

**MAOIST STUDENT MOVEMENT IN OSMANIA UNIVERSITY
(1971 - 1978)**

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(1971 - 1978)**

EDLA VENKAT PRAKASH RAO

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fulfilment of the requirement for
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**Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
New Delhi - 110067**

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

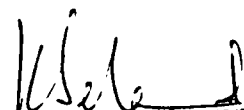
Gram : JAYBNU

Telephone : 652282
652114

New Mehrauli Road,
NEW DELHI-110067.

C E R T I F I C A T E

This dissertation entitled "MAOIST STUDENT MOVEMENT IN OSMANIA UNIVERSITY" submitted by Edlavenkot Prakash Rao for the degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. We recommend this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for the evaluation.


PROF. K. SESHADRI
Supervisor


PROF. C.P. CHHABRI
CHAIRMAN

CHAIRMAN,
Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences,
Jawaharlal Nehru University
NEW DELHI-110067

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P R E F A C E

Keeping in view the requirements of research on student politics, the present work seeks to study the dynamics of student behaviour, their political beliefs and values with emphasis on their ideological orientation.

In the first chapter, an attempt has been made to identify the various issues considered central to the understanding of student behaviour and also to identify the various social forces that have a bearing on the academic milieu.

The second chapter deals with the nature of student movement till the year 1971 with emphasis on the various issues which found the students of Osmania University in a Confrontation with the University authorities on the one hand and the State government on the other. The Separate Telangana Agitation and its impact on the University is also discussed.

In the third chapter, an attempt has been made to underscore the national and international situation in the context of the Maoist movement in India with emphasis on the world economic crisis obtaining at the turn of the decade of seventies.

The fourth chapter addresses itself to the impact of Maoist movement on the student movement in Osmania University with particular reference to student organisations owing allegiance to the CPI(ML).

The concluding chapter attempts an overall view of the study in a nut-shell.

PRAKASH RAO HEDLA
New Delhi

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T

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PRAKASH RAO EDLA
New Delhi

CHAPTER - 1**UNDERSTANDING STUDENT MOVEMENT - ISSUES AND DIMENSIONS**

The increasing current interest in understanding and analysing the political behaviour of students, their political movements and attitudes was long overdue. Students played a vital role in the revolutions of 1848 in Germany and Austria and in Czarist Russia too the students spear-headed various revolutionary movements resulting in the Universities becoming a center for revolutionary activities. Of course, the role of students in society was recognized as early as in the 17th century when Thomas Hobbes wrote : "The Universities have been to this nation, as the wooden horse was to the Trojans I despair of any lasting peace among ourselves, till the Universities here shall bend and direct their studies to the settling of it, that is, to the teaching of absolute obedience to the laws of the King The core of the rebellion, as you have seen by this, and read of other rebellions, are the Universities; which nevertheless are not to be cast away, but to be better disciplined".¹

¹ Thomas Hobbes of Oxford in his book Behemoth : The History of the causes of the Civil Wars, and of the Counsels and artifices by which they were carried on from the year 1640 to the year 1660.

Students who are often regarded as the staunch advocates of modern ideas of liberty, equality, socialism, industrialisation etc. have had a pivotal role to play in the national liberation and anti-colonial struggles of Asian and African countries. Though the students constituted a central element in the Imperial efforts at modernization in Imperial China, it was they again who spread republican and radical ideas and helped overthrow the dynasty in 1911. In this case, students who have had their education abroad, mostly in Europe, were found more inclined and oriented towards ideas of modernization and Marxism, Socialism and struggle. Though they played a major role in many reform and radical movements, their role was rather deprecated by scholars of the times for, perhaps, they were of the opinion that a study of the role of social classes, religion etc. is more important in understanding the significance of societal issues.

In the Marxist understanding too, students and intellectuals are not considered to be important independent social forces for they have been included in the 'Petty-bourgeois' category prone to frequent shifts inkeeping with the dominant ideological undercurrents.

Though students have been a major force in the toppling of and offering resistance to many governments, their role is rather undermined as they only accelerated a particular change and political actions. In the ultimate analysis, it was other

forces like the army and popular pressure which led revolutionary movements to fruition.

In any case, students constitute a force to be reckoned with for various reasons. Firstly, students are relatively more accessible and available for support when compared to other social forces. For instance, the workers as constituents of their organisational institutions like Trade Unions etc. are blended into a system of collective bargaining and questions of representation where they accept some sort of statusquo with regard to the established political pattern and thus avoid resort to the use of extralegal and extraparlimentary tactics. Secondly, the University campuses also provide a congenial atmosphere for a student to be involved in radical activities. As large numbers of students are concentrated in a very small area, it renders very easy the fast mobilisation to stage effective demonstrations. This along with the general orientation of tolerance towards students as a result of their multi-class composition present in many societies help students wield considerable influence.

In the case of India, the colonial legacy of the educational system, where the purpose of education was only to find a native interpreter to translate the colonial designs into reality, continued to dominate even after 1947. Knowledge of English continued to dominate higher education and remained as a prerequisite to secure important jobs for other sectors of high status employment. Yet, when we go by the statistics,

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we find that English-educated constitute only a fraction of the total population in India. Thus English-education remained confined to the cream of the society - the elite. "In 1968-69, according to the Education Ministry, there were about 349 million illiterate people in the country, representing about 70 per cent of the population".² "Of the rest, which included those who could sign their names also, the English-educated persons constituted about 8.2 million according to one computation."³ Thus the percentage of people possessing knowledge of English in proportion to the total population is calculated to about 2 per cent. Gunnar Myrdal, in the late sixties, observed that the educational system "conformed closely to the old colonial pattern of building up a highly educated elite with an attached lower rank of technical personnel functioning as subalterns, while leaving the population at large in a state of ignorance."⁴

This system of education led to an imminent crisis where the expansion of higher education, in response to middle-class demands, was not supplemented by a corresponding

2 The Statesman, New Delhi, April 21, 1969.

3 Prakash, Karat, Role of English-educated in Indian Politics: Social Scientist, November, 1972.

4 Myrdal, Gunnar, Asian Drama: Vol. III Penguin Books, 1968, p. 1669.

increase in economic growth and hence in prospects of employment. Thus the students found themselves engulfed by a total sense of insecurity. This in turn turned them hostile to the entire educational system which they felt is a natural corollary of the socio-economic situation.

It is here that a distinction be attempted between the students and the peasants. While in the case of peasants the urge to revolt against the established system was born out of years of mass-scale oppression - political, social and economic - the students resorted to it mainly as an outlet for their frustration with a system that failed to provide them with access to higher rungs of the social ladder rendering their diplomas and degrees futile. This is explained when we recall that towards the end of 1971, most students who took part in the Naxalbury and Srikakulam uprisings gave in when the Government, after severe repression, held out employment avenues. The recognition of this factor - economic and intellectual frustration - has been more or less incorporated into the general policy of the Govt. of India with regard to curtailment of student and youth participation in anti-establishment activities. Very recently, the Bihar State government launched a scheme, the Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS),

in all the 47 Maxelite infested blocks of the State.⁵

But then, this was pointed out by Lenin years ago : "The petty-bourgeoisie driven to frenzy by the horrors of capitalism is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, its liability to become swiftly transformed into submission, apathy, fantasy, and even a 'frenzied' infatuation with one or another bourgeois 'fad' - all this is a matter of common knowledge...."⁶

In any case, it is generally considered that despite the apolitical and moderate views of majority of students in many campuses, the students constitute a definite potential mass-base for revolutionary movements. It was observed in many cases that a small group of articulate student-activists were successful in mobilising large numbers in times of crises. For instance, in the Berkley student revolt a "small cadre of articulate students built upon substantial student discontent with political and educational

5. Hindustan Times, (New Delhi) July 13, 1982

6. Lenin, V.I., "Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" : Selected Works, Vol II, Moscow

issues to precipitate major issues."⁷

The role of Political Parties in politicizing students constitutes a significant factor in the understanding of student politics. In fact, most of the student organisations in India act as student wings of national parties. But then the process of politicization of educational institutions flows from many other factors as well which ultimately link the student body with the body politic and also the sub-system of student politics with the broader political system. Politicization of educational institutions is characterized by Rudolph and Rudolph as the appropriation of educational structure and resources and the displacement of educational goals by organised political and community (Religion, caste, locality) interests. They consider that the purpose of politicization is to "subsume the educational processes of particular educational institutions to those of organised extraeducational interests".⁸

7. Altbach, P.G., "India and the World University Crisis", in Altbach (ed) Student Revolution.

8. Rudolph, S.H. and Rudolph, L.I. Education and Politics in India.

Further, it "is a part of a larger process of politicization in India in which an increasing number of actors in various political arenas attempt to maximise political resources and through it political influence and power."⁹

The need for the Political Parties to politicize the campuses flows from their understanding that students constitute a solid base for their political operations. They also recognize the students potential to mobilize support to their political actions at short notice even to the extent of leading and participating in militant activities. The general psychology of youth, as distinguished from other social forces, marked by impatience and a tendency to attribute all the existing or 'supposed to be existing' evils to the broader spectrum - the social system - make it worth their time for the Political Parties to secure influence over them. Thus the Political Parties to secure influence over them. Thus the Political Parties evince keen interest in recruiting students as a 'social class' and a 'political category' in a bid to further their own partisan ends. It is here that the general economic and intellectual

9. Ibid.

frustration of the students is skilfully used for matters of political expediency. These efforts of politicization are buttressed by the perception of the student leaders that they can successfully emerge as leaders on the wider political arena only when they establish a rapport with the leaders of various Political Parties. Since it is almost an established fact that the process of politicization and political influence is greatly accelerated during a crisis in the academic sphere, the Political Parties sponsor such agitations which disrupt the normal academic schedules. The student leaders too will be on the look out for such situations where they are given ample opportunity to prove their mettle as leaders. Thus the interference of political parties provides a new dimension to student politics. The campus politics are transformed into partisan politics consequent upon which the campus issues also are transformed into partisan and political issues. In the context, Altbach observes that in Indian Universities where outside political interference is

limited, their tends to be less agitation.¹⁰

Many research findings hold that politics, political influence and politicization are inherent in the infrastructure of the Universities in India. Rudolph and Rudolph in their analysis of the pattern of interaction between educational and political system point out that the Political system affects education both through (i) the instrumentality of government action and (ii) the machination of political parties, especially as they influence student bodies and sometimes even academic bodies. The instrumentality of government action accrues from the legal sanction behind the formation of the Universities on the one hand and formulation of policies by the Govt. to be adopted by them on the other. The government reserves the right to make appointments to key-posts in the University. This along with the dependence of the

10. Altbach, P.G., op.cit. Eakin from his study of Bombay University found low level of student political involvement in view of less contact of Political Parties with the students of Bombay University.

Eakin, T.C., Students and Politics : A Comparative Study.

Universities on the government for financial assistance render their autonomy a mere normative conception. The expansion of the educational system by the government in response to the middle-class demands and also the inception of various institutions like Social Welfare scholarships etc. made the University atmosphere more heterogeneous. While hitherto University education was an exclusive privilege of the elites, now students belonging to the underprivileged and deprived categories could also gain access to Universities. It also resulted in a scarcity of physical facilities giving room for a sense of insecurity among students. All these in turn led to the alienation of such students from academic pursuits as they could not stand up to the stiff competition in the face of the educational system biased still in favour of the privileged sections. Such alienation of students result in the development of a natural propensity to channelise their energies and facilities into the canons of Politics.

For a better understanding of Students' political involvement, the various factors or variables likely to effect the political behaviour of students should be understood. Empirically based researches offer

a host of variables which may influence students' political behaviour. These variables can be classified under two categories (i) Student - background variables and (ii) Institutional variables. While in the first category variables such as demography, discipline of study, family background etc are studied, the second category deals with variables like location, auspices, quality of the University, academic ecology, social and political complexion of the student body etc.

While dealing with student-background variables, researchers are of the opinion that :

- (1) Students from poorer strata possess an orientation towards 'upward mobility and the values of the privileged' and so are vocationally oriented. This along with the need to support themselves financially curtails political activism among such students.¹¹

11. Lipset, S.M., "Students and Politics in Comparative Perspective in Student Revolution."

- (ii) Politically active students usually come from families that were politically active especially in the case of girl students.¹²
- (iii) Disciplines of liberal arts - humanities and social sciences - tend to produce more number of activists than disciplines like technology, engineering and other such allied sciences.¹³
- (iv) Girl students are politically less active.¹⁴
- (v) Students on both ends of the ideological spectrum i.e. extreme left and extreme right tend to be more active in politics than students who belong to the middle categories. Also, that Leftists tend to participate in political activities more than conservatives.¹⁵

12. Hymen, H., Political Socialisation: A Study in Psychology of Political Behaviour.

13. Spencer, M., "Professional, Scientific and Intellectual Students in India", in Lipset (ed) Student Politics

14. Hymen, H., op.cit pp. 32-40

15. For a detailed research on the impact of ideology on political activity, see Seers, G.A.D., "The Active Few: Students Ideology and Participation in Developing Countries", Student Revolution.

- (vi) Students who take themselves more for intellectuals than as professionals are more politically active.¹⁶
- (vii) Those students who experience a conflict between their family tradition - conservative, liberal etc - and the political atmosphere tend to remain apolitical.¹⁷

And while dealing with the institutional variables, they say that :

- (i) Politicization is more likely to occur in Universities where academic standards are poor and where academic schedules are grossly neglected. Various researches explain that a University's examination system and the academic pressures on the students determine the level of political activism and also the period of this activism in Indian Universities. Universities where students are kept preoccupied with their studies by way

16. Eskin, T.C., Students and Politics : A Comparative Study.
17. Lipset, S.M. & Altsch, P.S. (Eds), Students in Revolt, Boston : Beacon, 1970.

of high academic expectations, continuous assessment etc. are less likely to participate in politics and engage themselves in disruptive agitational activities.¹⁸

(ii) The size of the University and condition of multiversity have a larger say on the political climate of the campus. Various case studies show that student agitations are more common in Universities having larger population.¹⁹

(iii) Confrontation politics is characteristic of Universities where legitimate and effective channels of communication between the authorities and students and also student participation in decision-making bodies are lacking.²⁰

(iv) Diverse geographic and social composition of a student body, relatively less interference of government in University autonomy, hygienic campus environment coupled with competent faculty members make student

18. Emmerson, D.K., Student Politics in Developing Nations.

19. Scott, T.W. & Assal, M.E., "University, University Size, University Quality and Student Protest", American Sociological Review, XXXIV, October 1969, P. 704.

20. Emmerson, D.K., op.cit.

agitation a rarity. It is also said that intellectuals who are resentful of their society often stimulate rebellious 'apprentice-intellectuals' - student.²¹

(v) Radical politics is characteristic of Universities the alumni of which have very bleak employment prospects.²²

Frank Pinner is of the opinion that young people, especially students, join Organisations or integrated collectivities because they would have just then left their families, their home town or friends and hence are anxious disoriented and lonely. They find in Organisational life - particularly in movements that have a sense of commitment, purpose, and high intimacy - a kind of replacement for the collectivity they have just left. He also divides student organisations for analytical purposes into Traditional and Transgressive groups. While traditional groups attempt to socialise their members into the role of conventional citizens of the society, the Transgressive groups are divided mainly against the authority structures of the society."²³

21. Rudolph, S.H., & Rudolph, L.I., Education and Politics in India.

22. Emerson, D.K., op. cit.

23. Pinner, F.A., quoted in Lipset, S.M., Students in Revolt.

Some researchers are of the opinion that movements concerned with value change are more prevalent where the difference between the values of the University and Society is considerable. Since University education is considered to be a modernizing force, in underdeveloped countries it is bound to be in conflict with those elements seeking to maintain traditional values.

It is with the help of these distinctions that they seek to account for the varying emphasis on ideology among students. They argue that since in developing countries there is enormous tension between the formal values of a University and that of the society, the ideological concerns of the students remain important. They support their contention by attempting a contrast with Western countries marked by less tension between the values of the University and Society especially in the post-war period where student politics center more around specific issues than ideological issues.

Thus, if the studies cited above are any indication, the politicisation of students and their political behaviour are contingent upon many factors an understanding of which should be considered important

and indispensable to attempt any meaningful and
conclusive analysis of a particular student
movement.

Chapter II

STUDENT MOVEMENT IN OSMANIA UNIVERSITY TILL 1971

Whereas that students played an important role in the struggle for Independence is a matter of common knowledge, a general understanding of the student movement and the participation of students in the political processes during the freedom struggle and in the post-independence era becomes central to our study. For, the roots of contemporary student movement can be traced to the freedom struggle where large numbers of students in response to the call given by the nationalist leaders turned away from the academic mainstream to join the struggle for Independence. Hence with the advent of Independence, the student movement in India was bound to undergo a qualitative change as it had no common goal to be pursued unlike during the freedom struggle when the only or prime consideration of achieving independence provided the common basis for all sections of student population to converge upon. This along with the relatively more homogenous and compact composition of the student population in the pre-independence era marked a difference in the student movement before and after 1947.

Though by the year 1900 itself, several student organisations were founded, it was only when the

nationalist movement assumed the nature of a mass and political movement with a touch of militancy that the students were drawn into the mainstream of the struggle for independence. As one British commentator aptly observed, "it was not till after the political and racial excitement (of the nationalist movement) that the youth attending schools and colleges showed signs of turbulence and insubordination"¹.

The decade of 1920's experienced the increasing involvement of students in politics as a sequel to the Congress assuming a militant character and also to the transformation of the Indian National Congress into a mass movement. "The articulate and militant nationalism of the Congress appealed to the students because it provided the opportunity for dramatic political action and promised speedy independence for India".² The Non-Congre Cooperation Movement launched under the stewardship of Gandhi provided to the students their first experience of a mass struggle culminating in the formation of a national student federation of India. The first All-India College Student Conference held at Nagpur in 1920 underscored the need to coordinate the student political activities all over the country. The 1930's brought with it more and more

1. Quoted by Altbach, P.G. "Student Politics and Higher Education in India", in Lipset, S.M. & Altbach, P.G. (eds), Students in Revolt, Boston : Beacon Press, 1970.

2. Ibid.



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Avenues where students could participate and did participate in the struggle against the British. Closely on the heels of demonstrations against the Simon Commission in 1928, the Civil Disobedience Movement followed in 1930. The movement gathered momentum and entered an active phase with the students carrying out militant operations such as disruption of communication network, transport etc. They not only circulated proscribed newspapers but also provided the leadership in the form of liaison between the underground or imprisoned congress leaders and the movement. It was again as a by-product of the struggle during this decade that the All-India Students' Federation came into existence in the year 1936. But it was the 1942 'Quit India' Movement that drew the mass of students into the organisational fold of the nationalist movement marking the most organised and militant phase of the Indian student movement. "It is this movement that has given birth to new revolutionary youth, students and youth organisations.....There the revolutionary selection took place itself within the ranks of the youths and students"³.

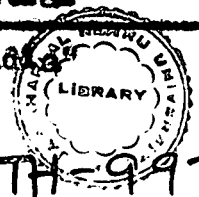
But with the advent of Independence, the student movement in India was largely shorn of its sense of militant unity and the ideological fervour which characterised the nationalist movement. The conservative Congress leadership, which rose to wield substantial

3. Reddy, Muni M. "The Student Movement in India"
Lucknow : Acharya, 1947

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power after 1947 and who hitherto looked to the students for their increasing participation in politics, started dissuading them from doing so. The students too were caught in a political and ideological quandary for the issues were no longer clear and inspiring. All these parochial sentiments and social malaises like that of caste, religious and regional loyalties which were thought to have been transgressed during the freedom struggle started raising their ugly heads. For the student who visualised a free-India where all such malaises have no place, it turned out to be a very doleful affair. The mushroom growth of educational institutions in response to the middle-class demands accentuated the problem of educated unemployment and also accounted for the dwindling academic standards leading to incompatibility of academic qualifications with the nature and remuneration of the job involved. Another consequence of this unplanned and rapid expansion of the educational system was that the campus atmosphere no more remained homogenous and thereby effective mobilisation of students along political and ideological lines was rendered difficult. Thus though the representatives to the student's Union elections are elected by the students, the choice is seldom exercised on the basis of any ideology but more often on issues relating to their

immediate demands on the University administration and policies like the examination policy, physical facilities, increase in Fee etc.

It is against this backdrop that we address ourselves to the student movement in Osmania University till the late 60's.

While the origins of student movement in Andhra Pradesh too could be traced to the nationalist struggle especially as the students in Andhra Pradesh fervently responded to the call given by the Congress, it remained far from a pervasive one. This was largely because of the unique composition of the State in terms of its political history. The present state of Andhra Pradesh, prior to 1956, was broadly divided into three regions - the Telangana, Rayalaseema and the Andhra. While the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions were a part of the erstwhile composite Madras State, the Telangana was under the feudal and despotic regime of the Nizam (Princely State). It is thus understandable that the Telangana region was not brought under the complete aegis of the nationalist movement.

However, after the merger of all these three regions into the present state of Andhra Pradesh on

1st November, 1956, the State had experienced several mass scale agitations with the students steering the wheel such as the agitation for the establishment of a steel plant at Vizag in 1967, the autonomy struggle at the Osmania University in 1966 and the protracted agitations for the formation of separate Telangana and Andhra states in 1969 and 1973 respectively.

A brief sketch of the history of Osmania University and its relationship with, and the place it enjoys in, the State of Andhra Pradesh will be of considerable significance in understanding the student movement there. The administrative hierarchy with emphasis on the functions of important offices is also important.

Osmania University was born in 1917 by the decree of His Exalted Highness Nizam Sir Osman Ali Khan so as to enable students from Hyderabad to pursue higher studies there itself without having to depend any longer on Madras and Aligarh Universities. By the year 1937, Osmania University which was earlier housed in rented buildings shifted to the University's present campus. Though the University was originally designed to be a residential university, it soon acquired the characteristics of an affiliating university also. The institution thus

came to be officially labelled a "residential, affiliating, teaching University". Soon after Independence, the medium of instruction changed from Urdu to English and the administration was revamped along more democratic lines in a bid to ensure University autonomy. The University Act of February 2, 1959 brought the administrative procedures in line with those of the then two other universities in the State - Andhra and Sri Venkateshwara Universities.

The office of the Vice-Chancellor, as in the case of all other Universities, constitutes the top most rung of the administrative ladder with all policy decisions and important decisions originating there. So powerful is the office of the Vice-chancellor that the power structure of the university and its efficacy is identified with the incumbent of this office. The University Registrar is responsible for policy-implementation and thus the administrative head at the level of execution. The University Syndicate and Senate are the two governing bodies. While the Senate is mainly concerned with academic regulations, the Syndicate is concerned with financial matters like the allocation of funds, the

regulation of salaries and pay scales, control of fees etc.

While discussing the position of the University vis-a-vis the State Government, one has to invariably mention the University (Amendment) Bill of 1965 and also the Osmania (Second Amendment) Act of 1966. These two legislative measures brought about by the Government of Andhra Pradesh occupies a central position in our present concern because they sparked off one of the most concerted and militant agitations of the University in the 60's.

Until 1960, there were only two major student organisations in Osmania University, the National Union of Students which later emerged as the Youth Congress and the All Hyderabad Students' Union dominated by the Communist Party of India. In late 1960's and early 70's a number of student organisations sprang up. Prominent among them are :

- 1. All India Students Federation (AISF)**
- 2. Student Federation of India (SFI)**
- 3. Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP)**
- 4. Progressive Democratic Student Union (PDSU)**
- 5. Radical Students Union (RSU)**
- 6. Democratic Students Organisation (DSO)**
- 7. National Students Union of India (NSUI)**

Before the struggle for preserving University autonomy in October, 1966, there were very few protest strikes mostly in the form of spontaneous outbursts over demands like fee-reduction etc. These protest strikes were organised by the Students' Union of the respective colleges and there was no organised attempt by any politically oriented organisations. The Students' Union elections too were fought more along personality lines than on the basis of political views or any ideology. Caste and religious factors also played a role in campus politics. "In 1964 there was a major clash between two major communities swearing by two different religious denominations resulting in paralysing the administration for a couple of weeks" ⁴.

However, the autonomy struggle (as is popularly referred to) was a step further in the history of student movement in Omania University. For the first time, all sections of student groups and teachers of the university shared the common platform to protest against the interference of the government in the internal affairs of the University. Before we attempt an objective analysis of the agitation, it is imperative to highlight certain facts relating to it.

4. Reddy, N.Y. "Values and Attitudes of Indian Youth", Light and Life, 1980

Though the States were accorded jurisdiction over education with the exception of a few universities and technological institutes under the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India, University autonomy was no where insured. In 1965, the Government of Andhra Pradesh through the Osmania University (Amendment) Bill, changed the mode of appointment of the vice-chancellor from nomination by the Chancellor from a list of three names selected by a panel of three prominent persons not associated with the university to direct appointment by the Governor who is also the ex-officio Chancellor of the University. The bill also conferred upon the Chancellor the right to remove the vice-chancellor on "the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity".⁵ The composition of the Senate and the Syndicate was so altered that the University was rendered less powerful vis-a-vis the government. Another controversial provision was Section 7-A which reads as follows :

"The Government may, after consultation with the University, give to the University, instructions relating to matters of major educational policy such as pattern of

5. Shaw, R.C. "Student Politics & Student Leadership in an Indian University: The case of Osmania". in Philip G. Altbach(ed) Turmoil & Transition: Bombay Lalvani, 1968.

university education, medium of instruction, and establishment of post-graduate centres to be followed by it" ⁶.

Again in April, 1966 an amendment to the University Act, Orissa (Second Amendment) Act was passed by the state legislature introducing Section 13-A in Original Act which reduced the tenure of the Vice-chancellor from 5 to 3 years. Under the new law, the Chancellor became obligated to appoint a new vice-chancellor within 90 days of the amendment's inception in April, 1966.

On May 31, 1966 Dr. D.S. Reddi, the then vice-chancellor of Orissa University, challenged Section 13-A in the High Court and got the operation of the disputed section stayed on the ground that it has been introduced | ".....due to personal animus and hostility that developed between the Chief Minister, Mr. K. Brahmamanda Reddy, and himself with the sole object of getting rid of Dr. Reddi"⁷. Finally, the High Court dismissed not only Dr. Reddi's writ petition on October 13, 1966 but also his second petition praying permission to appeal to the Supreme Court of India on October 26, 1966. Consequent upon

6. Ibid.

7. The Hindu(Madras), October 28, 1966

this, the chancellor, Mr. Patton Thanu Pillai, named one Dr. Narasimha Rao as the Vice-Chancellor on October 27th. But on October 28th, the Supreme Court of India unanimously passed an injunction granting Dr. Reddi "special leave" to appeal to his case and also restraining the new appointee from assuming office, pending the disposal of the case. It is in the light of this background information that an attempt to study the autonomy struggle could be made.

It is very important to record the fact that it was first the teachers of Osmania University who raised their voice of protest against the entire episode. The 28th October, 1966 issue of The Hindu on its first page in a prominent place carried the news item under the caption "New Osmania Varsity VC Appointed as Pro-Reddi Staff go on "Mass Leave"⁸. The teachers opposed the nomination of the vice-chancellor by the Chancellor and wanted a voice in the selection process. They also urged the newly appointed Vice-Chancellor not to take charge of his office. The Osmania University Teachers' Association (OUTA) also said that the manner in which the present vice-chancellor was sought to be replaced was in utter disregard of the university autonomy and democratic traditions.

8. Ibid

The office-bearers of all students' unions of the osmania university colleges resolved unanimously to go on a strike "to protest against the intervention of the government in the affairs of the university" 9.

On October 28th, a large number of students gathered in front of the Arts College building which then housed the Administrative Offices of the University and resolved to gherao the newly appointed vice-chancellor outside the building itself. They disrupted the communication network of the university by cutting telephone wires and pelted stones at taxis and buses which passed through the college. Later in the day, the students abducted the Registrar of the University to a place about 50 kms from Hyderabad so as to prevent him from going to the Chancellor who had summoned him to the Raj Bhavan to meet the new vice-chancellor with all relevant documents. On October 30th, the Osmania University Students' Association (OUSA) met and resolved to go on an indefinite strike on the basis of an 11 point charter of demands, some of which are mentioned here.

1. University autonomy must be preserved.
2. Andhra Pradesh must be awarded the 5th

Steel Pigt.

9. Ibid

3. Food ration cards should be issued to city students.
4. Police must stay off the campus unless requested to enter.
5. Old regulations of B.Sc, B.Com and B.A. examinations should be retained.
6. Evening college students should be granted bus concessions.
7. 3-Class rating should be abolished for post-graduate students.

In the mean time violence spread to the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad with several busses and street-lights damaged on October 31, at Secunderabad Railway station, police resorted to lathi-charge and teargas to disperse a mob of students indulging in violence and obstructing the flow of traffic. On November 6th, the Chief Minister in a meeting with the student leaders conceded bus concessions to evening college students and ration cards to district students living in the city. The Chief Minister also indicated that he was favourably disposed to the question of student representation on university's governing bodies. And so the students ended their strike.

Several interesting points are to be taken note of. Firstly, though the State government could not succeed in replacing Dr. Reddi for the Supreme Court verdict went against it, the fact remains that there is scope for governmental or political interference in the affairs of the university thereby rendering university autonomy a mere normative conception. Secondly, the nature of the demands made by the students amply testifies the fact that they were not very serious to the question of governmental interference in the internal affairs of the University. Thus when demands like Bus concessions and ration cards were conceded, they ended their strike. Thirdly, it also proved the extent of dependence of the teachers on the students to solve their problems. In this context, it should be pointed out that an Arts College Professor interviewed by Robert C. Shaw remarked : "we couldn't have done many of the things which students have done....". If the students were opposed to us they could escort the new vice-chancellor to the college. What we do then?"¹⁰. Fourthly, the fact that there was less discussion, all through the struggle, about the pros and cons of governmental interference in university affairs than about whether Dr. Reddi should stay or

10. Shaw R.C. op. cit

go goes to indicate that personalities mattered more than the actual issue involved. In this context, the Caption in The Hindu, "New Osmania Varsity VC Appointed as Pro-Reddi Staff go on 'Mass Leave'"¹¹ assumes significance. Caste factors were also important¹²: And lastly, as a result of the struggle the students came to feel that they have a right not only to be seated but also heard in policy-making bodies.

Thus the autonomy struggle can be said to have given a fillip to the student movement of Osmania University in the 60's, though it largely remained confined to making immediate demands on the university authorities. In this context, students' strike in the year 1965 for provision to promote those students who have failed in more than two subjects to the next year and another strike in the same year to demand parallel classes for those who failed but subsequently passed in the 4th and 5th years need to be mentioned. Both these strikes ended in success as the University authorities after initial opposition consequently conceded to these demands.

11. The Hindu(Madras), October 28, 1966

12. The new VC happened to be a Kamma by Caste. Since Dr. Reddi was a pro-Sanjiva Reddy man, the CM wanted to get rid of him and appoint Dr. Narasimha Rao to woo the Kamma Lobby in State politics. See Reddy, G. R. "Regionalism in India"

II

SEPARATE TELANGANA AGITATION (1969-71) - OSMAHIA UNIVERSITY

That a proper and comprehensive analysis of any Movement cannot be attempted without a substantial account of the socio-economic and political specificities of the particular region is empirically upheld by the fact that the Telangana agitation had had its roots in some of the political developments that took place even before the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Before the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the present state was broadly divided into two regions: The 9 Telangana districts plus some Kannada-speaking and Marathi-speaking districts (now in Karnataka and Maharashtra respectively) were under the feudal and authoritarian regime of the Nizam of Hyderabad till after Independence when Police action took place liberating the people of Telangana. Thus the people of Telangana did not have any significant role to play in the nationalist movement under the Indian National Congress. Also, the people of Telangana were oblivious of the democratic institutions underlying the system of local self-government functioning in the other parts of British India. Secondly, as a

Direct consequence of the feudal oppression under the authoritarian Nizam, there was virtually no social and economic development of the region in the spheres of Education, Agriculture, Irrigation, Transport and communication etc. On the other hand, the 11 districts of Andhra were a part of the Madras Presidency and later of the Composite Madras State. Thus the Andhra region came into the direct vicinity of the British rule and hence also the struggle against the British. They were also a beneficiary of the Imperialist economic policy viz: development of Railways, irrigation, education etc. apart from exposure to the system of local self-government.

It is observed by many political scientists that the seeds of the Telangana agitation were sown during the pre-merger era itself. The agitation fomented against the issue of false Mulk¹³ certificates and against Non-Mulkis in general "was a sort of dress-rehearsal of what happened in 1969 during Brahmamanda Reddy's Ministry"¹⁴. This

13. Testifying a person's residence in the Telangana area for a period of 15 years - then essential for purposes of employment and education in the Telangana region.

14. Seshadri, K, "The Telangana Agitation and the Politics of A.P." in I.J.P.S., Vol. 31, 1970

movement against the non-Mulkis which was later suppressed through stringent repressive measures was a clear barometer of the sentiments of the people of Telangana against the merger. The Communists have always taken the stand of a United State and infact it was they who had coined "Vishalandhra"¹⁵. These sentiments were so strong and popular that the States Re-organisation Committee under Fazia Ali submitted its report after recording the general feelings of the people of Telangana recommending that a separate State of Telangana be tried for a period of 5 years during which time the people could make up their minds either to remain separate or to join Andhra. However, the Central Government thrust a composite State of Andhra Pradesh on the people of Telangana by declaring certain "safeguards"¹⁶.

This issues involved in the agitation were mostly of economic exploitation by the

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15. Vishalandhra signifies a composite State of Andhra Pradesh.
 16. At the time of Telangana's merger with Andhra and Rayalseema, an agreement called the Gentlemen's Agreement was signed which among their things promised that the State leadership (CM) will accrue alternately to both the regions and that the posts in the Telangana region will be filled up by candidates belonging to Telangana only.

Andhras. Of course, the political configurations have had a lot to contribute to it in the ultimate analysis. But atleast the basis on which the agitation was popularised mobilizing the people was largely that the people of Telangana were being accorded steep-motherly treated on their own soil in matters of employment and educational opportunities etc. A second important grievance of the people of Telangana was regarding the diversion of the Telangana revenue for the development of the Andhra region.

The Agitation assumes significance in our study since it started essentially as a student protest against the failure of the government to implement the safeguards as enumerated in the Gentleman's Agreement concluded at the time of merger. Though the agitation started in the first week of January 1969 in Khammam, it very soon spread to all the districts of Telangana sparking off a series of violent incidents. That the agitation started only as a sporadic outburst without any political party or responsible politician providing the leadership is quite evident by the fact that till February 1969 it remained confined to the student community alone.

On January 16, 1969 the Osmania University Students' Union taking the cue from students in Khammam gave a call for an indefinite strike. The students were basically divided into two groups - while one demanded strict implementation of the 'safeguards', the other wanted a separate state of Telangana. The students were so offended at the 'indifferent' attitude of the Telangana leaders that they burnt the effigies of Ministers hailing from the Telangana region. On January 18th, Police resorted to lathi-charge and teargas in Hyderabad to disperse a mob of students indulging in large-scale violence thus marking the spread of agitation to all-over Telangana. The "Telangana safeguards agitation, which was confined to Khammam district and the city.....fanned out to other districts..."¹⁷. Very soon, the students found their efforts yielding results. At a meeting of All Political Parties with the Chief Minister, it was resolved, while condemning the move for bifurcation of the state, that :

"(a) All Andhras appointed to posts reserved for Telangana personnel would be immediately transferred to the Andhra region of the State.

17. Hindustan Times(New Delhi), January 19, 1969.

- (b) Their posts will be filled in by qualified candidates from Telangana or left vacant until such candidates become available;
- (c) Revenue surplus from Telangana would be fully utilised for the development of the region; and
- (d) The educational opportunities in the region would be improved¹⁸.

Though the All-Party Accord succeeded in restoring peace temporarily, a large section of the students apparently agreed with Mr. Mallikarjun, the leader of separate Telangana student group, that it (Accord) is "nothing but a renewal of the already violated gentleman's agreement"¹⁹. For, the very next day Police had to open fire at Shamshabad in which two students were seriously injured. While reports of students disrupting trains and damaging public property were on the increase, the agitation started receiving support from some non-political organisations. On January 22nd, the Osmania University Teachers' Association "condemned the police handling of the students and said the immediate need was for

18. Reddy, Ram G.G, Sharma, B.A.V. Regionalism in India : A study of Telangana, New Delhi: concept, 1979

19. Hindustan Times(New Delhi), January 20, 1969

the government and political leaders to satisfy the students about their bonafides" 20.

In February 1969, a forum known as the Telangana People's Forum was formed with a view to complement the student efforts by involving non-student elements also. This set the stage ready for the agitation to assume a political dimension for soon the Telangana People's Forum was transformed into a Political Party - the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS). As the Congress leaders from Telangana found the agitation mustering popular support from all sections of the region, they started giving vent to their suppressed misgivings at the domination by their Andhra counterparts. The Telangana leaders found in the agitation a strong plank to stake their claims for better opportunities in state politics. They were also alive to the fact that the TPS was fast acquiring the requisite support to pose a grave electoral threat to the Congress in the region as was amply corroborated by the resounding victory of the TPS in the Assembly bye-elections of Khairatabad and Siddipet constituencies. With the entry of these disgruntled and opportunist congress leaders into the TPS, the leadership of the agitation was no

20. Hindustan Times (New Delhi), January 23, 1969.

longer vested in the students. Consequently, the thrust of the agitation came to be so identified with the Brahmaganada Ministry that Dr. Chenna Reddy, the TPS chief, announced that the dismissal of Brahmaganada Reddy ministry is a pre-condition to call of the agitation.

In any case, though the agitation fizzled out with the initial hobnobbing and subsequent merger of the TPS with the Congress in 1971, the fact remains that the students of OSMANIA university for the first time took up an issue not directly related to the campus. The agitation was a success so far as it helped the students realize their inherent potential and also their shortcomings. The fact that they could assert their position as 'conscious' citizens by not only participating in a political movement but also in initiating one was thoroughly imbibed. It is this understanding of the students in Omania University which prepared them intellectually and physically to identify themselves with Movements vowing to bring about a basic social change as was witnessed all through the decade of 70's.

CHAPTER - III

MAOIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CRISES

Here an attempt to survey the then existent national and international situation in brief starting with mid sixties is essential for methodical as well as concrete necessities of the study. The period starting with mid sixties and running through the most part of seventies had been characteristic of its stormy nature. The particular world order which came into existence consequent to the second world war and which held its sway for nearly three decades ending with sixties has apparently come under strains. Some of the contradictions on which the new world order is based changed their character and new contradictions have emerged demanding yet another new world order. As a result, a great turmoil has been produced as is inevitable.

The most basic and fundamental contradiction on which the new world order based itself following the second world war is a contradiction between the socialist camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union on one side and the imperialist camp led by American imperialism on the other. However, profound changes regarding the character of this contradiction seems to have occurred following the death of Stalin. New

contradictions have arisen altering the basis of the world order. These can be cited as follows :

(1) Khrushchev's theory of peaceful co-existence, co-operation and competition which mainly affected the character of Soviet Union vis-a-vis its relationship with imperialism on the one side and the colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial part of the world on the other. However, it should be recognised that the Khrushchevian theory of peaceful transformation has come to be fast negated by his successors as the seventies approached. The vast military-industrial complex under Brezhnev has apparently brought about a major shift in the policy of Soviet Union towards the developed capitalist countries led by America in general and the developing world in particular. This shift is visible in that the Soviet Union is found actively intervening in the politico-economic and military affairs of the developing world beginning with the seventies which is in sharp contrast to its earlier role in the fifties and sixties. The general impression made by the Soviet Union through its contentious positions with the developed capitalist world in the world affairs during seventies is one of that the theory of peaceful transformation no more stands. The fact that this major policy shift has got direct bearing on the internal political affairs of the developing world affecting the course of political

developments within each country in the under developed part of the world is important to note. The major policy shift of Soviet Union has a direct relevance to the particular course of the political developments within India during the most part of seventies and as such it becomes a special interest for any study on the Maoist Movement in India.

(2) The appearance of stagflation in the developed capitalist world in the second half of the sixties marking an end to the boom phase in the aftermath of the second world war. The decline in the rate of accumulation has had disastrous consequences to the developing world whose economies are integrated with the world capitalist economy at various levels depending upon the national economic policies of the individual countries. The crisis within the world capitalism continues to date with increasing intensities and with changes only in forms. The stagflation of the later half of sixties and first half of the seventies has been turned into deep recession in the subsequent period. However, it should be noted that the stagflation and the recession do not bear the same

consequences to all the countries in the world not excluding the countries closely allied with the Soviet Union which again is no exception.

(3) The emergence of People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong with claims for leadership of world revolution as opposed to the theory of peaceful transformation. However, the major policy-shift, as was mentioned earlier, by the Soviet Union seems to have affected a change in the theory and practice of the Communist Party of China (CPC) as a whole. For CPC, the major policy shift by the Soviet Union is one of Soviet revisionism transforming itself into social imperialism. The revisionist Soviet Union was considered as an internal enemy to be defeated from within whereas the social imperialist Russia is an enemy to be fought from without. Further, as a new entrant into the arena of imperialism, the CPC holds that the Soviet Union is an ambitious and aggressive imperialist power seeking world hegemony. As such, the social imperialist power was held as the principal enemy which means to say that the CPC with its revolutionary allies world over can make a tactical alliance with American imperialism as and when necessary to check the advance of of the Soviet social imperialism and its pursuit for world hegemony.

In the above analysis, we see two sets of contradictions one replacing the other around the year 1970. The first set constitutes of the Soviet revisionism in the capitalist world and China as the leader of the world revolution. The second set of contradictions is vastly different from the first in that the Soviet Union sheds its earlier passive role taking an active interventionist role in the world affairs. The stagflation remains only to turn into deep recession at the end of seventies and the Chinese communist party holds that the Soviet Union as 'social imperialist' power while keeping its options open for a tactical alliance with western powers led by America.

The Maoist movement in the country as it came into existence in the latter part of sixties can be said to have taken its birth while the first set of contradictions were in operation. However, it should be recognised that no sooner the Maoist movement became a considerable force in the country than it found itself amidst a different set of contradictions replacing the ones that which had been responsible for its birth. Here, it is necessary to elaborate the first set of contradictions so as to understand their concrete impact on the Maoist movement in the country while it was still taking shape.

Kruschev's theory of peaceful transformation envisaged the possibility of peaceful transformation to socialism in

the developing part of the world. This transformation, as the theory states, would be made into a real possibility and in fact will be accelerated as the soviet aid is made available to the countries in the developing world. The soviet aid acts as a lever against the imperialist penetration thus making it possible for the people in the developing world, given their active intervention, to go for the non-capitalist path of development in the end. Soviet Union under Krushchev opting itself a spirit of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition in the economic realm particularly with the western world also assumes that the western world should reciprocate the same. The spirit behind the theory of peaceful transformation rules out any possibility for a violent opposition to imperialism and its domination in colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial part of the world. Moreover, Soviet Union positively seeks to help the individual regimes in the developing world as long as they are willing to take any kind of assistance from it. A concrete reflection of this policy is that the communists in the third world, according to CPSU, should abandon any attempt for armed actions, rebellions and take the parliamentary road, assist the 'progressive' regimes in their respective countries in opposing imperialism and work in the direction of building non-capitalist economies.

Mao-Zedong held a sharply opposite view to that of the above. He held that 'no new independent state under the dictatorship of its own bourgeoisie can emerge in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution'. Explaining this, Mao Zedong holds that 'the national bourgeoisie is a class with dual character. On the one hand, it is opposed by imperialism and fettered by feudalism and consequently is in contradiction with both imperialism and feudalism but on the other hand it lacks courage to oppose imperialism and feudalism thoroughly because it is economically and politically feeble and still has economic ties with imperialism and feudalism."¹

The above view advocated by Mao-Zedong is in sharp contradiction to the Khrushchev's theory of peaceful transformation. It envisages not only the possibility but also the necessity to go for armed actions particularly in the developing part of the world. Given the first set of contradictions wherein CPC undertakes to actively oppose the soviet revisionism on one hand and fight imperialism in general and American imperialism in particular on the other, the call for armed rebellions with due emphasis on the colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial part of the world, has got a telling influence on the communists working in the area. By any measure, the call for armed revolt is an

¹ Selected works of Mao-Tse-Tung, Peking : 1969. Vol.II p. 325, 21, 27.

added attraction enthusing the communists in the under-developed Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is of particular significance to our study for without the influence of which the rise of Maoists on the political scene of India could not have been a reality.

The CPC's strong advocacy for armed action against the colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial order as opposed to the theory of peaceful transformation roughly coincided with the appearance of general crisis in the world capitalism. The long boom witnessed in the developed capitalist world following the war spelt equally longer doom and its consequences came to be felt as early as in the latter half of sixties can be seen from the following exhaustive account by no less an authority on economic matters than Ernest Mandel.

"The current recession is the outcome of a typical phase of decline in the rate of profit. This decline clearly antedates the pronounced increase in oil prices after the October War of 1973 (West Asian). Here are some statistics that demonstrate this:

Rate of profit (after deduction of the gains of appreciation of stock values) on the net holdings of industrial and

commercial companies in Britain

Year	Before Taxes	After Taxes
1950-54	16.5%	6.7%
1955-59	14.7%	7.0%
1960-64	13.0%	7.0%
1965-69	11.7%	5.3%
1968	11.6%	5.2%
1969	11.1%	4.7%
1970	9.7%	4.1%
1948-50	16.2%	8.6%
1951-55	14.3%	6.4%
1956-60	12.2%	6.2%
1961-65	14.1%	8.3%
1966-70	12.9%	7.7%
1970	9.1%	5.3%
1971	9.6%	5.7%
1972	9.9%	5.6%
1973	10.5%	5.4%

(Rate of Profit (after elimination of the gains of appreciation of stock values) on the capital of non-financial companies in U.S).

For West Germany, experts calculate that the gross income of companies (minus fictitious "salaries of entrepreneurs") divided by the net holdings of these companies declined by about 20% between 1960 and 1968 (the year of the economic upturn, with a strong new rise of profits after the recession of 1966-67) and by 25% between 1968 and 1973.

The present recession is marked by a pronounced under-utilization of productive capacity in the principal imperialist country, the United States, as is shown by the following table:

PRODUCTION IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES AS
A PERCENTAGE OF CAPACITY

1966	--	92
1967	--	87.9
1968	--	87.7
1969	--	86.5
1970	--	78
1971	--	75
1972	--	78.6
1973	--	83
1974	--	78 (fourth quarter)

This long-term deterioration is all the more pronounced if account is taken of the enormous share of American production wasted on military or paramilitary

goals. The result is a virtually permanent non-utilization of nearly a third of productive capacity directed toward civilian productive goals. The source of the current crisis as a crisis of over-production could not be better expressed.

The turnabout in the long-term economic trend of development is also perfectly classical. Nurtured by the war and reconstruction and by the increase in the rate of exploitation of the working class that fascism and the war allowed international capital to carry out; amplified by the third industrial revolution and a strong increase in productivity (of production of relative surplus value), the prolonged expansion has been exhausted by the combined effects of the increase in the organic composition of capital (a result of the third technological revolution itself and the stagnation or decline in the rate of surplus value (a result of the long period of full employment). The rate of profit has been whittled down. Accumulation of capital has slowed."²

Owing to the fact that the crisis of overproduction is itself largely a creation of the overspending by the State, the possibility to avert the crisis resorting to

2 Mandel, Ernest, *The Generalized Recession of the International Capitalist Economy (Its Consequences)*, Bombay: 1975.

the Keynesian remedy is exhausted. The following table will provide the extent of the debts incurred by the State.

The rate of borrowing in FRG accelerated as follows :³

1955 to 1960	30%
1960 to 1965	60%
1965 to 1970	50%
1970 to 1975	over 100%

The situation in the other imperialist countries is much the same. The acceleration in the debt incurred by the accumulation process on an extended scale resulted not in the increasing growth rates/profit rates in the economy. At the most, the overfinancing served the purpose of keeping the growth rates from falling further. The growth rates in the developed capitalist countries already stood at low levels. The monetary expansion bolstered further the already inflationary situation, the net result being the low growth rates with increasing price situation. Thus a stagflationary situation came to be stabilised for most part of the seventies.

3 Kuczynski, Jurgen, The World Economic Crisis of Capitalism, New Delhi : People's Pub.House, 1977

The overspending by the state in general in the developed capitalist countries has got another interesting aspect. The military build-up claims most part of the state expenditure. This is particularly true with American imperialism. Again, the increasing spending on the military build-up in increasing proportions year after year, is to be seen in the context of the rebellious developing part of the world and the desire to plunder the raw material on a continual basis. Thus, the rebellious world, particularly the developing part of it, exhausts the economic potential of the Imperialism. It is an acknowledged fact that the Vietnam war is said to have accounted for a good proportion of the economic crisis in America with its disastrous consequences on the rest of the world. Besides, the disproportionate spending on the military in the developed capitalist world is seen to have affected uneven growth amongst them thus fueling the inter-imperialist rivalry. Victor Perlo's table justifies the position taken:

Country	Military spending as per cent of GNP 1966	Annual Rate of growth in industrial production 1953 to 1969
U.S.	8.5	4.0
Great Britain	5.8	3.3
France	5.2	6.3
Fed Rep of Germany	4.1	7.1
Italy	3.5	8.0
Japan	1.0	13.6

"The order of economic growth is exactly the opposite of the order of militarisation."⁴

Reflecting the overproduction crisis is the flight of capital from the developed capitalist world to the underdeveloped in pursuit of making good for the declining rates of profit in the former countries. Added to this is the overspending on the military and the outgo of capital. Besides these two factors, there is yet another factor - the uneven growth amongst the countries of the developed capitalist world and the consequent heightening of economic competition. All these factors together got reflected in large deficits in the balance of payment position of the United States of America heralding the onset of crisis in the late sixties. Dollar as the international standard currency ceased to enjoy the position any longer signalling the international monetary crisis. Floating exchange rates, trade pressures on the relatively less fortunate developed capitalist world, stagflation have become the order of the day.

The disastrous consequences of the stagflationary situation in the west on the developing world with the former trying to shift its burden on the latter are far

⁴ Kuczynski, Jurgen, The World Economic Crisis of Capitalism, New Delhi : People's Pub. House, 1977.

more serious. Trade protectionism practised by the west added to the increase in the cost of imports aggravated the balance of payments position of a number of countries slowing down their economic growth rates.

The general economic crisis cannot but be expected to result in political turmoil on a vast scale. There are any number of political struggles against the regimes that be. It is impossible to recount all the struggles - big and small - erupted in the period all through the world. Armed struggle in Indo-China, anti-Vietnamese war demonstrations in the U.S.A., the famous french student revolt, the all too frequent general strikes by trade unions in the developed capitalist world particularly in Britain, the West Asian crisis, large-scale political turmoil in a number of countries which includes India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Iran etc are only a few to be named. To gauge the intensity of the political turmoil, it is sufficient to say that the period from the mid sixties to date witnessed an enormous increase in the number of countries ruled by military juntas. In short, the political turmoil was rather a rule all over the world with few exceptions. Of particular interest to the study is the cultural revolution in China during the latter half of sixties.

The general economic crisis and a general political turmoil is the character of the period. Order becomes disorder. The new dormant social and political forces appear on the stage becoming a potential threat to the existing order. The general atmosphere of unrest spreads which comes into existence with the crisis added to the desire for a change brings millions into action. A situation of this nature has got a cumulative function with increasing potential challenges to the regimes that be. The political unrest of wide dimensions in the western world as opposed to the power of capital with occasional overtones to the rebellions in the colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial part of the world against imperialist domination added to the direct impetus provided by the cultural revolution in China is the background for the rise of Fascist movement in India. The large scale participation of educated youth belonging mostly to the urban middle class is to be ascribed, though in part, directly to the general crisis prevalent at the world level. However, there are particular causes of crises pertaining to the country apart from the general crisis in the world. The particular economic and political crisis

in the country in the latter half of sixties is compounded when added by the general crisis in the world.

In this context, it is necessary to trace the nature and potential of the national economic and political crisis which had been responsible to a great length in giving rise to the militant Naxist movement.

The period between the fourth and sixth general elections to the Lok Sabha has been a period of great turmoil and tension. The particular political and economic framework which came into existence under the leadership of Jawahar Lal Nehru as Prime Minister came under severe strains by mid sixties. The political and economic processes are at once both independent and dependent and the amount of crisis generated by the coincidence of crisis developing independently in both the processes will be far more than otherwise be the case. The early years of the latter half of sixties have witnessed such a coincidence. The death of Nehru and the economic process initiated by him developing enormous constraints by the approach of mid sixties explains the coincidence of the political and economic crises.

Food and foreign exchange are the two essential items without which no industrialisation is possible. Yet the country has made colossal dependence on imperialism for the satisfaction of the food and foreign exchange requirements of the country during the period of Nehru. The dependence on the P.L. 480 despite the vast resources of the country lying unused explains the political leadership's unwillingness towards undertaking radical land restructuring in the countryside. The lack of foreign exchange is also explicable in terms of structural rigidities of the Indian economy. The extent of dependence comes to full light when it is seen that the United States of American kept the export of the grain on a weekly basis and got the Indian government to devalue the rupee exchange rate as against dollar by as much as 30%. The intensive industrialisation programme was undertaken by the government of India during the second plan programme and in the subsequent period neither reduced the foreign exchange requirements of the country nor facilitated higher amount of growth rates in the industrial growth. Instead large deficits on account of the balance of payments have appeared besides winding up the plan programme altogether and declaring a virtual plan holiday for three consequent

years between 1965-67.

Large-scale food riots in West Bengal provide the immediate background for the Naxalbari uprising. The political instability reflected in the form of the defeat of the Congress party in nine states supposedly confirms the belief that the political representatives of the bourgeoisie have exhausted their potential to do crisis management. Failure to do crisis management constitutes an important premise on which the Naxalbari movement rests. But, that the bourgeoisie has not exhausted its full potential has been brought open by the results of the mid-term poll held to the Lok Sabha in the first quarter of 1971. This explains in part for the subsequent weakening of Maoist movement in West Bengal and parts of Andhra Pradesh particularly the Srikakulam peasant uprising.

However, that the restoration of political stability following the mid-term poll in 1971 failed to provide crisis management was brought out as early as in 1973. The economic crisis has reappeared only to be followed by large scale political unrest.

If the economic and political crises appeared in the second half of the sixties has got its roots primarily in the Indian setting, the same cannot be said to be true with the crisis which erupted in the first half of seventies. The latter crisis owes for most part of it to the developments outside the country. It does not mean to say in an ultimate analysis that the economic structure of the country does not bear any responsibility as breeding the crisis from time to time. Further, it must be said that no amount of crisis originating outside a particular country's economy will affect it unless it has structural integration with the outside economies. The intensity with which the crisis originating outside bearing on the country's national economy brings out the corresponding proportion of the integration of the latter with the former.

The OPEC oil price hike in 1973 badly hit the developing economies whereas the developed economies could minimise the brunt by hiking the value of their exports. For countries like India, the trade gap widened on account of both higher oil prices and other imports flowing from West Asia and developed

countries respectively. It is not so much the trade gap but the imported inflation which actually was the main concern of the developing countries.

Yet, there is another interesting feature of political nature emanating from the contention between the two super powers. Had it not been for this contention between the two super powers at the international scale, the political developments in the country leading to the imposition of internal emergency could have not become a reality. In this context, it is interesting to quote an official Chinese source:

"The economic difficulties of the developing countries and the resultant political unrest will provide the Soviet hegemonists with loopholes to exploitIf the developed countries are to join the developing countries in resisting the expansionism of the Soviet hegemonists, they must take into consideration the vital interests of the developing countries and resolve the North-South conflict."⁵

5. Gou, Zhou (ed.), China and the World (1), Beijing : Beijing Review, 1982

Thus, the active intervention of soviet union together with its proxies in parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America often with direct military support notwithstanding the personnel supply should be understood as taking advantage of the world capitalist crisis. The intensity of the world capitalist crisis can be gauged by the fact that it is this crisis which ultimately resulted in the electoral defeat of Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Sri Lanka, Indira Gandhi in India and Rajiv Gandhi of Bhutto. The United States of America as the leader of the conventional capitalist world has had to lose many areas of influence in favour of Soviet Union in the seventies. Reagan being voted to power in the presidential elections held in 1979 in USA is widely interpreted as the desire on the part of the dominant American psyche to reverse the continuous losing of ground such to the advantage of the U.S.R. The experience of the last three years since Reagan came to power vindicates the above view point. In one of his recent declarations, Reagan justifiably claimed that the Soviet Union could not move an inch further since he came into office.

The serious contention between the two super powers is a matter of fact beyond doubt in every part of the world. This has got reflected in the political developments that took place within the country. The west led by USA gave strong support to the opposition-led Bihar & Gujarat agitations while the Soviet Union together with its allies supported the government of Indira Gandhi. The Soviet support was evident in that the Communist Party of India organised an 'anti-fascist' world conference in Patna during the Emergency which was well attended by representatives from nearly the Soviet Union and its allies world over. The strong voicing of support from the platform of 'anti-fascist' conference led the political observers to believe that the conference was organised with explicit intents to demonstrate solidarity with the government of Indira Gandhi. Thus, the contention between the two super powers given the economic crisis exported to the country from outside were the two predominant aspects of the political and economic developments in India during the seventies.

To sum up, the Maoist movement in the country took its origin amidst serious political and economic crises that are largely responsible to the internal reasons. However, the political and economic crises at the international level and its impact on the internal developments of the country cannot be minimised. The Maoist movement in India took its birth in a world order based on the particular set of contradictions - the Soviet revisionism, China's claims for the leadership of world revolution and the stagflation in the world capitalism. But, no sooner the Maoist movement took its birth than it had to find itself in a new world order based on a new set of contradictions i.e., Soviet 'social imperialism', the downgrading of the role of American imperialism when compared to the Soviet 'social imperialism' in their pursuit for world 'hegemony' by CPC identifying the latter as the principal enemy, and the intensified stagflationary situation in the world capitalism making its earlier strategic and tactical positions irrelevant to the new situation. Sections of the CPI(ML), now divided into many a group do admit that their assessment of the world situation of the period

went wrong with the implication that this factor was mainly responsible for the subsequent weakening of the movement. However, it is not clear whether they accept the above analysis. But, then it must be said that the above analysis is not applicable to the Maoist movement as a whole. Ever since its beginning, there were two separate and distinct trends in the Maoist movement in the country. The Andhra revolutionaries comprising the leaders namely Late Tarimela Nagi Reddy, Chandra Pulla Reddy, Devulapalli Venkateshwara Rao, formed a distinct group from that of the Maoists under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar.

The possibility of a third world war - China being surrounded by the two super powers added with the internal political instability seems to have constituted the basic assessment of the CPI(ML) under Charu Mazumdar. Given this political assessment, it is only to be expected that the leadership felt an all out urgency to conduct armed struggle on an immediate extensive and intensive scale at its highest form. Sole importance given to the political struggles at the cost of mobilisation of peasantry

on their economic demands - and the theory of individual annihilation as the main form of struggle are the tactical errors resulting in the weakening of the movement.

That the Andhra revolutionaries committee seems to have differed with the above political assessment is a reality, although their writings do not disapprove it. Truly, their understanding appears to have confined to the scheme - the Soviet revisionism, CPC as the leader of the world revolution and the general crisis at home and abroad. The overestimation of Charu Mazumdar group i.e., the possibility of a third world war does not seem to be true with the Andhra revolutionaries. As such, their position on the tactics for Indian revolution vastly differed with that of the same under Charu Mazumdar leadership. Emphasis on economic demands, mass action instead of individual annihilation and the armed struggle as the 'main form' of struggle instead of it being recognised as sole form are the tactics adopted by the Andhra revolutionary committee. The main cause for their

sustenance and expansion in their area of operation unlike the weakening of the Maoist movement under the leadership of Chera Mazumdar is to be seen in their vastly different understanding on the tactics. This also explains for their capacity to withstand the new world order with entirely different set of contradictions as its basis where the Soviet Union started making active intervention in the turbulent third world. This takes us to yet another phase in the world politics. Some of the important developments that took place in seventies seem to have brought about profound changes in world politics as the decade came to a close. Notable among them are Reagan being voted to power in USA and the firm control established by Deng-Xiao-Ping subsequent to the death of Mao Zedong in China. If Reagan is known for his remilitarisation of America on an extended scale presumably to reverse Soviet successes in the developing part of the world, Deng-Xiao-Ping is known for his theory of three worlds. It can be assuamingly asserted that the purpose which the three world theory is supposed to serve is no different from Reagan. Both aim at checking the Soviet advances. The three world

theory, as has been quoted earlier from an authentic Chinese source, explicitly recognises the fact that the 'third world' is subjected to or is in deep economic and political crisis. As a way out of the crisis, the three world theory advocates for a new international economic order with the developed capitalist countries assisting the third world in salvaging their economies for a smooth and sustained growth on a continual basis. In the absence of such a comprehensive economic assistance to be lent by the west, according to the three world theory, Soviet Union will continue to exploit the political turmoil to its advantage.

To the extent the Fascist groups in India have adopted the theory, most of the groups with few exceptions are found propagating the three world theory, there is a sea of change in their political behaviour. They make common cause with the government in demanding for a better treatment in all international forums from the west concerning mostly economic matters. However, the Soviet camp is excluded in all such matters, the sole aim being one of checking and eroding the influence of Soviet Union on Indian State in every

respect. Thus, there appears to be a vast change in their political programme. Far from seeking to actively utilise the world capitalist crisis and its inevitable reflection in the economic and political crises of the country to the revolutionary end, the political programme of the Maoists supposedly makes an important amendment. Thus, the revolutionary 'overthrow' of the reactionary state is made subject for certain conditions. It must be noted that the capitalist crisis is no longer seen with the same earlier enthusiasm as a favourable factor enhancing the revolutionary potentialities by Maoists. Instead the reverse is true. As such, there appear to be corresponding changes in their strategic and tactical positions in the recent past. This may not augur well to the future advance of their movement. It might justifiably be doubted what the extent of Maoism left in the Indian Maoist Movement is!

CHAPTER IV

RISE AND GROWTH OF MAGIST STUDENT MOVEMENT

The most notable characteristic feature of almost all popular agitations during sixties and seventies is that the students had been in the forefront. This must lead us to the conclusion that India is facing the problem of transition. Education in the developing countries serve as a transmission belt from antiquity to its opposite. The problems of all the developing countries are the problems of transition. Many commentators held that it is not the underdevelopment rather the development breeding political turmoil. Students in the developing countries particularly India often found leading popular agitations speaks for the hindrances in the way of the process of transition. At times of severe crisis, the transition process comes to a near halt giving rise to educated unemployment. There are any number of studies made on the campus unrest vis-a-vis the popular agitations which identify the unemployment as the main cause. All the popular agitations, whatever their overt expressions and demands, were in an ultimate analysis motivated by the fear of unemployment. The figures of educated unemployed

registered with the employment exchanges run into several millions and the unemployment is on a steady increase. This is true for all times. The recurring crisis from time to time further aggravates the already explosive situation and as a result the unemployed resort to mass agitations.

Crises recurring in the developing countries do not necessarily have the same character as that of the developed countries. The periodic crisis common to the developed capitalist countries do affect that of the developing. But the economies of the developing countries have got their own particularities. It is more so with countries like India. It is not the periodic crisis but rather the strong tendencies of precapitalist nature betrayed by the Indian economy which play havoc with the transition process. The problems of transition are essentially systemic in nature. "Monopoly capital in India bears a closer family resemblance to pre-industrial monopolies than to contemporary monopoly capitalism in the west, and constitutes ipso facto one of the major obstacles alongside semifeudalism and neo-colonialism to the transformation of India along capitalist lines".¹

1. Chandra, Nevin, "Monopoly Capital, Private Corporate Sector and the Indian Economy - A Study in Relative Growth, 1931-76" in Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, Bombay: August, 1979.

The Indian planning exercise is basically normative. Again, it should be emphasised that it is not so much the anarchic character of the production but the greedy nature of the propertied classes having control over the means of production for unearned and quick profits which hampers the economic growth on any significant scale. The unproductive character of the private corporate sector is evident from the following table.² The interesting aspect of it is that the net fixed assets formation as a proportion to the net capital formation over the years (1960-75) has fallen to as low as three tenths.

Year	PULC		PRLC		Private Corp. Sector		
	Net Fixed Assets Formation	Net Capital Formation	Net Fixed Assets Formation	Net Fixed Assets Formation	Net Capital Formation	Net Fixed Assets Formation	Net Capital Formation
1961/65	1035.6	1709.0		246.1	469.7	1281.9	2178.7
1966/70	637.9	1261.5		27.9	141.9	665.8	1403.4
1971/75	315.2	1330.7		69.2	280.6	384.4	1611.3

2. Sen, Ranjit, "India's Economic Crisis" in Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay : April 19th, 1980.

- Note: (a) PULC - Public Limited Companies;
PRLC - Private Limited Companies
Private Corporate Sector - PULC plus PRLC
- b) Net capital formation - Net fixed assets formation plus change in inventory
- (c) 1 crore - 10 million

The one inescapable conclusion following from the pattern of profiteering by the industrial bourgeoisie in the private corporate sector whether it is national or foreign is that its contribution to the creation of gainful employment is not so considerable. Traditionally, the public sector and the government services have been the major sources of employment. Ever since the third plan, the investment in the public sector has got stagnated and the level of present investments in this sphere does not, measured in constant prices, greatly differ from what it was in the early sixties. It needs no particular substantiation.

In view of the above facts, it is no wonder that the amount of crisis generated by the declaration of plan holiday for the three consecutive years i.e.

1965-66, 66-67 and 67-68 should result in a large scale political unrest. Also, it is known that the recovery in the following years of plan holiday was not as much so as to adequately compensate for the losses and register an additional growth in employment creation. The rise of the militant Maoist student movement should be seen against this background. However, this explains only the objective factors responsible for the origin and spread of the Maoist student movement elsewhere. The subjective factors are no less important.

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The prevalence of general political unrest whatever its depth cannot by itself become a condition capable of giving rise to militant movements - last it acts as a necessary condition. The political unrest born out of a variety of causes, the economic one being the last of all causes, should be seen essentially as a defiance of the state. The defiance of the state in the case of Maoists, going by their ideological and political pronouncements, is total. Defiance of authority or order has got much more attraction with all the rootless in the society. The student

section constitutes the major chunk of the rootless in the society. Maoists understand the rootlessness of the students in a more positive sense. For instance, George Reddy, the founder leader of progressive Democratic Students Union wrote in one of his articles that the students as a section does not possess any character. Students as a section is to be seen as a suspended body from the larger society. Thus, the basic character of defiance of all forms of authority i.e., imposition from above when added with the classlessness tend to make the students idealist revolutionaries. However, it should be recognised that the very character of the students as mentioned earlier will not automatically lead them towards revolutionary idealism. There must exist certain forces advocating rebellions against the unjust class-society. Even this is not enough in the sense that the subjective forces advocating revolutionary cause should not only recognise the revolutionary potential of the student section but they must be prepared to lead the latter into revolutionary action. In our context, the Maoists have fulfilled this condition. Cheru Mazumder gave a call to the students to go to the rural areas and assist the peasantry in carrying

out agrarian revolution.³ Students constitute an important and essential part in the four-classes front pursuing the cause of new democratic revolution. The four-classes front composed of workers, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie takes imperialism and feudalism, the 'comprador' bourgeoisie, having intrinsic links with imperialism and as such being tied with the imperialist forces, as its main enemy classes. The leadership of the front remains in the hands of the working class party. Students, intellectuals along with the small business are known to constitute the petty-bourgeoisie class. Truly, the petty-bourgeoisie class particularly the students played not an insignificant role in the Indian Maoist movement. No other student movement of any worth could rival that of the Maoists in Bengal around the year 1970. How and why this has been made possible? The explanation should be sought in the 'concrete study of the concrete reality'. Neither the mere preparedness of the subjective forces to organise the students into revolutionary action, given the basic character of the student section, nor

3. Banerjee, Sumantra, In the Wake of Naxalbury

the existence of favourable political environment nor the two together will explain the rise of the Maoist student movement to a position of unrivalled exclusive dominance. The particular correlation between the various political forces existing at the time which is inclusive of the Maoists and the internal logic of the developing objective situation in terms of the specific politico-economic realities and a study of these two aspects in its concreteness will explain the actual causes behind the growth of the student movement. Here, it is out of place to go in detail about the study of the concrete developments obtained in West Bengal at that time. However, certain generalisations can be made in this regard. Considering West Bengal as a separate political entity, many commentators held that the left movement in the state reached its height to make a serious bid for revolutionary take-over. Given the stronghold which the left movement in the state gained in urban areas with the background of having led food movements and the food riots spontaneously erupting in the rural areas in the latter half of sixties, all this should logically culminate in the urban masses making common cause

with the peasantry to fight the landlord and trader nexus. It is important to note that the state has got a relatively higher proportion of urban population when compared to the all-India standards. The relative success of the Maoists in attracting the urban petty-bourgeoisie particularly the students and the intelligentsia is explicable for the fact that the Maoists appear to have been well in line conforming to the logic of the revolutionary cause. The logic of the revolutionary course of the then existing left movement, seen limited to the West Bengal context, demands agrarian revolution as the immediate programme. However, the not so significant successes recorded in organising armed rebellion in the countryside due mainly to the erroneous tactical line by the CPI(ML) coupled with the heavy repression drove the students back to the urban areas. The 'cultural revolution' found in reality as a measure to keep up the morale of all those frustrated could not last long though it successfully engaged the student section for a time in a sort of make-believe revolution. Even this has got petered out in due course. But, interestingly enough, the 'cultural revolution' of the Calcutta students was not a total failure in the

sense that it was found to have greatly inspired the Osmania students. The result is the birth of a small group organised under the banner of Progressive Democratic Students (PDS).

Begun in 1857 with the first war of Indian independence, the national liberation movement continues to date. The failure of the first ever war of Indian independence due mainly to its leadership of feudal classes and the continuation of the national liberation movement under the leadership of big bourgeois classes in the subsequent period did not result in the establishment of any 'genuine' democracy. Feudal exploitation and oppression continues to date, if anything, with much more intensity. The imperialist exploitation has grown manifold. What has happened in 1947 was a mere transfer of power from the British imperialists to the hands of local reactionary classes. Frightened with the emergence of Soviet Union under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the international arena and the ever increasing threat of the mass upsurge internally with the potential implications of wiping out all reaction, the big bourgeois leadership struck a shady deal with imperialism on the one hand and

feudalism on the other. The developments at the international and national level subsequent to the second world war wherein the world socialist forces registered tremendous advances and the nationalist movement, near at home, has grown in its militancy reflecting the aspirations of broad masses and hastened the process of transfer of power with the big bourgeoisie striking a deal with imperialism from behind the backs of the people. Thus, read the manifestos of PDSU, RSU and DSO.

The semifeudal and semi-colonial set up now in vogue necessitates the launching of New Democratic Revolution. The national liberation struggle has its consummation in the overthrowing of the combined oppressive power and exploitation of the four main enemy classes i.e., the American imperialist, the Soviet social imperialism, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudalism. The hold and penetration of the two super powers in all the important aspects of national life has grown to such an immensity over the years that the basic contradiction between the two super powers namely the contention for world hegemony has come to influence all the internal contradictions

in our country. Of all the contradictions in the present national and international context, the contradiction between feudalism versus broad masses is the principal contradiction. The success of the national liberation struggle lies in the resolution of the principal contradiction. The resolution of the principal contradiction automatically leads to the resolution of all other contradictions namely imperialism versus the broad masses of our country, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie versus the working class in the imperialist countries and the contradiction between the bourgeoisie versus working class at home. Thus the agrarian revolution is the axis of the new democratic revolution.

Given the need for an agrarian revolution and the intensified struggle between the two super powers for an exclusive hegemony over our country as part of their strategy at the global level which in turn has aggravated all other internal contradictions resulting in a general political turmoil, the urgency with which the peasantry is to be organised for promoting the cause of national liberation struggle has grown in immense proportion. As such the students while coming forward to take direct participation in the anti-feudal struggles have got to organise the students in particular

and the urban masses in general in support of the armed agrarian revolution which has its base in the countryside. But this cannot be done successfully unless every section of the urban masses are organised, to begin with on their own sectional demands. A politically developed urban masses will lend an active support to the struggle of peasant masses. The various programmes articulated by the Maoist student movement in general and PDSU in particular in their bid to translate the theory into action is important to note.

Issue of Scholarships : The students were organised taking up their economic demands. This is one important aspect of the struggle. The PDS took an active part in the Social Welfare hostel students' strike in the first quarter of 1973. The demand was an increase in the amount of scholarship money to per student. Again, in the month of July 1974, the social welfare hostel students were organised when the paying boarders were removed from the hostel. A huge demonstration has been held before the Collectorate in Hyderabad followed by hunger strikes. The entire twin cities' scholarship-holders were mobilized into the struggle. As a result, the authorities have accepted to effect considerable increase in the amount

of scholarship to each student on the understanding that they can no more hold the boarding responsibilities. Indeed, the decision benefitted the students of the entire state though the struggle has been conducted by the students of the twin cities. Thus, the influence of PDS confined mainly to Osmania campus and twin cities and later spread to the districts.

Struggle against authoritarianism : Students from time to time had been organised against the authoritarian practices of the University authorities. Massive participation of students in these struggles is reported to have taken place. An interesting method consciously followed in each struggle is to forcing the authorities to speak to the entire students instead of a close-door meeting with the representatives of the students. It signifies a change in the institutional practices towards a broader democratisation of the campuses. The changed practice continues to date with the effect that it has now become a culture.

Anti-Price rise Movements : Anti-price rise movements have been organised twice within a span of two years. The year '1973 witnessed a sharp rise in the prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities'.

Black-marketeers, landlords, traders and other unscrupulous elements aided and abetted by the government and its machinery made the plight of the common man miserable. In this situation, the PDS decided to organise the students against the rising prices. Boycott of classes, meetings, demonstrations, processions, dharnas - with these the movement progressed.

If the first anti-price rise movement took place in the first quarter of 1973, the second followed in February 1975. The second anti-price rise movement was held on an extended scale in the sense that the PDSU took initiative in bringing together not less than 26 professional organisations in the twin cities comprised of mostly white-collar employees and trade union organisations in factories. "The ever deepening economic crisis cannot but force the whole burden from being shifted onto the shoulders of the Indian people. Sky-rocketing prices, erosion of wages supplemented by the Wage-Breeze Act, worsening unemployment and the brutal repression of the people's movement have made the Anti-people nature of the Government, clearly visible to the people. In Andhra Pradesh, the PDSU could no longer be a silent spectator

to the misery and suffering forced on the people. With this in view, a call to hold protest demonstrations, on February 14th by students, and on February 26th with other sections of the people, was given by PDSU. Taking the call the district units set to work. Pamphlets were distributed and students educated. On February 14th, schools and colleges at over 78 centres in the State were boycotted; demonstrations were held, processions were taken out, and public meetings were conducted. At a few centres, the call for boycott was changed into a call for bandh. No less successful was the second call organised on February 26th. Here, the masses were educated by means of cycle rallies, 'Bustee' meetings, public meetings, cultural dramas etc."⁴

Anti-Bus fare hike Agitation : July, 1974 commenced with the unjustified increase by over 75% in bus fares by the APSRTC. Students took the lead to protest. Pamphlets on the issue were brought out and students educated. But the police in a surprise swoop arrested the leaders under section 151 of Preventive Detention Act before any militant action could be planned. Later, the Govt. came out granting concession to students. The subsequent

4. Kumer, Sashi N., "PDSU Brief Report (1971-75), Vijrunbhang, Hyderabad : April-May 1975

confusion among the students and the ill-planned ventures did not allow the movement to go forward.

A mass public meeting in support of Vietnamese struggle in January 1973 and an intensive propaganda support to the Railway workers strike in May 1974 are most notable among the movements of a solidarity nature led by PDS.

There are other movements led by PDSU in this period which fall under the category of demand for Civil Liberties. In this context, two most significant events can be brought out. "To protest against the fascist repression of the government on the peoples' just struggles, and to demand the commutation of death sentences on the peasant revolutionaries, Bhoomaiah and Kiats Gowd, the PDSU decided to observe December 21st as Anti-Repression Day throughout the state".⁵ Pamphlets were brought out exposing the government and highlighting the people's struggles. Even though all the colleges were closed at this time, students were mobilized at nearly all towns upto the Taluqa level, especially in Telangana, and demonstrations were held.

In the month of January 1975, Progressive Students of Osmania Medical College were illegally detained by the

5. Editorial, Vijumbhang, January-February, 1974

Police after a clash with R.S.S. elements. To protest against this illegal detention, a demonstration with over 100 PDSU students was held in front of the concerned Police station. A lathi-charge was ordered and 28 students arrested who were sentenced to 2 days imprisonment. "This demonstration is a clear witness to the students' determination to fight for Civil Liberties, and that too, in front of the seats of power."⁶

Thus, we see through the above programmes of PDS an attempt to organise sections of urban masses not only on their narrow sectional demands but also the struggle of a general nature. Almost all the struggles mentioned above are anti-government in nature. In the first instance, PDS organised itself in the sense of going to ever increasing number of students. In the second instance, it made an attempt to bring together all other professional organisations on a common platform. Except for a few slums organised under its direct leadership in anti-government struggles with the demand for supply of water, electricity and schools begun mostly in 1975, there is no notable effort in this direction. And finally, the

6. Kumar, Seshi M., op.cit.

influence gained in that process was sought to be channelised to secure support to the peasant revolutionaries. This had been the general orientation of the student movement led by PDS preceding the declaration of emergency on 26th June, 1975.

The declaration of Emergency put an end to legal functioning of all student organisations belonging to the Maoist orientation. This forced the student organisations and more particularly its leadership to go underground. It does not seem that the police could arrest any significant number of student leaders. This again speaks for the political maturity of the organisations. However, as the days progressed, the hunt for the leaders of the respective organisations seems to have been intensified by the Police. "As early as 28th July 1975, four student leaders of Radical Students Union (RSU) were arrested in Bolaram in Hyderabad and shot dead in a nearby forest - Girajapally in Medak district."⁷ A special commission with Justice Bhargava was appointed soon after emergency by the then Janata government at the centre to look into the police excesses during the period of emergency

7. Editorial, Vijumbhane, March-April, 1977.

with particular emphasis on Naxelite victims. The Girajepally incident was taken as its first case of enquiry. The People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) which conducted a fact-finding survey soon after emergency was lifted reported the murder of two other student leaders belonging to PDSU. Jempala Chandrasekhar Prasad, considered as one of the foremost leaders responsible for the growth of student movement in the state, was reported to have been arrested on 3rd November at Vijayawada and subsequently shot dead in Illendu taluqa of Khammam district on 5th November, 1975. Shripada Shrihari, another prominent student leader, was also shot dead in identical circumstances in Chilakalagutta.

The impact of the police repression ranging from torture and imprisonment for long periods to killings was told to the author by several student leaders holding responsible official positions in the organisations such as PDSU and RSU. A few have surrendered to the police, others have either resigned or simply dissociated themselves with the organisations though they still continued to be in exile till the lifting of emergency for fear of police repression thus leaving the organisations with a handful of experienced leaders. PDSU and RSU seem to have

been the worstly affected. An organisation called Progressive Organisation for Women (POW) which has been created mainly to organise girl students sometime in 1974 has got totally wound up with an exception of very few members left behind. However, quite a few number of student leaders who were hiding in the countryside have later emerged as peasant revolutionaries. More than anything else, this speaks for the close ideological and organisational proximity of the student organisations with the Maoist parties and groups in Andhra Pradesh. Taking cognisance of this, it is not strange that the student organisations too have experienced a split along the lines on which there was a split in the CPI (ML).

The above section was dealt exclusively on the theory and practice of the Maoist student movement and the extent to which the aims and objectives have been realised so as to ensure maximum clarity. It should be recognised that neither the history proceeds in a linear fashion nor the group which has taken the task of organising a militant student movement could avoid the hurdles placed in its path to realise its ultimate objective. The concrete reality or the context in which it had to operate

may contain both positive and negative factors and the group advancing its cause may be expected to have sufficiently grasped the objective reality. Also, it may be presumed that the favourable objective factors had been sufficiently taken advantage of by only to be able to combat the negative factors successfully. History proceeds or develops in a dialectical fashion and a study of the dialectical movement of the opposites of a given objective contradiction is of utmost importance to obtain an integral understanding. A powerful and conscious intervention of the subjective forces representing a particular aspect in the contradiction may, at times if pursued correctly, bring the concerned aspect to attain a dominant position over that of the other so much so that the very character of the contradiction undergoes a change. This is the time when new contradictions emerge in the place of the old.

"A small progressive group under the leadership of George Reddy supporting the armed agrarian revolution launched by the Maoists has emerged in 1971. This small group started work in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderbad among students under the banner of the Progressive Democratic Students. Problems of students were taken up and political education, not only on their problems but the problems of the society as a whole, was

given through pamphlets, discussions, debates and seminars etc. The growing strength of this group could no longer be ignored by the reactionary forces. In September 1971, following elections to the local Gandhi Medical College Students' Union, R.S.S. rowdy elements attacked progressive students..... The scene of battle shifted to campus. Clashes took place on September 5th, November 25th, December 6th, 1971 and February 4th 1972. Never lacking in militancy, the PDS members resisted the attacks with great militancy.

"Jeena Kai to Marna Seekho -
Kadam Kadam Par Ladna Seekho"

"(If at all you want to live, learn to die - Learn fighting at each and every step".)

was the fighting slogan of the PDS. Students masses were educated on the true nature of fascist forces and rallied in support of the progressive forces.

Thinking that an individual was responsible for the growth of the progressive forces rather than the objective conditions, the ruling classes decided to do away with the life of George Reddy. On April 14th 1972, while he was campaigning in the Engineering College hostel for Progressive Students contesting the college elections, the RSS goondas stabbed him to death in front of the armed police posted in the campus.

George's death was a set back to the PDS. His seasoned leadership and guidance was lost and the forces scattered. But it fought back nevertheless and as always, the movement itself created fresh leaders.

August 10th, 1972 was observed as 'Anti-Communal Day' in the twin cities and it served to regroup the scattered forces."⁸

Although the above extract was somewhat lengthy, it gives a full understanding on the nature and severity of the contradictions which the leadership had had to resolve before it realises its objective of building a militant student movement as an inseparable link with the armed agrarian revolution. Even before any worthwhile organisation has been built up, the progressive group had to lose its leader and founder. The purpose of the above extract is merely to bring out the fact that the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) remained a formidable block in the way of PDS to grow into a strong militant organisation. It is not the concern of the study here, to enquire whether the facts surrounding the murder of George Reddy are true or not. It is sufficient to mention that nearly two years after the murder, the sessions court has struck down the case on the ground that

8. Kumar, Sasi M. Op. Cit

the prosecution could not defend its case. Given the disbelief of Maoists in the 'bourgeois courts', no noticeable interest has ever been taken by anybody concerned in the court case.

The subsequent clashes between PDS on the one hand and ABVP on the other prove that a good part of the energy and time of the former had been consumed in its struggle against the latter. But, then it was only inevitable and it actually helped the PDS to grow in strength. A struggle against the ABVP was conducted on the lines such as science versus religion, Reason versus superstition etc. To extend the logic a step further, it is taken as the scientific education versus reactionary or bourgeois education. Thus, as one of the leaders put it that their struggle against the ABVP served one of their basic objectives - the propaganda for the need of a scientific democratic educational system.

The clashes between the PDS, by this time it was PDSU, and the ABVP continued. On October 17th, 1974 the Secretary of the Progressive Organisation for Women, a fraternal organisation having close ideological and organisational proximity with PDSU, was allegedly assaulted by a member of ABVP. Following this incident, POW and PDSU

organised a huge rally and procession to the university authorities demanding 'appropriate' action against the accused. The following day, a clash between the ABVP and PDSU members reportedly occurred. Perhaps, this seems to be the last major clash between PDSU and ABVP on the Osmania campus. According to the claims made by the erstwhile PDSU leaders, the PDSU has come to wield great strength in relation to ABVP by the time last clash occurred.

CONCLUSION

The study reveals that while till the end of 1960's student movement in Osmania University was by and large limited to making and resolving immediate demands upon university authority, the decade of 70's witnessed activities associated with larger political movements outside the precincts of the campus. Though some student organisations owing allegiance to political parties were then too existent, the ideological or political orientation was conspicuously absent till the beginning of 70's. The sporadic mobilization of students marked by the lack of ideological fervour characterized the student movement till the end of 1960's. Given this understanding, it is not difficult for us to reconcile ourselves to the situation when student, ranged for the first time against a stronger outside force - the State Government - withdrew from the 'autonomy struggle' of 1966 following the Government's conceding to certain peripheral demands not related to the actual issue involved.

However, the separate Telangana agitation of 1969 thoroughly impressed upon the students that they constitute a potential force to undertake the task of bringing about a radical social change. The agitation provided the students their first experience of initiating a political movement and also brought home the vulnerability of the ruling elite.

The lack of effective legitimate channels so conditioned the understanding of the students, especially the student leaders, of Osmania University that recourse to agitational path is considered inevitable by them to get this grievance redressed however reasonable and manageable they be. This was adequately corroborated by the various protest strikes during the sixties when the University authorities after initial opposition yielded to the students consequent upon their taking a war-path. The Engineering College strike of 1966 involved a manageable if not reasonable demand of the student. Yet the university failed to concede it initially only to yield to the students' pressure subsequently.

Given the objective conditions of a society marked by political and economic crises and also the experience of having led a political movement, the stage was set for the students to gradually identify themselves with the larger political movements outside. The close ideological and organisational proximity of PDSO, RSU and DSO with the CPI (ML) vindicates the point.

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