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STUDENTS' UNREST IN INDIA

By

T. K. TUKOL (Vice-Chancellor, Bangalore University)

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PREFACE

Sri T. K. Tukol, Vice-Chancellor, Bangalore University, delivered the Founder's Day Address at the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore on 20th August 1970.

A wider dissemination of this address is obviously in the interest of better understanding so important for peace and progress.

Publishers

STUDENTS' UNREST IN INDIA

We are meeting today to celebrate the Founder's Day. I am grateful to Madame Sophia Wadia and the other organizers of the Institute for inviting me to deliver the Founder's Day address. I regard it as a great honour; I am conscious that eminent men of letters like Sri Rajagopalachari, Dr. D. V. Gundappa and Sri Masti Venkatesa Iyengar were invited in the past to speak on the occasion. I am therefore apprehensive of my competence to address you on this occasion. I will only try my best to deserve the honour conferred on me.

The late Mr. B. P. Wadia was a great man and a man of vision. He was attracted to Theosophy by his study of the book entitled *The Secret Doctrine* written by Madame Blavatsky. Being convinced of the spiritual value of the doctrine, he started the United Lodge of Theosophists in New York and preached the doctrine of Theosophy in distant lands. He interpreted India's wisdom to people in various countries and carried on the message of Indian Civilization and Culture. He also participated in the Labour Movement and worked as a labour leader in Madras. His work in that direction too received public recognition. He fought the battle of India's freedom. He was associated with Mrs. Besant in the Home Rule Movement and suffered imprisonment.

This institution, namely the Institute of World Culture was established on 11th August 1945 to further the cause of Universal Brotherhood.

The Founder's Day address of this Institute in 1958 was delivered by Mr. B. P. Wadia himself. We can pay no better tribute to him than by recalling to our mind the principles that he stood for and trying to translate them in our daily life. The two passages that struck me in that address as awakening us to our duty deserve to be quoted. I accordingly quote them.

"With India's winning of political sovereignty a new era commenced and the world has also reached in its life movement a new day. It is the yuga when each human being has to learn Self-dependence, so that he is not dependent on other men, on his Government, or political party, on social servants, or on other similar factors. To face difficulties, to unfold resourcefulness, to learn to stand on our own feet, to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow—all this takes us away from abject dependence on others, frees us from enslavement of every kind. This idea we should try to propagate and to popularise in the Indian Institute of World Culture.

"We speak of Self-dependence. But dependence on which self? We have the selfish self of passion and anger and greed—the egotistic self whose will is ruled by pride. It is not dependence on that lower or carnal self which many recommend, He refers to the One Eternal Self, the Great Self, the Mahat Atman whose ray abides in the heart of each, and which is the Divine Self of every man. However fallen a person may be, the Light of Divinity is there within him. Within the skin of the leper a God sits; every sinner is a potential saint; every ignoramus of today is a Sage of tomorrow."

While introducing me Madame Wadia has told you how I have come to wear the academic robe after wearing the judicial robe for a number of years. She also hinted that my talk would be concerned with an important problem concerning the academic life in our Universities.

I will speak to you on Students' Unrest. The problem is national as well as international. Students' indiscipline is the problem of our society in transition. The old values are fast disappearing while the new values have yet been in the process of settlement.

By and large, the students as a class are good and disciplined. The students who are studying for Science and Professional courses busy themselves with their studies and have

very little time for idle activities. Normally, trouble is started by 5 or 10 per cent of the students who are emotionally upset and cherish some supposed grievances. When they are aroused by sentiments, they become vocal and resort to slogans and catch-words. The rest of the students either stand by and observe passively or follow their companions blindly.

The present state of our society is marked by restlessness and indecision. Each one is certain of himself without trying to understand the other. The most important thing in the world today is to understand our fellow citizens and get on with them while working for the common good.

All the world over, the youth form a significant class of the society because they have an important role to play. Every nation regards its youth as its backbone as all young men and women are hopes of the future.

There are four reasons why every nation regards the advancement of its youth as its primary duty. The first is that the youth possess vigour and inventiveness. It is in their strength and in their inventive genius that the hopes of a bright future are centered. The youth have to imbibe every principle for growth, physical and intellectual. Educational institutions have to be started to emphasise principles for work and service. The surroundings have to be congenial and suitable for initiative and adventure. The second reason is that the youth is always willing to experiment. The older people are conservative in outlook and reluctant to depart from their traditions. It is only the young men and women that can learn from past defeats and start experimenting on new ideas and new fields of action. Thirdly, it is their thirst for new ideas that directs them to positions of improvement. Every society would have remained static but for the new ideas that are brought into circulation. New ideas give rise to new thoughts and actions; they become harbingers of a new society. It is the dynamism of the youth that holds out hopes of bright future for every nation. Fourthly, it is the philosophy of power pursued by the youth that is responsible for social change. Every dynamic young man aspires for a position of power, but few of them succeed in getting it. Most of those who get into power drift with the society as they become engrossed in carrying out their duties and responsibilities. It is only young men and women of high intellectual calibre to whom power is denied that involve themselves in fight for change and become ultimately responsible for revolution in any field.

There is no doubt that vast changes have come about in the pattern and types of students admitted to the University.' During the British days, University education was the privilege of the higher middle class students. Colleges were few and life in the colleges was expensive. The number of colleges has increased beyond imagination. There were only 23 or 25 Universities before 1947. Today the number of Universities including Institutions of Technology enjoying the status of Universities, is about 86 or so. So with the expansion of facilities for higher education and growth in the number of universities in different parts of the country, the problems relating to life and aspirations in the University campus have undergone revolutionary changes.

A careful analysis of the numerous changes that have come about in University life would disclose that there are four factors that have directly or indirectly contributed to these changes. Firstly, the country has progressed from dependence to independence. There has been a change in the political set-up and political life in the country. These changes in the political field have affected our public life which needs scrutiny. Secondly, changes in the economic conditions of the country have contributed to development of new trends. Thirdly, the social and demographic changes are also responsible for change in the life of University

campus. Fourthly, educational conditions in the country have also given birth to new aspirations as also frustrations. In order to have a comprehensive and correct assessment of the present day conditions of the University youth, it is essential to examine each of these factors in an objective manner.

Let us consider the political changes that have come about in our country. For over 150 years the British ruled over this country. During the course of their administration many people associated with it and the public life imbibed consciously or unconsciously many western methods of living and thinking. Westernization of life created revolt not only among the conservative but also among those who had great respect for Indian culture and civilization.

It is this revolt that gave birth not only to freedom movement of thought and action but also freedom from foreign rule, The domination of a foreign rule had made us weak; we had no army of any kind to fight against a powerful government whose military strength based on modem and scientific methods was formidable. There was then no fear of external aggression and yet the Navy and the Army were ever prepared to face revolt of any type from within the country.

In a situation of this type, the freedom fighters could not have used any physical force. Consistently with Indian culture, religion and civilization, Mahatma Gandhi followed the principle of non-violent non-cooperation and passive resistence, according as one or the other was found suitable in different situations. The non-violent methods not only required exemplary moral courage but also willingness to sacrifice everything for success in the struggle. The result was that in the first half of this century, we had a great number of leaders for whom self-sacrifice was everything and love of power a taboo; their lives were exemplary and their acts were worthy of emulation. Therefore, their life was inspiring to the youngsters and that inspiration kept the youngsters devoted to idealistic way of life, dedicated to patriotic thoughts and action. Students in schools and colleges developed a sense of admiration for our leaders and tried to emulate them in their own modest way.

With the ushering in of freedom in the country the inspiring vision of patriotic leaders devoted to life of sacrifice and selflessness gradually disappeared. Some who had played prominent roles in the freedom fight began to feel that the just rewards for their suffering were positions of power in which they could enjoy a life of luxury and make others feel the glamour of their positions. Such attitude of the elders towards life created a sense of complacency and of selfishness. The cult of personal power led to corruption at different levels. People who were not worthy of any position or office became prominent in public life and amassed vast fortunes. Their followers came to benefit by their patronage. Honesty became a hindrance. Men without means and without ideals suddenly rose to positions of fortune and power.

The normal effect of such trend in public life cannot but be disastrous. The people who got into power or acquired fortune evoked jealousy, with the result that there were rivalries in the political parties and mutual recrimination amongst the leaders. Merit and integrity became casualties. Such a state of affairs naturally brought about false sense of values in everyday life.

Such changes in the public and political life of the country has disastrous effects on the minds of young students who are by nature impressionable. They began to think that their idealism and honesty brought only suffering and no wealth or happiness. They began to feel frustrated. Those whose sense of patriotism and integrity were not deep-rooted and firm

naturally succumbed to temptations of easy life.

The result was that love for hard work lost its value and a general desire to get one's own needs without work became a common feature. Love of learning and acquisition of scholarship which need hard work gradually lost all attraction. There is little or no respect for learning and scholarship.

Such a feature of normal life cannot but make people selfish and idle. Desires and interests became markedly personal; the youngsters of today are more selfish and self- centred than those of the last generation. Today the interests of personal advancement dominate the life and thinking of the youngsters. Naturally there is lack of earnestness. Most of the leaders who fought for freedom and sacrificed for the country have disappeared from the scene of action and their place has been taken by men who lack the real sense of values. These trends in public life have deteriorated our standards of integrity. Most of the youngsters have become self-indulgent; they are critical of others but seldom critical of themselves.

Independence of a country from political slavery is a stepping stone for economic progress to achieve freedom from poverty and hunger. The Constitution of our country guarantees freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and of movement, freedom of property and of person. These guarantees should have conduced to a life of selfconfidence, of hard work and self-respect. Selfishness and absence of sense of responsibility make freedom a mockery. Freedom and license have become indistinguishable. The youngsters as well as the elders have developed greater consciousness for rights than for duties. They forget that every right entails fulfillment of a corresponding duty. All rights spring from duties fulfilled. The youngsters today hardly think of duties. They talk of rights and want them without working for them. Freedom can be a bane if all insist that it should not be subject to any limitation. Limitations are imposed in the interest of public good. Absolute freedom is impossible in any society. Personal freedom has to be limited in order that others may enjoy their own freedom. When personal cult dominates individual life, respect for orderly living vanishes both from individual and public lives.

If therefore we find the students restlessly struggling for freedom during their educational career, it is because of their ignorance of the meaning of real freedom and the uncertain and meaningless values spread by politics. The desire of students to get success in their examinations without working hard for the same is in no way different from the desire to get success in life without the requisite work, capacity and earnestness. Jealousies and lighthearted outlook become a hindrance to pursuit of peaceful academic life. Many of them dream of emulating their elders to get into positions of political power. Glamour of political life has become too attractive. What is more, political leaders are not leaving the students to pursue their studies and acquire knowledge. They have gegun to use them for their purpose, for agitation and for disturbing the men in power.

Most of the political organizations in the country have created youth wings. The members of these youth wings are generally students who have failed in their examinations and yet hanker after some sort of power and easy publicity. They have lost earnestness in life. Every one desires to achieve name or notoriety by hook or crook. They are demanding reduction of the age limit for right to vote. If this right is conceded, colleges and other educational institutions where youngsters of 18 years and above are studying will become hot-beds of political conflicts and unhealthy rivalries. This will result in a great set-back to pursuit of scholarship and learning. No country can thrive unless it is able to produce young men and women whose interests in life centre round acquisition of knowledge with the object of using

it for the advancement of the country.

Study of the various sciences and humanities need quiet time; disturbances of any kind would be detrimental. It is the scholars who have studied peacefully in their solitary comers that have contributed to economic and spiritual progress. It is only by eschewing political trends from the academic life that our youngsters in the universities can hope to become good scholars, good citizens and good leaders.

The change brought about by economic conditions in the life or aspirations of the youngsters are no less powerful. Though there is industrialization in the country on such a wider scale than before, the lot of the common man does not seem to have improved; the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. Communism is spreading in the country without any constructive effort to improve the lot of the common man. Capitalism is cried down indiscriminately; no efforts are being made to increase productivity in different fields so as to enhance the national income. The result of the present trends in the economic field has only spread dissatisfaction at all levels. The Constitution guarantees social, economic and political justice. The socialistic pattern of society has been advocated as an economic doctrine without accepting its challenges. Equality in the economic field at all levels is not possible and to my knowledge no country has so far succeeded in establishing such equality. There are variations in the levels of intelligence amongst people in the country; naturally there are bound to be variations not only in the area of their achievements but also in the national significance of their contributions. Modern civilization has multiplied means of comfort and luxury engendering dissatisfaction amongst all classes of people. There is no limit to human wants. It is necessary to devise methods for growth of national wealth. What we are doing today by indiscriminate legislation is distribution of existing wealth. In other words, we are merely trying to distribute poverty without conscious efforts to multiply national resources.

Such situation in the economic field has led to an unexpected rise in the strength of poor students. There was a time when the youngsters thought of traditional avocations, almost hereditary in their families. Such of them as have received the benefits of modern education look up for employment under the Government or private agencies. In the past the number of the educated was limited; so were the avenues of employment. There was not so much unemployment as we notice today. We are faced today with problems of mass admissions to schools and colleges without reference to individual capacities and aptitudes. We produce educated young men who have to remain unemployed for want of jobs. Uncertainty of the future in the matter of earning a living has tended to create frustration and disappointment. It is very natural that every young man and woman receiving education should think of the future after he or she leaves the portals of the school or college. But the picture before them is bleak; only a few can be certain of their future.

The economic unrest can also be traced to social and demographic changes in our country. The increase in population has been so fast and so rapid. No doubt we have been exploiting, since independence, our national resources and other means of technological production. But the increase in population has been most disproportionate. The growth in the national income has not kept pace with the growth of population. The country therefore is poorer today than before. Poverty means discontent and therefore conflict

Growth of population has aggravated the communal problem also. It is unfortunate that for ages communal ties have been weaker in India than in any other country. However if the communal ties are utilized for educating the members of the community and for improvement of their economic status so as to make them broad-minded and nationalistic in outlook the existence of communities will not be a curse. Communal feelings are utilized for gaining political power sacrificing public good. The communal ties have tended to make us narrow-minded and selfish.

Besides these changes, the gradual disruption of joint family system and weakening of elderly control have produced certain significant consequences. No doubt, the joint family system has certain evils of its own, like the sense of dependence, loss of initiative and blind imitation of the elders in the family. At one time, it bound all members in the family together by affection and security of life. To a certain extent, life in a joint family required qualities of adjustment; subordination of one's needs to the general welfare of the family and will to work for the common good. The loss of elderly control has left the young people free to find out their own solutions for their problems.

With the growth of population beyond expectations, educational institutions of all types have grown in number and size. Yet, it has not been possible to meet the demands of growing population. There are therefore difficulties in getting admission to educational institutions of one's own choice. Institutions which earn a name for efficiency and variety of courses exploit the situation by prescribing high rates of fees under various heads. In that way education has become commercialized.

Commercialization of education has brought into being new evils. Admissions in noted institutions can be secured either on payment or by influence of the parents. These two factors invariably give rise to discrimination. Discrimination which is not based on reasonable grounds leads to discontent and jealousy. Merited and deserving young men born in poor families find it difficult to prosecute their studies in institutions of their choice or for courses of study suited to their aptitudes. Their financial and social disability affects their self-respect and subjects them to defeatism. Defeatism, if not overcome in time, gives birth to frustration of the worst kind. Such frustration contains germs of revolt against established order in society.

The social circumstances existing today are not helpful to development of healthy outlook among the youngsters. Healthy outlook in life is the product of parental and environmental control and direction. Today, we have neither. The rich parents complain of lack of time for exercising any control over their children or giving them proper guidance at home. They are so busy with their commercial or industrial occupations that they do not consider it worthwhile to find time to enquire into the work or the aspirations of their children. They are, so to say, always in a hurry. So far as the poor people are concerned, their working hours are such that they have hardly any time to spend with their children and other family members. Their work is strenuous and life is toilsome. They have no time for any enquiry.

These changes born of explosion of population with con* sequent changes in social structure and economic status have naturally left the young people helpless. They have neither opportunity of exchanging their ideas with the elders in the family nor of seeking their guidance. There does not appear to be any immediate hope of improving the situation.

The modem world has taken rapid strides in scientific and technological fields. There is explosion of knowledge all round. Distances have become abridged and the world has become narrow in its dimensions. The media of mass communications have created a new awakening even in villages. This new awakening has created thirst for knowledge. The young people have no love for rural life. The attractions of urban life are many.

The new awakening in rural areas for higher knowledge is no doubt a good sign. There is greater demand today than ever before for facilities of higher education. High Schools and

Colleges have sprung up even in rural areas. Yet the rush for colleges is unprecedented.

This laudable hunger for knowledge without proper guidance and counseling has led to new problems. The young students choose only such courses of studies as have greater job opportunities. While the object of such choice is understandable, the choice of courses of studies unrelated to aptitude and intellectual capacity, leads to wastage of public money and manpower. No effort can be fruitful without proper aptitude; more hard work is not enough. Besides, choice of subjects which need intellect of a high order for mastery, can reward only those who are intellectually competent. Choices made in disregard of aptitude and intellectual competence are often attended with failures in examinations. These difficulties can be overcome to some extent by suitable provision for students' counseling and guidance.

Every student starts his career in anticipation of a degree which ensures him some job and money. He is sure to be disappointed when his expectations fail him. Psychologically, failure to achieve the expected results causes a shock and dries up all initiative for incentive to hard work.

It leads to deterioration and loss of respect for attachment to learning. Frequent failures make young men lose their interest in studies and develop in them a sort of inferiority complex. Such students begin to feel that their parents, friends and relatives have no respect for them; inwardly they feel that they had forfeited the sympathy of the elders. Then they would have nothing but discontent and restlessness.

Few elders at home take interest in such youngsters. What such young men and women need is not only a free and frank dialogue about the situation in which they are found but also a word of encouragement. Added to this, they also look up for a dialogue or intimacy with their teachers. Classes with a strength of 70 to 100 students make it impossible for a teacher to have intimate knowledge of their personal problems. Some of the teachers are also losing faith in the nobility of their profession and their sense of duty. They approach their work mechanically and fail to inspire the youngsters.

The effect of all these factors is that the young students feel unable to harness their capacities to meet the demands of their aspirations and expectations. Such inability is a grave danger not only to the individual concerned but also to the society as a whole. A progressive society needs hard and honest work from aspiring youngsters. All youngsters are the hopes of the future and their achievements are expected to be productive of benefit to the society as a whole.

Recently another disheartening feature is raising its head in the educational field. Some of the young students in schools and colleges have begun to feel that their teachers have special liking for certain students and look upon them with disfavour. Our examinations have ceased to be real tests of their intelligence. Students are questioning the impartiality of teachers even in the matter of internal assessment or classroom work. They have begun to question their integrity as well. As Professor D. D. Karve, a famous educationist in Maharashtra, has said: "The kind of general confidence in the impartiality, integrity and dedication of the teacher or the examiner which is almost universal in the West is absent in Indian Society today and it cannot be said that the academic world in India has succeeded in creating that confidence by their record."

This apart, the syllabi or the curricula that we have today in our schools and colleges provide for teaching of subjects which have little relevance to everyday needs of the young men. The subjects that are taught today interested students who had great respect of learning and therefore tried to absorb everything that was taught to them. Their outlook was less utilitarian. It is a matter of common experience that out of numerous students in any class in a school or college, it is only a few that have a scholarly interest or aptitude. The rest regard their studies as a stepping-stone for some employment or occupation that would earn them a living. It is therefore necessary that the content of the educational pattern should be suitably modified.

After 1956 when the States in the country came to be reorganized on linguistic basis, a new problem relating to the medium of instruction is being faced all over the country. During the last 150 years or so English was the accepted medium of instruction in High Schools and Colleges. The study of English was regarded as an acquisition in itself, because it served as a passport not only for employment under government and other organizations, but also for studies in foreign universities. Serious efforts are being made to develop the regional languages and nobody can question the wisdom of such efforts. Emphasis on the study of English either as medium of instruction ras an important subject for study. Books are being produced in regional languages to meet the needs of University education.

Obviously, we are in this respect in a transitory stage: most of the subjects are being taught in English; this has created difficulties for the teacher as also for the student. The former is unable to impart instruction so as to be understood by his students while the latter are faced with the problem of expressing themselves what is taught to them. These difficulties are reflected in the examinations when students are unable to convey what they have to say on any subject. The examinations are faced with anxiety and the results are dreaded by some, if not by all.

These are the various causes of unrest among students in colleges and universities in India. It is obvious that the causes are deep-rooted and inextricably connected with the trends and forces in public life. Therefore, any solution that is suggested for eradication of unrest must be relevant to the forces operating in the different fields.

It is a matter of common experience that the neatest force in our country affecting all life including the academic life is politics. Political life in the country has created a crisis, particularly crisis of character and crisis of higher values of life. It is not possible for a few individuals to change the trends of public life. However, those outside the political arena can create mass consciousness which can awaken a high sense of respect for the rule of law and for moral standards in private and public life.

The political leaders are guided by principles of expediency which make the acquisition of power and for the exercise of it, regardless of public good. The purity of public life is in danger. It is therefore high time that leaders of thought unconnected with politics accept the challenge and try to purify public life by reviving the ideals of self-sacrifice and integrity so characteristic of the past spiritual life of our country. Such revival is bound to have its effect on the young minds enabling them to imbibe high ideals and cherish them as covetable rewards of life.

It is unfortunate that many of our youngsters are imitating their elders in private life as also in their contacts with their fellow students in schools and colleges. Moral instruction should form part of the curricula in schools and colleges so that respect for scholarship, hard work and integrity can be part of their philosophy of life.

It is equally necessary that the parents are made conscious of their duty towards their children whether in schools or in colleges. In countries like America there are institutions which offer guidance to the parents in the manner of bringing up their children. Economic

poverty prevents us from establishing such institutions. Naturally this deficiency has to be made good partly by the teachers in educational institutions and partly by the elders in public life.

In order to evoke a sense of unity or brotherhood amongst the students, it is necessary to organize associations of young men who are wedded to bringing about harmony among their fellow students. Sacrifice in lesser or higher degree should become a way of life. Such a sense of brotherhood is sure to develop an exemplary outlook among the students. Communal feelings and regional feelings would gradually yield to higher sense of unity or brotherhood. We have today a disrupted community, disrupted by considerations of caste, language or region. All these should disappear. It is their disappearance that will pave the way to national unity which is the need of the hour.

Another point which requires serious attention is the education of our youngsters in the use of leisure. Most of us often complain that we have no time for doing certain things. Such complaint is, more often than not, an indication of weak will. The old saying, where there is a will there is a way, is universally true. What most of us lack is a determined will to do in time what we ought to do as our duty.

The use of leisure therefore is of great importance. We can learn more and do more if we know how to use our leisure. Leisure hours are spent in idle gossip or in fruitless discussions. One writer has said: *''Leisure is a beast which devours you unless you have learnt to devour it." A meaningful use of leisure is essential. If leisure is occupied with idle thoughts, it is likely to lead the individual astray. It is for each individual to plan for himself as to how best and in what manner he could fruitfully utilize his leisure.

Another remedy to eradicate students' unrest is to involve our young men in national service. They must be made to accept that India is one nation and that every individual is only a part of that great nation, whatever the caste or creed of such person might be. There is a general feeling that our young men are not familiar with the ancient history and civilization of our country. Lack of such knowledge certainly makes them narrow-minded and leads to territorial and social disintegration. It is therefore necessary that our young men should be made aware of the common features of our culture and civilization. India has been the victim of numerous attacks from foreign powers which brought in numerous evils in the country; they also left different legacies good and bad. Every student should have a sound knowledge of our past national life, as such knowledge enables him to cultivate a broad vision and a cosmopolitan attitude.

In these days, when communal and regional forces are eating the vitals of our country, the young students should be made aware of the fact that such forces have hindered the growth and progress of our nation and have been disintegrating the country. Every one has been made to feel that he is an entity by himself, and not an integral part of the great nation. So the development of national and scientific outlook is what is necessary. If various topics concerning our ancient civilization and culture are made a part of school and college education at different levels, it may be possible to produce young men and women dedicated to the service of our country.

Such education will necessarily discipline both the mind and spirit. It will inculcate an active sense of participation in the building up of the country. What we want today is a universal desire to be of use to our fellow-men and to the country.

Lastly, involvement in national service would also discipline the physique of our young men. A sound mind in a sound body is an old adage. It held good in the past, holds good

today and will hold good in the future. An unsound body affects the peace of mind. Ailment of one kind or the other is a great hindrance to good thoughts and action. In order that there should be harmony between the body and the mind so as to inspire all young men to be useful servants of the nation, there should be opportunity for all-round training. We should foster a feeling of brotherhood and a sense of nationalism. If the minds of the youth are occupied usefully and idealistically, there can be no doubt that the present state of restlessness would yield place to harmony of thought and action for the betterment of oneself and of the community at large.

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