



STUDENTS REVOLT: THE ORIGINS OF THE PHENOMENON CALIBRATED TO THE SITUATION OF THE SUDANESE UNIVERSITIES

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ABSTRACT

The paper attempts to provide background information about students revolt as a phenomenon which has its roots to many social sciences disciplines. The paper deals with students violence in the Sudanese universities compared with the original philosophy of the phenomenon when it was firstly introduced by the left-wing to the western universities. The data are based on historical and conceptual survey compared with the context of the phenomenon in the Sudan. The phenomenon of the students violence initiated firstly in London School of Economics in Britain in 1966-1969 when the leftist's students resented, what they thought, as the universities' bureaucratic forms prevailing at that time. The paper makes sense out of this ongoing process by making initial direct observations about the origins of phenomenon hoping to develop further research observations in future research.

Introduction:

The present paper provides a historical survey of the experience of violence and student protests in Britain in 1966-1969 , drawing heavily on Crouch' s(1970, p.97-127) analysis which identifies its first beginning in Britain in London School of Economics and its influence by the rest of the continental states, all Europe, and then the United States. The researcher's aims in the present research is first, to create a level of comparison from which our students can calibrate , and see what was veiled from them, and secondly because it is a

problem of concern to all who are working in the field of education, and thirdly, because the Higher Education in Sudan was a natural extension to education in Britain since the founding of the Gordon Memorial College , and the non- admittance of the Sudan in the membership of the Commonwealth and , therefore , got its independence in 1956 (see Lord Casey, 1964, Heinlein,2002) Finally , the researcher thinks, that the accreditation and Quality units in the Sudan Universities should benefit from the historical experiences and examples of such phenomenon by highlighting all its aspects and by documenting all its political, economic and social lessons that may benefit the next generations that to follow, and help develop Higher Education in Sudan as a developing country:

Literature Review:

The origin of the phenomenon

According to Crouch (1970) the phenomenon of students violence came to the existence as intellectual and ideological act done by the leftists students in the West against the bureaucratic forms prevailing at that time. This movement appeared at the first time in Britain in the winter of 1966 at London School of Economics and the students events continued until 1967. The new leftist system and the radicals students who belong to this stream of thought, which began sneaking stealthily to European countries and then to the European Universities, saw that the bureaucratic forms which were represented in Capitalism and Imperialism prevailing in all the institutions of that time must be changed . The new left-wing started to have claimed that these shapes of bureaucratic acts were practiced in the University as a vital institution and therefore the university is chosen as the unit where the new left- wing should impose its philosophy claiming that the university was working as a tool for the service of capitalism in graduating capitalist cadres. The leftist students thought that they could make advantages of the freedoms that were granted for them as university students to turn the hopes of the masses, with less freedom, to extra chances of work and better authority participation.

Leftists students considered that political protests in style of sit-ins was not only a political weapon, but it was also by itself was seen as an experience that helps benefit the community and helps in the process of change and these sit - ins are no less important than the question of teaching and learning itself. This was coincided with the World Socialist Movement which had issued a decree or a booklet which stated that large sectors of the university students got puzzled when they had realized that what awaits them after the study is not the Kingdom of

Mind and intellect but found themselves involved actively in the world of finance and capital domination, and found themselves as providers for justifications and apologies to the phenomenon of poverty and the forces of the police instead of using their intellectual knowledge to discover about this world and their own societies. Students were given the university examinations, the leftists thought, to have marketed for these parochial view of Capitalism. Crouch (1970) expressed about this view in the following :

A whole section of students is bewildered to that what awaits them at the end of a long and arduous climb is not the kingdom of the mind they were promised but participation in or apologetics for the world of money and militarism, poverty and police force. Instead of being offered a chance to understand the world and society, they themselves are subjected to a crude quantification; in place of exploration of reality they get exams"

the demands of leftists , therefore, came within the university as a platform in which they could express their protest against the visits of politicians speakers from outside the university by asserting the right of the students freedom of speech and the desire to participate in the direct intervention of the university management and decision-making. Here the Left-wing used a theory called the conspiracy theory, which stated that the university administration had not taken into its account the concerns of students, but university management always sought to respond to what was required by capitalism outside the university, and the left-wing students protested what was known as the forces of darkness, which was the university's relationship with the state and the world in guaranteeing its external defense , industry, and racism. They also protested against the waste and exploitation of the university resources in its outside interests.

Leftists also claimed that the education process in itself may be aborted if universities keep backing the Capitalism, class injustice, and all forms of human exploitation. And, corruption of Education increased when the British policy supported and agreed upon that capitalist philosophy of the universities. There was an endeavor of complete change towards collectivism and socialism through the protest inside the university. This protest may, however, have led to other university option which was called ' Free University' and which have fulfilled much of the previous stated objectives. In America it led to what were called '

credited courses' as a system that provided a chance for the students to choose from what s/he actually needed . All these came (Crouch, 1970) as attempts to solve the leftist new philosophy which made use of the university as a proper place to launch and spread its leftists' views . This student movement later on gets a broad themes in Britain's political policies. These themes appear in the changes of the meanings of socialism, economic rationalization, bureaucracy, and technology . This change may , even, includes the party of labour's policies of transformation from worker's party to a party that representing technology as a new substance that can provide a solution to many problems of economy and polity existed at the time. (Crouch , 1970, p.239)

Forms of Students' movements in Britain:

After learning about the motives of the students' movements, a look will be taken at the form of their activities and the most important goals. Students' protests included all British universities and other universities outside Britain, and these students' protests can be summarized in the period between 1966- 1969 as mentioned by Crouch (1970, p. 15-127) . The following are some of students' main movements:

- In London school of economics where all the objectives of leftists were met together and which can be represented in the involvement of students in decision-making within the university; and in the criticism of bourgeois education ; and in the attack of the capitalism; and all this was resulted in the establishment of the alliance of radical students in 1967 The leftists had a large proportion in that alliance, and this alliance tried to make some changes in the General Union of Students, which had an orthodox political tendency
- In Edinburgh University students Protests emerged in the argument that it was not the right of the university Rector to speak up on policies already approved by the students.
- In Leicester university Students suggested to participate and be represented by a reasonable ratio (less than claimed in the London School of Economics just on the main Committees of Universities) .When the administration refused to respond, the students organized a sit-in administration buildings till the General Federation promised to find a solution after negotiating with the administration. Students who had accepted to negotiate quickly rejected it on the grounds that it was taken as the defeat of Leftist thought. In the same university and in the month of February students violently protested the visit of speakers outside the

university on the grounds that the university in the first place should correspond to the wishes of its students who entirely rejected such kind of outside visits.

In Cambridge the Minister of State was not able to address some of the meetings because of students' riots. Also, students raised the issue of Free – university once again which was met with great demand among students and the radicals at that time. .

-In March 1967, the issue of the Vietnam War raised a kind of violence between police and demonstrators outside the US embassy in Grosvenor street, and yet, it is not a subject for students, it has been exploited by the leftists in developing the left-wing ideology and thought. This point may emphasize Crouch 's(1970, p.226) point in differentiating between ' rationalization interests which always implies change , and socialism which tends to imply change . The Vietnam issue was also exploited by the leftists in the official channels to record a clear protests and opposition against it. Consequently, the left –wing opinionated the right of the university students in participating in the official committees in the university, and in redressing many vital decisions inside the university.

-In Essex University in 1968 students protested against a biological research centers scientist who was intended to deliver a lecture despite the fact that the lecture had nothing to do with the biological warfare research and germs). As a result, three students were dismissed by unanimous agreement of rector and three of his consultants. The rector was a liberal and he believes that the liberal philosophy requires freedom of expression and that he had taken the necessary and appropriate measures against the mentioned students .This liberal policy , however, contained in itself a kind of political chicanery which appeared in the fallacy that the government originally had the ability to control the scientists, and directing them to what it wanted to ,and to what it was not in favor of human rights. So students had staged a sit-in till the three students were backed to the academic arena; and as a result, committees of the reformed were formed including the joint committees between students and professors. Also , Essex protests brought what were called the ' situationists who had expressed their political view by writing in the walls and by releasing balloons outdoors rejecting any university structural pattern whatever it was , and they did not admit the order , or the responsibility towards the other , or any form of social awareness which was so much cared and recognized by the Marxists . This kind of exacerbation, or the large external dimension conceived by, the leftists , to the visit of that biological scientist resulted in British government submitting a

proposal to adjust the nuclear and chemical weapons at the World Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

-In Holborn College for Law and Trade in December 1967, and in Regent Street Polytechnic students staged a sit-in demanding their right in participating and sharing in university decision – making processes

-In Aston university in Birmingham students had protested the cut of Overseas students ratio attributing it to racial grounds, and on the other hand it was justified by the university as lacking of enough seats for these foreign students. In Leeds University students had also gathered to prevent a Professor (Patrick Wall) to deliver a lecture assuming that he was a far –right extremist.

-In Sorbonne University there were protests against the university administration because it dismissed a student for misconduct by sexually harassing one of the girls, and the leftist saw the university reaction was against. Unrationalised Spontaneity of human being . -In Rome there was a protest among leftists and fascists, and the police, and there were student demonstrations in each of Madrid , Brazil, Chile, Jakarta and Tokyo -.In March 1968, there were students protests in Poland, and in July of the same year there were protests in Gzechoslovakia . What is mentioned is a few of the many acts of rebellion that were carried out by students under the roof of what was known as .new radicalism.

The Main Goals of the Leftist Student Movements:

1 / politicalizing Universities

2 / .Practical application and dissemination of the leftist philosophy at the university as an intellectual institution may have limited the university bureaucratic control. This why Western universities in general , and British university in particular had tolerated much from this great political dissent among their students whose objectives can be summarized in the following objectives :

a. The university students should share a kind of actual participation and representation in University decision-making process.

b. University , and its relationship with the state , industry , and the outside should be known by the students..

The writer of this paper repeats once again, as in its introduction that the purpose of this historical survey is not only narrating of events, but also it is an attempt to understanding this phenomenon of student violence in the contextual framework of a community and as a kind of development in human intellectuality. Also to understand about the effective solutions done by the British State, and the university, and how it was possible for the British public policy and House of Lords, departments of universities to have claimed the successful solutions to this fierce onslaught of left-wing thoughts and philosophy on the traditional bureaucratic forms at the time. These solutions can be seen in the following :

- The authorities had realized the desire of students in their representation in the university administration due to the left-wing lack of confidence to all the university bureaucratic forms. The leftists , in this issue , saw the following :

-That the Committee of Student Affairs may be forced to change its recommendations.

- Both faculty members and students were capable of bringing about changes in the academies.

-Administrative power within the university was independent and bureaucratic and it should be replaced by a radical one . .

-There was an influence of the government on the university in terms of funding and research, and university members in the end were citizens and therefore they were subjected to the civil service rules and governmental service and conditions. As a result of this left-wing intransigence, a new movement called' the reactionary trend ' was appeared rejecting the current violence of the leftists, and made some solutions of power crisis appeared in the following :

- The students had the right to participate in all the committees and share in the decisions-making processes within the university . The theme of this participation was the main topic in all reports of committees within the universities, and in the Agreement between the General Union of students and some university administrators which resulted in the following:

-London School of Economics had acknowledged students' membership and direct intervention in some decision-making processes, but University of Oxford rejected this direction.

-Some British and American universities had adopted what is known as the Joint Commission of Teachers and students, and had sought to increase the students engagement, and the result of this was the emergence of current trends refusing to engage students in decision-and justifying for that by the following :

1/ . The presence of students on campus is temporarily ending up once the students obtain their certificates

2/ The difficulty of finding a university definition of what is known as the student point of view in the university statutes.

3 / . There are mature students who stay a little bit at the university and then graduate.

4 / There are some sensitive academic subjects that should not be seen by the student, such as the appointment of teachers and curriculum design . This trend rejected the participation of students assuming that democracy is not the only principle to be fulfilled, but the academicians also have their own responsibilities in the maintenance of order as a legacy that should effectively be developed and transferred to the next generation. What was demanded by the leftists, therefore, was considered, by this view, as a clear betrayal to democracy. This trend saw that, after the clarification of all these for the students, the university administration can ensure its students support. Therefore , representation should relatively be seen. Students demand of ' parity' in the process of representation was completely rejected by all universities' administrations. To sum up , it can be said that there were clear intentions of the extreme left-wing thought in the dissemination of its culture outside the university . This appeared in their establishment of Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation which held its first meeting in London School of Economics and attended by activists from outside Britain..

Finally, it can be stated that the call for socialist revolution and revolutions and the creation of charismatic society which is fulfilling social harmony without social restrictions and official authorities was like the call of to return to the Christian dream (Crouch, 1970. p.241) . This type of the leftists philosophy was considered outside the political framework of the whole, but despite the noise raised by the left-wing philosophy, it represents a positive aspect in many of the new born concepts as in the following: :

-It came as a reaction to the Western world philosophy of capitalism, and the West began to delve deeper into the many political philosophies such as liberalism, democracy and civil freedoms, and other titles with political connotations.. This extreme view of the leftists had

been reacted against by many adverse movements . For instance , in liberalism philosophy there is no such rigidity , Russell, for example, (1947) said the following :

"The genuine Liberal does not say "this is true he says" I am inclined to think that under present circumstances this opinion is probably the best ". And it is only in this limited and undogmatic sense that he will advocate democracy."

Methodology:

The researcher has adopted Glaser and Strauss'(1967) quoted in Rubin, and Bobbie, (1993, p.359) grounded theory which ,in this paper, generated from, and grounded in the phenomenon of student violence in Western universities and which is compared against more observations of the phenomenon in the Sudanese universities . The researcher attempts to make sense out of the frequent occurrences of the phenomenon in the Sudanese universities through the use of these comparisons of the two mentioned patterns to detect some hypothetical questions which ,the researcher, hopes that this type of comparisons may develop general conclusions that end up with further observations and researches of this educational , social , and political phenomenon.

Sudanese Universities Students' Violence:

From what has been said about the leftists philosophy, It can be said that there are no stability between theories of leftist and their practical policies. All their practices inside Universities of riots, violence and rebellion completely contrary to public morality and humanity which they claim for in their theoretical framework. Here, it is better to bring Russell's (1970) saying about the importance of the relation between theory and practice in each of Catholics, Communists and Nazis. All of them considered their point of view in practical policies was so related to their theoretical pronouncements , and they all focused in the constancy of this relation and its psychological and logical importance

The writer of this paper is so convinced that the phenomenon of student violence in the Sudanese universities needs an elaboration of clear and specific definitions for each of the modern concepts of today world. For example, Abdul Rahim Ali's article 'the Good Governance" in the ' Journal of ideas" ,which is written in Arabic language, in March 2004. Differentiated between the Islamic democratic system, and the democratic system by saying that the latter may enact a legislation that makes what is vice (haram) as virtue 'halal ' relying only on what is known in the West, as the vote of majority system. But we find that the

Islamic regime has identified human interest in halal and haram issues as an inspiration revealed by Almighty God to all people. This type of comparison, the writer of this paper thinks, is the main objective form that is required from the Islamic Councils of Jurisprudence, linguistic and translation movements, and that the freedom of the individual in Islam does not detract from the collective interest of the community, as it usually happens in the West that the freedom of the individual has sometimes been expressed against the freedom of public interest. He also said that Islamic legislation selects Halal and Haram in specific things, and does not leave that for human legislation, but leaves a large area of human estimates which are described by AlBusiari(2007, p.1) as Muslim scholars popular consensus of opinions. Therefore, and according to the concept of freedom of the individual and the collective interest of all Muslims, the writer of this paper asks, is there any justification for the university students violence in our educational institutions ?

The phenomenon may also be attributed to the issue of non-compliance of the Sudanese citizen to the law which is attributed by, Al khidir Haroun's article'. "Power in the Sudanese culture" in the same issue in the ' Journal of ideas", and which is written in Arabic language, in March 2004., to the Sudanese culture, and to the Sudanese principle of "Equalitarianism". He says that the Sudanese are very much believe in the equality of the people, and he says that despite the democratic benefits of this matter, but it is considered as a curse because it teaches individuals arrogance and lack of respect for laws, the thing which makes the role of the state of great hardship. If we accept the validity of this view of Dr Haroun, we can say that the Sudanese student is a product of this social culture of "Equalitarianism" before entering the university, could this be the reason for the lack of respect for the laws of the university? Besides, many researches study the phenomenon of student rebellion and violence of the Sudanese universities from other different perspectives. Generally speaking, in Sudan there are many justifications for students violence. That is, the phenomenon varies from one setting to the other. The phenomenon has a political, social, and cultural dimensions. It has sometimes been observed that this pattern of violence was practiced among the university students themselves, the thing which did not exist by the students protests in Britain and the thing which was denied by all the university norms in the world.

Concluding Remarks:

Students in the West had resented the university waste of its financial sources in cases that serve racism, war, and injustice of the class. Therefore, there were a lot of sit-ins, as we saw

in protest against the freedom of expression, and the visiting lecturers from outside the university, so this movement wanted to put foreign university relationship in line with the philosophy of the left-wing.

Finally, it can be said that in Britain and many universities in the West, the radical students' goals met with other students from different political sides in protesting against the principle of changing the universities bureaucratic forms which according to their belief served the global movement of capitalism and the imperialist systems. Below are some violated patterns and structures by western universities administration as it was claimed by the leftists . Deciphering, or claiming to decipher the university statutes according to your political agenda is the main reason for the developing of students revolt in Britain and the West in general. The question to be raised here ' can the Sudanese student violence be attributed to such type of statutes interpretation? In answering all the questions raised, there will be further observations and researches in studying the phenomenon in Sudan, Middle East , and Africa. The main patterns and structures of the Western universities can be stated in the following points:

- that there is a system and a hierarchy of roles at the university.
- laws have their roles in the coordination between the authorities.
- respect for shared values.
- problems at the university are often of a technical nature.
- linking academic power with quality.
- epistemological trends are always seen through science , logic and dialogue.
- change is always connected with the reform and the preservation of the institution academic framework.

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