the All India Women’s Conference, the A. I. S. F. sent one representative from each of the province. Miss. Nirmala Roy and Chandralekha Pandit
represented Bengal and the United Provinces respectively in the Conference held at Madura.

This period is the landmark in the history of the student movement of India; nowhere in the world, especially under the inhuman conditions students played such a notable part. The whole movement of 1942 was run by only three forces, the students, workers and peasants, without any guidance from any party. If the leftists had unity, if they had learnt the revolutionary methods of fighting the government, with the help of the powerful forces like students and their comrades-in-arms, the workers and the peasants, they would have been sufficient to overthrow the government at such a critical time. In India, the leftist parties, so far have learnt only one art, that is, bunglings. The student leaders in this struggle were selected not by the votes they could manipulate or by the tub-thumping oratory but by their work, zeal and sacrifice. They learnt the art of fighting in the battle of freedom that was fought against the British; and in the next coming struggle they with their comrades, the proletariat and the peasants will prove worth the salt.

After the historic split in the student movement at Nagpur, the A. I. S. F. held its Convention at Benares in 1941, to consider the ways and means for a well established organisation,
to meet the national and students demands and to consider the appeal of the Communists regarding the proposed unity between the Nationalists and the Communists. It met under the presidency of Raj Kumari Amritkaur.

During the year many students took part in the Individual Satyagrah and were kept in detention. Com. Zaidi was arrested before he left Nagpur to popularise their opinion and their stand in the country.

On 4th January, the student world observed Annamalai Day to sympathise with the student comrades of Annamalai University, who were subjected to most brutal type of Imperialist repression. Some students were rusticated by the Vice-Chancellor, the Silver Toung of the British Empire, Right Honourable Sreenivasa Shastry, the Liberal Leader of the times.

In U. P. the student leaders of Chandausi were rusticated for their progressive views and for having presented to the authorities their demands. In U. P. under the direction of the U. P. S. F. Miss Tara Sane (Meerut) Miss Goel (Benares), Miss Kochar of Lucknow and Miss Mira Bose conducted the Girl Students' Conference. After the session, the U. P. S. F. appointed them to organise the girls of the province and to bring them under the banner of the Students' Federation. Huge meetings were organised throughout the province to condemn the Police Raj, for having inflicted severe injuries on Cawnpore students when they went on
strikes in sympathy with the national aspirations of the students. In Lucknow a huge students rally was held where more than 400 girl students participated in the strikes and many resolutions were passed, S. M. Jaffar presiding.

In keeping with the traditions of the student community, the students of India celebrated Independence Day on the 26th January, in a befitting manner. Students visited slums and villages nearby to carry out constructive programme as directed by Gandhiji.

Ansar Harwani, an outstanding leader of the students was arrested by the government for his activities of organising the students against the Communists. In the month of July, Coms. S. M. Jaffar and C. M. Avasthi were elected as the president and Secretary of the Lucknow Students' Union.

All Kashmir Students' Conference was held on the 2nd and 3rd of October. Messers Yunus, S. K. Kak, S. P. Sahni and Aziz were the main organisers of the students and the Conference in the State.

Then followed the All-India Students' Conference in the month of December, 1941. Main issue before the Conference was that of the country and the freedom struggle. All their activities had to be centered round the national struggle and for the preparations.

*All-India Students' Conference.*

The seventh session of the All-India Students' Federation Conference was held at Patna on the 27th Dec.
Seventh Session
Patna.
27th, and 28th.
December, 1941.

1941. Mr. Yusuf Meherally presiding. The Conference commenced in a well decorated pandal in Tagore Nagar, specially built for the session. About six hundred delegates from different provinces attended. Thirty two Assam delegates could not arrive because of their arrest on the eve of their departure from Assam for Patna in connection with the Gauhati incident.

Mr. Girija Saran Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, after a brief survey of the international situation said, “How can the students help in successful prosecution of the struggle. That is the question that we have got to answer today in this Conference with particular reference to our national struggle for liberation.”

Referring to the student organisation and the coming fight, the Chairman of the Reception Committee said, “Many of us did not agree with the individual character of Dr. Ashraf, at a meeting of the students with Communist leanings at Nagpur. Dr. Ashraf even went to the extent of saying that the Individual Satyagrah was a menace to the country. He said that student community was not spared by the Government. Many students left their studies in order to take part in the national movement even when our national leaders did not ask them to take part. He mentioned a few names like Mr. Madan Mohan Prasad, Srimati
Vidyavati "Kokila", Mr Pratap Chadra "Azad", and Mr. Najmal Hasim 'Naqui', who left their studies in accordance with Gandhiji's instructions and joined the Individual Satyagrah Movement. The All-India Students' Federation, as Mr. Singh said, confined itself to the programme of work decided upon at the last Nagpur Conference but students were not allowed to carry out their normal activities. Arrests, detenues, internments and externments had begun before the Nagpur Session. Thousands of our colleagues and co-workers were snatched away one by one. To mention only the members of the Working Committee, Messers. A. J. Zaidi, Arbind Bose, Bar Barua, Arun Sen, Yash, Balram Singh, Bajaj and Gutha were interned, imprisoned or detained without trial as it suited the whims of the Government."

"There is another threat from within our own ranks," said Mr. Singh, "a handful of people under the cover of a particular ideology decided to leave the main body of students. These people under the stress of "Historical Necessity," (to use the launguage of their boss) decided to split the students' ranks and set up a rival organisation and since then, they have been going about spreading all sorts of lies, to discredit the great organisation of students, the All-India Students' Federation." He said that even the responsible leaders could not understand the real issues that were at stake. He appealed to students to unite under the banner of the All India Students' Federation, in order to solve their
grievances and the grave problems that confronted them.

Mr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, ex-Finance Minister of Bihar, opening the Conference said, "You live in a dynamic age. You cannot sit idle. You are bound to be interested in the Freedom Movement. You desire to free your country from foreign domination. You want to see India march on her way to independence and you are anxious to do your bit. To that end you may have many ideas in your mind which you will naturally endeavour to translate into action. Your study must be varied and wide. If you want to read Marx and Lenin, do so, but do not forget to read the history of political thought of your country. Do not be led away by catch phrases and attractive ideas. You cannot profit by your study unless you acquaint yourselves with the background of these ideologies which you want to implement in your country."

Mr. Sinha then analysed the defects of the present system of education and said that the present generation must be able to revolutionise their educational system when they become independent. Concluding his speech, he applead to the students to follow Mahatma's pamphlet on student's constructive programme.

Mr. A. J. Zaidi, Joint Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation read out the messages of many leaders to the Conference.
Mr. Yusuf Mehrally, after surveying the problems that were at stake, said, "Another eventful year has gone by. There were many in the Congress who had favoured the Mass Movement and had urged more effective interference with the war effort. I was among this number, but the Congress decided upon Individual Civil Disobedience and hundreds of us joined the Satyagrah Movement."

Coming to the Students' organisation he said, "discussing the present political situation it leads me to the vexed question of students and politics. Lately a tendency has been growing among our public men, seeking to exclude students from political matters. This, in my opinion, is very unhelpful. For students living in a country that is struggling for freedom, to be divorced from politics is to divorce from life. My own first lesson in politics were taken during my student life. In those days, our College Notice Board had a legend that students could not even attend a political meeting, without the previous permission in writing, of the principal. The Youth League all over India carried on a successful crusade against this and the active part the students took in the boycott of the Simon Commission, will long be remembered."

He said that there is the difference between the students who were struggling for freedom and those student organisations working in free countries. In
India, he said, that the student organisations has tri-fold duty to preform. Firstly, the student community must identify itself with the struggle for National Liberation and secondly, to rebel against the dead weight of the ancient traditions, that had long outlived their usefulness. Then the president dealt with the communal problems in India. He urged the students to study the methods of self-help and gave certain instances of other countries as to how the method of Self Help has made them stronger.

Reverting to student organisation Mr. Yusuf Meherally said, "Before concluding my address, I am tempted to offer a few suggestions for future work. First, you should take keen interest in your students' Union. Give at least one hour of your time each day to it, help it in building up a Student Movement, free alike from sectarianism and the tyranny of rigid dogma." He said that students should agitate to redress their grievances through their Unions which is considered to be common platform for all.

Secondly, he advised the students to go to villages during their summer holidays to study their problems and to conduct village surveys. He asked them to study the incident of taxation and rural indebtedness and the grip of ancient and worn out customs and finally to identify themselves with the villagers.

"Thridly," he said, "The Labour Movement is much
to the fore new. The peasant from the village driven by hunger, becomes a proletariat in the city." He asked the students to visit slums and try to identify themselves with the workers who will pave the way for better understanding the conditions under which they were living.

Fourthly, he asked the students to organise study circles where they could discuss different ideologies. He said, "Many believe that socialism is the next step in civilisation." So he asked the students to make a dispassionate study of all isms in order to equip themselves to shoulder the future responsibility.

Further, he asked the students to fight the communalism in every shape and form. He advised the students to study their literature sympathetically and win them over to their side.

Seventhly, he asked the students to take interest in local problems. "The caste system," he said, "is the most vicious obstacle to national progress. Work to uproot it in your own circle. Fight the evils of untouchability, child marriage and parda. Actively help the cause of Khadi and Swadeshi. Help in removing illiteracy and promote the cause of adult education and co-operatives on the lines of Chinese industrial Co-operative societies.

Finally, he advised the students to train themselves to build volunteer organisations. He said, "help the
Akhand Movement and above all participate in the outdoor games and sports.

The Conference concluded its deliberations next day after adopting a number of resolutions on the political, war and national unity. The following are the resolutions pertaining to students.

A resolution on unity in the student movement reiterated its desire for a united student movement and noted with concern that an earnest effort in this direction had not borne any fruit. By another lengthy resolution on demands opined that it was only on the basis of the students demands that a real student movement could be built up and therefore directed the Provincial Students' Federations to intensify their struggle for the fulfillment of their demands. The resolution demanded the reduction in tuition, hostel and examination fees, complete freedom of thought, speech and association and outside educational institutions, that the administration of the educational institutions, particularly Universities, should be democratised and an exhaustive scheme should be drafted by the Government for the relief of the unemployed among the educated classes and that it should be immediately put into practice.

It was the first time in the history of the student movement in our country that the students themselves.
had given the verdict on the policy of the student organisation. This meeting indicated the resentment of the students against the so-called Communist students' Federation.

A resolution condemning the decision of the All-India Students' Federation (Faruqui Group) to support war effort and calling upon the office-bearers of the Federation to resign forthwith and seek reelection on the basis of the new policy was unanimously passed at a mammoth meeting of students held soon after the Patna Students' Conference.

The meeting terminated with slogans: "First India's Independence; then all aid to Russia," "Down with Imperialism and Fascism," "Students unity Zindabad" and "Down with Traitors." Some supporters of the Faruqui Group who wanted to create trouble were shouted down. The details of the meeting were as follows.

A mass meeting of the Patna Students was held under the presidency of Mr. Rajendra Pratap Singh, president of the Patna Students' Union to express their resentment and condemnation on the draft statement of policy of the All-India Students' Federation (Faruqui Group.)

At the outset the president explained the purpose of the meeting. Messers Sideshwar Prasad, Nawal
Kishore Jha, Alok Gupta, Ambika Singh critically analysed the situation—national and international and exposed in most unmistakable language the danger and the disruptive tactics of the misguided pseudo Communist students. The audience applauded their speeches.

Sideshwar Prasad in the course of his speech said that Communists always had been trying to disrupt the student movement and that they were responsible for the Nagpur split.

Alok Gupta was surprised to find that the Communists had changed their attitude over-night. He thought this because they were guided by the external agencies.

Ambika Singh moved the main resolution emphatically asserting that the so-called Communists have always been trying to create rifts in the popular national forces. India like China and Russia is fighting her own battle field against their foreign enemies. He was sorry that friends like Comrade Raja Hussain were misled and forfeited the sympathy of the students. India always stood behind Gandhiji. The leaders wanted not only the end of Fascism but also Imperialism.

Only a few students spoke in favour of the statement of Messers Raja Hussain and Surendra, members of the presidium, (B. P. S.) Bengal Provincial Students' Federation (Faruqui Group) who tried in vain to
impress the audience. Some supporters of the Faruqui group at this stage wanted to disrupt the meeting but they were silenced.

"This mammoth gathering of the Patna students emphatically condemns the dangerous tactics of the misguided pseudo Communist student organisation, the tail of the so-called Communist Party and unequivocally declares that the draft statement of the policy and resolutions of the All-India Students' Federation (Faruqui Group) were anti-national, reactionary, and as such deserve the severest condemnation from students all over the province and the country."

"The meeting further opines that Free and Independent India can give all aids to the oppressed countries as often reiterated by Pandit Nehru.

"The meeting calls upon the office-bearers to resign forthwith as they have forfeited the sympathy and confidence of the students and seek re-election on the basis of the new policy."

In Patna A. I. S. F. session Com. Zaidi was elected as the General Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation. Due to the examinations, all the activities of the students were postponed for some time. In the month of April the Working Committee met to decide the plan of action for the summer and for the coming struggle. The A. I. S. F. from its very
inception felt the urgent necessity of forming a disciplined volunteer corps. It would be imperative of any political organisation with a political, social and economic programme at a time when its duty was to face the national crisis that was looming at large. Therefore, the W. C. directed all the provincial units to organise the volunteer corps by the name 'Freedom Brigade,' which had to be under the direct control of the Provincial Units and the Provincial Units to be under the guidance and direction of the A. I. S. F.

The Committee, however, considered it necessary to declare that though the Brigade had its own objects, it had to co-operate with any other national volunteer organisation with a view to carry out joint actions. They wanted to make it permanent and directed the Provincial Units not to liquidate the organisation after the struggle. The uniform was to be only of Khadi and that all the office-bearers of the units and its local units were to be enrolled as members of the Freedom Brigade.

Thus the A. I. S. F. was making brisk preparations to serve the people in case of any invasion from the Japanese or to fight the British if the Government delayed the freedom of the Indians. As soon as the government came to know of the student leaders running from place to place to organise students, restrictions were imposed in their way to obstruct the progress of work and the preparations under the D. I. R.
The Nation’s tribune, the Indian National Congress, sounded the bugle of War on British Imperialism in this country on the 14th July, 1942, and asked the people to be ready to sacrifice everything for the nation. People’s joy knew no bounds at the news that their National Organisation had challenged the alien power. The nation was eager to take up a fight against an Imperialistic power which had sucked all its blood. The long awaited opportunity had come. Pandit Nehru declared to the world that the movement would be ‘shortest, swiftest’ and one of the ‘powerful revolutions in the world.’ The iron man of the Congress, Patel, said that he would finish the whole movement within ‘two weeks.’ It was for the nation to see the mighty preparation that our leaders had made to exterminate the alien power from this land. All the leftists were declaring that they would seize the opportunity and bring an all out revolution in India. These were the promises to the nation. For a student of current politics, and more so for a revolutionary, there was a revolutionary situation from every angle. Of all the sections of the Indian community, the student community, after hearing the declarations after declarations of our acclaimed leftist and rightist leaders, was most eager for a fight for freedom; freedom from exploitation, freedom from domination and freedom of every kind. The students
had promised that fight. What then was the question before the student community of India? The reply of the student community had already been decided by the student representatives one year back in the famous session at Nagpur in 1941. The Student Community remained the vanguard of the Freedom battles, and they showed to the world that they would not yield it to others. For them there was no other worthy and better cause to lay down their lives for. Thus the student community was ready, awaiting marching orders from the Nation's tribune. Their battle cry was "Freedom or Death."

The representatives of the nation met in Bombay and declared their intentions as stated before. As soon as the leaders were arrested in Bombay, big processions started in every part of the city. Bombay city became the target of the police and military. Men and women ran for their lives. They were chased from street to street. The mill workers and the whole sea of labourers joined the movement and in the city of curfew order was enforced. The battle was fought by the people on the one side and the naked sword of the imperialist forces on the other. Thanks to the magnificent arrangements of the students, especially girl students and freedom loving mothers of Bombay, who supplied the masses with water and administered first aid to the wounded. Onions were thrown in the streets which served as antidote for the tear gas. The houses were used as defence, offence, and shelters and as trenches for the people
who fought tooth and nail against the Governmental forces. Some leaders, nationalists and youths who went to Bombay to take directions from the leaders escaped from the C. I. D. clutches and it is they who gave the real picture of the happenings of Bombay. The news of arrests flashed round the country through radio and press. When the leaders were arrested the nation itself declared war against the government on the 9th August 1942. For some days the curfew order remained in force in Bombay city. All the mills and workshops, big and small were closed. The people were uncontrollable for some days. The students carried the nation's work in place of the national and Congress workers.

Colleges and schools became the meeting places where hundreds of students addressed the gatherings. These colleges, schools and hostels became the meeting places for the revolutionary youths to set all their rational and irrational plans in motion to paralyse the government. Every hour people expected that the haughty British Government will cow down before the will of the nation. Every day the nation expected that the Indian officers in the governmental services would leave their offices in compliance with the orders of the Nation's leader, Mahatma Gandhi. This would have amounted a death knell to the foreign government and all the foreigners would have left India with their bags and baggages. But the deep rooted slavish qualities did not give way to the appeals and requests. This
was the turning point in the mental attitude of the youths and people. There were sporadic outbursts of violence on the part of the people to retaliate the atrocities of the government. After three days struggle the whole atmosphere changed and the youths took to revolutionary methods. Violence for violence became the order of the day. Without a proper revolutionary organisation, without equipment, programme and policy and guidance, the youths took to revolutionary methods. As it is mainly connected with the student community, we have to deal the effects and defects of the movement of the revolutionary youths after a close detailed study of the situation of the Nation's fight for freedom. For nine long days the movement was at its heights.

On the 8th August 1942, the nation determined to give the alien power an ultimatum to quit India within a specified period, failing which the leader of the nation were to declare war against the foreign power. The leader of the nation, Gandhiji asked the people to be alert, in case the alien power refused to comply with the order of the nation. The order of the leader was "Do or Die." To the surprise of the nation, all the leaders were arrested, and the Governmental forces began to shoot people and used tear gas in all parts of the country, to desperse the gatherings. Thus the nation, after the arrest of its leaders, declared war against the foreign government. It was not only the war against the Britishers, but a war against exploitation,
a war against bondage of every kind, a war against those who inflicted unspeakable miseries on the people. The whole nation, except reactionaries and traitors who stabbed the nation at every step in the battle against its enemies, stood as one. Before dealing with the facts of the movement, it must be noted that all the organisations irrespective of their size, except the Communist traitors who acted as the Fifth Columnists, the Radical democratic Party, the paid agents of the British and other communal bodies who were not prepared to sacrifice anything to emancipate their Motherland were declared illegal. All the News Papers were stopped and curfew orders and martial law were enforced. The Police and Military Raj were let loosed to crush Indians. Therefore, it is not possible to give a clear picture of the atrocities of the government. Even people in their respective places could not come out to see what happened in the streets. In the name of democracy, fair name, humanity and what not, with no selfrespect either for human feelings or for a rational thinking, people were humiliated to the utmost and were shot dead like flies. To recount the canibilistic deeds of the government with mass murders, rapings, burning of the houses; the hands of two were cut, and two comrades were blinded because it was said that they had derailed a train in South India. (Hindu paper 1942). Almost all the important leaders irrespective of rank and file were locked up in jails. All the student leaders were arrested and the people did what
they saw fit to counter act the foreign Government. With the material that are at our disposal, we have to throw some light of the achievements of the unarmed masses, the student community and the nation. The workers came out of their factories, mills, and from everywhere and identified themselves with the national struggle. Post offices and railway stations, government treasuries, and other places of the Government were either looted or burnt.

In Delhi, the capital of India, a huge sea of human beings mostly, students marched through the streets towards Viceregal palace to surround the Viceroy and hoist the Nation's Flag. The Americans refused to comply the orders of the Government to shoot the people. Tommies were let loosed on the unarmed masses, who were machine gunned with the result that hundreds of heads rolled down and thousands of people were injured. When the people were enraged they rushed up towards the governmental offices and looted them. They burnt the General Post office. In all important cities, zeal, energy and sacrifices were given full expression to achieve their cherished goal, the freedom of the country. Bengal the home of the revolutionaries; Bihar, the C. P., and Ballia in U. P. Assam and Satara in Bombay province played the most patriotic role in the fight.

In Bihar there was no government to control the people and in some of the places people declared
themselves Independent and set up Panchayat Government which ran effectively for a month and a half. It was a life and death struggle for the government and the people. The government had to resort to all possible means to put down the insurrection. The British planes had to sweep over some parts of the province of Bihar and Ballia and machine gunned the masses from above. One of the ex minister’s son had to sacrifice his life in action. In certain places all the government officials were arrested and kept in detention. All the British forces were brought from the surrounding places to put down the revolutionary masses and bombed them mercilessly. In the Central Assembly it was admitted that at least more than 800 had lost their lives on account of the Bombardment. Throughout Bihar and Assam the repression was such that no patriot’s life was safe and in Assam till 1944 even the student organisation was made illegal. But the indomitable courage and fortitude of the people withstood all the onslaughts of the government and counter acted in every shape and form to save the honour and self-respect of the nation.

Bengal, a land of revolutionaries, a land of freedom loving sons and daughters, a land which has given birth to sons of unknown fame, a land of revolutionary movements had taken a big toll of the enemies. The Bengal government, with all its forces and reactionary elements had to fight with fire. The Government atrocities were like adding oil to the already burning
fire. If in other provinces, people had to take lives in their hands, in Bengal the English had to take their lives in their hands. Every house, tree, stone and all that was seen in the province looked like ghosts which seemed as if they were haunting every Englishman. Till 1944, no organisation except reactionaries and communalists were allowed to function. Unknown censorship prevailed in the province. Even those friends outside the province had to pay the penalty for writing letters to their friends in Bengal. No procession, no meeting was allowed without the permission of the government till 1944. What was the effect on the people after the failure of the 1942 movement, utter ruin, encouragement of black marketing, encouraging all the reactionary and anti-national elements to reek vengeance on the people for their patriotic deeds who made an all-out attempt to snatch freedom from the British. The Bengal Famine is a blot on the British rule in India. Which International Court will try those who are responsible for that dreadful famine which had taken lakhs of lives of Indians? What kind of government can kill the patriotic feelings of the people by the canibilistic methods?

In U. P. in all the important cities, there were firings and lathy charge on student processions and mass gatherings. Whatever might be the leadership and provincial politics, in the time of the national struggle they stood as one man without distinction and played a worthy role. All the leaders irrespective of rank
and file were arrested including the student leaders and left the people without guidance. It has proved itself as the freedom loving land in the past and in the 1942 struggle. It is a land which had sacrificed the country’s renowned revolutionaries in the past, and many more of the same calibre it has produced to play a predominant part in every struggle. It was the place where the revolutionaries set their plans in motion. Of all the places Ballia played a notable role in the freedom struggle, by capturing the government and installing national government and arresting all the government officials. For a month the Hallet regime could not shake the national government that was set up in the glorious land. But the government with all its brutal forces surrounded the place and the people had to run away to forests to save their lives. Untold atrocities were inflicted on the properties of the people. Women folk were dishonoured, buildings and houses of those sons who were responsible for the national government were ragged to the ground, their rich crops were all destroyed. People were treated with utter humility unknow in the history of any country. In the city of Allahabad, due to the firing 8 people including two students were shot dead. In Lucknow the University Registrar’s office was set on fire. Thus the U. P. played a tremendous role during 1942 movement.

Then comes the province of the Sardar of India, Gujrat. It has made its own history regarding the
freedom struggles. Being one of the well organised province with rich experience of the past struggles under the able leadership of Patel, the labourers, peasants, students and all sections of people took part in the struggle. The 1942 movement was spontaneous. It is this province that had shaken the pride of the British Government in 1930 in the Non-Co-operation Movement. In 1942 the labourers with the help of students achieved marvelous success in the beginning.

In the Frontier under the guidance and leadership of the Congress, people did not take to violence. It was a peaceful movement and the Pathans, the fighting people exhibited a rare vigour and courage and showed a high morale.

Karnatak was thorn to the British in 1942. With all their forces, the government could not dislodge the people. Its rich contribution to the freedom struggle must be written in gold in the history of our country. Till 1944 freedom fight ensued with fury and was uncontrollable. It was also like Bengal, Bihar, Satara, and C. P. the government was shaken to the very foundation. Till 1944 burning of the Police stations, derailing of trains, removing the rails, looting the treasuries and arms were the main features that the government could not check. Many Ashrams became Revolutionary camps.

In Andhra province, Thenaly played a tremendous part in the struggle. No post offices, or railway
stations remained in existence. Either they were looted or burnt. They burnt all the trains and according to the authorities the losses were amounted to more than one crore of rupees. In other parts of the province there were only strikes and sporadic lootings of the post offices and police stations.

In Madras there was no effective programme due to the policy of Chakravarty Rajagopalachari. There were strikes in the city, mass meetings were held and resolutions in sympathy with the leaders and the nation were passed. Colleges and Schools were closed for a month due to strikes. All the Congress leaders including the youth and student leaders were placed behind the bars. In Chittoor and other parts sporadic fight took place and some youth leaders were sentenced to whipping. In Madura, a goods train was derailed and many offices were looted. When the youth leaders burnt the tody shops and other government offices, two leaders were awarded death sentences. In Andhra, for the derailing a train, hands of two men were cut off while two others were blinded.

The important part played by the Central Provinces and Satara cannot be forgotten from the memory of the nation during the struggle of 1942. Those brave patriots captured the hearts and imagination of the people at large and the whole nation was taken by surprise by their brave fight and untold sufferings that they under went. It is the Asthi and Chimur
prisoners that made the youths of the country kneel with folded hands to pray for their lives. The nation adore them day and night. Our main subject being the student movement and its contribution to the freedom struggle, we have to make only a passing reference of these accredited revolutionarists part in the struggle. The students joined the revolutionary camps to make the history of our country. We have made already references to the sole leader of C. P., Magan Lal Boaghd, and his role in the struggle, in the Second chapter while discussing the 'Hindustan Red Army of C. P. He was the Governor of C. P., for 3 days. As soon as the call came from Bombay he marched with his army and surrounded the governmental offices. He might have had defects in him, being an old revolutionary, without any guidance from the intellectuals, he controlled the whole province. Many of his compatriots had to undergo untold sufferings while he was in absconsion. The famous Ashti Chimir patriots and their role, Magan Lal Baghdi’s army, Bengal’s sacrifices and Satara’s dynamic part, no words, on author, no poet can depict them.

The Satara “Freedom Movement” was such that the government with all its brutal forces could not touch it. They captured machine guns and turned them against the Britishers. Full National Government was installed for some months. Superficial thinkers call it as ‘Terrorrist Movement’. They were neither decoits nor robbers nor even meant to create terror
among the people but brave sons of India with patriotic fervour and zeal, fought the government. They carried on the movement, 'Freedom Movement' till 1945. What methods they would adopt to achieve the freedom of the country in the next struggle is to be seen. A reorganised forces of Satara, Magan Lal Baghdi's Red Army, and a potent force like R. S. P. and other Youth Organisations legal and illegal if combined and formed the 'National Red Army of India', will undoubtedly bring freedom sooner than we imagine and establish socialism with the help of the proletariat and peasants in India.

Of all the Indian States, Mysore State's role was second to none in the August Insurrection. On 9th all the workers from the mills, factories and industries struck work and joined the student processions and marched through the streets in big lines. The military forces were called on to disturb the freedom loving people. When police resorted to lathly charge on the non violent they became violent too. The General Post Office was looted and burnt and a police man was killed on the spot. When they resorted to firing, people were touched by deaths that were caused by the police and became more violent. Thanks to the courage and fortitude of the people who with stood the blows of the army and the police. In the city all the telegraph wires disappeared within a few hours. Sawars were brought to spear the students, workers and the people. Some workers spread grain (Ragi) on the
smooth tar roads with the result that when the Sawars came with full speed to spear the people, the horses slipped on the smooth roads and with the result that 3 horses collapsed on the spot. The horses could not move an inch. The Sawars who came to take a heavy toll, were at the mercy of the people. The angry crowd took 3 of their lives and injured all of them. The police disappeared like morning mist, the students and the workers had to control the city. Then came Tanks and Machine guns and Armoured Cars in every street. Though the roads were blocked they crossed them and opened fire on the people. Machine guns were planted on the Mysore Bank building and opened fire mercilessly. According to Government reports 11 people were killed but according to the public reports the death roll mounted to 180. It was a pathetic scene. The brutal forces were stationed in every line in the street. The dead bodies were smeared with tar on their faces and were thrown into the river. Curfew order was enforced and Tommies were deputed to control the city. Three brothers who were cutting wires were shot dead. Two brothers were shot at while they were carrying the looted grain. Thanks to the Gujrati Mothers of Banglore, who gave the panic strucken people, the labourers, students and others shelter.

In the Mysore city students remained non-violent for a month and a half leading big processions. Then students had to go underground. After which a revolu-
tionary team was formed who took to subversive activities. The Colleges were reopened on the 27th October. One day before, the Mysore College was set on fire.

On the same day the jail police in Mysore Central jail opened lathy charge on students with the result that a student worker, Shankarappa died of wounds. By that Martyr's name, a hostel is run by the Students' Congress in Bangalore.

In one of the Taluk Isure National Government was set up and a student was the president of the same. The police invaded Isure, and looted the place and dishonoured the women flock. They destroyed houses, and crops of the towners and who ran away to forest to save the honour of the ladies.

In Cochin and Travancore there were arrests, and all the colleges and schools were closed for two months. Processions were led by students and in Travancore the police threatened the people with firing in case they did not disperse. An old man came in front challenging the police-officer and was shot dead. This paved the way for people to resort to violence. Then followed mass arrests. Nothing more serious than mass processions and student strikes happened in those States. In the latter periods some youths took to subversive activities.

In sum and substance, for 9 long days, the whole country was ablaze with unknown fury. Till October
After October - revolutionary upsurge among the youths and students - Bengal Famine - Gandhi's fast-effect of 1942 - Warning to leftists.

students went on strikes all over the country. It was the mighty movement of the students. The supression and opression exceeded the limits. Punitive fines were imposed in many parts of the country. They played with fire at the stake of their lives. Post offices railway stations and treasuries were looted and burnt. Copper pies disappeared soon lest the Britishers may melt them for cartridges.

It is this movement that has given birth to new revolutionary youths, students and Youth Organisations, whose preparation will end every exploitation and domination sooner or later. It is in this movement that Youths began to think of ideologies, revolution, and socialism; it is this movement that made the youths to evolve their own revolutionary organisations on a more scientific lines. It is in this sharpest movement, the daring youths appeared in the streets. There the revolutionary selection took place itself within the ranks of the youths and students.

By this time, the famine crept in many parts. It was a man made famine. On the one hand, the British wanted men for their armies, on the other it had to reek vengeance on the rebellious people. The best way to achieve their ends was through famines, encouragement of the black-marketeers, epidemic diseases, helping the reactionary forces in the country, and
supression of the will of the nation. The revolutionaries again organised to give a deadly blow against the government by grouping all their shattered forces. They gave vent to their feelings by releasing the Railway Derailment Plans as the first step to start the struggle. By this time Gandhiji declared his coming fast. The leaders of the revolution asked their soldiers to keep their arms down to save the life of country's leader, their national asset. Thus they had to abandon all their plans and a truce was declared between the nation on the one hand and the British on the other.

The country began to analyse the failure of the movement. No doubt, we have lost the best opportunity, an opportunity like 1942! war on one side and insurrection on the other. They began to consider all their defects during the insurrection. Superficial thinkers feel that Atom Bomb had destroyed the fear of war. How can the world rest till the exploitation continues? What Super Atom Bomb can kill the spirit of a nation? Some people think that in the age of Atom Bomb we cannot achieve our goal through anything other than Non-violence. Non-violence is a policy and not a creed to a nation.

The defects of the movement are very many. Here we need not analyse them and it is left to the fighters of freedom to analyse them and set right their defects. The nation in 1942 was unguided without a programme and a policy. The leaders of the nation indulged in
pratings, threatenings bickerings and beggings. As already stated, Nehru declared before the commencement of the movement, "the coming movement will be shortest, swiftest and most powerful revolution that the world has ever seen." The iron man of India, Patel, declared that he would finish the whole movement within fifteen days. These were the promises that were given to Mahatma Gandhi and the nation, but all words nothing but words—there were no preparations, but empty words. The youths were misguided and thousands of them had to sacrifice their lives without experience. Even today we hear from every platform the word 'revolution.' What is revolution in this century? Is it economic revolution or political or Social or Devine or any other possible revolution? No body explains. The pin prickers, the ultra-revolutionaries and pseudo Marxists like C. S. Pers from its very inception were fighting the other groups and today they call themselves revolutionarists. The Communists of 1942, who were the bed-fellows of the British, betrayed the Nation at a time when there was a revolutionary situation and upsurge in the country and today they have become most revolutionary inciting the labourers to go on strike. Revolutionaries must unite and wash their hands off from these parties who indulge in hurley and burley party politics in the name of democracy, in the name of Socialism, in the name of Humanity to save the nation from foreign domination and exploitation of the Capitalists.
CHAPTER VIII
Sixth Phase of the Student Movement in India

"Truth is bitter to its very core."

When we recount the wontonness of the military rule of blood and fire since 1942, all the national organisations were banned because their existence threatened the very foundations of the British Imperialism and other anti-national forces in the country. Though the movement in the student-front fizzled out by the end of October, yet in all parts of the country, sporadic outbursts of violence were kept continued by those who were beyond the reach of the civil intelligentsia. The active student leaders were locked up behind the prison bars. Other less energetic students and leaders were set free under a bundle of restrictions. By the end of 1942, students had to change their method of fight because a new adjustment had to be made when new problems were created, when new forces were thrown up by the national struggle. The ruthless march of events in our country had changed the whole phase of the student movement. The student leaders had to overhaul and renovate the organisation with an increased tempo to adjust themselves, with the result that unforeseen impediments
blocked their way. In all our Universities, towns and cities, in schools and colleges, a band of enthusiastic young men showed lively interest in politics to build up their organisations, to establish close contacts with leaders, to take up specific tasks which would draw them closer and closer to the peasants in the fields and workers in the factories who were their Comrades in arms during 1942 insurrection, so that they may be better prepared to make a planned and conscious contribution in the coming struggle.

First they had to legalise their organisations, secondly, they had to fight the dreadful famine which was spreading its ugly claws from province to province. Thirdly, they had to negate the propaganda of the Communists who were out to create obstacles in the growing ferment and power of the nationalists. Tremendous success was achieved in the above directions. But the student movement in the later period instead of mobilizing the available national forces on the basis of specific programme, had diverted itself in never ending party and power politics and organisational disputes and factional fights, which seem can never be reconciled; the rivalry among the student leaders has definitely harmed the student movement in India. In 1942 all the pillars of the A. I. S. F. were arrested except a few. But the students could not organise openly or carry on constructive work. On account the trecherous policy of the Communist Party the "the whole nation became angry with them" as Pandit Nehru put it. The
public to distinguish the 'Student Augusters' and the Communists, called the former as the 'Nationalist Students.' The Communists too began to preach that their A. I. S. F. was the genuine body hence the 'Augusters' had to call their organisation 'the Nationalist students' Federation.' The term 'Nationalist students' is very misleading and vague.

When we admit that the students are the torch bearers of freedom, the term 'Nationalist students' must be explained in all its meaning, and its significance in the present context. Freedom is the highest ideal, only a freeman has the fullest joy of living. Freedom is the condition of the self-realisation of life. 'Freedom is not a beautiful castle built in the air of imagination. It rests upon the triple pillar of humanism, and individualism rationalism,' says M. N. Roy. One need not be a nationalist to be a patriot. In fact nationalism is the very antithesis of genuine patriotism. Patriotism in our age is loyalty and devotion to the peoples cause. National freedom, the freedom for the upper classes, protection of the vested interests with a view to keep the other 'exploited,' incomplete subjugation and stem the voice of the poverty-stricken masses is nothing but slavery and stagnation. National independece will be attained in our country upon the transfer of political power from the British to Indians. But the problem of freedom is of different nature and has its own conception and meaning. Mr. C. R. Das had made it very clear in the Students' Conference held in Andhradesh
“for the unthinking sentimental nationalist, this difference of meaning may not even arise. For him, national independence is an end in itself, but for others, who fight for freedom, national independence is the means to an end, freedom. But, if national independence is made an end in itself, and its attainment calls for sacrifices including that of the very concept of freedom, its value becomes doubtful. Indeed, the fanatical cry for such independence is a negation of freedom itself.” From the aforesaid analysis it is futile to term the students as ‘nationalists’ yet on account of the reactionary propaganda of the Communist students that they represent the real ‘Students’ Federation,’ the term nationalist students had to be used as demarcation line between the two.

Another peculiar feature amongst leftist parties and their students is the change of colours. When the Communist Party of India declared that the Second World War has transformed itself into a Peoples’ War, when it offered unconditional support to the war efforts, many students left the party, and joined the nationalist students. Further, it was not the conviction or the party ideology, or programme that made the students join the leftist parties but several other considerations. It is the peculiar feature known to our students. As soon as the Communist students waned out from the student movement in 1941, the C. S. P. students who were known as the most revolutionary had to be put into the cradle of power in
places left vacant by the Communist students. After 1943 the C. S. P's. role begins in the student movement which demands analytical study. Hence a close study of the Congress Socialist party, its policy and programme and its role in the student politics.

In this phase, it is intended to draw the attention of the readers many drawbacks in the All-India Students' Congress, especially in the U. P. S. C. A foresight understanding of these defects will not only smoothen the way of the workers, but will enable them to build a united well-knit organisation which will bring all students under one banner. A regressive policy and programme, the opportunists role of the political and self-centred notions must give way to a progressive and catholic policy and programme failing which the student organisations will leave the students and the country in dark.

Most striking feature of this phase is the growth and development of the student movement in the important Native States like Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Kashmir, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kotah and Kolhapur States etc. Student organisations no doubt came into existence in the Third Phase of the student movement in India, especially in the Mysore State. Its role in the 1942 struggle is in no way less than the British Indian provinces. After 1942 in other States too, the students began to organise on new lines. Today the State Student organisations, are full-fledged organisations, commanding whole hearted support from the
public, political parties, and students. The constructive programme when compared to the British India has taken deep roots amongst the States Student Organisations.

In the foregoing discussions we have noted how the students mind was working to reorganise the student forces on new militant lines. Student workers requested the office bearers of A. I. S. F. to convene the working Committee to discuss the organisational matters. The General Secretary of the A. I. S. F. Mr. Zaidi, was reluctant to convene the meeting and was not prepared to allow its machinery to be reorganised. A manifesto expressing their aspirations and emphasising the necessity of reorganising the A. I. S. F. issued under the signatures of Messrs. Ravindra Verma, Ramuni Menon, P. Kunte, C. Dalal, Jagadish Dikshit, S. K. Sangal, D. P. Verma and A. K. Damodaran was distributed among the students all over India.

Immediately after issuing the manifesto, the signatures of the above manifesto, convened an All-India Convention. It met in Nagpur on April 29-30-31, 1944, K. Achuthan presided. The convention continued its deliberations for three days. The important feature of the convention was to accept the traditions of the A. I. S. F. as its own and to regard it as its parental organisation. The resolution formed the pream-
ble of the manifesto. They wanted to change the name of the organisation to the 'Students' Congress,' in the next A. I. S. F. Conference that was to be held in the month of Dec., 1944. At Nagpur a Working Committee was formed with the two conveners Ramuni Mennon and Jagadish Dikshit with the following members: K. Venkateshvarulu, D. P. Sharma, S. K. Sangal, P. Kunte, D. Sakrikar C. K. Dalal and Ravindra Verma to act as the Provisional Committee till new elections were held in the Conference. Messrs S. S. Barlinege and K. P. Bambazai were co-opted afterwards.

If the new name was to distinguish between the Communist and the Nationalist Students, if the student workers had really aspired for a change, no doubt, the student workers in particular and the students in general would have been benefitted. Before embarking on such a move, the adventurists ought to have consulted those student leaders who were rotting in jails, and who were the sole leaders who kept the disruptionists out of the A. I. S. F. in 1941. When they could organise the Nationalist forces in such a sub-continent during 1941 for a final struggle for freedom, at the teeth of such opposition from the Communists and the mighty mischievous British Government, if those leaders were out, the phase of the student movement in India would have been organised on a more revolutionary plane. Whatever it may be, we are not much concerned about the controversy relating to the change of name, but the method of work, political honesty, and students
and the country's cause. A provisional working committee was set up, but the leaders on the one hand began to organise in their respective provinces under the new name, and on the other hand they began negotiations with the parental organisation, the A. I. S. F. The new adventurists did not stop at this. They spent a lot of money to create troubles everywhere in the student community. Certain unhappy documents from both sides, the newly formed provisional committee, A. I. S. C. and that of the A. I. S. F. show that they were playing one upon another for time and to strengthen their own forces. It is difficult to know from the available sources as to who was genuine among them. Those who aspired to change the name, as facts revealed and assume authority for themselves, ought to have made efforts to meet the founders of the young Nationalist Student Organisation, the A. I. S. F. and secondly, they ought not to have set up parallel organisation where there was a Nationalist Students' Federation. Thirdly, if they had good workers and a progressive policy they ought to have asked their workers join the Federationists, and if possible capture it democratically. Fourthly, they ought to have given more seats on the Executive Committee to make compromises with the old guards of the student movement. Instead, they made the trusted workers fight one another to form a new organisation.

Power mongers and political tails keep one face and heart to themselves and another face and heart to
exhibit outside; unless they assume some responsible offices their true selfish policies cannot be revealed. As stated before, the student community and the public understand very little of quibbling party politics. This can be seen more vividly in case of several tried workers who if proper guidance is given, will build a solid and united student movement. When the matters arrayed in this way, some of the workers thought that those who pleaded for a new organisation, 'Students' Congress' were sincere and genuine and thus they began to play in their hands for some time; and under their influence even went to the extent of creating a parallel organisation in one and the same place. As the days for the annual session came nearer and nearer, the new leaders undertook innumerable tours to tighten up their control over the newly formed organisations.

In the Ali India Students' Conference that was held in 1944 December some of the underground workers of the C. S. P. gathered in Bombay to play their old game of setting up candidates for the presidency and the General Secretaryship and deciding the fate of the student community. By the force of the silver bullets that they had begged from the capitalists in the name of revolution, in the name of the Congress and in the name of the country they intended to capture the A. I. S. C. After the advent of these fugitives, new developments with interesting consequences drenched the student workers in party politics. After giv-
ing a vivid picture of the Conference and the bunglings there, we like to proceed to analyse the Congress Socialist Party and its role in the student arena.

As soon as the colleges reopened in 1944 both the groups the A. I. S. F. and the Provisional Committee of the Students' Congress, began to mobilize the students in their respective places. The working committee of the A. I. S. F. and the Provisional Committee, A. I. S. C. met at Bombay in the month of September to chalk out the programme for the year, to discuss the developments in the country and the coming students' Conference. To promote the ideal of unity, the provisional committee agreed to liquidate their newly formed organisation the "All India Students' Congress" and affiliate itself with the A. I. S. F, with the hope to change the name of the A. I. S. F. into A. I. S. C. in the Conference. Some members of the provisional working committee of the A. I. S. C. were co-opted in the working committee of the A. I. S. F. Further, they decided to hold the annual session in the month of December, 1944 in Bombay.

Accordingly, the General Secretary, Mr. Zaidi sent circulars to different provincial units for affiliation and submit their membership fee as required by the rules and regulations of the A. I. S. F. Except Bengal, the U. P., and C. P., no other unit was affiliated at the request of the General Secretary A. I. S. F. The South Indian Units flatly refused to abide by the decision reached in September.
They insisted to form a South Indian Students' Congress. This begins the Controversy which landed the Student Movement in Confusion. When the A. I. S. F. was backed up by the U.P., Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Sind, the new members who wanted to make an all out effort to change the name and capture the organisation, toured most of the provinces in the North to set up parallel organisations and to create disruption among the Nationalist students.

In the month of October 1944, the U. P. Students' Conference was held in Allahabad. Comrade Kunte of Bombay was invited to preside over the Conference. In U. P. the C. S. P. boys in the beginning vehemently opposed the change of name. But manipulations had to be resorted and after certain ideological understandings with Kunte and others, Mr. Jagadish Dikshit's, resolution was in the Conference recommending the A. I. S. F. to change its name into A. I. S. C., Kunte's advent to the U. P., created a split in the Nationalist Students ranks. Then he made his way to Bengal to study the situation. When he could not create any rift in the Bengal students' Federation, he set up a parallel students' organisation, the Bengal Students' Congress with the help of a Comrade who was purged out by the B. P. S. F. Com. Sakrikar, moved from one place to another from C. P., to Gujrat to study the opinion of the students. Mr. Ramuni Mennon and Ravindra Verma toured South India and Bengal. Many Conferences were held
during the year in all provinces and were addressed by the local and student leaders. In the month of December, Zaidi, the General Secretary of the A. I. S. F., received a letter from the South Indian student leader, Ramuni Mennon, wherein he made it clear that he could not affiliate his province with the A. I. S. F. as his units were not willing to work under the old organisation. Secondly, he continued that if the Conference was held, more than a thousand delegates had to attend the Conference which meant a huge expenditure. In the meantime Mr. Zaidi unconstitutionally postponed the Conference. The Bombay unit blamed itself for not affiliating in time and requested the Secretary to convene the Conference. Soon after this incident, a camera meeting was held in Bombay and they sent Mr. P. M. Joshi to meet the General Secretary. Bombay comrades dispatched telegrams to all the provinces to send delegates to the All-India Students' Federation Conference. Contrary to these telegrams Mr. Zaidi sent telegrams in his turn that the Conference was postponed. Telegrams and counter telegrams resulted in confusion and some students in their personal capacities come to Bombay to see things for themselves. Of all the representatives, the Bengal representation was genuine, and the Working Committee sat for three days without the office bearers of the A. I. S. F. to decide whether to call it a Conference or a Convention or a Workers' Conference. Everything was in con-
fusion. From Bengal two organisations, the B. P. S. F. and B. P. S. C. were present. The Bengal B. P. S. F. threatened to break off if they do not fulfill three conditions. First, they wanted that the B. P. S. C. should not be recognised. Secondly, there were no proper elections in other provinces and hence it should not be called the All India Students' Conference. Further, they did not like to change the name into Students' Congress. After much discussions, and appeals and bickerings, they, in the name of unity and integrity of the Student Movement had to submit to the students. They attended the Conference as fraternal delegates. Some important decisions reached the Working Committee to reorganise on a different lines prior to the Conference. It was decided that there should be 31 Working Committee members where in 21 members representing 21 Provinces, and 4 seats were to be given to the States and the rest 6 seats to be distributed among those provinces which had organised the students on a more practical lines with a view to give impetus to the backward provinces. By this time P. M. Joshi returned from Mr. Zaidi who in the capacity of the General Secretary gave a message wishing the Workers' Conference success. When the matters stood in a fluid state, the C. S. P. underground leaders made their way directly to the student politics. They made an all out effort to capture the organisation, by squandering a huge amount. The whole phase of the student movement in the
country had to change its course. On account of the intervention of the C. S. P, in Bombay Conference, and from hence forward the policy and programme of the student organisation be taken to be the policy and programme of the C. S. P.

The Congress Socialist Party and its Role in Student Politics

Before tracing the history of the party, we must bear in mind that it is an objective study and the authors sole aim is to make students understand the problems that are connected with the student community. "Truth is very bitter to its very core" and it is difficult to swallow a bitter pill. But we cannot close our eyes to the growing evils and defects among political parties which are either directly or indirectly connected with the student movement. Further, all the leftist parties have attracted energetic youths and some students to their fold. Unless they are well guided a lot of revolutionary elements will be lost to the country. I have relied upon the articles of the leaders and sympathisers of the C. S. P. for our study and the conclusions are based upon them. As was stated while we were discussing the main features of the student movement in the last chapter, the failure of the Civil Disobedience Movement started a heart-searching among those students who had just returned from foreign Universities and the students of
our country. Russia had won her freedom and established Socialism under dynamic leadership of Lenin, Turkey under Mustafa Kamal, China, a qualified freedom under Sen-Yet-San. More than these factors, the sudden revolutionary changes at home and abroad made the youths of our country to think of our defects and to adopt themselves to the changing conditions. In various jails all over the country, the above pressing problem was debated. A product of the nationalist movement, they were all profoundly pro-Congress. A product of the Gandhi generation, they were all profoundly pro-Mahatma. They viewed that there was much enthusiasm but no organisation to canalise the energy of the masses in the country. Moreover, the concept of 'Swaraj' was very vague and abstract for them. In May 1934, the All-India Congress Committee met at Patna to withdraw the Civil Disobedience and to authorise a programme or entry into the legislatures. Side by side, met another gathering, organised by Com. Jaiprakash. The important participants were!—Coms. Jaiprakash Naraian, Achut Patavardhan, Lohia, Acharya Narendra Dev, Ashok Mehta, M. Goutam, Sampurnanand, Masani, Mehrally and Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya. It was the first Congress Socialist group Conference over which Acharya Narendra Dev presided. In October of the same year, when annual session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay, the C. S. P. was duly formed. So far its ideology is concerned
it is a debatable one for a student of politics. Of late, the C. S. P. has become a forceful and noisy one. No other organisation is capable of making so much noise. Noise, in India, is a powerful factor that counts very much in politics and among our people. By this, the C. S. P. could attract the attention of the people more than any other party. By their noises, they pleased the Indian National Congress so much, that in 1936, Pandit Nehru, a sympathiser and the sponsor of this group invited Comrades Jaiprakash, Acharya Narendra Deva and Pataverdhan to the membership of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. Within a brief span of two years of life of the party its noises made some members of the party the Working Committee members of the Indian National Congress. To the surprise of the Nation, Com. Jayaprakash could not be in the Working Committee for more than three months as he was forced into the Working Committee by Pandit Nehru with the hope, he would be elected to the A. I. C. C. from Bihar. Perhaps at that time, loud noises might not have mattered for Bihar Congressmen to elect him to the A. I. C. C. Why the Indian National Congress gave so much accommodation to these new comers in preference to the professed old revolutionaries is another polemical problem. Therefore, we must get a bird's eye view of a few top most leaders to understand the party and its ideology. We must not forget that the ideology as professed by its leaders is 'Marxism'
which these days is after all the badge of revolutionary extremism.

Till 1942, it was a legal organisation carrying its programme and policy in the open field. At no stage in their career the C.S.P. showed any signs of revolt against the Congress or its policies. As honest congressmen they worked behind the Congress leaders. They have, like fashionable intellectuals, been critical of the Congress but their aim has always been that of the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal who is an intellectual and spiritual father of this party, in 1937 declared, "a socialist approach is the approach of Marxism. It is a way of looking at past and present history." As it was the creation of the rightist group, there were young enthusiastic students who were drawn into the party. India being a peculiar country where class-conscious is not fully felt, it is only the middle-class or the capitalists who came out openly with revolutionary ideas. Moreover, in our country any group that is formed must create or draw into it young elements to popularise the party and its leaders with a view to have a foot-hold in the Indian politics. Students who were drawn into the C. S. P, were working in the students' Federation as a separate group. The young elements began to raise revolutionary slogans under the influence of the Congress. The Communist Party thought that they should also work inside the Congress to attract the youths to its fold. The leftist groups in the Congress as well as in the Student Movement, began to
contest for power. Sometimes they united to defeat their opponents irrespective of their ideologies. As for instance, in 1940, A. I. S. F. Convention was held in Delhi, under the presidency of Sjt. Subhash Chandra Bose. About 500 delegates from different provinces were present. Heated discussions ensued on a resolution advising the students to celebrate the Independence Day on Jan, 26th. An amendment to that resolution was sponsored by the Forward Blocists with the support of Royists and Independents. The amendment was "Undue stress has been given to Charkha, khadi and spinning etc," by the Congress High Command. It is very interesting to note the ideological conflicts among different groups. Forward Blocists, Royists, and Independents on the one side, and C. S. P. Communists who styled themselves as Marxists joined the hands of Gandhites on the other side, fought on the main resolution. Unfortunately, the amendment was lost by 167 to 151 and the original resolution was carried by a narrow majority. Thus we see that the Indian Marxists also sometimes believe in charkha, spinning and non-violence. The most treacherous policy of these two parties, is well known between '39 and 41' during the critical days of leftism in India. They nipped Leftism in India in the bud by a master stroke which calls forth a detailed analytical study.

In the students’ Conference that was held in December, 1944, the C. S. P. cleverly manipulated to keep S. K. Patil’s group at an arms-length from the
Conference. Mr. Humayun Kabir unconstitutionally elected president presided over the Conference. Other C. S. P. leaders like Masani and Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya spoke in the Conference. The Conference was well decorated with placards and with revolutionary slogans. The tri-colour flags were to be seen all round. Small and big leaders of C. S. P. were brought in to guide the deliberations of the Conference and manipulate things according to their capacities. Fiery speeches were made on different topics of the day. And many relevant and irrelevant resolutions were adopted in the Conference. Relevant in the sense, the resolution on the changing the name of All-India Students' Federation into the All-India Students' Congress, on 14 point Gandhiji’s constructive programme and on political, social and economic problems of the day were adopted. Most irrelevant and cynical in the sense, by a resolution they expressed that all units must have their offices, to that end, collections must be raised every year. The Unit that tops the highest will have the Students' office that year and so on and so forth. Therefore, as explained in the Conference, as there are 26 Units, the last Unit will have its office in 1976. As mentioned already, in the Working Committee meeting previous to the Conference, it was decided that 31 seats would be distributed among 21 Provinces and 4 major States each one with equal representation.
and the remaining 6 seats would be distributed among the provinces in order of merit of organisation. Mr. M. L. Shah, one of the Ex-General Secretary of the A. I. S. F. and a member of the Socialist Party was brought to explain the unexplained on the dais. A pannel of names of the members of the W. C. was placed as the last item of the agenda in the evening at 8 P. M. According to the pannel 5 seats went to Bengal 5 to U. P., 4 to Bombay and the other provinces were given either one or no seat. From three sides objections were raised to the said pannel and a request was made to the leaders of the Conference to give them time to place their alternative pannels before the Conference, but they did not pay any attention. Most of the delegates had left the pandal by that time. Out of 360 there remained only 175. They placed such a pannel and got it passed. Here we must note the validity of their objections to the adoption of the aforesaid pannel. The U. P. had enrolled 3,250 students to its credit, that is, Lucknow 450, Cawnpore 800, Allahabad 1200, and Benares 1800; Bengal had the strength of 35,000 on its rolls, Mysore had 8000; and Andhra 25,000 on its rolls, etc. When Andhra which had enrolled 25,000 was given only one seat where as the U. P. the breading place of power and party politics in the student movement, which could not enrol more than 3,250 members was given 5 seats. Perhaps this was done to silence the opposition in that province. The election of the president of the
A. I. S. C. was most funny and unknown to the students of politics. A clique of the C. S. P. students manipulated to put all their men in the offices. The Conference ended its deliberations with revolutionary slogans. The next day after a camera meeting it was announced that Messrs Ramsumer Shukla and D. Sakrikar respectively were elected as the President and the General Secretary of the All-India Students' Congress.

The controversial Bombay Conference from the constitutional point of view was not a Conference but an assemblage of the student workers of different provinces. Because the W. C. of the A. I. S. F. did not hold the delegate's election, and the election of the Council of the A. I. S. F. which should have preceded the Conference without which a students' Conference does not have any constitutional validity. According to the constitution of the A. I. S. F. (now A. I. S. C.), nobody can deliberate in the Conference without being elected a delegate to it, and he cannot hold any office of authority without being a Council member. But in rush of power all the provisions of the constitution were trampled down. This could have been avoided if the C. S. P. would not have run to take the lion's share in the powerful positions of the organisation at this stage.

The newly formed W. C. worked amicably for some time. Those student leaders who once upon a time abused S. K. Patil, the Bombay Congress leader,
Suddenly the other day discovered in him a champion of their cause. The C. S. P. which had made the Students’ Congress virtually its tail, first directed the A. I. S. C. to organise the Citizenship College which was nothing but C. S. P. training camp. It was solely organised to recruit raw elements and come into contact with students of different provinces. Its expenses might have exceeded more than Rs. 30,000/- Some 20 C. S. P. bosses were brought from different parts of the country to deliver series of lectures and to give practical training to Youths. 100 rich students gathered in Bombay to attend that College. It was a sort of a recreation club to the rich students. It is impossible for a poor worker to go far off place spending Rs. 200/- and learn the C. S. P. revolutionary methods and constructive work. Some of the honest trainees had to admit that the whole show and its ultimate object was to glorify themselves. Students are students, but what to speak of these chicken hearted revolutionaries who go far off places, travelling in first classes, spending a lot of public money to teach revolution. These pseudo-Marxists forget that revolution does not manifest itself in teaching it in well furnished palatial buildings but it is always evolved by intensifying the movement amongst workers in factories and peasants in villages. If the leaders had gone in their respective places to slums and villages, to practice what
they taught, hundreds of students would have followed these leaders. It is that thing that will create revolu-
tion, and it is at that place where the party should select its raw elements. Another summer C. S. P. training camp that was organised by Sj. Jayaprakash in Dehra-Dun is worth mentioning in this connec-
tion. Dehra-Dun, a corridor of cool Himalayas was perhaps chosen by Jai Prakash Jee—as it might have constituted a fit place for C. S. P. boys to shar-
pen their intellect and train themselves efficiently. It is interesting to note that two C. S. P. leaders, Lohia and Ashok Mehta have applied for permission of the Government to go to Europe to study Resistance Move-
ment. Poverty's resistance to the exploitation in the every day life of the workers and peasants in their respective provinces must serve them a better teacher of the resistance movement than the resistance move-
ment in foreign countries.

Soon after the Citizenship College training, all the Colleges reopened. By July, 1945 all the first rank Congress and Student leaders were released. Inspite of of the All-India Students' Conference having held at Bombay where the Nationalist A. I. S. F. was changed to A. I. S. C., Mr. Zaidi, the General Secretary of the A. I. S. F. taking his stand on constitutional wrongs did not liquidate his General Secretaryship. The General Secretary of the A. I. S. F. unconstitutionally nominated Mr. Chandra Dutt Tiwari to act as the General Secretary till the new elections. As soon as the stu-
dent leaders were released, Mr. C. D. Tiwari convened a meeting of the W. C. of the A. I. S. F. at Calcutta to review their position and to reorganise the A.I.S.F. Coms. Zaidi, Balram Singh, Jaffar, Rameshwar Prasad Misra, Arubind Bose, Arun Sen and other student leaders from Bihar and Sind attended the Working Committee Meeting. In the subsequent meetings held in Patna, Delhi and Bombay, Arubind Bose was authorised to lead a deputation to the Congress High Command with a view to put the case of the A. I. S. F. before them. Further, when the A. I. S. C. met at Bombay, the Working Committee of the A. I. S. F. brought out a pamphlet explaining their point of view regarding the whole situation and pleaded for an arbitration or an impartial tribunal to give its findings. The A. I. S. C. and the C. S. P. decided to counteract the methods of the old A. I. S. F. This was done with a view to gain popularity among the students and sympathy of the Congress High Command and to avoid—the demand for the arbitration. This was done by two important tactics, that is, first by giving official reception on behalf of the A. I. S. C. to the released leaders by raising the A. I. S. C. slogans, secondly, to purchase the sympathy of Pandit Nehru by contributing 3,00,000/- rupees to the Kamla Nehru Hospital from the poor students. This contribution of 300,000/- rupees by the students' organisation to the Kamla Nehru Hospital calls forth a clear discussion which might pave the way for the students of India to understand their defects; and
further, this discussion may pave the way for our leaders not to misguide the students in future. We, as the national assets and future hopes of the nation, must understand our pit falls. Before going deep into the problem, it must be remembered that we pay our unequivocal homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives for the sake of the country irrespective of the party alignments. Further, we should also be clear about the fund that is raised by the A. I. S. C. and its different effects than that of the Kasturba fund which touches the heart of every man, woman and child in the nook and corner of the country. After levelling healthy criticisms we like to give concrete and constructive suggestions.

The main and important function of a student organisation is to serve the student community with a view to bring all students round the students’ banner and to take part in the country’s struggle. With all the humiliation, we have to admit the fact that there is much demoralisation among the poor students, be boy or girl students. When such is the case, can Kamla Nehru Hospital fund solve the pitiable condition of the poor students? Or can the Kamla Nehru Hospital bring all students round the banner of the students’ organisation? Or will this act bring the students round the student and national leaders in times of national crisis? These are the questions that confront a student of politics and a political worker. If there is any famine in a place, it is the duty of the
students to collect funds for it, because it is a national crisis. In India, there are many dummies, traitors and sycophants because of utter poverty. Will the act of raising funds for Kamla Nehru Hospital by students be helpful for the student community or for the poor students? Whether these acts are of any student organisation is questionable. On the part of the leaders like Pandit Nehru who accepts such funds from students is also unimaginable and unpardonable. It is nothing but misleading the students in wrong directions. On the part of the students it was done purely to purchase the sympathies of great leaders at a heavy cost for their own purposes.

What a student organisation should do with funds if collected? There are many ways of utilising funds for the benefit of the student community. They can give Rs. 20/- per mensem as stipend to a poor student on the condition that he must work in a prescribed Mohalla or Village for one hour a day to carry on constructive work. By this act the A. I. S. C. would have 15,000 students at their disposal for one full year. Or if they had purchased Magic Lanterns costing Rs. 500/- each, they would have 600 Magic Lanterns at their command. The student workers would have gone to every slum and village to educate the masses. Lucknow had collected Rs. 2,000/- for the fund. If they had set up one Poor Students' Library, many poor students would have been benefitted by this act. Many thousands such poor students' Libraries would have
come into existence on All-India scale. In what way the fund for the Kamlaji Nehru Hospital will benefit the student community?

By this deed, the A. I. S. C. indeed got the support of Pandit Nehru who asked the Federation to close its shop regardless of the manipulations of the C. S. P.

In December, 1945 the A. I. S. C. was to hold an All-India Students' Conference at Lahore for which preparations were set in motion and the delegates were about to start for Lahore to attend the students' Conference from their respective provinces. Meanwhile, new developments took place within the ranks of the Working Committee of the A. I. S. C. Some of them aspired to become President and General Secretary of the A. I. S. C. so much so alliances and counter alliances were made and manipulations were resorted to on an unprecedented scale, with the result that on one fine morning the president of the A. I. S. C., Com. Ramsumer Shukla, a Member of the C. S. P. announced to the students of India that the Students' Conference was postponed. The reason was not given by the president while unconstitutionally setting aside the decision of the Working Committee. Thus the policy of C. S. P. was dictated to the students of India.

In Calcutta the Working Committee met in the month of April, 1946 and passed a resolution ordering all the students in India to cut one meal a day towards Famine Relief Campaign. What a mighty con-
tribution to the student community and the country by the act of the A. I. S. C. Working Committee? This kind of incompetent persons who have no knowledge either of student activities or the country have manipulated to come into the Working Committee and placed a most regressive programme and policy before the student community and the country. What have they done with the money that was collected as delegates fee from the students and public money to run the unconstitutionally postponed Conference? Perhaps the money might have disappeared or spent in various ways.

Will not the world scoff at these somersaults, half-backed political tails who came into student politics with the aim of converting the student organisation into a party recruiting ground? Will not the Revolutionary Youths who are the products of the August Insurrection jeer at them? It is advisable that these office hunters should read the past history of the student movement and especially the proceedings of the Working Committee of A. I. S. F. 1937-38 and 1941 with a view to learn student politics. These are the student leaders who are trained in Citizenship College at Bombay and Dhera Dun to revolutionise the student community. The president who could rule out the decision of the W. C. and postpone the All India Students' Conference, had he not the powers to rule out this irrational resolution of directing the students to cut off one meal a day? Perhaps, he might not
have been in a position to distinguish between a rational and an irrational resolution.

The W. C. of the A. I. S. C. decided to send delegates to the World Students' Congress. They must be credited for this act; yet the usefulness of sending such a delegation by the present A. I. S. C. Working Committee serves no purpose either to the student community or the country. A student organisation should send its dynamic and progressive elements who would be immensely useful to the student community and the country. So many thousands have had visited in the past and to day are going abroad but to no purpose.

After re-opening of the colleges in 1946, W. C. has passed many resolutions and formed Sub-Committees creating portfolios after portfolios arming themselves in different Sub-Committees. It is to be seen whether party politics will give way to rational thinking. It must be said by their past acts that they should give way to other elements who have better experience and deep knowledge about the student movement, the present day to day problems, and the country. They should not plant themselves or their parties in the student movement, in the name of integrity and unity of the students and the country.

Throughout the length and breadth of the country, innumerable Conferences were held during these two long years where many controversial questions and ideological points were discussed.
During 1944 the Mysore Students' Congress organised a poor Student's Hostel in Bangalore City. The room rent was fixed at Re. 1/- a month. The messing arrangements were managed so efficiently that the charges amounted to Rs. 10/- a month only. The credit goes to Coms. Y. K. Rajgopal, Nagabushana, Krishna Iyer, Srikantappa, T. S. Subbanna, Vasanthiah and Siddiah. Com. Subbanna is a well known, respected and renowned Youth leader. He has spent 8 long years in jail. Vasanthiah is one of the founder of the student movement in Mysore State. Other comrades are the products of 1942 movement. If they dabble themselves in party politics it will be a blot on them and on the student movement in Mysore State. The student organisation offered a great co-operation to the government in carrying out the mass literacy campaign throughout the State. Students form the backbone of the State Congress.

Kerala has played a heroic role in the freedom struggle of 1942. It has organised the students on sound lines. They had trained many groups of students to carry out constructive programme. Many Sabhermaties are opened to give proper training to the the students. In 1945 they held an All Karnatic Students' Conference, and built a well knit organisation.

Maharashtra is a province which has organised the students on a mass scale and they have been given physical training. They have trained a good number of students.
Madras Students' Congress has organised a volunteer corps for which a Mysore Student leaders Mr. M. V. Kishnappa, should be credited. A number of Conferences were held during these two years in South India. A notable feature of the Madras Students' Congress is the presentation of a purse to the 'rebelled daugther of India,' Mrs. Arune Asaf Ali who flowered in Indian politics after 1944. Under the garb of Marxism and Congress Socialism, she is going round the country collecting funds for the C. S. P. from the poor students and citizens. We, the students of politics, do not mind if the C. S. P. leaders oblige themselves by accepting purses from citizens or capitalists. But it is regrettable to note that a revolutionary accepting purses from students. It reflects not only her ignorance of the meaning of the term "Revolution" in this age, but also of the student politics. It is unthinkable that a revolutionary can exploit the students for their party glorification. Perhaps, she might be ignorant of the deplorable condition of the poor students in South India. It is a pity that those who are not acqauanited with their own country and the student community call themselves 'revolutionaries' and 'Marxists.' Perhaps this book will make her understand the needs of the student community. The students who, present purses must be discouraged like wise.

The Bengal Student organisation has shown to the students of India, standard of organisation, of high intellectual attainments and ideological clarity. This has
been noticed of them from the beginning of the student movement in India. The students of Bengal gave birth to the Student Movement in India. They have heightened its spirit, raised its glory and elevated the position of the Student World of India. Their immense sacrifices have contributed a great deal towards the freedom struggle. The revolutionary students of Bengal led the revolutionary Movement in India in different phases which has to be unearthed without which the Modern History of India will be incomplete.

The students have to play a historic role to overthrow the foreign yoke. They will have to create disruption among the capitalists to divide and dislodge them and bring revolution for the establishment of Socialism. The student community, an ally of the progressive forces of the revolution, the proletariat and peasants, has great responsibility resting on its shoulders. And defects if not checked will be detrimental to the interest not only to the country but to the student community and the world at large. In the fifth Phase of the Indian student movement (between 1936-40) the U. P. student organisation has played a great role in organising the students of India under name of the All-India Students' Federation. The last of the U. P. Students' Conference was held in February, 1945 in Dhera Dun. Discussions on the subjects like "One Party One Leader" were ensued. The C. S. P. manipulated to capture the Provincial Organisation as soon as the A. I. S. F. liquidated itself at the orders
of the U. P. Congress Committee. The U. P. C. C. had formed one Committee to settle the desputes among the students. It is the only province where without the help of the student workers, the leaders or political parties cannot make a head way. The C. S. P. had some boys to raise its party slogans, other leaders also cropped up and followed the same tactics. According to the directions of the U. P. C. C. the old Nationalist A. I. S. F. had to liquidate its organisation and merged within the Students’ Congress. The U. P. S. C. has been fully controlled by the C. S. P. by dubious methods.

The last elections of the Provincial Student Organisation was held in Dec. 1940. Since fresh elections were not held till 1945. If any member of W. C. retires from student politics, the C. S. P. clique co-aps C. S. P. boy in his place. Hence the office-bearers of the U. P. S. C. are not elected but self-styled ones. This plan was very successful and the other elements were checked from coming on the platform and taking interest in the organisational matters. This could not last long. Human nature as such, it can allow humiliation and domination for some time under certain circumstances but it will not allow always. The students therefore rose in revolt against dictatorship of the C. S. P. In Lucknow in the month of August 23rd 1946, Mr. V. D. Tripathi, the famous leader of Unao and Acharya Jugal Kishore intervened and an award was given by the returning officer Sj. Birbal Singh for
the two groups, (L. S. C. and liquidated L. S. F. Nationalist group), in ratio of 15 : 10 with the same ratio in offices. The C. S. P. boys rejected the award of the returning officer and hence the students and the old Federationists rose in revolt. This was exhibited in a general body meeting of the students held in Lucknow University presided by Com. Banthiya an independent student leader. The dictatorial tone of the C. S. P. boys made the house and the nationalist group bring them down. Things reached to such a climax that the students went to the extent of passing no-confidence resolution on the C. S. P. boys. When they felt the pinch of the general students and the strength of the opponents, they had to call the U. P. S. C. Working Committee immediately and accepted the rejected award of the returning officer in toto.

The U. P. S. C. has given training to some students to organise volunteer corps. Unless it is free from party politics it cannot bring the student workers under its fold. Further, the U. P. S. C. has passed a resolution to present a purse of Rs. 10,000/- to Jaiprakash Narian. We do not know whether it is acceptable to the C. S. P. leader. Thus the C. S. P. in this province has played an unworthy part, making the student organisation the tail-end of the party. Dr. Lohia, C. S. P. leader went to Goa to liberate the people and fight for the Civil Liberties and Rights of the Goa people. Lucknow is the capital of U. P. and if one goes to the interior villages, one
would see with his own eyes the tear rendering and appealing poverty of the peasants. There are no schools, and either no public or private roads to walk. There is no punchayat house (Chawdi where outsiders can sit). The villages are like hilly places where people live in huts. The Harijan houses in Salem District which is 200 miles away from the capital, Madras, can be compared to the best houses in the far advanced villages of U. P. When this is the position in U. P., it is understandable for a political worker of 1946 or for a student of politics, how revolutionary leaders going either to Goa or Kashmir telling that there is much "Oppression, suppression, and repression" Indian politics reeks with the superstition, bigotry and blind faith. Aruna Asaf Ali was presented a purse of Rs. 17,000/- by Karachi merchants, and Mehrally in Bombay presented a purse of Rs. 1,00,000/-. Is it collected from Kisans and Labourers or from the capitalists? Is it not an encouragement of the capitalists to stem the growing tide of the leftism and revolution in India? There are innumerable acts and statements of the C. S. P. leaders which serve as food for thought to every one. Jaiprakash Narajan one of the founders and now the Ex-General Secretary of the C. S. P. has issued a statement wherein he has ex-pounded the differences between Rightists and the Leftists in India. According to him there are only three minor differences. First, C. S. P. does not believe in Non-Violence. Perhaps he might have for-
gotten that great majority of the Congress leaders are mere violent and more revolutionary than Sjt. Jaiparakash himself. Therefore, Jaiparakash's notion invites no consideration. Secondly, his notion is that "the Rightists believe only in parliamentary programme whereas the C. S. P. believes only in constructive programme," which is a valueless argument. Thirdly, "apart from establishing contacts with the masses through Mahatma's constructive programme C. S. P. believes in building up of Labour Unions and Kisan Sabhas."

This is, in sum and substance, the C. S. P.'s ideology as expounded by one of the founders of the party. We should leave it to the readers and the students to draw their own inferences. To-day the C. S. P. in U. P. has manipulated and captured the U. P. C. C. with alliances and counter alliances. They do not have any time to work in the villages or slums; still they think of glorious revolution. On more party namely Congress Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party', has come into existence in U. P., It is considered to be the Rightist's Party. No doubt, the stepping of Capitalists on the Labour and Kisan fronts is a deadly blow to leftism and the revolution in India.

But there is very little to distinguish between the Rightists and the C. S. P. On being invited to address the student gatherings these leaders who only dream of revolution make their presence not to enlighten the
students of their rights and duties but to explain the differences between themselves and Mahatma. Students have their own problems to rock their brains with and they are not bothered to know whether they are admired or decried by the Congress High Command or Mahatma.

During this phase, in summer vacation, constructive programme was carried out by the student workers. In the year 1944-45 Sjt Rameshwar Prasad Misra and the party collected Rs. 150/- and gave it to the wife of an August hero Rajnarian Misra who was hanged for the patriotic deeds in 1942. On the appeal of Sjt Feroz Gandhi, the student leaders had collected about Rs. 200/- and handed over to him, for the political prisoner's relief. In the vacation, Bhola Nath sinha and his party convened a workers' Conference and selected some villages to carry out constructive programme in accordance with Gandhiji's instructions.

In Cawnpore, the students of Agricultural College went on strike for months but for the intervention of the Congress Minister the strike would have assumed a tremendous scale throughout the province.

In 1945, at the end of the session, the students of Lucknow resorted to strikes and got their demands redressed. In the beginning of the year 1946 the students of Lucknow irrespective of their ideology joined the strike and achieved a tremendous success to
hold supplementary examination. The credit goes to Students' Congress and other student organisations.

Among all the events I N A trials and the students noble part is worth mentioning. The Communists traitors too with their heads hanging down with shame, went in the processions like herd of cattle to adjust themselves lest they may be haunted like male ghosts by the patriotic sons and students. All their subtle propaganda regarding I N A as the Fifth Columnist and as criminals had vanished into air. There was none to give them protection if they dared to raise their fingeures against those patriots.

During I N A trials Bengal again demonstrated its patriotic zeal, irrespective of caste, creed and religion. Hundreds of students and citizens had to be victims of the John Bull’s bullets. Assam also played a prominent role in 1942, so much so, nationalist student organisations were banned till 1944. Now they have organised. It must be remembered that the Assam Nationalist students have retained the old name “Assam Students’ Federation.

All over the country there were unprecedented strikes. In Lucknow, Mr. T. L. V. Setty of the Lucknow Students’ Congress, was severly injured and his head was broken by the police lathy charge. A Muslim student was killed on the same day. In Delhi, there was a lathy charge, many students and girls were arrested. In Rawalpindi students were injured and
many students were arrested. In Madura 3 students were killed when police opened fire on the students, and some injured students were taken to hospital.

It is remarkable that it is during this phase we envisage, the formation of the student organisations in important States like Jodhpore, Udaipur, Bundi, Bharatpur, Kotah and Vanastali. The credit of this goes to Sjt B. M. Bhantia, the student leader of Lucknow.

The special feature of the decade beginning from 1936 and ending with 1946 in the student movement, is the gradual trend of the student movement from 'Federation' towards 'Communalisation and Decentralisation.' In 1936, the student movement was driving at on a revolutionary plane not only to consolidate Indian students but students of the world. By 1946, the idea of 'Consolidation' vapoured into air and paved the way for 'Communalisation' and 'Decentralisation.' This tendency is very dangerous as it mars the unity and integrity of the Student Movement.
PART II

CHAPTER IX

Reactionary Student Organisations.

Revolutionary class in a Reactionary war cannot but wish the
defeat of it's own Government.” Lenin.

The Communist Party of India and its role in
Student Politics.

Many students took pride in styling themselves
as Communists. Before 1941 every one in India and
especially the student community had a soft corner for
them. The Communists had been the firmest anti-
imperialists and anti-war propagandists. Communism, the
badge of extremism, and to-day, the nationalism of the
upper classes and Communism of the Communist Party
of India, after all appears to have the same goal as the
Indian version of National Socialism. The influence of
the Communist Party has waned away when they changed
their policy on the war issue and on the struggle for
freedom in 1942. They changed this policy suddenly
without giving any rational and convincing reason, but
merely that since the Soviet entry into war had changed
the whole atmosphere of the war into one of the ‘Peoples
War.’ This change of policy was broadcast from the
platform of the All-India Students' Federation by the Communist students, who were installed in key-positions, with a view to make the student platform their recruiting ground. This policy culminated much dissension, so much so, they were disrespected and at the end, they were driven out from one local student organisation after another, till finally they formed a parallel organisation with the parental organisation, "The All-India Students' Federation." Their disapproval of the August insurrection, their anti-national and reactionary policy, their acceptance of the principle of self-determination for the Muslims as viewed by the Muslim League and their two nation-theory made the Communists the worst possible traitors in the eyes of the nationalist students and the nation. They were denounced as Fifth Columnists in the life-and-death-struggle of our Motherland. For the first six years of the existence of the All-India Students' Federation the Communist leaders made repeated attempts to capture the student organisation and staff it with the Communist students. At that time, the Communist Party was functioning on party basis in the student organisation and their efforts were in vain to capture it. But it succeeded in splitting the student movement. Whatever their role during and after the national struggle might have been, they played a notable
role in the student movement in India. Had it not been for their suicidal policy, the student community would have embraced the Communist's policy. Even to-day a few Communist students style themselves as patriots and try to exploit the fair name of the Augusters. It is our duty to find out the maladjustments, defects and failure of the party which might serve as lesson to the student community who are out to play a revolutionary role in future. Congress Socialists the carbons of the Indian Bourgeoisie had already taken to the old game of the Communists. But the student community must realise its responsibility and must withstand all the onslaughts of the ultra-revolutionaries. So, an all out scientific study of these problems is essential. Many of us do know that communist's policy is wrong and that it is enmical to the interest of the country. Where are they wrong? What made them to adopt such a reactionary policy? We are ignorant of them. These questions call forth a deep study of the party and its relations with the student community.

The Indian Communist party is a Marxist-Leninist party started in India in 1927 by people who believed in arms instruction not only to emancipate our Motherland but to establish Communism as in U.S.S.R. In the Conference
of the party held in 1944, according to the party's report, their membership has gone upto 25,000 with 2,500 whole time workers. Being Communists, they were firmest anti-imperialists. They believed in the working class organisation in the beginning of the party inception. As the Congress is a democratic organisation and is anti-imperialistic, the Indian Communists in 1936, thought that they could enter the organisation and capture it. There were other factors that contributed for them to come into the Congress organisation. They were telling that once they capture it they would make it a revolutionary organisation. When the C.S.P. was formed, many youths within the Congress were bursting with revolutionary ideas and the Communists were tempted to come into it to attract the youths. Communism as an ideology cannot be expected to make compromises with imperialism. India being an 'oppressed nation' the natural presumption is that the communists be they in India or Russia will always support all movements that are in open conflicts with imperialism. As an anti-imperialistic organisation, the Congress is expected to offer full co-operation to the Communist Party of India. In fact, the Congress did show its sympathy to the Communists when the Working Committee voted Rs. 1500/- for the defence of the prisoners in the Conspiracy Case, where the main charge against the accused was that they were the
communist party members. But the attitude of the communists towards the Congress has been strange avowedly antagonistic. In the year 1930, the Salt Satyagrah of the Congress was actually a movement of rebellion against the alien government, undertaken in accordance with the Independence resolution adopted at Lahore 1929 Congress session. Even after the Gandhi Irwin pact, events led to a breach between the Congress and the government. The government mercilessly started the repression as soon as Mahatma Gandhi returned from the Round Table Conference. The Communist party of India in 1933, in their manifesto about the Platform of Action declared, "The propaganda of non-violence of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders is intended to prevent a general national armed insurrection, of the toiling masses against the British rule........ And today Mr. Gandhi tells the peasants and workers of India that they have no right to and must not rebel against their employers. He tells them that at the very time when the British robbers are making an open war on the Indian people of the North-West province and throughout the country...... "the greatest threat to the Indian revolution lies in the fact, that the masses of our people still harbour illusions about the Indian National Congress and have not realised that it represents a class organisation of capitalists working
against the fundamental interests of the toiling masses of our country. "The National Congress has disorganised the struggle of the toilers in 1920-1921." From the above declarations of the Communist Party of India, we have to assume that the country was prepared for a universal uprisings in the country to wrest power from the British bureaucratic government and the Congress had foiled such a chance twice in 1920-1921 and in 1922-1933.

At this stage we must note why the Indian National Congress which could not accommodate and denounced the revolutionary upsurge from 1918 to the present day, gave not only shelter to the Communists but showed sympathy though the communists denounced the Congress organisation and its policy. As for instance, Com. Bhagat Singh's life was placed in the Mahatma's hands by the cunning John Bull government. Mahatmacondemned the revolutionary movement and gave verdict for the execution of Bhagat Singh while the country resented the act of Mahatma. When Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru were in the Punjab, the revolutionaries with flags, cried out, "we want the murderer of Bhagat Singh," pointing out to Mahatma. Mahatma could not face them and Nehru appealed to them with sugar coated words. This being the case, how can the Communist party of
India, a working class organisation, can work amicably with an organisation of capitalists which is fundamentally against the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These problems seek enough amplification on certain issues and will serve us as background for our study. Are these Indian Communists Revolutionaries? Who is a Marxist revolutionary? What is the character of a revolutionary party? Can a revolutionary party fight for power before creating a revolutionary situation to work out a revolution? How a revolutionary shoots an arrow with a definite aim to achieve his object? These are the outstanding questions that confront a student of current politics. The study of the Communist Party, their programme and policy and their attitude towards the Second World War and National Rising of 1942, will make the problems easier to understand. As far as the Congress is concerned, from 1906 to the present day, revolutionaries are looked down by the Congress High Command. All revolutionary movements were considered detrimental to the interests of the country. Men of action were not given any quarters and deliberately were kept out of sight. The old revolutionaries did not come into the fold of the so-called leftists because of power politics and lack of revolutionary character among the parties. But in 1934, old revolutionaries were drawn into the C.S.P. but were soon had to find their way out of the reactionary unrevolu-
tional policy of C.S.P. This is well brought out by late \( \text{\textit{N}} \)hulabai Desai who was appointed to give his final verdict in 1945 and to look into the charges levelled against the Indian Communists by Congressmen. In sum and substance, he stated that the C.S.P. was playing on the Communists and vice versa for power. Lenin rightly said, 'The Socialist parties are not debating clubs but organisations with fighting proletariat.' We cannot expect revolutionaries to be in such debating clubs as 'Closing one's eyes to catch sparrows or blind man trying to grab fish.' When Veer Savarkar's release came before Mahatmaji, he refused to take up his question. Such was the plight the Indian Revolutionaries were put into. How the C.S.P. and the C.P.I. were allowed to function in the Congress is a question that is to be discussed by the students of politics. All those who did not believe in the Congress ideal could not flourish and were hunted by the Congress High Command without distinction. And the revolutionaries too were forced by such circumstances, sought the help of these revolutionary leftist parties who were functioning within the Congress under the garb of Marxism and Leninism who exploited the masses and the intelligentsia. When once groups are formed, it is left to the Congress High Command to make these groups fight one another and gradually liquidate the groups.
When the war broke out in 1939, the Congress Ministries were in power. The Indian National Congress anticipated a crisis in India as the Congress did not believe that the British Government's aim was to fight for the establishment of freedom and democracy. The Congress High Command by a resolution at Wardha in August 1939, called upon the Congress Ministries to resign as soon as the final call was given. The war did come. The Congress asked the British Government to declare its war aims. The Viceroy's October Pronouncement was a masterpiece of ambiguity in phraseology which resulted in resignations from all Congress Ministries. The Indian National Congress implicitly declared their opposition to participate in the war. The Communists then, were anti-British as they had to be. They were in underground and unable to function in the open field. They wanted to capture the Congress organisation when once Congress had launched a mass movement. At that time, the Bengal committee of the Communist Party published a statement of policy and tasks that were ahead during the war period. Some extracts of the statement run as follows:

"The duty of the Indian people as a part of the international army of freedom and democracy is to unconditionally resist the war to achieve her own freedom, to weaken the British Imperialism."
The compromise between imperialism and Congress would be treachery to the cause of world democracy. 

It must be clearly recognised, however, that the movement against wars of freedom can acquire national dimension and can be really effective only when it is led by the Congress. Even satyagraha struggle, when launched by the Congress immediately assumes mass form of national scale and, therefore, acquires revolutionary possibilities, but when call for such an action is given by one tiny group, it becomes adventurous, disrupts the national movement and dissipates our forces." The Communist Party therefore wanted an opportunity to show its character and to make the national organisation revolutionary. This they considered as the 'Bolshevik' path.

"The main task at present is to seize the initiative in making preparations for the struggle through the Congress committees to raise the tempo and moods in favour of a struggle in such a way that the door to retreat and settlement would be effectively bolted. Thenceforth the chief task shall be to give the mass movement revolutionary content and form ........

.............."When the movement breaks through, all restrictions imposed on by the Gandhian technique of non-violence develop into mass insurrection against the imperialist rule and then and then only shall the capture
of power become the immediate prospective. The development, however, cannot be brought about in a day. We shall be able to direct the movement into revolutionary channels only in the measure in which we shall have embodied ourselves in the Congress."

Therefore, from the attitude of the Communist Party of India, they seemed as if they were the only revolutionary elements in the country and they were all out to give the coming struggle a revolutionary content and form with a view to capture the Congress and to establish Communism in India. Even in 1941 the attitude of the party remained anti-British and they were able to recruit new revolutionary elements into their party. In their July, 41 statement, they declared on Soviet-German war as follows:—

"The Communist Party of India declares that inspite of their gestures of help, the British and the American imperialists are still fighting an unjust and predatory war. Our chief slogan of the period is, of course, to convert imperialistic war into a revolutionary war". Upto this time, the Communist party of India was an illegal party in the eyes of the Government.

Whatever may be the structure of the party, only in times of action or in a crisis its character and policy can be seen. The revolutionary policy was given way to a.
reactionary one on 5th January 1941, when by a resolution in the All-India Students’ Federation at Patna, the Communist party for the first time, declared war as the ‘Peoples War’. All that had happened behind the scenes, what palavers with the Imperialist Government took place, has already been out for the information of the public. Com. Batliwala has thrown sufficient light on the subject. After discussing the policy that ought to be, we shall see what Batliwala speaks of the Communist Party. One is surprised to hear that a humble loyal servant of the British like, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, calling the Communists the ‘true sons of India’. And on the 23rd July 1942, the Government of India by a communiqué withdrew the ban on the Communist party of India because, ‘they had promised to help in the war efforts’. At the time when the Congress started ‘Quit India Movement,’ at a time when country was agog with the expectation of a mass movement on an unprecedented scale, at a time when the Congress leaders were promising a quick and short struggle, at a time when the fundamental structure of the government was at stake, the communists who were the only revolutionary elements in the country, ‘armed insurrection mongers,’ who were bidding at every time to give the national movement revolutionary form and content, sold
themselves to the British Imperialism, became pro British, counter revolutionary and enmical to the country. The Communists called the Congressmen fifth columnists, goondas and pro-Japanese. The India Labour Welfare Officer, Mr. Nambar openly declared that the Communist Party had been released to oppose the proposed Gandhian Movement and the revolutionaries. (A. P. I. News 23-7-42).

Now we must see how far they were correct in opposing the Indian National Congress. Marxism as an ideology is not expected to make compromises with imperialism. Why Lenin started the 'THIRD INTERNATIONAL'? "The Third International is confronted with the task of organising the forces of the Proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the Capitalistic Governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for political power, for the victory of Socialism."— Lenin. One studies Marxism-Leninism with a definite aim connecting with the actual Indian revolutionary movement and turns it to find a solution for the theoretical and practical problems from the Indian revolution. This is the attitude of shooting the arrow with an aim by a revolutionary 'aim' being the Indian revolution, and the 'arrow' being the Marxism and Leninism. When it is said, Marxism cannot be said to make compromises:
with imperialism, then we must know why it cannot make compromise with imperialism and how far the Indian communists are justified in making such an un-Marxian attempt. This leads us to understand the nature of imperialism in India.

Mr. K. S. Shelvankar in his book 'Problem of India,' analyses the position of a peasant under imperialism thus. "Where the peasant is concerned, imperialism is like one of those Diabolical Medieval controversies which enclose the victim in an iron case and stab him with a hundred sharp daggers. This is not one of its multifarious processes of exploitation but finds its way down to him, bleeds him and crushes him. Its revenue system robs him for purposes utterly unrelated to his welfare. Its political system tears him from the protection of his village, disarms him and places him under the policeman and the soldiers."

Let our students understand that the Revenue collected from the peasants and the workers amounts to 175 to 185 million pounds per annum in the normal years. In times of war by way of taxes, direct and indirect, revenues amount to more than 1200 crores of rupees but in return what do they get? Oppression suppression and repression. According to the statistical
data every one in India has to bear Rs. 5/14/- direct and indirect taxes. If a villager has ten people in his house he has to bear Rs. 60/- and the whole burden falls on one man. What is the protection that the imperialism has given him? Utter poverty, epidemic diseases, one meal a day and indebtedness. Not only were the Company's wars waged in India with the aid of peasants' money in the past, but its commercial and colonial establishments from Canton to St. Helena were also maintained out of the Indian blood. Very Imperialist exploit either in the Eastern or Western hemisphere was like was financed out of the Indian resources. Military expeditions to Ceylon and Singapore, Nepal, Afghanistan, wars in Persia, China, Burma; the Boers War of Africa—all these exploits were charged on the poor peasants and workers. It is not the British forces but the life blood of the Indian peasants and coppers wrung out of the Indian workers that helped them to build the British Empire. 'Give them an inch and they will ask for an ell' commenting on the British, they behaved like a pack of hungry wolves or vultures', said Herbert Spencer. 'It is the love of money that made the English so unscrupulous in her dealings with India. The British rule in India is nothing but snobbery, robbery and jobbery.'
The Great War of 1914—1918 costed India £250 millions equivalent to rupees 350 crores. Added to these little sums, the total volume of the Government or the Public debts of India stood in the neighbourhood of £900 millions. Further, an estimate of the total investment covered by different items are worked out by one of the ablest of the younger economists in India and they are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sterling debt</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Estimated British share of the rupee debt</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Estimated British capital of that part of 'Home Charges' which is in excess of the interest</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Estimated Private investments</td>
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Total sum is £1140 millions or 1,710 crores of rupees.

It must be noted that the Home Charges alone since 1834 are estimated to add up to £1500 m. or Rs. 2250 Crores. Every year we pay a huge amount to our rulers by way of trade and many other unquestionable ways. Their total is incalculable. Besides such capital as has been applied to economic development, not only the interest on it but the profits even are taken out of the country, leaving India nothing more than the meagre wages per head. As for instance, Kolar Gold Fields of
Mysore, is a vivid illustration as to how the British Imperialism had sucked the Indian blood to its brim. According to the statistical data of 1940—41, the figures are as follows:

The paid up capital of the Company is ₹15,78,722 or Rs. 2 crores, Profits amounted to £3,76,45,038 or Rs. (about) 52 Crores, Dividends amounted to £2,67,86,981 or Rs. (about) 40 Crores. The Royalty that has been paid to the government up to the present day amounted to £53,93,406 or (about) 8 Crores rupees. We shall leave it to readers to estimate the profits that go out of India through the British Firms.

The control over Indian-India (States) is still more interesting. The rulers take shelter under the British and exploit the masses to an unprecedented scale. Mr. Shelvanker's words are worth remembering. "Unchecked and bare faced exploitation on the part of the rulers, bringing servility and abysmal despair on the part of the ruled, enveloped on a footed atmosphere of the vice and corruption. The states are picturesque with picturesque-ness of a rotting carcass."

How the masses are exploited under the protection of the British troops is heart rending to study. The small state Rajkot which consists of seventy villages with seventy thousand people, the ruler is given a sum Rs. 50,000 a
month. The Maharaja of Mysore is given Rs. 7,720 a day. His dewan is paid Rs. 164-10-6 a day, whereas an ordinary man in India to-day earns only two annas three pies a day. Our Viceroy is paid 21,000 rupees a month, whereas the British Prime Minister is paid Rs. 6,000/- a month. Japan Prime Minister was paid Rs. 680/- a month. Who is to account for the small sums paid out of the toiling masses? In Bikaner State for instance 1.6% of its total revenue is spent on Medicine, 1.5% on Education, 32.6% on palace expenses. In Kashmir 19% of its revenue is spent on state forces, and 16% on the Privy purse, but only 3.5% on Medicine and 0.2% on agriculture. Sjt. Kripiani has given a vivid picture of the position of Gorgeous, a community in Jaipur State. There are thousands of slaves without personal rights of any kind. They are owned by the Rajas and nobles and no girl is allowed to marry unless they get the permission of the nobles. They can utilise the women flock as they like and their acts are unquestionable. They are barred from the Law Courts. It is the worst type of slavery existing. It is not the loyalty of the people but the iron hand of Imperialism that keeps them on what Lord Kurzon once described as their "Divine of indulgence."

What is more of Imperialism, 'protection' is the keynote; "protection of the British trade, of British Capital,
of the British army, of the services, of the princes, of the landlords and of minorities. The only interest that it does not protect is that of the 'Masses', of the peasantry, the workers and the middle classes. "To protect can only mean to protect them against exploitation. How can imperialism whose essence is exploitation, offer such protection."

How can a Marxists—Leninist party make compromise with such an imperialism. So far we have discussed imperialism and its relation with the Marxist-Leninist party. Now let us make a thorough study of the Communist stand in 1941 on the war issue and the Indian insurrection of 1942. We have raised certain issue in this chapter under the heading "Revolutionary movement and the Indian National Congress" and we have to ponder over it.

Lenin in his book "The war and the International" deals exhaustively the position of Marxists in times of a reactionary war. He points out, "a revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but wish the defeat of its own government." This shows how a Marxist views a revolutionary situation. For a Marxist there is no doubt that a revolution is impossible without revolutionary situation. Lenin described
bed the general characteristics of revolutionary situation as follows:—"1. It is impossible for the ruling class to maintain their power unchanged; there is crisis of "Higher Up" taking one form or another; there is a crisis in the policy of ruling class; as a result of which there appears a crack through the dissatisfaction and the revolt of the oppressed class burst forth. If a revolution were to take place, it is usually insufficient that 'one does wish a way below' but it is necessary that 'one is capable of up above' to continue the old way; 2. The wants and sufferings of oppressed classes become more acute than usual; 3. in consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses who in peace time allow themselves to be robbed without protest, but in stormy times are drawn both by the circumstances of the crisis and by the "higher ups" themselves into the independent historic actions. Without these objective changes which are independent not only of the separate groups and parties, but even separate classes, a revolution as a rule is impossible. The existence of all these objective changes are called "a revolutionary situation". Are the same objective changes prevailed in length and breadth of country? More than all these, Indians did not whole heartedly support the war issue, with the result:
that men for the army and money were not forthcoming. The Government adopted all its available means to create famines, which were the only cause for the poor stricken drum driven cattle to join the army to save their skins. No where in the history of the world people were put to such inhuman troubles. Were not these objective changes quite sufficient to give a revolutionary ‘content and form’ to the raising national ‘upheaval’?

In “Marxism and the national colonial question”, Stalin said, “strength of the national movement is determined by the degree to which the wide strata of the nation, the proletariat and the peasantry, participate in it.” When the above principle is applied to our national uprising of 1942 what do we find? The congress ministry has been a strong national movement sufficient to gladden the hearts of the Communists. When a national movement does not assume mass character “It is converted into a series of petty coalitions of regeneration into squabbles of signboards.” (Stalin) Even from Stalin’s point of view, Indian Communists of 1942, not only proved themselves to be non-revolutionary but their reactionary policy was detrimental to the very revolutionaries Trotsky says in ‘History’ of Russian Revolution, ‘to introduce evasiveness into a revolution is the most imaginable
destructive policy’. Further, he continued, ‘Indicisiveness is the worst possible condition in the life of a government, nation, class as also of individuals and revolutionaries’. All these questions probe us to know whether the communists are revolutionaries? So far no one was vividly described the character of a revolutionary. According to a Marxist, a revolutionary knows two things, that is, ‘hate’ and ‘love’. In other words, the whole character of a revolutionary centres round these two important factors ‘hate’ and ‘love’. He hates all that is bad and loves all that is good. D.S. Mirsky, in his book “Russia” throws light on the definition of a Russian Revolutionary, “the typical revolutionary was a man with a single purpose, whose knowledge of life might be extensive and profound, but was purely practical—like an intelligence officer’s knowledge of the enemy.” Further, he says, “the peculiar conditions of the life of the Russian Revolutionary could breed men of colossal willpower and ascetic discipline, which in combination with intellectual genius could produce such figures as Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin etc.” Can a revolutionary party fight for power at its infant stage? Unless and until the revolutionaries take cognizance of the prevailing conditions in our country, no matter, to what extent one’s knowledge of Marxism and revolution in different countries, it will
be fruitless. Meo Tse-Tung, in May 1941, at the meeting of Venar Caders said, "many students of Marxism-Leninism can refer to Greek history and recite maxims of Marx, Engle and Lenin, but, I am sorry to say, they have forgotten their forefathers. Since they know nothing of their own country, there remains for them only Greek and foreign stories (limited to stories only) which are pitifully enough found among the old paper heaps in foreign lands and shipped here in almost abstract form." What is the position of the Communists in our country? If the revolution that is visualised is to be successful, if it is to be spontaneous, then the political and class consciousness and enlightenment of the masses are the only ways for it. How many people have understood their rights and duties and the present day to-day problems? In some of the States in Rajputana, slavery of the worst type prevails. Our villages, cities, and towns can be compared to pre-Marxian era. If the Communist Party of India has 25,000 members on its roll 2500 mass meetings a month will rouse the dumb millions from their age long slumber. Instead, they indulge in power-politics, so much so, that all the revolutionary elements either become reactionaries or leave the party. Minsky says, "for the first time the Russian people produced organised body of politically conscious working men who knew what they wanted and how to obtain it." As for the Bolsheviks, all their activity since 1905 was nothing but preparation for the second revolution. The every day man who was just beginning to wake up politically, listened to the speeches with rupture.
During the February Revolution, an elderly man of sombire aspect dressed as a worker angrily objected in a meeting and declared, "We will be able to divide the houses and lands ourselves, and without your archives."

When we look to the Communist party of India in 1942, the so-called ultra-revolutionaries and the congress Socialists disowned and disrespected Subhash in Tripuri Congress Session in 1940. Not only they stabbed one another for sheer power but played an opportunist role against Subhash. Subhash Chandra Bose in his presidential address in the fifth All-India Students' Federation at New Delhi in 1940, said, "the want of unity among the leftists themselves well-nigh unnerves an ordinary mortal. Remember Comrades, that the left movement is on its trial. Its future will depend upon how you and I come out of this ordeal. He warned the leftists the rifts that existed among themselves and appealed to the students to co-operate with him in his efforts". Let us see how in Russia, all the leftists united in the common cause even though there were fundamental differences with one another ideologically. In the time of revolution all the leftists took an oath as follows:—"We swear by our children, by God, by the heavens, the earth and by all things that we hold sacred in the world, that we would never relinquish the freedom bought with blood on date. We give an oath to march forward under the lead of these parties and not stopping even at the death." Such were the revolutionary parties in Russia. Are these Communists and Congress Socialists revolutionaries? It is a pity to note that the Communists call themselves
in their paper revolutionaries. Mr. Mehrally can give any certificate as ‘rebel daughters and sons of India.’ From any angle, the communists’ role during the war and 1942, is non-Marxian and unscientific. The Communal problem as represented by the communists is much more cynical and so unscientific that it calls our attention. The Communal problem is exhaustively dealt in the chapter 10 “The Communal Student Organisations.” We have studied how a Marxist views the problem—‘The problem of Minorities, the ‘Muslims’.

When they were out to oppose the national sentiments and the Congress, they carried on their backs firstly, ‘Two Nation Theory’, after a while they changed it to ‘Hindustan and Pakistan’ and subsequently, they stand to-day for ‘United India’ Comrade Palme Dutt, from Delhi issued a statement that the communists too stand for ‘United India.’ The term ‘Nation’ has been defined in an innumerable ways to suit one’s own logic. In no country, a communist who is considered to be a revolutionary will have a compromise with a capitalist or see that the capitalists are united. We have discussed this aspect already as to how a communist will try to divide the capitalists with a view to dislodge them for the victory of the proletariat and for the establish-
ment of Socialism. That is the reason why Lenin started the 'Third International'. How can the communists preach unity among the capitalists, the Congress High Command and the Muslim Rajas? They carried it still further for the unity among the Congress, the League and the Communists of 1942. It is not the conviction or the ideology that matters but opportunism and muddle-headedness. "For the class-conscious workers, socialism is a serious conviction and not a comfortable cover to hide petty-bourgeois Compromises or a tendency of a nationalist". Lenin. Marxists always think of civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries for political power and for the victory of Communism. Though the Communists are snubbed, ill-treated by the Muslim Leagues, in the name of integrity of the country and with a stock of false quotations from Marx, Engle and Lenin they preached the two nation theory, 'Pakistan' and 'Hindustan'. How a Marxist views a 'nation'? Religion in dialectic materialism has been discarded as a commodity repellent to human progress. If the Communist Party of India preaches dogmatic religion as the basis for the nation concept, one must say that they are not 'communists or Marxists and proletarian in character'. In 'Marxism and the National and Colonial question," Stalin has explained the term
'Nation'. When we consider Stalin's position we have to dismiss the Indian Communists notion of 'Nation' without any consideration. They are guilty of false personification, they are misqueirding under the name for which they are not entitled and as such they must be considered as most dangerous traitors, and the fact that they failed to do their duties as Marxists, is their betrayal, their political death, their repudiation of their role, their joining the side of the bourgeoisie. They have signed their death warrent before the miliant youths of this country by a reactionary and anti-national policy.

Having analysed the party's role in Indian political arena, we must see the statement of one of the Central Committee member who severed his connection with the party. No doubt, the whole nation is against them. The judgement of the masses is not of course infalliable. But it is not crude mistake to think and imagine that the masses are blind and credulous. "When versions touching men are contradictory, and those appreciated by the masses itself are nearest to the truth," Trotsky. Comrade Batliwala said," I am thoroughly convinced that I could not trust the "bona-fides" of my comrades or rely on them to work honestly in the movement for the achievement of Indian freedom. The conviction to separate harked dawning on me by stages when I began to find that the policy as was explained to me to be the policy-
of the party, was not followed, in practice. For instance, the policy of the party was that no alliance could take place between the communists and the imperialist agents. Many other things also followed. I accidentally landed on a file about whose existence even as a member of the Central Committee of the party I was not aware. It was a 'confidential file' which was exclusively for use of the members of the Political Bureau only. This file contained correspondence between Com. P. C. Joshi and Sir Reginald Maxwell, in their capacities as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India and the Home Member of the Government of India. Mr. Joshi secretly maintained through his confidential party members with the Intelligence Department of the General Head Quarters of the Army of India. He has not cared to make this public. I challenged him to contradict me when I say he detailed certain party members without the notice of the Central Party Members or the rank and file of the party to be in touch with the Army Intelligence Department and supply the C. I. D. chiefs with such information as they required against the nationalist workers, who were connected with the 1942 struggle or against Government of Nataji Subhash Bose. I do not know the full enormity of the crimes perpetrated
by these communists under the leadership of P. C. Joshi.

"Men fired with revolutionary zeal came to the party and within a period of six months, they were reduced to mere automatous through the insistance and effective assertion of the party discipline. "Such wastage of good honest revolutionary material in this country is horrible.

"I have lost respect for them even in personal capacity as persons whose characters I can vouch for. The parting was inevitable. Jai Hind."

From the above statement we can understand how far the present Communist Party is degenerated, degraded and disrepected in the eyes of their own comrades and countrymen who are out to bring out the much expected revolution in our country.

In 1920, under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai, the lion of the Punjab, the All-India Trade Union Congress was first born. Due to the tireless propaganda and agitation, through press and platform by the Trade Union Congress which consist of different groups with conflicting ideologies and personal squabbles, and by earnest workers, class consciousness has been roused in the Indian workers to a considerable degree. And to-day, the proletariat and kisans, their brothers-in-arms, are on the march towards Socialism,
having realised that only the establishment of a Socialist State in India, the exploited, oppressed and downtrodden poor workers and kisan can be happy and prosperous. In 1918 itself, Messrs Wadia, Kalyanasundaram, Mudaliar and their colleagues conducted a successful strike in the textile mills of Batty & Co, Madras. The workers triumphed in this and their demands were fulfilled. Shweelbhodra Yajee summed up the success as “The success of this Strike has been written in letters of gold by the Madras Labour Union in the history of the Trade Union Movement in India.” The high water mark in the history of the Student Movement and Labour Movement in India and the greatest contribution for the enlightenment and progress of India can be traced to Bengal Student Movement and the Madras Labour Movement. Messers Wadia, B. Shiv Rao, Kalyanasundaram, Mudaliar and their colleagues being the members of the Theosophical Society, took a keen interest and formed Madras Labour Union and this was the first Trade Union to embrace the red flag.

But the Communists here too played most disruptive role from time to time, with a view to capture the Unions. If the policy of the Communists was bad in the student movement, in the Trade Union it was worst. When their influence was not felt, be it a Student Organisation or Trade Union, they tried to disrupt
them and finally they would set up parallel organisations.

In the year 1928, the central section of the Trade Union Congress, composed of Mukundlal Sircar, Subhash Chandra Bose, Ruikar Tinwala, Chandrika Prasad, Kedgikar Jatin Mitra, Zulmiran Choudhry, Rajaram Shastri and Pandit Nehru, the president of the session, tried hard to prevent a resolution “Pan-Pacific Federation,” from being moved, because they, with foresight, saw the prospect of split in the Trade Union Movement in our country. The Communists were out for a split and adopted all unknown methods for the success of the battle.

In 1933, the A.I.T.U.C. session could not be held because, the T.U.C. though, organised on the class struggle, sympathised always, with the aspiration of the Indian National Congress in the fight for freedom struggle; and to gain time and avoid the Annual session Com. Deshkhande was not keen in holding the session.

The struggle in 1942, was solely run by students on the one hand and the workers and peasants on the other. They realised that without the emancipation of our motherland, they cannot achieve the objects for which they are striving for, namely, the establishment of a Socialist-State. Com. Deshpande, being the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, his hands were full in opposing the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement and making vicious propaganda against
the Congress leaders. Further, it was stated that the session was not held lest the workers may decide in the session in favour of the Congress stand. On the Independence Day 26th January 1930, he and his comrades insulted the Indian National Congress Flag, by burning the flag on the Choup-paty publicly. Later the Communist Party expressed their deep regret in a public statement admitting their policy of 1930 to be a mistake. It is surprising to note, inspite of Com. Deshpande, the General Secretary of A.I.T.U.C., remaining outside, after the arrests of Subhash and other members of the Working Committee of the A.I.T.U.C. he did nothing to move into the matter of affiliation of A.I.T.U.C. with the Pan-Pacific Federation in accordance with the resolution that was passed at Nagpur session. He was all the time busy in settling the differences and personal squabbles between the Communist Party of India and the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress. In the next session at Calcutta, the Communist Party of India wanted to move the resolution that had been already moved in the last session regarding the resolution on the Pan-Pacific Federation, but was ruled out by the Chair. This was sufficient for them for a split hence the existence of a parallel Trade Union in 1931, 'The Red Trade Union Congress'. This was done because after many Herculean efforts to convert the A.I.T.U.C. into an Communist Organisation, they met with disastrous consequences. Before concluding the Calcutta
session, another unhappy incident had occurred. Com. Deshpande the General Secretary of A.I.T.U.C. failed to submit the statement of accounts after repeated requests. When he was reluctant to submit the accounts, Subhash being the president, tactfully hushed up the matter with a view to save the self-respect and dignity of those revolutionary comrades whose ideology and principles are open to question on many fundamental issues. The Communists were getting nervous of any demand of a report of the A.I.T.U.C. in the open session, for that would have meant complete loss of face for them.

One more striking incident will bring home to us how the Communists can change their feathers to suit their own taste. Com. Kadelkher, who joined Com. Deshpande in burning the national flag, had fallen out of the Communist Party soon after the incident. This sudden change of policy is un-understandable either to a Marxist or to a student of current politics. This glaring act can be seen during and after 1941 and 1944 among the Communist students and the Congress Socialist students. Added to these, when the growing power of the A.I.T.U.C. was increasing, the Communist 'Red Trade Union' again merged into the A.I.T.U.C. with a view to fight the leftists and others within the organisation. If their 'Red Union' had not merged within the all-India body
the communists would have been wiped out of the entire labour front in India. The Communists and the Royists were left unguarded and unchecked in 1942 to make use of the critical times of the country for their own selfish use.

According to Lenin, there was no justification whatsoever for the splits caused in Labour Movement, Student Organisations or unity among the leftists either in peace time or in crisis till they over-threw the power of the capitalists and the Bourgeoisie Governments. Lenin, in his Left-wing Communism, has condemned the revolutionaries for the formation of the rival Trade Unions, Student Unions and Peasant Unions when they could easily penetrate into the Unions by dint of their sacrifices, sufferings and to enlighten the masses, the proletariat, the kisans and the students who are the only vanguard of the revolutionary movement. Lenin says, "But the German 'left' Communists are guilty of just this stupidity when, because of the reactionary and counter revolutionary character of the heads of the Trade Unions, they jump to the conclusion that it is necessary to leave the Trade Unions, to refuse to work in them, to create a new and fantastic form of labour organisation. This is unpardonable blunder that would entail service the communists would render Our Mensheviks, like all opportunists,
Social Chevinists, Kantaskist trade union leaders, are nothing more nor less than agents of the bourgeoisie in the Labour Movements. To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward working masses under the reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, labour aristocrats or bourgeoisie field-workers.

"And it is imperatively necessary to work wherever the masses are to be found. Every sacrifice be made, the greatest obstacles must be overcome, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, stubbornly, insistently and patiently, precisely in all those institutions, societies and associations to which the proletarian or semi-proletarian masses belong, however ultra-reactionary they may be.... And the revolutionary, but foolish, Communists stand by shouting 'the masses and masses', and refuse to work within the trade unions, because they are reactionaries, and invent a brand new, 'pure workers' unions guiltless of the bourgeoisie-democratic prejudice.... It is necessary to withstand all these to agree to any and every sacrifice, and, even if need be to resort all sorts of devices, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge in order to penetrate into the trade unions to remain there and carry on Communist work in them at all costs."
We have made a thorough study of the Communist Party, its policy and its defects and its role in Indian Politics. We have also seen, how the communist students were working on a party basis in the student organisation. In every All-India session the party sent deputies to manipulate students and recruit the new ones among the students. As for instance, in 1936 Com. Batliwala was sent by the party to the all-India session. In 1937 Com. Ansar Harwani was deputed from the Aligarh University to the All-India Session, Lahore, but later on he left the party disgusted by their party politics. There was a split at Madras in the All-India Session, but it was bridged after three months strenuous efforts.

As soon as they wanted to start the parallel organisation unmindful of the consequences, all their revolutionary slogans and programme vanished into the air. Their too much insistence upon cultural and constructive activity and a deliberate attempt to avoid all important political issues at a time when the torch of war had set nation after nation on fire, and when the nation was passing through one of its most exciting and crucial moments of history and was engaged in a grim struggle against all forces of reaction, and ruthless imperialism.
the attitude of the Communist students gave some glimpses of the shape of things to come. The character of the Second World War according to them, remained Imperialist and after the German attack of Russia miraculously changed its continuance for about six months and one fine morning it became a ‘People’s War.’ The decision of the party was broadcast on the student platform which was the recruiting ground for them by the deputies Dr. Ashraf and Prof. Hirin Mukerji. The details of the Conference and the rupture is given in the Chapter VII, “Fifth Phase of the student movement in India”. The verdict of the students in a mammoth gathering and the vote of no confidence by the general students of Patna too is given in the same chapter.

At this juncture we have to ponder over how the revolutionaries recruited their members from among the students and how the Communists who were considered most revolutionary by their mouth-piece, the Communist Paper. Most potent students went over to the old revolutionaries who were harrassed by the Government. Ceaseless search was made from house to house in times of action and when they were caught they took poison and died instead of giving themselves up to the bureaucratic governments. If they were spared by the government they would have proved worth the salt. For them
the honour of their country, honour for freedom, was more important than their lives. Whereas the Communist recruits for whom their country’s honour was not as great as the honour to save their skins from the Government. If the Communists were really revolutionary they would have given a mighty blow with other Leftist parties to the wavering British Imperialism. Instead they became bed-fellows.

The communist students under the leadership of Comrade Farroqui left the All-India Students’ Conference after announcing their decision about the War and created utter confusion amongst students. In short, the politics crept in, and political parties grew up within the All-India Students’ Federation. The Communist group made efforts to capture the All India Students’ Organisation for six times but in vain. They repeated the same drama at Nagpur but succeeded in splitting up the student movement by starting a rival student organisation. Let us see what our leaders said about the Nagpur Historic Split.

Mahatma Gandhi said, “I have great regard for Dr. Ashraf’s abilities. I have never questioned his love for his country but I am positive, he will one day be sorry for the wrong guidance he is giving to the Student World”.
Acharya Narendra Dev, the leader of the Congress said, “Do not be misled by those who are destroying the Students’ unity and are styling the evil results of their deeds as ‘Historic Necessities’.

Shri Jai Prakash Narain, the leader of the Congress Socialist Party in a message to the special session of All-India Students’ Conference, Benares, February 1941 said, “The Nagpur Split is a result of the efforts of a particular Political Party to make the All-India Students’ Federation its Party platform. The strongest proof of it has been given by the leader of that party, Dr. Ashraf. He was deputed by his party to guide the Conference....... The guidance given by Dr. Ashraf can only harm the student movement. Unless you check the disruptive tendency, the future of the movement is dark.

Sj. S. K. D. Paliwal, President of the Provincial Congress Committee, speaking about the efforts of Farooqui Group in U. P. says:— “I am extremely grieved to learn of the attempts on the part of some students to set up a rival Students’ Federation in the name of the Ad Hoc Committee both in the country as well as in our Province................. To create divisions in the thick of fight is to help Imperialism......... .........I hope, the student community will faithfully follow the advice given by Mahatmaji in a letter to Mr. M. L. Shah General Secretary A. I. S. F.”
Nagpur Times in its Editorial dated 26th December 1940 wrote as follows:— "We cannot help remarking that there has been incredible bungling in the handling of a delicate situation both by the President Prof. Hiren Mukerji and the Reception Committee ................. and what are we to say of the Reception Committee which cleanly forgets its own role as host and joins hands with one section displaying the attitude of uncompromising partisanship".

The assumption that the National Front Group, Communist, alone is progressive and others, C.S.P., Forward Block, Royists, Gandhites and Politicals are decadent is confronting but contrary to Facts.”

What was Dr. Ashraf Guidince.

"Split is a Historical Necessity."

"The student movement must march on leaving the decadent elements behind. (Nagpur Times 26th December 1940.),

After creating a split at Nagpur they started shouting the word "Unity". Nearly a month after the split, Mr. Farooqui approached Mr. M.L. Shah at the time of All India Students' Convention at Benares, presided by Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, for a settlement of disputes. Mr. M. L. Shah referred to the Arbitration of Mahatama Ghandi and his decision to be final in all matters for which the later did not agree. Thereafter, Mr. Farooqui wrote
a letter to Ghandiji on 9th March, 1941. In reply to his letter Ghandiji asked him that "all disputes should be referred to an impartial tribunal accepted by the parties. Its findings should be accepted as final and binding on all the parties." Fully aware of their misdeeds of their group they slept over the advice of M. Muntahiji and began creating confusion amongst students as to their organisation was genuine and Mr. M. L. Shah was not prepared to compromise.

Further, a sporting offer was given by the Working Committee of the A.I.S.F. to the Eurooqui Group to come to a settlement, after a deep consideration. The offer was as follows: "The committee considered the various compromise formulas sent to it by the group which left the students' Federation at Nagpur. The Committee while reiterating their faith of the policy of an united platform for all the students, was of the opinion that any compromise merely on the basis of distribution of seats on the Working Committee between the different groups in the Federation was undesirable and unworkable. It is the Committee's considered opinion that the main basis of the compromise is a common programme acceptable to students. . . . . . . . . "With a view to clear the misunderstanding and undo the mischief deliberately caused by the group which has left the Federation and further to prove its bonafide, the Working Committee reserved that
an investigation committee consisting of five impartial and important public men be appointed to find out as to who was responsible for the split at Nagpur. The party responsible should liquidate itself, appologise and merge itself in the A. I. S. F. Out of the five members, two to be nominated by the A. I. S. F. and two by the said group, the fifth man being acceptable to all the four members to act as chairman. The chairman to have only a casting vote in case of tie."

This offer was thrown out by the Working Committee of the A. I. S. F. but the Indian Communists instructed their boys not to commit themselves lest they may sacrifice everything for the sake of the country. All these changes had become easy for the students to understand them in their true blooming colours. The underlying motto of their leader Dr. Ashraf, in characterising the split in the students, ran as a 'Historical Necessity' had become unambiguously clear. Apart from its damaging consequences, this split was a historical necessity, at least for them in the sense that they could push their policy of dividing the country and helping the anti national forces when it suited them. They were historically, in search of a favourable opportunity to sacrifice the cause of 40 crores of teeming population.

When the national struggle began, the Communist Party of India with their students were busy in inform-
ing the Police and the Intelligentsia Department about
the movements of the revolutionary elements, and carried
on anti-national propaganda. They became honest and
worthy sons of the soil in the eyes of the govern-
ment. They were busy all the days in disturbing the
meetings and carrying on war propaganda for the
victory of Imperialism. They with other reactionary
forces have had at their command all the means of civilised
propaganda in rich abundance. The use of microphones
became the fashion of the day. While school and college
students had been deprived of textbooks which could not
be printed on account of control of paper, the Commu-
nists and the other forces indulged in paper debauchy.
Many of examinations could not be held on account of
the lack of the supply of papers. In Colleges some of
the First Year Classes were promoted without examina-
tions but the Communists had at their disposal tons of
paper and could run one Party 'Paper' and another a
'Student,' which was virtually the same as the Party
Paper. While the existence of the Nationalist students
could not be tolerated by the government, the Commu-
nist students could run the rival A. I. S. F. Workers'
Conference from 25th to 30th November 1943 at Bom-
bay. They issued a manifesto of 16 pages and
they were dumped in every part of the country. Many
people thought that facts are exaggerated and
Batliwalas statement was taken to be anti propaganda against the communists. But who is to account for their misdeeds? Every year the Communist students held their Conferences, gathered like clouds and down-poured speeches and disappeared after taking money from government. They indulged in such a false propaganda which is unimaginable. In their student manifesto they stated that their total strength of the students were 80 thousand members! In the whole of the Mysore State there were not more than 10 Communist students. In Lucknow their Federation did not consist of more than 26 members in 1945 but 20 delegates to the so-called A.I.S.F. Conference held in Calcutta, were sent. Another striking example is, the 1943 Workers' Conference held in Bombay which was attended by 93 delegates representing the whole Student Community from Kanya Kumary to Himalaya having 80,000 members in its roles. After 1943 from every place they were driven out of the organizations. In 1944 the Bombay City Students' Conference was held and the delegates were elected by the College authorities. Out of 710 delegates, there were a great number of 15 communist students who were elected under the pretext that they were Nationalists students. Whenever the nationalists collected money and cloths for the Bengal famine, the Communists gave publication in their
paper to the effect that it was their contribution. No doubt, in places where the nationalist students were haunted by the government, the communists to save their skins form the public had to do some sort of work. In the later period, these revolutionaries, appealed to the students to take up to constructive work like Khadi Prachar, observing fasts etc. etc. But public memory is not short. In the name of the country, in the name of the humanity, democracy and socialism, it will be better to see that such irrational anti Marxists should liquidate their party.

**RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE STUDENT COMMUNITY IN INDIA**

*Com. Menobendra Nath Roy*, the founder of the Radical Democratic Party of India, had played a notable role in India in the freedom struggle till the end of thirties of the present century. He belonged to the revolutionary type. It is very pathetic to note of sudden change of policy in him after 1930. He is considered the most renowned revolutionary not only by the movement but by the whole nation. There were two revolutionary parties, ANUSHILAN SAMITY and ANTAR PARTY, as early as in 1906. Both the had acknowledged the leadership of Rash Behari who was deported by the government and subse-
sequently, he went over to Japan Govt. as was one of the chief pillars of the Indian National Army for some time between 1941-44. The main object of starting the above parties was to drive the British by a revolution. The preparations were made from 1908 to bring out a revolution. They formed an alliance with the German Government in 1914 and expected much help from them. Rash Behari Ghosh left India in disguise and succeeded in sending Mr. Mukerji, who was a student in Germany, to India with full instructions as to the possible arrangements. Mr. Mukerji was caught on his way by police and all the secrets were disclosed. Mr. M. N. Roy was sent to Bankak to have the full details from a lawyer who disclosed all the secrets to the police. Mr. Roy who was known as Narendra Nath Bartcharya at that time quarrelled with that lawyer. But for his very repulsive temperament, common to a revolutionary character, he could not tolerate the treacherous lawyer who foiled the plans of the revolutionaries. After this failure he went over to Russia and lived for 7 years with Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin and was deputed from Russia to organise labour movement in Asiatic countries. He came back to India and formed a party within the Congress, Radical Democratic Party of India. When leftists began to display all their colours and went over to the rightists, one by one, his followers became zealous followers of the Congress. Ultimately he had to leave the
Congress on account of the force of circumstances and made his party a Working Class Party. During the World War 2nd they became very anti-national and paid servants of the Indian Government. Thus the party has been reduced to a paper organisation now. No doubt, his knowledge of Marxism and his intellectual genius no body could doubt, but his policy has made him what he is to-day.

A section of the students, however, influenced by the Royists, functioned in the All-India Radical Democratic Party and the Students. Students' Federation till 1941. Thereafter, they adopted the policy of unconditional support to the war, and they had to leave the Students' Federation. They organised many anti-Fascist demonstrations, culminating in the anti-Fascist Students' Conference at Lahore, in 1941. This must be taken as the first party to propagate for the War. The Radicals were not strong enough, however, though they shouted as loud as any others to influence the nationalist enthusiasts but to no purpose. Com. M. N. Roy came to Lucknow to address the University students but the meeting not only culminated in confusion but pendemonium prevailed in the meeting. Thus his influence over the students soon died away.
CHAPTER X

COMMUNAL STUDENT ORGANISATIONS IN INDIA

"Blood brothers dying in misery
MELTS not their hearts Oh Parrot?
They forget everything good.
Fear, cowardice and slavish meanness,
Dominate this dumb herd of men.
When like worms our men perish
HIT by Famine and epidemics
They stagnate in sloth
They combat not the pestilence
That pulverises dear motherland
But shout hoares "Vande-Mataram"
With the loudness of empty canister."

(Bharati. National Poet Tamil Nad.)

The importance of the Communal problem is to be studied in all its corelations. We think that without a proper solution of the Hindu Muslim problem and especially unity between Indian National Congress and
the Muslim League, India will not be free. More than any one, the present day youths are horrified at the growing developments. The cry, 'Islam is in danger,' has made the youths panic stricken. So far, students have not understood these problems scientifically. Students enter into the political field for the fun of it. If the students determine to solve these problems rationally it is not too late. They must put all their theoretical knowledge on the practical plane. Such mighty tasks of solving such grave problems will not be made by chilen hearted politicians accustomed to issuing newspaper statements. It is only those who stand for an all out revolution for the progress of the nation and the humanity can think of meeting such problems. They cannot be solved by giving a few jobs to office hunters whose love for their community ends there. In our observations, after discussing the problem in all its aspects, we must note how the mind of students were nursed with bitter communal feeling which has become a stumbling block to our progress. We must study whether students are responsible for creating such communal rifts among the student organisations or the leaders of different communities. It is an established fact that our leaders did not direct the youths in proper
channels. Moreover, the existing ultra-revolutionary parties with Marxist cloak not only disserved the cause but have done much more harm than either the communal leaders or national leaders.

It is very interesting to note the development of Hindu Muslim unity in every field from 11th century. From the historical evidences that are at our disposal it is a conclusive proof that the Muslims do not differ in blood from Hindus; and races are very mixed in India, and the Muslims and Hindus are essentially the same amalgamation of races. The vast majority of Muslims, like the vast majority of Hindus are either peasants or artisans or craftsmen by trade. "The oppression, suppression and injustice it entailed are no more to be attributed to religious differences than we can attribute the brutality of Japanese in the Far-East to the differences between Shintoism and Buddhism or the brutality of the British conquest to the differences between Christianity and Hinduism. All the differences and barriers that are existing to-day are the creation of the third party that supresses all" Dr. K. B. Krishna, Prof. Beni Prasad and Mr. Hunter have thrown sufficient light on these matters. A historical
survey of their observations will bring home to our students the real facts. When the muslims spread themselves over the whole southern and eastern coasts of India, they had mingled with people in all their daily walks of life. They had also acquired influence in politics and in society. Marco-polo describes Taqu-ud-din as the minister and adviser of King Sundar Pandya in 1286. He was succeeded by his son and grandson Siraj-ud-din and Nazim-ud-in respectively. In 1286, king Pandya sent Fakir-ud-din Ahmad as ambassador to Kublai Khan of Persia.

Raja Vir Ballalabh who fought Mallik-Kafur, had in his contingents' more than 20,000 Musalmans. Most of the wars that were fought on the Indian soil by the kings were all full of dynastic and not religious wars. On the historic battle-field of Panipat, Babar faced the armed might of a Muslim opponent, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Even though wars were fought, the villagers were untouched. There was much religious tolerance. In spite of the fact that Vijaya Nagar kingdom in South India was at war with the neighbouring Muslim Kingdoms, there appears to have been great religious tolerance and great appreciation of each others culture. It is only in the last struggle between the Bohimini Kingdom and
Vijaya Nagar Kindown, the great Humpy was raged to the ground. It is said that the ambassadors of Sultans were illtreated by the Rajas, the then kings by making the armbassadors sit on donkeys. It was resented and last battle destroyed the mighty and most beautiful city, Hampi. Adilshahi, sultan of Bijapur and Nazir Shahis of Amednagar freely patronised Maharatta chiefs, and employed Hindu officials for the administration of the state and Hindu Troops in their armies. The latter Nazir Shahis of Ahmadnagar gave great impetus to Marathi language by making it the language of the official transaction. The Hindu rulers of Vijaynagar in their turn reciprocated their feelings; they took Muslim troops in their employ, encouraged Muslim trade and built mosques for their worship.

On Todar Malls appointment as chancellor of the Empire, the Musalman princes sent a deputation to remonstrate "Who manages your properties and grants of land? Replied the Emperor 'Our Hindu Agents,' Very good, Said Akbar; allow me also to appoint a Hindu to manage my estates." It is well admitted that every where the old Hindu frame work of administration was accepted; it formed the basis of the reforms carried out chiefly by Sher Shah and the Mugal Emporers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
In the matter of religion too, Via-India was gradually discovered. Long before Akbar, Sultan Jain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470) of Kashmir was famous alike for his tolerance and learning. The king repealed the odious Jaziya, while his scholarship and sympathy were reflected in his own translations of several Sanskrit works into Persian. Towards the close of fifteenth century, another remarkable king Ala ud-din Hussain Shah (1493-1579) of Gaur, inaugurated a new era in Bengal. A generous patron of art and literature, his sympathetic policy made for reconciliation among the different classes of his subjects. The same policy was followed by Sher-Sha 1486-1545. To encourage education among his hindu subjects he created Waqfs and allowed them a free hand in their management. For his liberal and beneficent policy he was most liked by all irrespective of caste and creed. Prof. Beni Prasad says, "there was a marked rapprochement in religious matters from three sides. In the first place, Hindu converts retained some of the ancient practices; some were only half-converts. Secondly Musalmans could not, as a whole, escape the infuence of Hindu emphasis and religious practices. Thirdly, there arose whole sects like those of Kabir, (1480-1518) presumably a musalman, and Nanak (1469-1538) with combined elements of both Hinduism and Islam."
Medieval literary activities too in India between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries represent either Hindu-Muslim collaboration or the interaction of reciprocal influences. Prince Dara Shikoh, brother of the Emperor, Aurangzeb, was an accomplished scholar and an admirer of Hindu philosophy and Sanskrit learning. It was the Persian translation of Upanishads made under his auspices that opened the scholars of the west the great treasure of Hindu Culture. In the time of Akbar the Great, Ramayana and Mahabharata were translated into Persian. Birble had the title of Kavi Raja, a Hindu title in the time of Akbar. Besides many Hindus learnt Persian and the writings too had great influence and they had merit enough to endure to the present day.

Painting is another great mode of expression of a people's soul, that developed from the sixteenth century onwards in common schools at the hands of Hindu and Muslim masters and became truly Indian in every aspect. "As in religion and literature," writes K. B. Krishna, "so in printing and architecture new types were created which embodied the excellence of the traditional modes of both Hindus and Muslims." Howel has pointed out appropriately that Arabs who came first, greatly admired the Hindu architecture. Sultan Mahammad of Gazni took
with him hundreds of craftsmen to his capital city from
where many of them were dispatched to several cities
throughout in the North West of his sultanate.

"It was worth remembering that at a time when Europe
was plunged into strife of warring sects, when Roman
Catholics were burning heretics in England, and pros-
stants were executing the catholics in their turn, Akbar
guaranteed peace not only to 'warring sects' but to differ-
ing religions. In the modern ages he was the first and
the greatest experimenter in the field of religious
tolerance of the races, to which it was applied and the
contemporary conditions be taken into account.

Professor Sharma says: "In Europe it was the
period when political authorities whether ruling princes
or kings in Parliament were busy dictating to their sub-
jects even the variety of religious beliefs they were to
hold. Those who governed on behalf of Edward VI for
example, said that the religion of the English people
should be Protestantanism and England became Protestant.
Mary came after him and as if by magic, England reverted
to Roman Catholicism. With Elizabeth the wheel turned
again, and England emerged Anglican from the struggle.
In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the reli-
igious belief of their subjects was very much severed by governments. The Moghals therefore, proved an exception when they left religious belief to their subjects alone. They passed no Act of Supremacy, they enforced no Thirty-Nine articles, so far the beliefs of the preponderant majority of the population were concerned. Even for the Muslims all they did was to punish apostacy and extort outward conformity in certain matters of Public conduct."

Mr. Hunter in his book "Our Indian Musalmans" says, "I shall examine what remains of them to the Muselman family of lower Bengal under British rule." "The first of them, the army is now completely closed. No Gentleman of Mohammadan birth can enter our Regiment; and even if a place could be found for him in our military system, that place would no longer be a source of wealth. The second of them is the collection of land Revenues. The greatest blow which we dealt to the old system of land revenue collection was in one sense an under-hand one. For neither the English nor the Mohammadans foresaw its effects. By it, we usurped the functions of those higher Muselman Officers who had formerly subsisted between the actual collector and the Government."
Instead of Musalman farmers with their troopers and spearmen, we placed an English collector in each district, with an armed fiscal police attached like common bailiff. The Mohammadan nobility either lost their former connection with the land-tax, or became mere land-holders, with an inelastic title to a part of the profits of the soil.” As regards “The Permanent Settlement” most seriously it damaged the position of the great Mohammadan houses.”

During the last seventy-five years the Musalman houses of Bengal have either disappeared from the earth, or by this moment being submerged beneath the new strata of society which the British rule has developed—haughtily, insolent, indolent, but still the descendants of nobles and conquerors to the last.

Hunter says, “We shut the Musalman aristocracy out of Army, because we believed that their exclusion was necessary to our safety. We deprived them of their monopoly of most lucrative functions, in the administration, because their deprivation was essential to the welfare of just Government of the people............... ... .........

“The third of them,” Hunter Says, “Was their greatest monopoly of Judicial, Political, or in brief, Civil
Employ. None of the native gentlemen who have won their way into the civil service or up to the bench of High Court, are Musalmans."

In highest grade in which the appointments dated from a previous generation had not much to complain of and in 1869 there was one Muselman to two Hindus. Their number was reduced to one Muselman to Nine Hindus; the number was reduced to ten Hindus. In the third grade, there were then four Musalmans to a total of twenty-seven Hindus and Englishmen; their number was reduced to three Musalmans to a total of twenty-four Hindus and Englishmen. Among the probationers from whom the service is recruited, there were only two Musalmans in a total of twenty-eight afterwards not even one was taken from them.

**Distribution of State patronage in Bengal—1867.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Euro</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Covenanted Civil Service (appointed by the crown) in England.</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial officers in the non-regulated districts.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carried over...</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broughtforward</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Assistant Commissions</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Registrars and Deputy Collectors</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income-tax Assessors</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration Department</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges of small cause courts and subordinate judges</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Department. Gazette Officers of all Grades</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munsiffs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Public Works Department:  
  Engineer Establishment | 154      | 19     | 0       | 173   |
|  Subordinate Establishment | 72       | 125    | 4       | 201   |
|  Accounts Establishment | 22       | 54     | 0       | 76    |
| Medical Department. Officers attached to M. College, Jails, Charitable Dispensaries, sanitation and veterinary etc. | 89       | 65     | 4       | 158   |
| Carried over        | 888       | 657    | 91      | 1636  |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------|--------|
| Brought forward          | 888           | 657     | 91     | 1636  |
| Deptt. of Public Instruc- | 38            | 14      | 1      | 53    |
| tion                     |               |         |        |       |
| Other Departments, such  | 412           | 10      | 0      | 422   |
| as customs, Marine,      |               |         |        |       |
| Survey, Opium, etc.      |               |         |        |       |
| **Grand Total.**         | 1,338         | 681     | 29     | 2,111 |

*This Statistical Table is taken from Mr. Hunters’ Book “Our Indian Musalmans.”

Thus the ruling race, under the name of democracy and fairness “all sorts of employment great and small, on being gradually santed away from the Mohammadans, and bestowed on men of other races not because of helping the other communities but to make the potent the impotent and harmless lest the English may be forced to leave the Indian soil for Indians.” They did not stop at this. The number of holidays that were granted is also very interesting. The number of closed days to the Christians were sixty-two in number for the year and those to the Hindus fifty-two in number and those to the Mohammadans only eleven.

In Lower Bengal the Mohammadans of late were so completely sunk out of sight, that their religious require-
ments were gradually over-looked, then neglected and finally denied. The most fundamental factor for the natural development is the modern education. Let us see how far they encouraged education among the Musalmans. The educational fund that was given by rich Musalmans was misappropriated by the British. The education for the children was not encouraged and even was blocked. Out of three hundred boys in the English College not even one per cent were the Muslim boys in a predominant Muslim Province. A trust was created by some wealthy Musalmans for educating the Muslim children. The wealth accumulated amounted to £1,05,700, besides over an income of £12,000 per annum. The then Government found an English Institution subversive in its very nature to the principle of Islam, and from which the Mohammadans were practically excluded. The head of the institution was an Englishman, Ignorant of a single word of Persian or Arabic. He was paid a little sum of £15,000 or Rs. 22,00 a year from a Mohammadan religious endowment for teaching things hateful to every Musalman. Out of an income of £5260 a year, they devoted a great sum of £350 to a little Mohammadan School which alone remained bear witness to the original character of the Trust. All these facts tell that Britishers did their best to cripple a militant people to whom slavery was unknown.
The ruling class, successfully divided the two great communities. At a latter stage it took such a menacing form that it is eating the very vitals of our people. Dideriot, has well described that “Divide at impera is the maxium that all bad government follow by instinct.”

We shall see, how the communal seeds that were sown and nursed further by the ruling class resulted in the demand for “Pakistan and Hindustan” by the communalists. The following sentences are from a petition presented by the Orissa Mohammadans to the commissioner, Mr. Hunter remarks, “Their stilted phraseology may perhaps raise a smile, but the permanent impression produced by the spectacle of the ancient conquerors of the Province, begging in broken English for bare bread, is, I think one of sorrowful silence.” The petition runs as follow: “As loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queens, have, we believe, an equal claim to all appointment in the administration of the country. Truely speaking the Orrissa Mohammadans have been levelled down and down, with no hopes of rising again. Born of noble parentage, poor by professions, and destitute of patrons, we find ourselves in the position of a fish out of water. Such is the wretched state of Musalmans, which we bring to your Honours notice, believing your honour to be sole repre-
sentative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of the Orissa Division, and hoping that the justice will be administered to all these classes, without distinction of or creed. The penny less and parsimonious condition which we are reduced to consequent to the failure of our former Government service has thrown us into such an everlasting dependency, that we speak from the core of our hearts, that we would travel into the remotest corners of the Earth, ascend the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, wonder forlorn regions of Siberia, could we be convinced that by so travelling we would be blessed with a Government appointment of ten shillings a week."

The educated Muslims who opened their eyes wide, did not understand the realities and the causes that lead the Muslims down but allied themselves with the bureaucratic Government to regain their lost position. When Indians demanded Swaraj from the British Government, the Britishers cunningly rendered support to the Muslims with a view to divide the Indians among their own ranks. It was only in the early years of the present century that the Hindu-Muslim relations were brought to a state...
of acute tension by two measures perfectly in accord with the motto recommended by the Asiatic Journal. The Province of Bengal was divided into a Hindu and a Muslim section, in order as Statesman of Calcutta, the leading organ of the British opinion in India Said:—“To foster in Eastern Bengal the growth of Mohammedan power, which it is hoped will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the growing educated Hindu community and Nationalism.”

The second measure was the creation of an electoral system based not on the principle of personal franchise but on the belief and traditions of the different communities “as evaluated by Imperialism.” An electoral system regarded the voters not as citizens of a single state but merely as members of antagonistic social religious groups accidentally brought together. The result inevitably was to divert the attention from the political interest that the people had in common and to nourish bitter but fruitless strife. Public memory is not very short. Beni Prasad in his book “The Hindu-Muslim questions” has rightly stated “In Europe the transition from monarchy or aristocratic absolutism to popular government was accompanied by the passage from negation to positive government. That is to say, the
Government confined itself to no longer defence, order, justice, and other elementary functions, but undertook actively to promote mass education, economic welfare, public health. India however, has lingered for the most part in the negative state of government."

"To deny knowledge and training to the Muslims is to leave them at the mercy of inherited dogmas, current prejudices and alluring catch-words, a prey to faction and demogogy." John Morley whose name is associated with the reforms once observed that what strikes deep in politics strikes allround. Separate electorate promptly reinforced all the disintegrating tendencies, all the separatist elements of revivalism and in fact, because the political counterpart, joint electorates would have favoured moderate forces, and progress on nationalist lines. As it was, revivalism and separate electorates supplemented each other and favoured cultural and political milieu on the separatist basis. The extension of the franchise in 1917 to more than seven millions served, after a brief interlude which lasted till 1922 to widen the gulf between the sister communities respectively, who lived together for centuries. Finally the wider enfranchisement enacted in 1935 brought more than 36 millions of the subjects of British India under
the menacing separatist influences. Having this as the background the burning problem of the minorities in India, has to be viewed.

Most of us do not understand the underlying facts. The problem of communal representation is the history of wars between classes. On the part of the British Government, "it is the history of concessions, counterpoise, coercion, and strengthening of paramountancy at every step." The so-called minorities, forget that they suffer under imperialism and bureaucracy as much as the Hindus. The communal representation which came into being in 1917 has assumed many ghostly forms. To-day it is called Hindu-Muslim problem. The communalists forget that if India is divided according to languages and dialects we should have 280 linguistic groups. Can we consider all these as linguistic minorities? In America too, at the time of the presidential elections, the parties came out with 24 pamphlets in different languages. Can we consider them as minorities? Would not these divisions, overlap with religious groups and be hindrance for the progress of the nation? India is at present a colony of British Imperialism and is not a sovereign state; and an immense numerical majority ruled by a microscopic numerical minority.
Minority in India to-day means, a rising backward professional class belonging to one of the various faiths and communities to have share in the government. It is not to fight for the community but to instal men in key positions under the patronage and assistance of the British Government. It may be anything that the government needs to counter the aims and aspirations of the dominant political class. A sample of minorities in India according to the British is worth mentioning. King George V at the opening of the first session of the Round Table Conference in '30 said “I have also in my mind the just claims of the majorities and minorities men and women, of the town-dwellers and tillors of the soil, landlords and tenants, of the strong and the weak, of the rich and the poor, of the races and the casts and creeds of which the body politic is composed.” This can be taken as the sample of minorities according to British Imperialism.

The grievances of the depressed classes against the caste Hindus are real; the grievances of the peasants against the landlords are real, the grievances of the professional back-ward classes against the existing hierarchical systems are real. What these classes fail to understand is that their grievances are due to the
socio-economic basis of the country and not due to the fact that they are majority or minority. Who has the political power in India? It is not the majority but the existing rulers whose repression, and suppression knew no bounds. No doubt, there are certain sections in every caste that hold high positions and look down on the people without any distinction to satisfy their lust for power and wealth. And of these officials who are the henchmen of the Government, the whole community is treated with contempt as oppressors of the minorities. But the real root cause of these evils is the socio-economic inequality. The existing government and the pyramidal structure of the society allow these evils to grow. Under Imperialistic government, the self-evolving institutions have become self-destructive forces in India.

Another factor that will have to be noted in this connection is the growing power and influence of Hindus in every field after 1900. They made tremendous progress in science, arts, literature and industries. Before the eyes of the Hindu capitalists, who were encouraged by the British with a view to crush the Muslims and pave the way for bitter communal strife, lay the India's
richness—her undeveloped industries, her iron ores her coal, her inexhaustible capacity to export raw-materials which are the only source of power and prosperity. The era of machine production changed the destiny of a few Hindu capitalists. More than these, they occupied all key positions in the society either political or social or Governmental. When these became a source of obstacles to British Imperialism and the foreign industrialists, the government turned towards the Muslim to stear the growing tide of, the Hindu capitalists. As far as Muslims were concerned, their loss was not merely the loss of a prosperous empire but something greater, that is their very existence was at Stake. Another great drawback was that Muslims as a community had for many generations stood disdainfully aloof from the English education which alone qualified one for government and commercial posts in India. All these factors made them crave for a hand of protection. The British Imperialism which looked up the Hindu capitalists with disfavour came to their help.

The growing Muslim problem is to-day a problem of providing opportunities for the prosperity of Muslim capitalists and jobs for the educated Muslim Youths.
Hence the Muslim League is the creation of the British imperialism. But in order to placate the temper of others, the Muslim League has been obliged to announce that it stands for independence for India. The allegations of the Muslim League that Hindus are oppressing and suppressing their rights and privileges is rootless. At present, their seats are reserved everywhere; at some places they are given more representation than they deserve on the basis of population. For instance, in the United Provinces, they form only fourteen per cent of population but they hold forty per cent governmental posts. In South India too, they hold more seats than they deserve. In the Mysore state, they form only seven per cent of the population but in governmental and in other sphere their representation has no proportion to their population. So also in Madras Province. Under the garb of religion and nationalism, the Muslim League, has not only misguided the Muslim masses but the masses are exploited for the benefit of the Muslim capitalists. Whether Hindus or Muslims, the condition of the masses is deplorable. The British Government tried at every point to destroy unity on the economic basis among the different communities and especially the Muslims and Hindus. Their strategy
is to stir up discord and inflame religious fantasticism to lure the people away from political and economic issues.

Now the masses understand their plight. In Cawnpore for example, the Muslim workers have joined the Union and have defied all efforts to separate from their Hindu comrades. But how to solve this most dreadful problem which stand in our progress? Mr. K.S. Shelvankar rightly points in his for book, 'The problem of India' "the conditions exist for the creation of a genuinely multi-national state such as U.S.S.R., which alone can finally solve the problem of minorities in India and give every minority, however small or backward, the opportunity and the means to develop freely on its own line."

We have discussed the communal problem, but must see briefly how far the students in general can meet the situation. If we fight for freedom struggle and prepare the country to achieve its cherished ends, masses must be enlightened to that effect. Unless the masses co-operate with us, unless they understand what for they have to fight and co-operate with the fighting forces, that freedom is no freedom. Unless we go and mix with the masses, live with them, discuss with them and
tell them the obstacles that are in our way, we cannot make the common man in the street, to understand his rights and duties. To enlighten the common man in the street, it is not conferences, speeches we deliver that will bring them round the potent forces.

Every day thousands of speeches are delivered either in praise of leaders or praising themselves. If our students are the hopes and assets of the future, it is their duty to remove these ills. If every student can enlighten and educate 10 people every year by some years we can wash out this problem. A rational programme will only make our students solve these problems.

After studying the conditions of the Muslim community in India, we must make certain observations of the necessity of communal student organisation under the existing conditions. If the student organisation is started on a rational basis, if it embraces all the communities, there is no necessity of any communal students' organisation. We have to analyse and see how far a communal student organization is essential to make the masses conscions of political, economic and social factors. We have already depicted how the muslims were crushed by
the iron heels of the British Government. Furthermore when compared to the other communities, it is made one of the backward communities. Only six percent of them are educated and the masses are oppressed so much so that they live hand to mouth. In such circumstances, if a Muslim Student Organization is started to approach and enlighten the Muslim masses, we think, that our progress will be furthered in every direction. The students are the best to understand the difficulties of their community and bring them to light. In this light, we must view the case of Muslim Students Federation which has been started by communalist students. In the absence of a well-knit and all-embracing nationalist students' organisation, the communalist students' organisation is essential to serve the Muslim masses. If these arguments advanced for the existence of a Nationalist Muslim Student's Organisation it is unquestionable. According to the prevailing conditions and circumstances, the necessity of a communal students' organisation is not unsound, if it really exists to work for the community. The position of the All India Muslim Students' Organisation must be discussed with that context. When we say that the existence of the communal student's organisation is not unsound, it should be taken in broader sense. It is not to
preach communalism but to make dumb millions conscious of their rights to improve their lot. It is the community people who can feel the pulse of their community and make them understand their real needs from time to time. Such organisations should not be impediments for the progress of the nation. In the light of these discussions we must see how far "The All India Muslim Students’ Organisation" is genuine in creating such an atmosphere.

Muslim problem in India is essentially a problem of providing opportunities for the growth and prosperity of Muslim capitalists and for providing employment to the educated Muslim youths. The contribution by the nationalist Muslims in the building of the national and parental organisation, Indian National Congress has not been insignificant. Even to-day, despite the position of communalism having contaminated the entire atmosphere; the Congress has a large number of Muslims on its role and some of them of a stature and with a record of public service higher than any of their coreligionists in the purely communal organisation. Mr. Asaf Ali’s election to the central assembly from the General constituency from Delhi shows the highest appreciation and record of National work. As far as the Muslim
Leaguers and Muslim capitalists are concerned, their contribution towards the richness of Indian or even Muslim life is none. They have created nothing useful to the society and instead they have poisoned the minds of the Muslim Masses and the educated youths with fanaticism. The cry of separation is merely a stunt and most of its supporters do not think it seriously. They merely use it as a means of coercion against the rest of the people for resting economic concessions and public jobs and to keep the people in foreign subjugation by co-operating with the foreign government whose existence is detrimental to the progress of the nation. To grind their own selfish ends they had to create a body which can hail them and work for the growth of these capitalists. And that body is the University Students who can be incited with fanatic zeal and energy. They jump at anything and everything without understanding the problems scientifically. That body is the All India Muslim Students’ Federation. The Aligarh University incident is the embodiment of their ideology, their aims and objects of the Students’ organisation. What we feel is that there are grievances no doubt. As socialism is the order of the day, as long as the wants of society are not met with, people especially the youths of the country who represent freedom, peace and progress must rebel
against the Government. But to a student of current politics, it is not only rude but inhuman to endanger the property of other communities for the sake of satisfying themselves and spread communalism and fanaticism among the uneducated Muslim masses. So far, for the credit of the All India Muslim Student Workers are concerned, they have no credit of constructive work among the Muslim masses or in their student community. Their policy and programme so far is most regressive and destructive not only to the country but to the Muslim community itself. Except in times of elections, there is no mass approach and no service to the community. In the general elections that were held in the year 1946, four hundred students from Aligarh University who represent the soul of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation spread themselves in Northern India to canvass votes for the Nawabs and Rajas with deadliest slogan “Islam is in danger”. Apart from these activities and conferences no programme of any kind was put forward. During I. N. A. trials and especially on Col. Rashid’s imprisonment the collegians went on strike for a day in certain parts. The only contention of their strike for Rashid’s sentence was that he joined the I. N. A. to safeguard the Muslim interest in the I. N. A. camp and in India
of this great land. The leaders of the Muslim League made all sorts of allegations against the Nationalist Students' organisation to incite the Muslim youths to back them up in their efforts to stem the growing tide of nationalism. These were the real causes that goaded the Muslim Leaguers and the Muslim youths who were out for job hunting to start the All-India Muslim Students' Federation.

The history of the M.S.F. can be traced back to the year 1937, when some students of Bengal seceded from A.I.S.F. and organised themselves separately. Various were the reasons advanced against and many were the obstacles put in their way. Many Muslim students were set to oppose the formation of the new organisation but realising that the A.I.S.F. was thoroughly Congress minded organisation and that the Congress itself had become an anti-Muslim body, students in Bengal and presently in other provinces also, preserved in their breaking away from their hostile influence.

To Mr. Mohd. Nauman of Aligarh goes the credit of laying the foundation of the A.I.M.S.F. With commendable energy and singular devotion, he put up the task of organisation of the Muslim student community into one body. Presently, Mr. Jinnah extended his blessings to the
was the president of the U. P. Students's Federation in 1940. During August 1942, he was sentenced to a very long term of more than four years. During 1940 Messrs A. J. Zaidi, S. A. Naqvi, S. A. Siddique, Md. Hashim Kidwai, Jalaluddin Khan, K. E. Abbasi, S. Nurul Hasan, Syed Md. Jaffar, Md. Zubri and Miss Sultana Begum were the working Committee members of the U. P. S. F. Comrade Syed Zaffar's role cannot be underestimated. He was one of the foremost student leaders and was kept in detention for a long period of more than four years. Comrade A. J. Zaidi who was another pillar of the A.I.S.F. was elected as a general secretary in 1941. All these facts prove that the Muslim youths played a dominant role in the Student Movement. When the Communist students went out of the parental body, the A. I. S. F., coms, Ansar Harwani, Zaidi, and S. M. Zaffar had to shoulder a greater responsibility with other comrades to fight the reactionaries and to mobilize the students and fight the bureaucratic government in 1942. This period is said to be the landmark in the history of the Student Movement because the A. I. S. F. withstood the onslaughts of the government on the one hand and the reactionary Communists and the Communalists organisations on the other. They proved themselves worthy sons.
in case I. N. A. captured India. The question before some students is why majority of Muslim students join the Muslim Students' Federation. Particularly in the case of Muslim Community as the masses not only live hand to mouth, the poor are becoming poorer day by day on account of the ills in the society and exploitation by the Indian capitalists. Therefore, the middle class as such will live in the hope of getting something higher for its own well being. Therefore, they back up their leaders under the impression of getting higher jobs. Muslim League in its turn exploit them for their own selfish ends. Mr. Jinnah's remarks in the first session of the All India Muslim Students' Conference are worth mentioning. Mr. Jinnah while describing the circumstances leading to the formation of a separate M. S. F., he was astonished to be informed by some Muslim students the they had altogether been excluded from becoming office-bearers on the executives of the students' federation. This was to him very much "perplexing". As a matter of fact, some of the prominent office-bearers and pillars of the A. I. S. F. were Muslim youths. Comrade Ansar Harwani, the greatest nationalist student and youth leader was elected as the second General Secretary of the A.I.S.F. in 1938. So far, he had visited the prison six times. He
from college to college for the establishment of the branches. The students of Junna College for girls, had consolidated their organisation and enrolled about thousand members.

During the summer, the Federation worked along with the League in Lahore and conducted many public meetings to propagate the idea of Pakistan in the minds of the Muslim masses. As soon as the college reopened, preparations were made to hold general elections and to run the organisation effectively. Mr. Mohammad Noman, deputy president of the A. I. M. S. F., guided them and set up thirteen different departments each with their conveners and office bearers. They are Education (Raja Ahmad Khan), Political propaganda (Jaheer Alam Shahid), Lectures and debates (Gulzar Hussain), Constitution Committee (Iftikhar Ullah), Library (Raja Ahmad Khan), Volunteers (Raja Shaw Ali), Propaganda (Lyas Querrishi), Urdu (Ahmad Ali Khan), and funds (Mohammad Ashroff).

The Loyallapur branch conducted two Conferences very successfully. The first was the educational Conference under the presidency of Hazi Sir Adbullah Haroon and the second Conference was a Pakistan Conference under the presidency of Mallick Bukreth Ali., M. L. A.
After having traced the growth and development of M. S. F. we have no account of any constructive programme.

The first session of the All India Muslim Students’ Conference was held in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. M.A. Jinnah on the 27th December, 1937.

Syed Abdul Aziz, ex-minister of Bihar, opening the Conference confessed that he was most unwilling either to preside or to inaugurate the Conference. His reluctance was not due to the lack of sympathy for students or indifference to the public interest. He doubted the wisdom and the necessity of having separate organisation for Muslim students only and the prospects of success of their scheme. Mr. Aziz urged them to remedy the backwardness of their community and co-operate with others in all matters calculated to advance the prosperity and happiness of the people in general.

Mr. Fazlul Haq, the then premier of Bengal delivering his message in person to the Federation referred to his tour of Eastern Bengal and said that he was practically boycotted by the representatives of the Hindu press, where as ministers in Congress provinces obtained widest publicity.
"If reports of his activities at all appeared, they were" he said, "distorted and misleading accounts." "This propaganda is carried on simply for the reason he was a Muslim." He said that Muslim students should organise their community and do everything in their power to raise their people economically, socially and educationally.

Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address narrated the circumstances leading to the formation of a separate Muslim students' organisation. He was astonished to be informed by some Muslim students that they had been altogether excluded from becoming office bearers on the executive of the A. I. S. F. To Mr. Jinnah this appeared "to be perfectly perplexing." And he felt that "under the present conditions, "it was difficult for the two communities to work in co-operation, in harmony and unity in all matters."

The conference passed a resolution declaring that they stood for the full independence of India, under a democratic and a Federal form of Government, composed of autonomous provinces and states in India, and with adequate safeguards for protecting the rights of Muslims and other minorities.

Mr. Jinnah observed, "Economically, Socially and
STUDENT MOVEMENT IN INDIA

ducationally the conditions of the Muslim villagers is heart-rendering but there is a move to come to his rescue."

By another resolution the Conference condemned the propaganda carried on by the so-called A. I. S. F. against the Muslim University. The appointment of a commission by the A. I. S. F. was levelled as unauthorised and a protest was made against the activities of Sir Wazir Hasan and others in the same connection.

The Second All India Muslim Students' Conference was held in Patna on the 29th December 1938 in the Muslim League Pandal. Mr. Jinnah said, "There were three forces in the country: the British, the States and the Congress. The time has come to give a battle to all these forces and the staunch young men to make up their minds to do so, the better for them."

Mr. Jinnah at length criticised the Congress and for having termed him as a pro-imperialist and a commercialist and declared that the young men have been deluded into believing that the congress fought for the freedom of the country and the masses, and the congress would turn the country into a land of milk and honey."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah appealed to young men "not to be deluded, but to assert themselves and be prepared for
sacrifices for the advancement of the community and the freedom of the country."

In his Presidential address, the Raja of Muhmudabad said, "as regards the duties of Muslim students, we are accused of isolating ourselves from other communities in Presidential Address. Our country and using fear and hatred as our weapons. It is for you, educated young men, to disprove the charges by deeds." "He urged the students to devote their holidays to adult education. The removal of illiteracy was a very laudable object and the labouring and the agricultural classes, claimed the spare time of educated young men" he said.

The president at length dealt with the aims and objects of the Muslim League and its ultimate end. Concluding, the President said, "You who have the future in your hands must not forget the past and its tradition but the traditions of the past must not fast chains which hold you back."

The fifth Conference was held at Nagpur on the 26th December, 1941, under the presidency of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Mr. Abdul Radir, Chairman of the Reception Committee while criticising the congress rule in the provinces assured the League leader all the help they could give to achieve their cherished goal, Pakistan.
Mr. Nauman Deputy president of the Federation, condemned the policy of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier. He said that they have organised a very strong unit in Bombay, Karachi and Lahore and added that the All-India Muslim students' Federation would be formed at Delhi next year. He expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah would live long to become the king of Pakistan.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his presidential address said that according to the constitution of their Federation they would prepare themselves for the struggle for freedom of the country. He advised them that they should not take part in any political movements taking place from day to day. He wanted them to study only.

In a lengthy speech he described the growing power of the Muslim League and criticised the congress as 'a Hindu organisation' and the Government of India Act as "a dismal of failure."

After adopting a number of resolutions the Conference was concluded. In some of those resolutions they demanded the release of the political prisoners irrespective of the party relations. At Mr. Jinnah's suggestion the Conference dropped its resolutions regarding War effort, Constitution making body, releasing political prisoners and all references to Deoli and Keskar prisoners.
The opening session of the A. I. M. S. F. Conference commenced on the 14th November, 1942 at Gulzar Junna" specially built for the purpose three miles north of the city of Jullundur, Mr. M. A.

All-India Muslim Students' Session 1942.

Jinnah presided.

After the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr. Jinnah spoke in Hindustani. He reviewed the League's position from the inauguration of provincial autonomy to the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations. He wanted that Hindus should understand the necessity of Pakistan for Muslims which alone would bring both Hindus and Muslims together.

On the 2nd day, 15th November, 1942, Mr. Jinnah again restated the terms of the Muslim League for a genuine settlement. He criticised the congress governments and said that they had injured the feelings of Muslims and now the time had come for them to recognise the worth and strength of the Muslim League. After stating terms for the formation of provincial governments Mr. Jinnah appealed to Sikh community to come to a settlement with the Muslim League. He criticised the theory of self-determination as was sponsored by Hindus and declared that it was only a trick to puzzle and mislead the ignorant masses. He said that the Muslims of India are
not a sub-national group. "It is their birth-right" he said, "to claim and exercise the right of self-determination" as was envisaged by the League.

"PAKISTAN,"

Resolutions on Pakistan were adopted in the Conference. In his concluding remarks, Mr. Jinnah congratulated the organizers of the Conference on its success.

The National Muslim Students' Federation.

Everybody must admit the demerits in not carrying the Muslim masses with the progressive forces of the country. The immediate question is mass enlightenment—political, social and economic. As a matter of fact, India is a land of religions, castes, and sub-castes. Most of these sects or sub-sects are not represented in the government even though their numerical strength is greater than those sects or sub-sects which have occupied the governmental posts. Political consciousness has made some such sects not to hinder the national progress by claiming special or any representation. On the other hand, those sects which are intellectually, politically and economically backward have hindered the way of national progress. Instead of detecting the causes for their backwardness and remediying them rationally, they have directed their energies in wrong channels barring the progress of the country. Such is the
case with the Muslim masses to day. The spread of communalism by the Muslim League, its deadliest slogan of the day—'Islam in danger', their past and present alliances with the British Imperialism to crush nationalism, their role in 1942 insurrection, all these factors paved the way for the formation of the Nationalists Muslim Organisation and Nationalist Muslim Students' Federation.

In 1942, Nationalist Muslim Students organised Muslim Students' Union in Lucknow. It functioned as a local student organisation. The Union began to propagate the idea and the necessity of consolidating the Nationalist Muslim Students and to form Nationalist Muslim Students' Federation to rebut the propaganda of the Muslim students' Federation, a tail of the Muslim League. The Nationalist Muslim leaders were all in jail at that time. The D. I. R, like her sister DORA did not permit them to penetrate direct into the Muslim youths and form an organisation. The credit goes to leaders—Hashim Kidwai, Hashmat Ali, Marang Naumani and A. Sattar Khan, for the move to form Nationalist Muslim Students' Union. As soon as the Nationalist Muslim and Congress leaders were released, they exhorted the student to create mass contact. The Indian National
Congress in Post 1942 period took up a bold turn in directing all national forces to go to the Muslim masses. This paved the way for the organisers of Muslim Students' Union to change its name into Nationalist Muslim Students' Federation with Messers. Rauf as the president and Naseer Uddin as the General Secretary.

By the end of 1945, the pioneers of the national Muslim Student movement Messers. Hashim Kidwai, Habibulla Rahman, Ashraf Uzzaman, Fiaul Rahman of Lucknow, Habibur Rahman of Cawnpore and Rashid Bilal Khwaja of Aligarh toured all over the Province of U. P. and organised the following branches:


Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Maulana Hussaini Ahmad Madani a great Muslim Devine, Maulana Hafizzul Rahman and Ahmad Saeed, the president and the General Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Dr. Mohd, Khwajar Abdul Majid, President of the All-India Majilis,
Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim, Dr. M. H. Farooqui, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, S. A. Brelvi and Y. M. Nuri gave all out support to this young organisation.

Some of the leaders have also addressed the workers on different occasions to guide them to organise on sound lines.

In other provinces also branches of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation have been established. The All-India office is at Ganga Prasad Memorial Building Lucknow. Many representatives of the A. I. N. M. S. F. are visiting the different provinces to mobilize the Muslim Students under their banner and to make the coming A. I. N. M. S. F. Conference a grand success.

Apart from other activities, they sent 70 student workers to different places in and outside the province to work for the success of the Nationalist Muslim candidates in the last Assembly elections and to create contacts with the Muslim masses. During these troubled times, in many places, they have formed Peace Committees to ensure peace and tranquility in the country. They being ideologically nationalists, joined with other student organisations to fight for the rights of the student community. They have
arranged debates and study circles to educate the Muslim youths on national lines.

Students of Arabic College of Deo Band of which Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani is the principal took a good deal of interest in the Nationalist Muslim Student movement. Mr. Nawada has sent important student workers to tour the province.

The N. M. S. F. supports Indian National Congress to win the freedom of the country. They stand for the elimination of poverty, to annihilate social injustice and to do away with other existing evils in the society. It follows in full the policy of the Nationalist Muslim organisation, Jama'at-ul-ulema.

Whatever may be the ideological stand of this organisation, it cannot further the cause either of their community or the country unless they have following in the mass of the Muslim students. The young student leaders like Faridi Wahidi, Jamil Ahmad of Deoband College, Masoor Khan of Shahjanpur, Chaudhry Rashid Ali, Fakri Alama, and Afzal Ahmad of Lucknow, Malik Manzoor Ahmad and Naseer Ahmad Kidwai of Gorakhpore, A. W. Lereshi Sayad Akhtar of Bijnor, and Zamil Rahman and Yusuf Kammal of Cawnpore and Mhd. Naini Chitari of Deoria
have done great deal in building up of N. M. S. organisation. We must encourage the Muslim Youths to organise the Federation on a better footing to serve their community and the country.

HINDU AND SIKH STUDENT FEDERATIONS.

As soon as the Muslim League members began to mobilise the Muslim Youths, some orthodox Hindus followed suit and organised Hindu Students Federation. They too held their Conferences preaching communalism among the students to fight the Muslim League and to establish Hindu Raj in India.

Lately the Sikh students also have their own organisation to fight the Muslim domination in the Punjab, the home-land of Sikhs. Thus the whole atmosphere in the student community is rented with communal, cultural and party hatred. The only remedy for these ills is the genuine student organisation with rational and revolutionary outlook.

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CHATER XI

A SCHEME FOR THE REORGANISATION OF THE STUDENTS OF INDIA.

"UNLIFTED towards you, O'Youth of India! are the tearful, beseeching eyes of the starving, prostrate, Motherland. Eyes of the hungry, eyes of the famish-
ed, the destitute and the dying, eyes of the millions all skin and bones, are raised towards you from every-
side.

From more and more provinces, from every nook and corner of India including my own Kerela, hot signs are beseeching you in entreaty.

Every ancient page and every modern chapter of India's sculpture calls upon you boys and gils; save the nation from the death and devastation; resurrect it from the funeral pyre of despair; lift it up from cultural annihilation; strengthen its backbone, rejuvenate it unify it so that it can win its freedom.

You students of India, you can do it. None but you can do it." —(Vallabhol Kerela's National Poet.)

This scheme for the reorganisation of the students of India was submitted by me in the month of Decem-
ber 1944 to the All India students' conference held at Bombay 1944-45, with the hope that they will accept the same or with modifications if necessary. I requested the members who were the sole organisers of the con-
ference to give me a chance to place it in the open session or in the Subject committee. Not only they gave me a deaf ear but manipulation was made with the result that it was thrown in the waste paper basket.
In the interest of the students in particular and the public in general, I have included in this book with certain modifications for healthy criticism from the students as well as public.

PREFACE

In the following scheme the sole aim is to reorganise the All-India Students’ Organisation on a definite line to make the student community evolve a perfect homogeneous unit and also to train the students to face the coming economic, social and political problems; and thus prepare the student community for freedom struggle. With this end in view, I place before the Indian Students in particular and the public in general a scientific scheme which might be given effect to by the All-India Students' Conference to carry out their designed programme.

INTRODUCTION

No doubt, we have local and provincial units and also the All-India Students Organisation. But a scientific technique must be adopted to make the students more efficient in different lines. Students have proved themselves to be worthy sons and daughters of India in taking most active part in every freedom struggle that was launched by Indian National Congress. Being
a colonial country, India has been suppressed and oppressed by the alien rule for the last 150 years, resistance to Imperialism has been the pole star of the student movement in India. It is regrettable however that power politicians self-centered men and misguided prophets whose carbon copies are found in a section of student community, tried their utmost to blur the vision of the youth. It is the Nagpur split in 1940 that made our national leaders and important workers of students appeal from time to time that students should form a separate body having no partisan spirit in it. Whatever has been done in the student movement in India in the past and its position as the 'Vanguard of the New India,' was reversed by the Nagpur Split of 1940, which is termed as the 'historical necessity' in the students' ranks. No body will deny the fact that the Communist Party of India has played its worst role as such, by definitely splitting the student movement into two, by establishing an 'All-India students' Federation', which has been used as the platform of its propaganda, and a field for enrolling new members to its party. Students in particular and parties in general must be aware of this fact that they should avoid using the students' platform for its propaganda so that students may whole heartedly devote
their energy in understanding the problems of our country and thereby conduct themselves in an efficient way to advance the progress of our country.

We have to bear this in mind that the crying need of our country is the want of leaders on whose shoulders the future burden lies. In India, as we have already seen there are several political parties, such as Gandhities, C. S. P., Forward Bloc, Communists, Revolutionary Socialist party, Bolshevik party, Revolutionary Communist Party of India, trotsklytes and undefined elements and many youth organisations. We, the students, study different ideologies and isms and many students subscribe to the views of different parties. If these parties try to capture the student organisations there will be no well knit co-ordination between the local units and districts, the districts and provincial, provincial and All-India Organisation. Our sole aim must be to study different schools of ideology with a view to understand them. But there must be complete and wholesale segregation of the student community from the partisan politics. Ghandiji’s words are crystal clear regarding this aspect, “power politics should be unknown to the student world. Immediately they
dabble in that class of work, there ceases to be students will, therefore fail to serve the country in its crisis."

It so no use of abusing the alien power that dominates us. Certainly, everyone of us in this country wants independence. Before abusing the British Government, let us find out our defects and maladjustments. If there are defects, it is our duty to set them right so that in the grave hour of our country we can force our way to freedom. The student body as a whole had alreaday shown the world its aspirations. War is over but we have to face new problems. After the war, the economic depression has been already at its height. India shall be grievously affected more than now by the imperialist domination or by the Indian capitalists Government in the after-war world. Therfore, with all our might we have to face the critical days which are ahead of us. To make our attempts successful, let the students put all their sectional interest and squabbles in cold storage.

The higher the conception, the larger the outlook and greater will be the necessity of a wider organisation. Big undertakings by their very nature call for more people. Want of scientific organisation si one of the serious defects among the students' rank
and it cuts at the roots of our solidarity. Hence the immediate necessity for a strong well-knit, and an all-embracing organisation. Bearing this in mind, we have to remodel our organisation on a sound divisional and departmental basis. Unless the work is well divided unless we make ourselves efficient in divisional work not only we will fail to achieve our desired ends but we will make this youthful organisation to a paper organisation.

Before coming to the analysis of the divisional work, something must be said about the functions of local or provincial units and the duty of the students belonging to the units. Every student must make up his or her mind to pay a visit to the office at least once in eight days to know how the work is carried on and criticise its working if he feels that it is not proceeding on the right lines. The duty of the primary members is to see how the representatives of the local units function. The students councils which are representatives of the primary members will have to work in co-ordination with the primary members in order that sincere and hard working workers may be selected according to their individual capacities. The members of the students' council must visit the office once in
a day to supervise the work of the office bearers. Again, the members of the students' council should attend all the student study circle class and lectures arranged in the office. The executive committee members of the local or provincial body must go to the office once in three days to have discussion and to answer criticisms raised by the students or members. The executive members must particularly take part in the divisional or departmental working according to their ability and taste.

If the executive committee members absent themselves consecutively without informing the office for a period of 15 days they shall be removed from the executive list. If this system is followed, the office bearers or the representatives of the students will be active and the work will not suffer. Every student must devote at least half-an-hour a day towards his organisation. If we can make the primary members and the representatives attend the office, the students will not only be brought under one organisation but they will be politically conscious.

DIVISIONAL AND DEPARTMENTAL WORK

The office work.

Every unit will have an office. The office secretary
manages the office work. There must be 10 workers including the office secretary. Three members among them should devote their attention to the work of cartooning and placard working. Most of our students are ignorant of the problems and conditions of our country, as for instance, population, industries, indigenous Industries, trade unions etc., The present educational system is to be blamed for this. To educate students on National lines and to create national, political and social consciousness, we should popularise cartoon and placard work. For instance, in the cartoons, we can sketch, what is Communist India, what is Pakistan according to the Muslim League, what is Hindu India according to the Hindu-Sabha and finally Nationalist India. How the foreign rule has brought ruin on us in every field of human activity can be depicted by a cartoon and by placard work. Further more, we can sketch our educational institutions in comparison with foreign Universities which will be more impressive and attractive to students and the public. For instance, in U. S. S. R. the state spends £7 or Rs. 150 on every child, in England they spend £2 or Rs. 26 and where as in India, the India Government is spending 1. d or Rs. 0.1.0. per child per annum. U. S. S. R. whose
population is only 19 crores is turning out yearly 25,000 medical graduates where as India whose population is about 40 crores, has only 12 Medical colleges to its credit whose production is limited to 2000 medical graduates. India being an agricultural country with 80 per cent. peasants, famines have become very acute. To our credit we have 6 agricultural colleges with 1459 students and the passes declared are only 40 per cent. Forestry—we have two colleges—51 students; still our economists, the enlightened loyalists and the Government think of developing our forests.

We have millions of cows but we import Denmark milk for our rich sons and daughters of our country. We have 4 Veterinary Institutions with a student population of 760; Teacher’s training—we have 25 institutions with 2,229 students. India had to depend on the foreign supplies for such simple things as nuts, blades, pins and bolts because we have only 7 Engineering Colleges with 2500 students. Most astonishing thing is that there are 2380 officers whose pay is above 50000 rupees per mensom among them only 60 are Indians. This is our blessed position to-day. In short, the cartoonist must always make it a point to impress nationalists by contrasting side by side the principles and aims of political parties and the
communal bodies. When students are educated in this line, they will enrol themselves as workers soon. Among other members of the office, 3 students shall attend to the library section. Let them collect books from students and citizens and place in the office. The students who come to office will study different issues and they will be enlightened. If class books are collected and distributed among the poor students, they will be much benefitted. If proper arrangements are made, story books, books on day to day politics can be distributed among the workers and villagers. The other 3 students will explain in the office all the criticisms or answer to any question put by the visitors or students.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

Next comes the Political Department. The Secretary of this department will have as many workers as possible according to the number of institutions that the local unit has. In every institution, meetings should be arranged by the workers of this department. They must submit their report to the office through their political Secretary. Secondly, he will arrange study circles once in a week in the office or else where and different subjects will be discussed to educate students. Thirdly, at the time of the examination, he should arrange lectures on different subjects for
the benefit of the examination going students. Fourthly, the Secretary should be responsible for the distribution of pamphlets if any, and will flash out the news from institution to institution.

PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT

The third divisional work is the propaganda department. It is the life of the organisation. The Departmental Secretary will have some students under his control and will run a ‘paper’ for the benefit of the primary members. As it is difficult to get papers, he can distribute a copy among the members of the student Council. In the first page, there will be an editorial column. Right criticisms by the students should be allowed. Reports of the different departments, questions and answers should be published in the paper. Another important item of it is to announce once in 15 days the accounts of the organisation. Unless students and the public are given financial accounts now and then, funds will not be forthcoming. If we give correct lead to this effect, money can be easily collected. This department can make and unmake things. If it is efficient, in no time it will bring all students under its banner. Important extracts can be sent to All-India Students’ Magazine Section, or fort-nightly Journal which
will serve as the authoritative information. If the student organisation maintains such a record, it would serve as the authoritative literature on the student movement in our country. When this kind of propaganda department is kept in every local, district and province wide, not only the students will be educated but in times of crisis, the whole Government will be paralysed if it is organised scientifically.

TRADE UNION DEPARTMENT

This is another important problem that faces the nationalist forces to-day. So far we were not interested in Trade Unions and Kisan Sabhas. India is a land of workers and peasants. As the Socialism is the order of the day, the growing power of the proletariats and the peasants cannot be checked by any artificial method by any one. We have discussed in the foregoing chapters, the class spirit among students. But students as the torch bearers of freedom and as a dependent force of the most progressive forces like the workers and peasants, the progressive forces should be educated by students on right lines. By doing so, students also will understand the problems that the country has confronted with. Illiteracy ignorance, ill-health, insecurity and exploitation are some
of the symptoms of the disease from which our social organism suffers. Unless we live and work with the masses whatever may be the tub-thumping oratory, empty words of revolution and Socialism, we cannot remove the present day evils and will not prepare the country to achieve her freedom.

Unless we do away with the social and economic inequality, our position will not be improved. Therefore it is essential that the students should enter Trade Unions to understand their difficult problems and try to redress them. Time may come when we may be able to start cooperative Industries and march through the socialistic states. Having this as background, every unit should have a trade union Secretary. And those who are interested will organise wherever possible. The students must study their economic problems, start night schools, games, arranging lantern lectures and group discussions on various problems. During summer holidays students can go to villages and organise Kisan Sabhas and educate the masses. It is worth mentioning that some of the students during the holidays went from village to village organising the 'Village Panchayats.' In U. P. Student's Congress workers Comrades, Sadhuram Saxena,
Sheonarayan Lal Saxena, Bholanath Sinha, Madangopal Mahendra, and Jagdish Dixit have organised many Village Panchyats and Trade Unions and carried on constructive programme with other friends. It is interesting to note that though they hold different ideologies, still they work in a team spirit in one and the same place. In other places too, the students are making their way into villages and factories which will pave the way for students to come into contact with the masses. If the students were to take up this problem earnestly all our burning problems will be solved which will pave the way for a strong movement in our country.

LITERACY AND RELIEF CAMPAIGN.

India is an agricultural land so the prosperity of the country depends upon the peasants. Gladstone rightly said, "the ryot is the back-bone of the nation." As long as he is poor, ignorant and illiterate, we cannot build our nation. Our national leaders are fighting for the nation for the last 50 years backed up by the people. The position of the villagers is not elevated though the congress is fighting for the well being of the villagers. Another striking feature of the people in our country is, the caste system. It is firmly entrenched in the economic foundation of the Indian society. Seventy millions of submerged humani-
ty in a religious community are not treated as the human beings but as beasts. Gandhiji’s life mission is to remove untouchability from the Hindu Religion, to create Hindu Muslim Unity, and to elevate the position of the peasantry. If we aspire to free our country, win the esteem and respect of the free-thinking nations of the world, we must do away with communalism. With all its nakedness it should be fought in every shape and form. Gandhiji’s words must ring in every one’s ears, “If Hinduism represents nothing but untouchability and the caste “system, it must perish.” Munshi’s words are worth quoting, “Harijans are the blood and bone of Hindus”. It is our duty to mingle with masses to remove these impediments that block our progress in every way. This kind of treatment of the harijans by the so-called caste Hindus, is the challenge of a new order of society with far-reaching consequences in the economic, political and the cultural structure of the Indian Society. Side by side we must create better feelings among the Hindus and Muslims. As long as we keep away from the people, political consciousness cannot be roused and there cannot be a clear understanding between the sister communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. Thirdly, it is the crushing poverty that is responsible for the astronomical increase of the population with markedly weak physique.
low vitality and illhealth. Fourthly famines and draughts are regular visitors of our country. The country is in a death grip of a terrible famine. We must be prepared to face more critical days and therefore better organisation and new technique must be adopted to prevent and eradicate the above grave problems.

Every local unit should have 'literacy' and 'Famine Relief Department.' To create confidence and enthusiasm, a Sub-Committee of the public as well as students be formed for which the Secretary of the Literacy and the Famine Relief department will be the convener. These two humanitarian works should go in many respects hand in hand. Let each of the student cut atleast 5% of his general expenditure and allot it monthly to the funds. If this suggestion is followed, we can raise the funds among ourselves.

The latter is an urgent problem that faces the country. Famines have spread in Bengal, Bihar, Rayala Sima, Travan-core, Bellary and now the whole of South India is affected. If we do not rise up to the occasion and open our eyes many more places will be affected. Money that is raised for these works can be distributed according to the needs. If the programme is successful more vigorous campaign can be launched. The other works that should be undertaken
side by side is the sanitation, starting co-operative stores, day and night schools in villages and arranging of Lantern lectures and other possible programme.

WORKING OF THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN.

Let the Committee call applications from the poor students. In every local place, there will be at least 30—40 applications. Let the Committee select 3 or 4 villages. Let poor students be promised that if one student were to educate an adult, that is to make him write his name, the student will be paid Re. 1/-.

Thereby, the poor student will be able to make 100 villagers read and write their names during the vacation. The poor student will be paid Rs. 100 which will suffice for his books or other necessaries. Further, the student will carry out other programmes in the villages.

Moreover, the sub-committee, must raise funds by way of contributions or through variety entertainments or by raising public funds. We must bear in mind, that the Indian National Congress being the parental organisation, students always work for the success of the Congress. During elections lacs of rupees are spent by way of propaganda and in other ways. If a part of that amount is given to the students' sub-Committee, many poor students will be saved.
This aspect is already discussed in VIII Chapter. Further in the recent elections, the so-called parties, the Communists and the Royists spent enormous sums to get some seats in the Assembly. They contested more than 200 seats and in most cases they lost their deposits. Added to these, more than 2 to 3 lacs of rupees were spent in many ways. If this was utilised for poor students much constructive programme would have been carried out and they would have prepared the masses on different levels. Or if these revolutionary parties had purchased 'Magic-Lanterns' for the same amount, thousands of workers would have gone to villages with a view to educate the masses and the workers on revolutionary lines. Theory and practice are conditional by each other. Lenin was fond of repeating an observation of Goethe that "theory is gray but the life of a tree is ever green". He also said that "an ounce of practice is better than a ton of theory." Revolutions will not come through elections or giving training in hilly places but through hard work, tireless propaganda and sacrifice. "Revolutionary Party instructs the masses and the masses in turn instruct the Party". The masses have instructed these parties to liquidate their irrational forces in these elections. In times of elections students are asked to carry the massage of the Congress to every part of the country.
If the Congress can help the poor students as afore said, not only the masses are served but the poor students are saved. The students will prepare the masses for a final blow against the most hated enemies of our land, the British Imperialists and Indian Capitalists. To make our example still more vivid to students and readers outstanding illustration of Madras drive against illiteracy and social upliftment during the last Congress Ministry, Mysore University settlement, Bombay drive against illiteracy, are worth studying. Mysore Government established University Settlement where needy students were given a stipend of Rs. 12 per mensem with free quarters to 50 students. Honorary workers also were working in the Settlement Plan. The students had to visit slums, Labour and Scavenger colonies to conduct night classes and games in the evenings. Annual Sports were held in Bangalore and Mysore cities. Prizes were distributed among the boys. Added to the initiative of the University authorities, in the Executive Committee of the University Settlement Council proper representation was given to the students seeking the co-operation of the students in every matter. It was a tremendous success and the students could do constructive work and a direct approach was made do understand the difficulties of these down trodden people.
During the Congress Ministry in 1937, the government of Madras enforced a wide scheme of conducting games among the villagers with a view to kill the fear of the Police among the villagers. A Police Inspector was appointed in every Taluk to conduct games among the villagers. The sub-collector had to visit all the places to supervise the work. The Munsifs and Karmans, head of the thriff (7 villages), and the accountant, were threatened with dire consequences if they could not bring a unit from their respective units. Annual sports were held where all the units were represented. The sub-Collector and other officers had to conduct the annual function. Prizes were distributed among the victorious parties. Some village unit had come with uniforms, some units came to the field like Indian Pahalwans (Wrestlers). If it was conducted for some years the villagers would have improved. If the needy students and student workers were to be sent to the villages, in course of a few years we can enlighten the masses through night schools, magic-lantern lectures, games and other constructive programme during the vacation. Time is not far off when we will educate our people through moving pictures.
WORKING OF THE FAMINE RELIEF CAMPAIGN

The gravity of the situation in times of famine cannot be overlooked. Till we are free, till all the means of production, distribution and exchange are not in the hands of the real representatives of the masses, the visits of these famines cannot be avoided. Under the garb of trusteeship, religion, nationalism and democracy, in a capitalistic state exploitation leads to unbearable consequences. The Capitalists, Industrialists, Indian Jews are rallying round the petty-bourgeois Chavnis under the slogan of "Economic Planning," "Class Collaboration," and "Trusteeship," etc. Under these conditions famines are inevitable. Local student organisations should have some student workers who can carry economic survey of the villages and they must be trained in 'first aid.' They must work in close co-operation with the literacy campaign. At this scale, in every province there will be at least 100 well trained workers who can run to any famine affected area, to render humanitarian service. For instance, in Mysore in 1942, the students had collected Rs. 200/- medicine as precaution if there was any lathy charge or firing by the police. There were well trained volunteers for that purpose. On All-India basis, large amount of medicine can be collected
in times of crisis. If the Student's Congress can raise a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 for Kamla Nehru Hospital, it is not a difficult task to raise funds when there is a 'National crisis' like 'Famine'. In 1943, the nationalist students of Mysore had collected Rs. 5000/- and Rs. 10,000 worth of clothes for Bengal Famine. If an All-India purge is made in the above directions, we can revolutionise our country.

VOLUNTEER CORPS.

Lastly, a volunteer organisation is also essential. The Akhada Movement should be encouraged. We are given to understand that the Student's Congress has given directions to the local units to organise volunteer Corps. To-day we are in need of trained men in every field and much more so in organisational, divisional and departmental work. These trained volunteers will themselves form batches and give all possible training and educate themselves. A beginning has been made in this direction already in Sitapur District, U. P., and now the same leaders are organising in Lakhimpur Kehri District U. P.

Many of the students and people do not understand the importance of such a training, its effects and usefulness for not only to the students but to the country.
itself. Perhaps, the working of the method of Sitapur Sainikshala is worth noting. The main organisers of Sainikashala are, Coms. Madan Gopal Mahendra, Sushil Chandra Gupta and Murli Manohar Rastogi who toured all the places in the district to make it a district-wide organisation and to give training to the students. There are 70 volunteers who are whole time workers and 150 volunteers who can devote 2 hours a day. The organisation is divided into Shakhas (branches) and they have made one of their leader Com. Murli Manohar Rastogi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Sainikashala, on whose discretion the leaders are selected from the ‘Shakhas’ in order to check the power and party politics. They are very successful in so far killing the most deadly of the deadliest, the ‘power’ and ‘Party’ politics. No doubt, there are parties in the Sainikshala. If the organisation were to select its leaders according to the capability and efficiency, no matter to whatever party one belongs if one is not detrimental to the interest of the country, he should be selected. This is only the way in tackling the problem.

Another note worthy feature of this volunteer organisation is, that they are holding discussions on every week on different subjects and allow equal opportunity to every member to express his thoughts. According to the pro-
gramme, they hope to run night schools and during vacation, they propose to visit villages to organise Kisan Sabhas and Trade Unions in the Towns.

They are enrolling the non-students in order to evolve a common programme and plan of action keeping in mind the urgent need, the preparation for the ultimate overthrow of the British Government at an early date. They must take to divisional work which will pave the way for the regimentation of the whole of the student community. If the future depends upon the youths of this country who are the torch-bearers of freedom their daily prayer should be:

"No more shall man snatch away another's food.
No more the life where man sees another in misery
Flourishing gardens; vast paddy fields galore in our land
Roots, grains, fruits our lands offer profuse.
This single vow we take here and
And we this keep for ever
If one single soul should go without food
Know then we smash the Universe to smithereens."

(Bharathi, National Poet of Tamil Nad,) JAI HIND.
Belongs to: