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Editorial

Swashbuckling vs Skillfulness

"The whole nation has sold itself to the falsehood. God, demour, rickets, sneeze, jupiter, conjunction of three days ($\text{SÉÝ} \text{!} \text{óúÇ}$) — there is no end to the reasons for fear. How can they know what kind of valor is required to deal with truth." — (Gora, Rabindranath)

It is true that these angles' ken have come from Rabindranath, canon of our nation. He was a pattern, the very pattern of manly qualities. He had expected this sort of a person in our society and today nearly a hundred years after he wrote these words (in connection with *Swadeshi Movement of Bengal*) we can examine whether such a hero (nation needs heroes) has arrived in our society to face the truth. Surely nobody will object very much if we call such a person 'skillful' or 'expert'. In other words we understand from this revered person, the true intrinsic superiority, the natural analog of valor, that how a person has to deal appropriately in sociology and its intrinsic form politics.

Rabindranath must have had some ideal in mind when he said these words. Therefore that ideal or the rubric will be required in whatever social work we do, whether it is awareness of science or changes in society. But now a number of ruts are coming up in our minds about this valor seeing the many acts of a social cum political nature in our hunker down, uneducated or at best undereducated, unstable (still largely pre-political and or incompletely detribalized) country, particularly so many years after gaining independence.

These aspects arise in this context in order to exchange with our readers. We are giving so much importance to this sociological or political aspects because it is only through these that this valor or the ideal surfaces so seriously and it is only through them that the destiny of crores of people in this country are decided.

We know that in a democracy, it is the votes that decide everything and if we win enough votes and get a seat for five years then we get the right to do everything and anything we want. We can say in anybody's face — its the people who have elected me to power and if you can you can remove me and take this seat. In other words we get a kind of arrogance and pride and as a result a feeling can grow that I can forcefully do whatever I want. For example I can decide I will operate a particular health programme. If anybody objects I can tell him — yes this is how it will be done, if you do not like it you can do whatever you wish.

Similarly, in education I can say I think this is how the education system will run, if you do not like it you can leave. In culture I proclaim you will have to accept my decision on the cultural system. This is what we like. And we are true representative of the people. Therefore we can easily say this is what the public wants. Like this I try to forcefully decide in every sphere and we find I have got into a bad habit. One can in euphemistic language call this swashbuckling.

In other words there is nothing to object this 'canonical story'. This is because we are living in a democracy. As a result I decide I will do whatever I want to and others will have to accept it. We then have to decide whether we can consider such a person valorous as considered by Rabindranath.

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We on the other hand find that somebody or the other is always carrying on this kind of swashbuckling. It is only the swashbuckler who is changing his colours but swashbuckling does not end. The common man only keeps looking at the swashbucklers. They also see that looking at the examples of the leading operator swashbuckling there is a rise in various forms of small time swashbuckling (This is probably the source of terrorism — Red terror against White terror or vice versa), there is no decline. Feeling helpless, the public comes to the conclusion they cannot cope this kind of swashbuckling, and it is better to keep quiet. They probably look for comfort in the words of poet Bishnu Dey — The animal will always be an animal. No matter how much the opposition. He has no place in the world of imagination. The future is full of memories. (/æô¿îÂ üM±
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This is probably what happens, and it will go on happening. It cannot be that politics can continue without swashbuckling. Throughout the world anybody in politics is an 'interest group' and somehow by what means they regularly lure swashbuckling in order to retain political power in the country. Hence black market, mafia, licence-permit, contractor-percentage system etc. have a deep relationship with politics.

Still psychologically we do not want to accept this. Only a few stray thoughts play in our minds. This is because from our younger days we have been hearing that Marxism can find a solution to those problems. We have heard that this inexorability can distribute such persons for the good of the country. Because only Marxists do not think of any 'interest' other than doing good for the poor distressed people. They probably show themselves as the 'totally declassed' individuals while they are the world's richest people in the sphere of knowledge and learning. If that be the case then why is it that the desecendants of Marx we see today have such foibles to a 'swashbuckler'.

Somebody calls aloud, "Do not give us a bad name by calling it swashbuckling. That is in fact our valor. We probably have some pride in this matter, and that will be there. Because we are the most successful in running our country. We are honest and clean, hence naturally we justifiably will have some pride. Just think how much pride Marx and Lenin had."

It is stymie to find a reply. We have to accept that Marx and Lenin, like all great people, had tremendous pride; but will it not require a proper assessment of valor? That is if somebody wants to express his pride then will we not judge whether he has or does have the ken or manliness to express that pride?

Let us for example take the case of Marx. In order to sustain from hunger and poverty he wrote in the newspaper about India without even coming to India and only through books he had read in the British Musuem — and this became the classical literature about our country. Similarly Lenin knew about Einstein's theory of relativity in 1903 although it became known worldwide only in 1905. Then just think if these men criticise the bourgeoisie or people like us then we certainly will hunker down at least five times before talking about their valor. But is there any comparison possible between them and the honoured people around us?

I know you will say, in this democratic system if any proletariat party comes to power by any means then it will lead to proletarian regimen. Because it will have to be very firmly for the welfare of the poor and the backward people of society. The strongest impediments to this will come from those who profess independence of the individual, the bourgeoisie and those who are looking for their own benefits. Because so far they have taken all the benefits from society and now they are enjoying the fruits.[And ironically if anybody wants to win over these opportunist,

individualist, self-seeker intelligientia of this society (like Dr. Pabitra Sarkar and co.) one have to blight his minimum sense of dignity.]

However I am not dismissing or ignoring what you are saying, but are we not making a mistake in our calculation. I again say these proletariates we are talking about coming to power they are actually the cream of the world in knowledge and learning and it is expected that they will become proletariats of a different class in how they lead their life. You will see for example that although they are much criticised by the bourgeoisie there is no derogatory or quirky remark about Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao-Tse-Tung in the book of knowledge *Encyclopaedia*. But even after considering all this any individual or a group of individuals go on making noises playing with the welfare of the people of our nation, then can we say they are the able or successful or appropriate people of our country? Of course if we cannot, then we can take consolation by saying, 'One day there will be justice for this.'

I accept that swashbuckling or some kind of manipulation (who asks whether the enemy was defeated by strategy or valor?) is necessary and nothing can be achieved without accepting this human foibles in this world. I will also accept if you use gentlemans language and call it 'skillfulness' or say 'cleverness'. Hence at times I feel like saying — do carry your swashbuckling against Hindutva, against the die hard feudalism, against the Mollahs (who have recently been carrying on barbaric acts against the women of Kashmir etc.), against the imperialists who terrorise against the people — then will I accept your valor. At least then the soul of Rabindranath will find peace. **P A S**

**PROFESSOR MARTIN BERNAL'S TALK TO
PAVLOV INSTITUTE**

PAVLOV INSTITUTE takes pride in recording that **Professor Martin Bernal**, the internationally well-known scholar and author of *Black Athena* and *Black Athena Writes Back*, delivered a talk on **J D Bernal**, his illustrious father, to the members and invitees of our Institute on January 11, 2005 at the Humayn Kabir Hall of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata. The next issue of *PSYCHE AND SOCIETY* will carry a detailed report on Professor Bernal's talk. - Ed. *PAS*

Rampaging Worldwide Student Unrest, Anti-Establishment Movement and Non-Conformist Behaviour

Dr. Dhirendranath Ganguly

'The air is poisoned, the sky is colourless, there is no flow in the heavenly river, the plants have no scent. The heavenly bodies and the respected gods came out of the meeting place with their heads hanging down. Notice has come from the mortal world to stop the prayers. There are still the few instances of flowers and leaves marked with sandalpaste, but this also can stop any time. Faith and fear are beginning to disappear. The worldly man is no longer a toy, he is about to control his own destiny.' [Swargabarta, 1st May, 1967]

'The elders are no longer able to manage society, nation or anything. The wars, conflicts and confusion of the last one hundred and fifty years have proved that the older generation hungry for power are more concerned with their self-interest. The contemporary youth have announced their rebellion against the oppressive situation.' [Yubabarta, 30th April, 1968]

'In the Nuremberg trial USA had said that the responsibility for any action cannot cease on the pretext of following orders. The failure of actions is bound to bring bitterness. We are not capable of being followers of useless leaders, and also incompetent of being leaders.' [An American Student, April, 1967]

'Everything in this society is unethical. The leaders and administrators, the teachers and the elders, are all useless, unprincipled. We, the younger generation, will not remain pawns of these disabled people who are not fit to be males.' [Another Student, Harvard, March, 1967]

'Ignoring this society, not accepting this nation, breaking the domestic and cultural discipline exercised by the society and state — this is the religion of the youth of this decade.' [Taruner Istahaar — January, 1968]

'Not reformation, but revolution; we are demanding a fundamental change. The students of France are revolting not for employment, not for revision of their education policy, but for complete changes in this society. We want to break up the social structure.' [Student Gazeteer, November, 1968]

'Where is such loyal people like Aruni and Upamanyu. Where is the loyalty like Brishaketu, son of Karna? There is no more respect for the elder, no desire to follow instructions. Mother Earth has passed the limits of enduring pain. We again have to return to the much debated days of hermitages. There is no freedom for India without a complete break from the non-Indian civilisation full of 'isms'. Democracy is a killer of discipline, there is no other argument for it.'

[Mahadaranyak, 3rd volume]

I have attempted to portray a picture of the present serious situation of the respected and honoured persons like the priests, party people and national leaders with the help of the above quotations. It is not necessary to judge whether the quotations are imaginary or factual. The smouldering fires of unrest are raging throughout the country, in the north-south-east and

western corners, in the old and the new parts, against the inflexible and tyrannical behaviour of the establishment, the party, the state administrators, leaders and the government officers. The truth of this can be appreciated or will be confirmed if we go through the newspapers of the last few years. It is not just in Chicago, Paris, Prague, Melbourne, Tokyo, Budapest. The tremors of the unrest have been felt in some form on all countries whether developed or underdeveloped, capitalist or socialist. In this connection one professor has written, "Warring students are shouting in all parts of the world, throwing stones, breaking glass, overturning vehicles ... the police are dragging them away and beating them. They are without doubt warring, but I have doubts whether they are students."

One student has said in reply, "The situation about Vietnam has gone ahead so much, and the way it is progressing, it seems as though there is no end of it. Boys of our generation feel, and most probably we are the first ones to feel this way, that we are being fed like pieces of flesh into a mincer and our destiny is being transported; is it something very strange and surprising that we do not wish to be transported in this way?"

Negro repression or Vietnam are not matters of temporary excitement. A new kind of perception is growing in the mind of the American students.

There is a new perception growing about principles — this objection is an example of that. The students of Europe are also becoming a partner in this new understanding. It will not be wrong to assume that there is some consciousness of this new perception among the Asian students also. Although these principles are specific to individual countries it particularly manifests in specific periods — but inspite of this we can find a common link with the general thought process. In this article we shall try to examine this extreme Leftist inclination. But before that we shall briefly see the position on student unrest in different countries.

Different views on the Unrest in America

Danny Cohn Bendit had identified the American movement as a failure. This was because the students of Berkeley had restricted the student-movement within only the students. The students of France had converted the movement of 22 March last year [*Obsolete Communism: The left wing alternative*; Daniel Cohn Bendit and Gabriel Bendit] into a labour movement and thereby had apparently given it a novelty. Again according to the American George F. Kennan [*Democracy and the student Left* : George F. Kennan] the Berkeley student movement must be given adequate importance.

The Russian student movement of the 19th century had started the same way. Later this became the source of the Russian Revolution. In this way Hitler had also come to power with the indirect assistance of the people creating the unrest. It is fortunate for America that the people agitating have not yet come under the control of the politicians. Many of the well-known and respected people of America are terrified and lost by this unrest. Dr. Frankel of Columbia University has advised that this student unrest must not only be seen with seriousness but also sympathetically, and has also found a connecton between the student movements of the different developed countries.

According to him, "The movements undertaken by the students of the different developed countries are basically all following a similar trend. The lessons of all these movements are — The government is not taking decisions after proper consideration and thought. We are going through a deep political crisis — and the feature for this crisis is uprightness. It is also

not proper to shelter the universities from this crisis." In reply to the view of Jack Barjume of California University ['its objective will fail if the University is not protected from the outside world.'] he has countered by saying -- "I do not agree with Mr. Barjume. Students today are much more socially conscious than previously. The University cannot ignore this understanding of the students and the good students of today are particularly well aware of society. Independence of mind and backing out view are not the same."

An American journalist contradicted the views of George F. Kennan. In a news-item appearing on 1 May in an English newspaper published from Calcutta he said, in summary —

The student body of Columbia University who are involved in an inspiring struggle, have now been divided into a few (political) groups ... When history is written of this period, it will show that the influence of Fidel Castro has particularly disturbed the domestic peace of America. In another report I read ... "The new left and the black extremist groups sought disruption for its own sake and that Marx, Castro and Ho-Chi-Minh were among their idols."

In the opinion of people like Kennan, the multi-faceted unrest of the communist revolution, the socialist behaviour of Russia, their own student unrest and above all the anti-nationalistic characteristics of the new leftists — all these are not favourable for forming a 'Marxist image' or for that matter adopting any organisational disciplinary measures. Although they may express some allegiance towards Marx, Castro or Ho-Chi-Minh, in practice it seems that the activists of the new left group are still more-or-less free from the influence of party politics. The American students generally have a common opinion that by taking the full responsibility on himself for the bombings in Vietnam, Johnson has given himself a dictatorial image; as a result democracy has become a matter of ridicule in that country. The objective of the student unrest is the re-establishment of democratic values.

The Situation in France and Other West European Countries

If we accept Daniel Cohn Becket as the spokesperson for the new-left, we can only conclude that 'new-left students in uprising' are not only free of party politics, they are opposed to any form of associations including the party. In particular they are totally opposed to the communist party and the trade union organisation. They want to arouse the farm-workers by creating a revolution in the education world. There is a major change — revolution is their immediate objective. We are seeing the internal conflicts of capitalism in the universities. On one side the universities are following the orders of the monopoly capitalist state machinery and the superpowerful industrialists, breaking up the young students, grinding them in big machines, putting them through bureaucratic moulds and making them into engineers, craftsmen, administrators, psychologists, social scientists, clerks and skilled workers all helping the social structure.

Simultaneously on the other side they are encouraging humanistic psychology and literature and inquisitive scientific consciousness in the young mind. It is no longer possible to hide the extortion methods of the capitalist countries. Having come to be turned into a part of the extortion machinery, the progressive students, thanks to the universities themselves are seeing the true face of extortion, understanding the reasons of misdeeds and unscrupulous actions, and being eager to break up the extortion machinery and all forms of bureaucratic establishments are becoming impatient and excitedly moving towards revolution.

The same university which is making him into a part of a machine is also making him

into a revolutionary looking for freedom. All universities of the developed countries are carrying on with this drama of a dual role. Other than this the new-left also says — the syllabus followed by the university, the organisation, the administration, none of these are being changed fast enough to keep up with the fast changes of this world. Hence the leftists will demonstrate against the educational set up, capture the universities, prepare themselves as managers of factories and explain to the workers that they also are capable of operating the factories.

After capturing the universities they will gradually convert them into major public institutes. The leaders of the Communist Party and Trade Unions have become bureaucrats. The only worry of the labour leaders is how to enroll some working class students into universities, how to make a few constitutional changes in the university. They are obsessed with bourgeois selfishness. They are unwilling to capture the national machinery and its supportive university, and to establish overall control over the university, society or the national machinery. They are only thinking how to increase their own power or authority, how to move further up in the bourgeois society ladder. They have surrendered their revolutionary thinking and practices for the sake of their personal safety and comfortable, easy living.

They want to maintain a status quo, not a revolution; the new left and their followers have formed this impression following the events between 3 May and 13 May last year. According to the new-leftists only ability to maintain power, party or establishment results in bureaucratisation of the organisation; therefore he is not able to take the role of a revolutionary. Therefore they are unwilling to form a party. True revolution can only be organised through joint efforts of small independent action committees. Their comments and writings give an impression that instead of a combined central body they would like to maintain the independence of the individual trends in the revolution.

They are unwilling to give the proper respect to the specialists, unwilling to accept the benefit of advice, disinclined to accept the seniority levels in committees, and eager to remove the differences between physical and mental labour. They are determined to remove at an early date all differences in the labour class, give up the minor items like self interest, self sacrifice etc., and above all they see experience as worthless. Just like following rules is an obstruction to the path of revolution, the arguments from an experienced person also deaden the eagerness and excitement of a revolution.

The senior leaders of the Communist Party unusually do not see these people favourably. "They are frauds, suffering from indiscipline like children. Although they do not believe in facts, they have been influenced through circumstances by Marcuse theory and consider that the working class of the developed countries will no longer be able to follow a revolutionary role; they (the Communists) have become a part of Capitalism. The new-leftists have therefore lost faith in Marxism."

Many of the leaders of Communists feel that it is essential to bring these revolutionary students under the party umbrella, but they are not able to find a way or a method to achieve this. The party leaders in France and Italy had at first thought that this fancy for a revolution is a temporary crave or intoxication. They will return to their respective places within a few days or will realise their mistakes when facing reality and will agree to follow the party discipline after giving up their childlike revolutionary behaviour. We do not see any indications of this as yet. Many are worried that there is no immediate possibility of a softening in the fury of the student revolution. They are looking into the basic reasons for this kind of self-

generated student revolutions.

Although it has not yet reached the stage of self-criticism but the displeasure of the new-leftist party has made it necessary for self-introspection. Discussions have also started on the extreme sense of rules within the party, the bureaucratic laziness, etc.. Many are suspecting that by making bigger its programme of self-defence its forgetting how to attack. The party leaders are simultaneously becoming slaves of the inner rules of a bourgeoisie society. There is strong rivalry between the communists parties of Western Europe or the old leftists and the new leftists and this is not abnormal.

A few of the communist leaders hold the view, similar to the new-leftist student revolutionaries, that imperialism and capitalism have reached the last stages. We are hesitating to make the final hit and thus keeping alive the old social structure; very often and unconsciously we are not able to forget the glamour of the olden days or the allegiance to the old arrangements. It is to be noted that this kind of difference in views had already started between the Chinese and Russians even before the advent of the new leftists. China and Russia were mutually demeaning themselves with the unlimited use of terms 'reformist' and 'irrational' and it still continues.

The new-leftists do not want to accept any party restrictions, and naturally therefore there cannot be any relationship with Chinese followers, but the friendly (?) feelings with the European parties is the main objection of the new leftists and they are anti-soviet; hence the pro-Chinese communists of many countries are major supporters of the new-leftists. In some places however the pro-Che Guevara have become an obstruction to their relationship with the Trotskyist pro-Chinese. There is also hostility and disputes.

Is this revolution really a new development? At every transition period of an era we have seen this kind of revolution. The established Communist Party says : This new left demonstration is a petty bourgeoisie romantic movement. For ages students and youth have demonstrated against unfairness and tyranny, have suffered the torture of ruler and the extortioner, have sat on the guillotine and climbed up to the hangman's noose. Is there much novelty in this?

Today's movement will definitely be widely spread out, because everywhere in this world the numbers of students has increased, problems of education have become more intense, the problems of production have become more complex with the spread of developments in science and technology, the imminent implementation of automation has increased the possibility of unemployment, food production is not able to keep up with population growth, and above all the possibility of nuclear war is always there. For this reason a small group of combative students want to end this unbearable situation by quickly rising in revolt.

Youth by nature is inclined to be passionate in his outbursts, driven by his immediate instincts. They can therefore be easily excited. Exchange of news and rapid improvement in communication systems have reduced distances. As a result the relationships between students of different countries have improved. News gets spread very fast and as a result unrest and uprising is taking place simultaneously at many places. Extreme leftist indiscreet antinational slogans have been heard earlier also. Bachunin (1814-1876) and Blankui (1805-1881) had earlier referred to this kind of anarchist romanticism and utopia communism while speaking against the scientific Marxism methods. Bachunin thought the state was the biggest enemy of man; man cannot get freedom without a stateless society.

These new leftists who are followers of Marcuse are not saying anything new. Bachunin also behived that destruction of the state will release the responsibility for all discipline. And that will lead to a state of freedom. He thought that the farmer and lumpen-proleteriate are merely partners in revolution. He believed revolution is possible without any organisation or arrangements.

Blankui supported a revolutionary organisation who operated a conspiratorial programme of a secret society. He was influenced by the 'Babuvism' of France of the 18th century. In the past French Revolution period Gracchus Babeuf understood the real identity of the reactive bourgeoisie-class and tried to maintain the ability of those who had lost everything by establishing a secret society with a programme of conspiracy. He was probably right in understanding history, but he was mistaken in his methods of getting power.

Blankui has sung the victory song of this intoxicated petty-bourgeois, disorganised, leaderless, self-inspired, extreme revolution. The followers of Bachunin and Blankui have hest the activities of Marxists. The surrender of the deceitful leftists to the progressive Marxists-Leninists is an undisputed fact. The feeling of ignore which the party leaders had initially shown towards the new-leftists has recently changed considerably. Continuing a fight at the political level results in giving importance to the opposition.

The situation in France more or less applies throughout Europe.

What is the situation in Eastern Europe?

In a recent interview by BBC on 'Student Unrest' an Indian (*Jugantar*, 3 October 1968) has written "A basic difference had become quite clear between East and West Europe. The student leaders of Eastern Europe have been able to answer questions in very clear terms. They want unrestricted and secret elections, stoppage of detective police and censorship, establishment of multi-party administration, open judicial system, etc.. The student leaders of Western Europe while with an emotional voice wanted removal existing systems, could not give any suggestions for alternative systems.

'Again -' The two parts of Europe had two features of the youth revolution. The youth boys and girls are gradually becoming independent minded and realist. Their revolution is against communism. On one side they want Russia to stop its colonial influence over its satellite-like countries — and on the other side they want full democracy, independence and rule of law in their own countries. "The opposition of this gentleman to Russia is well reasoned and therefore there is no reason to totally dismiss his arguments. In fact, it is a fact that student unrests are taking place in socialist countries also. He and many like him have seen a constructive and meaningful form in the student unrest of Hungary in 1956, the regular dissatisfaction in Warsaw University and the student unrest in Czechoslovakia."

In the opinion of communists, at the root of these student unrests there is a Western conspiracy, a sudden awakening to grab power by the church-landlords, a programme of sabotage by CIA, an effort to revive capitalism through a counter-revolution, of course this rebellion has also been explained as an expression of dissatisfaction against the forced bureaucracy of the Stalin regime. In short, student unrest has shown up in East Europe also. But the earlier mentioned soviet-revolutionary writer is not mistaken in his analysis of its reasons and behaviour, in fact I think he is largely partial towards it. His reference to the comments by some students of Eastern Europe on BBC is not very significant.

Publicity on the loss of individual-independence in the socialist state is an old issue. But I am not saying that the views of leaders of a communist states are totally acceptable and all 'angry young men' are spies or agents of capitalists. In my view if those student leaders of Eastern Europe have returned to Eastern Europe after giving the statement to BBC then we cannot wrongly refer to all socialist nations as encroachers of all kinds of independence. And if they have not gone back, then one can doubt they are envious of socialism and are anti-national and in that case the importance of their statement will greatly reduce.

Whatever it may be, we cannot arrive at the root cause of the student unrests without an exhaustive analysis of the mentality of the students and youth of this period. We can analyse the spread and extent of its generalisation and the characteristics only after a comparative study of the student unrests in different countries. It is my personal view that not much work has really been done on a detailed study and analysis in a scientific and methodical way.

Asia — The situation in Underdeveloped Countries

Student revolution in underdeveloped countries is mostly politically motivated and party-influenced. The new-leftists and ultra-revolutionaries I have talked about will be only a small number. These student organisations follow the ideals of one of several left parties. The students who are involved in destructive and unsocial activities outside these bodies are unorganised, without any ideals and indisciplined. They do not have any political beliefs or views. The government (and also the opposition parties) use them at the time of elections and other occasions. Just as in world we have seen the students descending to leftist roles for the fall of Sing Man Rer, at the same time we have seen them being involved in the fall of Sukarno in Indonesia and in ultraleftist reactionary activities for the mass-annihilation of communists.

We should remember that although Sukarno was associated with P.K.I. he had gradually taken his country towards serious economic problems; the situation had reached a very grim state. He had handed the imperialist enemy a golden opportunity for a counter-revolution. This apart arising from the Sino-Soviet dispute the role of the communist leader Idit had encouraged the students to play a rightist role. But although it may not be proper to link the Kami movement with the new left uprising it is necessary to follow its significance in the context of the trend of the student movement throughout the world.

It is natural that with the strengthening of the left movement the conservativ strength of the country will result in our opposite reactionary situation amongst the students. If the student bodies like in Indonesia are similarly influential and established anywhere else, there also the Nazi and neo-Nazi influenced student groups will be formed. At present we see this possibility in America. Fascism is also begining to influence students of some Universities in Europe. The students in India were involved in active and passive political movements against the British imperialism until the Second World War.

At present also we see they are organised centred around political parties like Congress, Communists (Rightist, Leftist and recently Naxalities), Forward Bloc, RSP, etc.. The movement of the anti-party anarchism new left is at present very weak. There has certainly been a considerable increase in students who are indisciplined, have a destructive attitude and are inclined towards criminal behaviour. Our students are also raging, bursting against the

organisation. And their agitation and protests often echo the promise of protecting justice or social values.

Skill in being anti-social does not mean agitation of new leftist. China had probably seen anti-organisation ultra-left student agitation. And Mao-Tse-Tung had probably skilfully tried to bring the student organisations under his control by shaving them as planned cultural revolutions. The ultra-left, anti-organisation views of the new-leftists have been used to tame the opposition group. A clearer, more correct picture can be given after we have seen the situation for some more time.

Results of a Survey on New Left

American social scientists are publishing in newspapers and magazines the results of a survey on the new leftists agitation. Although views differ on many aspects, they all agree that the agitators (referred to variously as activists, new left, protesters, etc.) all belong to upper middle class families. They are intelligent and educated upto the upper grade levels. They freely protest against unfair and unjust treatment. Their agitation has not been encouraged by a lack of security in their future or an inferiority complex arising from proverty. Their parents are well-educated and are broad-minded in their views; general medical practitioners, lawyers, professors; they encourage their children having an independent mind and fight for principles.

The last observation, however, is not accepted by everybody. Some feel that conciousness of the new left reflects some unhappiness about their parents. Their families are strong, but they are anxious about their security. The students alongside their parents' innate irritating satisfaction arising from their abundance of items of consumer goods, they feel worried and agitated. They get a lot of news from a very early age through the radio and television; imagination, hope, fear, happiness, sadness — all these unnatural excitement begin from early adolescence.

The new-leftists are usually students of 'humanities'. Their opposites refer to them as, "anxious, angry, humourless, suspicious of his own society, apprehensive in relation to his own future." Those who really see them in a sympathetic way, say, "A few of these activists may show signs of anxiety and worry, but generally they are self-confident and healthy. Actually their agitations are essentially due to incongruities between the values represented by the authority and occupational structure of the larger society and values inculcated by their families."

In their younger days they had been seen an atmosphere of value systems and fairness in the state and society, and it is the breakdown of the same value systems and fairness which appears to be the main reason for their anger. The language of the law has one form of intention, but when it comes to its application the attitude of the authorties seems to be different. Any talk of equal opportunities in democracy is a hoax, the condition of negroes has not improved even after a hundred years. The war in Vietnam is meaningless, illegal, unjustified; there is no possible argument to support continuing this war. Hence the agitation opposing the war. Why has this happened? Earlier also there have been unfair and unjustified actions; is this unjustified war by America something new? The repression of the negroes is not a recent happening. The inequal behaviour of the elders, lack of coordination between words and actions — has this suddenly taken place in this decade? Truthfulness and integrity in the commodity market have always been saleable items.

The position is different for university students of underdeveloped countries or colonies, who do not have a demand in the labour market; nobody is surprised if they take part in agitations and demonstrations, or if they burn trams and buses. But what is the explanation for this inclination towards agitations amongst children of the rich in the affluent countries? Analysts have given an explanation for this. "Gentility, *Laissez-Faire*, naive optimism, naive rationalism — seemed increasingly inappropriate due to the impact of large scale industrial organisations, intensifying class conflict, economic crisis and total war."

Total loss of all values and fairness in the all-devouring methods of the monopolist industrialists is a very recent event in history : an external exposure of the special danger of the combined economics, a characteristic of the nuclear environment after the Second World War. Even this probable does not explain completely. *Laissez Faire*, Gentility— these terms have been murdered long ago, it is meaningless to use these terms to explain the mental state of the students of this decade.

But increase in the intensity of class-agitation and regularly creating new economic problems are events of special significance of this decade : Student psychology has influenced this beyond any doubt. After acknowledging this it cannot be said that fear or anger is not growing as a result of a feeling of absence of future safety of the individual in the mind of the new-left of the developed capitalist countries or that there is unlimited enough demand in the employment market for university-qualified graduates. A statement by one of the analysts deserves consideration : "The great majority of students particularly these in the applied fields" are not in favour of these agitations by the new-left. The number of unemployed people in America is not coming down, but increasing. There is enough data to support this.

It has already been seen said that according to a majority of the analysts the agitation by the new-left is essentially one against the social and unethical unjust and unfair actions. They say : Those who have comparatively less personal problems, are largely free of poverty, are not troubled by worries for the future or for safety, they can think of morals and principles, application of rational arguments, and carry out healthy judgemental analysis. These students remain leftists in politics and support the oppressed and persecuted in their fight against the propaetor authorities and organisations.

The sharpness of their feelings have not been blunted unlike the compromising attitude of the elementary morality and justice is awake and active. They therefore want to establish justice in their path of agitation, and they detest all forms of reforms. They raise the banner of agitation in their left hand, hold high their right fist and with hate in their eyes make heaven and earth tremble with their angry shouts of protest. [It is to be noted that the above views and the new-left supported Marcuse theory, such as, "The workers of this era and their party are no longer able to initiate an agitation, because they are not suffering from poverty and hunger, not affected by fear of security; they have become a part of the bourgeoisie organisation and state" ... etc.— An opposition member.]

There are drawbacks in both the statements. Both suffer from narrow-mindedness. The socialists in America are today deciding the extent of progress by measuring against a scale, but inspite of that I will say the family should be affluent, the revolutionary should score good marks in his examinations and he should not have any other problems nor worries about his security — this kind of generalisation is not proper. And to the extremists I will say it is immature to say only the hungry or greedy 'have-not's' embark on agitations, only farmers and

students are revolutionaries, nobody else.

One forms this impression if he does not understand the functioning of society or the complexities involved in production systems. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of establishment bureaucracy and abandoning the organised working class and Marxist Party to go on an agitation is very much like eating your meal from leaves after being annoyed with the thieves. The condition of the farmers of France had improved considerably before the French Revolution. Poverty alone does not bring revolution. The unorganised farmer can plunder grains, can create commotion and unrest when driven by hunger, but he cannot rise in revolution. Indisciplined students can occupy university-campus for a few days, but let alone running the state machinery they cannot even occupy it. Revolution or any activity is impossible without a proper organisation. Any hope of a spontaneous revolution is only an illusion. The organised worker-farmer will go on agitation under a revolutionary leadership. And again the leadership of the agitating organisation can after some time become a power-hungry establishment — the possibility of this danger is not unfounded.

There has been a lot of analysis on the class characteristics and family situation of the new-left of Europe and America. Probably there has not been much of a similar analysis in the underdeveloped countries. According to a study carried out in Calcutta, "At the end of a thorough review of the information collected for the study one can more or less conclude that, when in a large family environment with economic insecurity, always alert and watchful father but lacking his love, a youth hungry for this mother's affection stands alone in this world torn by the battering of his personal problems ... when the atmosphere in the University gets more unbearable and dull, when daily life gets strangulated by feeling of insecurity and failure, then the indisciplined, aggrieved, emaciated being is born giving up from acknowledged and accepted principles and practices of the contemporary social situation. He is always smouldering in the fire of excitement and at the slightest instigation will burst out with a loud noise along with all his compatriots."

The picture of the family environment and characteristics that has been observed by Dr. Dwijen Ganguly has no similarity with the picture of the new-left of Chicago and Paris. We do not have a correct position on Warsaw, Bucharest and Prague. It is normal that the characteristics of the new-left will differ in the cultural and economic environment of different countries. But amongst these differences a common feature is making them distinctive, and that is being anti-establishment and revolutionary. At every level the main objective of the contemporary student revolution is opposition to 'authority' and 'conformity'. These two characteristics are present in all students whose 'militant minority' is being discussed by us.

The point will be raised that agitation means agitation against authority; revolution, reformation and such other agitations all take place centred around opposition currently established practices. This is partly true. Not just the state and state leaders, but their agitation is against all kinds of establishments and all kinds of leaders. Here is the speciality. America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia — everywhere the student unrest is centred around authoritarianism and conformism. The agitation against authority is not just restricted to agitation against the behaviour of the university management.

Only the other day Michael Knox of the Airforce was punished for taking part in the San Francisco peace demonstration as he was in his uniform. The numbers of soldiers in civilian clothes taking part in demonstrations against the Vietnam War is increasing. For an American

soldier to disobey orders of his authority shows as much boldness as disobeying the family head in a feudal society or the head in a society. Even until sometime ago it was equally serious for a member of the Communist Party openly make a statement against the Party or for a citizen of a socialist state to criticise his state leaders.

Just as in Harvard University the son of the Air Force Minister is demonstrating about Vietnam, similarly a close-relation of a former Minister is heard loudly talking in Moscow against the solution in Czechoslovakia. I would like to discuss briefly the sociological and psychological aspects of this agitation, this non-conformist attitude against the authority. Before that it has to be said that arguments that Soviet Russia and United States are both affluent countries and industrially developed and therefore their problem fall in similar categories may be simple and acceptable for the present, but are wild dreams.

To see equally the political significance of Vietnam and Czechoslovakia and the problems of imperialist states or the bourgeoisie society are qualitatively increasing and are totally different in their political significance. Mistakes are being made in establishing a society free of extortion and classes, and probably there will be more mistakes. The mistakes which are arising due to the love of power of the leaders, inadequate consciousness of the public will probably be resolved by the Marxists themselves with the experience they have had through their agitations.

Only the removal of classes in a society and the extinction of imperialism will be able to solve problems created by the erosion of the bourgeoisie society and the devouring hunger of the imperialists. Now it will be more appropriate to leave aside any unwarranted criticism and return to the subject of discussion.

Social background and Psychological Basis of Anti-establishment and Non-conformist Behaviour

Around the mid-fifties saw the beginnings of an anti-establishment and non-conformist behaviour in the philosophy of the angry young generation. There have been widespread and scattered dramatic incidents of show of anger in the fifties and these are influencing politics from the early sixties. The social scientists within the establishment had explained these individual revolts by displaying inherent theory of alienation by their counterparts by reviving the existentialism. Today all the agitators cannot be put in the same category.

The nonconformism of the Hippies and Beatles and the unsocial behaviour of the neurotic cannot be seen similarly as the passion of the new-leftists of today. Therefore different theories are being used, like affluent society, information explosion, second technological revolution, excessive students, conflict between the slow progress of society and change and the rapid development in industrialisation, restricted influence of religion and bourgeoisie ethics, alienated bureaucracy, capitalistic dangers, etc.. Some theorists are also referring to the disputes of the socialists camps and their multi-centred operations.

None of these can be considered as the proper theory. These can only be partial effects of events or a part of the picture of social background. As a result of the new-left movement everybody is trying to see their and we suggesting some changes. More detailed regional surveys, additional data collection and a generalisation of these is required to understand satisfactorily and correctly the social and psychological reasons for the anti-establishment and non-conformist behaviour. We shall only initiate here discussions relating to justifications

and values. This is because we have seen that the fire of anger of the new-left has been ignited mainly and initially on the question of this justification and value.

Mentality during the Transitional Period

At present two separate systems of values and morals are operating side by side in this world. On the one side the values of ethics and morality of the capitalist era are breaking down; and on the other, a new sense of values of the socialist era is showing up. One author has compared the clash of the two with the clash of the rising bourgeoisie ethics of the Elizabethan age and the then disappearing ethics of the feudal system. Like then, the tendency of the opposing forces of the individual and social mentality is creating a lot of confusion. In this situation in the mind of the ordinary uninitiated person everything gets mixed up creating a chaotic situation. A person gets totally lost with the past pace of the changes.

The principles he respected yesterday are today without any value. What has been seen as lawful and fair yesterday is today unjust. What was a valued principle a few days ago is today considered immoral. In this situation only physical passions particularly sexual drive appear truly eternal. It is becoming difficult to distinguish between just and unjust, moral and immoral, sin and virtue. A conflict grows between rationality and emotionality. All the features of the world I knew and understood are disappearing, a different world with new features and colours is coming into blooming; but I do not know, recognise or understand it. Which one is my own? The mentality during the transitional period is similar to that of a soldier when he faces death on the battlefield.

It's as if the past, the present and the future are all merged into one point. Only death, suffering, mutual suffering and physical features cannot be changed and therefore considered to be coveted — the Freudian principles are born.

Nothing has a value, or is valued as a flash or lightning to traveller on an intense stormy night. Initially it appears as the only truth, the only regular but momentary item of thrill and happiness. In this situation the feeling of brutal and abnormal sexual pleasures is referred to as love, the lasting love of man and woman is ridiculed, the state of weakness caused by intoxication is considered as a state of complete bliss, healthy human relationships are treated as shameful weaknesses. Even in this situation those who have a scientific consciousness, they can think healthily, welcome the birth of the new in the womb of the old, they can understand the conflicting rules of change.

The devaluation of human mentality has started a long time ago. But the student youth were hopeful then. They have started dreaming of the thirties the rays of the new sun ending darkness is brightening the new society on the horizon. The youth of the forties have given their blood for the Second World War and the rising sun more colourful. The student-youth of the fifties have looked with hope towards Eastern Europe and China; in the guise of ending the cold war the sharp attacks of anger and taunt have weakened the bourgeoisie principles and false values. Because he knew that new values are being established on the other side of the world.

Today the student-youth of the sixties wants to blow himself up like a rocket along with everything around him due to unrestrained passion and useless anger. He has nothing to build — he has lost his creative powers, he does not have the strength to dream. They may be only a few in numbers, their views may not be objective, their social consciousness may be considered to be unscientific and indistinct, but there is no reason to doubt their fearless,

revolutionary mental attitude with their sincerity, integrity and inherent capability.

But there is one question which naturally bothers us : The conflicting rules of change on which their fathers and grandfathers had depended — how could they forget them and why have they lost faith in them? Why are they not acknowledging the existence of socialist ethics corresponding to the devaluation of ethics of the bourgeoisie society? Is adequate moral improvement not being seen in the socialist state? Are socialistic moral practices not being properly applied in these states. Has the progress of revolution stopped, — it is impossible to establish the reasons of the anti-establishment and non-confirmatory behaviour of the new-left without a correct answer to these questions.

An assessment of the values of socialist ethics will normally raise the question of loyalty to class. It can be said, the sense of class in the new-left is not fully awakening their consciousness. Their outlook is being blurred, and they are not able to accept the true picture of the coming days ahead. Even today there are instances of anti-establishment and non-conformist acts within the Communist Party in socialist states. Therefore we cannot dismiss everything only with the excuse of class-loyalty. It can be examined from a different angle. Some people have plenty, large numbers are ridden by poverty. To accept this inevitable situation in a capitalist society, the few who have plenty will either consider themselves in an upper class, confine themselves to their own self-styled palaces and face the opposing anger of the public, or feel guilty themselves accepting that they do not justifiably deserve this plenty or the additional benefits.

In order to be free of these two undesirable situations, one can attack the established value systems. One can console the conscience through anti-establishment and non-conformist acts. This wealth has come from luck or is God-given and therefore acceptable — it can be seen that some of the youth of today are not able to compromise in this way. The practice of social sciences and economics today has brought a sense of responsibility and follow one's conscience. It is for this reason that today on the one hand the individual with solitary pleasure is becoming totally anti-organisation and anti-social, while individuality is being formalised. The capitalist social system is encouraging the love of alienation of the broken individuality; while during large social occasions of the production system we are seeing the final rites of the individual and end of individuality.

Initially the individual was given a feeling of security by fully initiating him into the state and party organisations in the socialist administration and the Communist Party; expression of any form of individuality was not encouraged. It is only for the last few years since the end of anti-Stalinism and individual fetishism that opportunity and encouragement is being given for individual essence. At first the level of encouragement was quite high. 'Personality Cult' was made out as the reason for all faults. There was excessive anti-Stalin propaganda. It was as if all the other innocent and simple members of the Soviet Party were hypnotised and Stalin himself had carried out all the cruel, anti-party activities. Stalin was put in the same category as Hitler. Any discussion on all the other faults and errors of the party organisation escaped attention of the public. As soon as the tide of excitement fell, the hatred against Stalin turned into loss of confidence in the other party leaders. Why did not any true and righteous communist stand up in protest against the misdeeds of Stalin? Where the misdeeds were carried out without the knowledge of others, is it possible for anyone to have faith in their competence of their work?

Even a few days ago they were considered infallible. Naturally the image of the party also declined along with that of the leaders. Some reactions of this was seen in the parties of all countries. This set up the social background of antiestablishment and non-conformism. In many countries a wrong explanation was given for the principles of individual fetishism and co-existence. These mistakes were particularly made by very sensitive artist-literateurs with a immature mentality. With the end of individual fetishism they gave much more emphasis on the independence of the artist in the hope of developing individualism. The principle of co-existence was also applied in the case of 'ideology'. The psychology of Freud and Yung, the existentialism of Kierkegard and Kamu, the training methods of Dewy were all activated by Marxism.

According to Ernest Fischer the respect given to Dostoevsky in Communist Circles to Freudian views on the art and literature of was somewhat over-rated. [Recently I see again some warmth about Fischer and an effort to reasses Dostoevsky.] A lot of hue and cry had been raised about re-establishing Kafka of Czechoslovakia. The Stalinist leaders of the time did not show much opposition, and the effect of their confusing and opposing muddle created by their hard political line and liberal views on literature and arts is being felt even today. They are harassed and bewildered in their efforts to face the attacks of the Rightist Liberals and protect the existence of the party.

Efforts for socialisation and personality development of the individual is going on simultaneously in all nations. As a result of the inherent contradiction within the capitalist system, a problem which is impossible to resolve, any effort to equalise this is bound to end in failure. In a socialistic situation it is possible to remove any conflict between the individual and society. It is possible to make changes appropriate to the time and remove alienation in a party organisation and state administration. We are not seeing any imminent signs of relief of anti-establishment and non-conformism in all capitalist states and some socialist countries, and this apart new problems are cropping up regularly with the situation getting increasingly complex in the relationship between individual and state, individual and party and between states and the production facilities with the application of regularly developing technology.

Of course efforts are being made to solve these problems. It is natural there will be faults and deficiencies in finding solutions to these regular problems, but there are many who are not satisfied with this. Some are expressing their anger and unhappiness with their strong criticisms (like for example the question of Czechoslovakia). Mere punishment of these people, who are in the minority, will not acheive the state or party objective. How much democratic development has taken place in the organisational procedures of the party after the 20th Congress — this has to be particularly examined.

Has the ghost of bureaucracy entered the administrative machinery of the state, and if so it has to be carefully examined and removed, only then will the individual not sandwiched under the pressure of the state, the party's excessive socialisation; the illness of anti-establishment and non-confrmism will be destroyed from its roots; the possibility of the withering away of the state will be seen within socialism itself.

Many doubt whether the highly ranked persons of the state and the party are as much aware about the misuse of power as they are about the ill-effects of individual fetishism. They surely do not wish to displace God from his throne only with their own strength. But the public anxiety will have to be removed about those state and party leaders who have given up their weakness to come to power by forming small 'juntas'. The fascination for supremacy over man

is increasing in an age of increasing supremacy over nature. The feeling of independence of the individual is also getting stronger. Anti-establishment and non-conformism are the unavoidable results of this. There is therefore tendency and signs of break-up between the organisation and party in all countries.

The revolutionaries have become alert. The eagerness to establish self-dominance is seen amongst many more individuals in this decade. New establishments are being formed, new types of gurus are coming up, and there are complaints accumulating against the new masters. Anger is increasing. Then is the eagerness for duty towards others also working at the root of anti-establishment and non-conformism? We know that in a bourgeoisie society wealth comes from authority and responsibility. In a socialist society what is the motive behind this eagerness for responsibility? In reply we can say authority helps to bring a sense of security. In a socialist culture it will be demeaning socialism if we say some people are suffering from alienation or insecurity. This apart they can try to get security by clinging to authority; or they can become more alienated by being anti-party, anti-establishment or non-conformist.

In a socialist society many protective measures are surely being taken as safeguards against misuse of authority. But a lot of misunderstandings have taken place in a absence of scientific discussion on Marxist principles of the class-society, rumours are being spread against the communists that they do not have any principles. Communists do not publicise 'morality'; this does not mean they have completely given up or abandoned morals. The Marxist principles do not say, if you are slapped on one cheek then show the other, forgive all forms of enemies.

Instinctive humaneness or endless love to all. Lenin has said — Our principles protect the benefits of class for those who have lost everything. But this does not mean that by a distorted interpretation of these words shelter will be given to all forms of misdeeds in the name of class-struggle. Different kinds of cruelty can take place in the interest of the classes, to remove the possibility of a counter-revolt, but inhuman activities cannot be supported. If in a socialist state such wrong actions take place and these misdeeds take place from class interest to party interest, and then from party interest to the interest of the party leader, then it will not be unnatural for anti-establishment and non-conformist actions to take place on the basis of allegations.

'Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat' — what is exactly the inner meaning of these words? Class struggle or proletarian revolution unlike the French Revolution is not aimed at taking power out of the hands of one class and giving it to another class. The aim of this revolution is to remove class-supremacy, class-extortion, alienation and destruction of class through uprising of the classes. Socialistic post-revolution principles is not the interest of any specific class. The aim of class-movement is to establish the ethics of socialisation in place of ethics based on preserving individual wealth. The principle of mankind dependant on his self-interest is without doubt greater ethics, the ethics of a society free of extortion.

Those ethical practices will certainly not meet the ethical practices of a society based on excessive values. The misdeeds for the self-protection of a bankrupt bourgeoisie society will never be required nor applied in a proletarian class-movement. The aim of any revolution will not be achieved by using blunt arms of misdeeds in their fight against the opposition, but

considering the aims and methods in the same way. In the past a high price had to be paid for similar errors. Simultaneously it has also taught lessons to the Marxists. The principles of ethics are being revived from these lessons. The opportunity to see Marxism together with pragmatism — probable a critique like Bertrand Russell will not get another opportunity. This does not mean that Marxists are not able to bow down to consciousness when it comes to brutally injuring or annihilate their enemy. But gradually the rules of revolution are being developed based on a higher level of socialist ethics.

The conflicting rules relating to aims and methods are being discussed in detail. Those who are forming the society also have the responsibility to get the right persons for that society. "The individual required for the revolutionary work" or "individual for revolution" — this ultra-left partial statement has grown out of the inclination to see together inhuman methods and aims. "Revolution is for the individual, for mankind" — the significance of this saying should be explained more clearly. A high and noble society requires a high, noble person. But by that I am not saying that for the sake of revolution we should seek help from the 'moral armaments'. Neither am I saying that on the advice of the holy people there is a possibility of changing the stripes of a tiger when hunting for 'excess values'.

Display of individuality does not mean rising up in any form of armed or unarmed revolution. I do not think it is necessary for a soldier of any revolution to come down in times of war to the animal-like level of a hired bourgeoisie soldier. Such old sayings of Carvaka principles like 'Behave with a person as he behaves with you', 'Be crooked with a crook', 'Catch thieves with thieves' do not apply in Marxian ethics. One requires soldiers with principles and character for advanced revolutionary strategies.

Our discussion will probably remain incomplete if we do not talk about Cuba. Castro has set a precedent by coming into power and having a successful revolution going over the Communist Party; some hold the view that as a result there is a tendency to see the party with lower importance. But administration of the nation has not been possible without help from the party.

The revolutionary and the non-conformist are always there in all societies. There are some particular characteristics in their brain types. They go against the established practices probably because of their mental tendencies. Their anger is lengthened or shortened by the influence of historic and social environment on this contrariness in their activities and their mental tendencies, bringing in an intensity and permanence.

Today the propensity for revolution is not limited among students or youth only. Depending on the situation in the transition period revolution is at present felt and expressed at all levels. Student, farmer, lawyer, doctor, shopkeeper, clerk, worker etc. everyone is dissatisfied. The flame of anger is lighting up from time to time at all likely and unlikely places centred around very minor incidents. Nobody tolerates an impatient nature. It seems everybody is endlessly anxious, trembling with hopes and disappointments of dejection and pleasure, waiting breathlessly counting not days nor hours but the moment for some unimaginable incident to happen. This level of revolution is particularly seen in the sensitive minds of the student-youth; they want to see the end of any education and social system which encourages alienation. P A S

Religion As Surrogate : Case Study of a Bengali Patriot (Continued)

Ramkrishna Bhattacharya

[What follows is the fourth part of a monograph on Brahmabandhab Upadhyay (1861-1907), one of the prime movers of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905-08). *Sandhya*, the Bengali evening daily he edited, brought anti-imperialist politics to the masses. But most of his life he was engaged in religious quest – from traditional Hinduism to Brahmoism, and from Brahmoism to Christianity, at first as a Protestant and then as a Catholic. Only a few weeks before his death he volunteered to perform a penance (*prayaschitta*) and wore the sacred thread again.

What made this man tick? How was religion related to his strong nationalist feelings? The case study seeks to find answers to these questions.]

Rabindranath Tagore was not an easy man to influence. In his long life he came into contact with hundreds of people of all ages and nationalities, both home and abroad. But, excepting his own father, Debendranath, very few, too few people really influenced him in any significant way. He was impressed by a few, admired some and loved many others. He respected Rammohan Roy and Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and honoured Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (but once had to join issue with him).¹²¹ Rabindranath's relation to Rothenstein and W.B. Yeats turned sour in the end. He mentions Ramananda Chattopadhyay, Jadunath Sarkar, Jagadish Chandra Basu and Ramendra Sundar Tribedi as his only friends.¹²² He had high regards for his eldest brother, Dwijendranath, and Dr. Brajendranath Seal for their philosophical acumen. But none of them can be said to have influenced him in the proper sense of the term.

Influence is a different matter. The only person that comes to mind in this connection is Brahmabandhab Upadhyay, whose influence can be measured as next only to his father's.

This may appear to be a tall claim indeed. Biographers of Rabindranath regrettably bypass this no mean role of Upadhyay in his life.¹²³ It may be argued that he came to know Upadhyay as late as 1900 and excepting some occasional encounters lost all touch with him sometime after 1905. Upadhyay died in 1907. Rabindranath's name does not occur in the list of those who were present during Upadhyay's cremation or among the speakers in any memorial meeting.¹²⁴ Upadhyay is not mentioned more than eight times in Rabindranath's huge corpus (barring a few letters).¹²⁵ So what can be the basis of the assertion that he was influenced by Upadhyay?

In what follows I propose to reply to all this.

Influence, I contend, cannot be measured by counting the number of references in print to any person; it has to be understood in terms of Rabindranath's mindset during the first few years of the twentieth century. I do not claim that Upadhyay's influence lasted throughout the life

of Rabindranath. After the parting of ways in 1904 or thereabouts, Rabindranath was wary of Upadhyay, presumably because of his firebrand politics. The first reference to Upadhyay after 1904 occurs in a letter to Padmini Mohan Niyogi (dt. 28.05.1317 BS, 13.9.1910) in which he states that although Upadhyay was an associate in the Brahmacharya Asram School at Santiniketan, "I did not see even the seed of political enthusiasm in Upadhyay. Upadhyay was then engrossed in Vedanta on one side and Roman Catholic Christianity on the other." Rabindranath admits that Upadhyay's assistance in the early days of the school was especially fruitful.¹²⁶

The second reference to Upadhyay in an article dated 20.11.1328 BS (4.3.1922) reiterates the point that Upadhyay had not yet joined politics when he came to him. Rabindranath, however, specifically mentions that he had started teaching five or six boys under the shade of a Jambu tree even before Upadhyay joined him. He liked the project and visited Santiniketan. Rabindranath further asserts that Upadhyay was the only man to respond to his call.¹²⁷

On 4.5.1329 BS (21.8.1922) Rabindranath says that Upadhyay 'loved' him and 'respected' his determination. Rabindranath had very few people to accompany and assist him then. Upadhyay 'joined' him and undertook the responsibility of running the school; the poet's part was only to give company to the students.¹²⁸ No reference is made to politics.

In 1933 a controversy flared up around Dr. H.C.E. Zacharias' book, *Renascent India – From Rammohan Roy to Mohandas Gandhi* published from London in the same year. The author, a "Western Catholic of Jewish origin" and an associate of Gokhale's Servant of India Society, claimed that it was Saraswat Ayatan, the school started by Upadhyay and Animananda in Kolkata, that was "transfer"red to Bolepur "and thus began Santiniketan" (p.29).

Ramananda Chattopadhyay, editor of two the then prestigious journals, *Modern Review* and *Prabasi* (Bengali), strongly objected to this. He said that the truth was just the opposite; it was Rabindranath who had started the project and Upadhyay joined "long after".¹²⁹ Chattopadhyay claimed that he had learnt all this "from a recent conversation on the subject with the poet" himself.

Kartik Chandra Nan in a letter to Rabindranath sought to remind him of the events leading to the foundation of the Brahmacharya Asram. Nan's point was that the school had originated as a joint effort of the poet and Upadhyay. In a brief reply the poet assured him that he would write his views on this matter in due time.¹³⁰ Rabindranath's article, "The Beginning of the Asram School" appeared soon in *Prabasi* (Aswin 1340 BS). Here he acknowledged inter alia his 'irrepayable debt' to Upadhyay in no uncertain terms.¹³¹

The most important and detailed reference to Upadhyay is found in the Preface to Rabindranath's novel *Char Adhyay* (*Four Chapters*, 1934). The whole passage is worth quoting in full but due to constraints of space only some extracts are given below:

Once when Upadhyay was busy editing the monthly journal *Twentieth Century*, he wrote a review in that journal of my newly published work, *Naivedya*. Before that I had not seen such uninhibited praise of my poetry anywhere else. It was on this occasion that I first got to know him.

He was a Roman Catholic ascetic yet a Vedantin-spirited, fearless, self-denying, learned and uncommonly influential. ...

He (sc. Upadhyay) was my first collaborator in establishing the School at the Santiniketan ashram. In this connection, even today when I think of it, I

wonder at all the abstruse points he would clarify during discussions as we often walked along the village paths surrounding the ashram.

Rabindranath then comes to the days of the Swadeshi Movement :

During those days of blind madness [as the partition agitation escalated], one day as I sat alone in my third-floor room in Jorasanko, Upadhyay suddenly arrived. During conversation we spoke a bit of our earlier discussions [when we were together at Santiniketan]. When we had finished conversing, Upadhyay rose to take his leave. He reached the door and turned to look at me. He said, 'Rabibabu, I have fallen grievously'. After he said this, he did not wait; he just left. I understood clearly then that he had come just to say these heart-rending words. By then the next of his activities had closed tightly around him; there was no chance to escape.¹²³

Rabindranath's memory seems to have played sad tricks with him. Prasanta Kumar Pal has shown that Rabindranath and Upadhyay met almost a year before the review of *Naibedya* appeared in the *Twentieth Century* (July 1901).¹³³ Upadhyay had in fact quoted a poem (later in *Naibedya* as poem No. 57) before its first publication in any journal.¹³⁴ Upadhyay attended several meetings addressed by Rabindranath and even participated in the discussions that followed.¹³⁵ All these facts cannot be explained away so easily as Lipner has tried to do.¹³⁶

Both the novel and its preface triggered off another controversy. Young Bengali revolutionaries languishing in jails and prison camps were shocked to find Rabindranath, "our Rabindranath", maligning them so uncharitably and unjustly. Their reactions are well recorded.¹³⁷ What is not mentioned is the fact that some other, older revolutionaries belonging to the first batch and their sympathizers who knew Upadhyay in their youth, also reacted rather strongly to the reference to Upadhyay in the preface.¹³⁸ Their protests are not available in the Rabindra Bhavan archives. The whole file of paper cuttings of the year 1934 too is mysteriously missing. There is, however, one reference to the nature of this objection in a review of *Four Chapters* published in *Advance* (18.06.1935). Jayanta Kumar Das Gupta writes :

With the publication of Rabindranath's "Four Chapters" (Char Adhyaya, Viswa Bharati Book shop. Rs. 2.4), a furore has been created in certain circles in Bengal which regard it an unfortunate act on the part of Tagore to have referred to a person who confided something in private to the poet. Many people are not inclined to overlook this breach of etiquette. The novel would have suffered in no way had the great writer discreetly left the reference to the departed soul.¹³⁹

The furore was indeed great, for Rabindranath withdrew the preface in the next edition of the novel which came out in 1935.

Both before and after this controversy Rabindranath mentioned Upadhyay's assistance, on several occasions, but never failed to claim that the idea of the Asram was his own.

On 9.9.1339 BS (24.12.1932) he wrote that at the initial stage he had the assistance of a few workers -- such as Upadhyay, Satis Chandra Roy and Jagadananda Roy. "They were then united by the confederacy of one idea".¹⁴⁰

The last reference to Upadhyay occurs in an article, "The Form and Development of the Asram" (Ashar 1348 BS = June-July 1941). Here, too, Upadhyay appears only as a confidant

assisting Rabindranath in running the school. "Brahmabandhab and his Christian disciple Rewachand were both monks (*sannyasi*). So the financial burden as well as that of the work was mitigated by them".¹⁴¹

One thing is clear. Rabindranath never gave up the claim that the idea of the Brahmacharya Asram was his and his alone; it was not a product of collaboration between him and Upadhyay. At best he would concede that both Upadhyay and Rewachand had been his confidants, as were Jagadananda Roy, Satis Chandra Roy, Mohit Chandra Sen and Ajit Kumar Chakrabarti.¹⁴² As to the reason why both Upadhyay and his disciple left Santiniketan, Rabindranath asserted in 1933 that it was not due to his father's objection to having two Christians in the school.¹⁴³ On the other hand, Jitendralal Bandyopadhyay reports that Rabindranath himself told him on 2.5.1909 that it was because of the objections raised by certain guardians and members of Tagore family that Debendranath asked his son not to let the two Christians stay at Santiniketan any more. The account was published soon after (*Suprabhat*, Sraban 1316 BS = July-Aug. 1909). Pal is of the opinion that this account is more dependable than what Tagore wrote in 1934.¹⁴⁴

Ramananda Chattopadhyay hinted that the circumstance leading to this dissociation was something serious but "both he (sc. the poet) and ourselves are unwilling to divulge [it] unless compelled to."¹⁴⁵ Nan, however, pointed out that Upadhyay had decided of his own to withdraw himself along with Rewachand when he came to hear the rumour.¹⁴⁶ But Upadhyay had also assured Rabindranath that he would provide help from a distance to the best of his ability.

This is corroborated by the fact that Upadhyay and Rabindranath kept in touch with each other long after this affair. Upadhyay wrote to him regularly during his stay in England and discussed about the choice of the right man for the proposed Oxford Chair of Vedanta.¹⁴⁷ As to Rewachand, Rabindranath had high regards for him as a teacher of English. Upon his return from Santiniketan, Rewachand was appointed private tutor to the Jorasanko House of Tagore. When Rewachand started his own school, Rabindranath visited it once and gave him a glowing certificate.

So it seems that Chattopadhyay's insinuation is baseless. The only reason of Upadhyay's dissociation from Santiniketan may be that both he and Rewachand were very strict disciplinarians which naturally did not endear them to the young students, however much they might admire both for other reasons.¹⁴⁸

In any case the dissociation did not lead to any breach in personal relations. The mutual admiration for each other remained as it was. Pal has even conjectured that Rabindranath may have visited the Campbell (now Nilratan Sarkar) Hospital, Kolkata, during Upadhyay's convalescence, a few days before his death.¹⁴⁹ In a letter to his son-in-law on 29.10.1907 Rabindranath alludes to Upadhyay's death : "The king wanted to imprison him -- he has been released by a power higher than that."¹⁵⁰

But Rabindranath himself has caused further confusion by writing an apologia for *Four Chapters* (*Prabasi*, Baisakh 1342, April-May 1935).¹⁵¹ He declares that the novel is basically a love story, politics forming merely the backdrop. Upadhyay was relevant in so far as Atin, the hero of the novel, too lapsed from his own nature. Yet in a letter to Praphullanath Thakur (dt. 8.7.1934) he made no bones of the fact that the novel was "a veritable protest against the terrorists".¹⁵²

There are, however, reasons to believe that the controversy around Zacharias' book

revived the memory of Upadhyay in Rabindranath and the product was *Four Chapters*. Flickers of revolutionary terrorism, even after Gandhi's desperate attempts to keep the freedom movement strictly within the limits of non-violent civil disobedience and Satyagraha, could still be seen here and there in Bengal. The Chittagong Armoury Raid 24.9.1932 made the British rulers all the more vindictive. 'Black-and-Tar' Anderson with his experience of suppressing the IRA (Irish Republican Army) was brought over to India to deal with the insurgent situation. Hundreds of youths all over Bengal were arrested and confined to jails and prison camps. An attempt was made on the life of Anderson at Darjeeling; Rabindranath along with many others condemned their action in public.¹⁵³ All this may have contributed to the composition of the novel.

Rabindranath of course had his own defenders both in literary and political circles. Of all writers, Rajsekhar Basu wrote an appreciative review of the novel in *Prabasi* and taunted the terrorists. The attitude of the British Government was somewhat ambiguous: one section of the authorities wanted to promote the novel as an ideological antidote to terrorism while others were in favour of proscribing the book.¹⁵⁴ In any case, the novel and the subsequent debate around it did not do credit to Rabindranath.

Now to the issue in question. Why do I say that Tagore was influenced by Upadhyay, even though for a brief period? The answer, I have said, has to be sought in the changed mindset of Rabindranath in the first few years of the twentieth century. It is well known that he opposed and ridiculed Hindu revivalism of the 1890s. He lampooned its exponents like Sasadhar Tarkachudamani in his poems and essays. But as Sumit Sarkar has noted, the years 1901-1906

are marked by the definite ascendancy of revivalist ideas in Rabindranath's mind. ... We are now informed about the essential distinctness of Oriental civilisation and its superiority over the European; the traditional samaj is hailed as the real centre of Indian life, not the state; the Hindu past is invoked in poetic language; child-marriage and restrictions on widows are declared to be not unjustified in the context of Hindu society; virtues are discovered in the functional specialisation through caste; and even sati gets an honourable mention ...¹⁵⁵

The apologists of Rabindranath have tried their best to exonerate their Gurudev (an honorific title given to the poet by Upadhyay himself). They all blame Upadhyay for his eccentricities and oscillations. Basing herself on hearsay evidence Uma Dasgupta writes that "Brahmabandhab had wanted to turn Santiniketan into an Anandamath, which Rabindranath would not have."¹⁵⁶ This goes flatly against all evidence. Whatever Upadhyay had in his mind in 1901-02 was never manifest to the residents of Santiniketan. Everyone writes that they suspected nothing of his political outlook.¹⁵⁷

Sunil Chandra Sarkar's account is all the more ludicrous. He calls Upadhyay "the famous religious reformer, who ... came to join the school as its first principal, sought to make it the training-ground of a rigid religious cult."¹⁵⁸ First, the statements are self-contradictory. A "religious reformer" cannot promote "a rigid religious cult." Second, Upadhyay was never a reformer. Third, he was never the principal of the school. Occasionally he took charge of the Asram when Rabindranath was away from Santiniketan.¹⁵⁹

Lipner has rightly concluded that "such reports, made well after the event, seem tendentiously to favour a particular image of Tagore at the expense of Upadhyay."¹⁶⁰ This tendency is all marked in Sumit Sarkar. After enumerating the revivalist features in Rabindranath's works in 1901-06, he hastens to add, "Rabindranath was to sharply modify this view in his post-1907 essays."¹⁶¹

The introduction of the Gurukul system at Santiniketan with rigid caste distinction maintained in dress and sitting arrangements during meals, was no doubt results of Upadhyay's insistence. That Rabindranath annulled all this after a few years is true beyond doubt. But this is not where Upadhyay's influence is most pronounced. Rabindranath could well dispense with the external marks of the caste system, even if he might have acquired them from Upadhyay. His novel, *Gora* (1910) shows how an orthodox Hindu ultimately learns to rise over narrow Hinduness and comes to know himself as a universal Indian and gives up his caste prejudice.

The most important influence lasted even after 1907. In the early parts of 1912 there was a controversy around the question whether the Sadharan Brahmos (and by implication the Adi and Nababidhan Brahmos) are to be regarded as Hindus or not. Rabindranath's stand was unambiguous: a Brahmo is a Hindu first and a Brahmo afterwards. In an article, "Atmaparichay" (Self-identity) published in the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* (Baisakh 1319 BS, April-May 1912) but first read out by Rabindranath at a meeting held under the auspices of young Sadharan Brahmos (15.3.1912), he said:

Can you then remain a Hindu even if you have joined the Muslim or Christian community? Of course I can. There is not the least argument about ability and inability. We are not bound to heed to what the people of the Hindu community (*hindusamaj*) say, but it is true that Kalicharan Banerji was a Hindu Christian (*hindukhristan*), Jnanendramohan Thakur before him was a Hindu Christian, (and) even before him Krishnamohan Bandyopadhyay was a Hindu Christian. This means that they were Hindu by birth (*jatite*) (and) Christian by religion; Christian is their pigment, Hindu indeed is their matter/essence (*bastu*). There are thousands of Muslims in Bengal. The Hindus have always (lit. by day and by night) told them, "You are not Hindus" and they too have told themselves, "We are not Hindus." In spite of all that, they, however, are really Hindu Muslim (*hindu-musalman*).¹⁶²

This is the view that Upadhyay held in relation to the Christians of India, although he preferred to remain silent regarding Indian Muslims and omit Buddhists. This is what he tried to impress upon his Catholic superiors as well as his Hindu friends. Idolatry, adherence to Kali, Krishna or Siva, even atheism of the Charvaka and Jain variety, were no bar to a man's being regarded as Hindu. Upadhyay's ambition was to place Christ by the side of Siva at the temple in Benaras.¹⁶³ The only condition he would like to impose is that a Hindu, irrespective of his cherished deity (*ishtadebata*), must be prepared to adhere to the Varna and Asrama system promulgated by the ancient Brahminical law-givers. This is how Upadhyay used to distinguish between *samaj-dharma* and *sadhan-dharma*: the norms of the society and those of worship. Rabindranath accepted this in 1901 when Upadhyay's articles on this theme were first published in *Bangadarsan* and continued to believe in it at least up to 1912, when a section of the Sadharan Brahmos desired to call themselves non-Hindus (even today some Brahmos cling to this view). Rabindranath came out with a sharp denunciation of such a claim.

A clear distinction should be made between the two forms of Hindu revivalism in Bengal. The first is religious, as promoted by Sasadhar Tarkachudamani, Krishnaprasanna Sen with *Bangabasi*, *Prachar* and similar journals as their "Oracle."¹⁶⁴ The second is purely social and even areligious, as mooted by the Roman Catholic Upadhyay and followed by a handful few such as Mokshada Charan Samadhyayi and other members of the *Sandhya* group.¹⁶⁵ The second form of revivalism was pronouncedly political as it became clear after 1904. But even before 1905 Upadhyay's nationalism found its outlet through this channel, even in his apparently non-political activities.¹⁶⁶

This insistence on *dharma* was first made by Swami Vivekananda in a series of articles published in *Udbodhan* (1306-08 BS, 1899-1901). Vivekananda wrote that *jatidharma* is the *svadharma* of the Hindus. "The religion one is born to is one's own religion."¹⁶⁷ He blamed the Buddhists for the decline of India. The way out, Vivekananda suggested, is to follow the Vedic way which has *jatidharma-svadharma* as its basis.¹⁶⁸

Upadhyay followed this approach in toto, even in his tirade against the Buddhists.¹⁶⁹

Vivekananda, of course, made a distinction between the rural customs of caste system, the practice as it prevailed in Bengal in his own times. He considered it to be a harmful thing, equally leading to ruins. However, he did not promote *jati* according to quality (*gunagata*), but of *jati* according to progeny (*bamsagata*) or of birth (*janmagata*). He admitted that *jati* was originally *gunagata*, but declared that after a few generations quality became *bamsagata* !

This is, in my view, a perfect muddle, both self-contradictory and regressive, trying to compromise with both the so-called original Vedic custom and the later, actual proliferation of manifold castes instead of the original four. Second, this view has no political dimension whatsoever. Upadhyay, on the other hand, wished to revive the pristine purity of the *varna* system, which is more idealized than it really was. The school of Santiniketan was to Upadhyay an experiment to begin with, like all his earlier ventures this too proved to be abortive owing to circumstances beyond his control. He had to leave the experiment unfinished. In any case, the experiment was doomed to failure. Upadhyay turned a blind eye to the fact that from its very inception the students of Santiniketan belonged to several castes, both Brahmin and non-Brahmin, and one of them came from a family of weavers (*tantubay*) who are not untouchables but definitely "low" in the Bengali caste hierarchy.¹⁷⁰

Upadhyay's second plan of promoting a National College proved to be a non-starter. In his draft Appeal he insisted on excluding "boys of low caste, and of families who have broken away from the pale of caste."¹⁷¹ No wonder that the plan found no taker.

This kind of bigotry, especially on the part of a Christian convert, did not go well with young revolutionaries like Bhupendranath Dutta. Before joining the revolutionary underground, Bhupendranath was associated with the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and very close to Sibnath Sastri who had planned to form a new band of apostles with Bhupendranath as its nucleus.¹⁷² Naturally Bhupendranath viewed the caste system to be morally wrong and injurious to the healthy development of the Bengali society.¹⁷³

At the same time Upadhyay's orthodoxy in relation to caste endeared him to the *Bangabasi* group, representatives of religious Hinduness. They decided to overlook Upadhyay's Christian affiliation and provided him space in their journal. His open letters from abroad appeared in *Bangabasi* which enabled him to stay in England at his own cost.¹⁷⁴ Upadhyay too reciprocated their gesture of accomodativeness by keeping silent about what he wrote in *The Tablet*, the

mouthpiece of English Catholics.¹⁷⁵

There is nothing to choose, in my view, between religious Hinduness and social Hinduness. Both are reactionary, backward-looking and counterproductive, exclusive in their attitude to the largest contingent of the society, cast away as untouchables. But a distinction has to be made between two forms of revivalism, because it *is* there. Rabindranath was drawn to the second variety, since both he and Upadhyay were monotheists with Vedanta as their planks. They could work together without much of a hitch. But Rabindranath never accepted the Sankarite version of the Vedanta philosophy. Neither before his acquaintance with Upadhyay nor after did he admit the doctrine of *maya* (illusion). On this issue they must have agreed to differ.

As regards Rabindranath's representation of Upadhyay in his novel, *Gora* (910), *Ghare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*) (1916) and *Char Adhyay* (1934), it is futile to search for one-to-one correspondence between Upadhyay and Gora, Sandip, Atin and Indranath.¹⁷⁶ One can always conjecture that Upadhyay has cast his shadow over them all. But attempts to identify these characters with Upadhyay will lead us nowhere. In any case, none of the three novels is a *roman a clef*, "novel with a key" in which an informed reader may recognize persons from real life. There are rival claimants for Sandip too (Aurobindo Ghose, for example). Ashis Nandy's psychological explorations are interesting to read, that's all.¹⁷⁷ What is more relevant to our purpose is to note how two diametrically opposite personalities came into close contact for nearly two years, collaborated for seven months and then drifted apart. Each impressed the other by each one's respective qualities manifested in different areas. On the one hand, there is a creative artist, romantic to the core in his ideal of education, reminiscent of both Rousseau and Wordsworth,¹⁷⁸ patriotic in his own way, though not cut out to be a mass leader or agitator. On the other, there is a man of action, more oriented towards speculative philosophy, always ready to join any fray, theological or political, and a man of the masses, active in politics.¹⁷⁹ One wonders whether Rabindranath's intimate association with Upadhyay for even such a short period made him understand how two opposite personalities could unite. The relation between Gora and Binay, and Nikhiles and Sandip may very well have been conceived on the basis of this experience. Rabindranath admits that he had no idea of the fire-brand nationalist in Upadhyay till at least 1904-05. Upadhyay's visit to England to establish a Chair of Vedanta was welcome to Rabindranath. He too was interested in projecting the glory of India's past to the West. But most definitely he did not consider it to be an integral part of the nationalist political agenda in which Upadhyay believed.¹⁸⁰ The parting of ways in all respects became inevitable when Rabindranath suspected Upadhyay to be the man behind the emergence of revolutionary terrorism of Bengal. But then Rabindranath also knew of Aurobindo Ghose. Yet it did not prevent him from paying homage to this de facto editor of *Bande Mataram*, several years younger than him, in one of the most memorable political odes.¹⁸¹ This organ of the so-called extremists publicly preached passive resistance. *Sandhya*, on the contrary, was more vocal in its denunciation of the Feringhees in counter-racialist terms, far less inhibited in its language than *Bande Mataram's*.¹⁸²

Rabindranath was as much a participant in the Swadeshi Movement as Aurobindo and Upadhyay. Whether Upadhyay really had any connection with the underground secret societies that proliferated in Bengal both before and after 1905 is still a matter of dispute. Bhupendranath Datta strongly denies any such association.¹⁸³ However, the reference to "stick against stick", is unmistakable in its implication.¹⁸⁴

Not unlike Sister Nivedita, Upadhyay too in his adult years passed from loyalism to extremism. Like Nivedita too he had to make a painful decision : Whether to follow his religious inclinations or choose the life of a revolutionary freedom-fighter. Nivedita had to sever all relations with the Ramkrishna Mission which was so dear to her heart. The Mission authorities forced her to issue a press statement to this effect.¹⁸⁵ Upadhyay, on the contrary, was not compelled to do anything of that sort. It was all a matter of following the inner urge. Sometimes his inclination led him to a life of meditation, away from all public activities. At other times a burning desire to liberate India would draw him away to the rough and tumble of political activities, writing vitriolic articles, addressing public meetings, organising trade unions, standing by striking workers and what not.¹⁸⁶

Upadhyay's life was cut short at this juncture. In spite of all his confessions recorded by the Rev. Bimalananda Nag, Rabindranath and Prabodh Chandra Simha, it is difficult to believe that he could go back to his earlier life of religious quest, be it as a Catholic proselytizer or as a monk of the Bharati order.¹⁸⁷ He once told Sadhu Vasvani, "Wonderful have been the vicissitudes of my life".¹⁸⁸ The Swadeshi movement provided him with the opportunity to realize his boyhood dream: to be a fighter in the cause of Indian freedom. He could not join the army at Gwalior in his teens, but in his middle age reared an army of freedom-fighters. The goal was always clear; only from 1904 he found an opportunity to realize his sole aim in life.

A few words regarding Rabindranath's impact on Upadhyay are in order. I use the word 'impact', for no influence of the poet on Upadhyay is discernible.

Upadhyay's attitude towards Rabindranath was one of profound admiration right from their first acquaintance. He had met the poet before his article in *The Twentieth Century* (July 1901) was published.¹⁸⁹ His admiration for the poet never waned. Till early 1904 they kept in touch with each other through correspondence : Rabindranath was always writing in Bangla, Upadhyay, in English. Meetings during the Swadeshi movement were brief and occasional. Perhaps they had no chance to be alone. The last talk between them with no witness present seems to have taken place before Upadhyay decided to go for the ceremonial expiation, in one of those turbulent days between June and July 1907. Those were the days when Upadhyay could not sleep.¹⁹⁰

Upadhyay's review of *Naibedyā* was written on purely theological lines. He assured Rabindranath before its publication in a personal letter and repeated it in the same article that there was "not a single theological blunder in the whole collection."¹⁹¹ Even earlier in the weekly *Sophia* (1.9.1900) he had called Rabindranath "The world Poet of Bengal" and prophesied, "if ever the Bengali language is studied by foreigners it will be for the sake of Rabindra." But in neither of the two articles is there any comment on the literary merit of Rabindranath's poems *qua* poetry. Rabindranath, it is well known, was not very keen to be assessed on any non-aesthetic or extra-aesthetic grounds. Nevertheless Upadhyay's adulatory review referring to such philosophers and theologians as Kant, Newman and others pleased him enormously. He sent the cuttings of *The Twentieth Century* to J.C. Bose.¹⁹²

This is not to say that Upadhyay had no ear for poetry but to point out that *Naibedyā* appealed to him precisely because "the poet's ideal is to build the national greatness of India on the pure ancient Hindu foundation purged its dross, though the superstructure may have

on Western finish". He approved of the book of poems solely because "[i]ts theism is sound to the core. In all places of worship, be they Christian, Mohammedan, or Hindu the hundred sonnets can be recited or sung without the least scruple." Lipner has shrewdly observed that in Rabindranath Upadhyay found "a supporter and reinforcer of [his] religio-political vision" and an "unwitting ally of [his] cause".¹⁹³ The review throws more light on Upadhyay than on Rabindranath.

Despite all glaring differences in personality and attitude to life, Rabindranath and Upadhyay took to each other in a spirit of mutual respect and worked together with camaraderie. The only bond that linked them is their disaffection with the British rule and the unimaginative system of education imposed by them. Reverence for Vedanta and spiritual inquiries might have cemented their friendship. The influence, as I have tried to show above, was purely one-sided; there was no influence of Rabindranath on Upadhyay. He remained unaffected by the poet, although Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda cast their shadow on him in his late years.¹⁹⁴ The poet, on the contrary, remained totally unaffected by and almost indifferent to them.

Upadhyay could be both rigid and flexible in his attitude towards idolatry. He let the students of his Saraswat Ayatan, nay, in his own peremptory way, insisted on their performance of Saraswati Puja inside the school premises in Kolkata in 1904 which involved worshipping the clay image of the Hindu goddess of learning. Rabindranath could never permit the residents of his school to do so although many of them came from non-Brahmo families accustomed to the traditional forms of idolatry. Both Upadhyay and Rabindranath in their lives suffered desertion of friends and collaborators. The poet accepted such parting of ways rather stoically. Upadhyay had to let go his only faithful disciple, Rewachand who could not stomach Saraswati Puja in his school (after all it was he not Upadhyay, who bore the burden of teaching and performing other daily chores of Saraswat Ayatan). But Upadhyay never regretted his decisions. Once a plan or idea gripped him he would go the whole hog. It is a wonder that he could work with Rabindranath at all, their parting of ways was inevitable. It was only a matter of time. Upadhyay had differences of opinion with all his associates. In 1907 he was practically a lone crusader. *Sandhya* and the Swadeshi movement barely sustained him. His pathetic confession to Rabindranath in their last private meeting bears testimony to the aridity of his soul. Presumably he had no friend to turn to, no companion to whom he could open his heart. So, at long last, he turned to the poet again. Perhaps he felt that Rabindranath alone would understand the miserable state he was in. Rabindranath was never in doubt about his vocation. In spite of his manifold activities he knew himself to be first and foremost a creative artist. Upadhyay, on the contrary, never found his vocation. Hence his continuous, and violent oscillations between spiritual quest and militant patriotism.

Upadhyay, as any Pavlovian would say, is a representative of the impetuous, choleric type. ¹⁹⁵ Reticence or aloofness from society, Pavlov points out, "is by no means an exceptional feature of schizothymics, i.e., of weak individuals. Even strong persons may be reserved, but for quite different reasons. Even this type of person leads a strenuous but at the same time one-sided subjective life; he early becomes possessed by a certain inclination, concentrates on a single aim and is dominated and carried away by a single idea."¹⁹⁶

Upadhyay's life fits this description like a glove. The religious phase he passed through

in his youth (which continued till 1900 or so) was a mere distraction, caused by his frustrated attempts to learn military science. He sought various avenues to channelize his almost inexhaustible energy in theological disputes as a lay Catholic contender, ever ready to take up any issue for the Church Militant. His utmost desire to Vedantize Catholic theology was merely an oblique reflection of his original intention to project India as a force to reckon with. So was the Brahmacharya Asram project and the attempt to establish a Chair of Vedanta at Oxford and Cambridge. All of them came to nought. He found his vocation only when Lord Curzon decided to partition Bengal. This was the opportunity for Upadhyay's restless spirit to realize itself. The battle he waged against Mgr. Zaleski was a mere shadow battle. In the Swadeshi days he could finally fight the war he had all along cherished in his heart.

Notes & References

121. *Jibansmriti, Rabindra-Rachanabali (R-R)*, Vol. 11, p.48.
122. See Bagchi, p.216. He quotes from a letter from Rabindranath to Ramananda Chattopadhyay.
123. Prasanta Kumar Pal may be regarded as the lone exception. See Vol. 4, p.293. Dutta and Robinson fail to comprehend Upadhyaya's role and regard him merely as one of the three Christian teachers in the Santiniketan School (p.135). However, it is quite evident that Upadhyay, unlike Animananda (then known as Rewachand), used to stay there occasionally for a few days. He could not have taken regular classes at Santiniketan. However, during Rabindranath's absence he used to supervise the affairs there (p.50; *Pitrismriti*, p.76).
124. Cuttings from contemporary newspapers and periodicals reporting these events are preserved in *Varia 4*.
125. The Tagore-Upadhyay correspondence as we have said earlier, is lost for ever. The file in Rabindra Bhaban (Visva Bharati) contain only a few. They have been printed in the *Visva Bharati Patrika*, Kartik-Paus, 1368,
126. A facsimile copy of the letter has been printed in *R-R* 11, between pp. 162 and 163.
127. *Visvabharati 4* in *R-R* 14, p. 501.
128. *Visvabharati 6* in *R-R* 14, p.509.
129. *The Modern Review (MR)*, Aug. 1933, quoted in Pal 5 : 62
130. Nan's letter and Rabindranath's reply have been reproduced in Mukhopadhyaya and Mukhopadhyaya 1961, pp. 150-52
131. *R-R* 14 : 488. See also the draft of the article printed on the unnumbered page following p.480.
132. This preface was subsequently withdrawn and hence not to be found in the English translation of the novel published in book form after Tagore's death. However, Surendranath Tagore's translations appeared serially in *Asia*, an American magazine in 1936-37. Rabindranath's apologia ("Kaiphayat") which was first published in *Prabasi*, Baisakh 1342 BS, has been included in the *Visva Bharati* edition, 1950, pp. v-ix, as "Author's Note. The note, however, silently omits the reference to Upadhyay. For the original Bengali versions of both "Abhas" and "Kaiphayat" see *R-R*. 8:514 and 16 : 909-10.
Instead of translating the Preface again I have reproduced it from Lipner, pp. 284,289 n26 and 379.
133. Pal 4 : 293-94.
124. *Ibid*, 5 : 3
135. *Ibid*, 5 : 327;382
136. Lipner, p. 284. In "Asramer Rup o Bikas" Rabindranath himself uses the expression, *parichay kramasa ghanistha hoye utthal*, 'acquaintance gradually became closer' *R-R* 14 : 488.
137. Sehanabis, p.135-37,198. *R-R* 16 : 906-08. But see Poddar, *passim*. The words 'our Rabindranath' are taken from an article by Saroj Acharya, then interned in the Deuli Camp. See Sahanabis, p.137; *R.R* 16 : 907.

138. B.N. Datta, Preface to *Debsharma*, p.iv.
139. The review is available in the Rabindra Bhaban archives, Santiniketan. Das Gupta, however adds : "Politics is the theme of this novel. This is not the first time that Rabindranath has touched politics in his novels. ... But it is as a work of art that we are more directly concerned with."
140. *R-R* 14 : 533.
141. *Ibid.*, 14 : 477.
142. From what Rathindranath, the poet's son and one of the first students of the Santiniketan School writes in his memoirs (p.44) it would appear that Rabindranath had indeed started his Asram with a few young *brahmacharis*, but it was not yet a school proper. Upadhyay was instrumental in starting a formal course of education along with a strict regimen for the students. So Rabindranath was not altogether wrong in claiming that the idea was his own. This is what the Christian advocates of Upadhyay seem to overlook.
143. *R-R*, 14 : 488 n1.
144. Pal, 5 : 63.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 122-23.
148. *Ibid.*, 79 and Rathindranath Tagore, pp. 44,50-51.
149. Pal, 5 : 383
150. *Ibid*.
151. *R -R* 16 : 909-10.
152. First published in *Dainik Basumati*, Autmn No. ,1376, p. 14. Praphullanath had requested Rabindranath to attend a meeting convened presumably to condemn recent terrorist activities. Rabindranath refused to attend the meeting referred to his new "fiction", *galper bai*. This cannot but mean *Four Chapters*, which was completed by June 1934 but publised six months later.
Praphullanath was a scion of an old Kolkata family known for its loyalty. He was president of the British Indian Association and of the anglophile Calcutta Club (twice). He was awarded the title of Rajah by the British Government as late as 1935.
153. Rabindranath was then at Candy, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). He sent a telegram to Anderson on 10.5.1934 and issued a statement to the *Daily News* on 11.5.1934. Sec Poddar, p. 46.
154. See Poddar, pp.42-44.
155. Sumit Sarkar, p. 53f.
156. Dasgupta, p. 278 and n9, Trans. by Lipner, p. 315 n 64.
157. Rathindranath Tagore, p. 50, Ajit Kumar Chakraborti quoted in Pal, 5 : 79. Rabindranath's preface to *Four Chapters* also says so, as did his letter to Niyogi referred to above (n 126).
158. Sunil Chandra Sarkar, pp. 148-49. Trans. by Lipner, pp. 314-15 n65.
159. Rathindranath, p. 50, Dutta and Robinson have misunderstood Upadhyay's connection with Santiniketan. Their tendency to classify the teachers according to their religious affiliation (p.135) is equally objectionable.
160. Lipner, p. 315 n 65. Animananda and Turmes, in the other hand, unlike Zacharias, rightly consider the Santiniketan *School* as the product of joint collaboration of Rabindranath and Upadhyay. What Rathindranath writes about Rewachand (" ... he founded a school on the times of Santiniketan on the outskirts of Calcutta ...", p.44), the Boys' Own Home at 20 Harey Kristo Set Lane, Kolkata, is misconceived. Rewachand founded and ran the *School* on the conventional lines of Catholic missionaries, no trace Rabindranath's influence can be found in Rewachand's ideal of education, Rabindranath visited the school once and praised Rewachand's effort. See Mukhopadhyay-Mukhopadhyay, pp. 160-62.
161. Sumit Sarkar, p. 53.
162. *R-R*. 13 : 517.
163. See Guha, p.53 and Turmes, p. 47.

164. Charuchandra Datta, p. 590.
165. Upadhyay, as we have shown in the preceding chapter, was much influenced by the custom followed by the Catholics in South India. Compromise with the caste system was felt to be necessary by both di Nobili and Ricci. The caste question proved to be a matter of perpetual dispute between the South Indian Catholics and the ecclesiastical authorities. see Ballhatchet, ch. 3 for some interesting (and often amusing) details.
166. In a letter to Dinesh Chandra Sen, dt. 17.11.1905, Rabindranath also says that the *Bangadarsan* in its new phase and the foundation of the Bolpur school were attempts to cultivate self-power (*atmasakti*) and introduce the Swadeshi idea. *Chithi*, Vol. 10, p.33.
167. *Bani o Rachana*, Vol. 6, p. 158.
168. *Ibid.*, 157-58.
169. See *The Blade*, p. 206, quoting von Hugel.
170. The Nan family to which Upadhyay was so intimately attached, belongs to the weaver caste. See Sachchidananda Nan's account and his mother, Mahamaya Nan's unfinished reminiscences.
171. *The Blade*, p.154.
172. Bhupendranath Datta, 1983, "Parisishtha", p. 91.
173. Datta was visibly irritated when Upadhyay asked him to provide some Maulik Kayasthas not Bhangas, for the distribution of *Sandhya*. Preface to Debsharmma, p. xi (the Mauliks were considered to be unalloyed in maintaining their caste purity; the Bhangas were defaulters on this account).
174. Upadhyay did not anticipate that while in England he would have to fend for himself. However, he refused to charge fees for his lectures. A rather dolorous letter to Nalu, a former student, asking for financial assistance makes this position clear. See *The Blade*, pp. 111-13.
175. The two articles published in *The Tablet* show the proselytizing face of Upadhyay. See *The Blade*, Appendix I, pp. (i)- (iv).
176. *R-R* 16 : 926. See also Bishnupada Bhattacharya, 1375 BS and Nandi 1994, p. 24 and 1995, pp. 8, 103.
177. See n 176 above. Nandi seeks to apply Otto Rank's theory of the Double in relation to Atin and Indranath. See Nandi 1994, p. 24 and n 25.
178. Wordsworth's Lucy poems were a great favourite with Rabindranath. He offered a prose paraphrase of "Three Years She Grew" in an article published in Santiniketan (Aswin-Kartik 1326 BS). It has been reproduced in *Sarodatsab*, p. 91.
179. Describing Upadhyay's daily routine, Lipner writes, "This exemplifies a high visibility programme" (p. 380 n 24) which contrasts strongly with the low profile Upadhyay sought to maintain at Kasthalika Matha at Jabbalpur.
180. The project fell through because of lack of funds as well as the failure of the intellectuals of Bengal to decide upon the most suitable candidate for the Chair of Vedanta in England. Several names were suggested but none agreed upon. Jagadish Chandra Basu (better known as J.C. Bose) was utterly exasperated at all this. See Pal, 5 : 123.
181. *R-R* 2 : 713-15 (Additional poem in *Purabi*). For Aurobindo's reaction to this ode, see Aurobindo, 1988, p.18.
182. The styles of the two dailies, *Bande Mataram* and *Sandhya* were both different and distinctive. The editorials of *Sandhya* were full of popular Bengali idioms whereas *Bande Mataram*, even in its most biting satire, was always suave and flavoured with literary allusions from English literature.
183. Preface to Debsarmma p. vx but see. Pal, 5 : 382. Atindranath Basu, however, writes that Bipin Chandra Pal and Upadhyay knew of the arms stocked by their group at 'Maheshalay' at Nayan Chand Datta Lane, Kolkata, Appendix to Bhupendranath Datta, 1983, p. 209.
184. *Rachanasamgraha*, p. 106.
185. Nivedita, *Letters*, Vol. 1, pp. [38]-[39].

186. See Lipner, p. 380
187. *The Blade*, p. 186; *R-R*, 8 : 514.
188. Quoted in *The Blade*, p. 174.
189. Rabindranath was wrong to say that he first got acquainted with Upadhyay in connection with this review article. From what Upadhyay writes about Rabindranath in the weekly *Sophia* (1.1.1900) it is evident that they met earlier. See Pal, 5 : 382.
190. See Turmes, p. 53.
191. In a letter to Rabindranath dated 5.7.1901, Upadhyay wrote; "I have not been able to discover a single theological flaw in the book". *Visva Bharati Patrika*, Kartik Paus 1368 BS, pp. 195-96. The original letter is preserved in the Rabindra Bhavan archives, Santiniketan.
192. Pal, 4 : 279
193. Lipner, pp. 283-84.
194. See *Rachanasamgraha*, pp. 57-61; also Guha, pp. 51-53.
195. Dr. Basudeb Mukhopadhyay (Pavlov Institute, Kolkata) tells me that so far he always considered the choleric type as proposed by Pavlov to be an ideal type, something conceivable but rarely, if at all, to be found in real life. But after learning of Upadhyay's life and works he is now convinced that here, if any, is the best exemplar.
196. Pavlov, p. 341.

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Correction

- P&S* 2 : 1, p.42, n 95 : Read Bandyopadhyay, p.623, in place of Gangopadhyay, p.16;
p.47 : delete Gangopadhyay, Manomohan, etc., and add : Bandyopadhyay, Jogendrakumar.
"Amar Dhekha Lok", *Prabasi*, Bhadra 1342 BS.

A Rejoinder on Custodial Death Report

Peter Bleach

[The author, a Britisher, was accused and convicted with life imprisonment in the Purulia arms dropping case along with five Latavian airmen. They were in Presidency Jail in Kolkata. The Latavians were released by a Presidential order in 2000. Bleach was shifted to Alipur Central Jail on medical grounds in 2003. His conviction was remitted by the President of India in early 2004.

This article gives his personal views on reading the custodial death report published in *PAS*, vol 2. no.1 — Ed. *PAS*]

This is a very good report and it is refreshing to see (for a change) that the problems are (a) admitted to in the first place and (b) addressed directly and without any attempt to gloss over the shortcomings. In other words it is not a whitewash. The only way to progress is to first admit the problems exist in the first place, and then to tackle them head-on.

I find myself in a unique and peculiar position. In a past life, I served in the Prison Service for many years, finally retiring as a Superintendent. Now I find myself a life convict, so I am one the very few people who has seen both sides of the coin at very close quarters. On that basis, I would make the following random remarks:

I disagree that the primary problem is shortage of equipment or shortage of skilled staff, although such shortages certainly play a prominent part. But the fact is that much better use could be made of the existing facilities. The primary problem, as it has been reported, is the same problem that besets so many other areas of jail and other officials like that of 'mindset'. And the problem of mindset is equally significant amongst both staff and prisoners.

Before the problems can be properly addressed (as opposed to merely whitewashed), the State Government has to make up its mind as to whether it is running a police state or a 21st century democracy. A few years ago, jails were converted into 'Correctional Homes' with great fanfare. Politicians and others got huge mileage out of this in the press, a new Correctional Services Act was brought into being and so on. But what really changed? Actually nothing, except for a lot of extra cost in producing signboards and so on. On paper, the system is a model of 21st century enlightenment. In fact, so far as the *average* prisoner is concerned, the East India Company may as well still be in charge. The *average* prisoner is poverty stricken, probably illiterate or at best semi-literate, and is very poorly educated in the general sense of the word. (He/she has no idea of their rights).

On the staff side, much the same applies. There are of course many exceptions, but in general any complaint made by the average prisoner (including one of ill health) is met with a snarl and a lathi. For the average prisoner, the person on immediate authority over him is the mate or the 'in charge'. (And this system lies at the very heart of jail corruption. Placing one prisoner in authority over another is invariably a recipe for disaster). If the prisoner has not been paying money to the mate, then the mate is unlikely to assist him.

Consequently, when the prisoner becomes sick, he is liable to be ignored until it is too late. When the prisoner is finally brought to the jail doctor, the doctor is not given the full story by the mate or by other prisoners. They will claim that he 'suddenly' became ill when that was not the case at all. They do this of course to protect themselves.

The ignorance and illiteracy of both prisoners and staff contribute to custody deaths in other ways too. As you know, there is a prevalence of belief in alternative forms of medicine ranging from the moderately reputable such as homeopathy to the downright superstitious, including quackery on the way. All too often, the jail doctor's instructions for treatment are not followed because they are contradicted by quacks or by superstition. I have also noticed a serious problem with some parts of the jail society in that they seem unable to accept that they are actually ill at all. So that frequently people with crabs or venereal disease do not report sick at all. Much of the fault for this can be laid at the door of the mates.

(Example. At presidency, a 'volunteer' was always allocated to carry out tasks for those charged in the American Centre attack. As part of his duties, this man handled food. I happened to notice one day that whenever this man was not actively engaged in some job or other, he spent the entire time clawing savagely at his genitals. So I took him to one side and instructed him to drop his trousers, and I saw immediately that he was seriously diseased. And whilst I am not a doctor, it was fairly obvious that he had been in this state for a long time without any medical treatment. I took the matter up with the mate, and eventually I had the man sent to the doctor and allocated to different work. But it was obvious that the mate simply did not understand why he should be bothered with another mans genital problems, nor did he why this man should not have been handling food.)

The sort of troubles outlined above show how easily custody deaths can take place through negligence and ignorance on the part of staff and other prisoners, and this is completely out of the control of the jail medical staff. The jail doctors cannot help anybody unless illness is brought to their attention.

But this can be a difficult problem. The poorest of society, who form the majority in jail, lead an appalling life where adequate medical treatment is out of the question. Though no fault of their own, they have become accustomed to the symptoms of a wide variety of diseases, but notably TB, and outside jail they are well aware that they have no choice but to live with them. But these diseases can become even more dangerous in the close confines of a jail — unfortunately it is extremely hard for these people to accustom themselves (at least in the beginning) to the fact that they can see the doctor for free and receive proper treatment for free.

The mindset of the staff is also a problem in other ways. You are well aware that corruption is rampant, and violence is often a part of this corruption. I have not seen this in Alipore Central, but in Presidency it is a daily fact of life. Whenever a new prisoner is admitted, he is 'auctioned off' to the mates of the various wards. The mates bid their offers according to the cash value that they estimate the man may have. He is then taken to the ward and given the foulest possible conditions in which to try to exist. Then he is told that if he pays a certain sum of money, he can have good food and a clean place to sleep and so on. He is made to write a letter to his family, and a jail guard is despatched to the house to collect the cash. If he refuses, then he is beaten and sometimes very severely indeed, until he gives in.

A couple of years ago (late 2002 I think), a group of prisoners went too far and killed a man in a very gruesome way. According to the jail authorities, he was 'taken ill' very suddenly and rushed to outside hospital where he was declared brought dead. Now this was simply not true. I personally saw the man lying on a stretcher by the jail gate on the morning. The weather was hot and yet he was cool and rigor was setting in. He had been dead for hours. The point here is that a lot of people must have connived at this, simply to avoid making public the fact that he was killed in his cell. This means that somebody on the medical staff willingly gave a false report, and by doing so compromised the system. Because that person would never again be in a position to refuse to give a false report, no matter what the circumstances.

The 'mindset' which prevails seems to dictate that any problem must be covered up at all costs, without thought to the fact that ultimately the falsehood will be detached which would result in far worse trouble.

This brings me to what I feel to be the the most important point.

Jail doctors simply do not have sufficient authority. The decision of the jail doctor in medical matters concerning prisoners *must be final* and nobody, neither the Superintendent, the DIG or the IG should have the power to overrule the doctor. The Supreme Court, in interpreting the Constitution, upholds this point of view. It clearly states (and I can find the reference for you) that medical assistance takes priority over the administration of justice.

Every prisoner, from the petty thief to the mass murderer, is entitled to proper medical treatment in jail — that is the law. And no discipline officer is qualified to pass an opinion on whether a prisoner is or not sick, and if he is sick, what his treatment should be. From my own experience, if the jail doctor wrote that a prisoner should go to hospital for treatment, then no matter who that prisoner was, no matter how dangerous he may be perceived to be, he had to go to hospital immediately. And it happened to me on many occasions, but from my point of view (my mindset if you like, and that of my colleagues), the very last thing I wanted on my hands was a custody death. And if at custody death took place after a doctor had ordered hospital treatment and I had overruled that order, then I would be out of a job the very next morning. That is the way it should and must be. If the prisoner has succeeded in fooling the doctor and subsequently escapes, then it is just too bad, nobody is perfect, but an escape from hospital is infinitely preferable to a custody death. (And in any case, here in India it is the police who guard a prisoner in hospital and not the jail service, so it is not a jail problem if the prisoner subsequently escapes).

There is another problem with the doctors not having sufficient authority. (Again I quote examples from Presidency Jail).

Say for the sake of argument I am sick, and doctor prescribes me 500 mg. of antibiotic, three times daily, for ten days. It has to be purchased from outside, so the slip goes to the Superintendent. He decides it costs too much, so he alters the prescription to 500 mg. three times daily for five days. Then the medicine is delivered to the jail dispensary, where the compounder realises that I cannot read, and substitutes 250 mg. caps. of some other medicine. I don't know the difference because I cannot read what the doctor prescribed for me in the first place. The doctor do not know anything about this, so when I do not respond to treatment, he is baffled. And so it goes on. The doctor waste his time. I stay sick, and the compounder accumulates a nice surplus of medicines which can either be sold outside or sold to well-off prisoners in the jail.

Education

Much of the problem is ignorance amongst the inmates and the junior staff. There is no real understanding of good health practice. In *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru remarked that the ordinary Indian was a frustrating person. He would carefully bathe several times a day in the name of hygiene, yet he was unconcerned with the fact that the water he was using was absolutely filthy. Sadly, little appears to have changed. As with the genital problem mentioned earlier, there is little appreciation amongst the majority of the gravity of some illnesses. For example, my own case. Having had TB, I became alarmed when I suffered flu-like symptoms that did not go away and when I developed a heavy wet cough. My instant thought was that the TB might have come back, and since TB is infectious, I was most concerned to check it out as fast as possible. I do not want to be in the position of passing my diseases on to others. (My father was found to be in the typhoid carrier, which was most embarrassing). To me, it seems to be the most normal thing to report sick when something unusual happens with my body. But with most of the people around me that is simply not the case. I have often witnessed people with the most terrible cough, often with blood in the sputum, and they do not see the need to go sick.

Basic education within the jail could go a long way towards correcting this problem. People need to know that if they are ill, they may well be endangering others if they do not go for treatment.

Example. (From my own experience) I became ill in August 2000 with lung disease. I knew it was lung disease because I had previously, some twenty years ago, suffered from pneumonia, and it felt the same. By early 2002 I was very ill indeed, yet no sputum test was done (and no x-ray) until the High Commission brought an outside doctor to the jail. Then TB was confirmed, and obviously I was highly infectious. At the time, I was appearing in the High Court in connection with my case. Yet despite the fact that I was confirmed as having TB and despite the fact it was perfectly well known that I was very infectious, the jail administration insisted, against the doctor's advice, on sending me to court. I was told that I could only be excused court on the ground of illness if I moved a petition before the court myself. Now this is simply not true — the jail code and the Act specifically provide that if a prisoner is sick the Superintendent should notify the court and not produce the prisoner.

The point here is not that this was a harassment for me. But I am sure that you know that whenever there is an interesting case, the High Court is an exceptionally crowded place. I represent myself, and so I sit with the lawyers before the Judges. This means that we are crammed together in very close proximity, and when we need to speak to each other, we invariably lean very close to whisper. Ld. Counsel for both the CBI and the Union of India are eminent and *elderly* gentlemen — people at high risk. Producing me in court, against the advice of the jail doctor, only served to endanger every other person in that courtroom, as well as my police escort and so on. It is this mindset which *must* change if you are to have any success at all.

It is vital to remember that for various reasons, under the present circumstances, the bulk of the custody deaths have nothing whatsoever to do with the jail medical staff. At best, the jail doctors get to see the body after death has taken place.

We can therefore divide custody deaths into three broad categories.

1. Those deaths which occur and are complete before the jail medical staff even become aware of the problem.
2. An interim category, where a sick or abused prisoner does come for medical treatment, but for various reasons the medical staff are unable to properly care for the prisoner. Those reasons may range from the fact that the prisoner has been brought to the doctor far too late for the doctor to be able to do anything constructive, to a deliberate conspiracy on the part of other prisoners/staff to withhold the facts from the doctor.
3. Those who die whilst under medical care. This latter category is a fact of life. As the Report correctly note, we must all die of natural causes at some time or other. When there is a large captive population such as in a jail, the law of averages dictates that some must die in custody and this cannot be helped. Doctors are not magicians and they cannot always defeat the whims of nature.

But generally speaking, the key to reducing custody deaths is to create a situation where categories 1 & 2 are reduced as much as possible and category 3 is increased. The key to doing this is to increase the authority of the jail doctors and to give them a degree of independence of action. If a doctor feels it is absolutely necessary to overrule security considerations in the interests of saving life, then he/she must have the authority to do so.

Much is made of 'cultural differences' around the world, and not enough of similarities, in reality, the problems of keeping a large number of people confined closely together in a limited space remain the same the world over. A jail, by virtue of its very nature, is an epidemic waiting to happen. Indeed, when I was in jail service (in Africa), epidemic was our constant and greatest fear. This in turn led to an obsession with cleanliness and an instinctive desire to always give priority to the doctor's advice over concerns of security. **P A S**

Psychiatrist Dhirendranath

(continued article — 2nd part)

Basudev Mukherjee

[We consider Dhirendranath as one of the leading pioneers of psychiatry in India. In the previous issue of this magazine we had included the intellectual formation of Dhirendranath. He had many introductions but over all other introductions, being a psychiatrist can claim to one of the fundamental ones. We will examine the matter further in this issue. Ed. PAS.]

A Physician to Psychiatric Patients

One is amazed to think about it. A person of this type and stature lived in Calcutta for nearly 50 years practicing psychiatry and treating patients; but not a single young doctor came forward to learn his work. I am amazed because at that time there was no shortage of Marxist physicians in Calcutta. This apart there were also a number of people who were impressed with his qualities. He was also quite successful as a psychiatrist. His critics may call him a 'quack' but he was the leading psychiatrist in the Calcutta guidebook. But he did not have any postgraduate qualifications of having taught in colleges and universities, he did not have a large group of students, he had no publicity. He only had the confidence and affection of innumerable common people who considered him as 'our physician'. Even then he did not get

any students.

A major reason for this is that to know and learn the kind of psychiatry he practiced would require a thorough knowledge of social-sciences. And the system of psychiatric treatment methods developed by him was not very worth the trouble. This is because in the time he took to examine just one patient any other specialist on the subject would have completed examination of at least 5 to 7 patients. So why would anybody agree to take on this fruitless drudgery! In spite of this he, alone and without any assistance, quietly went on with his own work. What is even more heartbreaking is that other physicians who could not come anywhere near him in comparison would make unnecessary and sarcastic comments about him. At times it was difficult to endure this. He quietly accepted this insult and disrespect. But of course at times I have heard him say, that occasional appreciations are certainly necessary to be able to go on working continuously.

Whenever he examined psychiatric patient it appeared as if he could see them in a variety of aspects. For example the society in which the person has grown up seemed to be clear to Dhirendranath in the light of Marxist social science. Pavlovian psychology would, help him to see which unconditional and conditional reflexes interactions were playing the tune of restlessness in his mind. Similarly, from the research work, on emotional intelligence by Asretyan, a student of Pavlov and also a friend of Dhirendranath he could feel to what extent the patient had been affected during his growing up period by his family. And lastly, he could understand the type of treatment or rehabilitation etc. is essential for a particular psychiatric patient. Surprisingly practically in all cases I have noticed that as soon as he started talking with the patient or his family members he would ask like the oft-repeated musical chord — how is his work (functioning capacity and capability), what difficulties does he face in his work, why is he not able to do his work, and so on. Sometimes it seemed as though he sincerely wanted the patient to start his normal work, as then half of his illness will be removed. Today having entered the practical field I realise the importance of this desire. Here I should say that whenever he wrote the case-history of every patient he would carefully hear and record the minute details of his professional life. It seemed like an attentive student he would continuously learning about various problems from his patients. Other than logical arguments he would never impose his own cultural values on his patients. These we also find from an examination of his case diaries.

I have said earlier that in the later part of his professional career he was seen to depend much more on the use of medicines. To my mind, the reasons for this were 1. The patients were increasingly wanting an early relief from their illnesses. In this situation use of medicines became much more reliable for him to manage the situation. 2. The considerable increase in number of patients was putting a pressure on his advancing age and audiorecording 'suggestions' (as a substitute method) required much more effort. 3. He wanted to himself give the suggestions, and did not want to take the help of his colleagues for this. 4. He was convinced that in the case of some patients giving suggestions will not give any result, as in the case of totally disorganised patients.

Another thing I should also mention, and this on my own responsibility, is that later on I heard him say with considerable annoyance, "Probably adults cannot be changed." In his words, "Traits do not disappear but they can be refined for social navigation." Like for example he tried to give a suggestion to a boy suffering from obsessive compulsive neurosis, "You

study literature; therefore this fastidiousness will help you improve your compositions, something which is an essential quality for a creative writer." All these must have been going around in his mind. And seeing a number of failures trying to make a change he probably formed the view that it is difficult to change adults.

But it is also true that patients would come to him for treatment, to remove their suffering, and for help. As a result they certainly had a sincere wish to change themselves. Therefore the question arises whether he was gradually feeling dejected about changing a patient through psychotherapy? It is possible, and this was being seen as the cumulative effect of all despondent cases. Anyway, we will get more opportunity later to discuss this in greater detail. Now let us briefly discuss another subject.

Human Biology

Dhirendranath knew that the science of psychiatry is developing everyday and the related knowledge like particularly biomedical, behavioural, sociocultural and sociopsychological knowledge is regularly increasing and will go on increasing. Therefore whenever he got any new information on it he would eagerly try to get fuller details on it. This reminds me of one incident.

It is not difficult to realise that in the normal course every individual in the stature of Dhirendranath would certainly be excited throughout his life with the conflicting roles of nature and nurture in the growth of the human being from his childhood. Meaning thereby that we been debating since a long time the extent of the role of our heredity and upbringing in our growth and development or the formation of the normal physiological traits. Particularly, since the Marxists want to make radical social changes, the main purpose for this being they have a dream that a new generation of human beings will grow up nurtured by the new system of society.

In this matter we were regularly encouraged by the Soviet model. We could show with the help of numerous examples like Kolmogorov that only in the Soviet social system can a person from the streets become an internationally acclaimed, Nobel prize-winning scientist. Similarly Vietnam was an example that organised, conscious self-sacrifice can defeat even the extremely powerful America. There was no hesitancy or doubt in the mind of Dhirendranath that rearing up can change the inborn trait or within trait variation of any child. For this reason, therefore, 'social Darwinism' (Herbert Spencer, 1895) sounded like an extremely bad kind of abuse.

Although Darwin was very careful about this and had painfully protested the unlimited and wanton use of the principles of his 'natural selection'. Later he even wrote considerably about this. He also wrote during his famous sea-voyage, "If the misery of our poor be caused not by the laws of nature, but by our institutions, great is our sin." However ignorant people like us practically held the view that the subject of biology will be limited to the research of the human being or in its growth in numbers. In the case of human being there is no evident influence of biology. It is possible that the much restrained and much criticised Russian biologist Lysenko had a win forming our view.

A book named *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* by E.O. Wilson was published in 1975. In it Wilson has made a comparative discussion between what we understand by socio-biology and evolutionary biology. Probably he was the first person to give some data on the Darwin's

theory of evolution and its possible relationship with psychology. Dhirendranath saw this book around 1980. We can see that he was very excited after reading the book because since then he started thinking afresh about finding a genetical reason (mostly Mendelian) behind psychiatry related problems. Previous to this while recording the case history of these patients he would ask a number of questions to find out whether there is a family history of psychiatry related problems, and if there was he would suitably prepare the family members. One could see he was regularly thinking about the subject; but there is nothing in his writings. Yet after reading Wilson's book he considerably changed his approach.

Centred around this book discussions again started afresh on what could be the role of biology on the behaviour and nature of a human being. We again started having tumultuous arguments on the subjects like biological potentiality, biological determinism, flexibility or ontogeny of human brain, neoteny, consilience and others. Just like Wilson had raised a question how much is non-genetic or human cultural adaptation (adjustment?). Dhirendranath wrote a book on this, in which he had given the examples from the research work of anthropologists and demonstrated that there are many virgin societies (Papua New Guinea) who are not even aware what is aggression! Wilson was trying to show through sociobiology the origin and maintenance of specific, adaptive behaviour by natural selection. Dhirendranath was opposed to this term 'sociobiology' and suggested that something like 'human biology' be used in its place. In any case whatever may be role of biology in the case of a normal mind, Dhirendranath could not deny that biology has a specific role in the case of the abnormal mind. It may be due to many reasons, may be it is difficult to understand or is complicated; but this role cannot be denied in any way.

We have to remember here that by adaptation Dhirendranath was referring to the term Pavlovian adaptation. We may call it ontological conditional adjustment based on external environmental stimulus rather than phylogenetic or innate adaptation. Like we see in that experiments of Pavlov, where we find that after putting sand-pebbles into the mouth of a dog we see that saliva is not coming out from the salivary glands. But later if we crush the stones and put sand into its mouth we find that a considerable quantity of saliva is coming out to wash out the sand. In fact the dog starts salivating even on seeing sand from a distance. Similarly after taking meat a mucin like slippery saliva starts coming out of the dog's mouth. After this we find that even on smelling meat, the dog starts salivating a mucin like instead of a watery fluid. This means that conditioned by the memory of the texture of meat the saliva undergoes an adaptive variation.

It is easy to estimate the extent of stress that can be caused by an external incident; but how do we judge the chronic stress of a person? Dhirendranath is a student of Pavlov and therefore knows in this case other than the chronic method it is not possible to make a total stress assessment of the patient. Here Dhirendranath was not able to find a solution to a number of problems even using the Pavlovian brain type. This apart on this subject he was constantly agitated by the conflict of deterministic model and indeterminism. For example if there is a case of psychiatric problem in the family then there is greater tendency of the children being affected by a similar problem — inheritance trait from parent to offspring, and then it can be said from common knowledge that there is a lesser possibility of being totally cured. But Dhirendranath knows that psychiatric problems cannot be explained merely by the influence of heredity. With this there is developmental insult and also many others like phenotypic

variation (variation of a trait in the population group) or fitness variation (relationship between the trait and adaptation), etc..

Even while judging variant phenotype and genotype it has been proved that there are many people who have been healthy during their lifetime; but after their death an autopsy has shown a number of morphological defects of the brain. As a result a question will naturally arise that there is no certainty that psychiatric problems will arise with morphological defects. Or even if there are morphological deficiencies to cause psychiatric problems, we have the capability of preventing such problems. Similarly it is also seen that people without any morphological deficiencies suffer from psychiatric problems. As a result it has to be accepted that morphological deficiencies are not enough to create psychiatric problems or defects in genetic traits are not enough.

There is another problem in which in the normal course many people have within trait variation, but in our society they are seen as psychiatric cases. Of course there is no way we can deny that after a number of environmental actions and reactions, after a number of ups and downs some genes flow through heredity (though mostly recessive) and they are largely responsible for causing psychiatric problems or giving them a fearful shape. Therefore after taking all these into consideration we can say that there is an accommodation between normal phenotype and the variant phenotype. Dhirendranath had come to this form of a conclusion towards the end of his professional life.

In this, as I have already said earlier, finding a solution for those proximate reasons and finding all the ultimate reasons and then try to resolve them became a part of his practical work. In this there were a number of instances where in trying to meet the short term goal they reached the ultimate goal. Again it is also a fact that in many instances practically nothing could be done about ultimate reasons. There Dhirendranath had to consider which optimum state will be suitable for the patient. As mentioned earlier in this he gave maximum importance to the patient's capability to work. If the patient faces any difficulty in his work then he will involve himself in the difficulty or advise him to take some help. At times he would say, "What exactly is his help-seeking nature?" Then he would leave aside other illnesses and only concentrate on this.

In some cases Dhirendranath would explain to us how in order to tide over the situation the patient has developed some signs and symptoms (adaptation strategy). That is the illness may become more complicated if we try to reduce the symptoms through treatment. His advice was not to interfere in such cases. It can more or less be said that till the last day of his working life he had taken a simple decision regarding developing psychiatric problems — a person has had a genetic accident (mutation) and as a result some physiological state of his body and mind have been dysregulated, in this he has undergone substantial negative conditioning from the environment or he has not been able to override or adapt this negative-conditioning due to his brain type (Pavlovian type), and lastly it will be seen that since he was confused, a complicated situation has formed in the environment surrounding him to which he cannot adapt in any way or which he cannot control.

It will be seen that for the purpose of deciding on the method of treatment he would use three distinct categories to analyse his patients, which is adopted by all psychiatrists in their professional work. One is neurosis and psychosomatic type illness and personality disorder etc.. Here the main symptom was an chronic or acute anxiety state and it manifested

in different forms and combinations of physical illness, mental illness, etc.. On the opposite side were the major type of psychiatric cases where the confused state (and or lost of insight) of individual became a prime factor. In these cases the symptoms of the illness showed up in frightening forms. Sometime it became practically impossible to treat these acute cases as out patient.

Then there were the intermediary type of cases where the patient at times became very ill, and again at times he was well. When he was very ill it would be difficult to control him, otherwise he would be well and also able to work. Normally most of his patients were mainly from the first group or neurotic and less acute cases. He would examine all his patients with a lot of care. There was also a reason for this. It was possible to get a higher rate of success from treating such patients. Besides most of them were associated with the larger productive process of society, and Dhirendranath took these illnesses as a challenge and fully cure such patients to enable them to return to their working life — this he found more satisfying.

Here we must remember that although dealing with psychiatric cases he enjoyed the variation in human nature. Even in the midst of this he would analyse the Pavlovian brain types; but he was overwhelmed by the varieties of human nature. At times he would notice in amazement, patients are probably developing strange varieties of coping strategies to save themselves. From his patients, he has written various papers on this and whenever necessary he has used it on other patients. He acknowledged this, because we ourselves were confused that for a person who has no apparent connection with domestic life, how does he know the fine details about the necessities and intricacies of domestic life. Later I realised this was the contribution of his patients.

Here we must mention when Dhirendranath started his professional career there were three distinct divisions of psychiatry — hysteria, neurasthenia and psychesthenia. Hence Dhirendranath succeeded in making the above classifications towards the middle of the seventies.

While dealing with the patients there were occasions when he would desperately try to find the social determinants responsible for the illness. In many cases he was disappointed at not being able to find anything. And at times he would deeply worry what the social consequences will be of their illnesses. In his own way he would think of various solutions and most of this work was similar to the improvisations in the Classical Indian Music. One could see that in these cases he gave considerable importance to proximate solutions. On many occasions he would get mixed up while documenting the cases. If asked he would dejectedly say, "What can I document? He probably gave me a reason after five sittings. It is much easier for those who work with definite biological markers. Along with this there is the 'illness model' derived from different cultures — where the illness is explained in their own way. Is it possible to make a generalisation of this!"

And probably immediately after this we would start a philosophical debate about disease and illness. He was very uncomfortable about judging mental illnesses using western categories (etic); and on this our consistent complaint was that he did not prepare an indigenous category (emic). Anyway a major part of our discussions with him on this was on understanding the illness nature of the patient, particularly taking into account what the patient is trying to explain about his problems. It will be appropriate therefore to discuss something on this now.

Idioms of Distress

In medical science, use of the term 'stress' is well established. It is also well-known that stress is the cause of many illnesses of the body and the mind. This is despite the fact that we best understand through stress the relationship between the body and mind. But there are both advantages and disadvantages in saying the term 'stress'. Like it can be connected with everything; but nothing can be exactly determined through it. It will be seen that in many instances a person experiencing stress goes through some specific physiological reactions. The major ones amongst these are the cardiovascular system, the digestive system and irregular functioning of the hormones and body immunology system. The subject of stress needs particular mention on the tests carried out experimental animals in the laboratories of Pavlov. It is also seen that all animals are not equally affected by stress or are distressed by stress. In particular, in the case of vulnerable people even a slight emotional stress can be life threatening.

According to Dhirendranath just like virulent infection there are virulent stressors, which are essentially caused by fear and insecurity. This stress can be something specific or may be imaginary. In other words, frequently it happens that the patient is afflicted imagining some stress. There is no animal model for this. As a result humans have to look within themselves for the pain of any stress. Dhirendranath thought more about chronic stress since it has no benchmarks and shows more long-lasting repercussions. This chronic stress goes on working in the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis. We will examine this further when discussing psychotherapy.

Each branch of medicine has its own methods and peculiarities about expressing the symptoms of the disease. This is also true for psychiatry. The ups and downs in the abnormal mental state can show up intensely, can be present for a shorter or longer period of time and can show up in a particular circumstance. And in the case of that disease, we usually see it creating a particular line of thinking, a particular emotion, a behaviour etc.. It is with these problems that a patient comes to the psychiatrist. The mind and the body sometime do not work in balance and hence physical problems can put pressure on the mind or mental problems can show up through physical illnesses.

As a result it is as if the world of the mind grows so big with a definite direction and motivation, assimilating the associative pattern of the complex external stimulus that it leaves everything else behind. Again the symptoms of the same illness varies between individuals since they have different strength and coping capacity as they grown up in different culture. Therefore in the clinical picture we see a mixture of biology, sociology and psychology. There we normally see the indications and symptoms of what goes on in the mind.

It is not possible to become an expert in this easily. Apart from this it is inherently less reliable or at least less objective. Research for the last 25 years are on reliability of the observed data (and its interpretation) at the cost of narrowing of the field of clinical vision. But we cannot surely disregard the feelings and troubles faced by the individual (deconstruction?). As a result the postmodernists have waded in [vide Foucault (1926-1984), 'French Freud' Lacan (1901-1981), Derrida (1920-2004)].

The mentally ill persons come to a physician in order to lessen their pain. The physicians essentially listen to them, broadly diagnose the problem and arrange for a line of treatment. Compared to other medical specialities psychiatry has a particular problem about this. Here the physician has to determine the details and nature of the illness essentially

based on what the patient tells him. Comparatively the other branches of medicine have some particular biological markers or parameters (such as blood pressure, jaundice, oedema, anaemia, convulsion etc. or various laboratory parameters) help him to be certain about the illness; but here that opportunity is not there. Here, if the patient says, "Doctor, I am very ill", then the physician has to accept that the patient has some distress somewhere.

The patient tells him about the problem in this way; but that also is only how he expresses it because he has his own way of describing or explaining the troubles of his mind. We learn the pattern mainly from the family and in some way from society how to express any particular problem with the mind. It is possible that poets and writers are able to express this better; but even then it does not solve the problem. Because when the poet says, "We become restless when we call mother" ['÷± õ¿ùËîÂ Ã>¶±í ßÄËöp Ô±òää±ò'] it is not very clear what he wishes to express through his word 'restless'.

Therefore the physician has a much bigger problem than us trying to express the problems of our mind. Because he has to understand the state of the mind and then determine the paradigm or pattern of the illness. In most cases the practicing psychiatrists fail to do this accurately, and therefore develop their own working methods to be able to carry on their work. Needless to say, Dhirendranath also had his own method for dealing with his patients. But it must he mentioned there was a significant difference between this method and what is taught in the text books. This creates a lot of difficulty amongst his students. Because what we learn during the official psychiatry lessons undergoes a major changes when we come to him.

We have so far seen that the idioms of psychiatric distress are changing over the years. We no longer hear what was frequently talked about earlier. Instead we hear new idioms now. And again some old idioms are now present with new names. Now some educated and half educated people of all classes have become familiar with commonly used terms and begin their conversations with the names of various illnesses. Therefore it will not be difficult to realise when most people are unable to suitably express their inner feelings then he will express his inner feelings in a language which comes to him easily. He does not at that time consider to what extent, if at all, it will be acceptable to the physician. His principal objective is to somehow inspires the doctor. Here the doctor has the responsibility to understand the situation and to be always prepared for it. The physician who understands this the best is considered the most successful psychiatrist. This can be understand from the patients themselves when they say, "The doctor has correctly understood what I wanted to say."

In psychiatry it is essential to determine the illness. This is particularly since later it will be required to assess the effects or success in the line of treatment. In other words for the appropriate rehabilitation of the patient. In this the individual skill, ability and experience of the psychiatrist is considered to be quite critical. So much importance on the individual skill of the medical practitioner is not given in another field of medicine. This is because here the methods of determining the illness is generally quite weak. Here it is assumed that there will be differences in the diagnosis and the skill of the psychiatrist will be a major factor in being able to successfully get to the cause of the problem.

Here an idea about the illness and a decision taken on it after hearing about the details from the patient and from his family members. This is because here we have no definite biological markers or adequate hard fact to truly determine the problem. In spite of this in the medical model of psychiatry the diagnosis is considered to be the basis for any treatment and

the students are taught to examine the patient in two stages. The first is to fix the history of the illness, and this includes the physical illness and the mental illness and family history and then the mental condition has to be examined.

This kind of a psychoanalytical model is called adaptational model which examines what changes have taken place in the psychological fashion. Here importance is placed on the personal and novel specialities of the individual. Again, and strangely it is seen that in the case of a psychiatric patient the signs and symptoms of the illness gradually undergo substantial changes. We have borrowed this sign-symptom paradigm from the medical model, where the symptom is the problems faced by the patient and the sign is to find out what indications are there on his body.

Later the sign has to be correlated with the symptom. In the case of a psychiatric case this demarcation boundary between the sign and the symptom often becomes in distinct and even the psychiatrist is confused. This is particularly so where in the beginning the symptoms of the problem are of one kind and then they undergo substantial changes with the passage of time. It is to be mentioned that the negative and positive points have to be noted.

Our society is comparatively more community-centric or socio-centric. For this reason while taking the case history laid more emphasis on the patient's family, caste, social standing and social inter-relationship, religious influence and so on. He thus tried to understand how this world manifests itself to the patient. He particularly tried to understand how the total perception of the patient, his aesthetic feelings were able to explain the surrounding world through logical arguments. Apart from this there are other factors like which kind of problems of this world trouble him the most, in which social condition does he feel more comfortable, what does he actually understand by illness, and so on. Dhirendranath had a tremendous and strong ability to understand these factors. Even now we hear his patients saying, "Let alone a doctor, he was like god." But how did he acquire this quality? Or what scientific method did he have to understand his patients?

This subject can be divided into a new separate sections. Like for example he would always see his patient in his paradigm of sociocultural context. He knew that the illness of the patient has developed in such a socio-cultural environment. Each individual or his family members in their own way are explanatory models of such illness. They explain their illness in this way, and therefore the real illness has to be identified from this explanation. In this he got a lot of help by interpreting the forces of production and relations of production. For example the nature of the illness in a patient from a farming family will differ from an urban slum-dweller and in the case of worker in the unorganised sector it will differ from that of the only son of a middle class educated family in the city.

In this way he would first consider whether the explanation of the illness given by the patient or his family members is culturally appropriate. He would then see the kind of contradictions going on in the society, family and the mind of the patient. He would then see exactly how the patient is explaining his illness — through direct idioms (psychological) or through indirect medium (somatic — somatisation to avoid stigma). If the patient can give his explanation through a beautiful abstraction then it will totally changes the line of treatment (it should be mentioned that Dhirendranath preferred to treat such patients). Dhirendranath also knew that since our society is still largely socio-centric the patients here, unlike in other countries, will not be allowed to drift away. Our society is still sympathetic towards psychiatric patients,

and therefore the mentally disordered people here are much more safe and secure. And therefore there is a much better chance for the patient to get into the mainstream of society for rehabilitation after treatment.

A patient understands his problems and difficulties in his own way and accordingly tries to explain them to himself and to others. It can be said that he tries to integrate this experience into his daily and routine life. However the manner in which the patient will deal with his illness largely depend on his financial or economic-social and cultural situation. We also at times see that the patient knows the names of many illnesses and medicines and when discussing with his doctor uses these names while explaining about his illness or hiding any part of it. At times the patient will come and directly say he does not want any help but merely wants to know some details.

But again most patients give themselves up to the physician. Naturally the physician will have to understand the real problem from the details of his illness given to him by the patient. But it is not difficult to realise that is not an easy task, since our patients are largely uneducated and very often are not able to properly explain their problem. It is possible to get out of them the real reasons after a lot of effort. But even then this may not be possible to start with. And this is mixed with various religious superstitions and backward ideas.

Dhirendranath however had a few question for such situations — what is the main problem of the patient? Which particular problem is the patient repeatedly mentioning to try and impress him? How exactly is this problem affecting the problem? How much can be depended on the subsequent developments of this problem as feared by the patient? What can be the longstanding effect of this problem? What is the kind of treatment that will be suitable for such an individual? What can be the side effects of the treatment? — Dhirendranath would think on these lines by placing himself in the position of the patient.

Of course it is not that he always thought correctly. But he could always correct himself very quickly. It should be mentioned that he would find a co-relation between the information he could gather from the patient from his own knowledge and experience. As a result he could slowly visualise the overall problem of the patient.

In our country all patients are irregular in continuing their treatment, and psychiatric patients are no exceptions to this. The patients of Dhirendranath were also irregular in their treatment. So he tried to understand the reason for this. Finally he came to the conclusion that it depends on the consciousness of the patient and his family members. Meaning thereby if the family members feel that it is necessary to properly carry out the treatment for the psychiatric condition, as otherwise the work ability of the patient will reduce or be affected in future then it will be possible for proper treatment of the illness.

It can be said without doubt that it has taken a long time for people in our society to develop this consciousness and awareness and even today it is not properly established. Dhirendranath used to think this was due to poverty? Since it requires at least one or more persons to take the patient to the physician and then it takes a few hours. Sometimes nearly a full day to visit the physician and then return with proper prescriptions and papers — not many of the family members can spare this time. Then if there is a perceived benefit from the medicines and the acuteness of the condition reduces then the patient is compelled to be irregular in the treatment.

These medicines have at the least some side effects, continuing medicines for an

extended period becomes expensive for the family and difficult to cover and with any temporary improvement they feel the condition has got better. Therefore when Dhirendranath would discuss with the patient he would advise him and impress upon him not to be irregular in the treatment. He would tell them not to worry if they are short of funds and not to be irregular in the treatment. He would on many cases arrange for the medicines if patients could not pay for them. These are instances from which we understand he would try very hard to ensure continuity of treatment.

He had the following reasons for the irregularity in continuing treatment — 1. If the method of treatment is very complicated the patient or his family members will not understand it and therefore cannot follow and continue with it. In fact he was very careful about prescribing too many medicines at the same time which would be mixed up when taking them. 2. From the beginning of the treatment the patient had various forms of uncomfortableness and continuously developed side effects. 3. The treatment is having a very slow effect and the troubles are not going away quickly. 4. The relationship between the doctor and the patient has not developed well and the patient does not have much confidence on the doctor. 5. With the education and culture of the patient being of a low level it is being difficult to make him and the family members understand the need for maintaining the continuity in treatment. 6. The patient has financial problems. 7. The patient has 'paranoid' feelings and as a result he does not feel he has any problem, and as a result he resists being forced to be treated. 8. The illness is the obsessive compulsive neurosis or 'mania' of the patient and he thinks he has a lot of illness. As a result he keeps on changing his physicians. 9. The physician has made some mistakes in his treatment and the patient or his family members are unhappy about this.

From the beginning of his professional career he did not support carrying on within the confines of a psychiatric institution. Their condition then was not very good and keeping a patient there often could do more harm than good and was always careful about explaining this to the family members. But there were some patients who could not be treated at home and had to be kept somewhere. Dhirendranath felt quite inconvenienced when treating such severe cases. Since he was not associated with any hospital and did not attend outreach patients and faced a lot of problems and inconveniences with such cases.

We know there are many cases of organic mental illness or chronic mental illness in an institution or a hospital, and comparatively we find more neurotic cases in a practice. It is not difficult to realise therefore that Dhirendranath did not have enough training in biological psychiatry. Psychiatrists were also struggling with patients who were neurotic. This is particularly relevant at that time when not many medicines were available and the psychiatrists did not have the knack of interchanging between 3 or 4 different medicines. As a result in the days of Dhirendranath if a psychiatrist was sincere he would have to seriously consider what to do with these neurotic patients.

Enquires will show that through the nineteenth century, hypnotic suggestion therapy was quite popular in all the developed countries. If any psychiatrist was asked at that time why he followed a particular treatment, he would certainly say that he did not know the actual reasons but he found it helped the patients. If we analyse the history of the medical profession we will find that when other knowledges cannot give the necessary knowledge for working solutions. But physicians see people suffering, the physician has to take some steps for them and in philosophy we call it the Kantian *Pragmatic Reasons*.

Dhirendranath would give all his time and effort in treating patients with neurotic tendencies. At the latter part of his professional days he would prepare suggestion audio-cassettes for them. It had not occurred on him at first about making these cassettes. When English professor Sunilkumar Chattopadhyay saw him regularly giving live suggestions he suggested (around 1978) about recording a suggestion in cassette. The suggestion was immediately implemented; but later he found this also required a lot of effort. It is also to be mentioned that when affected with tuberculosis in his younger days a large part of the left lungs had become ineffective. But in the glory of his success he would consciously carry on with this suggestion therapy method.

But all illnesses were like a challenge to him. Quite often he would go into the details of the condition of the patient, about his family members, his professional status, his hobbies or his preferences for work and these would be embedded in his mind. He probably did this keeping in mind about giving him the suggestions later. He could thus see a complete person. He had a very strong sense of memory for this. It must be said that he always gave a patient all the time required. Sometimes with many patients waiting outside, he was having to give a lot of time for particular complex case, we were also getting impatient, then to ease the situation he would say, "Hey, we deal with human beings, can we be so particular about time?"

I cannot help mentioning here another incident, which illustrates the greatness of this person. The husband of a 35 year old lady lost his life in an accident and she got his job. Being married early she had two children of 10-12 years. The lady had developed a romantic relationship (a confidante) with somebody and she was somewhat tense about this. But she could not talk about this with the fatherlike doctor (Dhirendranath was then 75 years). Dhirendranath understood everything, and very calmly told her to be careful so that the children do not know about it. P A S (To be continued)

Pavlov Is Rejected, The Dangerous Dependance On Medicines In Psychiatry

Goutam Badopadhyay

"In recent decades the revolutionary success of biological and pharmacological treatment modalities has reduced the emphasis on emotional appeals to the patient's inner resources in clinical practice." [*Synopsis of Psychiatry - VIII*, Kaplan and Saddock, page 120].

On a number of occasions, in newspapers, on television and on radio, I have seen some psychiatrists express a view that the cause of mental illness is where there is a chemical imbalance in the brain, at times in excess, at times insufficient for which they should easily accept taking some medicines regularly throughout their life, and there should not be any prejudice about this. I have heard many say that, like blood pressure and sugar, one should not stop taking medicines for this, because this abnormality of the nervous system is inborn and genetic or hereditary.

Molecular biology has with advanced modern technologies made new discoveries

regarding the deep insides of the brain, and news about new medicines from the depths of molecular cells, correspondingly one has seen an excitement amongst a specific section of psychiatrists, and as a result mental illness has moved permanently from the area of psychologists to that of the psychiatrists, — thus they have found a strong justification for medicines as the 'only treatment'.

And behind the complicated and subtle cloudy tunnel of psychology they will not consider psychiatry as a most difficult subject. They have freed it from the complicated conflict between philosophy and psychology, and brought it to the level of shrewd application of a few selected medicines like other speciality of Medical curriculum. Their belief that practice of psychiatry has come within their grasp. They no longer need to share the credit for this with the psychologists.

Hence they pointedly say — the size of the caudate nucleus is enlarged in the case of obsessive compulsive disorder, the influence of serotonin is not abnormal, it is there from birth! Those who suffer from depression have excessive circulation and distribution of serotonin and nor-adrenaline from raphi nucleus — these are actually physical defects, and treatment with anything other than medicines is sheer foolishness. There are even some psychiatrists who express doubts on the effectiveness of psychotherapy.

If that be the case, then how can a lady suffering from obsessive compulsive disorder, who cannot move one step outside her house without the help of clomipramine medicine happily wander around the beaches of Digha without any medicines? Why are there two different behaviours in two different locations within the same brain with insufficient flow of serotonin? Why are there greater psychiatric problems in divorce, unemployment, retirement, partition of a nation, racist torture etc.?

They say in the case of schizophrenic patients, right from birth there is excessive flow of dopamine in the pathway of mesolimbic — mesocortical axis from substantia niagra, then why has the World Health Organisation Pilot Study on schizophrenia accepted that India with its strong social and community tie has left behind the Western developed nations in the area of schizophrenia treatment? Why is it that inspite of treatment with the same medicines the flow of dopamine in India behaves differently from that found in the Western countries?

Modern molecular biology is reaching every corner of the molecular levels of the brain. The changes in the different stages of the molecular cells is making itself in a variety of ways. Scattered or disjointed particle events are caught as pictures through developments in technology. The images of our joys and sorrows, anxieties and disappointments are being caught on the screens of functional MRI, positron emission tomography, photon emission tomography, magnetic resonance spectroscopy etc..

New medicines are also being rapidly developed using these images; as a result of these the psychiatrists of today are forming an opinion that if the technical picture of the brain can be brought under the responsibility of medicines, then all the problems of joy, sadness and disappointment faced by the human being can be resolved with medicines. As a result of this dangerous tendency the immediate temporary relief from treatment with medicines is quickly making it popular in the fast paced social life because it saves both time, energy and money.

There is no doubt that the discoveries of the new medicines is giving us great relief and has brought a sea-change in the treatment of psychiatric problems. But in many cases it is merely altering the chemical state of the brain without getting to the basic cause of illness

or the abnormal behaviour of the brain. As a result there is a situation where rainwater is continuously entering the room and we are constantly draining it away without trying to stop the source of entry. As a result, there is relief from medicines but there is a dependence on them. Because of this in many homes of America the antidepressant drugs have become 'permanent guests'.

It has become difficult for us to free all the human being from his dependence on drugs. As a result of constant use for years of medicines the sum-total picture of the neurotransmitter activity (*i.e.* homeostasis) of the brain is changing substantially. No matter how deeply molecular biology penetrates the finest levels of the brain these are only individual scattered cases. The more it moves into deeper corners the further it moves into separate corners. These numerous scattered incidents are not caught in any collective manner (*consilience*). Modern technology is gradually making it difficult for psychiatric treatment to fully understand the whole brain. The new medicines have compartmentalised everything and are dealing with a *reductionist* approach to the various individual problems; but it is not available to deal in the holistic context.

This is because the psychological boundaries are not confined within the inner environment of the brain, it manifests to the interactions of the outside world, on the reactions of the outside world on the mind and on its own inquisitive condition. The world of sensitivity which extends outside has its effects through its form, taste and smell in every nook and corner of the mind. The light outside which for years has cast a constant shadow on the world of the mind and formed a picture on its remotest corners, the joys and sorrows, the anxieties and concerns, the weariness and encouragement — a correct description is not available even till today. The axial flow of dopamine or serotonin or amino acid mediator has not coordinated with the direct perception of the mind with the outside world. As a result treatment with medicines can only have temporary localised effects on the mind.

When the mind or consciousness is a condition related to the interactions of the internal environment of the brain with the outside world, a condition which reflects the outside world on the functional state of the brain, and a condition which feels and acknowledges the effect of the outside world on the brain, then it is not possible to imagine the existence of the mind keeping it independent of the outside world. The explanations of modern psychopharmacology are therefore regional, isolated and reductionist — and therefore it is unable to catch the consilience of the incomplete mind and cannot form a picture of its interaction with the environment.

It can only judge the state of the mind only within a specified region on the basis of specific neurotransmitter potentiation. It judges the mental state through the availability or non-availability of specific neurotransmitter in particular areas of the brain. It measures fatigue or exhaustion only with reference to the neurotransmitter, with the presence of adrenaline-serotonin in specified areas.

Throughout the world we see a dangerous tendency to gradually depend on a mechanical treatment of psychological disorders, giving excuse of an imbalance in the neurotransmitter as a cause for psychological problem. But it should not be difficult to understand that this imbalance in the chemistry of the brain has been associated with the sensitive field of the external world from the inception of life. And that state is constantly controlling the state of chemistry of the brain, the effects of external events is creating an impression on the brain

at every moment, and that this matter of imbalance in the chemistry is in many cases not a cause for mental disorder, but merely an effect or a medium for it.

But there is a problem in understanding this, that to get to the source of the problem one has to follow the narrowest of narrow paths of interactions in the innermost areas of the brain. But this is complicated, subtle and time consuming and one does not have the patience for it in today's fast moving life. As the quick results of this treatment with medicines becomes popular, the intrinsic causes of mental disorder, the conflicting and complicated views about psychology are being brushed under the carpet out of view. Without being able to find the basic cause for the disorder it has not been possible to free the patients from their continuous dependence on medicines for years on end.

Of course some innate peculiarities or vulnerabilities of the brain forms a foundation for mental disorder, and this partly explains its presence. The environment acts on this and creates symptoms of mental disorder. Like in the case of schizophrenia, there will be a tendency right from birth for excessive flow of dopamine in the mesolimbic — mesocortical path. To what extent this tendency gets reflected or diminished depends on the favourable or opposing state of long term interactions of the environment. Again in many instances as a result of unfavorable and or abnormal interactions with the environment spread over many years can result in a chemical explanation for psychiatric disorder, and this although acting as a cause for psychiatric disorder has its source in the environment. This happens in most of the neuroses or minor psychiatry problems.

Alongside the outside world and with the passage of time, the more we find the conflicting relationship between the past and the future and the progressive mental state, the more will it be possible to arrive at a long term line of treatment. On the one hand modern neuro-psychiatry is independent of the minute levels of the individual and therefore flawless, but the unique anatomy has immersed itself within the boundaries of its totality, has adopted physical treatment independent of his mental state. On the other side, Freudian psychology is being much more unsuccessful in the subjective and intuitive treatment of the individual. Another aspect of behavioural therapy is that the treatment is dependant on external behaviour and therefore ignores the related consciousness and areas of conflict, specifics of personality, pre-conditions of social relationship, and so on.

As a result this treatment becomes highly empirical like other medical division. It is not able to get to the root of the problem. Under the influence of the fast developing modern technology of the simple anatomy based molecular biology as applied to psychiatry the development of the Pavlovian principles which were formed based on the connections between the interior of the brain and the external social environment and the ties and interactions between the past and the future were greatly subdued. Naturally it is greatly detached from actual or exact consciousness and is more mechanically materialistic.

Let us briefly discuss how Pavlovian science gives a form to the connection between the internals of the brain and its interactive relationship with the external world.

The stimulation arising from the outside objective world (chiefly through speech i.e. *second signalling system*) and the sensory world inbuilt in the brain (chiefly through five senses i.e. *first signalling system*) is constantly creating an area of excitation. Each zone of excitation gives rise to a neighbouring inhibitory area in order to limit the excitatory stimulus; otherwise the brain would have become tired with the uncontrolled, haphazard spread of

excitation and concentration of irradiation on a specific subject, would not be possible without limiting the excitation within specific boundaries. These large number of excitatory regions in the brain adapt (adjust?) encouragement from specific matters and subjects (i.e. *dominant focus*). Intense excitatory area becomes the principal focus of attention.

The more intense the inhibitory stimulus, the more that subject goes outside the focus of attention. The mild excitatory areas stay within the secondary focus of attention. Pavlov has described our functional brain as a mosaic pattern of continuously changing and innumerable excitatory and inhibitory areas. The specific type of the human brain determined this basic nervous system of the brain — its excitatory or inhibitory process, its strength, balance and mobility (mobility is measure of change between excitation to inhibition and vice versa). Pavlov was the first psychologist to demonstrate that type of neurosis (*experimental neurosis*) of the patient depends on the type of his brain.

Strong and weak Brain

The brain can be divided into two parts, the strong and the weak depending on the relating strength of the excitation and inhibition process. In the weak brain there can be a lack of both excitatory and inhibitory process. Here there is only a small effect of the stimulatory process. The ability to withstand stress is also at a low level. They are not able to bear the effects of acute excitation or inhibition. The confusion of the workings of the higher cortex is easily seen. Neurosis is easily seen in this type of weak brain. Neurosis is seen in situations where conflicts between social practices and environment and the excitatory and inhibitory stimulus in the brain interact for long periods beyond insufferable limits. If the brain cells are affected and become tired and inhibited they show signs of dysfunction, or in their anxiety of self-defence, they spread to other areas. In an inherently inhibitory type brain this limit of suffering is crossed easily. On the other side neurosis is also possible in a strong brain if it has to bear strong thrusts of excitation and inhibition which goes beyond the limits of suffering of the strong brain.

Just like during the second World War neurosis was seen in many households in Europe as a result of having to bear the suffering of the fear of death for long periods. In America in the alienated lifestyle following automation even a strong willed person is becoming dependant on antidepressant medicines. If a person spends a long time in a state of fear and danger in an extended period of intense pain, anxiety and worry then the brain cells are severely affected by the excitation. On the other hand if one is forced to work for a long time in an unhappy environment, or to meet his responsibilities he is forced to lead a mundane, uninteresting and routine life, or regularly spend his days with his future uncertain and without any independence and against his likes and dislikes, then the brain cells become affected and there is widespread and deep inertness in the brain.

Mobility is severely affected when one has to frequently skip from one subject to another, take varying decisions at various times, the environment and character of the work changes rapidly, when one has to do something he dislikes or there is a long period of conflict within his 'self'. A brain which is not able to bear the strain of excitation is protected by its cells going into a general state of inhibition. Pavlov said these people are of a *melancholic* type. They become tired very easily, have little interest or enthusiasm in any work, are lazy, lack self-confidence and are not easily overcome by tiredness and despondency. They would

like to spend a troublefree and peaceful life, and become totally confused and helpless when faced with any danger. They are afraid of anything new or of a change and see these with suspicion.

For the case of the strong brain, Pavlov described about three types. In the case of those with a disbalance between excitation and inhibition he calls them the *choleric* (unrestrained) type. Their brain tends to get excited easily and the process of getting inhibition is weak. Although they have a strong brain they have a high risk of having psychiatric problems. They being extremely keen, excessively self-confident and through dint of hard work are always looking for new things. But as a result of their unrestrained activities their high levels of desire often exceed practical limits. Due to lack of necessary inhibition and inactivity, the unrestrained activity of the brain bring a feeling of failure and restlessness in their lives.

A person with a well balanced strong brain is able to withstand better the ups and downs of society because in a situation where level of excitation exceeds inhibition the other one can counteract it. In their case there is little possibility of psychiatric problems. On the basis of mobility there are two types of a well balanced brain. This is *Phlegmatic* brain which is less mobile. He is disciplined, persevering and enjoys mental calmness. He is not easily flustered by failures. He is able to bear any excitation of the brain in the same area for a long time and therefore is able to concentrate for extended periods. Any long term permanence of excitation does not tire them. But the cells take longer time to come to its original resting form from a state of excitation to one of inhibition.

As a result they may be competent in research or other work of concentration but are not able to be successful in work which is changing fast or to take or change any decisions quickly. They are therefore slow in their work. They have difficulty in accepting the ideas and concepts of the new world. They take time to adjust themselves to the new environment. They follow the old methods, are traditional and sometimes become orthodox. Pavlov was the pioneer in analysing the beauty and culture of a person using the physiology of higher region of the brain.

The other form of a healthy, well-balanced brain is *Sanguinous*. Although they are susceptible to excitation but because their inhibition counteracts if they have a disciplined personality free of imbalance. They have a higher level of mobility, *i.e.* they change rapidly between stages of excitation and inhibition. They react fast to slightest excitation, can work fast, take decisions and change decisions. They are easily encouraged but also become restless with monotonous work. They have the ability to quickly adapt themselves to new environments. They have quite a flexible personality. They can quickly get over old prejudices. This form of brain is usually found amongst social workers, political leaders and executives.

The Artistic and Philosophical Brain

We see these four types of brain amongst the living in the civilised world. But the human brain with its powers of speech has surged far ahead of other living forms. Man and a living being both have the capability of being able to pursue the environment directly through the five senses (*first signalling system*). But the human brain has the singular speciality or capacity of being able to follow the environment in a more abstract form through his powers of speech.

Pavlov has found three types of the brain based on reaction to signalling systems. The first is the intermediate or medium, where the sensation influenced by the five senses or the

sense influenced by speech has a well balanced mediation on the brain and creates a balanced interaction. The majority of humans has this balanced brain.

The second is the *artistic type*, where because of the mediation of the *first signalling system* (affect) the brain wants to feel in a material way the form and qualities of the world; they are motivated by the living ideals. The third is the brain of the *philosophic type*. Here because of the greater influence of the second signalling system they accept the world of perception as an abstract form of thought. Under the mediation of the second signalling system the factual situation becomes abstract and generalised and in the process excessive passion purifies, filters and changes to reason consideration and analysis.

In any situation where there is a high domination of any signalling system, the mental balance is affected and we see mental disorder going rise to neurosis. We generally see hysteria in the case of the artistic type and obsession in the case of the philosophic type of brain.

Hysteria — Neurosis

Here with the artistic type of brain and with the preponderance of the first signalling system the mind is more susceptible to feelings and reactions. Since the first signalling system encourages excitation and the second encourages inhibition — the language based areas of logic, idea and discretion become lost in the inhibitory brain. As a result two mutually dependent signalling systems become mutually independent and thus are alienated when a patient's powers of speech become severely afflicted, he loses his speech. If this spreads more widely in the brain the patient's reductive senses become dissociated consciousness. We then see him in an altered conscious state.

Even other than a hysterical personality a normal well-balanced personality can show signs of hysteria when on one side there is an earlier history of extreme restlessness and lack of feeling of security and on the other side in a social environment with a predominance of hysteria it tries to create a confusion of being afflicted by hysteria in order to curb an anxious mind. In this way mass hysteria is seen for specific social reasons in specific geographical areas.

Obsessive Neurosis

When the mind is weak or inhibitory because of the pressures all round and the conflicts of society, when the inhibition of lower cortical tone is scattered around the brain cells with the anxiety from the lack of security and the bewilderment of the dangers to one's own existence, then the slightest external stimulation creates intense excitation in the brain. The lower cortical tone of the brain cannot resist it. Then even small anxieties take on large proportions. Wrong or negative suggestion is easily accepted. In most cases with the anxiety on minor issues taking on a serious proportion other stimulations that are present in other areas lose their importance and go to the inhibitory areas and various stages.

As a result with the anxiety about relatively unimportant matters, there is temporary relief from the widespread insecurity in life. Therefore the patient gets more immersed in the anxiety from the unimportant matter. This anxiety is steadily reinforced until the region of excitement becomes congealed reaching a state of permanency and irrevocable. Just like a lady loses her independence in her family, is under the guardianship of somebody else, loses the safety of her own self-respect — a minor anxiety, one of dirtying her own hands gives her

freedom from all these adverse situations. Because she gets frequent relief by washing her hands, even if temporarily, a compulsion grows to wash her hands. It is possible for a patient to solve the anxiety of dirty hands, hence the more he lives with this anxiety, the more his excited region of the brain becomes intense, limited and irrevocable.

Opposite this intensity there spreads all around him inhibition regarding the anxiety, consideration and analysis about life. The patient with a lifelong state of anxiety does not have to worry about widespread problems. The habit of washing his hands actually frees him from the deeper anxiety of life. In this way a person gets gradually affected by obsessive compulsive disorder. Even if clomipramine reaches the symptoms by increasing the need for serotonin it cannot reach the problem of the signalling systems. Thus there may be temporary relief from the symptoms due to organic intervention by medicines, it is not possible to fully treat the problem. The psychiatrist is then compelled to say there is a condition of serotonin in the brain and thus make him dependant on medicine throughout his life.

We therefore see that the waves of excitation and inhibition which our words, advice and psychotherapy raises in our brain, flow through the chemistry of the neurotransmitter, specifically through the cyclic AMP. Even a functional MRI shows psychotherapy can result in significant chemical changes in different areas of the brain. Where medicines result in chemical changes in specific areas in an intense and coarse manner, psychotherapy can result in chemical changes in the brain in a mild and widespread manner. This change may be non-specific to modern science, but in the depths of the mind it is specific. The psychotherapist goes ahead with his advice, discussion and psychotherapy understanding the symptoms of the mental state of the patient.

Simultaneously the necessary corrective chemical changes go on subterraneously. But when the danger is intense, when the mental condition takes a widespread and changed situation, most patients cannot tolerate psychotherapy or hypnotic suggestion therapy. The strong reaction of medicines on the brain makes it similar to washing one's hands. The minor anxiety of the hands becoming dirty results in the anxiety region of his brain becoming immune. Opposite this inhibition spreads surrounding the region of brain of various analytical condition and critical faculty of life. The patient has lifelong anxieties and does have to worry too much. This actually gives him greater freedom in life. In this way a person gradually becomes afflicted with compulsive disorder. Even if the level of serotonin in the brain is increased there is temporary relief from the symptoms but complete treatment is not possible. The psychiatrist has to say that the brain is serotonin deficient and make him lifelong dependant on medicines for an effective substitution.

Conclusion

We then see — the waves of excitation and inhibition created by our words and suggestion flow through the cells mediated by the neurotransmitter, and it is more specially seen in specific chemical changes in various branches of the brain as shown in a cyclic AMP and functional MRI. Where medicines result in chemical changes within intense and specific limits the brain shows mild but widespread chemical changes by psychotherapy. This change may be general according to modern science but in the depths of the mind it is specific.

The psychotherapist sees the signs and progresses with his discussions, suggestion and therapy. The necessary defensive modern changes carry on simultaneously in the back-

ground. But when the problem becomes severe, when the chemical state is widespread and deep most of the patients are not able to bear the strains of psychotherapy or hypnotic suggestion therapy. In this situation under the strong influence of medicines, when non-specific chemical state is created in the brain, the minutest specific chemical changes are possible through psychotherapy and other forms of treatment without drugs. Since the brain type and its excitatory or inhibitory status is a factual condition the psychiatrist cannot progress his line of treatment ignoring the Pavlovian science and theory.

We therefore hope that the psychiatrist will show a mature and advanced outlook and go ahead using modern molecular biology, Pavlovian psychology and the conventional methods of psychiatric treatment. There are innumerable means and possibilities within the mind itself to get well, and we hope the psychiatrists in the future will not blindly take the easy step and prescribe lifelong dependance on drugs. **P A S**

Death of Dhananjay Chatterjee by Hanging

A young man Dhananjay Chattopadhyay by name, of a distant village of Bankura in the year 1991 in a flat at Bhawanipore of Kolkata was accused of charge of rape followed by murder of a teen aged girl Hetal Parekh by name and was hanged to death on charges of that accusation on the 14th August, 2004 in the early morning at 4-30 a.m. in Alipore Central Correctional Home. This incident has caused an unprecedented sensation in the society in a span for last few months.

The reasons behind this seems to us like this: 1. Recently the incidents of rape cum murder or rape have increased considerably and the State has become very much concerned for exemplary punishment for this type of offences. 2. Women on the very cause of urge to win over their fate, a sense of hatred was intensified and generated centering this incident. Sometimes it appeared so that Dhananjay is responsible for all incidents of rape-cum-death. 3. For this type of incident, the publicity through mass media had caused sentiments and sensations and on the basis of that the state of affairs reached such a stage that it appeared in our daily life no point of discussion except the death of Dhananjay by hanging.

Since admission into Alipore Central Jail, till his formal parting, I had seen Dhananjay. Therefore I like to place few words for readers on this issue from the view point of social science. But it is not my intent to say anything in its total perspective about death by hanging. Besides, by this time all possible stories whether true or not have come to our knowledge by the grace of the media. It is for this reason some relevant discussions only which are not known to many relating to the death of Dhananjay by hanging have come up.

It goes without saying that we are against all types of capital punishment. But the issue itself is very complex and sensitive. So in future we shall try to highlight our opinions on the issue specially about the role of physicians, whether capital punishment as an exemplary punishment can restrict the offences in society, whether death by hanging should remain in force or not etc..

Dhananjay, to me, was as good as a member of my family. So it is hardly possible to pass any independent opinion fully. But it is worth admitting the fact that we are in dark about what happened in reality. On this matter various versions on different occasions were heard.

But in absence of verification of truth from his own statement the versions appeared to be baseless. Once he expressed as his last wish that he wanted to reveal the truth by calling the reporters. Obviously that effort did not materialise. So there were no means to verify the truth or untruth whatever might be the incident. In this matter, therefore, whatever was recorded in the judicial department was considered to have really happened.

Though finally Dhananjoy admitted that he was totally innocent, but it did not appear to be to us. Then why did he not confess his guilt when he was on way to death? In this matter it appeared that firstly he did not want to confess the truth to save him and the truth come out, lots of complexities would have arisen, specially he might have an element of hatred. He always used to think of all these. So this is mere guess that he was surely not innocent. But the crime committed by him and already recorded might not be wholly true to us. The reason was that he had no mentality of crime to the degree in as much as required to do so.

Dhananjoy, was the son of a poor, illiterate, backward Brahmin family hailing from a distant undeveloped district of Bankura. Prior to this incident, there was no record of crime against him. At that time his age was not much and experience was also less. He was married a few months before this incident. He was very much familiar with the family of Hetal. Fascination of Dhananjoy grew towards convent going smart girl like Hetal. Therefore freemanners of the girl might have given wrong signals and otherwise or Hetal might have some deficiencies. So it might not be out of context to guess that timid Dhananjoy being greedy committed such type of crime.

The nature of Dhananjoy initially was a bit rough. His age was less and experience too was not much. Though there was no record of bad manners during his tenure in jail, but there became gradual changes in course of time. Prior to few days of his death, gradually a saintly attitude developed within himself. Besides the way he faced death was astounding to many of us. He complied with all the orders of the authority promptly, politely and gently. When we, who were all along by his side, came to know that death by hanging was inevitable, we tried to convince him that there was no other alternative but to accept this type of death whatever might be the degree of sufferings. Possibly our combined efforts partly helped him to accept this type of death. In this matter we were sure that we behaved with him with humanity to the extent possible upto the time of his death. Dhananjoy had also no allegation.

But he expressed his grievances on some issues. The issues were as follows.

1. He had to face this type of capital punishment because he was poor. There was definite truth behind such type of feelings. But it was not only the poverty, it was poverty mixed with illiteracy and sense of backwardness. Again some further informations were relevant here. The measures through which the case of Dhananjoy were handled in different stages of the Indian Judicial System, in one word, was uncommon and rare. In this country, prior to this type of incident, no body was hanged to death after serving a term of 14 years in jail. Besides there was no direct deposition, that meant that based on circumstantial evidences, no body was hanged to death on earlier occasions.

Therefore all possible avenues were explored to save him from such punishment. In this connection it could be stated that if there were any lacuna in Judicial System, then the lacuna of Dhananjoy or his lawyers were in no way less. That meant that for such outcome of the case, the lawyers were equally responsible. At one stage his case was lying suppressed. Dhananjoy through his own initiative brought the case publicly for final disposal. Then he did

not anticipate that the fate of the case would be like this and would create such sensation.

Besides, at one stage this case was submitted before the Hon'ble High Court and Hon'ble Supreme Court simultaneously for hearing. After hearing everything the Hon'ble High Court dismissed the case, but the documents were not submitted in time before the Hon'ble Supreme Court. Such suppression of facts was considered with exception by Hon'ble Supreme Court. Consequent upon such inaction, the judgement of Hon'ble Supreme Court in favour of death by hanging was so strong that at later dates such judgement could not be overruled.

Over and above, it could be stated that in the Hon'ble Lower Courts also the case was not properly handled particularly matters related to post mortem etc.. Therefore the judgements of the Hon'ble Magistrates in the Hon'ble Lower Courts also influenced the Hon'ble Highest Court substantially. This issue therefore needed elaboration because such sort of incident was considered as the rarest of the rare.

2. Dhananjoy had the grievance why he was not allowed for reformation once again? It could be mentioned that Dhananjoy had an expectation that the present Hon'ble President of India would forgive him as we also expected so. But it could be well assumed that there was heavy pressure on Hon'ble President from different corners and so he did not want to take any decision otherwise.

There were many who stated that despite such crime, Dhananjoy had no repentance. Those, who were of this opinion had never considered that a young man of tendered age, when he resumed his life with a verdict of death by hanging, he naturally had the only aim how to get rid of such punishment. He could not keep other thinkings in mind. For the sake of repentance, he was ready to accept any one of the punishments, but from the initial stage, he thought that though he committed crime once and for such act of crime he seldom expected the verdict of capital punishment and such punishment was an extreme injustice of the society to him. For such injustice, he had lot of grievances and accumulated conceits against the society. Under such circumstances, as a matter of protest it was obvious not to have repentance for his misdeeds. We should never forget that despite all deficiencies within ourselves we generally have no stone unturned to save us. In this particular case also Dhananjoy tried to protect him till last day and had hope against all hopes that possibly he would be relieved of such punishment at some stage.

The incident of death by hanging of Dhananjoy created sensation for few days in the jail and its surroundings. Thus it was evident that still in the mind of people a sense of auspicious feelings always prevailed which according to Pavlovian terminology 'species preservation instinct'. Besides it goes without saying that any death always creates impact in our mind. Therefore those who were close to him before implementation of such punishment were shocked and afraid of such type of death. The reason was that the man who was alive even just a while ago had been put to death by hanging. Those who saw this from distance might have mixed feeling of mere fun, curiosity, adventure, hatred, malice. But those who tried to understand the things from the core of heart or observed the things closely, had the picture of the incident altogether different. This became clear three or four days prior to or after the incident, the environment of the jail was totally calm and quiet and in due course it was observed many of those employers associated with such incident were alleged to have sleepless nights.

The economic condition of Dhananjoy was very wretched. Dhananjoy himself was very much worried of this and he had appeal for financial help for his family to any body who visited him. I am not sure to what extent his family will have financial assistance and from whom. But this is my appeal along with this writings that though he was a criminal, but his family was not at all responsible for the crime and on this consideration let us all be generous enough to come forward with the benevolent attitude of helping the family of Dhananjoy from the core of our heart.

Basudev Mukherjee

[The letter of Mrs. Purnima Chatterjee wife of Dhananjoy dated 11.08.04. addressed to Dhananjoy]

[The letter of Mrs. Purnima Chatterjee addressed to Hon'ble Justice]

[The letter of Dhananjoy Chatterjee to Hon'ble Chief Minister]

Jamdoba 11.08.04.
My most respected

Husband, first you accept my love. For the last 14 yeras I am eagerly waiting for your return. I still believe, you cannot commit such act. I repeat you are innocent. All the time your face floats before my eyes. Based of my trust I am floating in the tears of my eyes. The separation of yours from me always pricks me. I am always feeling sick with the agony what to do, what is the way out to get you within my reach. Despite your innocense, why are you going to be victimised against injustice?

Like others I am an Indian woman. I assure you, I have not misunderstood you and will never misunderstand you. I still love you from the core of my heart. I trust no body will be able to snatch you from me.

I pray to God, you remain in peace. I shall be eagerly waiting for your letter.

At the end I convey my Pranams.

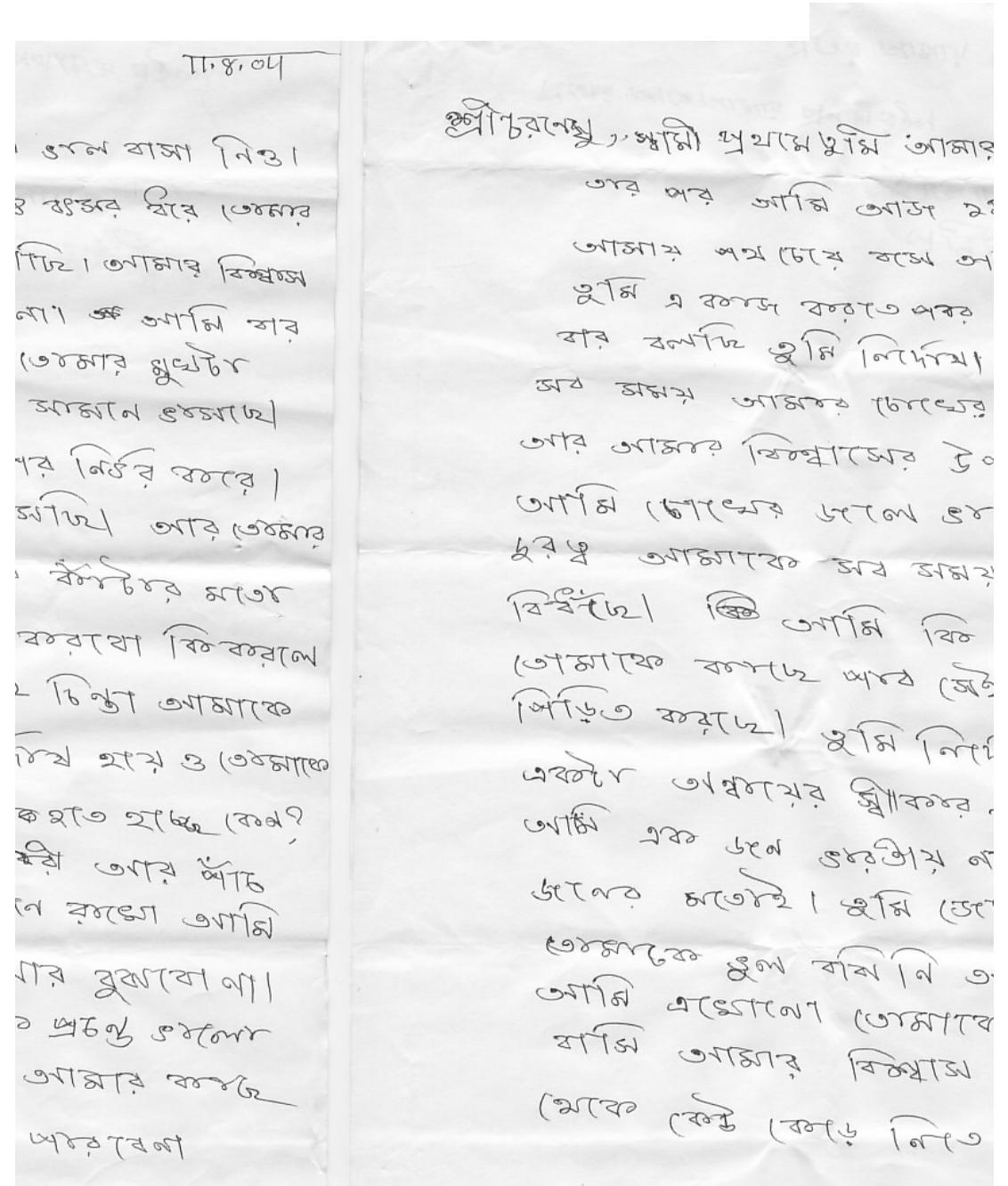
yours lovingly
your Purnima

My respected Hon'ble Justice,

At a time you will punish how many? What your law says? What I have got for the last 14 years.

So long I was eagerly waiting for return of my husband. Now how I shall survive for the rest of my life. The vermilion on my forehead is vanished by a single stroke of your ink. Long live your justice.

yours
unfortunate Purnima Chatterjee



Kolkata 30.07.04.

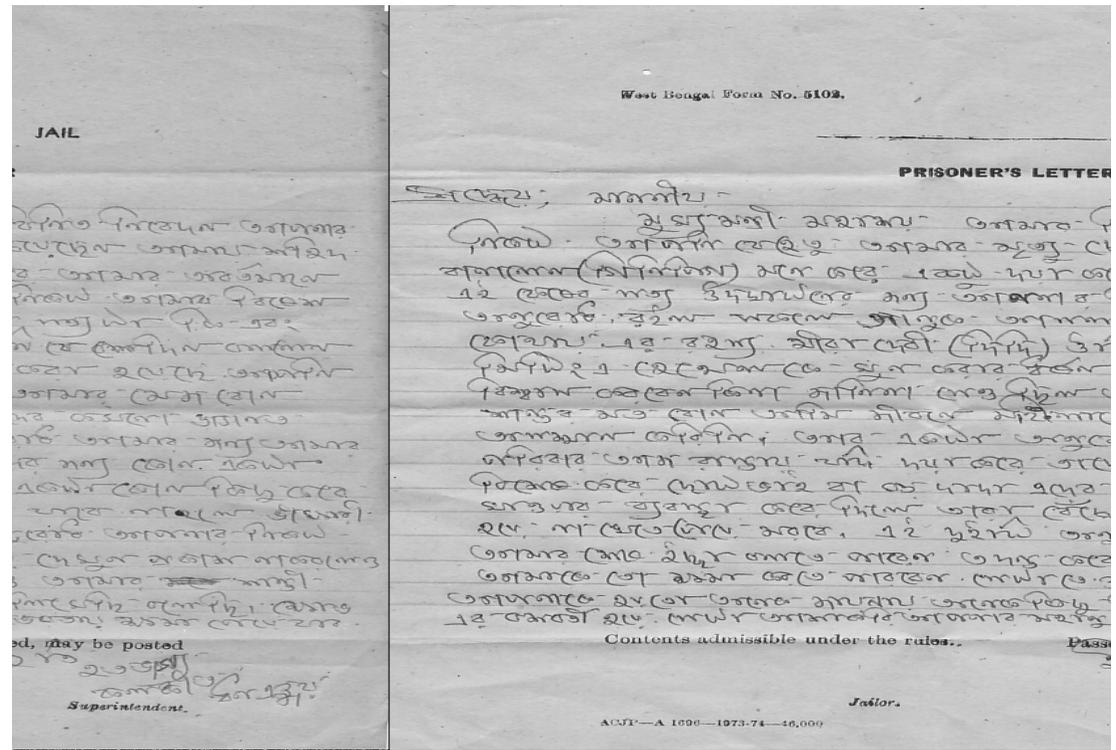
Respected Hon'ble Chief Minister,

My humble submission to you is that since you desired my punishment, you considered me as guineapig to convert me into a martyr. I request you specially to kindly enquire into the truth of the case in my absence. Let everybody know what is real and where is the mystry? Meera Devi (Didi) — she told that day in a meeting that Hetal was murdered and after that she was raped. Whether you believe or not she was like my second sister Shanta. During my life time I never disrespected the women to the best of my knowledge.

Another appeal to you is my family is now on the street for me. If you can kindly make some provision for the livelihood of specially my young or elder brother for their survival otherwise they will starve and die like a street beggar.

These are the last two appeals to you. Kindly enquire, even if the enquiry report is not out, at least you can forgive me. There lies my peace. In many places might have written many things to you, out of grief but I expect I shall be pardoned by your greatness.

yours sincerely
unfortunate shameful Dhananjay



Letters to Editor

Reply Given by Editor

Many of you have sought to know our opinion regarding Britain's Dr. Harold Shipman who was convicted for murdering 215 people brutally. Instead of replying you personally our opinion regarding the brutal act is being publicly printed for the information of all readers. We hope that through this you too will know.

It has been published in all newspapers that Shipman committed suicide by wrapping the bed-sheet of the jail as a rope round his neck and for that act of his we have been deprived of the details regarding his brutal deeds from his own mouth. We shall let you know only the primary details that we have gathered. If an opportunity crops up in the future then we shall endeavour to publish the inside story of Shipman's strange mind for our readers. In the meantime this country's psychiatrist's have called him a big 'Necrophiliac' who used to enjoy death-rope through his brutal murders.

Shipman was private medical practitioner. In Britain the GP's work as private practitioners. If a family is included in the National Health Scheme then the fee of the GP and other medical expenses are paid by the National Government. On account of that the GPs are almost regarded as a friend, philosopher and guide of such families. We may presume that because of such a practice Shipman was able to earn the confidence of many such families and the Nation as well. That helped him carry on his activities for a long time. It is true that in Britain the doctors are the ultimate court of law regarding medical matters which we hardly can believe. Hence no one suspected anything vile or wrong in the killing of people which Shipman smoothly carried on for a long time.

It must also be remembered that in Britain no cause of death is investigated through post-mortem unless the GP recommends or the death is unnatural. Therefore if the Shipman's murders had been carried on in America then the doctors there would have known the causes of death very early than in Britain. Further Shipman was a very popular doctor and he mostly killed old people. All these facts account for the delay in detection of Shipman's murders.

Just a day ahead of his 58th birthday, Shipman committed suicide and on that night he talked to his wife Primrose at eight. Shipman wanted to meet his wife and the administration could not make out why it did not materialise. Shipman talked to his wife for six minutes and the record of that conversation does not reflect if he was morose before his planned suicide which he did not reveal. That day an officer during his morning round at 6-20 a.m. saw his still body hanging from the window rod.

The news of Shipman's death created a great furore among the families where murders were committed. They opined that Shipman escaped away and that deprived them of the knowledge of how and why the murders were committed. It has been seen that such murderers generally confess their crimes after ten to fifteen years. Jain Gaskel, 43 years old, whose parents were killed by Shipman, expressed his reaction at the news of the death of the murderer that the culprit own. Shipman did whatever he liked and was finally able to rule his own fate too. The culprit deserved only intense hate. Another lady opined that Shipman killed himself knowing that he would have to spend the rest of life in jail and so his death was more welcome to him. Therefore she said, "I do not support capital punishment. I believe that if a man spends his entire life in jail then he suffers much more than capital or death punishment."

It may be mentioned that Shipman is the father of four children and he did not at all repent for his gruesome murders. He started his career as a doctor in Todmorden in West Yorkshire and when he was arrested in 1998, he was employed in Hyde. He was so adamant that even after his conviction he repeatedly appealed in Preston Crown Court to the effect that he was not guilty and was falsely punished. He was transferred to Wakefield jail seven months before his death.

It has been administratively decided that Shipman's 54 years wife will receive eighteen thousand pounds yearly as the former's pension which was stopped and will get one lac pound as compensation. Shipman loved his wife and she suffered financially when the former was convicted and it is being closely investigated if he killed himself to help his wife only.

The people Shipman murdered number 215 or 45 more and they are mostly women. In all cases he put excessive sleeping drug diamorphin for his killings and in most cases he either stayed till the last of the patient or came later to see the deaths. He alone worked as a GP in Greater Manchester's Hyde town and he was arrested when he tried to forge three lacs sixty thousand pound 'will' of his last victim. Shipman's wife and children all helped him during the trial and he maintained that he was not guilty. In the trial Shipman was sentenced to fifteen life sentences.

Shipman was the son of a lorry driver of Nottingham and married when he read medicines at Leeds. He was known as Fred to his friends and he served as a House Staff for three years in Pontifact General Infirmary. Thereafter at the age of 27 he joined a medical centre at Todmodern and signed a death certificate for the first time two months after. It is presumed that he perfected the way to murder thereof.

In 1975 his practice suffered a temporary gap when a chemist complained to his higher authorities that Shipman prescribed a large quantity of pethidine injection against rules in his own name. This sufficiently annoyed the medical colleagues and they appealed to the effect that Shipman be debarred from medical practice. Still they were sympathetic thinking that he (Shipman) might need treatment for pethidine addiction in a mental hospital. Finally he was accused for storing 75 medicines by the Halifax judge and was fined 600 pounds. He was also made to remain in a retreat for six months. This gap in Shipman's medical practice lasted 294 days. It is astonishing that knowing the nature of Shipman, the National Medical Council kept no vigil on him and he was allowed to be rehabilitated in medical practice in Durham Family Welfare Centre!

A month later from the above incident Shipman worked unabated for 15 years since October 1977 in Hyde. As there was no other doctor there, Shipman was able to work independently. His last victim of murder was the ex-Mayor's wife Katheline Grundi who was 81 years old. Prior to this he murdered a person weekly on the average. It has been seen that Shipman murdered five patients in his own clinic chamber. Of these three were killed consequetively within three days. He killed five persons of a locality in that way. The youngest and eldest of his victims were respectively 41 and 93 years old. Of the people he murdered definitely, 171 were women and 44 were men. The increasing number of deaths also annoyed and troubled the non-medical team of his assistances.

The local Coroner (the immediate examiner of any death) John Pollard requested the police to enquire the working practice of Shipman when another GP Linda Reynolds suspected that Shipman was a professional murderer. That started the investigation and as a result

Shipman was arrested.

Now the question arises why Shipman carried on his murders when he was entrusted as a doctor to restore people's lives? Shipman rightly had no claim to be a medical practitioner. But in any country and society of the world it is not judged if a doctor has any moral right for his profession or not and it is also not possible to do so. Because we should accept that as a whole society of any country is much more tolerant.

Those who blame the Indian Medical Council for its lenient attitudinal policies will certainly consider the negligence of Britain's National Medical Council as a sufficient example in that direction. P A S

Book Review

Derozio Revisited

The Song of the Stormy Petrel. Complete Works of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, edited by Dr. Abirlal Mukhopadhyay et al. (Calcutta: Progressive Publishers, 2001), pp.529. price: Rs. 600.00

The book under review is by far the most expensive tribute paid at the altar of H.L.V. Derozio. But we better suspend our judgement how far it is invaluable. As the title claims, the volume aspires to contain the complete works of Derozio; and the editors of the volume appear to be desperate and unrelenting to line up to that claim. It seems they have left no stone unturned in making the volume fat. And the consequence of all that labour is the book which, in good faith, we should better describe as a 'complete' book *on* Derozio, rather than the complete works of Derozio himself. Indeed, the price of the book is ample warrant that it is simply not meant for lay readers. As for the researchers including the Derozio aficionados, much of its material appear to be tautological; there is little to thrill them with any sense of discovery.

The contents of the book are broadly divided into five sections : biography, poems, prose, correspondence and the appendix. In the biography section we have Elliot Walter Madge's lecture on Derozio's life and career (delivered on December 10, 1904) reprinted. The section of poems include the full texts of the two collections of poems published in Derozio's lifetime, *Poems* (1827) and *The Fakeer of Jungheera, a Metrical Tale and Other Poems* (1828). Then we have a section entitled 'Miscellaneous Poems'. But mysteriously there is no clue about the sources of these poems. Were they included in *The Fakeer of Jungheera* ... or are they collected from elsewhere? What makes us wonder about the silence about the sources in this section, is the very next section, which is called, curiously enough, Other poems of H.L.V. Derozio, collected from the Collections, Memoirs, Books, Journals Edited or Written by Other than Derozio, Published after his death.' Will someone please explain what this means? Apparently the section reprints those poems which were not anthologized in Derozio's lifetime and only found in the collections made by others; and also in the several biographies of Derozio.

The next section ventures to present 'Unpublished Poems of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio'. But if the reader in good faith approaches with an expectation for poems discovered from MSS, he is surely to be disappointed. In fact all the poems in this 'Unpublished Poems'

section were published ! These are chiefly some early love lyrics written by the poet under the pseudonym 'Juvenis' and most of them were published in the *India Gazette*. It may be the first time they are collected in a single volume; but they are certainly not the 'unpublished' poems as the editors claim. 'Uncollected' would be the appropriate word.

The reader should approach with similar caution the section devoted to Derozio's prose. The section includes a piece, *On Moral Philosophy*, containing three chapters. It was published posthumously in 1833 in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*. It is, supposedly, a translation from the French of Maupertuis. Now this seems strange since none of the Derozio's biographers has mentioned his knowledge of French. There is also a very brief article entitled *Hindu Widow*. It is not clear why the editors have printed this piece here, since it is not a separate article. It belongs to the notes on *The Faker of Jungheera* ...

There is only one article reprinted from *The Kaleidoscope*: 'On the Colonization of India by Europeans.' According to Goutam Chattopadhyay, Derozio was the editor of and the chief contributor to this journal. The editors of this volume, however, have picked up an old quarrel by doubting this view. But the reason behind their doubt is not clearly stated. The authorities they have cited -- Pallab Sengupta and Suresh Maitra -- so far as the knowledge of the present reviewer goes, are equally vague in their denial. This drama regarding the editorship of *The Kaleidoscope*, seen from the point of view of the Derozio worshippers (in fact the whole project of this book is evidently an initiative by the Derozio Commemoration Committee, to which all the editors are passionately attached) appears to be like the disowning of a spoilt child by calling him a bastard. The fact is that the contents of *The Kaleidoscope* articles do not go well with the heroic portrait of Derozio; hence Derozio's hagiographers do not include them. But strangely enough the editors are not hesitant to accept Derozio's editorship of the *East Indian*, a journal much akin to the *The Kaleidoscope* in its racist tone and tenor. Nor have they refrained from reprinting documents relating to the East Indian Movement with which Derozio was closely associated; the documents drafted by Derozio reek of racism and anti-native (India) attitude.

In the Correspondence section there is no hint of any personal correspondence. The two sets of letters -- one dealing with Derozio's removal from the Hindu College and the other relating to the Capt. McNaughten episode -- have already been documented by Derozio's biographers and other authors.

The long appendix of some sixty-odd pages has little importance for the students of Derozio's writings. These are mostly information and documents relating to Derozio's family. As for the historians interested in studying Derozio's role in the 19th century society, those details may not appear very useful.

But apart from everything the most frustrating part of the book is perhaps the Introduction. It neither offers any analysis of Derozio's works, especially of his poetry, studied vis-a-vis his prose contributions; nor does it attempt at any kind of assessment of Derozio's role as one of the *primum mobile* of the 19th century Bengal Renaissance. Instead of that, the whole introduction is highly self-congratulatory in its attitude as it records in details what labour had gone to procure which material. The editors seem to be basking in glory while contemplating they have excelled all their predecessors in compiling materials on Derozio, and thereby paying the biggest tribute to his personality and genius. And excelled they have indeed; for example, picture this: "Due to some of our predecessor's (sic) carelessness and

unavoidable role of 'Printer's Devil' words and lines has been (sic) changed in many poetry (sic). Some editors took undesirable liberty to change, drop, and replace the original words and even lines (sic). In these matters we are very conservative. We tried our best to keep the original spelling, punctuation and order. We have brought back all intro-quotation (sic) and notes given by Derozio himself. Our responsibility is not to correct, brief (sic) or expand his works but to keep their original form ... We think the collection will open up new horizons for the ardent followers and thirsty readers (sic) of Derozio."

I beg the indulgent reader to forgive me for quoting such a large chunk. But the temptation is too strong to resist. In today's postcolonial world of many 'englishes' such a wonderful specimen of what is called 'Babu English', may pass as a glowing tribute to Derozio. Only a lay reader like me feels a real 'thirst' for a drop of sanity and good sense. P A S

Debapriya Paul

... With respect to the theological view of the question, this is always painful to me. I am bewildered. I had no intention to write atheistically. But I own that I cannot see as plainly as others do, and as I should wish to do, evidence of design and beneficence on all sides of us. There seems to me too much misery in the world. I cannot persuade myself that a beneficent and omnipotent God would have designedly created the Ichneumonidae with the express intention of their feeding within the living bodies of caterpillars, or that a cat should play with mice

On the other hand, I cannot anyhow be contented to view this wonderful universe, and specially the nature of man, and to conclude that everything as resulting from designed laws, with the details, whether good or bad, left to the working out of what we may call chance"

[Charles Darwin wrote this letter in his reply on May 22, 1860 to his most famous American colleague, the Harvard botanist Asa Gray, read the *Origin of Species* with both exhilaration and distress.]