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### Editorial

#### Marx versus Lenin

Recently it is our observation that it is the desire of a group of learned Marxists (?) to try to overrule Lenin by bringing the unpublished Marx to surface. Amongst the learned society there are some non-resident Indian intellectuals also (not to say them as Post Modernist).

In the recent time the article which has come to our notice is discussion on *Gotha Programme* along with the discovery of Marx's *Marginal Notes* and by its precise judgement and analysis there is an attempt to establish a new concept of Marxism! As if digging deeper and deeper into the structure of matter and some hidden treasure is dug up!

In their articles, the learned wants to say that Lenin has introduced those in the name of Marx what has been not wanted by Marx or what has not been wanted by Marx to state in his theory. Accordingly by *Marginal Notes*, they meant further analysis of the *Gotha Programme*. In other words, their objectives are to show conflict between Marx and Lenin's *State and Revolution*. Like any reformer, they also want to return to old and unhusked appearance of Marx.

This is mere a very old fashion. I do not want to go back to the analysis of the old concepts of Trotskyites. But some inclinations may be apparent during the last fifty years.

Since 1956, the tendency was to put all allegations on the shoulder of Stalin. Attempts to differentiate between 'old Marx' and the young one came into force in 1960 and onwards just to publicise 'young Marx' as the original one compared to 'old Marx'. *The Economic and Philosophical manuscript of 1844* was the actual basis behind it. After 1980, the inclination was to condemn not only Stalin, but also Lenin for deformation of Marx ( By this way, of course, Stalin was in a bit advantageous position in the sense that he could have put some burden on the shoulder of Lenin).

Now a days the learned class of people are trying to keep Lenin in the forefront against old Marx and at the same time extend impetus to Marx. As a matter of fact they, who do not care for application and problems of applicability or practice, do not even want to keep the information about how much paddy yields how much levy. They are only after various deficiencies and fault finding mission.

As it appears, what the learned society has written about States is not wholly true. The judgement about *Gotha Programme*, when written at that point of time, Engles sent a letter to Bebel ( in the period from 18th to 22nd March, 1875). Engles inspite of supporting the word 'community' in lieu of States wrote as follows: "[S]o long as the proletariat shall needs the State, it does not need it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adverseries ...".

The act of restraining the enemies is so tough that even after seventy years, different vices of capitalism can easily be prominent and we have been able to realise direct effect of it in USSR. After destruction of State what will be the fate of Communist Society — instead of such thinking, it is more important to think how to remove the nearly innate endowment of sense of private property despite extinction of its material base. To the so called learned society, it poses possibly no problem to conceive of it. Revolution means after few days all classes of people including proletariat class have no existence, State is withered (dried to death) and the chapter of dalliance of free men commences. The pleasure of such thinkings may suit the Non Resident Indian intellectuals, but is not at all applicable to Indian resident Marxists. This is our opinion.

From another letter of Engles (written by Terzzagi dated 14th January, 1872) along with above stated letter of Engles (written to Bebel's) it can be observed such state of affairs. Engles writes, "And when I am told that authority and centralization are two things that should be condemned under all possible circumstances it seems to me that those who say so either do not know what a revolution is or are revolutionaries in name only." (*Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, n.d. p. 333)

After this, we possibly do not feel the necessity of further comments, only to quote a few lines from Mathew Arnold, "... The commentator interpreted the poem well. We have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us."

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**DHRUBAJYOTI MAJUMDAR (1929-2005)**

With the death of Dhrubajyoti Majumdar, a major thread of the Manabmon family was severed. A number of generations of thoughtful Bengalis have been working under the direct and indirect inspiration of Dr. Dharendra Nath Ganguly; Professor Majumdar served as a living link between these. He was a student and interpreter of philosophy, both in the academic and in the applied sense. His whole life was devoted to the task of explaining in the light of dialectical materialism not only world phenomena, but also such an abstract 'entity' like the human consciousness. His compilation of Bangla technical terms of psychology, his criticism of the idealistic content of Chomsky's language theory, his review of the Soviet debacle in the light of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution theory - all these were merely various aspects of a single central search. For many years the readers of Manabmon have been enjoying the fruits of that intensive cultivation.

That cultivation has now come to an end. Now is the time to derive nutrition from the crop. This will keep alive the process of cultivating the human mind - Manabmon - from generation to generation. Dhrubajyoti Majumdar will continue to oversee that process.

**unfailing friend,  
bedrock of our faith**

## The Future Of Alienation

Dhirendranath Gangopadhyay

In this age, like cosmic bodies being dispersed at a great velocity, we are being dissociated from each other. Old values are crumbling, new values are not emerging. Self-contradictory activities and abnormal thoughts are tormenting the species. Religion and mysticism are unable to smoothen the inner conflicts of this mechanical age. Temples, Mosques, Churches are being crowded but are unable to provide solace. Innumerable questions are arising but answers are elusive. Many are the problems but few are the solutions offered.

This phenomena is not new. These questions were being agitated in the minds of the Western intelligentia since the end of the first world war. In this age only the intensity and the width of this quest for solutions has significantly increased.

In the writings of modern day sociologists and psychologists we hear the echoes of this soul searching. Social and personal lives of people are being fragmented and estranged, a strange sense of alienation and emptiness is robbing the human will to live, human relations are being poisoned, family bonds are breaking, social and moral values are on decline, instead of human value the materialistic pursuit of worldly goods are getting precedence.

This decline is also reflected in contemporary art and literature. In the words of T.S.Elliot, "And now you live dispersed ... And no man knows or cares who is his neighbour !" Elliot says again, "Do you know -- it no longer seems worthwhile to speak anyone. No, it is not that I want to be alone. But that everyone is alone -- or it seems to me." Perhaps, thus, we find the 'Outsider' popping up in several of our contemporary novels and stories. In the work of Collin Wilson this 'Outsider' has discovered the futility of life -- the dichotomy and lack of discipline of living.

In Barabbas's 'Le Enfare' we find the hero confines himself to a hotel room and observes the world through a keyhole, he believes in this way he can understand the flow of life, while being detached from the world. He observes the chaos, the cacophony, the absence of happiness and no future hope. An identical feeling of emptiness is echoed by H.G. Wells in 'Mind at the end of it's Tether' -- "The end of everything we call life is close at hand and can not be evaded." In the early writings of Ernest Hemingway, writings of Albert Camus's 'La Estranger', we find the same estrangement, emptiness and mental chaos.

In the words of 'Recoentin', the hero of Jean Paul Sartre's short story, "The nausea is not inside me; I feel it out there, in the wall, in the suspenders; everywhere around me. It makes itself one with cafe; I am the one who is within it." This social rot is all pervasive and it is only natural that the emerging odour will cause nausea. Efforts are being made to import such characters in our own literature in the name of progress and new trends.

There is a consensus on the fact that the alienation of individual is happening, detachment of individual mind from collective psyche is taking place. This split is not only reflected in the contemporary literature, it is being observed in human lives.

On one side great possibilities of success of the society is being indicated, on the other hand failure is causing deep schism in the mind of individual. The number of neurotics and

suicidals are increasing. Although social security and future of an individual is guaranteed in reality he is becoming more and more insecure. So the individual is getting disillusioned about the society, he is endeavouring to destroy everything to express his blind rage or is being detached from everything. Some people are finding solution by landing as guests of mental asylums.

The philosophers are vibrant with new theories. They are ready with their new weapons. The Positivists are reintroducing a reformed newer version of Mach's bankrupt theory. The century old vintage of Kierkegaard's Existentialism being reinvented by Jesper, Sartre, Marshall, Camus etc. is shining anew, perhaps these philosophies are most active now.

The only truth is 'I exist', everything else is unreal. Intellectual reasoning and considerations are meaningless, they claim. Everything of this world is incomprehensible and shrouded in mystery. They do not want improvement of human relations, as it is felt impossible, individuals are already alienated and are living in their cocoons being inimical to each other. Social and state pressures are causing fragmentation of personality. Who can stop this wave of alienation? What is the necessity to preventing the nuclear holocaust? The philosophy of these existentialists seems to be to learn to die. In the words of Camus, "Death and the absurd are here the principles of the only reasonable freedom."

Religious bigots are also aroused. They are driven with the hope of reestablishing the religious kingdom. In an endeavour to introduce new religion the Western intellectuals are concentrating on writing biographies of Oriental mystics. They are advising the humanity to give up the false pretensions of this mechanical age.

In this technological age, is such an atavistic return to the age of Voodoo and black magic really possible? In the last few years the influence of Orthodox Catholic political parties have increased in the West. In our part of the world people are being attracted to the 'Kathamrita' of Sri Ramakrishna. There is also no decline in the number of pilgrims who seek salvation of the bathing ceremony of Lord Juggernaut or Kumbhamela. The number of godmen and godwomen and their disciples are ever increasing -- this can be safely claimed without any statistical data. But all this is not preventing fragmentation of mind, neurotics, suicides and alienation. The thirst for life is remaining unsatiated, where is any upliftment of moral and humane values? The hegemony of bribetakers and blackmarketers is being established, also the stranglehold of multinational corporations are being tighter.

There are constitutional safeguards against the stranglehold of multinationals in some countries which however have been reduced to ineffective laws sitting in silent meditation in pages of statue books. It is observed that these institutions and laws arising out of the social milieu of the foregone age are inadequate to offer solutions to the problems of this modern age. They are unable to prevent alienation of mental relations of this age.

While looking for treatment of this all pervasive ailment we must at first diagnose the cause. In the nineteenth century as also during the early twentieth century, when intellectuals were not fully influenced by the concept of existentialism and theory of subconscious mind, alienation was considered to be personal weakness or mental illness. Schiller, Coleridge or Shelly were considered to be exceptions. Van Gogh was thought to be an unique personality -- unlike a common man. Particularly after the first great war shook the very basis of human values and morality, the illness of alienation started to spread.

At this juncture the Freudian theory of Psychoanalysis in its modern version as James

theory of 'inner self'. The dollar fed Freudian theory reexported to Europe was well accepted. They discovered the reasons for human cruelty, envy and other negative emotions deep inside the human mind. Humane values like love, affection etc. are only superficial covers of civilisation, we were told. How far can this self-centred instinct driven man can be made social?

The price of imposed socialisation is neurosis. It is impossible to control these instincts embedded deep in the subconscious mind, as absurd as king Canutes efforts to rule the sea waves. Neurotics, suicidals and anti-socials learnt to reinterpret themselves in the light of Freudian theory. "It is human nature that is wrong, not me!" they thought, with an air of self-complacency. This apart the Freudian theory centred on sexual desires had a special appeal.

The intellectuals were delighted to find logic explaining the social structure. Freud said, "Man constructs his world out of appearances and science is the description and organisation of these appearances!" With spread of this subjective ideas, alienation and solitude got encouraged. People started to believe that neurosis is the rule and not an exception. After the second great war the influence of Freudian theory is on decline in Europe but has remained quite popular in America.

Freudian theory does not offer any solution. The post First World War cry for the resurrection of human values suffered a severe setback on being exposed to Freudian theory. Freud said, "Society was now based on complicity in the common crime [of patricide]; religion was based on the sense of guilt and morality was based partly on the exigencies of this society and partly on the penance demanded by the sense of guilt." Except the most shameless reactionary -- everybody understood that the Freudian theory offered no hope to reestablish morality. In 1932 Freud wrote to Einestien that war was unavoidable, "It seems quite a natural thing, no doubt it has good biological basis and in practice it is unavoidable." Thereafter nothing remained to be expected from the Freudian theory.

Even today some people are influenced by Jung, Adler and Fromm, who have very little difference from Freud. In the writings of the social scientists of Bengal we frequently find quotation from the work of these writers, hence we must discuss their works.

An American writer commenting upon Jung observed, "Freud actually walked this path for a long distance himself. He went to the length of postulating unconscious fears of incests and castration that we supposedly inherited from our barbarous ancestors. Jung carried this theory of a 'racial consciousness' even further to the point of imagining superior and inferior peoples. He carried his theories to their logical conclusion and accepted an official position from the Nazis." [Furst J, 1954: pp 65].

Adler replaced the all pervasive sexual desire of Freudian theory with the concept of overwhelming thirst of power. He followed Nietzsche. Every person is hungry for power. This hunger for power is responsible for all social evils. The root of alienation lies in the individuals inability to grasp power resulting in a feeling of inferiority and sadness. Adler's works are nothing but a lowly effort to distract attention from the real problems of society. In a society where the every third person is feeling the pangs of hunger and thirty percent of humanity has no roof over their head, alleging that every individual is busy fighting for power amounts to nothing less than insulting the humanity. The effort to describe the war of greed amongst the social elite as the war of common man and the audacity to impose the theory of survival of the fittest, which rules the animal world, on the civil society -- is either ignorance or hypocrisy.

Eric Fromm while discussing the character and structure of capitalist society during the

last century sought to establish that the capitalist society is more developed than the feudal society. With the transformation of capitalism to imperialism the inherent contradictions are being slowly exposed and are emanating foul odour. These contradictions did not escape the attention of Fromm, in his 'Escape From Freedom' Idathies, proposed a new theory claiming that capitalism gave the humanity freedom and liberty, but we could not preserve it and we voluntarily accepted fascist dictatorship. Very few people would be willing to buy such a ridiculous explanation for evolution of fascism, I believe. Here we find the influence of the Freudian concept of individual driven by basic instincts, albeit somewhat covertly. From recognised socialism as a welcome alternative, but the way to achieve such social structure proposed by Fromm is nothing less than a utopian. To establish such new society, every individual of the 'sick society' must undergo therapeutic psychoanalysis -- such a proposal is inherently absurd.

It is true that the sociologists who follow Freud have raised the question of modern social structure and civilisation. But they have described perverted mother-child relation, childhood deprivations and despair as the only root cause for neurosis and alienation. Mead claims, human character is a result of, "Nursing, weaning, toilet training and infant feeding." Any disturbance related to this basic child care in early childhood is bound to make an individual unsocial and abnormal.

It seems Mead sought to evade the economic system, class struggle and historical events of the modern age. He finally despairs holding that these are more overwhelming than our social instincts.

In diagnosing the cause of alienation no help is forthcoming from the Freudian psychoanalysts and sociologists. Rather it is felt that the Freudian concepts are encouraging human alienation.

But modern psychology can offer solutions to the problem of alienation. Modern psychology is founded on the principles of Pavlovian neuroscience. Materialistic psychology is analogous to other branches of natural sciences -- deriving it's strength from the objective analysis of experimental results.

The predecessors of Pavlov in their endeavour the society used the path of dialectics. They observed a great qualitative difference between natural evolution and social change. The evolution in nature is an omnipresent phenomena whereas man takes an active part in bringing social change, here man is not an inactive observer. As Engles observed, "Everything that sets men acting must find it's way through their brain." Man works consciously and in a preplanned manner, not driven animal instincts of subconscious mind. Building of nests by tailor-bird or making of bee-hives by honey-bees are, unlike conscious human actions, unconditioned reflex or instinctive actions as described by Pavlov.

"What distinguishes the worst of an architect from the bees is in this that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality." [Karl Marx]. Man with his conscious labour is constantly making efforts to change the nature, it would be incorrect to state only that he is changing the nature. As Marx observed, "He not only effects a change of form in the material on which he express his intention in the modus operandi." [Marx].

Human actions are driven by his knowledge and intelligence to achieve a premeditated goal. Individually a man always works to achieve a preplanned objective. The five year or seven year plans of socialist countries is nothing but an extension to this planning process.

Every human actions are meaningful and are aimed to achieve a definite purpose. Although the objective and purpose of such actions may not be clear and would require a lot off guess work; but in most cases can be attributed to learning and acquired skills. Social stability and change are resultants of purposeful human activities. Viewing from this perspective, it can be said social changes are mostly subjective.

We can sum up by saying that individual is responsible for all social happenings. In the words of Gorky, "Men must be made to understand that he is both creator and master of the world, that on him rests the responsibility of all that is evil in the world, and that to him belongs also the glory for all that is good in life." It should however be remembered that we can not fix targets arbitrarily, change can not be achieved by random actions.

We can not do everything at any time, where planning is divorced from reality and is based on imaginations -- we call it utopian. Our past labour in acquiring knowledge brings a better future for us. We use our acquired past knowledge to plan our present actions to achieve a fruitful future and to acquire new knowledge. Newer, greater objectives are introduced in his planning and actions. Total change of behavior takes place, new human relations develops. When the old values and morality becomes inconsistent with new practices? Humanity advances by overriding everything. A set of new values, new morality and new practice does emerge. The social change thus sometimes take place at high speed and sometimes it is very slow. If human knowledge and intelligence is not misdirected by vested interests, the social change accompanied with change of the individual perception takes place smoothly and quite rapidly.

But resistance remains. The principle obstacle to the planned production and necessary social and mental change is the resistance offered by the upholders of the right to personal property who were the gainers in the old system. This is resulting an enhanced social conflict, mental unrest. Goods are being produced by the organised workforce by their collective labour, but the labour force has no say in distribution of the produced goods or in the production planning, this is causing embitterment of relation between labour force and private owner. Mutual understanding and sensitivity to each others need is on decline. In the new situation, the private ownership of the means for production and the inequality in the distribution of the produce is appearing to be unviable.

Is alienation caused by the dichotomy and inequality of the production-distribution system? Scientific inventions in the last few years has a tremendous influence upon society and lives of individuals. Man has acquired tremendous power by being able to control nuclear energy. Rapid development in electronics has made automation easy and cheap. The new horizon of development is becoming, making the humanity exciting. Every nation is eager to utilise the fruits of these new technological revolution. New courses for learning technology and science are being introduced in countries. Statesmen are being compelled to assist spread of education. The value premises developed by the old education system is collapsing on introduction of the new education system. It is being impossible to suppress the huge possibilities of the future of mankind.

The technological advances are taking place very rapidly -- in such a speed that the observers are unable to change their perspectives, because they are not interested to change their way of thinking. Man is now spell bound in front of the future pregnant society with new possibilities. Mentality and emotions suited to tackle the past insecurity of life are collapsing, but mentality and emotions conducive of the introduction of a welfare society are yet to

emerge. Resistance is coming from the past -- clever propaganda protecting the interest of private ownership.

The speed of change or mechanisation of the means of production are not the cause for this alienation, whatever be the claims of the conservative socialist psychologists. The cause lies somewhere else. Robbert Caraway commenting on this issue observed, "The primary source of 'alienation' is the development of social production accompanied by a growing division of labour ... private ownership and the breakup of society into hostile classes led to a situation in which the social division of labour 'alienates' from the workers some of the vital functions inherent in man's intellectual activity, the freedom to dispose of the product of his own labour, to have a say in the management of production etc. ...." ( *World Marxist Review*, October, 1961).

The intellectuals have been distanced from physical labour, no opportunity is open before the labour force to use their intelligence. Caraway in his essay has logically established that in the capitalist society the intellectuals as also manual labours are becoming helpless as they are loosing control over the fruits of their labour. He works mechanically, as a mindless mechanical part of a machine. His work is devoid of any meaning or objective and this is reflected the lack of discipline and chaos in his behavior. Mechanisation is not responsible for alienation, but the want of liberty to use a machine to achieve a predetermined goal results in alienation. In some essay we find, "Capitalism signifies the domination of things over man; under capitalism the social and personal relations between people are dominated by these things not only in their minds, but also in reality, all the way to every day life ...."

In a milieu where everything is bought and sold, the bourgeoisie, marries not the woman but her dowry, friends are made for what can be got out of them, the thought of legacy ousts love of parents; man is not respected for his personal qualities but for his wealth or for the position he occupies.... "In such a society labour is not for man, but manual labour is treated as an input to increase profit. He acts like a mindless zombie, not compelled to work by machines, but compelled by the private owner of these machines." As Marx described, "Estranged labour makes species life a means to his physical existance."

Not only manual labours, the intellectuals are also compelled to sell the fruits of their intellectual labour according to the market demand and at a market price. The demand is created by the profit mongering owners of private capital. Art and literature must also obey the production rules of market economy. We find an abundance of literature highlighting the problem of alienation - but there is little demand for literature offering solution to such problem. Man is working without any purpose merely to fulfill his animal needs.

Let us see what Pavlov said while looking for purpose. "Human life consists in the attainment of every possible sort of purpose to which is applied every degree of human energy. An analysis of the activity of animals and of human beings leads me to the conclusion that among the reflexes there must exist a special one - an aspiration to the attainment of a definite exciting object, using attainment and object in the broad sense of the term." (I.P.Pavlov, Lectures on Conditioned Reflex). Pavlov did put special emphasis on this reflex as it is evident from the quotation, "The reflex of purpose is of great and vital importance; it is fundamental, all it's culture are effected through the reflex of purpose ...".

When obstacles are repeatedly faced on the path to achieve a goal, the reflex of purpose will gradually weaken and might even be finally extinguished. When compelled to fast the

feeling of hunger does not exist after a few days. Food reflex no longer remains active. If the natural needs of life faces repeated deprivation, the principle reflex gradually weakens, a person loses all attraction to life and finds no justification to live. This happens resulting in alienation of individual. Pavlov wrote that it was possible in China to hire a person who will go to the gallows for money in place of the real criminal.

The thought process of intellectuals is also being perverted, want of purposeful work and loss of control over the fruits of their intellectual labour is rendering their thoughts meaningless. They are believing dreams as reality and reality as something unreal. Paranoia is spreading.

The world now appears to be fragmented in two parts each revolving on its own axis. Man is confused with the two opposing school of thoughts amongst the intellectuals. One group wants to integrate and assimilate the new possibilities slowly while preserving the old social system, morality, values and institutions -- and the other group is advocating a rapid and total change of the society throwing away everything of the old society that stands in the path of progress.

This problem and conflict is eternal, but today its intensity and complexity is unprecedented, because the future before humanity is so pregnant with possibilities, the cry of despair of the old vested interests and their efforts to obstruct the path of progress is ever increasing. The humanity is facing the threat of nuclear holocaust and the spectre of end of the civilisation is looming large over our frightened minds.

Many people are afraid, fear is making some people inactive, the inactivity of fatalist -- this is causing decline of humane relations and alienation, is now all pervasive. From society to clans, from clan to family and finally from family alienation is infiltrating the mind of individual. Even the socialist world is not completely free from this malaise. In Soviet literature we are finding one or two 'Outsiders'.

Though the instances are very few it is being highlighted in the print media of other countries. A few 'Teddyboys' are also found on the roads of socialist countries, although their number are very few in comparison to capitalist countries their presence is suggestive of spread of alienation.

Perhaps we have been able to explain the root causes of alienation and the resultant increase in the number of neurotics and suicides. Now let us consider whether any remedy for this malaise does exist and if so how far can it be applied? Pavlov said reflex of purpose is never completely extinguished, it only be weak or strong. When the fountain of life ceases to flow it can be rejuvenated by scientific nurture and care. In respect of food reflex Pavlov said, "with regular diet regime, a proper amount of food and periodicity in taking it ..." hunger can be restored. While treating neurotic patients Pavlovians follow this system. So there is nothing to cry in despair, the illness of alienation is certainly treatable. Leaving aside the issue of treatment of individual, Marxists like Caraway observed that certain measures can prevent this disease even in capitalist societies.

Alienation is no longer confined the labouring class. Monopoly capital is endangering small scale industries and trade, under pressure of monopolistic large capital, small industries are gradually being eliminated. The power of managers in monopolistic enterprises are also eroding. Companies are merging to form huge corporations and cartails. The trend of holding companies are on rise. Industrial automation is making the managerial functions mechanical. Many procedures are thus being reduced to sleeping partners in business. Huge profits are being earned, but being deprived of creative purposeful work and on being unable to use their

skills and intelligence. The managers of enterprises are turning their heads from society searching any subconscious tunnel for respite or are destroying themselves by drifting towards the addiction of leading a wild life.

In the last decade automation has affected the industrial scenario, in the coming years this influence will increase in the industrialised nations. The demarcation between city and village will gradually become non-existent. The possibility of erosion of the difference between intellectual and physical labour does also exist. Mechanical automation has certainly increased the number of jobless people.

In this age of monopoly capitalism the malaise of alienation has spread deep and wide. The hunger of capital is no longer satiated only by mulcting the labour class, it is now compelled to hurt the interest of people belonging to almost all social strata, insecure future resulting in alienation is now affecting almost every class of people.

This alienation is the result of the inherent contradictions of the present social system. We can not prevent this by raising the bogey of preserving the old value system. The social fragmentation is advancing towards a definite end on its own rules. The stage for negation of this alienated society is being set within its structure, besides this process of destruction the work for building new morality and values is continuing. Although we can not visualise the new ideals or new institutions right now, but the indication of their foundations are clear. Its existence is certainly palpable. The co-operation and humane values of past might have eroded, but inspite of obstructions of the preachers of capitalism new actions and institutions based on co-operation are emerging, new humane relations are developing.

The birth of United Nations is certainly a landmark in the path of international co-operation. The charter of UN is a potent symbol of the universal quest for peace, brotherhood and co-operation. In spite of all its shortcomings UN has brought a new era in the world politics. Undeniably, UNESCO and other UN institutions are at least partly instrumental in the welfare of the world. It can be claimed that this is an important step in the history of mankind.

Secondly, people all over the world are now raising their voice demanding world peace, indicating emergence of new values and new morality. The fear of nuclear holocaust has united mankind to a level which was beyond imagination a few years ago. The rich, the working class, intellectual, scientists, artists, writers are all united for the common cause. The thinkers and geniuses of Britain, America, France, Soviet Union, India, Africa are in this group -- they are endeavouring to evaluate human relations through dialogue. Man has found a positive purpose in this movement. An universal organisation of scientists is working to prevent nuclear war, in its actions we find the strong influence of the ideals of universal fraternity and brotherhood. These words did exist in dictionaries and we only knew them as abstract ideals, now these words have become real and meaningful.

Thirdly, apart from these movements, we are aware of some constructive international organisations which are inspired by the ideals of universal fraternity and brotherhood, as example I can name the activities centred on the international year of geophysics and the south pole development organisation. The space voyage of Gagarin was hailed with such spontaniety by some people of Western Europe -- that it was felt not as the success of an individual or a country -- but an achievement of the humanity as a whole. The telecast of the reception ceremony of Gagarin broadcasted by Moscow television all over Europe, this event has very special significance.

Fourthly jet age has shrunk the world to a global village. Exchange of news is no longer the only way for people to be aware of each other, the rapid growth of tourism has enabled

thousand of tourists to mingle with people of other countries to be aware of other cultures. A small section of the tourists might be involved in murky operations of international espionage, but most of them are helping to promote international brotherhood and in preventing alienation. In the last decade world populace got great opportunities to know each other and to understand the culture of each other.

The word 'world humanity' thus is no longer an ambiguous word of dictionary -- it has now crystallized as a real and new ideal. Not only the political events of Cuba or Congo, natural calamities of other countries are being keenly watched. Relief and help from international community is being extended. We find a university in Moscow named after Lumumba, a park in New York being named after Tagore. The grief over murder of Lumumba is not confined to the people of Congo but the poets of Bengal are also voicing their anguish.

The aid related policies of rich donor countries may often be guided by the interest of capital or of the donor nation, even then such aids helps to promote friendship and understanding amongst the common people of the donor and the recipient countries.

In the national scenario we find that a large section of the population of advanced countries are organising movements against the multinational corporation -- it is intense in some countries, in some countries it may be milder. The causes behind these movements varies, the reasons behind the Australian or Canadian movements are not the same as that of Belgium. The nature and directions of these movements differ. The protests against nuclear weapons led by Bertrand Russell in England is very significant. These movements against war and monopoly capital are no longer the unrest of the labour class, people belonging to different social strata are on the frontline of these movements. It would be wrong to assume that people are associated with such movements due to some external pressure or economic reasons. They are united not for political ideology but to uphold the hefty ideals of preserving humanity.

Total alienation is going to be transformed into the emancipation of humanity. In developing countries the trend of promoting state financed heavy industries is being seen. Though such industries have not been very successful due to the conspiracies and influence of multinationals. As a whole we can describe such state funded enterprises as anti-monopolistic endeavours. The failure of heads of states might have resulted in a transitional phase of gloom and alienation in the minds of people, but people are also being inspired with new ideals, new value premises to set newer goal of achievement. These are the realistic observations of Caraway.

To be able to adjust the new social, national and international scenario, development of a new attitude and set of value premises are essential, which appears to be slowly moulding the human character. New purpose and needs of life are being invented. To achieve such goals new reflex of purposes are being conditioned. "If everyone of us will cherish within himself this reflex as the most precious part of his being and if parents and instructors of all ranks will make their chief problem the strengthening and developing of this reflex in the plastic masses ... then we shall become that which we should and can be."

In concluding this article, I would like to state that I have tried to indicate some positive aspects of this nuclear age, but the negative and destructive aspects can also not be overlooked. There can be no automatic negation of alienation, role of man is most essential. It is our duty to nurture this fountain of positive actions with active endeavours under our ever vigilant eyes. The time and situation is ripe for emergence of humane values and universal brotherhood, qualitative change of human brain is possible, as such there are no reasons to feel hopeless about alienation.

written in August, 1960

translated from Bengali by **Amit Ghosal** P A S

## Psychiatrist Dhirendranath

(continued article — 4th part)

**Basudev Mukherjee**

[We consider Dhirendranath as one of the leading pioneers of psychiatry in India. In the previous issues of this magazine we had included the intellectual formation and socio-psychological development of Dhirendranath as a psychiatrist. 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 regarding his achievement as a psychiatrist in a multidisciplinary approach. Ed. PAS.]

### Social Science and Psychiatry

I had said earlier we expect that members of the medical profession will be conscious of their responsibilities to society, and Dhirendranath also wanted this. He would also say, "This category of people are supposed to have the highest consciousness of social responsibility since they come in contact with people from all strata of society; yet they are the least knowledgeable about society." This apart, because of their profession they develop a kind of close relationship with ill people right from their teenage days. As a result we can certainly expect that they are the best people to appreciate their problems and troubles. This is particularly so in the case of psychiatric cases where individual patients have to be supervised for a long time. And in doing this only a family physician as an outsider can understand the tremendous extent of troubles and hardship a family has to face.

Hence it is not inappropriate for anybody to expect that a physician will have a significant place in his thoughts and emotions in considering the troubles and problems faced by a psychiatric patient and his family. It is therefore sad but true that apart from the specific matter of their profession we do not see them providing any additional concern, consideration and advice to the family members of the patient or to his society. For these reasons Dhirendranath had a lot of grievances against his physician colleagues. We have grown up having heard these grievances of his from our teenage days. As a result we or his students were deeply affected by the narrow mindedness of the social category of the medical practitioners. Sometimes he was also annoyed by our behaviour. If we were careless in dealing with the patients he would pull us up saying, "Do you think you are examining outdoor patients in your hospital?"

Gradually as we became advanced in age we realised this lack of social consciousness is not just a problem in our society, it is a problem of the medical profession of the entire world and particularly of the western countries. As a result social science is considerably neglected in psychiatry. But we can say without any hesitation whatsoever that all the most modern research work in psychiatry are all being carried out by scientists of the western world. But we can safely say that inspite of their best and sincere efforts this valuable work will remain incomplete if they do not involve social science in it. Their work will remain incomplete as long

as they continue to see social science as only a small chapter in the textbook on psychiatry.

But we fail to understand why this has been going on for the last one hundred years or so, and probably this needs to be examined a bit more in depth. When we talk about this amongst ourselves some say, "They are keeping silence as a conspiracy", meaning they are avoiding matters relating to social science as a conspiracy. This is because as soon as the topic is raised they will have to cover poverty, social inequality, socialism and inevitably Marxism and class struggle. As a result they will try their best to be far away from these matters. Otherwise what can be the logic for maintaining such a strange silence about social science! Meaning, this is like deliberately avoiding to see the real form of society. Many may say it is not always possible to understand or filter out the variables about the intricacies of the society. Because of this with the frequent changes taking place our plan of work during any research has to be constantly modified.

Exactly for this reason we can expect that for purposes of research scientists will give the highest importance and priority to those subjects which have the highest complications. Then what else can be the inherent reason for this extreme silence on this subject? Just like the silence for which we do not find the name of Pavlov mentioned in any of the innumerable writings we come across.

Here we will not raise the situation in our country, where students are forced to study textbooks on psychology which are more than one hundred years outdated. And in psychiatry it is enough to know the names of a few medicines. And then representatives from the pharmaceutical companies will explain the details of the medicines to the physicians. Thus there is practically a competition amongst psychiatrists on who can use the most of the new medicines. If any physician carries on treatment using the old medicines he is considered to be outdated. But from this one should not conclude that we oppose any modern research on medicines or discourage their use by others.

We know that with the normal developments of science there will also be modern research in this area and new medicines will come into the market. We have no objection to this, but why is social science being excluded in this? Why do not people realise that psychiatry is meaningless without social science? And with this comes to mind the name of Dhirendranath. Because we doubt whether there were many psychiatrists in this world who were so intimately connected with the relationship of social science with psychology. May be we are arrogant about this, and hence have the responsibility to prove it.

In this context let us now talk about Pavlov. He is one of the fathers of psychology and psychiatry. But to our students Pavlov was the discoverer of 'Conditioned Reflex' Theory who would make a dog hungry for food by ringing bells in front of it and not giving it food to eat. But there is hope here since the ideas and views of the western world are changing, all be it very slowly. But it is strange that we do not see Pavlov's name mentioned in any of the various writings on subjects relating to psychology appearing in the many papers published in this country or elsewhere. But the old and outdated theories of psychologists are presented there in a new form.

We are used to seeing this from the learned people of our country, but why should it happen in overseas countries also? They are educated, learned and well-informed. In that case is this callousness and indifference towards Pavlov indicative of a 'silent conspiracy'? Here our view is very clear. Either you have to openly reject the works of Pavlov or else we will

loudly praise the works of Pavlov, even if this hurts your sense of pride. And even if you do not like it this is going to prove that Pavlov himself is an institution and holds a special place in psychology and psychiatry. His extremely disciplined laboratory work extending over fifty years will be a mine of information for our work for several years ahead. We therefore have to say that we will carry on with full distinction, honour and distinction the work which had been initiated by Dhirendranath in Calcutta. Alongside this we will establish psychology with two distinct pillars viz. sociology and biology. As to express it better, psychology will grow up resting on the wings of sociology on one side and biology on the other side.

Let us now come to another topic. The way in which biology is so intimately connected with psychiatry, an important matter for discussion is the use of medicines in its treatment. We therefore have to mention about the use of medicines by Dhirendranath in his treatment of psychiatry.

#### **Dhirendranath and the use of psychiatry drugs**

Dhirendranath had a presence for roughly about half of previous century, and during this period he closely followed with interest the changes in the medicines used for the treatment of psychiatry patients. He regularly kept himself updated on the textbooks on this line of treatment and in addition representatives of pharmaceutical companies also gave him various literatures. As a result he would know as soon as any new medicine came into the market and would try them out on the patients. But it must be said that he could take extreme care before using any medicine. He was a Life Fellow of Indian Psychiatry Society, but it is doubtful whether he attended any of their conventions. His views on this were, "Nobody there could say anything outside what is available in western textbooks. So what is the point in unnecessarily wasting my time attending them?" Instead he would regularly arrange discussions on social science and psychology at the establishment which he headed. There he would invite other psychiatrists to express their views. Some would accept the invitation, while others would ignore them.

We must never forget that our Pharmaceutical Companies provide a large part of the funds required for the larger programmes of the various medical associations such as discussion forums, research, workshops etc.. As a result these companies quite naturally use the doctors to publicise the usefulness of their products. The established doctors add their own views to the perceived reputations of these manufacturers. Hence the conventions of the psychiatrists became an occasion to publicise the individual new medicines coming into the market. Dhirendranath would avoid these conventions since they could not provide him with anything new. Besides there was occasions would also be a tussle for the individual doctors to exhibit themselves. For this reason these conventions did not provide an environment for any scientific discussions.

We have to keep in mind that psychiatry disorder is longlasting chronic problem, and as a result publicity for any medicine for it is given importance since it will be required for long time, since the patient will have to be on some drugs always. It is thus seen that treatment of psychiatry disorder is gradually becoming drug-centred and like other doctors most psychiatrists are considerably indebted to the manufacturers of these drugs. As a result they prescribe a large numbers drugs to the patients even if not required. On the one hand they are completely dependant on the text books of western countries and thus they do not

exercise their own judgement in the treatment; as a result they only consider the body weight of the patients when deciding the quantum of medicines to be prescribed.

On the other side they are constantly influenced by the marketing pressures of the drug manufacturers. From this we find that frequently they are irregular with their medicines because there is considerable side effects from the overmedications. Besides unlike other common ailments they do not find in their case any magical effects of these drugs. It is possible they frequently change their doctors or are even forced to stop taking the medicines. At times they also do not have the financial resources to continue with the increasing cost of the medicines. The doctors who see the patients in their private practice treat them in a more responsible manner. Comparatively there is a mark of neglect and carelessness on the patients treated in outdoor departments of State hospitals. There the main and only aim turns out to be to get rid of the patient after giving them some standard medicines.

In this situation the status of the clinical psychologists is more complicated. They are unsure which role they should play here. Compared to the psychiatrists their line of studies and education has been more outdated. As a result they are practically unaware of the current thoughts on psychology or applied psychology. If they have to take up any work they will only be able to do things like counselling or psychotherapy. Even that will have to be done under the supervision of a psychiatrist; and this they find difficult to accept. They will get the opportunity to take up a patient only if agreed by a psychiatrist. They do not have the authority to prescribe any medicines.

Consequently they have a feeling that the psychiatrists are only familiar with the names of a few medicines and these they rotate amongst the patients. This is whilst they are the ones who actually carry out the counselling or psychotherapy of the patients and their family members. Of course when requested or required by the psychiatrist they do carry out the assessment of the mental states of the patients. But since it is so culture-specific this assessment by them is in practice not put to any use. Such assessments are based on instruments which are imported from overseas and in many cases based on assumptions. As a result it is doubtful whether the clinical psychologists themselves properly understand their own reports based on these studies. Unfortunately this is enough to discourage the patients or their family members.

Interested readers can refer to the book *The Mismeasure of Man* by wellknown biologist Stephen J. Gould (penguin Books, 1981) to see how unscientific and misrepresentative is this work on the assessment of the mental attributes of the human brain like intelligence, motivation, personality, memory etc.. Alongside this another significant aspect is that like many physicians these psychologists also do not have the minimal knowledge on sociology. Hence they do nothing else apart from adopting some routine and conventional methods in their work. Of course in our underdeveloped country we cannot expect anything better from them.

While on this subject let me say that quite a few clinical psychologists have assisted or worked under Dhirendranath. We are not aware what they have done later on. While working with them we realised they did not have the knowledge or the practical experience being attached as an interneer in a mental hospital. Consequently they will not be able to understand the functioning of the brain even if they tried to with their experience and practical training. For this they have to know much better the neurophysiology and the relationship between the functioning of the body and the brain. But we cannot say how they will get to understand the

normal and abnormal situations of these functions. We therefore have to accept that until he or she acquires this modern knowledge of the neurophysiology or medicine he or she will have to wander around the narrow paths or labyrinths built up by Freud and his followers.

Anyway, coming back to what we were discussing, Dhirendranath was not at all happy about or was opposed to this indiscriminate and uncontrolled uses of medicines. He would show his protest at every opportunity. He had a strange personalized approach about using medicines and in this he would not take anyone into confidence. One can say even with students like us he would have conflicts in views about this practically on a daily basis; but he would not budge on his views. We were then forming an opinion that he would be treating his patients with an underdose of medicines. Now in our practical life we realise how true and honest he was!

Before writing a prescription the factors which he considered very seriously were — 1. The nature of the illness, that is the precise condition for which medicine is required. 2. The braintype of the patient or the Pavlovian Brain Type (inhibitory, excitatory, melancholic or perfectly balanced, etc. — discussed later). 3. Whether the patient has taken any similar medicines previously and if so were there any side effects. 4. The financial or economic status of the patient and whether he or his family will be able to bear the expenses for the medicines over an extended period, and so on. In other words he would prescribe the minimum dosage to prepare the patient for the subsequent hypnotic suggestion therapy.

He would also very carefully explain to the patient and his family members the possible problems from taking the medicine such as trembling of hands and feet, constipation, dribbling of saliva, a peculiar uneasiness (chiefly extrapyramidal reactions) etc.. And in this explanation he stressed the need for giving reassurance to the patient. Realising the dangers and problems he would probably start off the treatment with very small dosages and then gradually increase the dosages if there were no problems or reactions. Sometimes he was not at all unhappy even if found the dosage was too low. He would only keep a big indicator in front of him, that is how alert and active can he keep the patient even in this condition. In all cases we found how with very little help or assistance the patient could become self-confident — it was as if he would regularly be carrying out tests on this subject.

Another thing he would explain to the family members is how the patient could keep the medicine under his tongue, swallow only the water and then later throw away the medicine. Hence if he heard there was no improvement in the condition, his first question would be has the medicine been taken properly. In such a case he would demonstrate to the family members the correct procedure for giving the medicines.

Very often there were cases where a chronic patient had been prescribed a large quantity of medicines by various doctors and had reached a strange complicated condition when they came to him. This happened when he had achieved a reputation in his professional life. In jest we would call this the problems of having reputation. It would become a strange and intricate situation. The patient would sometimes reel off which medicines he has been taking and in what dosage. He could also say the effects or side-effects of the individual medicines. We could see that he felt uncomfortable treating these patients the same way the other doctors had done.

But I have already said earlier he took each patient as a challenge. In this case of complicated cases he would try to clearly explain to the family members that we do not know

any magic. This is a scientific method of treatment, and for this we have to carefully examine the patient to assess the nature of treatment; this could take a little time and the family members will have to have some patience during this period. If this is not acceptable they are free to try elsewhere. In most cases the patient and his people accepted this approach by the doctor but still would say, "Please doctor, we have come to you with a lot of hope."

During treatment, in most cases he might see the reaction of reducing the dosage or would start a new medicine. He would tell them, "The patient must not take any other medicine, else I can take any responsibility. Do not take any other medicine without asking me." But he did not easily discontinue any medicine which suited the patient. We often found the family members became over enthusiastic or excited and would mislead the patient and would also create difficulties for the doctor regarding treatment. Dhirendranath was certain and convinced that taking different types and dosages of medicines for an extended period can result in metabolic changes in the body, and particularly effects on the brain can create severe complications.

Hence he would be visibly annoyed if we tried to argue with him with our immature knowledge of neurophysiology. He would chide us and say, "The effect of your training seems to be that you feel that the brain has some on-off switches for the neurotransmitter, and all it needs is to give us medicines and turn these switches on or off. You are not at all considering that there is an extremely complex homeostasis present in the brain."

Unless it became unavoidable he generally did not change a medicine if it did not show any results the first time. He had a number of patients who had been taking medicines in small doses for twenty to thirty years and would take a live suggestion at infrequent intervals. By nature he had become a family friend to many of his patients. In many cases he also became a guardian to them. And he would willingly do it. In this sense he was like the head of a large family. The patient or his family members would write to him innumerable letters to which he replied personally. He would also talk to them extensively on the telephone.

The biggest difficulty was when he would get a phone call while giving a suggestion. But he would cleverly manage these situations like an expert professional psychiatrist. We cannot say whether this dependence of the patients on him was good or bad, because in our society the feeling of helplessness of our people increases several fold when there is a psychiatry patient in their family. We therefore cannot see any objection if this kind of help and association of a person is seen as godsend by the patient or his family members.

Let us now come back about medicines. His professional life can be divided into three stages. In the first stage or at the beginning of his career he seemed to be dealing more with schizophrenic type of cases, and he would treat them mainly with antipsychotics. In the next stage he would mostly see patients affected by anxiety and the psychosomatic cases, and here he would mostly use in small doses the antipsychotic type of medicines. In the latter stage he seemed to be treating mostly cases affected by depression. Then he would give them mostly antidepressant medicines. Here if the problem was mainly anxiety-proneness he would largely prescribe amitriptyline and chlordiazepoxide based medicines.

I should mention that in case of patients suffering from depression he would carefully try to find out if they had any suicidal tendencies and then he would warn the family members to be careful. But amongst all these he probably saw the largest number of obsessive compulsive neurosis patients and he would have a religious explanation why this is prevalent

amongst Indians — and here he would give examples of a dip in the Ganges or practicing penance or austerity. He faced the biggest problems with these patients, since he had to often change his suggestions for them and they also suffered for long periods. But he was extremely careful with his treatment for these patients and he would see even minimal improvement as positive suggestions. His usual medicines for such patients was imipramine and diazepam, together with antipsychotics as required.

He had his own methods for classifying cases of mental disorder and as a result he did not strictly follow the recommendations found in western textbooks (discussed later in more detail). We would only hear him frequently say, "The core of this is schizophrenic" or "The core of this is not schizophrenic." Hence wherever he considered the brain to be weak he would give them the smallest dosage of medicines.

I have already said earlier that he always started with minimal dosage of medicines, since his objective was to make the patient receptive to suggestions and alert. He would take a few days even for patients coming from a distance (Assam, Tripura, Delhi, Bihar, etc.). This would give him the time and opportunity to think about the patient. But there were medicines prescribed in small doses and he would impress upon the patient and his family members that even if they cannot come and see him the medicines or the suggestions must not stop.

But the patients did become irregular and for this they were pulled up also. Later a beautiful culture and understanding developed amongst the patients, and they understood the method of treatment followed by this physician. As a result they easily accepted this not only for their own case but also when they brought other patients. For example, an old patient would one day tell him, "Doctor, please change my cassette today."

(To be continued) **P A S**

## **Role of Hypnotism in Religious Culture**

**Goutam Bandopadhyay**

Since development of the human civilisation till today hypnotism is daily routine in our way of life to individual and collective mind. Hypnotism is part and parcel in our daily life and is evident from our culture, tradition, customs, religion, art, music, sentiments of community, communalism, patriotism, nationalism, inter-nationalism, war, terrorism, agitation to postwar peace, struggle for freedom of the country etc.. And with all these features, the path of hypnotism is a continuous company of our mind. Had this been not so, the human civilisation would have not attained such a stage as it is today. This may sound exaggerated to us.

In fact who will tell us that magic of the magicians is not always hypnotism. It is not that only some ghostly incarnation or deep cool sight of anaconda hypnotises us. Partly we hypnotise others daily or we are auto-hypnotised or hypnotised by others. In our daily routine, our own ideas, thoughts, manners, activities, expression of our emotions, attitudes and values of life, self-confidence are all influenced by day to day application of hypnotism. If we look superficially at the science of hypnosis, we find that in the shelves of mind we accept or reject everyday lots of enthusiasm prioritywise for balancing our conscience with earthly life to go advance.

The enthusiasm creating more and wider stimulation is more acceptable and spread more in mind meaning thereby that mind is more motivated and influenced by that idea. Any concept opposite to it and beyond this creates least exposure and effect in mind is minimum. Thus the ideas and concepts with least effect remains inhibited in mind thus always maintains a conflict with guiding main ideas which act to a man as prime-mover. The result of which the main concepts get obstructions to move freely. But when the primemoving force guiding consciousness and its feelings becomes dominant because of its high degree of intensity or repetition, the state of our mind are superceded ignoring other considerations and conflicts and we abide by the dominant focus without any hesitation. In our day to day life this incident often happens, otherwise human beings being bewildered would have attained a stage of stasis in life.

It, therefore, can be stated that partial or full hypnotism very often generates in the minds of human beings. Hypnotism can be defined as the state of mind when any perception or feeling is very much after blind conception or emotion. Relevant or related other arguments remain inhibited in mind. Because of total alert conscious state, day to day incidents of hypnotism is commonly either regional or partial. Hypnotism pervades fully only when we are stimulated by definite, wishfull, acceptable concepts and emotions to an extent to dissociate ourselves from related arguments and judgements and we become independent from the influence of environments at least temporarily.

In such state of affairs, excepting the area of hypnotism in mind, other areas go into a state of deep inhibition and dormant stage and influence the entire mind with the concepts like generation of spirit on earthen pot, meditation, treatment of hysteria through puff of broom stick, other treatments through hypnotism etc.. The glaring examples of partial hypnotism are suden impetus or impulsive manners, to become emotional with lectures of political or religious leaders, to be moved with scenes of drama, to go back to past memories while hearing the melody with full concentration of a particular song etc.. While in Vibgyor, the boundary of red and orange colours can never be differentiated nor the area wherefrom the orange colour originates is not indentifiable, similarly it is not possible to locate the period wherefrom the sense of hypnotism starts to function, that is to say it is difficult to predict the timings when main feelings of mind start dominating over other stimulation. Therefore our daily life is nothing but combination of partial hypnotism and partial conscious-alert state free of hypnotism. In our daily routine the influence of hypnotism is more prominent and it is evident through our religion and culture.

*Khoka ghumolo, para jurolo, Bargi elo deshe*, (Sleep enveloped my child, everywhere is quiet and the invaders attack the country) the rhythm and melody of this ballad often brings a sleeping environment. That means the rhythm and melody of songs create very promptly a state of hypnotism inside the mind. The time of music with its sound of diversity, its melody and harmony creates a symphonic stimulation in mind and that sensation gets intensified with the swinging effect of rhythm resulting gradually inhibition to come down in replacement of scattered stimulation of various intensity of surroundings of the world. The world outside music, as if sets and the music with its language brings a new world and we are not sure when we are under trap of the new world being dissociated from external surroundings.

So, through varieties of ballads, *Laxmir Panchali*, music of *Bhadu*, *Tusu* and through their rhythms, the desires, eagerness, emotions of our cast and community are expressed.

*Bulbulite dhan kheyechhe, khajna debo kise* ( All the paddy has been eaten by birds, how shall I pay the rent) — only this ballad does not put us to sleep. The picturesque image formed out of its language and its repetition represents a feeling of long past. This type of lyrics and rhythms also create a deep concentration in the mind of baby and mother. Inability to pay off taxes represents a sign of poverty in life through this ballad.

Through this type of ballad and its rhythm, the expression of sorrows and griefs minimise the intensities of miseries and try to bring relief, satisfaction for relief of distress in the process on continuity generates and environment of hypnotism of peace and tranquility. We have often seen mother automatically goes to a sleeping stage along with the baby while putting him/her to sleep.

In each and every country of the world, the regional culture is based on rural tradition which is spontaneous from the grassroots level out of day to day joy, miseries, happiness and helplessness. The sufferings of human beings in course of age are consolidated. Social insecurities are being more or less uniformly reflected in several rituals like *Shivaratri*, *Itupuja*, *Nilsasthi* and several worships and festival like *Nabanna*, *Bhadu-Tushu* and miseries of women necessitate relief through worships and prayer. In our patriarchal society, women are insecure for various reasons and women are inclined to sacrifice to worships of several images. That women are inclined to worships because of their insecurity in the society is well established through myths of such worships.

In the month of *Agrahayan* every Sunday *Itupuja* is celebrated and in the *Sankranti* of that month the image of Itudevi is immersed. The concept behind *Itupuja* is that one may possess wealth and happiness at the cost of pleasure of Itudevi. In the worship of *Nilsasthi* on the day of *Chaitra-Sankranti* mothers fast for the whole day and in the evening, they pour water on the head of Shiva with the belief that there will be welfare to children. Again on the occasion of *Shivaratri* festival, women fast for the whole day during *Krishna-paksha* of *chaturdashi* in the month of *Phalguna* and after that in the evening they prepare an image of *Shivalinga* with mud of river Ganges to spend sleepless night to worship Shiva four times in four spells and finally at the end offering water on the head of Shiva in anticipation of having wealth, emotion, faith, salvation and an ideal husband like Shiva.

Amongst the festivals and worships, *Bhadu* and *Tushu*, which are based on folk songs, are specially worth mentioning. In Bankura, Purulia, south Birbhum and in west Bardhaman districts, usually unmarried teenaged girls during the spell from *Shravana Sankranti* to *Bhadra Sankranti* throughout the entire month of *Bhadra* sets up image of queen *Bhadu* in pot and sing *Bhadu* songs. They collectively welcome *Bhadu* Devi and worship her. In *Bhadu Sankranti* women through *Bhadu* songs, express their sentiments along with their agonies confined in their mind.

On the other hand *Tushu* song is part of agricultural festival. This festival has similarity with *Navanna* festival which is usually observed by women. Head of the family with new and pure garments as a custom cut two and half handful of bunches of paddy and collect accumulated water from the root of paddy in a pot and keeps the pot in pulpit with tune of conchs. With the rice from paddy, *Nabanna* festival takes place and the husk obtained from the rice is the symbol of *Tushu*. Like *Bhadu* festival, women spends the whole night without sleeping in *Tushu* festival. In the morning the image of *Tushu* is immersed in *Chaitya-Sankranti*.

In the philosophy of myth-ritual, the entire myth contains stories of archetype thinkings.

Even tales or other legends appear to be associated with myths. All traditional thought process, manners, religious principles, even act of story-telling, lyrics for the kids etc. are to hypnotise others. These activities appear to have taken shape from old traditions. Such rituals related to myths are often observed to be related to self-torture or self-sacrifice in many countries. In the Itupuja observed by women, the vow contains the story of gaining the property by two sisters Umno and Jhumno. In the worship of Nilsasthi, there is a story of easy death of Brahmin and Brahmini, in the Bhadu festival which contains the story of princess Bhadu. In the myths of Tushu festival, the insecurity of women is always prominent.

In the process of story-telling, the myths create in the mind some sort of special stimulation of hypnotism without any rhymes and reason because of associating the old past within themselves. So myths and rituals are virtually sources of hypnotism through out ages to the nation. The rituals and myths of Bhadu festival ignoring the existing reality about the surroundings remain confined within a restricted area in the brain. Beyond that boundary, the question of reality remains inhibited by the influence of dormant state of mind. The result is as the festive advances, through myths and chorus songs, the imaginary part of myths and incidents of hypnotism within the restricted areas of perception tend to be true. The imaginary feelings of intimacy with princess Bhadu is perceived the tales of hypnosis of myths and the helplessness predominates gradually to tide over the critical stage of crisis. In the area of abnormal psychological condition, for example, obsession is a kind of regional fixed hypnotic condition. Rituals that one should not do this and one should do this — these concepts through ages are repeated and spread over the mind firmly, the result of which no rationality in support can be established in mind.

As a consequence, the rituals causing grounds of hypnotism are established through principal concepts of festival to take care of the helpless condition of the women. It reassure the women and take recourse to take shelter in imagination through suggestions by myths and devotions followed by chorus songs. On the day of Bhadu Sankranti during Bhadu festival, spending sleepless night with chorus Bhadu song is a symbol of hardship already in mind and gets relieved by the collectiveness of the community. In psychology, this state of affair is called abreaction. Through repetition of these songs women console among themselves which acts to create a partial stage of hypnotism through auto-suggestion. The myth of a festival carries our state of mind of hypnotism beyond any doubt for generation after generation. The ceremonial functions free us from our daily chores and engross us in the realm of hypnosis. Being engaged in the imagination of happiness, one gets relief from the distress of real life.

In the Dashami ceremony of Durga puja, on the eve of departure of Devi Parvati, the married women are proud of their marital status by putting vermillion on the forehead of other married women and this symbolises abreaction of the pensive mood of departure of Parvati from father's house. Princess Bhadu is welcome by considering Bhadu as own daughter of their home and by such act as if the urge to be fortunate like princess Bhadu is expressed symbolically. Again goddess Bhadu and Tushu are addressed in their nick names and are given due honour in own house as own daughters having spiritual power. Surrendering before them with a view to fulfilling desires and urges is very common through hypnotic situation and organised publicity. Imaginary feelings of comfort are not obstructed against the realities.

In several myths we find that pleasures, sorrows and distresses from grass-root level appear in our life and tend to be in tune and rhythm to get rid of sense of insecurity by

amalgamating with our helplessness as a whole and thus through identification with small and large community as a whole species and self preservation instinct is asked for. Thus when miseries appear, it can be endured. It is only possible to surrender miseries through festives. Miseries in a collective tune is likely to generate a wave of hypnotism and during festive days, personal fatigues take a shape in common and universal platform and sorrows then become source of pride.

Related to source of religion, there are lots of controversies in this world. Human beings have the urge to be mortal in this universe full with contingencies bypassing helplessness of man, the wonders, infallibility of death. From the very inception of urge to be associated with mortality, the necessity of surrender towards eternity has become a must in course of time. This urges and eagerness before the concept of religion tend to be satisfied through several old customs, rituals, sacred hymns, meditation, philosophy mixed with folk culture and like that. Different religions are conceptualised through some historical interactions mixed with philosophy of folk culture.

Since inception of religion, the dominance and elements of supremacy of a higher class inherited into the policies and principles of religion. Well defined policy and philosophy of religion are regarded as eternal and perpetual message of God. Men, being afraid of fear of death leaves all conflicts and crisis on the mercy of supernatural power of God and tend to take shelter for protection under the umbrella of religion. The doctrine of rebirth hypnotises a man as the melody of flute of Hamilton does. Free thinkings of religions are locked because of slavery under religion.

The supremacy of Pope, Imam and Priests is well protected. In this way, with the control of defined Institution, the religion in the world of history passes through a state of impasse. The talks of Koran, Hadis are considered to be ever true and unchangeable to the Muslim community. Similarly the messages of Bible too are unchangeable and for this reason even a few years back when the children used to read in the book of geography that the world traverses round the sun, the people of Vatican City used to have a reverse concept by the power of hypnotism. The main publicist of Hinduism is Shankaracharya who, in the chapter of philosophy has declared that use of all proofs and their uses and justifications are baseless.

Therefore, all direct evidences have no access or in other words lack of knowledge leads to imagination of false world. External Brahma is the only truth. In all religions, well defined philosophical boundary which is called 'Laxman Rekha' restricts free thinking. In order to stop all conflicting ideas and thoughts, the concepts have been diverted to the theory of rebirth. Pope, Imam, Priests already in power are never in favour of free thinking. They define philosophy of the religion through repetition of sound of the utterings of sacred hymns and by this a mental set-up is generated to form a concept of environment of eternity after death and this is a sense of hypnotism. For the existence of religion, community feeling has been formed. Preaches of Koran, Bible or Veda are seldom accepted from the core of the heart. On the other hand major section of the people responds to the call of Hindus, Christians and Muslims.

It is thus evident that only a particular sound or vibration generates inside the mind a sense of hypnotism and for the sake of safety and protection, we take mass shelter under the common umbrella of vibration or sound. Again for the sake of safety of community, mass hypnotism is formed in the society. Conflict is created religionwise. A man is hypnotised by

riots and thus a man is bound to be communal. Lack of communal safety endangers the existence of primary condition. For such reason, a man has to be biased of communal feelings for the sake of security. Other arguments or considerations do not act. Hypnotism in mass scale helps to flare up religion is gradually converted into false rituals. For political reason the rituals are observed and kept alive. Demand of the modern civilisation of some secular human religion, thus, cannot develop.

Compared to religion, philosophy of the masses is much more based on rituals of grassroot level. This philosophy is again contrary to religion. It does not believe in the concept of rebirth, body is the last word. In the sacred hymns, it is said "Ja achhe Brahamande, tai achhe dehabhande" (That which is present in the Macrocosm is present in the Microcosm). Guru-based philosophy is spread in the community of tantrika, Bauls, Baishnabs, Sahajia where apparently common man is the last word. Boundary of each community is defined by its definite manners, customs, faiths, prayer and even then there has been change in the stream of social life on the demand of peoples' own manners and customs. A man has not been pulled back to the extent by the inertness of religion.

P A S

## There was a Viceroy Called ...

Subhendu Sarkar

Whenever one talks about the Partition of Bengal (1905), one is reminded of the then Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon (1859-1925). But what do we really know about him? In fact, there are many among us who have heard nothing else about Curzon except his name. It is my intention to fill up this gap to a certain extent. In what follows, therefore, I will chart the career of Lord Curzon, which is at the same time an effective means to understand the main currents of the Victorian Age (1868-1901) and the first quarter of the 20th century.

Born as the eldest son and heir of Lord Scarsdale of Redleston Hall in Derbyshire, George Nathaniel Curzon never forgot, nor was he ever allowed to forget, the ancient lineage of his family. The Scarsdales claimed their descent in an unbroken line from the days of William the Conqueror; they believed to have migrated to England from a town in Normandy called Curson, from which they took their name and held it for more than 800 years.<sup>1</sup>

Governed by strict protocol, the aristocratic English families of the late 19th century neighbor had any knowledge of the existence of the workers (the product of the Industrial Revolution) and their plight nor of the growing power of the rising bourgeoisie. They lived within the narrow limits of their secluded world, assured and contented. Born in such an elite feudal family, Curzon soon began to have high opinions about himself and started considering him a future-member of the ruling class. It was this sense of pride that he desperately clinged on to till the last day of his life.

Like all other boys of his class, Curzon too grew up in an environment that endorsed strict hierarchical structure of the society. In May 1869, Curzon went to his first school at Wixenford. It was an expensive school costing as much 150 pounds, a year per child. The Headmaster, the Revd. R. Cowley Powles, moved his school from Blackheath to Rampshire

to be nearer his old friend, the Revd. Charles Kingsley. In 1866 Kingsley declared that he no longer subscribed to the idea of the equality of mankind :

Nearly a quarter of a century spent in educating my parishioners and experience with my own and others' children ... have taught me that there are congenital differences and hereditary tendencies which defy all education from circumstances ... I have seen also, that the difference of race are so great, that certain races, e.g. the Irish Celts, seem quite unfit for self-government.<sup>2</sup>

Using Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest to justify British dominion over other races, Kingsley remarked :

Physical science is proving more and more the immense importance of Race; the importance of hereditary powers, hereditary organs, hereditary habits, in all organised beings from the lowest plant to the highest animal. She is proving more and more omnipresent action of the differences between the races.<sup>3</sup>

Charles Kingsley who, from time to time, delivered theological lectures to the students of Wixenford made an indelible impression on the mind of young Curzon. It would be hardly irrelevant to mention that Kingsley, together with Ruskin, Carlyle and Tennyson defended the Jamaican Governor, Edward Eyre, for ordering the death penalty for the black politician, G.W. Gordon and hundreds of other rebels in the Jamaican crisis of 1865. When Eyre returned home in 1866, Kingsley praised him for personifying the "English spirit of indomitable perseverance, courage and adventure." John Bright, J.S. Mill, Spencer and interestingly, Darwin, had opposed Eyre's actions.<sup>4</sup>

After Wixenford, Curzon went to Eton. Founded by King Henry the Sixth in 1440 on the banks of Thames, Eton was the gateway to a successful career, whether in church, diplomacy, or the civil service. The boys of the aristocratic families were trained to see themselves born to rule the large mass of people. Four of Britain's Prime Ministers passed out from Eton: Gladstone, Salisbury, Rosebury and Balfour.

Both his parents and teachers at Wixenford made Curzon feel he was special. But in Eton things turned out to be different. Teachers were not ready to pay him the homage as all the students who entered Eton came from one aristocratic family or another. So to prove his "superiority" over others, Curzon had to gear himself up in different ways to get noticed. He provoked the teachers to throw him out of class. Once in his room, Curzon remained awake for half the night studying to win prizes which other pupils were expected to win and thereby experienced a kind of "sweet revenge" through personal exertion. In fact, so great was his desire to excel that he often resorted to unfair means. In 1875, Curzon's tutor at Eton, Wolley Dod, wrote to Lord Scarsdale complaining that his son was found guilty of "taking a leaf out of a book into 'Collections' and using it in the examination."<sup>5</sup> Circumstantial evidence shows that three years later Curzon was again found cheating. Curzon's doting father did not however disapprove of this kind of behaviour. Lord Scarsdale, apart from making sure that his son lived comfortably away from Kedleston, continued allowing young Curzon to take pride in his family background. Even Gladstone was surprised to see the luxurious room Curzon occupied when the former visited Eton in 1878.

While at Eton, Curzon started taking an interest in politics. But it was actually at Oxford that politics became his principal passion. After passing out from Eton, entering Oxford was the next necessary step for the would-be English politician in the Victorian Age. How

compulsive was studying at Balliol College can be guessed from the fact that for seventeen successive years, from 1888 to 1905, all the Viceroys of India were Balliol men. The Master of the College, the Revd. Dr. Benjamin Jowett, declared that the highest ideal for a young Balliol man was to prepare himself for rendering service to the country and the Empire. Curzon went to Balliol College in 1878 when he was 19 years old. Soon he became an acknowledged leader of the Young Conservatives. Curzon had always been an ardent Tory believing that institutions like monarchy and the established church needed to be preserved and protected because they made England a great power. A blind supporter of Benjamin Disraeli, Curzon was assured of the fact that the world was divided into the ruling classes and the masses, each having a predestined duty to perform. Influences ranging from Kingsley to Disraeli convinced him that certain nations had been assigned to rule; the British were the naturally chosen people but not every Englishman had the right to rule. It was at Balliol College that he learnt that "there has never been anything so great in the world's history as the British Empire, so great as an instrument for the good of humanity".<sup>6</sup> Having arrived at this conclusion, Curzon found it increasingly difficult to tolerate views other than his own.

Birth in an aristocratic family, education at Eton and Balliol College and an active interest in politics were prerequisites for a successful political career in the Victorian era. As Curzon satisfied all these conditions, it is hardly surprising that he would be asked to fight for a Parliamentary seat. After the death of Disraeli in 1880, the next Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury assigned Curzon, who was then his new Assistant Private Secretary, the Parliamentary seat of South Derbyshire vacated by Lord Scarsdale's old friend, Sir Henry Wilmot. However his first attempt to enter Parliament in 1885 proved a failure. Curzon's inflated ego did not permit him to know about the needs and aspirations of the new potters, colliers and industrial workers added to his constituency with the election Reform Bill. Besides, he felt that his ancient lineage and education entitled him to the seat. Little wonder that the new voters threw egg in his face. Curzon at last managed to win a Parliamentary seat in 1886 from Southport in Lancashire at the age of 27. But he did not learn any lesson from his failure a year ago.

Curzon visited India for the first time as a 28-year-old Tory Mp. It was a strange coincidence that the Viceregal residence in Calcutta, which was completed in 1803, was designed on a model of kedleston. The sight of the Government House at the end of his visit seemed to have enkindled in Curzon the desire to return to Calcutta in the future. Later, after becoming the Viceroy of India, he recalled:

It is certainly true that it was the fact of that resemblance that first turned my thoughts to the question of the Government of India; and when I left the doors of Government House in Calcutta on the first and only occasion on which I have visited it, in 1887, it made me feel that some day, if fate were propitious and I were held deserving of the task I should like to exchange kedleston in England for kedleston in India.<sup>7</sup>

Curzon's dream came true after a decade. As the youngest Viceroy of India, he landed at Bombay in December 1898, accompanied by his wife Mary. Both the Viceroy and the Vicereine were immediately overwhelmed by the pompous ceremony with which they were received first in Bombay and then in Calcutta. Not only the British officials but also the sycophantic Maharajas decked in jewels gathered at the palatial Government House (to build it the East India Company spent 63,291 pounds) to welcome them on 3 January 1999. The

position of the Viceroy of India was aweinspiring at the turn of the century. He was in effect one of the most powerful rulers of the world; he seemed to have unbridled power rulling over 300 million subjects. Though the Viceroy had to report to the Secretary of the State and the India Council in London, Calcutta was seven seas away and the journey took 17 days. As soon as he took his office in India, a vast new world opened before Curzon. Removed from Westminster, he soon began to consider himself the monarch of India.

From the very beginning, the Curzons were aware of their position. Unlike the Dufferins (Lady Dufferin had even taken Bengali food with a local family sitting on the floor with her knees folded), the Curzons consciously kept a distance from "Native India". Several hundreds of servants treated them as if they were royal couples. The Viceroy's bodyguards alone ranged from 120 to 400 men. In a letter dated 9 February 1903, Mary wrote to her parents that in Calcutta when she wanted a bath, one man heated the water, another got the tub, a third filled it, and a fourth emptied it. This was in total contrast with her experience in London where she had felt "English servants are fiends."<sup>8</sup> Her bedroom in the Viceregal House was so huge that half of it had to be curtained off to make a sitting room.

Not only in Calcutta did the Curzons enjoy a luxurious life. The country residence at Barrackpore and the Viceroy's House in the summer capital of Simla were equally splendid. The train that took them to Simla was a miniature travelling palace. The private saloon car of the Vicereine had her bedroom, a boudoir, a bathroom with a bathtub, a dressing room and a room for two of her maids. The Viceroy also had a study furnished with a desk and chairs. Besides, wherever they went they were received ceremoniously with military bands playing "God Save the Queen".<sup>9</sup> Tributes were inscribed on the triumphal arches erected to welcome the visiting couple. The Curzons could never forget the homage they enjoyed in India, the land of his dreams. There is substantial truth in Lord Beaverbrook's observation:

In 1898 he was created Viceroy of India, an office filled with pomp and ceremony, at the youthful age thirty-nine. In his train followed long strings of elephants and retinues of gaily colourful servants. But his years of semi-kingship came to an end in 1905, when at forty-six years of age he left India an angry and embittered man. For all the rest of his life Curzon was influenced by his sudden journey to heaven at the age of thirty-nine and then by his return seven years later to earth, for the remainder of his mortal existence.<sup>10</sup>

The idea of superiority ingrained in his mind since childhood and his awesome position in India played an important role in the tasks Curzon performed as the Viceroy. He could never tolerate anyone opposing his views. And it was this attitude that ultimately cost him the post he held so dear. It is worth remembering here what Romesh Dutt wrote about Curzon as early as 1904:

A staunch and ardent Imperialist, he neither appreciated self-government nor believed in popular co-operation. Brilliant, young, and ambitious, he evinced a high regard for British power and prestige, British interests and trade in the East; but he did not evince the same anxiety for the material improvement and the political advancement of the great eastern nation whose destinies were placed in his hand. An autocratic rule was his ideal.<sup>11</sup>

Curzon's tenure (1898-1905) in the office was by no means peaceful. In fact, it was the

period of Indian history that noticed a conspicuous change in the nature of our nationalist politics. The extremist challenge, Swadeshi movement and the boycott of foreign goods and the protest against the Partition of Bengal marked the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Though the reasons behind such movements were manifold, Curzon's own contribution however was also not meagre. Before going into the details, let us briefly discuss Curzon's attitude to India in general.

Curzon was never sympathetic towards India. Anything he said or did that might project him as a friend of India was actually prompted by what the imperialists loved to call the "white man's burden". By using such notions the imperialists tried to justify the repressive rule they forced on the subject race. It was also a device of self-deception; it helped them escape the feeling of guilt they suffered being engaged in exploiting and plundering the colonized nation. When in the late 19th century and the early 20th, Indian nationalism started to make modest stirrings, the colonial rulers needed to reiterate the idea of their "noble mission" all the more. It is evident when in 1903 Curzon said in his characteristic manner :

If I thought it were all for nothing, and that you and I, Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen in this country, were simply writing inscriptions on the sand to be washed out by the next tide; if I felt that we were not working here for the good of India in obedience to a higher law and a nobler aim, then I would see the link that holds England and India together severed without a sigh. But it because I believe in the future of this country and the capacity of our own race to guide it to goals that it has never hitherto attained, that I keep courage and press forward.<sup>12</sup>

Curzon was perhaps the most outspoken Viceroy as far as pointing out the "inferiority" of the Indians was concerned. In 1901, he stated that the strength of his position as the Viceroy lay in "the extraordinary inferiority in character, honesty and capacity of the Indians. It is often said why not make some prominent native a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council? The answer is that in the whole continent there is not an Indian fit for the post."<sup>13</sup> Besides, there is the famous speech delivered during the Calcutta University convocation in February 1905 when Curzon claimed, "I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception."<sup>14</sup> It is the attitude typical of a man who had interiorized the imperialist ideology.

Like Warren Hastings, Lord Curzon wanted to play the role of a benevolent despot. There are indeed a few occasions when he acted as a saviour of the poor and helpless natives. In June 1900 while in Simla, he came to know from a newspaper report that few officers of the West Kent Regiment have raped a Burmese woman in the month of April. Labeling the incident as "a black and permanent blot upon the British name"<sup>15</sup>, Curzon forced the Commander-in-Chief to take stern action. The offenders were dismissed from the army and some senior officers relieved of their command. The Viceroy's decision was hailed by the Indian press but the British community in India was shocked. In April 1902, three drunken officers of the celebrated cavalry regiment, the 9th Lancers savagely beat up an Indian cook named Atu who refused to provide them a woman. Nine days later when Atu died, his relatives wrote to Curzon. Fuming with rage, he reacted, "I will not be a party to any scandalous hushings up of bad cases of which there is too much in this country, or to the theory that a white man may kick or batter a black man to death with impunity because he is only a d ... d nigger."<sup>16</sup>

The furious Viceroy overruled the general and had the whole regiment punished. Again in April 1902, a young European officer, Bain, flogged a coolie on a tea garden in Assam to death. He was tried and released after serving 18 months of imprisonment. Coming to know about the incident, Curzon ordered for a Fresh appeal to the High Court for the enhancement of the sentence which infuriated the European business community of Calcutta.

Curzon also took much interest in preserving the architectural heritage of India. Responsible for the founding of the Archaeological Survey of India, Curzon felt pain whenever he saw the monuments being neglected. Personally moving around with the archaeological directors of different provinces, he managed to bring about a perceptible change within five years. The building that captivated him the most was certainly the Taj Mahal in Agra. In his zeal to provide a beautiful silver hanging lamp of Saracenic design to be hung over the tombs of Shah Jahan and his Queen, he, after carrying out a six-month correspondence with Lord Cromer, the Governor-General of Egypt, visited Cairo and picked it up. Even a contemporary Indian Civil Servant, Romesh Dutt remarked that "he [Curzon] had a real appreciation of oriental life; he felt an admiration for oriental art and literature which befitted him to be the ruler of a great oriental nation."<sup>17</sup> Years later Jawaharlal Nehru too recognized Curzon's dedication to India's monuments by saying, "After every other Viceroy has been forgotten, Curzon will be remembered because he restored all that was beautiful in India."<sup>18</sup> A fabulous tribute indeed!

But what really prompted Curzon to such actions? The man who looked down upon the "natives", always ensured that they never be able to unite the fight against imperialistic machinations, why would he lend his hand in support to the three native victims? Why would he also take so much interest in conserving the architectural splendours of the colonized country? The answers to these questions have already been hinted at in our discussion. At every opportunity, Curzon's intention was to prove his superiority over others; it was characteristic of him to ascertain that it was ultimately his decision that prevailed. The British officials wanted to suppress all the three cases of ill-treatment mentioned above. In order to emphasize that his position was higher than others, Curzon instantaneously asserted his right as the Viceroy without caring a straw that his decision aroused indignation of the authorities in England, not to speak of the British community in India. And the conservation of the monuments must have given him psychological satisfaction; it helped him equate himself with all the legendary Indian kings and emperors of the past. When he got the opportunity after the demise of the Empress to construct something on his own, Curzon grabbed the offer with both hands. The Victoria Memorial in Calcutta is Curzon's own answer to Taj Mahal for which he raised 400,000 pounds. Work began in 1906 when Curzon had left India and it was declared open in 1921. Curzon could never see it though it was he who had drawn up the design and the layout for the garden.

Something appealing to reason, sometimes to emotion and sometimes threatening to resign, Curzon wanted to have things in his own way. He was however not always successful. For example, one can remember his difference of opinion with the King-Emperor Edward the Seventh and the British Cabinet regarding the Coronation Durbar in 1903.

A few hours after the death of Victoria, Curzon wrote to the king suggesting that he should crown himself the Emperor of India. The king could not accept the invitation and for a while it was decided that the Prince of Wales might come to India. Disappointed, Curzon replied:

The Viceroy represents the Sovereign. He is treated everywhere in India exactly as if he were the Sovereign; and this not by Europeans only but by all the Nobles, chiefs, and Princes of India. The appearance of no one on the scene, even though it be the heir to the throne, can deprive him of his position as representative of the Sovereign. He cannot, a Governor elsewhere, step down and take second place.<sup>19</sup>

Finally the King's brother, the Duke of Connaught, came to Delhi and accepted his position next to the Viceory.

The Delhi Durbar marked one climatic point of Curzon's career. Though it was held at a time when India was in the fourth year of a continuous famine, the Curzons, in their fondness of pomp and splendour, made their state entry riding atop the largest elephant in the country. As they approached, the band played 'God Save the King' and the multitudes rose to their feet saluting. A shadow however was cast over the Durbar by the Home Government's refusal to agree the Curzon's proposal for the announcement of a reduction of the salt tax, which he thought would be in accordance with the accession of a sovereign in the Indian tradition. being denied, Curzon wrote to Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India:

These, as I have before told you, are my views, and no abstract reasoning in the world could convince me that they are not soundest and most statesmanlike advice that is open to me to give you.<sup>20</sup>

#### Notes and Reference

1. I am indebted to Nayana Goradia, *Lord Curzon. The Last of the British Moghuls* (1993); Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994) for information about Curzon's life. In addition, Kenneth Rose, *Superior Person. A Portrait of Curzon and his Circle in Late Victorian England* (1969; London; Phoenix Press, 2001) is also of some help.
2. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 51.
3. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 51
4. See Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 52.
5. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 63.
6. Quoted in Roderick Cavallero, *Strangers in the Land. The Rise and Fall of the British Indian Empire* (London and New York : I. B. Tauris, 2002) 191.
7. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 24.
8. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 146.
9. For an account of the travels of the Curzons in India and a general description of their standard of living, and the flattery of the Maharajas see John Bradley, ed. *Lady Curzon's India. Letters of a Vicereine* (London : Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985).
10. Quoted in Paul Johnson, ed. *The Oxford Book of Political Anecdotes* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1986) 182.
11. Romesh Dutt, *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age from the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 2 (1904; New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969) 456-57.
12. Quoted in Denis Judd, *The Lion and the Tiger. The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 101-02.
13. Quoted in Denis Judd, *The Lion and the Tiger* 104.
14. Quoted in Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India. 1885-1947* (1983; New Delhi : Macmillan, 1993) 104.
15. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 161.
16. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 168.
17. Dutt, *The Economic History of India* 456.
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19. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 157.
20. Quoted in Goradia, *Lord Curzon* 158-59.

P A S

## A Foreigner in an Indian Jail

Peter Bleach

[ The author, a Britisher, was accused and convicted with life imprisonment in the Purulia arms dropping case along with five Latvian airmen. They were in Presidency Jail in Kolkata. The Latvians 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. Ed. PAS.]

We all of us have preconceived notions about what jail would be like should we ever be unfortunate enough to end up inside of them. We get these notions from films, television, books and of course sensational newspaper reports which from time to time expose yet another atrocity. Most of us do not spend too much time on such thoughts, because we never seriously believe that it will ever happen to us. Jail is something that always happens to 'other people'. So when the unimaginable happens, and the cell door clangs shut behind us, we invariably find that our preconceived notions wildly of the mark.

And so it was for me. My own preconceived notions were complicated by the fact that after left the army, I spent a number of years in jail service retiring as a Superintendent. My last sight of the inside of a jail as a jail officer was one of absolute and immaculate cleanliness, carried to an obsessive degree. Floors which shone like mirrors with cardinal red polish. Metal fittings polished until they gleamed — even the smallest bit of metal could not escape the attentions of the man with a rag and a can of polish. Prisoners in clean, white starched uniforms — or khaki if they were under trial and unconvicted. An air of absolute order and tidyness everywhere you looked.

So here my first and most powerful impression of jail was one of absolute filth everywhere. Concrete floors cracked and damp, walls whitewashed with sub-standard materials, so that generations of whitewash constantly flaked off. Drains blocked with discarded rubbish and old food. Electrical fittings with loose live wires hanging free. And nobody cared ! People urinated wherever they felt like it, and everywhere you looked, walls streaked with the brown spittle of paan. How could this possibly be jail?

Being a foreigner presented additional problems there are a number of things which are socially absolutely taboo. They include not using lavatory paper, spitting in public, and eating with your hands. To oblige a Western European to live like this is like obliging a devout Hindu to eat a plate of beef or obliging a devout Muslim to eat a plate of pork, the revulsion experienced is similar, but no allowances are made. Foreign prisoners are told that they must learn to leave 'like a Bengali'. Well, that's all very well, but that is not the attitude taken when Asian prisoners end up locked up in Europe. When that happens — as it does quite frequently, all sorts of concessions and privileges are granted so as not to offend 'cultural sensibilities' and to avoid allegations of racism. So this does lead to some bad feeling on the part of foreigners locked up in India.

The other great shock to the system in Indian jails is the corruption. All foreigners travelling to the sub-continent from Europe and America are aware of the corruption problems — it would be impossible to be otherwise — but very few people appreciate how far down it permeates Indian society.

My first experience of jail corruption came very quickly — at least my first conscious experience came very quickly. My first real experience of corruption came even sooner, but I was just not aware of it at the time.

One day, several weeks after my friends and I had been sent to jail, the police arrived to deliver our personal goods which had been taken from us at our arrest. These were all checked by the jail staff, then they were entered onto our tickets and we were allowed to take them to our cells. Amongst these goods was a new, litre bottle of cooking oil — most welcome because jail food had proved to be bloody awful. Then, no more than 10 minutes after we had got back to our cells, a crew of warders came and announced 'cell seraching'. Our cells were duly 'searched' (trashed) and the cooking oil was taken. 'It is against the jail code' we were told — a mantra that we were to hear from the on *ad infinitum* it seemed. Oh well, we thought, that's life. But then a few minutes later, I saw a life convict walking past our cells to his own cell, and he was carrying our bottle of oil ! So I ran after him and asked him where he got it and what he was doing with it. 'Its mine', he said, clutching it to his chest, 'I paid the Chief Warder 50 rupees for it. 'We were stunned — the staff were searching our cells for things to confiscate, and then selling them to other prisoners!

And so it went on. The food we got was absolutely terrible — what there was of it that is, which wasn't much. In those days, all we got was a small bowl of filthy rice with stones in it, around 10 grams of some sort of vegetable boiled until it was unrecognisable, and a splash of dhal which was no more than warm water with a yellow tinge to it. It was not enough to live on, and within 6 months I had lost 20 kilograms, as had my friends. Then one day, everything changed. It was some time in June 1997. There was a funny atmosphere in the jail that day, but we were confined to a high security yard so we did not know what it was all about. All we knew was that the staff were very jumpy and nervous. Then lunch arrived, and what a sight that was. Large mounds of clean white rice — vegetables so thick that the serving spoon stood up straight in the pot without support, and dhal that was actually dhal. And to top it all off, 4 large pieces of fish! Within half an hour I had eaten so much that I had severe stomach ache and I couldn't have cared less.

Later on, we discovered what had happened. Very early that morning, before sunrise, the Jail Minister had arrived outside the jail in his car and had remained there. Usually, all the prisoners rations were taken out of the jail almost as soon as they arrived and sold off to traders in the vicinity. It was common for a warder to leave the jail with a large fish down each trouser leg. All the prisoners got was the scanty leftovers from the staff pillaging. But on this day, because the Jail Minister had staked the place out, nobody could steal anything. So there was no option but to give it to the prisoners.

The Government of West Bengal spends quite a lot of money in order to provide decent food to prisoners. It is not great, it is not a 5 star hotel, but it is nutritious and adequate. But the prisoners never get it — it is all stolen.

Until that day in June, we had not realised this. We had thought that we were getting our proper rations. Whenever we complained, life convicts who ran the kitchens used to ask

us for money, which of course we couldn't pay. We thought that they were offering to buy food for us from the outside — we didn't realise they were offering to sell us food that was rightfully ours in the first place. And so began our campaign of disobedience and 'unseemly behaviour'. It was bad enough to be in jail, but it was too much to see the staff — who were paid well for their jobs — stealing all our food and selling it. In the end, the jail authorities gave up, our disobedience was too much trouble and so we got our full rations.

And then of course there is the difficulty with money. Prisoners are not allowed to have money in jail, but in reality, you cannot survive in jail without cash. *Everything* must be paid for. But this is where a foreigner encounters huge problems. Where is he to get money from? In India, there is a perception that all foreigners are rich, but not all. But in jail it is different. A foreigner might be a millionaire in his home country, but in jail in India he has no means of getting that money. Indian prisoners simply ask their families to bring them some cash. The cash is given to a warder, who takes his cut, and hands the rest to the prisoner. But the foreigner has no such facility — he has no family in India, usually no friends, and he cannot very well ask his country's diplomats to slip him some cash because they won't do it. So he is stuck, and nobody ever seems to understand that.

(to be continued) **P A S**

## Religion As Surrogate : Case Study of a Bengali Patriot

Ramkrishna      Bhattacharya

[What follows is the fifth 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.]

The legacy left by Upadhyay is both varied and confusing in its inconsistencies. The most sympathetic study of Upadhyay from a nationalist point of view comes from Bipin Chandra Pal. I have already referred to his reminiscences of the Swadeshi Movement in which he remembered both Upadhyay and Abdul Rasul.<sup>197</sup> A Brahma convert turned Vaishnava, Pal has left a unique study of the strange amalgam in Upadhyay's patriotism and his allegiance to the Hindu society. <sup>198</sup> As a man who had started his career as a Brahma social reformer, it was not easy for Pal to comprehend Upadhyay's orthodoxy in social matters. Yet Pal was strongly opposed to the view that Upadhyay was a 're-actionary' (sic). Pal was pretty confident that

Upadhyay was in favour of social reform but would postpone it till India achieved her independence.<sup>199</sup>

As to current political ideologies, Upadhyay had nothing but contempt for socialism, emancipation of women and the like. Yet Bhupendranath Datta, one of the early Bengali revolutionaries and later a pioneer among Indian Marxists, retained a profound respect for Upadhyay as an uncompromising patriot and litterateur. Datta's introductions to two studies on Upadhyay and his notes in his own book, *Bharater Dwitiya Swadhinatar Sangram* (The Second Struggle for the Freedom of India) are invaluable sources for understanding the mindset of the restless patriot. Datta in his facts is not always accurate : he was writing almost wholly from memory when he was eighty. Hence certain mistakes were unavoidable. In spite of all this, his studies are illuminating and an excellent guide to the assessment of the role of militant nationalism as well as the part played by propaganda through print media.<sup>200</sup>

Other studies on Upadhyay have been undertaken by Bengali nationalist historians mostly with a strong Hindu bias. Catholics, both Indian and foreign, initially had some hesitations regarding Upadhyay's bona fide as a true Christian, specially in the last days of his life. Even now the Christian side tends to underplay the political aspect of Upadhyay's character. Much ink has been spilt on the rival claims of Rabindranath and Upadhyay as the founder of the Santiniketan Brahmacharyasram. The recent work on Upadhyay by Julius J. Lipner studiously eschews the facts of Upadhyay's expiation as did the Mukhopadhyays.<sup>201</sup> Contributors to encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries, published in India, on the contrary, make the most of Upadhyay's expiation, extolling the event as his return to the Hindu religious fold.<sup>202</sup>

All Indian historians of the Swadeshi Movement, excepting Sumit Sarkar, have paid unconstrained tribute to the role played by *Sandhya* in arousing the masses throughout the length and breath of Bengal. His death has been hailed as the apotheosis of a *Yogi*, a sort of *ichchhamrityu*, voluntary expiration.<sup>203</sup> Upadhyay is glorified as a martyr who defied the British Court and kept his word that the phiringis were powerless to detain him in jail.<sup>204</sup> The funeral procession of Upadhyay was attended by several thousand people and the Nimtollah burning ghat became a place of pilgrimage for sometime. The same kind of event was repeated when the mortal body of Kanailal Datta was brought for cremation after his execution at Keoratollah burning ghat on 10.8.1908. It was Upadhyay's death that set the tradition which culminated on 16.9.1929 in the cremation of Jatin Das, the martyr in the tradition of Terence Macswenny, the Irish revolutionary. Similar events were witnessed on 13.12.1930 and 7.7.1931 during the cremation of Binoy Basu and Dinesh Gupta.<sup>205</sup>

Yet Upadhyay is now merely a name in Bengal, not to speak of India. During the last three years of his life his activities were confined to this province alone. The sensational trial of *Sandhya* and Upadhyay's bold refusal to take part in it were reported in the periodicals outside Bengal, such as *The Mahratta*. But the death went mostly unnoticed in the rest of India. In his phase as a Catholic controversialist, he was known to the Catholics all over the subcontinent as a sort of maverick, a recalcitrant layman proposing a bold synthesis of Sankara and St. Thomas. But very soon, especially after the advent of M.K. Gandhi, Upadhyay gradually went into oblivion. Academic historians tend to make silly mistakes regarding both his life and death.<sup>206</sup> To the present-day secular historians, Upadhyay is more of an uncomfortable enigma than anybody else involved in the Swadeshi Movement. In spite of Bhupendranath Datta's regret, historians of Bangla language and literature pay little or no attention to Upadhyay's

contribution to Bengali prose.<sup>207</sup>

Occasionally, of course, Upadhyay has been recalled by his old admirers. Tribute was paid to his ideal in a meeting held at the Albert Hall on 22 September 1927, presided over by Bipin Chandra Pal and addressed by Sundari Mohan Das, Mokshadacharan Samadhyayi, Kumar Krishna Mitra, Satyacharan Shastri, A.C.Roy and Haridas Haldar. Jaladhar Sen proposed a vote of thanks.<sup>208</sup>

Travesty of Upadhyay's legacy can also be seen in the foundation of an "Upadhyay Brahmabandhav Sevak Sangha" in May 1928 (1 Baisakh 1335 BS). Its chief aim was chanting the name of God to the best of one's ability (*sadhyamato harinam sankirtan*), alleviating the misery of the poor, removal of the sorrow of the bereaved, educating the students, nursing and providing medicine to the helpless patients and arranging cremation of the dead. The secondary aim was to try for the development of industry and commerce of the country and to learn how to serve the country. It was clearly declared that any opposition to the government on any form of modern political movement was beyond the limits of this association. Appeals for funds were issued by one Kartik Chandra Basu, C.E. [Civil Engineer?], Secretary. Ironically enough, Yogananda Mitra, B.L., "very dear disciple of Upadhyay Mahasay and a former pupil of the Visva-bharati of the poet-emperor (*kavi samrat*, viz. Tagore)" was appointed treasurer.<sup>209</sup> The shade of Upadhyay must have shuddered at such a queer amalgam.

Some of the reactions to Upadhyay's activities have been no less disappointing. An Indologist of the stature of Wilhelm Halbfass, for example, writes :

The Hindu tradition of inclusivism is placed under the name of Christ : the "Christianization" of India is simultaneously the Hinduization of Christianity. Keshab's [Keshab Chandra Sen's] program was illustrated and radicalized in an idiosyncratic fashion by Brahmabandhab Upadhyay (1861-1907), a nationalist and journalist who converted to Christianity – first to Protestantism then to Catholicism – and yet remained convinced that he had not compromised his being Hindu; he had merely actualized and fulfilled the spiritual universalism immanent in his "Hinduism". On the other hand, Brahmabandhab produced some of the sharpest anti-British polemics of his day.<sup>210</sup>

Halbfass was working on the basis of secondary sources, hence his failure to comprehend the two-fold concept of *sadhandharma* and *samajdharma* as formulated by Upadhyay is understandable. What, however, is incomprehensible is the systematic erosion of Upadhyay's influence on the Bangla language. Pramatha Chaudhuri was a crusader in favour of a more homely Bangla prose style nearer the colloquial speech of the urban elite. But he seems to have never acknowledged his debt to Upadhyay in his published works, although he admitted in private to a young fellow-writer that he respected Upadhyay for his prose.<sup>211</sup> The movement advocated by Chaudhuri has ultimately proved successful. But it was the middle or mean style of writing Bangla by using the prevalent forms of verbs and post-positions (*anusarga-s*) that has come to stay. The low or plain style embraced and practised by Upadhyay with such great effect has rarely been encountered since in West Bengal or Bangladesh today. Yet one of Upadhyay's major claims to immortality rests on his handling of this very style. Shyamsundar Chakraborti, a close associate of Upadhyay in *Sandhya*, lamented in 1924: "Upadhyay Brahmabandhab is now almost a forgotten man. In his case we find a complete justification of the adage that the world knows very little of its greatest men."<sup>212</sup> Shyamsundar emphasized

the fact that Upadhyay "was simple and expressive in his language in proportion as he was deep in his understanding."

It is, I believe, in this linguistic area that Upadhyay made his permanent mark. We may do no better than quote Shyamsundar again :

Upadhyay Brahmabandhab's handling of politics is proof of his indisputable originality and individuality. His *Sandhya* brought about a revolution in vernacular journalism. *Sandhya* really sold like hot cakes. He taught Bengal how to write newspapers for the masses. What *Sandhya* wrote came to be the talks of the streets and the zenana. He popularised politics. He took it from clubs and associations to all popular rendezvous. He had a power of coining easy Bengalee words which we do not remember to have seen in our distinguished Bengali writers.

The way Upadhyay remodelled his style of prose is a marvel, ever to be wondered at. A man well-versed in both English and Sanskrit, took to writing in Bangla only when he was about forty. Before this he was known as a writer of chaste English prose. Even when he started writing Bangla it was all in the high style laced with doggerels and a few colloquialisms here and there. He was not averse to using uncommon Sanskrit words and sometimes indulging in unnecessary (though grammatically correct) liaison (*sandhi*).<sup>213</sup>

But very soon he consciously remade himself by adopting a plainer style that would be readily comprehensible to the common readers.

However, his travelogue in 1903 was non-political in intention and avoided all religious controversy. It was only in 1904 when he started his one-paisa evening daily, *Sandhya* that he plebianized his style to an extent that was inconceivable and even incredible to those who knew him before. His prose style underwent a true metamorphosis. Gone were all sophistication of a city-bred man, gone were all pretensions to learning. Upadhyay revived his childhood memory of the mother tongue he had learnt in his village home and employed it with a force to satirize the pheringhee and raise the demand for complete independence.

This is not all. He also published a weekly called *Swaraj*, which was mostly written in the middle or mean style, meant for the intelligentsia. Such a mastery of all the three kinds of style is reminiscent of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar who too was a master of all the three styles of prose. Bangla prose thus had the good fortune of being nurtured in the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century by two unrivalled stylists, both experts in polemics and passionately devoted to a cause. With Vidyasagar, it was social reform; for Upadhyay, anti-imperialist politics.<sup>214</sup>

Theologians may still dispute whether Upadhyay's plan for Vedantizing Catholicism contains anything significant. Exponents of neo-Hinduism may still gloat over his expiation as a return to the religion he was born to. Political historians may try to assess how far Upadhyay's brand of social Hinduism contributed to the rise of communal politics in latter-day India. After all, it cannot be denied that Mokshadacharan Samadhyayi (1279-1338 BS, 1872/3-1931), close associate of Upadhyay, became a propagandist for the Varnashrama Svarajya Sangha, an orthodox and bigoted organisation set up by the Hindu pandits in 1908 with the patronage of some traders and rich industrialists. The Sangha was committed to the maintenance of caste divisions and actively opposed Gandhi's Temple Entry Movement. Yet it would be presumptuous to deny the credentials of Samadhyayi and his followers as patriots.<sup>215</sup>

All these are tricky issues and require further explorations before they can be answered. But I hope to have shown, it not proved, that Upadhyay was basically a man of politics, patriot to the core, and religion in his case was merely a surrogate of his politics. Only when the outlet for giving vent to his political aspiration was choked, he sought refuge in religion. His choleric temperament may very well be held responsible for his frequent interventions in inter-religious controversies which no longer have any relevance to the masses of the people in India. Yet it will be wrong to consider that his life was spent in fruitless eccentric pursuits, as it happens with some people of the choleric type. His programme for indigenizing Christianity in the form of founding the Kasthalika Matha had to be abandoned, not only due to lack of adequate support but also because the desire to liberate his country had again got the uppermost in his mind.

Yet his whole life is not a sad saga of failure. The way he popularized politics and bred a new kind of prose for journalism, should be reckoned as his permanent achievement. All latter-day politicians and journalists, whether they know it or not, are indebted to him in this regard -- be they nationalists, socialists or communists. [Concluded]

#### Notes and References

197. See note 1, *PAS*, May, 2003, p.29. In his presidential address to the Bengal Provincial Conference (Barisal 1921) Pal also referred to Subodh Chandra Mallik, Manoranjan Guha Thakurta and Suresh Chandra Samajpati, and said : "When the history of the Bengal Nationalist Movement comes to be written, these names will find a prominent and honoured place in it." (p.5).
198. *Charit Chitra*, pp.174-90.
199. *Ibid*, pp.176-84.
200. See Datta's Introduction to Debsamma, Haridas and Uma Mukhopadhyay, and Datta, 1983, pp.136-40.
201. Following Animananda and Father Fallon sj, Lipner views the expiation ceremony as an act of social penance (p.377). The Mukhopadhyays avoid the issue altogether, perhaps out of respect for Father Turmes sj, who provided them with both encouragement and assistance (p.xviii). They have, however, printed a photograph of Upadhyay after his expiation, his bare chest exhibiting the sacred thread.
202. See, for instance, S.P. Sen (ed.), N.K. Singh and N.Sinha.
203. See Monoranjan Guha, pp.86-88. More reports are available in *Varia* 4, pp.253,291,294-96, 311-12. All these are paper cuttings of *Sandhya*, 28.10.1907-7.11.1907.
204. Prabodh Chandra Simha has quoted a passage from some Irish writer: Pandit Upadhaya [sic] is added to the role of the national heroes of many lands and takes his place among those of our own Emmet, Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward and many imperishable names in Ireland, Switzerland, France and other countries, and in future years when the sun of liberty shall have risen on India, the name of the humble Bengali editor who dared to lift his voice on behalf of his country, will stand first among the martyrs for its freedom. Though dead, his spirit will be ever present among his countrymen and give them inspiration to follow in his foot-steps. (p.xvii).
205. See Sandip Bandyopadhyay, 2004, 2005, pp.178-80.
206. Amales Tripathi makes a gruesome mistake by saying that Upadhyay died in jail - not

in the original English edition (see. p.179) but in the revised Bengali translation of the same title (p.181). Similarly the reference to Upadhyay as an "enthusiastic preacher of Hinduism" (*utsahi hindu dharma pracharak*, p.70) is misconceived. Upadhyay upheld Hindu social norms based on *varna* and *asrama* (*varnasramdharma*) but kept his distance from the worshippers of one or more of the 33,00,00,000 deities, His ambition was to create a new community of devotees called Isapanthi (Das Gupta, p.623) and he insisted that Christ too should find a place in Kashi as all gods have been accommodated there (Datta 1983, p.137).

207. Datta, Introduction to Debsarmma, p.xvii ; Sukumar Sen brackets Upadhyay with Deuskar as mere journalists (1998, p.162)! It is sad to note that even after independence Bangiya Sahitya Parishat could not procure a photograph of Upadhyay to be hung in its gallery, simply because no donor was forthcoming (Datta, pp.39-40).
208. *Forward*, 23.9.1927.
209. Paper cutting attached to *Varia* 3, p.155.
210. Halbfass, p.226.
211. Deb, p.83-84.
212. Quoted in the *Blade*, p.193.
213. For a detailed study of Upadhyay's prose see Bhattacharya 1410 BS, especially pp.83-89.
214. Two other masters of Bangla prose, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and Rabindranath Tagore, varied their style from high to middle, but never condescended to write in the low style. Bankim considered the *Hutom Penchar Naksa* (*Sketches by Hutom*) an abominable work; Tagore treated the book as something unmentionable.
215. For Samadhyayi's life and works see Hemchandra Bhattacharyya (part I, p.206). The unpublished memoirs of Bankimchandra Panda Sastri throws a flood of light on the activities of the Sangha. The memoirs deserve to be printed.

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## EXCERPTS FROM PROFESSOR MARTIN BERNAL'S TALK J. D. BERNAL, MY FATHER

[Professor Martin Bernal, the famous author of *Black Athena* and the recently published *Black Athena Writes Back*, was in Kolkata to deliver the Indira Gandhi Memorial Lecture at the Asiatic Society, Kolkata, on January 10, 2005. At the request of Pavlov Institute, Kolkata, he very kindly agreed to talk on J. D. Bernal on January 11, 2005. The Asiatic Society gracefully lent the prestigious Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar Hall to Pavlov Institute for holding the meeting. The meeting also coincided with the release of Ashish Lahiri's Bangla translation of J. D. Bernal's magnum opus *Science in History*, much to the delight of Professor Martin Bernal. The meeting, presided over by Professor Ramkrishna Bhattacharya, started at 3:30 p.m. and went on till 5 p.m. Dr. Basudev Mukhopadhyay, editor, *Manabmon*, described Professor M. Bernal as 'doubly qualified' to discuss J. D. Bernal - as a son and as a scholar.]

MARTIN BERNAL: I am moved by the warm welcome and by Mr. Ashish Lahiri's extraordinary devotion to my father's works. Our whole family is delighted.

I also apologise because I thought that this would be a more intimate gathering. Hence my costume [ M.B. gesticulates], as Mr. Lahiri told me that this would be a small group of personal friends who were requested to this august gathering. Now, I also apologise that I am 'doubly disqualified' to talk about my father. In the first place, there are people in this audience, particularly Mr. Lahiri, who have read far more of my father's works than I have.

The second disqualification is my lack of scientific training. It is only some time ago that I have started to know about my father's scientific work. So I am not capable to talk about his science except in general terms.

I came to know from Mr. Lahiri that my father had written an article on Tagore. This I had no notion about. I knew that he admired Tagore, I knew that he loved India and Kolkata, and I am delighted to know that.

So this will bring me to pass on to the memories of my father.

#### The Nobel Prize

Now, many people have raised the question why my father was not given the Nobel Prize. I was actually embarrassed and asked Max Perutz, who was a student of my father and Nobel Prize winner, if it could be possible for him to get the Nobel Prize after his stroke. I mean, the Nobel Prize could be given to him 40 years after his discovery. But Perutz said to me that he didn't spend enough time on one subject and the Nobel Prize is given for achievement in one subject. He said what my father could but didn't do was done by his students, who were a galaxy of extraordinary quality. He provided the stimulus and inspiration for them.

### Complex Family Relationship

Very interestingly, my father was a little embarrassed and had the same approach to his personal life as his scientific life in that it was a very complex family, because he had many different relationships. This was important to me because we were all devoted to my mother.

### Bernal in War

This was during the Second World War, and most families with children had their fathers away in war as soldiers. My father was working with Mountbatten in a Combined Operations organisation for political applications of science to warfare. So, he could come around more, in fact, than most fathers did. We did not see him very often, though we felt very excited when he arrived; because, in the first place, he played games with me. One of the interesting games he taught me was called 'Tik-Tak' and it turned out exactly the same as that played by Gujaratis and called GIRI-DANDA. Anyone heard of GIRI-DANDA? It was a very interesting game played with a pointed stick. You hit it [gesticulation] and it would spin in the air and you would try to catch it and do many things! He also played many other games with us, including war games.

But what was most exciting were the stories of what he was doing in the war. His work in Mountbatten's Combined Operations was really extra-ordinary. One was the construction of a ship made of frozen papier-mache. It was to be a huge aircraft carrier made of paper, wood and frozen ice. It sounds absolutely insane, but he said it would be necessary in order to bomb Germany from Britain. A group of scientists were sent to Canada to build a model of this ship. Among them was Perutz. Later, in his autobiography Perutz wrote that he never could understand 'why I was made to waste my war in such a crazy scheme.'

Another scheme which my father worked on was more successful. It was called 'Mulberry', which was a floating harbour to be towed across the channel to provide access to lorries and tanks. It had to be sold to the authorities. So he gave a successful demonstration of a model of this floating harbour on a liner which was going to Quebec. He created artificial waves and showed this harbour could withstand the waves.

Other stories, particularly about India, were fascinating. My father told me how it took them six days to reach Colombo from Delhi. And they had to eat nothing but eggs for those six days. I found it very interesting.

### The Old Testament

It may surprise you to learn that my father, despite his Marxist viewpoint, would read me stories from the Old Testament. But he would never read from the New Testament. Maybe this was in reaction to his early Catholicism. Later I asked him how he got over his early faith in Catholic religion, to which he was deeply devoted, and became a Marxist. He said his Catholicism was identified with Irish small farmers' ideology that had a progressive content. But when he came to Cambridge, he found that the Catholics were dominated by super-aristocrats and super-snobs. He said it was probably because of this *social* reason that he lost faith in Catholicism. This was quite interesting.

### Breakfast History Lessons

When my father got through the Old Testament, he turned to H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*. This again is quite interesting, because my father was a Marxist, while Wells started from T

H Huxley and Darwinism in some sense. My father made me read this book for a long period of five years. When we came to the modern period, he taught me the Marxist and anti-imperialist classics.

Ours was not a feminist family. My mother made the breakfast. At the table my father would say, 'Name a country.' I said whatever came to my mind. And he would talk about the history and geography of that country. I had to repeat those things. My mother was fed up with these long breakfast lectures. She would say, 'Why don't you name a country whose history is not known to your father?'

### Political difference

My father had political differences with my mother. Later I gathered that my mother could not support Stalin on the issue of the Non-Aggression Pact with Hitler, but my father said, given the reality of the situation, Stalin was right. This pact would in the long run help the anti-Fascist cause. However, my mother's view was that Hitler was so absolutely anti-human that any compromise with him in any form was out of the question. She believed that through this act, the Soviet Union had alienated herself from the humanist forces of the world.

### India

As I said, he had a special place for India and through the CPGB he knew many Indian communists in the twenties. Later he became acquainted with nationalists such as Nehru, Krishna Menon and others. He also intimately knew the scientist-archaeologist Kosambi and Mahalanabish. During the war he used to come often to India, because the South-East Asian Command was in Colombo and he had to pass through India on way. He used to tell many stories about those experiences.

### Lysenko

The standard history says that my father supported Lysenko for purely political reasons. It is, however, only half the story. The matter was not that simple. I've been told by specialists in the field that along with Mendelian genetics, work is also being done in Lamarckian evolution. Some of this work is said to indirectly support Lysenko's viewpoint. An Austrian scientist worked on a particular species of toad and showed that acquired characteristics could indeed be inherited, something that goes against the central dogma of Mendelian genetics. The details are available in Arthur Koestler's book *The Case of the Midwife Toad* (1971). These researches, however, do not get publicised, because they go against the accepted paradigm of the science establishment. Now, my father was very much an insider of the molecular biological revolution that took place in the fifties. Work was being done on the DNA structure in his own lab. Rosalind Franklin herself was working in his lab. So he had no reason to go against modern genetics. What he tried was to maintain an open mind in all matters, so that atypical developments could also be accommodated in the scientific framework. His support for Lysenko was an instance of this open-mindedness.

### Normandy Landings

My father was in charge of the British section of the Allied Forces during the Normandy landings. In order to avoid the attention of the Hitler army, some special points were chosen on the Normandy coast where usually landings were not made. Heavy vehicles, provision etc

had to be landed in this manner. No one knew whether those sandbanks were capable of withstanding such heavy load. My father researched into Roman History to pinpoint the spots through which they invaded the coast. He plotted those spots on the map and planned the landings, which were successfully made.

My father was a member of the Normandy landing team. There's an interesting anecdote concerning the landing. It was mandatory that he would don a naval officer's uniform. Otherwise, in a plain dress, he would be taken as a Hitler spy by the local people and be shot immediately. Now, while getting into the uniform, it was found that none of the hats would fit him, even the largest size was too small for his head. So an armoured car was sent to the military storehouse at Southampton, seventy miles away, to bring just one hat which would fit my father's head!

#### After the War

After the War, my father threw himself on to constructive work. At Birkbeck College, under his direction work was done on cement and other building materials, including pre-fabricated structures and architecture.

Nevertheless, with the onset of the Cold War, he increasingly found himself isolated from many of his colleagues. Although saddened, he didn't give up. On the other hand, he could not agree with much of Soviet Union's actions. Hungary (1956) hurt him very much. When the invasion of Czechoslovakia took place he openly protested against that.

He was much heartened by the Chinese Revolution, particularly their science and technology planning. He had lots of discussion with Chinese scientists and technologists and held long talks with Mao Tse-tung. During the Great Debate between the USSR and China, he tried to play the role of a mediator. As President of the World Peace Council, he had the scope to do so. Mao said, Imperialism was a paper tiger. Khrushchev responded by saying that the paper tiger had real atomic bombs in its hands. My father was also of the same opinion. For him Nuclear Disarmament topped the agenda.

He had a lot of enthusiasm for peaceful applications of nuclear power. However, from the late fifties he gradually started losing that enthusiasm.

#### The Last Stage

My father had the first stroke in 1963, but he more or less recovered from that. The 1965 stroke hurt him severely. He continued to work even after that, but with great difficulty. His ever-helpful secretary Anita Rimel would take down his jumbled words. Later he lost his speech completely. My father died in 1971.

#### QUESTION-ANSWER SESSION

\* Soumitra Lahiri: Would you say that J. D. Bernal died a disillusioned man?

M.B. : Sad though it is, it is a fact that in a sense my father was disillusioned. And yet, he didn't see the disintegration of USSR on 1989.

\* Ashish Lahiri: In his book *The Visible College*, Gary Wersky quotes from a letter from Bernal where he clearly says that Lysenko didn't know genetics-based biology. Bernal also says, the discovery of the double-helix structure of DNA has provided a firm materialistic basis for

biology. So now it's even more unnecessary to give importance to Lysenko's ideas. What's your reaction?

M.B. : I've already said that my father was an insider to the world of molecular biology. In fact, his role in the discovery of the double helix has been wrongly underestimated. However, he also wanted to keep open other options. That was his position on Lysenko.

\* Basudev Mukhopadhyay: In assessing a current usage, how did Bernal relate the present characteristic to its historical continuity?

M.B. : He was very much interested in subjects like geology, archeology, because he would always relate the present incident with the past. In assessing an event he always tried to find out its social roots.

#### VALEDICTORY SPEECH BY PROF. RAMKRISHNA BHATTACHARYA

I am pretty sure Professor Bernal doesn't share all of the loyalties of his father, but he also has many loyalties of his own, which we share. There are many people whom we haven't ever met, but by listening to people who have known them, by reading their works, it appears that we too have known them for a pretty long time. That has been the case with Professor J. D. Bernal. This illustrious son of an illustrious father has told many things about J D that we didn't know; for example, the breakfast lectures on world history and world geography. The days of polyglots and polymaths sometimes appear to be over. But, looking at Professor Martin Bernal and a few others I am sure that the tradition of a 'visible college' - comprising Joseph Needham, Hyman Levy, Lancelot Hogben. and J.D. Bernal - can't altogether be all gone. In spite of the tendency towards over-specialization, the propensity towards polymaths and social relationship remains intact.

I would like to comment on the Irish connexion. Marx once referred to India as 'the Ireland of Asia.' This applies even more aptly to the Bengalis - the same hair-splitting, the same disputatiousness are common to both the Irish and the Bengalis, The Nyaya tradition of the Bengalis, of course, had nothing to do with Thomist logic. It was entirely indigenous. Despite that, there are certain similarities between the two civilizations. All civilizations have not been alike. All civilizations have not been equally "logomaniac" - to use a very 'in' word. The Bengalis and the Irish have both been in love with words. The title of J. D. Bernal's book is *Science in History*, not *History of Science*. You see the difference in the nuance arising out of the use of prepositions.

In India we have had a mixed heritage - the indigenous native heritage before the arrival of the British, and the new logic that came with the introduction of the new system of education, which was welcomed by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar - in whose name this hall is dedicated. Vidyasagar not only invited but embraced inductive logic. Bacon was a real source of inspiration to him. He tried to develop the scientific attitude, a study that would help man to understand his circumstances better, to get rid of superstition. This is what he emphasized and this is what we have been taught too by our own tradition - right from Charvaka philosophy down to the new awakening of the Bengali mind in the 19th century. Professor Gopal Haldar used to say we had a renaissance in the 19th century and another one in the 20th century with the Marxist cultural movements. This cultural movement started first with drama, then

with poetry, and finally it spread over all the aspects of the Bengali intellectual life. Whether the academic historians will accept this cultural movement as a renaissance or not is not my point. My point is that this second renaissance was really an international affair. If I could ever make a complete - even an incomplete - list of the names that influenced this second renaissance, the name of John Desmond Bernal has to be there.

What Professor Martin Bernal told us today impressed me most in this way that J D Bernal's life and work formed a united whole. There was no division between thought and practice. A man, whose whole life was dedicated to love for the individual, love for a cause, for certain values. When people talk of despair, I sometimes feel like laughing. Because, men like Bernal never lose hope. Yes, what happened in 1989 would have hurt him much, but I doubt whether it would have shattered him. I beg to differ with many. I think he had a source of inspiration of his own. He knew history inside and out. Those whose read history only from the outside are shattered by events. Only those who want to get results immediately get shattered. J. D. Bernal had a long view of history, of human civilization. Which is why his everyday involvement in politics, even in military affairs would bind itself in a combined hope.

Needless to say, we have been immensely benefited by Professor Martin Bernal's speech. I hope he will come here again. Let me end by quoting a classical Sanskrit expression: *punaraagamanaaya cha* - please come again!

[This does not purport to be a complete and exact reproduction of the proceedings. This is only a summary. - Ed., *Psyche and Society*] P A S

## Replies to the Questions

Your long letter has caused us to be worried about and embarrassed deeply. I remember an incident — you all on a sudden came to me and after a casual talk for a while left the place of your own while saying, "Later on I shall come one day." After a long time of this incident, in a seminar for discussion on Paul Sweezy, one of the founders of *Monthly Review* journal of America, I observed all on a sudden you handed over a letter to me and went away. But while going through the letter, I observed some queries, the answers to whom might be known to many, but at least were not known to me.

Besides, you cannot expect answers to these types of questions from a psychiatrist. Though in our life, we are to deal with men of various disciplines and as a doctor we are to do nothing but to prescribe some medicines after hearing the problems of patients. But your queries are legitimate questions on life on the basis of feelings in daily life in reality, and on this issue you are sure to get some advantages for the reasons that for your questions of these types if a man feels sick mentally, then automatically question will arise where to go? Therefore, we are to reply to all these queries according to our capability.

However, on this issue, I can tell you that we will surely admit the fact that no work is possible to be executed without emotional intelligence. Still when we work with science (in this case social science) then in the areas of judgement and analysis we are to avoid emotion as far as possible, otherwise there is apprehension of wrong stepping in our decision. So it may so happen that in this letter you possibly may not share the in built emotion prevailing in your letter.

The contents of your elaborate letter, if arranged in the form of questions may take a shape like this:

1. Is there any way out to save people of this planet from erosion of human essence continuing throughout this world? Has there been end to the revolutionary romanticism?
2. Is there any real sense of idealism of the people whom we call working class or they are simply influenced by mediators only?
3. Will the sense of altruism and pity be considered ideal?
4. Why most of the noble people have suffered from their ideals in the last life?
5. Is the peace out of *Param Brahma* the ultimate value premises or there is other value premises?
6. Are we doing the right things worth explanations to them at later stages who have self sacrifice being influenced by idealism?

Now let me enter into your questions directly. I like to ask you the first question as to the erosion of which you have mentioned. Throughout the entire world, the science and technology have rendered much of advantages and facilities. I am sure most of the people are not in a position to accept these chances. It has also to be admitted that in the present world, our self development cannot be yet in pace with the degree of worldly development already undergone because of the unexpected development of science and technology.

But it has to be admitted that an overall change is already in the process. That a famine of larger scale or want due to poverty seldom reaches our information. Can't we infer out of this that every country in entire world has acquired the ability to withstand the pressure of gradually increasing influx of population. The result is that a temporary steadiness has been developed in the socioeconomic condition. Now if we consider a status of fifty years back as our index, then in the countries like Asia, Africa, and Latin America about four times more population have shared at this age the wealth of the world. On the other hand, the average span of life in the new era compared to earlier has increased by about twenty five years in every country of the world. Still can it be regarded that this is a state of erosion!

Again according to world experts, the intensity of poverty has reduced though the rate of reduction is less, and in this matter let me submit a sample to you. In every family of us little boys and girls are very much affectionate. Fifty to sixty years back, at any cross section of time, if enquired of each family, it will be evident that one and some times more than one teen aged boys and girls died of diseases. But now this type of incidents have become less in number. The reason is now-a-days in our family the number of children is less and almost all of them survive including the girls. The only reason behind is upgradation of worldly status as a whole. Another change is to be admitted in the totality of the entire world during the last hundred years much of upgradation has taken place in the society of women and such upgradation is still in the process.

But it can be rightly stated that the changes that occur through revolution in the society are surely not due to this and still there is likelihood as to the creation of changes through revolution as occurred earlier and we are hopeful on this issue that in future something will happen. Possibly in our life time this may not take place and so it is better not to hope for anything more and non-fulfilment of our expectations may lead to frustration. How revolutionary romanticism will comeback is unknown to us, but we are hopeful to get it back. Since romanticism is inseparably associated with human mind, that symbolises warmth of human-kind. So that is everlasting. It can be well guessed that like the local adaptation in the expression of animal kingdom and its implementation, some adaptation will arise and varia-

tions will come out. I can tell you one thing about this erosion that in the society of mankind with the conservation of human species ahead, new feelings of values will be developed based on science and its culture. Though the issue appears to be surprising, yet it can be stated to be fact that only through heritage of old, this erosion cannot be compensated.

Now, let me say about second question. Common people are rejuvenated or they become stimulated based on religion of their choice, appropriate time, appropriate situation, exact environments and on some principles mixed with emotion or passion. And such excitation reaches the people in general through mediators (Gurus). Different mass media plays important role in publicity. Initially the matter was related to fully religious idealism in pre-political era and now political idealism and various secular social or quasireligious idealism have been added to it.

If we analyse a little bit, we can understand that since public apart from their daily livelihood is not concerned about any matter related to other outside community, and on the other hand have blind faith, they accept the guidance of Gurus blindly. So ultimately it is observed that the messages and ideals of noblemen are brought to the public to influence them. This issue is equally true in case of Ramkrishna Mission, Baba Lokenath, Communist Party, revolutionary activists, terrorist etc.. There remain principles, ideals etc. in such things along with different sorts of manipulations or expediency. But the main aim is to attract people in large and to enrich own group or community supporting system for the sake of security and protection.

The mediators open the entry point of fortune by clicking the contents of idealism in appropriate time and appropriate social state of affairs amongst the people ready to accept ideas. Alternately manipulation becomes more dominant compared to idealism. The reason is, it is difficult to understand a great man, but Gurus and their Mantras are available within close proximity and much mundane help is available from them. Mediators may be with high or low degree of influencing capacity. Different conflicts often arise within them as somebody claims to be more efficient than others and in such a stage idealism retards.

Moreover people are least worried about the confusing questions of idealism. Often they are puzzled and on this tussle their brains being inactive, search out the path to get rid of the problem. At that stage if anybody raises question to you "Have you taken contract to do good to the people?" and in that case you may be in difficulty. But the interested Gurus do not care for all these. Mediators with their profession go ahead with their activities. Honest and sensitive people like you in order to have consolation should as far as possible proceed silently with own activities. Waiting for chances, in future if any contingent situation arises, you should be in a position to combat.

Please have in mind, any man who is concern for his society and has sensitivity suffers from the above situation and great men have more sufferings. Noblemen sacrificing their personal comforts try heart and soul to see the society better placed. For this reason when they do not see any betterment during their lifetime, they do not have anything left for consolation. Just this was the case about Akshay Dutta and Vidyasagar. Having understood such a situation, most of them without showing any exaggeration accepts Aristotilian 'Golden Mean' as their ideals. Again some of them gets dedicated to the thinkings of magnanimous God. Specially to find out meaning of life, it seems that they have taken recourse to this type of action.

Is it worth of fault? You can always still say those who work for men with confidence are great. But generally it is seen that at the fog end of life when situation is so created to

evaluate about what has been done or not in the life time, then a sense of detachment in the world, life finally comes into the picture and in case of human beings, a sense of detachment from all activities of family arises, and for this reason for shelter from self, society and conscience, rational people take recourse to several ways. I am not sure whether it is a sort of ultimate value premises or not, but every man has the right for his own bliss without disturbing others. On this issue, we the psychiatrists put more emphasis for mental peace to be more important than the justice, policy and concept of principles. The reason is not desirable to be assessed who are suffering from the mental diseases.

After saying a few words on your queries on 'altruism', I like to make an end of this letter. Altruism was ever existing in all ages, still exists, and will remain to be existing in future. Think about the extremist or the terrorists who at the cost of their lives are engaged with various destructive activities. Is it not some kind of altruism? It may be that their ideals are full of conflicts, it may also so happen that they are encouraged with ideals of restricted community, but this is also a kind of 'altruism'.

At length I request to think of one issue. It is the lesson of Marxism that the evaluation of quality of a particular society can be assessed by the qualitative and quantitative changes for a wider section of people of that society. Still that is not dependent solely on either economic upliftman or educational upliftman. It may take thousand years to take a shape of wider changes. We should bear in mind that the men of this world, during Second World War, one crore ten lacs of innocent jews were burnt to death in cold blood after planning. So we feel, for the sake of creativity of social men of greatness, the sacrifice, conscience, self dedication and such many virtues of many teachers continually goes on working on us deeply to create inspiration in the society. Internally all these influenced us for many years. We cannot guess the teachings of our teachers are to what extent deep rooted and work on us deeply throughout life. For a temporary period, the picture of this situation may be blurred, but inside the mind its reflection works.

Think about devastation of the Germans, in the Second World War! Existence of a single pucca house in the city was doubtful. Number of teachers at later dates helped them to get back the *Status Quo* of the nation and thus a nation has become to restore themselves. This is beyond imagination. You can calculate how many teachers you obtained like Paul Sweezy in your life. To show gratitude towards a teacher like him, noble prize winner, Abdus Salam, an eminent scientist and pride of this subcontinent came to meet his respected teacher in a lane of Kolkata and conveyed his pranams embracing his feet. Please note, our people, when in totality will be in a position to assess such virtues, then the mediators will be forced by them to return back the minimum value of democracy, equality and fraternity. On the other hand, this also true that the people who lead life like beasts, you cannot expect much pleasing theories from them.

Finally while concluding, let me bring to your memory the comments of Marx at the end of the *Gotha Programme*. There you must have noted that according to Marx, revolution is not the last word. It is much more difficult to go ahead effectively with the left over works after the revolution with the help of the rest of the people. To do this in the society of this dark subcontinent for many centuries the involvement of many teachers (Greatmen) will be essential.