

#  धत्रिका 



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## সূচীপত



## এই সংথ্যার সশ্পাদনী সভ|

অধাপক ডাঃ অমব্লশ f্রুপাঠী ( সভাপতি)
" ख্রীদেবীপ斤 ত্টুচার্য
" खীঅমল ভট্টাচার্য
,, ख्এী亏ীরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়
ख্রীঅশোককুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায় ( সম্পাদক)
শ্রীস্থুবল দাশগুপ্ত ( কর্ম-সচিব)

ছবির্র ব্লক করেছেন শ্শীসুরেক্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যা৷্র মুড্রণ-শ্রীগৌরার্গ প্রেস প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড গত শতধার্ষিকী স্মারক সংখ্যার্র আলোকচিত্রগুলি বষ্ঠ বার্ষিক র্রেণীীর ছাত্র (ক. বালশুভ্রামানিয়ামের

সৌজন্মে প্রাপ্ত।


## Foreword

Once again the College Magazine makes its appearance, and I gladly write the usual brief prefatory message.

Though it is not as bulky as the Centenary number, readers will find in the present issue of the Magazine no variation from the uniformly high quality, both of style and of matter, which they have come to expect-and rightly-from a Presidency College publication.

I may be permitted a brief reference to our late beloved Governor, Dr. H. C. Mukherjee. His death on the 8th August, 1956, removed from our midst one of the most distinguished of ex-Presidency College men. May his exemplary devotion to duty, and his many other qualities of head and heart, be long remembered with the admiration they deserve, and may their remembrance encourage in us a spirit of noble emulation!




"बনান্নার্গার"

"ג্যাन्তধারা"

आदनाকीइत्र-भभानन मिब वृ्डौग़ वर्य, सिस्ञान

"উ-্মক্ত"



## কলেজা-প্রজঙ্গ

## পত্রিকার্র কথা














 इবেন সবচেষ্েে বেশি।

๙斤িক দিত্যে ইংরেজী বিভাগটি বেশি মর্যাஈী ஈাবি কব্রঢত পারে，কারণ এयানে সব লেখাই ছাত্রদদর এবং সাহিত্য，বিজ্ঞান，ইতিছাস，অর্থনীতি，রাজ্রনীতি，দর্শন，ললিতকল্গ থ্রভৃতি কোন দিকই অবর্ছেলিত इয়নি। এই বিভাণে সাম্প্রতিক রাজ্রনৈতিক ঘটনাবলীत্র


 চাদের সবাইকেই অমার অন্তরিক ক্নুজ্তঢ জানাচ্ছি। অাশl কব্রি আপনাদের সমানোচনায়


## কনেজে পরিবর্ভন

 অধ্যাপক র্রীসুশোভন সরকারের স：স্পর্শ ছার্রিট্যেছে। গত চধ্বিশ বছর ধরে তিনি এই কনেজ্রের সক্পে যুক্ত ছিলেন এব：নান্য 斤িক দিয়ে অন্তরিকভাবে এর সেবা করেছেন। এই
 ছিৰেন তা আর প্র্ণ হবার নয়।

কলেজের অন্যান্য বিভাগেও গত এক বছরে বেশ কিছু পরিবর্তন হহ্যেছে। উজ্তিদবিছা বিষ্ঞান্নর শ্রীষতীক্রনাথ মিত্র অবসরগ্রছণ করেছেন। ইতিছসের অধ্যাপক এ．ডন্লু．মাহমুদ্র

 বিভাগের্র শ্রীপ্রমথনাথ ঢহাড়，স্য্যাবিজ্ঞান বিভাগের শ্রীসমরের্র্রকুমাব ধর，উজিদবিছা বিভাগের


 বధপी হয়েছেন।
 কনেজের অধ্যাপক শচণ্ডিকাপ্রসাদ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায，ইতিহাস বিভাগে যোগদান করেছেন।

 বিভাগে শ্রীমিহিরকুমার বস্ু，সংপ্যাবিজ্ঞান বিভাগে ख্রিনতাই ঘোষান বিভিন্ন অধ্যাপকদের শুষ্য স্থান পূণ করোছন। অর্থশাশ্র্র ও রাজনীতি বিভানের শ্রী প্রভাকর সেন ও ড：ভবতোষ দত



পদার্থবিষ্ঞন বিভাণে ডক্টুর সমরেল্দ্দ মোষাল অধ্যাপকপদদ এব: শর্রীরবিজ্ঞান বিভাপে

 চক্রবর্তী ও ख্রীঅতীন্দমোহন গুন।

কলেজ্েে পরিবর্তনের বিবরণ শেষ করার অণগে কলেজে ছীি নতুন পঠিতব্য বিষষ্র

 সংখ্যাবিষ্ঞান অষ্যযনের ব্যবস্থা- এ বছর থেকক কর্গ ছর্যেছে।

## পর্রীক্কর ফनाফল

বিশ্ববিছালয়ের বিভিন্ন পরীকায় অসামা冋্য সাফল্যের যে উজ্ঘ্রল ঐততছ অামাদের্ব কলের্জ গড়ে উঠেছে এবারেও তা কোন অংশে ক্ষুম্ম ছয नি। অই এ এব: অই এস্-সি পরীক্ষাষ্ম
 মধো চারছন এব: আই এস-সি-ঢে প্রথম দশজনের মধ্যে নয্রছনই অামাদূর ছাত্র। এর মধ্যে আই এস্-সি-তে প্রথম ও আই এ.ঢে ক্ষিতীয় স্ছান অধিকার করেছেন যথাক্রমে শিচ\%্কলকুমার মজুমদার শ শ্রীণ্রণবকুমার বর্ধন।

এবারে বি-এ ৪ বি এস্-সি পরীক্ষায় পাচশর হার শতক্রা ৮৯ొ8 ও ৬৩। বি-এ পরীক্ষাতে বিভিন্ন বিষয্থে প্রথম শ্রেণীর সদ্মান লাভ করেছেন দশজন ৪ বি এস্-সি-ঢে পচিশজন। বি-এ পরীক্ষার সর্রোচ্চ সম্মান উশানবৃত্তি লাভ করেছেন অক্ক বিভাপের ছাত্র ख्रीহুনয় সনাতनौ।

এবারে বি-এ ৪ বি এন্-সি পরীকাষ্র অমাদদর কজেজের ছাত্রীদের সাফন্য বিশেষ
 কনেজের ছাত্রীরা প্রথম শ্রেণীতে প্রথম স্ছান অধিকার করেছেন এব: অর্রও অনেকে প্রথম শ্রেণীর সম্পান লাভ করেছেন।

কলিকাত্য বিশ্ববিঘালয়্রের শতবার্ষিকী সমাবর্তন উ২সবে আমাদের কলেজে ulর্ বিভিম্ন বিষষ্রে গবেষণ করে ডি-ফিল্ উপাধি লাভ করেছেন তাঁর্গ হলেন অষ্যাপক শ্র্রীব্বথীী্র্র বস্রু
 শ্রীঅশোক বসু ( প্রাণীবিজ্ঞান )।

## बোক সংবাদ

 স্মর্র কর্নতে इ্য লূতপূর্ব রাজ্যপাল ডা: হরেক্র্রকুমর মুখার্জীকে। পাণ্ডিত্যের সদ্গে সার্ল্যের, কর্সপ্রেরণার সজ্গে মহাহাভ্ততার এমন যোগাযোগ ছর্লভ। তিনি শ্শু এই কলেজেন্ন একজন ক্তুী ছাত্র এব: বিশ্শবিছানয্যের একজন থ্যাতনাম| অধ্যাপকই ছিলেন না-রাজনীতি ক্কেত্রেও তাঁর্র দান অসামান্য। সার৷ জীবন কঠঠার পরিশ্রমের ফলে যে প্রলূত অর্থ ভিনি সঞ্ছয় কব্রেছিলেন দেশেশ্র ও দশের কন্যাণে তার শেষ কপ্গক পর্যন্ত তিনি ব্যয করে গিয্যেছেন। এই জানবীর,


শ্রীক্ষেত্রপালদাস ঘোষ ডেভিড হেয়ার ট্রেনিং কনেজ ৪ দার্জিলিঙ্ গভর্মে্ট
 শ্রীজিতেন্দ্রমোছন সেন ব্বষ্ণনগর কনেজের অধ্যক্ক ছিরেন এবং অবসর গ্রহণের্র পর বিশ্ববিছালয়ের শিক্ষক-শিক্ষণ বিডাগ্গে কর্মকর্ত।। তাঁর মৃত্যুঢে দেশ
 চাকুরীর ছকের মধ্যৌ সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল না। নানy অনছিতকর প্রতিষ্ঠাননর সর্ত
 তাঁর সময়ে প্রথম পপ্পবার্ষিক পরিকল্পন কার্বকন্রী ছয়——বিশেষ করেে বুনিয়াদী ৫ মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার ক্কতত্রে। এঁদদর্র প্রত্যেকের সত্দে কনেজের প্রাণের বোগ ছিল।


## 脈雨风I

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অथাপি আামর দীী্র নিভৃতির দীর্খ অন্তবে બে কোন মৃক্তর মত: পাথব্রে। বার্রান্দান্র টবে



 দার্রজিলিঙে, বিউড়িতে, ম্যুরাক্ীী নদীর্র ఆপার্রে


বিদিশ্য কর্রেনি জানি কোনদিনই চেতনার ট্রেন

 কোন্ ভাষা উসসার্রিত নীলিমার অপার বিশাশে।
বিদিশা কবিত পড়ে: এলিজট, হাইন্ন, বালেঅর, মালান্, রবীআ্রনাথ বিদিশার নিত্যসছচর।
 অতিমানব্যে তচ্ব তার শূন্ঠ প্রহরে প্রহরী।

উচ্ছু লে ঘর্রে এণে বহততর অহ্মচ্ছেদ লোে :
দেগার ড্রাইড্রপ কি:বা অঅহ্থার তুলিকাস্পাতে
 ন্দলান-যামিনীতে আর গ্রায্য পোটোদের হাতে। টেবিলन্যাচ্পের নীচে ধীঢে ীীরে ঘন হয্র রাত নআ পিরোক্ফমে তার নেমে এলে ক্বাত্তির প্রপাত
 বিদিশার রাজ্রি কাটট ; বিদিশার বিনিম্র রঅনী।
 অার জান।। তার বহ নিজাशীন রাত্রে অানা-জ-জল





 নর্রম ডিভানে বসে নোট লনােে বিথ্যাত ববির্ন কবিতার্র নীচচ స़ীচে। 厅ার মনে অর্থছীন ভিড়





## আজকেন কর্ণবা

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 অগ্রগতিম পিচ্চিল পথ ঢেরেছে ねঢ়ের ধুলি ॥
 সনাচন শত বাধl-নিযেেবের নিরাপা সীমানায়?




দিকহার্রা পণে পদক্ষেপের ছ্রন্ত শগগহ,



 এঋানে बামার্ন নবীন মন্নের সজীব উত্ত্রণ।

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 অাঠারোর প্রীণ ঘাত-স্মাতে উদ্দাম-অছ্গি;


## স্থ্র্র মেষ

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 সারা बাকাবশ পড়়েছে ছলড়োে একটি নিপ্প্রি ধ্বৃসর্তण।
 স়্ান জজ্জ্ৰল্য
অতিজ্পান্ত-দিগস্ত স্র্র্র্র প্রতিম্মেত বিবণ আানোকে।

बহহজ্র্ল বাদামী রূe রাঙানা,

পাজ্রু পশিচমে।

बতিটি অমুত্ত সঙ্চিত
ぃब বিপুলা ঝড়়র শক্ণি,
বিছ্যেতের্ন কঠিন অাঘাত,
উত্তাপের্র জসছ গ্রাৰ্র।
স্ত্তীব্র গणিন গ্গীবন্যে

যাত্রার ভূমিকা
§ জ্যান পশিচম অাকাশ্।

## সুরঞম1 オ氏్

## সচ্ত্তায চক্রবর্তী－প্রাক্তন ছাত্র



ব্যথ†য় ঘন স্বপ্নে লাঁজে। ভাষণ－ছনোছনে｜
স্রুজ্জন বধ্র চোতখ সিঁছর－রাঙ্｜তিথি।

ব্যাক্ল বুষ্বি নম্রত্ত উদাস প্োষের্নও
দিগন্তটি। প্রীপী－ছায়ে ঘোমটস－ডোল্ হাওম্য
একল্ ওঢ়় ；শিশির তুূল নরম পীয়ে ফফরৌ－

চিভ্ৈলেখ｜নগ্ন তুমি－তোমার নামে ধ্বনি，

শিখায্স স্থরে। বসন্তেন্রি প্রহ্রগুনি গণি।
স্ুরঞ্জন বধূর চোত্রে নেছুর－মায়্র অলে৷॥

## মানিক নक্দ্যোপান্যায়


মানিক বন্দ্যেপাধ্যায় কথনও মাথা নিচু কটে शাটটননি ।



 সাহিত্যতক্巾র একটি উদ্ধত－পুষ্পিত শাখ｜মানিক বন্ন্যোপাধ্যাম্র।

মানিক বিজ্ঞানের ছাত্র ছিলেন। বক্কিম－শরৎ থেকে শুরু করে বিज্ূতিভূষণ বন্দ্যাপাধ্যায়，তারাশঙ্কর সকনেই আার্টস্－এর ছাত্র। মানিক বিষ্ঞারেন্র ষথার্থ ছাত। যথার্থ






 মনকক, এই নিস্সোছ, কटঠঠার মনকক ‘অর্জন’ করতত ছয়। বিষ্sান ভাবালুত।, শিথিনঅ,











 মানিক পে-পরীক্ষাম সসপ্মানে উত্তীণ হর্যেছেন।



 त्रोতি शृथఠক্র্রা।






 বা সমাপ্ত қপ তিনি দিত্রে যেতে পারেননি।

অামাদের দেশে মানিকের যথাযোপ্য সমাদর হয়নি। হবার কথা নয়। এখনও অমাদের দেণে গ্রামীন সংস্কার, পরমপ্রুষ্যবাদ, সিঁদূর মহিম, উনিশ শতকের উপকথ্গ অথবা অয়ূর্বেদের জয়গীন ন করনেে নাম কেন যায় না। মানিককর রচনার এক বিরাট অःশ সর্বজনবোধ্য নয়, হতে পাঢেন।। হবেওন।। তবু মানিকের মত তার নামটি জলবে।

## অঞ্ঞাত ভারুতীয়ের আত্মজীবনী*

## অধ্যাপক স্রুশোভন সর্রকার

 উল্লেখযোগ্য থ্যাতি অর্জন করেছে, প্রশশসস্ নিন্দার বাদাৰুবাদ শোনা গিচ্যেছে নানাদিকি। ঢাই বইখানি হাতে আসা মাত্র অছ্াান্ত ছু’বার পড়ে দেখবার লোভ সামলানে গেল না। নিঃসন্দেছে বলতে পারি এ গ্রন্থ অনেকাংশে অসামান্য।
 বলিষ্ঠতা। অনেকের মতে নীবদবাবুর ইংরাজি ঠিক অধ্ধুনিক ইংরাজ লেখ<কর পর্যায়ে পড়ে ন ন, অমার মনে হ্য এयানন সে-প্রাষ্ন তোনাটাই অবান্তর। লেখক যদি ঁাঁর নিজম্ব ভষীতত
 সার্থক, প্রচনিত রীতি থেকে পৃথক হদেও সার্থক। নীরূদবাবুর্স্ট্টাইলের ববশিষ্ট্য অছে, পাঠককে তিনি স্পশ্শ এমন্নকি অভিভূত করতে পার্রেন।

মৌলিক স্বকীয় চিন্তার বে ছাপ অালোচ্য গ্রন্থে পর্যিক্ষুট হ্তয়েছে তাককও অসাধারণ বলা উচিত। নির্ভীকভাবে তিনি মতামত ব্যক্ত করেছেন, প্রচলিত সংস্কারবে তীব্র অঘাত হানতে কুন্তিত হননি, জাত্যভিমান ও অত্মতুষ্টির ভাব<ে করেছেন অগ্রাছ, সামাজিক জীবরন পুঞ্ডীভূত অনেক গলनদকে দিনের আাোতে টেনে অননতত ঢেট্রেছেন। স্তোতবাকক্য অমর্য অনেক সময় মন ভোলাই, বক্তৃত ও ক্থার প্লাটিচুডের ভ্রোতে ভভরে চলি, নির্যম সমালোচনার্র কশাঘাতকক তাই শ্র্ণী করাই সল্গত। কিন্তু শুবু বিশ্লেষণ নয়, বর্ণনাতেও নীরদবাবু সিদ্ধছ্ত।
 কলিকাত্| ও জানর্চার উদ্বোধন শীর্বক রুনাগুলি নিঃসন্দেহেই পরম উপভোগ্য।




































অধ্যাপক সূরাজন স্ককার















 निচে হবে।















 নয়। কিन্জু সমাজের ৎকট্য বড় অংশ যার প্রঙাবে অাসে ত্। কি ব্যতিক্রম না সাধারণ নিয়ম ?
 প্রাণশক্তির স্পন্দনকে অগ্রাহ্ করা অসন্গত।

Ґনতিক, মানসিক ও ব্যবशার্রিক পতনেনর মে দৃষ্খ ज্রন্থকার<ে ব্যথিত করেছে, তার মব্ব্যে অনেকটী সত্য নিশ্চয়ই অঢছ,—কিন্তু সে সত্য গৌষ্ঠী বা শ্রেণীবিশেষের অধৌগমন, সমস্তু জাতির নয়। টপরতলার একৃট刂 স্তুরের মব্যে নীরদবাবু তাঁর দৃষ্টি অাবদ্ধ রেথেছেন, প্রক্কত रिউমানিস্টের মতন দৃষ্টি প্রসার্রিত করলে তিনি দেখতে পাবেন শে, একটা গোষ্ঠির
 ইতিছাসকে দেখবার রকমকের।



 ফেলবেও মনে হয় যে, সাবেকী কোন ঐতিহাসিকের্ মতন জনত্যাঁর কাছে canaille মাত্র। শুবু ব্যক্তিগত পছন্গের কথা নয়, ইতিহাস অলোচনাতেও তিনি এই দৃষ্টি নিয়ে এসৈছেন।

 যথ্ষেষ্ট সজাগ নন। তিনি এমন ইঙ্গিত দিয্যেছেন যেন গ্রীক ঐতিছাসিক মিউকিডিভিস জাতি

 জোর দিয়ে বলতে পারেন ন্। ভে ফরাসী ঐতিহাসিকের বানী তিনি একাধিকবার উদ্ধ্নত
 আার কেউ শিরোধার্ব করে না। দেশ-কাল-শ্রেণী-নিবিচারে ইতিছাসের এই অমোঘ বিচার্রের ছাবি নীরদবাবু মেনে নিয়েছেন, কিন্তু এটা ঊনিশ শতকের একাট। বিশেষ অবস্থার প্রতিচ্ছায়|



 প্রয়োজন। ইউরোপের ষে জয়যাত্র স্রহু ছল, তার পিছনে ইস্লাাম বিরোধী ধর্ষযুদ্ধের প্রভাব গ্র্থকার বিশেষভাবে লক্ষ্য করেছেন ( ৫০৬ পৃষ্ঠ|), অথচ তার্র চেট্যে অরেক বেশী প্রবন অর্থিক প্রেরণ যে ইউরোপীয়েেের মুসলিম-বর্জ্রিত আরমর্রিকায্য টেনে নিয়ে গেন তার উপরে তিনি







 অব্যोক্তিক।












 বিশ্যা ও ব্যক্তিগত কন্পনার অা凶্রী গ্রহণ।



 ব্যাথ্যা উপ্জাপিত কর্রেছেন, এথান্ন তার গुক ל ל্রেনৃবি।





অথচ তাঁর মরে স্বতন্ত্রসভ্যতার সন্ধান পেয়েছেন－হিন্দू，ইসলামি এ ইউররাপীয়্র। প্রত্যেক

 ভারতে পর পর তিনটি সভ্যতার চালক ও শাসকশক্তি হল বৃহত্তর বিদেশী সংস্ক্রতি। স：ষ্বত， ফারসস，ইংরেজী পর পর তিন পর্যায্রের তিন সংস্কৃতির বাহন। খাস সংস্কুতির 斤িক লিয়ে
 ধাপে ধাপে উচ্চতর হয্যেছে－কিন্তু অাসল সত্তা ও স্বভাবের্，বিচারে ब্রত্যেকেই বিদেশী，শ্রু
 অনুচরের্য। ঢদশের্র অধিকাংশ লোক মনে প্রানে তখনকার সভ্যতাকে গ্রহণ করতে পারেনি， তাই সর্ধ斤াই সভ্যতার সজৈ ‘অসভ্যছা’র একটী बড়াই চনেঢছ। এयানে অমার্জিত ‘অসভা’
 এক একটি সভ্যতা ধ্বংস হট্যেছে—প্রধানত দেশের নির্মম জলবায়ু অাবহাওষার চাবে，यানিকট। বিদ斤শী স্ষষ্টিকর্তার অবসাদ ও শক্তিক্ষয়ে। চালক ও শাসক শক্তির পত্ন এসেছে ‘অসজা’ জনসাধারণের চাপে নয়，কারণ बই সাধারণ লোক সর্বাদাই সভ্যতার বাহনদের তুলনাঁ

 গর্দভের আফ্ফালন। সভ্যতার পুনর্জন্ম আসতে পাcে অাবার কোনও বিঢৈশী সংস্ত্বতির হস্ত্র্গসাটর। গ্রন্থকার－নিিিিষ্ ভারতীয়্য ইতিছাসের ছক বা প্যাটাণ হল এই।

প্যাটার্র্রে মাছাত্যাই এই বে তাতত একট゙ মনের মতো ছবি আাঁকা চনে，বে তথ্য ছকে পঢ়়েন তাকে অগ্রাছ করাই যথেষ্ট। বিপর্রীতমুখী ঢথ্যের আপেক্ষিক বিচার্রের প্যোজন থাকে না। তাই বিদদশী প্রভাব ও দেশীয় অবস্থার মিশনে ভারতীয় সভ্যতার উৎপত্তির সম্তাবন৷ গ্রন্থকার এক কথায় উড়িয়ে দিয়েছেন। অuব জাচির আগমন পৃথিবীর


 সাহিত্য，ধর্ম，দর্শন，সংস্কত ভাষ। সবই বহিরাগত এক ধাক্কার ফন－দেশের মাটি ও সাধারন

 বহিরাগত ধাক্কাগ্গলি বিশ্ব－প্রক্বতির ব্যাখ্যায় First Cause－6ক মনে অনে। ভারতौষ্র
 আইনগত বোগট প্রত্যক্ষ কিন্তু সেইজন্য টয়েনবি পর্যন্ত সমস্ত মুসলমান সমষ্টিকে এক সমাজের অন্তর্গত করচে ডরসা পান নি।＊＊ট মুসলমান ধর্গ，ভাষা，রীতি－নীতি ষদি মধ্যযুগীয় ভারত－
 থেকে ভারতকে স্বতন্ত্র করে ঢেখবার প্রয়োজন কোথায় ? মধ্যয়্গের ভারতে হিন্দু ও মুসলমান ধর্মের পাশাপানি অবস্ছান ও পারস্পরিক প্রভাব<কও এভাবে তুচ্ছ করে দেখবার অর্থ কি?

হিন্দু ও সুসলমান অমমলকে ব্যাপু করেরে এক ভারতীয়্র সভ্যতার্র অস্তিত্ব ও স্বাভাবিক ক্রম্ববিকাশ গ্রহ্থকার কক্পিত ছই পৃথক সমাজের থিওরির চাইতে কম শক্তিশালী নয় কার্র ভারতীয় জনগণের জীবনযাত্রার ধরণ, গ্রাম-সংপঠন, সমাজ-সংস্থান মোটামুটি একই ধরণের থোক যায় বহুদিন ধরে। প্রচলিত মতে সে সভ্যত্গ বিবতিত হয়ে অজও বিছমান। অর্র


 এক চমক্র্র斤 মত ছিসাবেই চিহ্তিত হার্র সম্তাবন।।

আসরে মনে হয় ভারত-ইতিহাসের ব্যাখ্যা এ-গ্রন্থে গৌী। গ্রন্থকারের মনের নিবিড়



 ভগ্গপ্রীয়, নবজাগরণের বাছকশ্শেণী অবনত ও অবসম্ম, নৃত্তের পদক্ষেপে ইউরোপও অজ অাবর্তের মধ্যে এবং গ্রন্থকার্রের চোথে পথভ্রষ্টপ্রায়। এ-অবস্থায় ভারতের কক্ষত্রে তাঁর মনে বাজছে যুগাবসানের স্কর। যেছেতু সাধার্ণ লোক নীরদবাবুর কাছে মৃর্ধ বর্ধর জনতা মার্র, সেইজন্ঠ ভারত কিংবা ইউরোবে আশার রেথা চাঁর কাছে অষ্ঞাত। নিজম্ব প্রাথমিক স্থির
 একমাত্র ধनিকতন্ত্রী আমেরিকায়। নীর্দ্বাবু তাই পথ চেয়ে আছেন আমেরিকান সাআা্যাবাদের প্রততীক্ষায়—এই বিঢেশী শক্ত্তই নাকি ভারত-উদ্বারের একমাত্র উপায়। «রই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে
 করা যায় তাহলে জাণকর্ত্ অামরিকার আগমন একটী স্বাভাবিক ঘটনা বলে গ্রহণ কর্গ সম্তব ছয়। কিন্তু আমেরিিক্য ত' ইউরোপীয়্র সভ্যতারই সন্তান। স্তরাং গ্রন্থকারকে বলতে হর্যেছে বে প্রক্বতপক্ষে ভারতের্য তৃতীয় অর্থাঁ ইতো-ইউরোপীয় সভ্যতার এখনও সমাপ্তি ঘটে

 নেই। কিন্তু ইতিহাসের গতি বিচিত্র। এবং বস্তুনিষ্ঠ আালোচনায় তাঁর স্ছির্রসিদ্ধান্ত ভেঙে পড়ার সষ্ভাবনাই বেশি।

## লেকালের প্রেগিডেক্জ কলেজ

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## ( 3 )









 এট্ন্नो बার-একজন সতীর্थ।











 বহ্থেকে একবাবেই বি-এ ও এম-এ পরীীকা দেও্যাইয়াছিলেন। তৎকালে বি-এ পরীক্ষাত্র


এব：একমাস পরেই এম－এ দিলেন। ছইটি পরীক্কায় উত্তীণ হইলেন। ঐ ক্তার্ক সাতহব অনন্দ－ মোছন বস্থকে বিলাত পাঠাইবার প্রধান উদ্যোগী হইয়াছিলেন। আনন্দমোহনের অর্থাভাব

 এ্জিনীয়্রারিং কলেজ প্রেসিডে্ন্সী কনেজের সম্পেই ছিল। অনন্দমোহন যখন বিলাত হইতে ফিরিয়ী অদেন তখন কীক্ রোতে একটি বাড়ী ভাড়｜করিয়্ছছিলেন। একদিন আমি

 ধরিলেন，এব：প্রীতিপূর্ণবচনে আমাকে আপ্যায্রিত কর্রিলেন। অমি বলিলাম－＂অনন্গ－ মোহন！অামিমনে করিয়াছিলাম তুমি অামাকে চিনিতে পারিবে ন！！কিন্জু তাছ নহে।
 অপনাদিগকে কখনে লুলিতে পার্রিব ন।।＂

আমাদদর সময় ৬টি বিষয়ই কম্পালসারি ছিল। ১ম ইংরেজি，২ত্র অক্ক，৩য়ী সংস্তত বা বাঙ্গানy， 8 र्थ ফিলসফি，（mental ও moral）बম ইতিহাস্ এব：৬ষ্ঠ কেমিস্টি ব। কনিক্স। আমি ছর্ভাগ্যক্রনে ইতিছাসে ৩ নম্বর্রের জন্য ফেল্গ হইয্রাছিলাম। ক্যাপ্টেন্ অাইভস্ ইতিছাসের্র পরীক্কক ছিলেন। তিনি আানন্দমোছন প্রভৃতি ভান ভাল ছাত্রকে এত কম নষ্বর দিয়াছিলেন，

 ৮০ জন ইতিছাসে ফেন ইইয়াছিন। আমরা শুনিয়াছিলাম আইভ্স্ সাছেব নিজে বি－এ বনিয়｜
 †ছিনেন। সত্য মিথ্যা ভগবান্ই জানেন।＂রাজায় রাজায় যুক্ধ হহ্，থড়ি থাগড়ার প্রীন যায় ।＂ প্রথথত ঞ্রার ফেন হওয়াচে আমার মনে বড় ব্যথ লাগিষ্যাছিন। কারণ ইতিপৃবব আমি
 পড়িন বে，আমি পর ব২সরে অার বি－এ পরীক্য দিতে．পার্রিলাম না। এস্থলে আমি পাঠক ছাত্রদিগকে একটি বিষয় বলিব। লোকপ্রবা斤 আছে＂দেてv শিথে ও ঠেকক শিতে।＂আমার
 নাই। অসময়ে আহার ఆ অধিক রাত্রি জাগরণ করিষ্য পড়াতে আমার সাংঘাতিক পিত্তশূল রোগ উপস্ছিত হইল। অছাপি ঐ রোগে ডুগিতেছি，এবং যতদিন বঁাচিব ততদিন ঐ রোগে ভুপিতে হইবে। অমি যখন চাকরি করিতাম তখন পককটে যানিকট্। সোডা নই⿰㇇习亅八 যাইতাম। পড়াইতে পড়াইতে শূল－বেদন। উপস্থিত ইইলে মানী দ্বারা জল আনাইয়া ঐ সোডা খাইয়া
 রোগে অাক্রান্ত না হন－ইহ্গ অমি ভগবানের্র নিকট প্রার্থন। কর্রিতেছি। পাঠক বোধ হ্য


 ষর্ণ্রে সাধন इইবে না।







 চার্করি হইন।



















 সাটকক্নিফ সাহছেব অসিয়্ বনিটলেন，—＂Pundit，your service is no longer needed，＂ আমি জিষ্ঞাসা করিলাম，＂কেন？＂তিনি কহিলেন，＂It is the order of the Lit． Governor．＂আমাকে ঔ কथা বলিয়｜মহহশবাবু＜ক কহিতেন，＂You are pensioned
 কহ্নিনেন，＂You are compelled to retire．＂তংকালে ক্যাপ্বেল নামক একজন ছোটলাট

 ক্যার্বেল মেডিক্যাল স্কুল ও হাসপাতাল স্থাপন কর্রম্গ যান। ইতিপৃব্বে পটলডাস্গার बেডিক্যাল্ করেজের একদিকে বাঙ্গাল্ড ডাক্তারী ক্বাশ ছিল।

প্রেসিডেন্গী কনেজের চাকরি যাওয্রার পর অামি আর কোন চাকরি করি নাই ；পপতৃক ＂গিয়িশ বিছারহু মহ্ত্＂চালাইতে লাগিলাম।

যथन প্রেসিডেন্সী কলেজেরে স্থষ্টি হয্থ নাই তথন Hindu College নামে একটি বিছালয় ছিল। ঢাহার দুইটি Department ছিল－Senior ও Junior। শ্রীবুক্ত প্যারিচরণ সরকার，শ্রীমুক্ত প্রসন্নকুমার সর্বাধিকারী，শ্রীযুক্ত রাধিকাপ্রসা斤 মৃণ্েেপাধাযায়，［প্রেসন্ন］
 তथन Captain Richardson নাদে একজন সাছেব শিক্ষক ছিলেন। তিনি Richard－ son＇s Selections नाমে ছইখানি．বই প্রঙ্তুত করেন। এই পুস্তকগুলি Hindu College－এ

 স্রপ্রসিদ্ধ passageট to be or not be ব্যাখ্যy করিতে ৎ斤ন। ছাত্রেরা নীরব হইয়াছিল। ছাছার্ মনে কর্রিয়াছিল—ষখন Macaulay সাহেব এই ছ্ছানটি জিষ্ঞাস্। করিতেছেন，তথন এই স্থানে অন্ঠ কোন গূৃ্ অর্থ থীিবে，এই ভাবিয়া তাহার্। কেছ কিছ্র বলে নাই। তাহ
 পড়াইয়াছি，তাছ বল। তাহাতে ছাত্রের বলাতে Macaulay সাছেব খুব সন্তু্ট इইয়াহিলেন।

এই সময়ে হরমোহন চট্টোপাধ্যায় নান্ম একটি বাবু অ্যাসিসটটাট্ট লেট্রেটারী ছিলেন। তিনি Head clerk－এর কাজ করিতেন，এবং প্রত্যহ ১১টার পর একবার্র সকল class পর্ৰউन করিফী যাইতেন। তৎকালে Presidency College ১১টার সময়্র বসিত। （ হরমোছন বাবুর্ন ২য্র পুত্র চণ্জীচরণ চট্টোপাধ্যায় পরে Deputy Magistrate হইয়াছিলেন।） ছরমোছনবাবুর আর একটি কাজ ছিন জরিমান৷ আ斤ায় কর্। Principal সাহেব বা অন্য কোন Professor घ斤ি কোন ছাত্রের আচরণে বির্তক হইই্য তাগাকে জরিমানা করিতেন，









 इরমোহ্নবাবু ঘরে অাসিয়্ বলিদেন, "কমনাকাত্ত, তোমাকে কাচের দাম 斤িতে ছইঢে।"











 "পগিত মহাশ্য! बাপनि ए

 অার একनিন কমলাকান্ত जামায় বলিল, "পণিত মহাষ্য়! অমি ত translation निথিতে
 ক্মনাকাস্ত বनिল, "गহাশ্য! ই" ब|नू व্যথ川
 ศनित्रि शत्र












 কহিনেন,-"Go to the Presidency College and take out your Routine."




 "Where is Haris? Is he in Calcutta? Is he employed elsewhere?













স্বতন্ত্র পড়ান ছইঢেছে, তজ্জন্য Booth নামে একজন সাহেব অসিয়াছেন ; ৬ঠ্ঠ অঙ্ক পড়াইবার
 অর একটি সাছেব অসিয়াছছন। ছাছার অনেক 斤িন পরে নিটল নামে একটি সাহছব অহ্ত পড়াইবার্র জন্ঠ অাসেন। কাল্ক সাছছব Botanical Garden-এ চনিয় Fিয়াছিলেন। সাঢ্কিফ আর পড়াইততন ন । ছিলেন।








 বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় নাtম একজন M.A. নিযুক্ত হন। গ্গায্যবাবু অতি ভর্রলোক ছিলেন। তিনি বুথ্ধ সাহুবের মন বোগাইয়া চলিতে পারিতেন, তজ্জন্ব উক্ত সাছেব ঢাঁহাকে বড় ভালবাসিতেন। ছঃথের বিষয্য!

শ্র্রমুক্ত চক্দভূষণ ভছড়ি B.A. নামক একজন ছাত্র Chemistry Professor-এর assistant ছিলেন। পেড্ার্র সাছেব ঘখন Director इইয়া যান তখন পि. মুথার্জী নামক একজন বিলাত-ফেরত অগলী ক্লেজ ছইডে Presidency College-এ আরেন। তিনি পরর Presidency Circle-এর Inspector of Schools इইয়াছিলেন এব: এক্ণণে পেনশন লইয়াচছন। তাঁছার এই বিণশষד্ব ছিল ভে, তিনি অামার পুরাতন ছাত্র হইলেে

 Presidency College-এ ক্রমাম্যে Chemistry ও Physics পড়াইতত নাগিদলে। তাছাদদর সর্গে অমাদের বিশেষষ স্ডাব ছিল। ঢাঁছারী ছইছনেই অতি ভদ্রলোক। বিলাতে



 র্নসগ্রন্থ সम্পাদন কর্রিয়াছি। Asiatic, Society of Bengal এই গ্রন্হযানি ছাপাইয়াঠছন।

সাট্ক্কিষ সাহেব পেনসনন লইয়া বিলাত যাইবার সময় Croft সাছেব্কে Director of Public Instruction কর্রিয়| ঘান। ঐ পদ টনি সাহহবের্রে পীওয়্ উচিত ছিল; কারণ

 তাঁছাকে Presidency College-এর Principal ও বিশ্ববিছালট়ের Registrar করিম্র


 এই বিবাদদর মধ্যে পড়িয়৷ অামার্র ছশ বংসর কোন প্রনমাশন হয় নাই। ৫০, টাক্ বেত্রে থাকিতে হইয্রাছিল। পরে টনি সাহেব এক্কবার্র বিলাত যাওয়াতে বেরোট নামে একজন স্কুল
 বলিয়ীছিলাম। অামার ভাগ্যক্রমে ঔ ববলেট সাতহবই 巨য়মাসের্ জন্ঠ ডিরেক্টর হইয়া যান। তিनি আমার কথ্খ মনে করিয়া স্ব্যপ অামাকে ৫০, হইঢে ৭৫, ভ্রেড দেন। পরে যথন
 টনি সাহেব বিপিনবিহারী গুপ্ত M.A. ও আমা<ক বড় ভালবাসিঢতন, এবং আমর৷ যাহাতৈ কিছ্ভ לাকা পাই তাছার উপায় করিম্য দিতেন। বিপিনবাবু্কে ১০০, টাকার একট্ট নেম পড়ান কাজ জুটাইয়া দিয়াছিলেন। লরেরটে। হাউরের্র একজন বিবি শিক্ষয়িত্রীকে অক্ক কষাইতে एইত। আর অামাকে নক্স্ নামক এক সাহেব পড়ান কাজ জুটাইয়াছিলেন; বেতন ৪ণ
 Robinson Crusoe নামক একथানি ইংরেজী পুস্তক বালালায়্য অন্যবাদ কর্রিতে অাসাকে দেন। অমি ঐ কার্বে প্রায় ২৫০, পাইয়াছিলাম।
 কর্রিয়াছিল বে,-"মহাশয়! অামর! মুসলমান ছাত্রগণের নিকট বসিঢে পারিব না; কারণ,

 ঢোমার ছাত্রের্ কি দরষাস্ত করিয়াছছ।" তাছ পীঠ করিষ্যী অমি বলিলাম,—"মছাশয় বে
 কোন বন্ছোবস্তু করিব নখ, যাহগ করিতে হয় হুমি কর। অমি "ভে অজ্ঞে" বলিষ়| পর্গিন बামার ঘরের বেহারাকে এক্থানি বড় বেঞ্র অামার বাম দিকে দিঢে বলিলাম, এবং মুসলমান
 এব: হিন্দু ছাত্র্িগকক সম্বেধধন কর্তিয়া বলিলাম,—"বাপুসকল! ঢোমর্! সকবলই অামার ছাত্র; কি ছিন্দু, কি মুসলমান, সকলকেই অমি সমান চক্ষে ঢেথি; কোন ইতর্木বিশ্শষ করি










 ভাবাপ্ হইてেন না। ইছাই অামান মভ।















 ভগবান তাছার ইত্র বিশেষ কট্রেন ন্।।










 Philosophy পড়াইবার Professor হইলেন। তিনি একथানি Logic র্রচনা কট্রেন।













 Inspector of Schools इইইযাছিলেন। ২৪ প্রীণাঁ্য ২ জन Deputy Inspector









লোক রাখিরেন ন।। ইহাতে নীলমণিবাবু 3rd year 3 4th year পড়াইঢে লগগিলেন आমি 1st year ও 2nd year পড়াইঢে লগগিলাম। অামি তথন এক্জন Professor ইইলাম। Lord Ripon ঠে Education Report ब্থকাশ করিয়াছিলেন, তাইাতে তিনি

 इইলেন। ইতিপ্ট্ব্বিনি Assistant Professor of Mathematics ছিহলেন। Lord
 rusticate কর্ प্যে কোন কার্ব করিঢে পারিবেন without reference to the Principal। এই সময় Rowe সাতেব কয়েক মাসের জন্ঠ Offg. Principal ইইয়iছিনেন। তিনি Report-এর underlined কথাগ্তল পাঠ করিয়া বড়ই চটি্যাছিলেন। তিनি মলে
 তাছ কর্রিয় যান নাই। তিনি সকল Professorcক সমান ক্ষমত দিয়া গিষ্যাছিলেন। (Lord Ripon প্রক্ণশিত Education Report গেयুন )

 করিনাম। Tawny সাたেব ঔ ভার অমাদের ছুইজনের উপর 斤িততন। Tawny সাহেব
 হইইলে Tawny সাঢহব ত্ক্কণাফ তাহাদিগকে Promoted করিতেন। একবার একছার
 2nd year-এ অাহাকক প্রস্তুত করিষ্য লইব।" Tawny সাহেব হীসিষ্র সই করিন্নন।
 ছিল। একবার Robson নামে একটি সাহেবের টমটম গাড়ী ঘিরিয়| ছাত্রের্ দাড়াইয়াছিল। সাছেব কিছুতেই বাড়ী যাইতে পারিতেছছিলেন ন।। এমন সমত়ে অামি উপর তল্গ হইতে
 see the behaviour of your students." অ|মি তহক্ষণাः ছাত্রদিগকে বাড়ী যাইতে বলিলাম, এব: কহিলাম, আগামী কল্য আমি তোমাদদর উপায় করিব। ব্যাপার হই্যাছিল কি, পাঠক অুন। Robson Missionary गাছেব ছিলেন। ছেলেরা বলিল, তিনি
 করিয়াছিন্গ। সাহেব বিণেষ মনোয়াগ দেন নাই। ब্রইজন্য তাহার্ Robson সাছেবকে
 সব বৃত্তান্ত বলিলাম। এব: Robson সাছেব্কক trausfer করিনার জন্ঠ Director


করিরেলে। এক সপ্তাই মধ্যে Gazette－এ ঢেখিলাম，Robinson সাহেব পাটনাত্গ transferred হইযাছেন।

একবার নীলমণিবাবু কিছুদিদনর জন্য 巨ুটি লইয়াছিবলন，বোধ হয়্র তিন মাস। শ্রীयুক্র
 Private Tutor ছিলেন। Tawny সাহেব উক্ত পগত্তিত মহাশ্যকক নীলমণিবাবুর কার্বে निযুক্ত করিরেন। এক斤িন পড়াইয়্য তাঁছাটক আর 3rd year－এ পড়াইঢত হয়্য নাই।

 পর্দিন আমাকে ডাকিয়｜বনিঢলেন—＂হর্রিশ！তুমি নীলমণির কাজের ভার নাও，এবং ভোমার
 পাইতে লাগিলেনন ；অমি কিছুই পাইলাম ন।।

একবার Tawny সাছেব শ্jামাচরণবাবুর প্রতি এই্রপ অনু গ্রহ কর্রিয়াছিলেন ঘে，ঁাঁছাてক
 অমি ক কথ্খ Tawny সাহ্বকে বলিয়াছিলাম，＂কি অপরাধ দেথিতলেন ঘে，অমাকক Presidency College ছইতে দূর কর্রিয়্ দিতেছেন ？＂তাছ তনিম় সাহ্যে বনিলেন，— ＂আমি サামাচরণেরে উপকার কর্রিবার জন্য ঐকপ বন্দোবস্ত কর্রিব মনে করিয়াছি।＂Tawny




 পাঠান，হর্রিশকক কোনরূপে বেন স্থানান্তরিত কর্৷ না ছয়। Tawny সাছেব শ্যামাচরণবাবুর নিক্ট বড় অপ্রন্তুত ছইয্木াছিদলন，এব：ব্রজ লাছিড়ী মহাশয়্কক বলিয়ীছিলেন，তুমি শ্যামাচরণকক বनिఆ－＂What can I do ？The Whole Presidency College is for Haris． Even the Director is for Haris．＂
 Profossor হইলেন এবং অমি ঢকবল Profossor রহিলাম। তথन একটি মুসলমান ছাত্র
 কিন্তু মহেশ শায়রত্ন সুসলমান বলিষ্র তাছাকে অর্তি করেন নাই। পে ছাত্র নাগপুর্রে জেল
 निকট দরথাস্ত কর্রিয়াছিল ভたি হইইার্র জন্ঠ। সাছেব জবাব দিয়াছিনেেন－＂আমি একটি ছেলের জন্ঠ Class খুলিতত পারিব না।＂পটর তিনি আমাকে ও হরপ্রসীஈকে ডাকিয়া







 ভার গ্রহণ করিচত পারি।" অমি বনিলাম—"তুমি অমাকে মে ভার fিবে, আমি লইব।"


 ছাত্রটি বিশ্ববিছালয়্রের পরীক্ষাঁ্য উত্তীণ হয্ নাই।
'প্রবাসী’ কার্তিক, ১৩২২

## নুতন মাননতানাদ

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## এক

অধুনিক যুগে মানবসভ্যতার সর্বগ্রাসী গংকট গ্রত্যেক চিত্তাশীন লোকের মনে প্ীর উদ্বেনের ছায়াপাত করেরে। রাজনননিকি, সামাজিক, অর্থ নৈনতিক কোন 斤িকেই আজ পর্যন্ত এगন কোন রা宏ক শাসনতন্ত্রের কাঠামৌ বা সমাজ ব্যবস্থার অষ্টি ছন না যার ফলে
 অসাম্য, শোষণ ও অত্যাচাররর বিরুদ্ধে לনতিক বিত্রোছ জানিত়ে এমন এক নতুন সমাজ ব্যবষ্য|
 করবে—এই ছিল সगাজতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার মূল উদ্দেষ্য যার পুর্ণ ম্বীক্ততি লাভ করেছে অধুনিক


 আন্দোলন অকাन পরিণতি লাভ করেছে ব্যক্তির একনায়কত্বে যার ब্রধান অর্থ ই इল













## ছুই



 रिয়্রেণ ক্যা প্রে্রোজন।








 economic production and exchange and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upou which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch." (Communist Manifesto-Preface to the



 রাজ্ৰনিতিক 3 সামাজিক সংগঠন, ধর্মীয় বিবেকবোধ, নীতিবোধ, দর্শন, সাছিত্, বিজ্ঞান, সব


 বিশ্লেষণ (Dialectical Analysis) করেছেন। সক্লন ঘর্টনার অাললাকে 厅িনি এই




 কমত পর্বন্ত অপিত ; অর একদল बৌষিত, যাদের বাঁচবার অর্थ টনতিক অধিকার ছাড়া অার





 অন্হক্লে্যে স্য্যবিত্ত ও শমিক শ্রেণীীর মিলিত সশাত্ত্র বিজ্রেছ সাফ্লা নাড করে।































 गৃन्ग बর্রোপ কৃর্রেছেন। "The socialist society was not to be created by man; it was to result automatically and inevitably from the operation of the forces of production; it was to be a necessary product of historical development." (M. N. Roy-New Humanism)

















 বলেছেন, "State Capitalism."










 গুকত্ব দাননর মধ্যে।










 (Romanticism); ভাববাদের সম্পে যুক্তির্ব সামঞ্জন্য থাকলে এবং তখ ঘগ্গ সর্বজনগ্রাছ্
 tempered with reason, and rationalism enlivened by the romantic spirit of adventure, pave the road to successful revolutions." (M. N. Roy-Reason, Romanticism \& Revolution, Volume I)

## তिন

মানুষ যুক্তিবাদী বনে সমাজে তার ব্যক্তিম্বাধীনত। সর্বাগ্রে স্বীকার্য; কারণ স্বাধীনত৷


 এৰ: ঢার বর্তমান ক্রপ ও অাকার প্রাণীতন্ত্রিক বিবর্তনের দীর্ধ ধারার প্রতি ইঙ্গিত করর। অার মন, আবেগ, ইছ্ছ, বুদ্ধি প্রতৃতি নিয়সচালিত প্রাক্ততিক জগতের সক্কে ঘনিষ্ঠভাবে
 जার অন্তুর্নীন ব। সছজ্গাত নীতিবোধরে সংরক্ষিত ও শানিত করে তখন সমজজের মছন বিধানের לনতিক কর্তব্য পীলনেই দেখখ দেয় যুক্তির সার্থকত্য। অার মানুষ ও সমাজ সম্ধে প্রক্বত জ্ঞান লাভ করতত হনে প্রাক্বততক বিজ্ঞানের সকল স্মত্রগুলি মানুষেন বিকাশের্র
 কর্রেছিল, আভ তার থেকে নিশ্চয়ই সে অনেক দূর অগ্রসর হর্যেছে, কারণ মাহুষের জীবন এবং পারুস্পরিক সামাজিক সম্পক্ণ সম্বন্ধে জ্ঞানান্বেষণ তার্ন বহৃবিধ সমস্ছ| সমাধান করেছে। বি’শ শতাআীর একনায়কত্বে (ঘা যুক্তিবাদী নয়) তার বিশ্বাস নেই,—তাই তার স্বাধীনতাকামী
 এক অভূতপূব্ব নৈতিক অাবে斤ন। তার কারণ এই অন্তর্লীন নীতিবোধই মাহষষকে মাঞুষের টপকার সাধনে প্রবৃত্ত করে-"Morality emanates from the rational desire for harmonious and mutually beneficial social relations." (M. N. Roy-New Humanism)

দ্বিতীয়তঃ, বিশ্মমানবজার মধ্যে ব্যক্তিসত্তার অચ্ড বিকাশের মৃল মন্ত্র নিহিত অাছে।




 বড় কथ川। "New Humanism is always cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan commonwealth of spiritually free men will not be limited by the boundaries of national states,-capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist, or of any other Kind,-which will gradually disappear under the impact of the twentieth century Renaissance of Man." (M. N. Roy-Reason, Romanticism and Revolution-VolumeII)

## চার

 কাঠামোর ভিত্তি প্রীতিষ্ঠিত ছয় একট বিশিষ্ট মতবাদাকে কেন্গ করে। নতুন গণতত্ত্র তেমনি




 অब্য সদঙ্গদের नিবাচন করার অধ্বিকার লাভ করবে। এই জনসংস্থাই হবে জনগণের শাসন
 কমত্ লাড্র করবেন। বল্ বাহুল্য প্লেটোর Republic-এ বণিত "Government of the wise and best"—এই মঢছত্র যুক্তিযুক্ত পরিণতি লাড কঢরেছে নতুন মানবতাবাদের


 সমবায়ে গঠিত একটি রাষ্ট্রীয় পরিষ্দ (Council of State)। জনসাবারণের ছ্তিসাধন ও




 শিকাই যুক্তিবাদী মান্য়ে স২পटথ পরিচালিত করে ও সাফত্যের সন্ধান দেয়। মাহ্বেব্র

 সছযোপিত। করবে।


 প্রা্রোপ করতে হবে। নতুন অর্थনীতির ভিত্তি রচিত হবে ধনতান্ত্রিক ব। সমাজতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতিতে নয়，সমবায় পদ্ধতির（co－operative system）মাধ্যমে। উৎপাদক ও ভোগকারীর সম্পক্ক，সমবায় সংগঠন স্，唐র মাধ্যমে নির্ধারিত হবে। এইর্রপ সমবায় অর্থনীতিতে
 অসাম্য ন হ হ，তার প্রতিও নক্য রাথ刂 ছবে।

চতুর্থতঃ নতুন মানবতাবাদের সাংস্ক্তিক ভিত্তি গঠিত হবে সকল দার্শনিক মতবাদকে ববভ্ঞানিক গবেষণ। ও জ্ঞানের অালোকে বিচার করার মাধামে ও সকন সমাজ－বিজ্ঞানের ক্কত্রে
 পण প্রশস্ত করে। শিক্ষিত জনসাধারণ অশিক্ষিত ও অর্ধশিক্ষিতদের্ন মণ্ব্যে মানবতাবাূদর মৃল নীতিগুলি ব্যাখ্য斤 করে তাদদর ব্যক্তিম্বধীনত，बৌক্তিক ধর্ন্নর মৃল্যবোধ সম্বক্কে সচেতন করে তুলবে—এইভাবে জাতি নিরেপক্ষ মানবতাবাদদর প্রতিষ্ঠ সল্তব হবে। কেন ন
 মাহুষ সকল ব্যক্তির স্বাধীন সত্ত৷ বিকাশে বিশ্বাসী，সেইজন্ঠই সে ব্যক্তি বী মাহষবকে আপন


## भ゙ロ

＂নতুন মানবতাবা斤＂ছ！ড়াও আমর্গ इয়ত পার্লামেন্টারী গণতন্ত্রের নজীর তুলে ঐ র্巾প শাসনতন্ক্রের সার্থকত্। দেথাতে পারি। তथাপি এ কথা স্বীকার্ব বে পার্লামেন্টারী শাসনতত্ত্র

 ন।। জনগণ－প্রেরিত প্রতিনিধি পার্লামেণ্টে সকন সম্যই তার ম্বার্থরকার ঊপযুক্ত মু্ীপাত্র

 গরিষ্ঠ দল ঙ্কমত দ্থল করে শ্রেণীমাঢ্থ্ জনসাধারণের সকন্ন স্থমোগ সুবিষী লাভ করার পথ বন্ধ করে রেত্যেছে। এক নায়কত্ব বা পার্লামেন্টার্রী শাসন কোনটাই মান্মেের্ন বিশ্বাস অর্জন করঢত পারছে ন।। তাই নতুন গণণতত্ত্র মাহুযের মনে আশা ও বিশ্বাস জাগিফ্রে তোলার


## O











 ब্রকত সাৗাধ।












# নিতান্তই সন্ধ্যার গল্প 

## ( অन্মবাদ গল্প)

## অরুণীভ గাশণুপ্ণ—পঞ্চম বর্ষ, কন্য

অজয গীছপালার সংমিশ্রণণ একটট बোপ, পাক্কের রেনিি তাকে ছুঁয়ে গিয়েছে। তার সামনেই একট। বেঞ্ছে নর্মান গোর্টপ্বি বসে পড়ল। অনতিদূরে অপ্রশস্ত রাস্ত।, বিভিন্ন
 মু

 রাস্তাঘাটে লোকচলাচল ম্নততর; অথচ, কী অশচর্য, এখনও এই পার্কে বছজন ঘোরাফের্গ।



 অাড়াল কটরে দেয়।

 যাষ্র ন
 অনাষ্য!সে। তবু নিজজ্জেক তার পরাজিত মনে হচ্ছিল। সত্যিই তার্ পরাজ্রয ঘটেছে,

 शচ্ছিन।

 আজ তিনি একান্তই নিঃম্ব। পরণের পোষাক খুব খেলে। নয়, অন্তত আষৌ-অন্ধকারে তাঢে

 উঠে দাড়ালেন, বোধ হয্য বাড়ির দিকে পা বাড়ালেন। সেখঢে হয্যত তাঁকক প্রতি মুহ্জর্তে








 অার ক্ষা匹্র্র অাভাস।











 কাটিব হ斤িস পাচ্চি নে।





 কর্নাম।














 particular line genius certainly consists of an infinite capacity for taking precautions.

ङ





 খनित्रে এन।





 ন৷, ఆট। बাপনার স্তিকার্রে ব


 बভবে নেওয়্গ অসল্গত। অামার ভুল হব্যেছিল।

 দেখল，জেই বৃক্ধ ভদ্রলোক।
＇কিহু হারালো নী কী অপনার？＇গোর্টিস্বি প্রে ক্রল্।
—‘そ্য’，একখানি সাবান ।＇＊

## कलেজ গ্ত্রীট

## শিশিরকুনার দাশ—প্রাক্তন ছাত্র

এ পথে আমি বে পেছি বারবার। তবু এই চেনাপて্ে কখনও কথনও একটা অনিবiচা ভম ঘিরে অাসে। এই ট্রামবাসের ভিড়ে，লোকজনের ঢচলাফেরার অড়াবে সেই ভয়ের সাড়া পাই। কয়েক্ট্ নিম দেবদার্রু ডানপাতার অন্ধকারে সেই অনেক চেন্য বিস্ম্য আর ভয়ের্র


 তবू श゙ँটि।







 মত চিঁচিট়ে চলছছ，Have pity on me．
 যেতে পারিনা। পাশের লোকটি যে সষ্রমে বনে দিয়েছে ঐ ত’ লেলেন প্রিন্স অ্ঘরকানাথ，অার

[^0]এই শে ডেভিড হেহ্যার। সংকোচ হ্য় ভীষন，ডেভিড ছহ্যার হয্রত সস্নেছে ধমক দেবেন। আর প্রিন্স। ভাবতেও ভ্য।
 যাওযাই যাক ওদের কাছছ। পরণে ওদদ্র চোभtচাপকান। এক জনের নিযুঁত বিলিতি স্যুট জ্রার্র একজনের ধুতি পাঞ্জাবি। তুমুল एর্ক হচ্ছে বোধ হ্য। কান পেতে শোনাই যাক ন।। ধুতি চাদর পরিহিত বাঙালি বাবু বলছেন ：মধ্রু，তুহি রিচার্ডসরের সিলেকসান পড়নে ？

উল্লসিত হয়েে উঠন ছেনেণী ：I wish I had been the author of it．অবার একদু থ্েনেই অার একজনের দিকে চেট্রে，How should I like to see you write my life，if I happen to be a great poet，which，I am almost sure，I shall be if I can go to England．রাজ্নারায্রণ，এত চুপচাপ কেন ？
 মধুস্ম্দন একবার হাতের বইগুলির দিকে চোখ বোলাবেন। তার পরই বলবেন ছয়ত：কী পড়ছ আজকান। পড়েছো ছোমার ভর্জিল টাশো মিন্টন বায়রন ？একটাও পড়েছি বলতে
 read Bharat Chandra，that old fool of＇Krishnanagar＇？বলতে মাচ্ছিলাম ： অক্লীল তাই। কিন্তু চট করে নিজের ছাতের বইটার 斤িবৈ চোথ পড়তেই কথাট। অাটকে গেল। ভূদেব বনে উঠলেন ：মধু，আমি উঠি，ঢোমাদের্র ত’ জাবার। মধুস্মৃন হেনে বললেন ： বুঝ লোক ঝে জনো সন্কান । ছিপি থোলার শক হয়।

 উ১ু，আমি অজো পৃথিবী বানানট। ভুল লিথি।

মধুস্থ斤ন ধমকাচ্ছুন：ক্বত্তিবাস পড়নি। হাউ স্ট্রে্জ। অজ্রকান কি তোমার মত কুলিরা সাহিত্য পড়ছে। প্নিজ রিটায়ার। ণ্পেট আউট।
 পগ্তি। সজ্র্র করার বিশেষ প্রয়োজ্রন বোধ করিনি কোনদিন，জাজো নয়। উঠে যাচ্ছিলাম
 প্রথম ভাগের ওপর অঁক। সেই কালো লোকটির ম্থের মত। প্রথমে বিস্ম্য，পরে 可কস্প， পরিশশষে এক মিশ্র অনুভূতিতে প্রণামই কর্রে বসলাম।


 কিছু চাই ?

অপরাধীর মত মুঃ করে বললাম: দেথ্যুন অাপনার বিষষ্ বিবাহ অক্নোলনের কী সার্থকত্| অাছে, অাইন কর্রে কি অর কিছু...

 ঝাপস।। বিচার বু⿸্জি इয়নन এতটুকু। কথ্ট। ঘোরাবার জন্য বললাম: আপনি নাকি নাग্তিক?

ছেসে উঠনেন বিছাসাগর। সিঁ ড়ি দিয়ে নামতে নামতে বলতেন : পৃথিবীতত এত




 গ্র্যাজুচ্রেট। ওর বই পড়েছিস?

পঢ়়ছ——কিন্ত ভীষণ সেকেকে, রিয়ালিিস্টিক নয়, বিশশষ করে-তাই চুপ করে


 ক্小াশ থেকে বেরোরেন অবার ছাত্গ খ্ললল অরদালী।


 একবারও মন্সির দ্বরে অঘাত করেনি। নিশচ্যই করেছিল। অন্ধকারে কেউ লখিলি। মন্দির గরোজ্যা পেরোরেই অব গুন্তিতা ছুর্গেশনক্সিনী।

কোন দিন কি সামনের মাटঠ চারজন বন্লুর সর্গ ওত্র গল্প করেনন নি। কেউ বলেন নি


 করেনি : এ জীবন লইয়্রী কি করিব-কি কর্রিতে হয্র।

## ‘এ জীবন লইয়া কি করিব! কি কর্রিচে ছয়’।





 জম্মাবার কামনা নিষ্েে মরি। এমন শতালীর ক্লান্ত রাজপথে ঢেঁটে বেড়াই। তাই ভয়। ভ衣 বা কিসের।

 তুলে 斤িই। তারও উপায় নেই।
：পা নামাও। ওখানে অামি রাচত্রে ঘুহোই ভে।







 একজন নাচতে নাচতে বলছছন ：ইঢয়েস，ইয়েস，কান দ মি।
 হ্রোট আঢছ।
‘丹－জীবन লইয়্র কি করিব। কি করিতে হয়।＇




 উন্তর পাচ্ছ，অলু পটন ব্বচে। একইু ছেসে বলছছন，ভারতবব্রের এমন কোন রাজা নেই
 এখনও কেন তোমাদদর ঘরে নার্রীর মূল্য ঢেই，ঘরে ঘঢর এখনও কেন বিষ খাঁ্য। অর্র মেয়েরা

 কর্মে চিন্তাগ্র।

হাতে আমার্ন একট্য ছোট্ট বই—স্গ প্রকাশিত। মনে হয় মাইকেল এপে ধমকাবেন: Translate the passage into your own English, অার অামার मাইত্রিশটী অ్ल


 পরোপকারের্ন জন্য।

মনে মনে বनি : nonsense কथ川।
 Bring new air. कि नियছ nonsense गমगु। why don't you read classics?

बবান ছাও।

 একটুও বিশ্বাস করি ন্য।
: Damn it. One who does not believe in God is called an Atheist. But I call him an atheist who does not believe in himself, নিজ্েকে বিশ্বস কর্র না তুমি। তুমি অমৃচ্তে পুত্র।





: 氏িরিক়ে ছাও অামান্গ গান। বিশ্বাসছীন।





: बৌথাস্য লেই অনণ্ত আকাশ ?
 बরিজ্রে যাই।



## অন্যতর্ন মূল্যায়নে



































 আমাদের কাম্য, नিরন্তরকালের কামনার বস্তু যেমন নারী। অাবার সার্বজনীন অাক্রপ্রের






 চিত্রটি অজ্র। তাই জীবনানन্গ এখানে গভীর্রঙাবে ঐতিছবক ম্বীক্বতি দিলেন অার দিবৈন



 যাত্র হাজার বছর ধরে পৃথিবীর পথে। জীবনানক্দের অন্থান্ঠ কবিতার মত এथানে
 অচ্ছন্ন ইতিহাসবুদ্পির বিত্তৃতি কবির ঢচততন্য——প্রথম চারপংক্তির বর্ণনায তার আভাস।小োটামুটি বন্তে পার্য যায় এ স্তবককর বক্তব্য এই ৫ে মানুষের সমস্ত সভ্যতার অ|ড়াঁ্র












ছু ত তার কবেকার অক্ধকার বিদিশার নিশ।





















এখন যে লেখl!, যে নব গল্পের অয়োজন তাতে আসবে জোনাকির অক্ষর এবং অার পরে৪ অত্যন্ত অহ্ধাবনেন সংণে বলা হোল :

সব পাথি ঘরে আদস-সব নদী—ফুরায়-এ জীবনেন সব লেনদেন ;
থাকে শ্রু অন্ধকার, মুতোমু্ি বসিবার বনলত্| সেন।
জীবনের সর্বকিছু আয়োজন অননন্দের অনিবার্ব অবসাননর পরেও যে অন্ধকার সেখানে বনলঅ সেন আছছ, প্রক্থতি—পৃথিবীর প্রশান্ত অাশ্রয়। দ্রষ্বা এই বে স্বাভাবিক্ভাবেই ছান্সে শান্তির ঊপছাবরের প্রসংপে পের্রিয়ে বনলত丁 গেনবক অবশেষে তিনি দেখলেন অচ্তছীন

 পাই, অামার কাছ্ছ এই ব্যবছার তিনটি পৃথক পরিমগুলের স্কচন্য করেছে। কবিতান প্র্রথম ও দ্বিতীয় স্তবক পরিপুরক, শেষ স্তবকট সিদ্ধান্তের মতে।। প্রথম ছিত্তে একীট
 ব্যবহার প্রথম ও দ্বিতীয় স্তুবকক সংঢোজক। "সি:হন্লমুদ্স থেকে নিশীথের অন্ধকারে মাল্য সাগরে অনেক ঘুর্রেছি আমি"—্র্থানন একটি যাত্রার ছবি। কিন্ত ককন এ যাত্র্ বিশেষভাবেই

 রয়েছে সভ্যতার নব নব টত্তরণের নিফ্ফলঢার সেই পটভূমি, আনৌ সে দিলৌ নখ, শাি্ঠি লে দেস্রনি। অরর এই সহম্র শতকের ইতিহাসের ব্যর্থতার পটট বনলতখ সেন্টে আবিকার



 আমার মতে এ অন্ধকার বর্জনের নয় অর্জন্নর একটি অবস্থ|। এ হচ্ছে চচতন্যের গডীরতঅ
 পৃথিবীর দরজজা খুণ্ল দেয় চোてের সামঢে।

গভীর অন্ধকারের ঘুম থেকে নদীর ছ্ছল ছ্ছন শর্বে জেণে উঠলাম
( অन্ধকারः বনनত্ সেন)
 বিচুতিত্বই অবস্ছ্।

আবার আাকাশে অক্ধকার ঘন হয়ে উঠছে:
আলোর রহস্যময়ী সঢহোদরার মত্খে এই অन্ধকার।
( নগ্ন নির্জন ছাত: বনলত। সেন)


 কারণে এ অন্ককার আলোকিত এক অর্জন ।
 নামটি যডিও সাধারণ প্রচলননর অপেক্ষী রাত্থ, তবু যখনি কবি বলেন "শামামী তোমার মুখ সেকালের শক্তির মতন" ত্খনি আমি এখানে লেই প্রতীকাশ্রয়ী ব্যঞ্জনার সক্ধান পাই। মধ্যযুগীয় বীরশ্ব ও শক্তির বিমৃর্তন হিসেবে শ্যামনীকে সবৈোধন, কারণ শ্যামলতার সংনে সজীবত।



প্রথম ছুটি স্তবকে একটি বক্তব্য পৃণ্ধাংগ হয়ে উটেচছ। কাব্যক্বতির অলোচন ছাড়| অমর্য কবিতার মধ্যে পারস্পরিক সংযোজনা এবং অর্থবিস্তৃতির সন্ধান করবো। প্রথম স্তুবকক অামর্ পেলাম মধ্যযুগীয়্র বিব্গামহौन অন্বেষার চিত্র木প, শ্যামলীর মুথে সেই অ!দিম ব্যাক্শ সন্কানের প্রতিভাস। একটি মৃত্থের চার্র পাশে উভয় স্তবকেই ষে বিচিত্র অতীত












 বহন করেছে। এখানে ক্রন্দনের ব্যবছার সাধারণ অর্থে নয়। অামার মঢে হয়, অন্বেষার্র
 বিসারী সন্ধানের, যাত্রার অনিবার্ব অকর্ষণেের কথাটিই বলা হব্যেছে:

> অনেক অপরিমেয় যুগ কেটে গেল
> মান্মষ্টে স্থির-স্থিরততর হাত দেবেনৗ সসয়।










মহিলারি প্রতিভায পে ধাতু উজ্জ্রন









 ছপ্রুর্রে শৃন্ঠ সব বন্দরের ব্যথার মতো ছবি।









 এই জিজ্ঞাসায় কবিতার শশশ।

স্ররু্রুনাকে আমর্ প্রেনের প্রতীক হিসেবে ধরেছি। এই কবিতািিতে স্তুবকান্তরে






 পাচ্ছি। তিলোত্তমা-নগরীর কথাটির অর্থডৌরব বিচিত্র ব্যশ্জনা নিয়ে আসস: তিতে তিলে

 স্র ছবিব্র মাধ্যচে ধ্রেমের অমৃতজীবনটি লক্ষিত।

বয়স বেড়েছে দের নরনার্রীঢদর
ঈষং নিতভছে তুর নক্ষত্রের আতো
 পৃথিবীর ক্রমপ্রাচীনত্ব, দিদনন নিদে সে অর্রও পরিচিচ, অারও পুরোণেখ হচ্ছে। প্রথম




 অার প্রেমিক দৃষ্টিপাত চারিদিকক পরিব্যাপু। পরের ছু’্াইৰন আষ্যাত্মিক সাধনায় মাহুষ সন্তোষ পায্রনি আরও এক অন্যতর মানবিক সাধনায় দে মগ্নপ্রাণ, সে তপশ্গ হ্গূয়ের, সে কাম্য কাউকে পাওয়া এই অর্থটি অামরা পাই।

> মাহুষ কাউরে চায়-তার পেই নিছত উজ্জ্বল
> ঈশ্বরের পরিবর্চে অন্ঠ ধোন সাধনার ফল ।

 পরিবর্তে সে অন্ঠ কিছ্র চেয়েতে, কাউকে চেয়েছে। সে সাধনগ মানুষের তরে এক মানুষौর






































 ব্যাथ্, গভীর।

## স্ুচেতনা, ঢুমি এক দूत्रতর নীপ

বিকেলেরে নক্ষঢত্রে কাঢছ;







 প্রিজ্যাবজ হাদ্য়ন দানन।






কেবলি জাছাজ এণে অামাদের বন্দরের রোcদ
দার্থ্ছি ফ্সল নিয়্রে টপনীত হয়;
পেই শশ্খ অগণন মান্য<ের সব,








হত্যায় এই র্ত্তম शूक्र इन्य



















## 'প্যাশন-প্লে'

## नবनीতl দেব—প্রীক্তन ছাত্রী ( د৯৫8-৫৬)




 ஈক্ষিণ জার্গীীী পেই গত্তে-বোনা অম।








































 ক্কেত বাগান মানুষজন সব মিলিয়ে গ্রামটি এত বেশি চিত্রকল্প, বে বাস্তবকেই বিষী|

 প্ৗৈছুলুম, অার নাম "Landhans"-বাড়ীর সামনে ছুটি আপেল গাছ রাঙ্ ইুকটুক কাহ্র


 পোহানোর অসর জহেছে তাই খlবার ঘরে। সেই অড্ডাতেই এখানকার সজ্জারহহ



 অধেসসন্নাসী মান্যষ। কাইফাসের ভূমিকায় অছেন এক মাংসবিকক্রেত কসাই। জূ凶া


 বর্ষচর্ষ পালন করেরন সবাই চিত্তক্ত্রির অভিপ্রুয়ে।




 করতত পাররেন

ভাগ্য স্রপ্রসন্ন। টिকিট মিতে গেল পরের দিনই। অভিনয় সুরু সকাল সাt!



ওবারামারগাউ রূগামঞ

অ:শ গ্রছণ কর্রেন, নারী, শিশু, বৃদ্ধ, যুবক। ब্রত্যেক অভিনয়-দিনের ভভারে ছ’টায় তার্৷






 বিশালঅ বোঝা শক্ত নয়। কিন্ত্জ নাট্যীীঠঠর বিরাটত্ব সঠিক অনুমান করতে পারিনি


 পটভূমিতেই এক আশচর্ব স্বাভাবিকতা। 'প্যাশন-ক্লে'র সবচেটেে বডড়ী আবোন এর সাবলौन স্বাভাবিক্তায। প্রকাণ ক্রুশ্র ভাঢর অবদদিত ষীখ্যুকে একবারও অভিনেত।



 উস্চতা সহর্রে সমালোচকের চোथCক হার মানাঢত পারে অনায়াঢে। এরের অভিনয় পদ্ধতির




 করেরেছো যীশ্তর বিচার ও ক্রুসিকিক্মন্ন অবিশ্বাম্ঠ মাত্রায় বাস্তব দৃখ্থগুি। অথচ,
 নেই।





 બোনে, এই সহ্ম্রাপিক গ্রীমীন্ মাহুযের একবসসরের্র অান্তর্রিক সাধন।।
"Hallelujah! To Thee Who hast risen!
Thou liast purchased our salvation with Thy blessed blood!
After death-Eternal Life! Hallelujah !"

## এমিয়েলের জার'াল B রনীক্তনাথ

উজ্ঘল गজুমদার—ষষ্ঠ বর্ধ, কনা

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 অস্তাচন পর্ভন্ত প্রসারিত।




'The publication of this volume is the fulfilment of his desire.The reader will find in it, not a volume of memoirs, but the confidence of a solitory thinker, the meditations of a philosopher for whom the things of the soul were the sovereign realities of existence.'

মনে হয়, হুটি কারণে এমিয়েলের জার্নলল চিরকালের পীঠকてক মুঞ্ধ করবে। ब্রথমতः এর মা্যে ছাদ্য-বেদনার সার্থক প্রতিফলন ঘটটেে। দ্বিতীয়ত: জার্নালে লেখকের বিশিষ্ট ভল্পিময় অধুনিক মননের ছাপ পড়েছে।
 বাক্ত। অসटन তিনি রসভিঋারী। তাঁর মনটি যেন যা-পাই তাতেই ধন্ম! তাই আনন্দে बেচে উঠে বলেন-
'A lovely autumn effect. Everything was veiled in gloom this morning, and a grey mist of rain floated between us and the whole circle of mountains. Now the strip of blue sky which made its appearance at first behind the distant peaks has grown longer, has mounted to the zenith, and the dome of heaven, swept almost clear of cloud, sends streaming down upon us, the pale rays of a convalescent sun. The day now promises kindly and all is well that ends well.

Thus after a season of tears, a sober and softened joy may return to us.'
 আঙ-বাহার দেথে এমিয়েরেরে কবিমন বারে বারেই বলেছে ‘এইত’! অার মুঞ্ধ কবি মগ্গ इয়েছছেন সেই নোছবন্দন রচনায়। জার্নালে প্রায় সর্বজই এই নির্জন ভাবুককে পৌ়েছি যার ফনে আধ্যাত্মিক মনন-চিন্তনের প্রকারেও এক মিঙ্টি-মধুর সাহিত্যিক রসের অমেজ भौब्या जেছে।

দ্বিতীয় গুণটি তাঁকে এমার্সন, কার্লাইল ইত্যাসি মनौষীদের থেকে পৃথক কর্রেছে।
 সতাই আধুনিক সন্দিপ্ধ মনের প্রতিনিধি। এমার্সন ব। কার্লাইরলের প্রবন্ধ পড়লে মরে হয় তঁরা ভেন সাধারণ পাঠকের নীরন্ধ্ন অন্ধকার ঞ্ঞানসমুর্রের এক-একটি অরোকস্তষ্ভ। পাঠকের দিশাছান্গ! সনে তাদদর উক্তিগুলো বেন বেদবাক্য।


 উক্তি উদ্ধার করহছ্-
'I have too much imagination, conscience and penetration, an not enough character. The life of thought also seems to me to han enough elasticity and immensity, to be free enough for the irrepara ble, practical life makes me afraid.'





 এমিজ্যেনের জার্রান।

## ॥ २ ॥






 করতেই হবে।



 थাকতে পারর, কিন্তু এই বইটি অামার মনেনর মতো। অনেক সময় অাে যশন সব বই











 निঢে এハোছ।








 गঢে হबম লেনে :’
'Love is the forgetfulness of self; jealousy is the most passionate form of egotism, the glorification of a despotic, exacting and vain ego.'



'The animal renders a service of utility; man in return owes it a need of protection and of kindness. In a word the animal has claims on man, and the man has duties to the animal. Buddhism, no doubt, exaggerates this truth, but the Westerners leave it out of count altogether.'

[^1]




The East prefers immobility as the form of the infinite: the West, movement. It is because the West is infected by the passion for details, and sets prond store by individual worth. Like a child upon whom a hundred thousand fraucs have been bestowed, she thinks she is multiplying her fortune by counting it out in pieces of twenty sons, or five centimes. Her passion for progress is in'great part the product of an infatuation, which consists in forgetting the goal to be aimed at, and absorbing, herseff in the pride and delight of each tiny step, one after the other. Child that she is, she is even capable of confounding change with improvement-beginning over again, with growth in perfectness.











 এশিয়েরেের মধ্যেও পাচ্দি।


 করেন। অনন্তের পিপাসা ছজনেরই সমান। এगিজ্রেল বলছেন:
'The thirst for the infinite is never appeared. God is wanting.'

'The finite represents to us the tension of the self to become the the infinite. The universe is the struggle of the finite to reach the infinite. It is a play of hide and seek between the two-God and man.' ${ }^{2}$

পাশাত্য Theistsçের गচে丬 অনিয়েন সীমিত ভগবান<কে বিশ্লাস ক্রেন ন্য।

 there is another opposing Him, the wickedness of the wicked.' किनु






















२ The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore-S. Radha Krishnan

# (েষ্ট্রন ও ইংর্রেজ $\operatorname{sাহিত্যেন~এক~অষ্যায়~}$ 

## পল্ধব जেনগুপ্ত-দ্বিতীয়্র ব, কন


















 পণে লেই সমাজ পরম অগ্রগতিশীন।










[^2]













 চানাতে বাধ্য করজেন।















 করেছেন।
 রূরের বিচেষ কোনও অন্তর্নিছ্তিত পার্থক্য নেই। বিজ্ঞানী প্রক্বতিকে দেথ, ছেন বিভিন পরীষ্巾



 আান্লাকের কণিকাধর্স প্রমাণের জন্ম নির্ধারিত পরীক্ষা থেকে আলাছী হবে। স্ততরা!, এ রকম










 বিভিন্ন অ斤িম কণিকাগুলির উদुব হয্রেছে।

মহাবিশ্বের গাণিতিক ও তত্র্গত র্রপ निর্ণয় করবার জন্ঠ অধ্ুনিক যুগে বহু বিছানী ব্যাপৃত আছ్ন। স্থিতিশীन বিশ্ব, ক্রমবর্বমান বিশ্ব, সংকোচন-প্রসারণগীল বিশ্ব ইজা|্̄


 টপায়েই বিভিন্ন לৈজ্ঞানিক মতবাদের ডুলনামূলক বিচার্র কর্গ সস্তব এবং কান্ট্য "অাসল"






## শেষ কথারিরির শেষ (নই

## অধ্যাপক ডাঃ শিবঢোব মুখোপাধ্যায়







 दাখढতই 丹ণাশ্ত।




 ศেবারও नシ্র।












 এরেবারে তুলনাছীন করে দেওয়া ঢোলেl, এমন বিছানা করে এমন এমন চাদ্য করে।






 কামাস্কাটকা, ক্যালিকোর্নিয়া অর কোলকাতা একেবারে একাকার। ఆদিকে রোডিওতে ঋথারে ভেসে অসদছ এত কথার ছড়োছড়ি

রাঙ্তায় নামরেও বিজ্ঞাননর ছাত থেকে রেহাই নেই—সেখtনে বিজ্ঞানের সগাণ


 কাজ এখন একট্ট যব্ট্রের পক্ষে যথেষ্ট।












 ल्लोপীী তাই অテिशिত বিজ্ঞান-শিল্লী।

দাই পাততে দহ্ল্ কিম্ব বীজাুু মারঢত ব্লিচি: পাউডার ঢেওয়ায় যতথানি, বড় বেশিন চালু যাথতে বল বেয়ারিংএএ তেল ঢেওয়ায় কিম্ব ज্টেথিস্টোপ বসিয়ে বুকের্ন ভাষা বুবারার


















 সাছিত্যের হাটট সবকিছ্রুর ভরা-ডুবি। তেমনি অনন্ত সুর-সাগরের্র মাৰঝ 'সারেপামাপাধানিস’’ বিশুল্ধত বাচাননর জন্যে ঢছাট ছছাট बौপ।
 ন। থেকেও থাক।। বিজ্ঞান অড్জুত সব ঊপায় বার করছছ। জীবনে যে চুলোয় যাইনি যা

 বিশ্বের প্রায় স্ব লোক। তেমনি যে কণ্ঠ কানে ত্তনি-রেকচর্ডে তা হামাসা শুনছি। আর টেলিভিসনের ল্লীলতে ঘটনাস্থ্নে না থেটেও থাকছি সম্তব এব: প্রত্যক্ষ করছি।




 जाभ সাফ इচ্ছে।



























 ক্রছে।



 জীবন্ত অনুর। সেই এক জীবন্ত অণুর অন্থস্যণণ কালক্রমে এত জীবের উদ্রুব—মাহুষ পর্যান্ত। ঘটনার সংঘাত্ত সবকিছু আপনাঅপনি বিবর্ত্তিত ছর্রেছে। আার সব কিছুর সেরগ ছইানে। এই


 মধ্য্য পৃথিবী সামান্ঠ একট্য তৃতীয় শ্রেণীর গ্রহ হতে পারে কিন্তু সেখানকার মাহ্য? থ্রথম শ্রেণীর এক অসামান্য জীব। বুদ্ধির প্রীখব্যে অনন্ঠ। ख্রু নিজজের ভাগ্য প্রতিষ্ঠাত্য নয় নিজের
 উত্তরায়ণ আর মানুষের দেছের ভিতর বিবর্তনের মধ্যে 斤িয়ে হ্যেছে বুদ্ধির বৈজয়ন্তী। একজন
 দেয় বিশ্সসংসারের অনন্ততার দিঢে ছুটট যাওয়ার পাথেয়্র ছিসাবে। তার দাম সত্তই কি কিছ্ত নয় ? কিন্তু এমনি কটরে এককর পর্র এক কত মানুযের্র মিছিল—সব মিনিয়ে তাদের অবদান স্বल্ত নয়। এক একটি জীবন মহুয়াত্ব উণ্মোচনের জন্যে আহতি। এমন অনেক মাহুষের্র
 পাল্ল 斤িয়্রে এই পৃথিবীততই স্ন্নরের সোনার কাঠির স্পশ্লে স্বপ্নসাধনার বাসন।। বিরাট্র




 আর্ন জোরবে ঘোরাচত পারবে কি ন ত্খ জান নেই। ছনিয়াটার উপর তার মাতব্বরী



 आার থাকব ন।।

## ভাঙ্কর ও জরাগসন্ধ

## অধ্যাপক স্ুবোধচন্দ তসনগুপ্ত

## ভাস্করের ब্রেষ্ঠ ব্যল্গগল্ল:

## 3





















 চাঁহার নেখাগ্গলিতে নক্স।, গল্প, প্রবন্ধ, ব্যঙ্গরচনার অাভাস আছে, কিন্কু ইছাছিগকে কোন একঢি পর্ৰাম্রে নিশিচিত কর্রিয় ফেলা যায় না।


#### Abstract

2 ভাস্কব্রের প্রতিভার মৃলস্মত বাহির কব্রিতে হইলে প্রথমেই দৃষ্টি পড়িবে ঢ゙াছার স্থনিশিত বাস্তুবজার ঊপর। তিনি ব্যঙ্গরসিক; সুতরা: ব্যক্তির চরির্রে বy সমাজ্ীীবনে   তত্ণণ-তর্বনীী কতভাবে পরুস্পররর নিকটট অসিতে পারে, অথবা এক বন্ধু অপর এক বন্ধুরক কতরকম খাবার খাও্যাইতে পারে এবং না ঋাওযাইলেও প্ররলাডন দেयাইতে পারে তাহার বিস্তার্তিত বর্ণনায় পাঠক ত্ুু অভিত্ত হয়েন ন।, কঠিন বাস্তবজগতের সঙ্গে অচ্ছেছ সংযোপ-   ঊঠে। প্রাচীনকানে গৌরীদানের ফढে বর ও বধ্ অনেক বিষয়ে অঞ্ঞ থাকিষ্রা যাইত;   যাছারা পাইল না, ঢাহাদদর বিবাহহন্র সার্থকতা কি ? বিবাহ কি, মচ্ত্রের কোন ম্ল্য আছে কিন।, ইহা fক এক্ট। চুক্তিমাত, ন| ইছার আর cকান গভীর অর্থ আছে ; বিবাহট। ব্যক্তিগত ব্যাপার না একটী সামাজিক ব্যাপার, প্রভৃতি বিষয্য আালোচন্খ করিবাব্র এবং এতৎসম্ধক্ধে স্প্ট ধারণা জন্মিবার্র बবকাশ তাহার্ পায় নাই। একই সময়ে ছইটি নারী বখ ছইটি    সবই, বা কোনটিই নষ্র, তাছী জানিবার বা বুঝিবার জন্ঠ বৌুকু জ্ঞাননাভ্র আবশ্যক তাহার্র    দান কর্রিযাঢেন।


























बৌ’হকপাট ( 千িতীষ ষণ্ড) :

## 3





 অধিকার্র অাছে। স্ততরা: কারাগারে নানা স্থ্মুবিধার বন্দোবস্ত করা ছইয় থাটক। কিন্তু


ইহাদেব্র কথ সমবেদনার সহিত চিন্ত। করেন তাছার্রাe বনেন ষে অপরাধপ্রবণত একট। রোগবিশেষ এব: কারাগারের্র বন্দীদিগকে হাসপাতালের রোগীঢদর মত ঋশষষ কব্রিম্র রোগ-


 অন্বতম কারণ।
‘‘ৌছ-কপাট' রচয্রিত) ‘জরাসন্ধ'—ইनि প্রেসিডেন্সি কনেজের প্রাক্তন ছাত্র—ীীর্ঘকাল

 করিয়াছে। যাহার্৷ অপরাধ করিয়া কারাবরণ করিয়ানছ তাছাদদর জীবনে খানিকট।


 ছেবের জীবনে সচরাচর ঘটট না তাছা বলাই বাহ্য। এমন কি অাফ্গাল শেথেরে দোসর্র


 সনাতন মানবপ্রবৃত্তির অপ্রতিতোেনীয় नীলা। কারাগারের বাহিরের্র লোকেব্র ষে ছুইএকটি fিত্র অছছ তাছার রস একদু অন্যরকমের। তাছারy স্থন্থ সাধারণ মানুষ, কিন্তু তাছার।


 কিন্ত অাছার্র উদার্রত অপ্রত্যাশিত না হইলেও অনন্যসাধারী৷। এই শেষোক্ত কাহিনীটি


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পাশ্চাত্য সাহিত্যে belle lettres নামক এক শ্রেণীর রচন্র ब্রিদ্দ লাভ কর্রিয়াছে ইছ খািিকট ডাম্রেরি, খনিকটী কাছিনী, খানিকট। গীতিকবিছার লক্ষণাক্রান্ত। ইহার্র
 সরग। বাংলায় এই ख্রেণীর্গ সাছিত্যের আমর়। নাম সিয়াছি-রম্যরচন্।। ‘লৌছ-কপাট’ এই
 आছে। রম্যরচনার্গ প্রধান লক্ষণ ইছার লঘুত, ইছ এত ছাল্ক বে ইহার বিশ্লেষণ ও



 রম্যরচনার সর্সত ব্রিত হয় নাই, কিন্তু তাহার সহ্গে ভাবগাষ্তীর্ব যুক্ত ছইয়াছ।
 অভিজ্ঞতার মত জাজ্রল্যমান। বাস্তবজীবননন সঙ্গে নিবিড় সংমোগেন্র জন্ঠ এই গ্থে এমন






## कानादून्ब कचा

## ছাত্র-পরিমদ:

















 पूন্তে পারেব।





## বিতর্ক-পরিষা:

 ক্যাচাই বাকি ছিন।


 ईछा reforms but through revolution alone.

 ভোগ দেন। বিত্কর্কন বিবয় 甭ন：A policy of neutrality for India is neither a necessity nor a reality．
 merger of West Bengal \＆Bihar is detrimental to the interests of West Bengal－q反 এস্তাবだ হ৯ন－৬ ভেটে গৃহীত হয়।

১৬ই মাঠ ‘Discontent，Disobedience \＆Discord are the guides of human civilization＇ এই বিব＜রে একたি আন্ত\％ণ্রেণী বিতর্ক হয়।
 কब্木া इহ़्र।




৩র্গা আগস্ট＇Passion，not reason，rules the world＇এই বিষয়ে St．Xavler＇s Coilege－ब木 সঙ্গে আমাদের্র বিఠব্প－্রিষদেন্ন একটী বিচক্ক হ্য।



२৪শে শাগস্ট United Kingdom National Union of Students－এ木 সভাপ্ি Mr．F．

 পায়োডিচ্ত হর্যেছিল।
 ＇Progress depends on the unreasonable man．＇

 Khargpur ；University Institute；St．Stephen＇s College，Delhi ；B．E．College，Sibpure， All India Radio，Calcutta；Scoitish Church College；St．Xavier＇s College；India






 শ্রানেঋা 적।













সব্যসাচী ত্টাচার্ব—সপ্পাদক, বিতকক-পরিমচ

## बাট্য পরিষ্ড :










































 आनাম্ছি।







## রবীর্জ-পরিষা:




 অনেকে প巨ন্দ করেননি।


* Hindusthan Standard (14th Sept., '56) পত্রিকান্রও অভিমত তুল্ল ধর্রি :
"In both plays new ideas were mooted with an undercurrent of satire, and the student performers gave quite good account of themselves in the principal foles,"













## जোশ্যাল সাক্ডিস-লীগ:














## অर्थनীতি ও রাজ্ীতি भাঠচত্র :










এবায়্র কাড্রে কথায় অাসা যাক।
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 ঘটায়্যनि，এমন নজ। उবে ज＇অब्र।
 এইজ্তিইই বেবাঝায：
（i）The Economists and the Functions of the Govt．To－day－Gangadhar Jash．
（ii）Party－System in U．S．A：－Aloke Datta．
（iii）Problems of Economic Development in Under－developed Countries－ Ashoke Sen．
（iv）Our Real Plan－Its Problems and Objectives－Ramkrishna Basu．
（v）Democracy and the Individual－Hariprasanna Manna．
（vi）Future of Capitalism－Ashoke Guha．

এন্থে গেন গঠানুগতিক কাজের ফিব্রিস্তি।




এবার উপসংহরর্র জাमা যাক।

 ধन्यdাদ জানাই।



इর্রিপ্রসন্ন মান্না－সম্পাদক，অর্থনীতি লেমিনা｜’
বিবরজ্রন বহু—সম্পাদক，র্রাজ্রনोতি লেমিনান

## দর্শন－লসমিনার ：









 शচ অনুর্রৌ জনাচ্ছি।







অর্িদ্মু ভট্টাচার্ব- সম্পাপক

## ইতিহাস-স্সোমনার :




















 as a Reformer" नামে প্রব্ধট্ট আালা|চিত হয়।


 কর্রে অমাদের বিষিষ ষণ্থবাদভজন হর্যেছেন।
巨巨न "Paul Sweezy's Questions (On the transition from Feudalism to Capitalism )"!

 এবং সনোভ্s ভাষণ দেন।



 একসচ্গে একটা ছবি ভোলা হ্যা













 পার্রি, তাহূল অামরাই লাভবান হব।





 সচাই बশংनনীয়।





অসীমক্সমার ঘোমাল—সম্প/|দক, ইতিহাস-সেমিনার

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## গণিত-পাঠচক্র-সংবা斤 :









 नभेषेन।

निर्মাन্য সি:इ-সস্শ|দक, গfিত পাঠচত্র

## শরীীরন্ত্ত পরিষা:










२। ডাঃ চजীচরণ দেব—मছ＂
○1 ख্র্শিশির মজুমদার－সাধার্রে সম্পাদক।




も। खীহীী（সনগুপु－＂＂
al औশকুন্তল গুপ্তা－＂＂

＞＞। ডাঃ প্রেমশঙ্কর অগগরওয়াল্গ প্রতিনিষি（ শ্রেণী）
১2। खनिना जाम
201 ख्ঞমীत्र সেন＂＂
281 ख্র্র্রার্থনা চট্টোপাধ্যায়







## जাঞ্তাহিক आনে｜চনা সভা：



 আলোচিত হয়।

1．Biology of the World－Dr．August Pi Suner．
2．Researches for reviving the dead and clue to creation－Sri Rabindra Nath Sen．
3．Higher functions of Nervous System－Dr．Haripada Chatterjee．
4．Paper Electrophoresis－Sti Kantipada Chatterjee．
5．Science and Man－Sti Sisir Kumar Majumdar．
6．Condolence Meeting on the death of Dr．H．C．Mookherjee，Ex－Governor of West Bengal．
7．Enzymatic Basis of Narcotic Actions in Brain Tissues－Dr．J．Ghose．
8．Body Fluid in Cold－Dr．C．C．Deb．
9．Film Show－United States Information Service．
10．An Introduction to Aviation Physiology－Sqn．Ldr．Dr．M．K．Mookherjee．

## সo্ত্য বার্ষিক পুর্রির্মলनী উеসব ：








ব尔市 ভ্রমণ：






প্রিষ্গ মুথপ্ত＂প্রাচীরিকা＂র ঐত্হি আজও অম্লান রৃয়েছে।
শিশির মজু সদার－সাধার্রণ সম্পাদক

## भাদার্থবিচ্য স্সেমনার ：



 शब।

Differential Equations－কমলকুমার फ্তত।
Taylor Expansion— তাপসकুমার মোদক।
Compton effect—价শিত্র ভ
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## ভ্রু:তত্ব পরিষদ:









1. "Origin and Occurrence of Petroleum" by Dr. P. D. Track.
2. 'Difficulties of definng Ore and Ore Deposits"-by Prof. Russell Gibson.
3. "Seismographic Exploration" by Mr. E. Kingsley.
4. "Development of Australian Brown Coal Mines" by Mr. H. G. Mantel.
5. "Development of Mineral Resources in Australia" by Dr. A. K. Banerjee.
6. "Occurrence of Crioceras in India" by Dr. Satya Sadhan Sarkar.
7. "Geology and Morphology of the Bana Shigri area, E. Punjab" by Sri G. N. Dutta.
8. "Earth tremors in Bhopal" by Dr. A. G. Jhingran.






পর্রিষদের্র পচীর পত্রিকা "The Institute Reporter" নিয়ম

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DR, RAJENTDRA PRISAI IN THE COLLEGE
Friend Perera
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# Thoughts for the Founders' Day 

Presidential Speech of<br>Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, M.P.

It is given to few Institutions in the world to be able to attain a longevity of 100 years. The college has produced through the century a galaxy of great men who have shed lustre on the whole country, leaders in the spheres of thought and action, scientists and philosophers, statesmen and administrators but the most distinguished of them all is our great President, an old boy of the college, who is universally esteemed for his unique contribution to the cause of the country's freedom and his rare qualities of head and heart.

I deem it my duty to take advantage of this significant occasion to press for some urgent improvements of the Institution in the light of modern educational thought. My first suggestion is that as the primary factor of educational efficiency the college should be enabled to maintain a proper proportion between the number of teachers and taught. There should be an extension of the tutorial system under which there should be one teacher to act as the guide and guardian of a group of not more than 10 students. The phenomenal success of the great University of ancient India at Nalanda, a University which functioned for over 500 years, and attracted by its reputation students from foreign countries like Korea, Mongolia, Japan, China, Tukhara, Tibet, and Ceylon, had on its rolls 8,500 students, who were taught by 1,510 teachers, as recorded by one of its students in residence for 5 years from 635 A.D., the learned Chinese Scholar Yuan Chwang. The University was run as a post-graduate research Institution under teachers daily delivering between them 100 Discourses to 100 Seminars on 100 different subjects. This ideal of personal individual instruction is now being aimed at in the field of education all over the
world. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology for instance emphyys 1174 teachers to instruct its 4,874 students in as many as 900 different subjects of science and technology so that there should be one teacher to take charge of 5 students for advanced specialised study. An American philanthropist Harkness has made a donation of several millions of dollars to his Alma Mater, the Phillips Academy at Exeter, on the express condition that the ratio of the number of its teachers to taught should be at least $1: 10$. The Reed College of Oregon employs 60 teachers to teach its 600 students and turns out more scientists and Rhodes Scholars than advanced Universities like Columbia or Chicago. Towards this fundamental pedagogic standard, the U.K. Government has increased its educational budget ${ }^{\text {a }}$ to about Rs. $350 /$ - crores. It is noteworthy that the Presidency College has been able so far to capture this educational ideal in a commendable degree in the ratio of about $1: 13$ in the number of teachers to taught.

My next suggestion is that, following the Report of the Asquith Royal Commission on Cambridge and Oxford, provision should be made for select scientific studies to replace those which are outmoded in this Atomic Age. Among these new subjects the Commission mentions Ballistics, Short-Wave Study, Sound-ranging and Wireless, Reactor Technology and generally the various developments of Nuclear Physics. The introduction of the study of these new subjects depends on the University and not on a college but this college may act as a pioneer in this matter. The Asquith Commission also recommended a greater integration of studies in the Sciences and Humanities in the interests of both. Lord Peel and Gladstone were double first in Mathematics and Classics. In India the study of Humanities must be based on a study of Sanskrit as the record of Indian thought which is universally recognised as a unique contribution to the culture of mankind. The Presidency College has taken the lead in the study of Sanskrit and ancient Indian culture and produced eminent scholars in this field.

In conclusion, it is my duty and pleasure to congratulate those meritorious students on whom the awards of different distinctions have been bestowed by the college. Their Alma Mater expects them to be examples of citizenship in Free India and they can have no better inspiration as citizens than the following message delivered to his disciples by the Great Buddha: Charatha Bikkhave Chārikam-

Bahujana hitāya bahujanasukhāya
Atthāya Hitāya Sukhāya
Devamanussannam.
"Go out, ye Disciples, on Missions of social service, dedicating thyselves to the promotion of the Common Weal, the Welfare of the Many, their Happiness and Prosperity, and that of both gods and men."

# Marxim and Literature 

Surajti Sen

3rd Yr. Arts
"It was Hegel who said that any philosophy may be reduced to empty formalism if one confines oneself to the simple repetition of fundamental principles"-John Lewis, "Marxism and its critics."

In the course of a recent lecture on "Fiction and the criticism of Fiction" Mr. Philip Rahv says something that is relevant to our essay in more ways than one. "If the typical critical error of the thirties," he tells us, "was the failure to distinguish between literature and life, in the present period that error has been inverted into the failure to perceive their close and necessary relationship. Hence the effort we are now witnessing to overcome the felt reality of art by converting it into some kind of schematism of spirit." It is precisely this way of looking at literature, this "schematism of spirit" that Marxism is concerned to challenge, and it is in such a context that its strongest appeal is made. The strength of the error and the courage and power of mind needed to challenge it can hardly be overemphasized. Formulated at a time when the formidable edifice of the Hegelian system was disintegrating into the weirdest variety of philosophic sects, the Marxist theory had the bracing effect of a tonic. And like a tonic it appeared to those nourished on the typical Victorian literary attitudes-attitudes which, to quote Dr. Leavis, held that "Gifted individuals occur, inspiration sets in, creation results." Marx, by laying bare the network of relations that integrate all man's activities into one causal process, fashioned an instrument which no critic who wishes to think intelligently about his craft can afford to ignore. But we must limit our problem if we are to solve it and Marx who was occupied with the revolution in economy effected by capitalism, had little time to spare for the detailed explication of that portion of the Preface to "A Critique of Political Economy" that is our major concern here.

We have remarked earlier on the challenge to existing critical modes that this view of literature entailed. By insisting that literature is more than a succession of isolated figures, Marx implied that it was something organic. Sixty years after the publication of the Preface to "A Critique of Political Economy" this notion of organic form was to receive definitive expression in Mr. Eliot's classic "Tradition and the Individual Talent." The invocation of Mr. Eliot in such a context might appear gratuitous and, of course, the
differences are as remarkable as any possible correspondence. Butnboth views have this in common, that literary evaluation, if it is to be responsible and not merely impressionistic, must acquire what Mr. Eliot calls "historical sense." History--"social existence" as Marx has it, "the mind of Europe" Mr. Eliot says--is the matrix in which literature is created and to which our judgments must be related. "History" is not as simple a category as its use in the hands of certain critics would lead us to believe; and Eliot, like Marx before him, is concerned with defining a particular problem-the relation of the artist to his predecessors. But the approximation is suggestive.

To say that a writer is the product of the historical conditions of his time is not of course, to say that he is passive or that his work is a museum piece. "Like the Communist Manifesto, Jonathan Wild emerged out of history ; that does not mean that it is dead."* The more, in fact, one thinks about it, the more it appears that Marx's formulation raises as many problems as it solves. What do we mean when we say literature is a "reflection" of reality? Plekhanov and a number of sociologists after him took this to imply that the writer reflects the psychology of his class. From such a view (not unrelated to Plekhanov's hieroglyphic epistemology) it followed as a corollary that the writer was really irresponsible for"his work and that the task of literary criticism consisted in the re-translation into terms of actual life of the symbolic rationalisations of the author. Such a view, which we might with justification term the "schematism of economics," could hardly rouse much enthusiasm for that cultural tradition which Marxists are so quick to invoke (and defend). What is more to the point is that it is contradicted by even the most superficial reading of the classics. What the writer responds to is a total situation, a response which involves an agonising "wrestling with the angel" of reality. The Keats who wrote the Nightingale Ode was clearly not reflecting the conditions of his civilisation in any passive sense. Indeed, the term "reflection," as Mr. Lindsay has argued, has served its polemical purpose and should be discarded if we are to avoid confusion. The weight of external reality crushing the carbon of the ego to produce the immortal diamond, that is how Mr. Spender describes the poetry of Rimbaud. In the surrender of the personality to something more important, argues Engels, lies the greatness of a Balzac. These writers give us the emotional tenor of life at moments of social crisis and to see them as subscribing blindly to the values of a class is to exhibit a singularly obtuse sensibility. Rimbaud, like Hamlet, voices the aspirations of humanity at a moment when those aspirations are not historically realisable: it is this contradiction which explains "the residue of idealism" ${ }^{2}$ to be found in the works of the great writers of the past.

[^3]Plekhanov's theory reveals an interesting and characteristic preoccupation with literature more as an occasion on which to wield the dialectic than as something to be responded to. And later Marxists have not been slower to evoke a political response in place of a judgment related closely to the medium by which any literature lives, if it has life at all: the printed words on the page. This is the confusion between literature and life that Mr. Rahv found characteristic of the 'thirties'. When, for example, the Marxist critic invokes Shelley as the Great Poet, is he really basing his evaluation on his experience of the spate of untidy imagery and embarassing emotionalism that characterise so much of Shelley's verse, or is he merely remembering Marx's aphorism on Shelley and Byron?
"The merit of a poem," we are reminded, "is measured by its accuracy, not by the importance of a rough approximation to what is being said." And it is sufficient to think of poetry to recall how astonishingly bare of results the Marxist approach to litcrature has proved. We need not impute this to some inherent defect in the dialectic itself. The responsibility rests to a large extent with the creative writers who have adopted the standpoint of Marxism. Arguing on the basis of their own felt needs, Eliot, Empson and others succeeded in achieving a radical revaluation of literary concepts and history. The symbolists in France likewise proceeded to construct an aesthetic that would, they felt, rescue the writer from the sterile RomanticParnassian polarities.

In every critical revolution it is always the writings of the practitioners of literature that provide the seminal, the growing points round which a new aesthetic is erected. Reading the speeches of the recent Soviet Writers' Congress or the writings of Howard Fast it is difficult to remember that these pronouncements are made by individuals having a direct and intimate knowledge of the intricacies of the creative process. ${ }^{2}$ Repeated admonitions to the writer to be aware of his great task--which nowhere achieves concrete definition-self-conscious criticisms of their own work and a confident assault upon Western literature and Western literary values: all this phrased in the paralysing jargon so characteristic of this type of Marxising is to be found in abundance in the reports of the Congress. But we look in vain for the pressure of the artist's own experience. Thus, is the spirit of the dialectic perverted and Marxism itself reduced to empty formalism.

The Marxist writer, argues Ralph Fox in his stimulating essay on "The Novel and the People" must assimilate and reorganize the learning of his time. A failure to achieve such a synthesis must go a long way in explaining the failure to evolve a Marxist aesthetic. It has, for one thing, resulted in the curious fact that while Marxist methodology constitutes a

[^4]radical departure from Victorian modes, a modern critic, Mr. Cleanth Brooks, can with some justification, allude to its literary evaluations as Victorian in its message hunting. And yet recent critical notions-paradox and ambiguity for example-are such as one might have expected the Marxists themselves to discover and apply. Formulated as they have been by bourgeois writers, they have acquired an unduly one-sided emphasis. It is the distinction of Caudwell that he attempted this gigantic task. That he did not succeed or that his success was only partial is not the point, and today we can still profit by his example and insight. We say often enough that literature is conditioned by reality. Caudwell saw that it was itself a reality and as such having its own laws of motion, its own contradictions and, therefore, its own form. His endeavour was to evolve a set of critical procedures that would in their concreteness and complexity enable us to discriminate between our aesthetic experiences and perceive what gives them their relative significances. It is, I feel, only along some such lines of enquiry as he adumbrated that any Marxist investigation of the future can be profitably conducted. Only when such an analysis is attempted, when sociological and literary criteria are fused in one methodology, can a Marxist aesthetic emerge.

# The "Imperfections" of Shakespeare's Stage 

Jasodhara Sengupta<br>Fifth Year, Arts

"Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts"-says Shakespeare rather apologetically. It is true that Shakespeare's stage was full of "imperfections." Stagecraft was rather crude in Shakespeare's England. Yet, paradoxically enough, quite a bit of the excellences of Shakespeare's drama has actually originated from the very 'imperfections' which troubled Shakespeare.

But first of all, what was the Elizabethan stage like? The Elizabethan stage is a far cry from the modern stage. It had none of the pictureframe look of its modern counterpart; it was in fact, closer to the moving scaffolds of the Miracle plays. That is to say, the Elizabethan stage consisted, for the major part, of a platform jutting out into what may be called the auditorium. This platform, or the "outer stage" as it was called, was open on three sides. Just behind this came the 'inner stage' which could be screened off if necessary. In addition, there was a balcony or an 'upper stage.' The audience gathered on all the three sides of the stage, the 'outer stage' being flanked by the 'groundlings.' There was no artificial scenery. The Elizabethan stage was unadorned-it had no scenesettings, no elaborate 'wings' for entrance and exit (there being just two openings on the two sides to serve the purpose) and finally, no drop-curtain. The magic of the modern lighting system was totally uncalled for as the plays were staged in broad daylight.

Without any of these modern paraphernelia, Elizabethan stage, however, was closer to the people's heart, than any of the later stages. It was, no doubt, physically nearer. Modern stage wears a pre-eminently distant look, particularly when it is 'curtained off' from the audience. But there the thing was going on right before them: Dogberry discharging his duty, Lear raging, Hamlet anguishing. It was all an intimate affair.

The Soliloquies, which form the cream of Shakespeare's dramatic and poctic genius, bear testimony to this air of intimacy. While Soliloquising the hero would come up to the edge of the 'outer stage', so that he would be, for all practical purposes, one of the audience. It would be like taking the audience into confidence, as it were. Instantly a bond of sympathy Would grow up between the actor and the auditor. He would feel, not for

Hamlet, but with him. But look what happens on the modern stage. The hero talking to himself--produces a most unnatural effect, moreover, he can no longer whisper the lines broodingly, as on Shakespeare's own stage, but has to shout and lecture at the audience!


Shakespeare's stage had no artificial scenery. To bridge this gap he sometimes used his pen for the brush; and the product was such lovely lines as
"Look, love, what envious streaks
Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east: Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops"
or, the short scene before Macbeth's castle or the flower-passage in 'Winter's Tale'. If the stage lacked in adornments the plays did not.

We talk of the life-like comprehensiveness of Shakespeare's tragedies. A good deal of it, incidentally, has direct reference to stage necessities. For instance, the fact that there was no curtain to be wrung down at the end of scenes or acts had a curious effect on the Tragedies. At the close of a Shakespearean tragedy there would be quite number of corpses lying about the stage, on a modern stage they would simply get up and walk off after the curtain has been wrung down. But on the Elizabethan stage the corpses had to be borne out and the stage cleared off.

## "Let four captains

Bear Hamlet like a soldier to the stage."
This necessitated the play to go on for some time even after the protagonist had 'breathed his last'. This has the effect of broadening out the dramatist's canvas, so to say. We feel that tragedy is not the last word in life--it is only a part of it. The world outside goes on as usual and does not come to a standstill with the hero's death. Thus Malcolm carries on Macbeth's interrupted administration, Fortinbras takes over charge though the 'noble heart' of Hamlet has 'cracked'.

And the much-abused comic interludes in Shakespearean Tragedy! Tragedy, specially Elizabethan tragedy, uninterrupted, is a little too strenuous for the nerves of the audience. Hence some sort of relief is necessary to ease the tension. On the modern stage the necessary relief comes with the drop curtain. But on Shakespeare's stage the drama is one long run from the beginning to the end. However, the dramatist once again, pens his way out. He brings in the comic interlude and almost at once brings down the highly strung atmosphere to a lower key. In a way, therefore, the 'comic relief' is imposed by the stage. Now, what does Shakespearean tragedy gain by these patches? Once again, the artist's canvas is broadened out to coincide with life. Life is not one unmixed tear or laughter, it has space enough to accomodate both.

Coming down to the field of Comedy, three of the most popular of Shakespeare's comic heroines disguise themselves as men. These three are, if you will remember, Rosalind in 'As You Like It', Viola in 'Twelfth Night' and Portia in 'The Merchant of Venice'. Yet another, Beatrice in 'Much Ado About Nothing', is almost masculine in her boldness. Apart from giving rise to such excellent comic complication as in the scene between Rosalind and Orlando ('As You Like It' Act IV Scene I) or those between Viola and Orsino ('Twelfth Night' Act II Scene IV) and Portia and Bassanio at the end of the Trial Scene, this device of disguise has lent a peculiar vivacity to these heroines. Not a little does Shakespeare's comic would owe these splendid heroines. Yet, after all, it was a matter of convenience. The fact of the matter is that in Shakespeare's days the female rôles were
played by boy actors (remember the one in 'Hamlet?') and by disguising their sex Shakespeare's heroines were simply changing over to their own selves and feeling more comfortable about it.

Every cloud, therefore, has its silver lining. Shakespeare's stage was crude. It had none of the technical 'finish' of the modern stage. Yet, with 'all the imperfections on its head' it produced great results. We are grateful to it, for it gave us brilliant things like Hamlet's Soliloquies, the Porter Scene in 'Macbeth', the fool in 'King Lear' or the gallery of Shakespeare's unforgettable comic heroines. To quote a critic, "Shakespeare, out of the limitations of dramatic art in general and out of the particular limitations of the Elizabethan playhouse, has wrought his magic and summoned forth the semblance of a life more vivid than reality." Indeed, for an adequate estimation of Shakespeare's stage, the best we can do is simply to repeat what Shakespeare himself said about his Cleopatra:
"She did make defect perfection."

# The Fascination of Shop Windows 

Sasthibrata Chakravarti

Second Year, Science

The artist is charmed by nature, the scientist is engrossed with his inventions, the politician is attracted by the dais, but for some shop windows hold a strange fascination. This fascination is truly noble. It does not entertain any idea of personal gain. Its conception is at once both sublime and real. There is no suggestion of material profit for it is only "fascination for fascination's sake".

It develops with the cultivation of habit. Gradually the habit intensifies and with repeated observances of this custom, one finds oneself a member of the refined and learned faculty of "window gazers". Once having become a member, it is essential that one should adhere to the unwritten regulations. Infrequent subscribers wishing to develop a more permanent membership will discover to their cost that this fascination for shop windows is not to be adulterated with a vulgar desire for possession. Like the "higher love" of Mr. Shaw, the allurement of shop windows should in no way be utilised for earthly existence, on the contrary, the virgin nature of this fascination is to be strictly maintained.

The objects exhibited in shop windows are meant to be looked at rather than purchased. For shop windows hold no fascination for the haughty
whose piercing glances discriminate and who are vulgar enough to buy on the counter whatever may appeal to them in the showcase.

The decorations are usually gaudy by nature; encased sometimes by plate-glassed windows; ornamented by ladies' ribbons; and furnished with velvet or silk. They are fossilised gems like those which fill the muscum cases, with hearts of stone, jealous of their independent position. They are the ready preys to an inelastic political system which is repulsed by any idea of foreign domination. They love their home and do not wish to leave it. The exhibits are rarely induced to stray. They are an integral part of shop windows.

The monastic rigour with which the accomplished windo-gazer fulfils his duty-perhaps more than once in a day in the fashionable quarters of the city-without the slightest inclination to buy, is really to be admired. These ascetics are men (and women) of the very highest calibre in society and accordingly should be deputed to the barred habitats of honest people. For such idleness is a pathway to delinquency.

This rigid asceticism scarcely appeals to humbler mortals who are intently concerned about the mundane existence of our dreary lives. For those who will refrain from exercising heroic control over their baser passions and give vent to their desires, shop windows hold little or no fascination. Only those who, without inhibitions, subscribe to a loftier theme will fall a prey to the allurement of shop windows.

# A Critique of Marxian Economics 

Ashom Guha<br>Fourth Year, Arts

Old prejudices, we are told, die lingering deaths, and they are not without their cyclic resurrections and recurring bürials. The past is always with us ; ancient error must ever disturb the rarefied atmosphere in which our intellectuals live, move and have their being. Our greatest arcadias have their ghosts, even that most 'progressive' and, is that magical modern catchword, 'dynamic' of our intellectual systems, Marxism, resounds with reminiscent echoes of man's oldest illusions.

Essentially, Marxism is an attempt to transplant the Hegelian dialectic on the bedrock of a Materialistic Conception of History. Its primary claim is that technological development is the motive force behind the unfolding of history. Technique uniquely determines the relations of production, the pattern of distribution of the instruments of production. Economic power concentrates in the class which owns these instruments, economic power confers social, political and legal powers, as well, so that society is dominated by this class, and the cultural and political values of the age become but images of the economic base. Power, moreover, is exploited for the fulfiment of the cconomic motives of the rulers; a conflict of economic interests develops between the rulers and the ruled, precipitating a revolution from which the exploited class rise victorious. History, thus, reduces to a succession of class-struggles; the class which most efficiently exploits current technology calls into being its antithesis with further technical development, until ultimately the old order changeth, yielding place to the new.

The economics which fall neatly into this prefabricated mosaic depend on the twin pillars of the Labour theory of Value and the Surplus Value theory. The whole value of a commodity, on this analysis, derives from the volume of socially necessary labour invested in its production. But the wages of labour, by the now discredited Iron Law, oscillate about subsistencelevel, so that the product of labour exceeds its remuneration. The excess comprises surplus value, which is appropriated by the capitalist. This exploitation of the worker is the stimulus to the class-struggle between capital and proletariat.

Capital maximises profit at the expense of an expanding Industrial Reserve Army of the unemployed, displaced by machinery, and increasingly consolidated by the consciousness of a common interest. Again, competition favours large-scale production and the larger capitalist. The smaller
capitalist is ousted and precipitated into the proletariat with the growth of monopoly capital. Society is increasingly polarised, with the concentration of capital, into conflicting camps. What is more, the rate of profit falls, as unproductive machinery is increasingly substituted for labour, which is the only source of value. Industrial crises develop, the class-struggle intensifies. Finally, the expropriators are expropriated; and the millennium arives.

The historical doctrine thus expounded rests on assumptions which the faithful choose either to overlook or to invest with the sanctity and infallibility of religious dogma.

Firstly, it assumes a unique connexion between the state of technique and the relations of production. This connexion, unfortunately, is pure wishfulfiment, a bridge of sighs between two independent phenomena. Thus modern technology is integrated alike into the Soviet and American productive systems, despite the difference in class relations. Nor is this difference transitory, since American capitalism appears, to the rational mind, to be undergoing a transformation, not according to the Communist, but according to the welfare state ideal, and this new development is, unfortunately, all too likely to be internally stable.

Secondly, the doctrine assumes that economic power alone confers social, political and legal power, while, in fact, the reverse is equally true. Property is not the only source of power; witness the power of the scientist who, even on the Marxian analysis, controls the unfolding of history through the development of technique. Even conceding this assumption, the acquisition of property except by inheritance (which is insignificant in the modern welfare State) is the product, not of economic power, but of non-economic ability. The relation between economic and non-economic forms of power is circular, rather than linear.

Thirdly, the historic necessity of the class-struggle arises, not from any mystic impulse, but from the consciousness of the conflicting economic interests of classes, moved primarily by economic motives. And, it is amusing how Marx, after superciliously labelling senior and his disciples as vulgar 'economists,' proceed to exhume from its weed-grown grave the most discredited of their concepts-that of the Economic Man. Behind the Materialistic Conception of History, a whole race of devitalised economic Men crawl on their bellies towards a classless paradise at the end of the dialectical spiral, while, in the background, the vulgar economists nod approval. Indeed, the economic motive, the incentive to economic power, is no self-sufficient impulse ; power and wealth are not end in themselves, but means to the satisfaction of a multitudinous complex of motivations, the instinct of self-preservation, the love of power and distinction, the desire for security, fellow-feeling, family-affection and love all sustain the economic
motive, and may as readily flow into other channels and find other expressions. The economic motive, far from being a primary human motivation, is, then, not even a self-sustaining impulse; and the simplification of the tortuous human psyche that the Economic Man concept involves renders Marxist theory distressingly inapplicable to the daylight realities of the living world.
Marx's imposition of abilateral structure on the complex and composite social entity follows logically from these insecure premises, and diverges accordingly from experience. Ours is, indeed, a world stratified in many dimensions, of which the economic is but one. Fraternity of economic interests between the workers of the world was, for instance, submerged by a sense of political division at the memorable dinner at which the British Labourites are said to have ruined Mr. Khruschev's substantial appetite by broaching the delicate subject of Social Democratic prisoners in the Soviet Satellites. Moreover, community of economic interests, itself, even among the workers of the world, has evaporated in a world of inflationary pressure and competitive wage-bargaining by rival trade unions.

Indeed, as Croce suggests, the Materialistic conception of History applies, not to the world of reality but to Marx's private world, peopled by the phantasmagoria of Economic Men, with a unified, idealised proletariat in relentless conflict with the organised forces of tyrannical capitalism. Unfortunately, this is strictly a private world.

Marxian economics collapse in the very first chapter of 'Capital' in the course of what Marx, with a splendid display of the faith that surpasseth reason, believes to be a scientific proof of the Labour theory of Value.

A loaf of bread, notes Marx, may exchange in the market for a cask of ale. This equality of exchange-values suggests the existence of a quality common to both goods. But their physical or geometrical properties do not coincide, nor do their use-values. The only remaining property, concludes Marx, is the labour invested in their production, which, accordingly, is their only source of value.

The interesting demonstration has a prologue. In this, Marx postulates that natural resources, which are not products of labour, have no exchange values-a ludicrous assumption, reducing the demonstration to argument in a circle.

As for Marx's isolation of labour as the only property common to different good-this is the consequence of intensive preoccupation with supply factors to the painful neglect of demand. It is, perhaps, unfortunate for Marx that, is the words of the limmerick,

The little bird
Had never heard
Of marginal utility

And, it is, perhaps, below our dialectician's dignity to note those qualities so conspicuously common to both bread and ale-utility and scarcity in proportion to demand.

Moreover, the labour socially necessary for bread-making and winemaking is so heterogeneous that, for comparison, it must be reduced, according to a scale, to unskilled labour as the standard. The scale is formed, according to Marx, by a mysterious social process, explaincd by Hyndman and other Marxists as the competition and bargaining of the market. Value, then depends on incorporated labour, but the measure of labour derives from market-values, so that we arrive at the profused, irrefutable, but futile conclusion that value depends on value.

The surplus value theory, the super-structure of this house of cards, constitutes one of the comedies of modern economics.

Marx divides capital into constant and variable-that sunk in the means of production, and that invested in labour power. By the Labour Theory of Value, variable capital alone is productive of surplus value, constant capital merely transferring its value unchanged to the product. Accordingly, it should pay the capitalist to employ a higher proportion of variable and a lower of constant capital i.e. more of labour and less of machinerya conclusion in glowing contradictions with facts.

Marx's explanations and its fallacies are best treated algebraically.
The total labour power L comprises an amount l, productive of surplus value, and an amount $w$, accounting for the wages of labour (i.e. for variable capital).

$$
\therefore \mathrm{L}=1+\mathrm{w}-(\mathrm{l})
$$

The total capital C comprises a variable amount c .

$$
\begin{aligned}
\therefore \mathrm{C} & =\mathrm{c}+\mathrm{v} \\
& =\mathrm{c}+\mathrm{Wx}, \text { where } \mathrm{x} \text { is the productivity of labour. }
\end{aligned}
$$

From (1), $L x=1 x+W x$

$$
\therefore \text { Profit, } \mathrm{P}=\mathrm{Lx}-\mathrm{C}
$$

$$
=l x-c
$$

Labour productivity, $x$, is by the Labour Theory of Value, unaffected by mechanisation. From the equation $\mathrm{P}=1 \mathrm{x}-\mathrm{c}$, mechanisation by increasing $c$, reduces profits, unless accompanied by an increase in 1 . And this according to Marx, does happen, so that mechanisation increases ( $\mathrm{lx}-\mathrm{c}$ ).
$\because$ From the equation $\mathrm{Lx}-\mathrm{C}=1 \mathrm{x}-\mathrm{c}$, it also increases ( $\mathrm{Lx}-\mathrm{C}$ ).
But since machinery displaces labour, thus reducing $L$, since $x$ and $C$ are assumed constant, this is absurd. Hence, Marx's explanation is not self-consistent.

Yet another disturbing consequence of the Surplus Value Theory is the conclusion that industries with higher proportion of variable capital should yield more profits than those with a lower-the precise opposite of the truth.

In elucidation, Marx is reduced to claiming that hitherto he had referred, not to goods separately, but to the social product as a whole; not to capitalists as individuals, but as a composite group, the surplus value won by all being distributed among all. Profits here are equalised by competition, but the uniform rate of profit demands that some goods sell above, and some below their values. Thus does Marx sacrifice his initial assumption that goods exchange at their values. Simultaneously, he creates a divergence between value and price; Marxian value becomes just that abtruse metaphysical abstraction that must result from distorting reality into harmony with a preconceived formula.

As for the train of Marxist prophecy, its stately sequence has been ruefully disturbed by the unfolding of history.

The rate of profit, far from falling, is buoyant as never before. Secular exhilaration, rather than stagnation, faces the post-war world, even if the inflationary pressure of armament production be discounted. Nor is this surprising, for the doctrine of the falling rate of profit is a logical corollary of the Labour theory of Value and collapses with it.

Again, while industrial control has concentrated in the salaried managers of big business, the evolution of the principle of limited liability, divorcing ownership from control, has dispersed ownership of capital goods among a multitude of small savers and shareholders. We view capitalist concentration, in the Marxian sense of a centralisation of ownership, from the distance enchanted, especially in welfare states, where taxation has reduced incomes to a drastic equality.

The Industrial Reserve Army, the Marxist 'young man's vision and old man's dream' remains a dream, shorn not only of its nightmare menace, but even of its shadowy existence. Indeed, Marx's concept of long-period technological unemployment is strangely reminiscient of that of the Technocrats, who were laughed into oblivion during the days of the Depression. Labour saving innovation, doubtless, temporarily displaces labour; but it creates new products and consumption standards, cheapens old products and leads to the expansion of a mass market. New channels of investment in the capital goods industries develop the deepening of capital stimulates demand to such an extent that displaced labour is rapidly absorbed, and, in the long period, an expansion, rather than a contraction, of employment follows.

Finally, by the Law of Increasing Misery, the pressure of an expanding substratum of the unemployed was to depress living standards and real wages, or-as later Marxists, wiser and sadder, choose to interpret-the share of labour in the total product. Unfortunately, however, the real wages of English labour have multiplied threefold since the appearance of the first volume of 'Capital' in 1864. Moreover, the share of labour in the total
money income has been substantially constant, while its real share has actually increased: the prices of wage goods have fallen more than those of luxuries, since wage-goods have a mass market, which has stimulated their economical mass-production. The capitalist engine of production has increased the purchasing power of the wage-dollar more than that of any other dollar; it has raised living standards far more at the base than at the peak of the social pyramid.

Indeed, the Marxist mystique, like most other mystic cults, lacks a rational basis, the psychic elements out of which its magic spell is woven are, however, not far to seek. In its prophecy of the decline and fall of capital, it represents the rosy wish-fulfilment of a displaced feudal oligarchy. It embodies the emotional frustrations of a class, created by the capitalist engine of cheap mass-education, far in excess of the capacity of the liberal professions to absorb, and forced into employment to which it is maladjusted. It thrills the native admirers of Victorian science-by its claimspurious, yet attractive-to have reduced the unpredictable complexity of historical processes to simple scientic determinism. Finally, the glamour of infallibility with which later Communist thought has invested it, its totality of scope, the unquestioning faith it demands-offer to many a substitute for the security and stability of Victorian thought and religion.

Hence, as feudal resentments die out; as the realisation of the dignity of labour quells the disaffection of the educated, forced into manual occupation, as modern thought and research evolve a more balanced view of the place of determinism in science and sociology; as, finally, individual reason and intellectual liberty come to be valued above ideological rigidity and unquestioning faith-the Marxist myth recedes. Indeed, contrary to Marxist prophecy, it is only in the less developed countries that Marxism commands an appreciable following. For, afterall, in an age of social democracy and the welfare state, it is essentially a thing of the past.

# Some Aspects of Contemporary Capitalism 

Amiya Kumar Bagchi

Sixth Year, Arts

1. Is the mighty adventure of capital over? Or is it to sail over yet new seas and conquer yet new realms? The movements of social systems involve changes in the ways of life of those who are included in those systems. As such, the observation of such movements can rarely be without a bias. Yet a mid-century view of the contemporary world capitalism may be helpful for formulating our future programme of action.

The end of the Second World War has seen the emergence of the former colonial countries as partial competitors of the advanced capitalist countries, The fact that a third of the world has gone socialist and that trade with the socialist countries is frowned upon by the U.S.A. has led to a more intense exploitation of the rest of the world market by the advanced capitalist countries like the U.S.A., U.K. etc. At the same time the crushing of Japan, the liquidation of the overseas economic empire of Britain and the demolition of the French prowess have combined to make the U.S.A.-armed with a more rapid rate of technical progress-the undisputed leader of the capitalist camp.
2. Let us first review the prospects of a "Stable Capitalism" in countries like the U.S.A., U.K., etc. The Great Depression of the 1930 's roused the economists in capitalist countries from their century-long complacence in regard to the automatic sufficiency of demand for maintaining full employment. Keynes led the attack on orthodoxy and formulated a programme. In a capitalist society-based on payment to labour in the form of money wages-expenditure of money by other people is the source of the capitalists' and their employees' income. Total expenditure is made up of consumption expenditure and investment expenditure. Consumption is limited at any moment by historical-cultural factors, and hence is stable as a proportion of income. But the motive force of investment or, what Marx called accumulation, is profit. If the rate of profit does not appear to be attractive enough, capitalists will not make investment of an amount sufficient to generate full employment national income. In that case, Keynes argued, public expenditure will have to be undertaken to fill the gap between the actual national income and the full employment national income: "a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment will prove the only means
of securing an approximation to full employment." (p. 378). He hoped that it would be possible "by a right analysis of the problem lof unemploymentl to cure the disease while preserving efficiency and freedom." (p. 381). He admitted that in the past war has had economic causes, "namcly, the pressure of population and the competitive struggle for markets" (p. 381). But he hoped that "if nations can learn to provide themselves with full employment by their domestic policy", "International trade would ccase to be what it is, namely, a desperate expedient to maintain full employment at home by forcing sales on foreign markets and restricting purchases" (pp. 382-383). [All the page references are to Keynes' "General Theory" published in 1936]. His policy would also ensure "freedom and efficiency", according to Keynes.
3. Have the hopes of Keynes come true? Apparently, yes. There has been no major depression in the capitalist countries during the last ten years. The recessions of 1949 and 1953 in the U.S.A. were just rumbles which were warded off in time. But this fact will not support any bigger claims than that, for the time being at least, by whatever means, capitalism in the advanced countries has been able to reduce the amplitude of crises arising from insufficiency of demand.
4. Keynes' hopes could not have all come true, for his implicit faith in the liberal norm of free competition is not justified by reality. Under this assumption almost anybody can become a capitalist, if he has sufficient talents for satisfying the demands of consumers. Efficiency is enforced by the struggle for survival. The State does not come in, except as an impartial arbiter between the rival claims of capitalists or of capitalists and labourcrs. But modern capitalism is dominated by monopolies and "crypto-monopolies" where not one, but a few, sellers dominate the market. Prices now do not indicate the conditions of supply and demand on the market. Prices here act as "an umbrella which efficient and inefficient producers alike will tacitly agree to hold at a sale level over their heads and under which all will live comfortably, profitably and inefficiently" (Galbraith: American Capitalism, Chapter IV). The new corporate giants now spreadeagle many industrics, and they extend their control over many lands. The very concentration of capital and its centralisation in ever fewer hands give the "robber barons" an opportunity to crush their smaller rivals, by means of sales drives, by means of introducing a new and cheaper method and by political manoeuvring. It is very hard not be affected by the "snobbery about size" when approaching these private empires.

Will you have some facts? Here are they. A recent investigation by the Federal Trade Commission showed, for the year 1947, that the 113 largest manufacturing corporations in the U.S.A. owned 46 p.c. of the property, plant and equipment, employed in manufacturing. 'In the production of motor vehicles, agricultural machinery, rubber tires, cigarettes, aluminium, liquor, meat products, copper, tin containers and of office machinery [in the
U.S.A.] the largest three firms in 1947 did two-thirds or more of all business.' In Britain, the total profits of the four companies-Royal Dutch Shell, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Urailivers and I.C.I.-equalled one-seventh of all company trading profits in 1949 and by 1953 this proportion had increased to one-sixth.

Commenting on the fact that Royal Dutch Shell in 1952, sold products to the value of $£ 1,616,000,000$ even the 'Economist' exclaimed that this figure was three times the gross national income of New Zealand, and bigger than the gross national incomes of all but a handful of major world powers (Economist, March 16, 1953).

Not only in the field of production, but also in the control of supplies of raw materials the big giants dominate. When in 1888 J. B. Dunlop invented the rubber tyre, the necessity to acquire sources of rubber led directly to Dunlop's acquiring 90,000 acres of rubber plantations in Malaya -the largest area, as they now boast, under one management in the British Empire.

And big business has been always in company with big money in the management of the affairs of the capitalist world.
5. Some natural corollaries of this concentration of economic power have been firstly, the ability of the monopolists to influence government policies at their source ; secondly, their ability to block any innovations that threaten their capital values, and thirdly, a motivation to extend their foreign markets in order to maintain their huge profits.

The policy of maintaining continuous full employment has been adroitly exploited to correct any existing maladjustment by overflowing the market with ever larger streams of purchasing power. Inflation has become the norm in postwar capitalism. In addition to increasing present income streams, inflation also decreases consumer saving and encourages the investment of all sums saved by ordinary people, for the real value of money is decreased with the passage of time. "Another social function of inflation is as a method of moilifying class conflict in a capitalist society", at least so long as it does not take away all the gains achieved in real terms. Strikes, for example, are short or non-existent when wage demands can be granted and then translated into price increases (M. Bronferbrenner in "Post Keynesian Economics"). But can you fool all the people all the time?

The maintenance of a sellers' market has been facilitated by the monopolists, control over consumer tastes. Everybody knows the craze for purchasing the latest model Buick or Plymouth; and credit extended to consumers for purchasing these durable goods has risen very much in relation to the national income in the U.S.A. But a mounting debt spells trouble. Moreover, as a result of all these drives creating artificial demand, consumption has also become unstable.

The extension of the programme of government spending has been a major factor in the prosperity of modern capitalism. But this spending has
taken mainly the form of huge capital-consumption for defence. The U.S.A.'s expenditure on defence hovers round the level of $\$ 40$ billion and almost 10 million people are engaged in arms production and armed forces (Economic Notes, February 1455). Armaments expenditure has the cminent virtue of creating demand without at the same time extending capacity. Moreover, this furthers the foreign ambitions of monopoly capital. The militarization of the economy has meant increased possibility of control by the government over the main sectors of the economy.
6. But have the troubles of capitalism been over? By no means. In the first place, there is the group of troubles which quite orthodox economists have stressed-namely, those relating to efficiency and the loss of vitality. Monopolies have immense resources for developing new methods and new products; and when fighting against other giants these serve as formidable weapons. But they have also the ability to block technical changes which affect them adversely. As Sam Aaaronovitch has observed in his informative Study of British monopoly: "Every great combine is deeply interested in controlling inventions in and around its sphere of influence. A great deal of what goes on in the laboratories of many of the big combines is concerned with the development of patents to remove the threat of competitors.
Today the U.S. combines are entering into a whole series of agreements with British firms whereby these produce under licence from the American firms on the conditions decided by the Americans." The same conditions prevail in regard to production in other countries. This not only means a less rapid rate of progress than is possibie; but it also means the blocking of investment opportunities, for in the absence of rapid population growth, a rapid rate of innovations and aggressive competition inflicting losses on others are the main springs of domestic investment (See E. D. Domar, "Investment, Losses and Monopolies", in Essays in Honour of Hansen). The "safe" atmosphere generated by inflationary conditions prevents capital loss, and by prolonging the life of inefficient sectors of the economy, makes adjustment more difficult. Britain, especially has found to her cost, that maintaining the competitive efficiency of her export industries and thus protecting her balance of payments is a far more difficult task than maintaining full employment.

But even the maintenance of full employment has been a sham performance. The economists in the U.S.A. and Britain have accepted a certain percentage of unemployment as "normal" and necessary for maintaining "flexibility" of production. Thus Marx is vindicated by the unconscious spokesmen of capitalism. In the U.S.A., there has occurred a decline in total unemployment over the years 1940 to 1953 but there has been an immense increase in part-time unemployment, as a result of automation. Official statistics often mask the real situation: Technological unemployment as a result of automation has gone so far that it is beginning to affect office-work. Displacement of labour in the major productive
industries like mining, building, transport, processing etc. has been partially, but only partially, offset by a draft of labour into the armed forces and the relatively unproductive service industries. (See I. Kuzimov International Affairs, No. 4, 1956).

In the U.S.A., major industries like shipbuilding, agriculture, etc. continue to be depressed. In many other capitalist countries like Japan and France, the struggle against American competition and the decline in the growth of real capital-the means of employment-have involved a decrease in real wages of workers. It is only the countries which have huge economic empires that have been able to grant increases of real wages to their workers, However, as some recent studies have shown, the rise in real wages as shown by money wages deflated by a cost of living index often conceals a deterioration in working conditions and in provisions for maintaining health. Moreover, it can be shown that the devotion of a greater proportion of a country's resources to non-productive purposes like defence inevitably tends to bring down the real wages of workers.
7. But it is high time now that we turned to the international stage, where the real drama of modern capitalism is being enacted. On the eve of his Atlantic meeting with Winston Churchill in August 1941, President Roosevelt said to his son: "The British Empire is at stake here. It's something not generally known but British bankers and German bankers have had world trade sewn up in their pockets for a long time. . . . . Well, now, that's not so good for American trade, is it?" (Eliott Roosevelt: "As He Saw It," p. 24). The great President was absolutely right in his prediction. Britain's losses of foreign investment ran to billions of pounds. And the U.S.A. gained even more, for she captured the former markets of Germany and Japan, and helped reconstruct the economy of war-ravaged Europe while she herself remained unscathed. "The U.S.A. has become a sort of superimperialist State both protecting and exploiting the older and weaker imperialist powers-sometimes helping them to hold on to their colonial possessions, sometimes coming forward as the champion of a colony's independence in order to bring it directly into the American orbit" (Monthly Review, January 1956). This proposition can be supported by any number of illustrations. But let us take the case of oil only. "The entire production of oil in the capitalist world is dominated by seven firms: five American and two British". Let us see what has happened to this partnership over the years.

Share of Middle East Oil.
Controlled by Britain Controlled by U.S.A.

Besides other weapons, American "aid" has become a potent weapon for opening new markets to the U.S. business. The more rapid rate of American technical progress is also another factor; this is also one of the causes of the persistent "dollar shortage". Britain is paying the penalty of too much security in the old days in terms of lesser competitive efficiency.

We are moving into the rarefied atmosphere of international finance where also rivalry rages. Britain's post-war currency position has been characterised by sharp fluctuation in gold and currency reserves. She is fighting for preserving the "sterling area" of which India is a member. The most important feature of this system-itself the child of the depression of the '30's when the free international currency market was replaced by a number of currency areas--is that 'under the agreement on the "dollar pool", the gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area countries are concentrated in London and their distribution is centralised. This agreement enables Britain to make use of a considerable part of the dollar and gold reserves for her own benefit. The U.S.A. is trying her best to abolish the sterling area, so that she may exploit the huge commonwealth market more easily and can also dominate the international financial system. The Briiish bankers are not yet obviously losing.

But let us not continue the story any further. Let us not insist that the crisis of capitalism is in full swing. Or that, despite all manocuvres, the Marxian law of falling rate of profit holds good when we consider all the investments of advanced capitalist countries together. "That which has not the grace of God is far better in silence."
8. We now pass on to the "underdeveloped" brethren in the comity of capitalism. What has happened to private foreign investment in these areas? Let us listen to the patient voice of very orthodox economist, S. Herbert Frankel ("Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Countries"). In the 19th century international investment was, by and large, and notwithstanding frictions and political interference, conducted on the implicit assumption that for investment purposes the world-economy of the Great Powers and their peripheral and colonial dependencies were one, and should be regarded as one. And in fact it did function broadly as a unity. What is the situation now? Everyone is crying for public welfare, somebody or other is hurling out threats of nationalisation.

Keynes wrote in 'the Nation and Arheneum,' August 9, 1924: "To lend vast sums abroad for long periods of time without any possibility of legal redress, if things go wrong is a crazy construction; especially in return for a trifling extra interest." When foreign capitalists are investing in the erstwhile colonial countries, do you think they will do so without the hope of fantastic rates of profits and they will not fight back with all the means at their disposal if their capital is threatened?

What is the advantage that the underdeveloped country secures? Here is what Frankel says: "A capital export to, or import by, an underdeveloped
country is not necessarily investment at all-it may well represent capital consumption". What has Saudi Arabia or Venezuela gained from their vast royalties of oil? Will the capitalist countries easily give up their sources of raw-materials and moreover, help in the process by industrializing these countries? Do you know what is the position of these underdeveloped countries? Burma is chiefly dependent for her export on rice; Malaya on tin and rubber; Pakistan on cotton and jute; all these commodities are notoriously fluctuating in price. Over and above this come the huge American farm surpluses which are threatening the markets of Burma, Indonesia etc.
9. Lastly, another question. What are the prospects of rapid growth of these countries on a capitalist basis? As everyone knows the days when a talented entrepreneur could set up in business with a little capital are over. Schumpeter's entrepreneur who does new things in new ways is a rare creature in the underdeveloped countries. Now, if you have to start in business, you will have to start with a huge amount of capital. Thus these countries are from the very beginning dominated by monopolies.

At the same time, many of the features of the older colonial-feudal society are being retained, so that no major social transformation is taking place. Yet the governments of all these underdeveloped countries are talking of technical change. But, as Frankel has emphasised, technical change is not a matter of knowing only, it is a matter of performance. Performance requires new pattern of social relations. Capital also is in the last resort the action of man's labour upon the natural environment. Technical change is but one aspect of mutually determined and determining, processes of growth on many fronts of the social structure as a whole.

Therefore, capitalism as it has been introduced into these underdeveloped economies cannot transform the economy, for it is introduced only in some sectors of the economy and it is by nature atomistic. It is doing what it can do. It is breaking up the isolation of 'natural' economies and bringing them within the orbit of exchange-relations. Since the rate of growth of capital is slow in the underdeveloped countries and since at the same time it has a tendency to introduce the modern, cheap methods of production, it is creating enormous surplus population in relation to the means of employment.

Let us hope that later historians will be able to say of these capitalists: "Having done what men could, they suffered what men must."

# A Few Notes on India's Peace Policy 

Pranab Kumar Bardhan,

Third Year, Arts.

Constant unanimity of public opinion on any subject is often a great deterrent to critical thought. When opinions differ on any topic, we can at least be sure that it would be subjected to much debate and discussion until all its aspects--both favourable and unfavourable, are revealed. The searchlight of criticism will be focussed on the minutest detail and there will be constant attempt on the part of all the contending sides to make their respective positions as unassailable as possible. But when a particular policy or action has the misfortune of being endorsed by all for a long time, without any dissenting voice, it produces some kind of indifference in the minds of the people and stifles their spirit of critical enquiry. If there is a longstanding opinion in a country about any policy that it is a very good one, and that no better can be conceived of, people, after a certain period, cease to view it in the critical light of reasoning, cease to discuss it threadbare and remain satisfied with certain vague notions about its splendid success. India's peace policy, I am afraid, is one such topic on which such superficial views do exist. It is admitted on all hands, leftist or rightist, that India is a peace-loving country, that she is making a commendable effort to promote peace and as such her peace policy is above reproach. This leads to the formation of a complacent attitude as a result of which many aspects of our peace policy do not receive adequate attention. I am not setting to launch an attack on India's peace policy, for that would be simply preposterous; I would only like to point that the mere fact that India's peace policy has been so long an admirable one should not make us so insouciant as to prevent us from the constant application of our critical judgment to its manifold aspects.

Take for instance, the term 'neutrality'. We, Indians, are proud that in a world, which is sharply divided into two rival camps, we are 'neutral'. But that is exactly the reason why some foreign powers criticise our policy. Mr. Dulles, Mr. Nixon and many other fire-eating politicians of the western world point out that it is immoral on India's part to be 'neutral' in the struggle between the 'free world' and the Communist countries. Apart from the consideration that such belief is born of ideological prejudices, we can also say that this is partly due to a regrettable misconception about the term 'neutrality', of which even many Indians are not perfectly free. India's policy, strictly speaking, is not one of 'neutralism' as is commonly under-
stood, but non-alignment with any power bloc. If neutralism means passive inaction and aloofness from world politics (and that is perhaps the sense in which the Western politicians take it) India is seriously against it. For, she is not an escapist in a world full of complex problems, nor is she a silent spectator of the international scene. She is an active member of the United Nations and its specialised agencies; she plays a positive and constructive role in promoting international understanding and harmony. She is always ready to give the benefit of her diplomatic services, whenever so required, in solving international issues and thereby make her modest contribution to the cause of peace. But what is remarkable about her is that in her efforts, she refuses to toe the line drawn either by the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. Her is essentially an independent approach. She does not believe in the bipolarisation of the world and alignment with military alliances and power blocs. Her eyes are not coloured with ideological dogmas-revolutionary communism or bourgeois liberalism. Indeed, as has been said, to India all 'isms' are today 'wasms'. Her approach to every problem is pragmatic not doctrinaire. She is not addicted to any fixed political belief petrified into a dogma, she only tries to focus her efforts on practical measures for enlarging human freedom and dignity. Unfortunately we live in a world where ideological cloaks cover the man in human beings, where political shibboleths cloud the vital human issues. The basic problem which the world faces today is not whether to imbibe Communism or to reject it, but it is the problem of Hunger, Disease and Ignorance. In his New Year's message for 1956, Dr. Martin Niemoller voiced a sentiment which finds an echo in every thinking mind:
"We are facing the last chance of our generation. All people have to work for peace to-day. The situation is even much worse than we realise. The East-West struggle is not the worst problem we face. Half of the world's population is living in a state of hunger-below the minimum for existence. . . . This hunger is a greater problem than the East-West struggle. This is the future-not Russia or America". ${ }^{1}$

India's policy marks a clear appreciation of this realistic vision unhampered by ideological clouds. What we need to-day is peaceful economic reconstruction, and "not a game of choose-up sides for an atomic war". Bandung is symbolic of the united desire of the underdeveloped countries for peace so that they can prosper. An infant social democracy like India can contend with its legacy of economic backwardness only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. We should ask not whether certain countries are on 'our side' or not, but whether we can cooperate for common purposes and mutual benefit. That is why India's policy is one of 'constructive dynamism' and not one of ideological exploitation. This policy is only a projection of her own domestic needs and a reflection of her own political philosophy.

[^5]Before going any farther I wish to pause here a moment and deal with a point which has assumed serious importance regarding India's neutralism. Some doubts, which I believe are none-too-illegitimate, have lately risen in many an honest heart as to whether the attitude at first adopted by India towards Hungarian affairs was consistent with her strict neutralist principle. Although Sri Nehru's historic speech of the 19th Nov., 1956 in Loksabha where he came out with a much-needed yet much-belated statement revealing a balanced picture of the recent developments in Egypt and Hungary, has largely succeeded in dissipating all doubts and misgivings, yet there can be no denying the fact that the Indian Government was at first rather meek and halting in denouncing the Soviet action in Hungary. The Hungarian situation put India's much-proclaimed neutralism to a severe test, in which, I think, Sri Nehru has not fared so well as might have been expected from him. The complexity of the whole affair has been put forward as a specious excuse for his hesitant policy. But the fact-the bitter cold unpalatable fact-stands out above the welter of confusing details and the mechanistic interpretation of pacts and treaties, that in Hungary there has been a flagrant violation of domestic liberty and national sovereignty, and as such we should condemn it as promptly and as severely as we did in the case of Anglo-French aggression in Egypt. Of course, Sri Nehru did condemn it, but not before a certain section of the people at home and abroad had started forming conjectures about the discriminating nature of India's neutralism. What is worse, the vacillations in the different statements coming from a statesman of Sri Nehru's eminence leads one to suspect that there must be some confusion or vagueness in the policy itself. And, however vehement he may be in supporting Krishna Menon's action in the U.N. Assembly, a pertinent question still remains: if India was so particular about the specific details of the U.N. resolution as to feel like opposing it when the paragraph relating to the proposal of holding elections in Hungary under U.N. auspices was put to vote, then why, we ask, did India abstain from voting when the paragraph calling for the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Hungarian soil was put to vote? Why this hesitation? What prevented India from vigorously supporting that particular paragraph? What did the 'conscience' of Krishna Menon say? These are questions so conveniently parried to cover a definite diplomatic error.

Again, while assessing the contribution of India to international peace, we must not lose sight of certain external and fortuitous circumstances which often pale into obscurity before the halo of glory with which the frequent triumphs of India's peace policy are usually associated. Despite the Suez flare-up and the tragic events in Hungary, it remains true that to-day the world opinion is gradually veering round in the direction of peace. Except a few pugnacious chauvinists, imperialists and capitalists, almost everybody in the world today wants peace. But this universal yearning for peace is not so much generated by the peace policy pursued
by countries like India, as it is the natural consequence of the fear of becoming helpless victims in a neuclear holocaust and the instinct of selfpreservation which is dominant in all men. To-day we cannot destroy others without destroying ourselves. Radio-active waves do not respect geographical boundaries or ideological differences. They destroy one and all. Since nuclear co-annihilation is the only kind of warfare in which the Powers could henceforth engage, mankind has now reached a point where it has to take the crucial decision whether to bring about total obliteration of humanity from the face of the earth or to 'live and let live' in peace. And if there is a 'balance of power' in the world to-day, it is brought about, not so much by the policy of peaceful coexistence as by a 'balance of terror' generated by the H -bomb.

But this should not be thought of as going in any way to detract from the value of India's contribution or to deny the sincerity of her efforts. She has been playing a very significant role in the cause of world peace. She has thrown in the whole weight of her moral force to ease international tensions and thereby to enlarge the area of peace. She has left no stone unturned in solving international problems through peaceful negotiations and reconciliation. She has been instrumental in settling the Korean tangle, in securing armistice in Indo-China and in bringing about some relaxation of tensions in the Formosa area. Besides, she has been a constant critic of the military alliances which in the name of checking Communism have only accentuated mutual suspicion and accelerated the suicidal armament race. She has always pointed out that the solution of vital international problems lies not in 'collective security' through military pacts but in the establishment of the principles of international relationship which she has enunciated in the 'Panch-sheela'. And it is gratifying to note that several countries such as Burma, China, Indonesia, Egypt, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union ${ }^{1}$ have already expressed their adherence to the fundamentals of these principles that marks a triumph of India's peace polity.

But trouble-spots yet remain and continue to threaten world peace. With dark clouds still hovering over the Suez Canal, with the die-hard French imperialists revelling in the blood-bath of Algeria, with the situation in West Asia being embittered by Western interference calculated to crush the resurging Arab nationalism, with an explosive East Europe seeth-

[^6]ing and fuming under the Soviet overlordship, with the South Africans being tortured and trampled under the weight of white fanaticism, and with the German question still undecided, thanks to the machinations of power politics, it is obvious that ferment and tension are smouldering in many corners of the world which can blaze forth, at any moment, into a global conflagration, despite the pious wishes of peace-loving countrics like India. And in some cases, India's overzcalousness to maintain peace at any cost has landed her in absurd positions. The half-hcarted, meek and irresolute policy followed by the Delhi pacifists has made it possible for the tyrants of Lisbon to continue their atrocious hold on Goa. Or look at Kashmir. Partly due to the political manocuvres of the West and also largely due to the lukewarm policy followed by India, Pakistan has been raised from the level of an aggressor to that of a legitimate disputant in the eyes of outside world. Peaceful coexistence docs not mean (or at least should not mean) timid subservience to injustice. The pursuit of a peace policy should not be confused with the connivance of wrongs donc. The considerations of peace should not come in the way of dccisive action and resistance against oppression.

In our enthusiasm to extol India's peace policy we should not lose sight of another aspect. The time has now come to judge whether her policy has been successful in making any effective contribution to the cause of permanent peace. We feel proud that India has played a uscful part in solving the Korean problem. But if we look deeper, we shall find that India has succeeded in only replacing hot war with cold war. Her achievement lies only in turning a field of clash of arms into a centre of political deadlock. Thus far and no farther. The $38^{\circ}$ line remains not merely a line of latitude, but a line of mutual suspicion and distrust tearing across the Korean territory. On either side, much swashbucklings and sabre-rattling still continue. A permanent settlement which necessitates an exchange of heart has not yet been found.

Or look at the stalemate in Vietnam. In the Geneva Conference, India was appointed Chairman of an International Commission, pledged to hold general elections in Indo-China in April, 1956. The time has long elapsed, yet we hear nothing of the elections, nor can we see the possibility in near future. The people of Indo-China continue to be deprived of having a government of their own choice. Instead, there is only a deadlock, with two rival camps, one Red, led by Ho Chi Minh and the other led by Diem and supported by the U.S.A., and with the $17^{\circ}$ line cutting across the land as a wall of separation. The China-Formosa affair is another example of many such deadlocks existing in the world to-day which are usually acclaimed as landmarks of the brilliant success of India's peace policy. Temporary cease-fire arrangements and stop-gap settlements should not be confused as monuments of permanent peace.

Of course, we should not minimise the importance of India's endeavour. For temporary negotiations have also their utility: they serve as safety-valve for passions. As Mr. Lester Pearson has observed in his recent book, 'Democracy in World Politics', "wise men should not scorn devices or expedients of this kind which can gain time for more fundamental solutions to mature." ${ }^{1}$ Considering the complexity of problems in the atomic age, we have to accept 'the inevitability of gradualness' in solving international differences.

The sheet-anchor of India's peace policy is the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence embodied in the Panch-Sheela. ${ }^{2}$ These principles assert the belief that nations with divergent political set-ups and socio-economic systems can live together to their mutual benefit, respecting one another's integrity and independence. We are told that a lasting peace can be ensured only on the basis of those principles of coexistence. But, with all deference to Sri Nehru and his worthy followers, it is my humble opinion that theirs is a superficial view. For, the principle of peaceful coexistence may at best be a temporary expedient, but never the instrument of bringing permanent peace. Peaceful coexistence, in the sense of peaceful competition, is, if I am allowed to say so, only another phase of the cold war. This competition may not entail all the same hostility and animosity which have so long defiled the relations between the East and the West. But cold war, though of a comparatively low temperature, will persist, and the dismal prophecy of so perceptive an observer as Toynbee might prove true: 'Tensions may last for centuries on end; they are not a phase.' In other words, we must not confuse competitive coexistence with pacific harmony. The fundamental question is not merely to live and let others live, but to live and love others. And that spirit of love mere coexistence will never beget. The ultimate solution lies not in a peaceful coexistence but in a peaceful fusion of the two systems-a harmonious blending and not a mere juxtaposition. We agree with Sri Nehru that "if you reject coexistence, then the alternative is war and mutual destruction" and with Mr. Attlee that "the alternative to coexistence is non-existence"; but we think that mere coexistence or physical co-presence of the two systems, with each believing in the 'inevitable' disruption of the other and patiently waiting for the day, can never bring permanent peace. What we need for permanent peace is "a synthesis between liberalism and Marxism, a synthesis broad enough to permit varieties but sufficiently coherent to from the basis of a world at peace with itself. Such a synthesis cannot, of course, grow all on a sudden, so that in the short term the best that the opposing blocs can do is to ensure an interval of peace by agreeing, as best as they can, to differ. But in the long

[^7]run, the world must find out more positive principles on which to rest its faith and build its unity." ('For Democracy': Amlan Dutta). While it would be the long-term goal of humanity to evolve the new synthesis, what we can do to-day is to hold the balance between the contending blocs and point the way to a higher stage in the evolution of human society. That is exactly what India is doing and admirably too.

## Some Impressions on Music

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"Music hath charms" has indeed been truly said of music when one considers that the sphere over which it casts its spell has no geographical limits. People of different races have met on this plane of common interest as teacher and pupil or performer and listener and been drawn closer to an understanding of each other, than might have been possible otherwise.

Music has played an important part in the life of man in both peace and war, and love of it has afforded many a one an opportunity to reach out to the farthest end of the world and strike a chord of accord in his fellowmen in person or via the medium of the gramaphone and the radio. It is doubtful whether the discovery of electricity gained as much popularity in as short a time as did the invention of the wireless because it (the wireless) is the one medium of bringing pleasure to many by a few. The desire for happiness is so strong in man that he will snatch at it even when his hours on earth are numbered. The fact that music brings happiness is proved by the need for music amongst soldiers, during the last war. It inspires the brave, soothes the tired and even saddens the reminiscing-but pleases all.

Music has been defined as the art of expressing emotion by a harmonious combination of sounds. Oriental composers lay more stress on melody while those in the occident are inclined to concentrate on harmony. A few composers however have effected a compromise in some of their compositions, for example, "Scherazade" by Rachmaniaoff, "In the Steppes of Central Asia" by Borodin and the famous "Persian Market", and their compositions being within the comprehension of both east and west, are in great favour in both sections of the world.

The compositions of Chopin, the poet of music, are a very good example showing that music is an expression of emotion. His association with

Madame Sand and his subsequent unhappiness through his attachment to her gave the world some of the most beautiful music it will ever know. That it (music) is an art is probably best proved by Beethoven, the deaf composer of brilliant Concerti, Symphonies and Sonattas, and Sèszt, who achieved in orchestral effect only on the piano. Paganini, the world's greatest violinist composed and played music that was thought impossible to play on the violin: so the rumour went that he had sold himself to the devil for his art.

The origin of what is known as popular music may perhaps be traced back to the Waltzes of Sohana Sebastian Strauss, the younger, whose revolution in that field sent the world whirling away on a new axis. But when popular music of today is considered, the utility theory of music is found to creep in as instruments are learnt not for sheer amusement as before, but with an end in view.

It has been said of performers of classical music, that they are musical snobs and as such treat anything non-classical with a touch of contempt, That two different types of music may be able to impress the same mind and develop its ability to grasp both in their fundamental character without limitations has been proved by by a contemporary performer of reputeSiberace.

Music has been called a form of Escapism-perhaps it is because it transports one into a world of his making from the world of his birth. What could be better relaxation than listening to music, or better recreation than making it? Living is a serious business for the mind, and it is an ancient and a true adage that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy."

# The Beginnings of the European Diplomatic System 

A STUDY IN RENAISSANCE DIPLOMACY.

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A general account of the development of Western diplomacy in its formative period i.e., between 1420 and 1530, necessarily involves a study into the new institution of permanent diplomacy which was fully developed in Italy by the 1450 's and spread thence, like other Renaissance innovations to the rest of Europe around 1500. It continued to develop along the lines laid down throughout the period, was drawn into the service of rising nation states, and began, like the standing army of which it was a counterpart, at once to nourish their growth and foster their idolatry.

This was largely due to the vitality of New Europe which was so great that even the asceticism and fatalism of the Middle Ages failed to prevent the growth of European genius. The rise of an urban middle class, the revival of old classical traditions in Mediterranean citics preceded and sustained by economic expansion, the secularisation of the Cosmopolitan thomist thought of the Middle Ages which had as its principles, individualism, objectivity and tolerance, and finally the emergence of the idca of the "State" had all led to a striding insurgence into new plenitudes of experience.

On the other hand, Europe was politically imbecile. Drowned into the orgies of bloody nationalism in which the issues of power and ideology were inextricably mixed, she had drifted into the clutches of hungry dynasts with a military tradition of Kingship, whose security seemed conditional on the ability of each to subjugate Italy. Naturally each European nation faced the preliminary task of consolidating its own government. This work begun in the 15th Century was still unfinished at the opening of the 16 th and has to be understood as the concrete political problem underlying the rivalry and the ambition of subsequent years. Italy, for its part, still stuck to the old notion of the Europe of Emperor-pope and thereby she proved uncqual to the task of extruding the "selfish barbarians". It was this feeling of oppression, quite unintelligible to the people which later drove Pope Pcliers into his career as a soldier and that gave such cutting edge to the keen mind of Machiavelli.

Mainly it was these tensions that produced the new style of diplomacy which in effect developed as "one functional adaptation of the new type of self-conscious, power-seeking, competitive organism". This was of course helped on by the fact that wars waged by mercenary troops under generals zealous for their own professional reputation, tended to be less bloody and less decisive than the earlier clashes of citizen militias, though still painfully expensive. But for this very reason as campaigns became more and more a series of manoeuvres for political advantage, they made increasing demands on statesmanship. Secondly the dominant elements in European society particularly in Italy began to set a higher value on a form of contest in which their leading citizens, not necessary strangers who might change sides, were the champions. This was not an unusual thing to do since the merchants and professional men-most of them with some legal or notarial training-had been led to believe that words might be as potent as swords, on the practical basis of a humanistic education. Consequently their faith in the efficiency of diplomatic and forensic persuasion as an auxiliary to or substitute for, military force, was heightened.

In the Middle Ages, diplomatic representation was a method of formal privileged communication among the members of a hierarchically ordered society, and its exercise could be admitted or denied according to the relations of the parties concerned and the nature of the business at hand. The precise definition of a body of diplomatic principals had to wait for a revolution in men's thinking about the nature of the State. But the onset of the Renaissance and the changed political situation in Europe led to the invention of a new kind of diplomatic officer, the resident ambassador, who was to put Wottox's Wry cpigram into English and disregard its English pun, "a man sent to lie abroad for his country's good". Not all resident embassies were reciprocal and not all residents were called ambassadors.

Since the resident ambassadors were servants, as Mathigly observes of "the sacred egoism of their respective states" they could at best furnish a unity of tension. Yet the efficiency of the residents in detecting subtle changes on the fabric of international politics did help to maintain the balance of power. Thus as in the Milanese crisis of 1476, the attitude of the major powers was so promptly registered by their ambassadors that fishers in troubled waters were deterred and a crisis was averted.

Not that the network of resident embassies replaced the older means of diplomatic intercourse-far from it. Occasionally princes would decide to become their own ambassadors, and for these there were no set rules. But such interviews were risky in so far as they involved the fanfare of attendant publicity which advertised failure as surely as success.

In the new system one major power was of course Italy. Whether they felt that the reciprocal exchange of residents was beneath the unique dignity
of their office or simply because the Pope could hardly lack agents, informants or means of communication, the Roman ponififs received resident ambassidors, but sent none. It is true that lack of military strength did give the later 16 th Century Italian diplomacy its air of desperate improvisation. but to the end of the Italian wars it retained a technical superionity.

All this merely contributed to the 16th Century struggle for power which had a dynastic rather than a national orientation. Of course the lloly League of 1495 and the League of Cognac 1526 were illustrations of balance of power politics-the combination of a group of powers against an appareme victor. In the l6th Century however, the position had altered somewhat. No longer did the allies hope to redress their gricuances by just batancing the strongest power but in trying to outweigh it; and for that they had inevitably to fall back on underhand means. Naturally Machiavelli in his "Prince" put forward the plea that to keep faith is the last thing a prince should do, since in the ruthless struggle for power there were only the tricksters and dupes.

Without going to such extremes however, it is possible to suggest that the defects of Renaissance statesmanship were twofold. In the first place, there was no competent arbitrating authority. Trcaties such as the Treaty of London forged by Thomas Wolsey provided for nothing except consultation among its signatories, exhortations to the combatants to submit to arbitration and then eventual armed sanctions against whichever party refused to cease hostilities. Secondly the political structure of Europe organised as it was round dynastic chieftains "had divided European political space among a group of coresponsible power-cating organisations which jostled each other prematurely even though their internal tasks were far from complete." At the same time the way was left open for these to coalesce into fantastic political monsters. The origins of the resident cmbassics had been in the Italian power struggles to serve as liaison agents and spics of competing despots; and they remained that way. So that if after the gencralisation of the system which followed in the wake of the Peace of Lodi there had been any expectation of the residents turning back to the older mission of the ambassador, peace, it was frankly an optimistic one.

# Paul Sweezy's Questions 

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Recently there has been a very interesting discussion among eminent Marxist intellectuals regarding the transition from feudalism to capitalism. This subject is bound to provoke deep interest in us chiefly because of two reasons. First, it attempts to satisfy our natural curiosity to know how the present social system has evolved out of the preceding one. Secondly, the whole discussion has an important bearing on the Marxist way of looking at history and consequently on those historical generalisations that go to make the 'world-outlook' for a Marxist.

According to the Marxist theory, contradictions develop within a unit, and these contradictions are the basic cause of its development, eventual disintegration and replacement. With regard to this theory there is complete agreement among all Marxists. Maurice Dobb in his 'Studies in the Development of Capitalism' has devoted a part of the volume in accounting for the break-up of the feudal mode of production as the background to the emergence of capitalism. A confirmed Marxist as he is, he has tried to show that the factors that led to the decay of feudalism are to be found inside the feudal mode of production itself, or, in other words, the break-up of the socio-economic structure of feudalism was the result of the self-movement of its productive forces.

Paul Sweezey raises some questions which are admittedly very important for the understanding of the historical development of this particular period of transition as well as the efficicacy of Marxism as a method of studying this development. Apart from posing some vital questions and criticising Dobb, Sweezy has attempted to construct an alternative theory or rather he has tried to look at the problem from a different angle. His original theory has many weaknesses. But the fact that it has been successfully demolished by Takahasi and Dobb does not in any way invalidate the questions which he starts with and which still await their satisfactory answers. The starting point of Sweezy is the limitation of Dobb and we shall concentrate on that. When Sweezy breaks away from his fundamental questions and tries to construct a theory of his own we begin to lose interest.

The first and the most important question that Sweezy asks is this: What were the contradictions inherent in the feudal mode of production that led to its development and by its own logic, to the ultimate crisis and eventual replacement?

The characteristic feature of a Feudal economy is that it is a natural conomy, its production being for use in contrast to moncyed exchange economy. Marx has pointed out in his "Capital" that in any given coonomic formation of society, where not the exchange-value but the use-value of the product predominates surpluses will be limited by a given set of wants and no boundless thirst for surplus-labour would arise from the nature of production itself as in the case of capitalism. In the case of feudalism the dements of instability are to be sought not in the nature of production while in the case of capitalist mode of production the chicf clement of instability (capital accumulation) is in the logic of the system itsulf. One clement of instability is the competition among the nobles for land, power, and prestige and the consequent continuous state of warfarc. This competition is analogous to that for profit in the capitalist system. But they produce different results. The resultant insecurity of life and possession merely accenmates the mutual dependence of the vassals and the lords and reinforces the basic structure of feudal relations. The second probable clement of instability is the growth of population. The structure of manor sets limit to the number of producers it can employ and also to that of the consumers it can support. The younger sons of the serfs are pushed out of the regular frame-work and they either become mercenaries or go to make up a kind of vagrant populiation exercising no revolutionary influence on the feudal socicty. All this is to emphasize that the feudal society has a fundamentally conservative and change-resisting character with a particularly strong bias towards maintaining the given methods and relations of production. Now, where are the internal contradictions we look for?

Dobb points out that the growing need for revenuc of the expanding parasitic class intensified the pressure on the direct producers to a point where in a very real sense it was unendurable. In order to survive the serfs deserted the manors and fled to the towns. Few that remained were too overworked to maintain the system on its old basis. The increasing exploitation inevitably led to the exhaustion or actual disappearance of the labour force by which the system was nourished.

None can dispute the growing need for revenue and the flight of the serfs on a mass scale. But can they be shown to be inherent in the feudal mode of production? That is the moot question. Dobb offers three explanations for the growing need for revenue:
(I) Growth in the parasitic class.
(II) Constant war and brigandage leading to impoverishment.
(III) Growing extravagance of the feudal ruling class.

The growth of the parasitic class in size is a prima facie reason for the growing need for revenue which explains gradual intensification of the
pressure on the serfs. But the growth in the parasitic class was matched by the growth of the serf population as there was no dearth of cultivable land to be brought into use. Secondly, since the feudal warfares took its main toll from the upper order we may well doubt whether there was a significant relative growth in the size of the parasitic class.

Wars and brigandage were always there and if at a particular time they pecame intense accounting for the growing need of revenue we cannot say that this happened owing to the inner logic of the feudal system. Dobb has not cared to explain such a trend. The special drainage attributed by him to Crusades are of dubious significance. Crusades were fought in the East and caused devastations in the East. Secondly, they brought some material rewards since the Crusades were to a great extent looting expeditions. Thirdly, they were mere substitutions for than additions to the normal feudal warfare. And even if all the three arguments are not valid, Crusades can never be reckoned as a factor internal to feudal mode of production.

The growing extravagance, a plausible explanation for the growing need of revenue cannot be explained by the nature of the feudal system. Even under dynamic capitalist system spontaneous changes in consumers' tastes and preferences are negligible, not to speak of that tradition-bound feudal society. It can only be accounted for by the rapid expansion of trade which brought an ever-increasing quantity of a variety of goods. But this trade cannot be regarded as internal to feudal mode of production.

The flight of serfs can only be partially explained by internal pressure. Unless they had somewhere to go, they simply would not have deserted the manors only to be plunged into uncertainty. It was better they thought, to eke out an animal-existence in the manor than to relegate themselves to a vagrant population and constitute the dregs of society. Because towns (external to the feudal unit) were there to offer liberty, employment and improved social status for the oppressed serfs, they acted as a powerful magnate and the flight of serfs became epidemic. In the absence of towns, the flights of serfs were not so common. Dobb insists that in this process the internal pressure was the main cause. But in a causal relation where each of the factors is necessary but not sufficient in itself to produce the effect what is the criterion to call one more important than the other?

Dobb cannot rescue his theory by maintaining that the growth of trade and the rise of towns were a process internal to feudal system. The question whether a factor is internal or external will depend on the definition of the unit. Prof. Takahasi says, that in the last analysis everything external must be explained internally to history when we shall proceed to investigate how these external factors arose. Very true. If we take "the world in the 12 th century" as our unit instead of feudal mode of production then we can dub any factor as internal. But that will be clearly a deviation from the

Marxist method of constructing historical units. Dobb correctly defines feudalism, of course from the Marxist view point, as a method of production and its corresponding production-relations. He equates feudalism with serfdom. The essence of his definition is in the "socio-economic content of the obligation" that connects the serfs and the overlords. Feudalism is a system where some economic demands are imposed on the serfs by force and which they must fulfil independently of their volition. whether the demands take the form of services or rent paid in kind or moncy. So far as this unit is concerned, which is the true Marxist unit, trade and trading towns are external to it. When Takahasi, Dobb and Hilton describe trade and town as internal to feudalism they are misleading in the sense, that then fcudal mode of production is no longer the unit but they then take Western Europe as a geographical unit to serve their purpose. It is one thing to point out that trade and feudal Europe are related in points of time and space, it is another thing to establish a conceptual relation between trade and the fcudal mode of production. In so far as the unit is broadened and changed in order to characterize the trade and the rise of towns as internal factors-we clearly deviate from the Marxist methodology of taking a mode of production as a historical unit. In so far we stick to the Marxist unit we cannot maintain that those processes were internal and so cannot prove that the disintegration of feudalism was due to the internal dynamics of the system. This is the dilemma which confronts a Marxist historian. And in order to solve this they give rise to all sorts of confusions.

The other two questions of Sweezy are:
(2) Why did the development of the Western European feudalism ultimately collapse? and
(3) Why did capitalism succeed feudalism?

As regards the second question of Sweezy, Dobb states that the disintegration of feudalism was due to a considerable change in the technique of production. For that he asks Sweezy to take up two pages and a foot note of Molly Gibs's (Marion Gibs?) "Feudal Order". All that we can find there is that at two points of time there was variation or improvement in the technique of production. But what is there to show that this particular change in the technique of production (a) necessitated a new set of production relations and $(b)$ created productive forces which could be maintained and further developed only under capitalism? This is the crux of the problem, and Dobb has not answered these questions.

In order to minimize the importance of trade as a determining factor in the process of disintegration of feudalism both Takahasi and Hilton tend to treat the substitution of money rent for labour services or payment in kinds as a matter of form only and lose sight of the fact that this change
can occur only on the basis of developed commodity production. So the second question remains totally unanswered. And since Dobb or any other historian or economist has not been able to prove that feudalism by its own logic created conditions which necessarily give rise to only capitalist mode of relation of production, the third question also remains unaswered.

The upshot of this discussion is that the Marxist theory that the decay of feudalism was due to its inner contradictions has yet to be established because Paul Sweezy's questions still await their satisfactory answers. And until this theory is established beyond doubt the Marxist generalization that all societies break up due to their inner contradictions cannot be accepted as valid. And it is always dangerous to make a theory the guide to our social action, unless the theory is proved beyond all doubt. I think, the implications are obvious.

# On A Holiday by the Sea With Me 

Kaman C. Dett

Fifth Year, Arts

The rattle of our carriage wheels (Jatka, a kind of local dog-cart) heralds us as we (you are the guest of our party) journey from the station wor destination on the Orissa coast. We speed through stubble fields and tiny villages with their cluster of huts, pass over railway level-crossings and brick bridges, skirt round hillocks and water-logged low-lying areas. Gradually the sun declines towards the west, till it is setting on the plain behind yonder clump of bamboos. The slanting rays fall on our faces making them aglow. Now we are going through a wonderful shady avenue of banyans, pecpuls. mango-trees, cocoanut-trees and bamboos; we are turning to the left, we hate turned and lo! what a glorious sight!

There, in front of you, lies the vast, heaving greenish-grey sca, stretching out in all its beauty and mystery as far as the cye can sec. Listen! yes, to be sure, you can hear the boom of the breakers on the shore. The cool sialt breeze blows on your face and caressingly alleviates the rigours of a long but interesting journey. But it is too late for a refreshing dip as the twilight is thickening into darkness. In the rapidly fading light the stars are coming out one by one. Soon the waxing moon will mount the sky and shed her blessings on the earth. Then night will fall, the stars will glitter and the sighing of the waves would be heard. Perhaps you are too tired for anything just now so I shall wish you Goodnight. But please remember, to-morrow morning we shall have a nice long bath. You would come surcly, won't you? So, once again, Goodnight.

What does it matter if one knows to swim or not? Confidentially, I am an awfully clumsy swimmer. Only the other day, while splashing along with the greatest difficulty and gulping down pints of salt-water I dashed into an unfortunate bather standing in waist-deep water. Rubbing my head hard I rose to apologise but found, to my horror, the fellow rolling like a jelly-fish on an under-tow. It was with the greatest difficulty an expert finally rescued him. In the meantime, I had shown the cleanest pair of heels possible on a sandy track. So you need not be ashamed if you are a novice. If the sea can afford plenty of pleasure to a lubber like me, sure you can have rollicking fun. But if you are on the look out for adventure and thrills, get hold of an inflated rubber tube and a nulia (an expert local swimmer) to take care of you and ride the surges like a King,

It is early, next morning. A cock is crowing. The east is in a glimmer with the first streaks of dawn. The sea is calm and inviting. The morning air is cool, fresh and salty. A number of crows are quarrelling on the topmost branches of a casuarina tree. You hurriedly get out of bed and finish toilet. Then after pulling on your swim-suit, grab something to eat and dash out. The sun has just risen. You see me coming and shout above the tumult of the sea:
"Good-morning".
"Good-morning. I'm afraid I'm a bit late."
"Oh, it doesn't really matter. In fact, I came here just a minute ago. But where are the others?"
"You know how lazy they are? I guess they'll turn up soon within ...."
Before you have finished you spot them advancing and give a cry of delight.
"Now, are you all ready? Let's deposit all our belongings with him. Niloo you keep guard here", you order your servant.
"Hurrah! Let's all plunge in."
All are so eager that they practically tear off their outer garments and dash in. By Jove! the wa-water is co-cold. But soon one gets used to it. Now look out! A mighty breaker is noisily approaching. You can distinctly see the wind lashing its foam-crested top and sending out salt-sprays. You can feel the water boiling and increasing. Dive. The breaker passes over your body and crashes on the beach. Everyone laughs in sheer pleasure. What is coming this time? A lovely big swell. Jump and relax. You gently swing with the swell and then feeling sand underneath, get up. Wonderful. Then comes a roller and you either dive or present your side with your full weight thrown on your front foot and your hands stretched out to keep balance. Exciting isn't it? In this fashion, a happy, uproarious hour slips off without your even noticing it.

In the afternoon, the sun is rather unpleasantly hot. So the best thing to do is to enjoy one's siesta after lunch. A little snatch of sleep would freshen one up marvellously.

Late in the day, towards evening, when the sea is a liquid gold during sundown and a strong cross-breeze sets in, it is the ideal time for treading swish-swosh on the soft sagging sand-bed at the edge of the sea where every now and then a curl-top breaks and washes one's feet. I can never resist the temptation of stooping and picking up the curiously shaped sea-shells that litter the sands. If you do not like this fascinating pastime you may very well watch the myriads of coral-red, buff and slaty-grey crabs crawling on the sandy floor and quickly hiding in the countless minute holes from the rushing waters. Or you may sit on the crest of a windy sand-dune and watch the catamarans out to bring in the harvests of the sea rising and falling with the waves in the offing. As a change, you may, again, take a stroll along the backwaters with the sky and the trees reflected on it and
oberve the skimming terns playfully rippling the phacid waters; the gulls fioating buoyantly on the brine and sending out taucous cries to their mates glinding gracefully over-head under a memorable sunset sky. Sudienly, a fight of herons plaintively floating their way up the miniature lagoon with the mellow sunbeams gilding their snow-white wings would dazale you and set you thinking about the inexhaustible store of beamty eren in this prosaic world of ours. A soaring fish-eagle, a symbol of frecdom and power, would amaze you by its breath-taking swoop through space. You ramble onward meditating on the wonders of creation. You think of the mysterious beauty of the sea and its changing moods during different parts of the day. Presently your gaze falls on the over-turned boats havied ashore and the ;warthy fishing nets spread out to dry. You move on till on seeing a wellknown land-mark you realize you have strayed a good deal. At once you turn back and deeply inhale the invigorating ozone. For a momement you become icutely conscious of the mere joy of living. You start running homeward. Mid-way an acquaintance accosts you:
"Hello, where have you been?"
"For a stroll along the beach as far as the sand-bar."
You slacken your pace. The sun-god quietly takes his evening-bath.
Our next day's programme consists of a picnic-cum-shooting-cum-punting rip on and up the backwaters. And if you wish to join us you are more han welcome. We shall start early in the morning. Please do not forget 0 bring your straw hat and camera.

Early in the morning, next day, you turn up with your hat and camera roperly dressed for a rough-out pienic trip. I carry my pet 22 bore saloon iffe. Besides, others bring small baskets stuffed with sandwiches, cakes, astries, fruits and some tinned provisions. A liberal supply of drinking ater has been stored in three large earthenware jars. We shove off the ig flat-bottomed boat that we have hired for the purpose from the bank midst three cheers! Slowly the punt is poled up the shallow lagoon. We sudly sing the old song:

> "Row, row, row, the boat
> Gently down the stream,
> Merrily, merrily, merrily, merrily
> Life is but a dream" . . .
efore the last line dies away, our watcher, scanning with a binocular, spots undreds of little ring plovers resting and running about on a sand-bank or chur" a'little ahead of us. Immediately, the boat is silently brought to a andstill. It is your turn to have the first shot of the trip since you are ${ }^{2 e}$ guest. So you get down after some persuation and cautiously wade rward in a little above knee-deep water. You seek and find a comparatively ry part of the "chur" and squat to take a steady aim. You pull the trigger.
"An excellent shot", all cry out in delight. A snipe, which we hare not seen, remains kicking to the ground "winged" while the rest fly away and settle down again a little up the bank. The bird is quickly retrieved. In this way we go on till afternoon bringing to our bag half a dozen plovers, two snipes (including the one you shot), a cormorant or snake-bird, one egret and a couple of dab-cheeks besides mortally wounding a jackel in a paddyfield. While returning you have managed to take silhouette pictures of clouds and trees which have come out brilliantly. We have been so ravenous that we have eaten like ogres finishing almost all our provisions which were enough to feed us for three days under ordinary circumstances. We have started on the flow-tide at dawn and have come back on the ebb-tide in the evening. During our expedition, we have carried on our raids on the shore several times, shot game, took photographs, scoured the Casuarina Grove (a name humorously given by you) at the mouth of the channel and bathed.

Did you have a good sleep the night before our return to town? At least, I didn't. I was loath to leave our new-found horizons where we ranged at will and go back to the ever shrinking horizons of the city. Here, sitting and pondering on the beach in a still night under a starry sky and hearing the ceaseless wash of the sea and the murmur of the breeze, one realizes for the first time, as it were, the meaning of eternity.
"Roll on! thou deep, and dark blue ocean roll."

# The Fallacy of General Will 

Amar Kumar Mckhopadiyaya<br>Fifth Year, Arts

## I

The bitter tragedy, though I reiterate a very hacknied philosophy, assumes its ugly shape only when a man comes to be what he never ought to have been. I cannot but begin my pen on Roussean with no better a comment than this. The literary wealth of the world would have been enriched, I am sure, to a further extent, had he not made a miscrable mistake with regard to the choice of life. Rousseau was certainly blessed with an uncommon literary genius. All the qualitics of a prospective litteratur are too evident to escape enthusiastic attention in his writings. His masterly literary expression and magnificent eloquence, to be frank, have for many a time rendered him great service. Where logic fails and Rousseau's position is at stake, it is his rare rhetoric that is prompt to parry the palsy of his argument. But Rousseau deviates from the destined way, decides to be a political theorist and hence is challenged and deposed, so to say.

In the history of mankind the French Revolution of 1789 has been an epoch-making event for ever. It forces the fervid attraction and rapt reminiscence from all ages. The French Revolution, however, was no sudden explosion of fury against oppression. A number of heterogencous conditions-moral, wcial, economic, political and religious-constitute the compendium of its causes. It will, however, be no mistake to ascribe the French Revolution, to some extent, to the writings of a number of political philosophers. They added a burning flame to the smouldering fire stealthily awaiting a violent outburst. Among them Rousseau, no doubt, stands pre-eminent.

In fact, Rousseau's ideas, however utopian they might be, exerted an enormous influence upon the furious French mind which it is unjust to minimise. His political doctrines are more easily traceable than those of all other revolutionary thinkers. What is much more striking is that Rousscau, more than all the rest, was quite aware of the necessity of supplementing destructive criticism by a constructive theory. Even his hostile critics admit the paramount importance of his work in shaping and disseminating the explosive ideas that kindled the flames of revolution. As Mainc, though a vigorous critic, says ${ }^{1}$ : "The world has not seen more than once or twice in all the course of history a literature which has excrcised such prodigious

[^8]influence over the minds of men, over every cast and shade of intellect, as that which emanated from Rousseau between 1749 and 1762 ."

It is only a psycho-analysis of Rousseau's mind that can help a best understanding of Roussean's revolutionary political thought. It is rather rare that the political belief of a thinker can germinate under so great an influence of his personal individual life as in the case of Rousseau. He was of an emotional, sensitive, self-conscious temperament, impatient of control and always dissatisfied with the institution or convention that prescribed restriction or regularity. ${ }^{2}$ "The hero of Rousseau's primitivism was not the noble savage; it was the irritated and bewildered bourgeois at odds with a society that despised and looked down on him. He joined in a condemnation of both the social order that oppressed him and the philosophy which had attacked the foundation of that society." The spirit of protest already suppressed in his mind for his restless and unhappy private life attained a vigorous voice when Rousseau was out to preach his revolutionary ideals. He never learnt how to oppose with a cool brain. He knew not how to stop short of the uttermost limit of protest. He never paused till he had provided for the complete refashioning of government, state and society.

But Rousseau can hardly claim a creative genius. No note of novelty can be found sounding throughout his works. He lighted up and magnified, but never created. Old well-known concepts were juggled by his brilliant fancy till they were changèd and made appealing to men with an uncanny attraction. ${ }^{3}$ "The truth is that Rousseau was a romantic caught in the toils of a classical conception in which he had dressed himself but in which he did not believe."

## II

Achieving a great success in his "Discourse on the Progress of the Sciences and Arts", Rousseau made up his mind to write a comprehensive work covering the whole field of political science. The Social Contract published in 1762 is a part of this work. Before he took up this task, he came close to the political theories of certain philosophers like Pufendorf, Locke and Montesquieu, Grotins and Hobbes. The ideas of Locke, however, generated dreams of social and political revolution in the alert but unbalanced mind of Rousseau. Now what Rousseau had to forsake was Locke's systematic individualism. The writer who gave him the best assistance to have an easy release from this individualism was Plato. Rousseau, we should remember, here, had a profound admiration for the political ideals of antiquity. Now what he learnt from Plato was that community itself is the chief moralising agency and that political subjection is essentially ethical. For a long time, however, the social contract was interpreted as a cult of individualism. Its opening

[^9]sentence: "man was born free and everywhere he is in chains" however, offers a clear clue. Rousseau's thoughts are on the flying wings and actually the argument of the Social Contract, if studied carcfully, shows a rapid transition from an initial individualism towards collectivism. In fact, Rousseau's social contract is inspired by two ideas-on the one hand, a Platonic consciousness of community and on the other hand, a passion for individual liberty even more illuminating than Locke's. How is it possible to reconcile the sovereignty of the state with the frecdom of the subject? That is the problem Rousscau sets himself to solve in his Social Contract with the help of the concept of General Will. Liberty and authority are absolute logical contradictions in the Discourse and the Emile. But in the Social Contract Rousseau wants to establish them as inseparable concepts.

Rousseau is conscientious to condemn the authority of man over man. It can, he is emphatic, never claim a rational basis, save agreement and consent. He, however, does not fail to find a form of agreement by which liberty and authority can peacefully co-exist. This is the contract through which a mass of men become a collective unity. Hobbes applied a very loose logic to show absolute monarchy as a consistent corollary of the social pact. To this Rousseau offers an open objection. But Hobbes's precision in defining the terms of the contract has a great appeal for him ; and his own dealing of the subject is but the substance of Locke developed by the method of Hobbes.

## III

The only basis of the state that Rousseau is ready to admit is the rational basis of a reasonable will. He refuses to rest the state on mere will and insists that it must have as its basis a will of a particular quality. This is what he entitles as General Will. He postulates a community frecly cstablished by means of a voluntary contract made by men enjoying the liberty of the primitive state of Nature. Sovereignty is the absolute power which the social contract gives the body politic over all its members when this power is directed by the general will. The formula, as he lays down, is that "Each of us puts into a simple mass his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will; and we receive as a body each member as an indivisible part of the whole."

This general will has got certain peculiar characteristics. It is, no doubr, a will aimed at the attainment of general welfare. But that merely does not cover its entire connotation. When Rousseau speaks of the general will, he uses the epithet to indicate the quality of the object sought and not the quantity of the subjects or persons by whom it is sought. The general will cannot be permanently consistent with particular wills; private interests may be antagonistic to it. Rousseau believes that the will of all, which is the net

[^10]addition of particular wills, regards only private interests and, therefore, distinctly differs from the general will which is concerned only with the common interest. A will, in order to be general, need not be unanimous, but every voice should be counted. It is the common interest rather than the number of voices that matters most. If the people conclude a resolution on sufficient information and without intercommunication, the general will will have its perfection and the revolution will always be good.

The General Will, thus conceived, is proved by Rousseau to be inalienable, infallible, indivisible and absolute. It is inalienable because the will cannot be bound by promises. As the sovereign is a collective being, it can only be represented by itself; power may be transmitted, but not will. ${ }^{5}$ "If the people promise to obey a ruler; the people as such ipso facto is dissolved, the state no longer exists. The state, as a state, can no more alienate its sovereignty than a man can alienate his will and remain a man." By the same logic, Rousseau, with a cavalier gesture, shatters the idea of representative government.

Indivisibility forms another characteristic of the sovereign power. Sovereignty can have its best manifestation in an act of the whole people for the whole people. So far as the issues from the sovereignty, such as the legislative and executive powers are divided, Rousseau does not object. But sovereignty itself, he holds, is wholly incapable of division.

Thirdly, the sovereign will is inerrant. It is always right and always tends towards the general welfare. The general will can only be transitorily deceived, but, on the whole, it is always prone to promote right. As Roussean says" : "A man always wills his own good, but he does not always see it; the people is never corrupted, but it is often decieved and only then does it appear to will what is wrong."

Finally, the sovereign will is absolute. Rousseau declares that " as Nature gives every man an absolute power over all his limbs, the social pact gives the body politic an absolute power over all his members." The sovereign has unlimited control over all that affects general welfare, and the indisputable right to judge as to what falls under this category. Whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be constrained to do so by the whole body. In other words, he shall be forced to be free.

## IV

This is, in outline, Rousseau's General Will. The ghost of General Will has haunted a host of generations and drawn a mass of musings from the best intelligentsia. There is, indeed, much to be said in its favour. But the problem is with regard to reality, i.e., its application in actual life. It is

[^11]here that Rousseau sails into troubled waters and finds himself in a helpless dismay. ${ }^{8}$ "A true politician," to recall Burke, "always considers how he shall make the most of the existing materials of his country". Quite opposite is Rousseau's case. He is a dogmatic doctrinaire and cares little for the infinite variety and the complexity of life. Apparently, no doubt, the General Will appears very innocent. This false simplicity is solely due to Rousscau's inability to realise and appreciate the difficulties of his task. He never probes the political complications of his time. His total ignorance of affairs together with his contempt for civilised life prevents him from any theory of practical utility.

Rousseau's attempt to distinguish a real general will from a mere will of all "by the presence or absence of party lines in voting" is futile. He argucs that if party be there and a great clique carries the day, the well-being will have to be sacrificed ; if there is no party and each individual casts his individual vote, the individual selfishness in voting will cancel one another and the general good will be secured. But it is certainly in the citizen's free choice that true freedom finds its congenial companion and there can arisc no question of choice unless there are alternative programmes declared by different parties. Hence it is not the absence, but the presence of party which is essential to the existence of General Will.

Rousseau's exposition of the spirit of General Will, as Dunning secs, is ${ }^{8}$ "an amazing medley of bad logic and utter puerility". Equality, he belicves, is secured, because each individual completely surrenders himsclf and all his rights to the community. But it is as logical as to imagine a handsome amount in a desolate zero. By the same reasoning the union is, according to Rousseau, absolutely perfect and no individual can claim anything. This clearly means thorough submergence of the individual in the State. But Rousseau ludicrously finds the fullest freedom. Again, to apply rhetoric to show that restricting liberty is really increasing it and that coercion is not really coercion makes the matter more confusing. Forcing a man to be free is a clear euphemism applied as a plea for making him blindly obedient to the mass or the strongest party." "Thus the General Will of Rousseau is Hobbes's Leviathan with his head chopped off, and the headless Leviathan of Rousseau is as formidable as the complete monster of Hobbes."

The whole system of Rousseau is indeed "inverted Hobbism", the many-headed multitude supplanting the despotic monarch. He fails to escape Hobbes's conception of sovereignty as a supreme coercive power though he pays his best effort to dissemble his despotism by identifying the general will with the vote of the majority. We may, however, think of a majority as a coercive power. But hardly we can conceive a general will in the sense of an unselfish interest in the common good. Thus for the sovereignty of the general will we get the sovereignty of a majority of parti-

[^12]cular wills. Again, Rousseau's assumption about general will as consisting in the common elements of particular wills is in reality a mere abstraction; for opposing wills may not cancel one another, or factions may remain, or even if the general will is always right, as Roussean dogmatically opines, patriotic citizens may err from want of enlightenment; and in all such cases the aim of general will i.e., common good remains unattained.

If Rousseau be a bit reasonable, he has to admit that in practice we can only count the heads of absolute and mutable majorities in which case his distinction between the general will and the sum of particular wills completely vanishes; for his representation that a member of the minority as such must be mistaken about the general will is a mere subterfuge resorted to in a desperate effort to save inconsistency. Rousseau, again, is found to insist always that general will is just. But this is merely a truism, because general will stands for the social good which is itself the standard of right.

In fact, Rousseau's sovereign power which injures none of its subjects and always aims impartially at the common good is an ideal, no doubt. But when he goes to identify sovereignty with the general will and the general will with the will of the majority ascertained by counting of votes, we see how rapid is the abjection from the ideal to the actual, how easy the lapse into fallacy.

All these easily prove that Rousseau's theorisation on General Will has been entirely a fruitless toil. Of course we never do deny certain basic truths contained in the concept of General Will. These are that-it emphasises that society is an organic unity, that will and not force is the basis of the State, that the state is natural having its basis in the will and natural need of man, that the true basis of democracy is not force, but active will. The stimulating force of his suggestive theory, indeed, long remained a cardinal fact of literature and history. The concepts of common interest and general will came to be crucial factors in almost every theory of the State. Through them a way was found out that enabled the unity and solidarity of a population to be the necessary assumptions of scientific politics. Rousseau thus, to be frank, was a remarkable contributor in evolving the theory of national state. His burning faith upon the virtues of general will and general interest brought these concepts into the limelight of political theory and evoked from rational writers than Rousseau more refined solutions of the problems he placed forth.

But these facts cannot, in any way, serve as an excuse for his fault. It requires little trouble to visualise his great influence upon the French Revolution. But that must not be the criterion to judge his merit. The fact is that people of that period of turmoil were eager to escape from the weltering chaos in which they had long been hankering after a better state of things. So his General Will had an exquisite charm for them. ${ }^{10}$ "The

[^13]age, indeed, was ripe for revolution and the inarticulate multitude, chafing under an effete administration, found in him a fitting champion. For such as these Rousseau's transcendent power of ringing with passion a set of definite dogmas had an extraordinary fascination."

We do not, however, want to minimise his purpose. The reconciliation of liberty and authority is something quite imnovating at that age. But what we condemn is his approach. It is his inherent nature to hold glaring paradoxes with an array of ingenious arguments. With fatal felicity and apparent precision he deduces from his unfounded premises a series of inconsistent conclusions which he regards as authoritative and universally applicable. The concept of General Will had enough possibilities. The practical uses to which this might be applied were various. But Rousseau has neither knowledge nor patience to explore them. It is his exuberant emotion and romantic restlessness that bring his utter failure. Had his rational mind triumphed over his fiery emotion, had he been always able to make a balanced judgment, he could have been successful in his mission. But unfortunately quite opposite has been in actuality and hence Rousseau's soul has to sprawl on thousand thorns of criticism. We, though regetful, can do no better to this situation and simply, with silence, take leave of him.

# Colour Photography 

Prattpendranath Bhose

Fourth Year, Science

The invention of technicolour films has created a new era in the history of photography. The old process of black-and-white photography cannot give the vivid representation of the object photographed; it gives just an outline, so to say, and not the detail. On the other hand, if you load your 'Rollieflex' with an Ektachrome or Kodacolour, and have a flash, the scene before your camera is at once recorded with all its colour and beauty. In fact, the colour photographs are sure to provoke joy and wonder to one and all.

In order to know the construction of a technicolour film, we should, at first, be well aware of the fact that colour can be recorded in 2 manners-
(i) Plates which are additive in character; e.g., Lumière plate. Here, minute dots of different colour unite to give the colour in the original.
(ii) Films which are subtractive in character, e.g.-Kodacolour, Ansco colour, Ektachrome, Kodachrome etc. These give pictures in which layers of blue, magenta and yellow dyes, subtract certain specific lights of particular wavelengths, permitting the right amount of red, green and blue to reach the eye, thereby the colour in the original is produced.

It goes without saying that the latter variety is superior to the former one. The films can be obtained both for amateur cameras and for plate cameras.

The "Koda Colour" film can be used in all cameras without any light filter before the camera-lens. This film is provided with a light sensitive pellicle which is composite in nature, consisting of 3 layers sensitive to 3 different lights; the top layer is sensitive to blue light only; the middle layer is sensitive to green and the bottom layer to red rays only. Under the first layer, there is a "stop-all-blue" layer which stops all the blue rays in the light going to the subsequent layer, because the layer sensitive to green and red, are sensitive to blue also (it is the usual case with all photographic films). Under this layer, there is a "mask layer". Each of the 3 layers, is provided with a proper coupler in microscopic globules carried on organic carriers; these "couplers" are capable of producing a dye of desired colour after reaction. These couplers are fixed in their positions and all the possibilities
of wandering about are closed. After exposure, the film is allowed to react with the developer, diphenylene diamine (or its derivative) so that metallic silver and the oxidised diphenylene diamine are produced; the latter dissolves in the organic carrier and couples with the selected body thercin forming the dye. The utility of the mask layer is only to improve the print. Thus finally we get a negative containing the image in the dye. This should be printed on papers which are similar in construction to the film only the mask layer being exempted.

Kodachrome, however, is somewhat different from Kodacolour, though the overall principle is the same. This is also composite in nature consisting of 3 layers of silver salt emulsions as before. Each layer is separated from the other by gelatin. Exposed films are first put in the usual developing solution so that a silver image is produced throughout the whole film. Next, the film is exposed to red light through the base of the film; unaffect silver salt is thus affected. The film is again put in a special developing solution containing cyan couplers which can produce dye of desired colour by coupling with the oxidised developer. Thus, due to sccondary development, an image in cyan dye is produced. Then, the top layer is exposed to blue light and developed in a special solution containing a special coupler so that image in the desired dye is produced. Last of all, the middle layer is exposed to green light and developed in a similar way. Hence ultimately we get an image consisting of dyes only. The silver image is also present at the final state. The next step involves the removal of $\mathrm{Ag}^{1}$ produced by the secondary exposures, unchanged Ag -halides and the original Ag-image leaving behind the image consisting of dyes. In this way, the Kodachrome is made directly into the final transparency in colour. Kodachrome, in spite of its composite nature, is as thin as ordinary "black-and-white photography" films.

Usually, uncoloured couplers are used in Kodachrome etc. But it has been experimentally seen that the definition of the image is increased many times by the introduction of coloured couplers. This was first utilised in "Ektachromes" which have come out in the market in August 15, 1949.

The chemical reactions involved between the developer, Ag-halide and the couplers, are symbolised below:-

Any unreacted coloured coupler molecule exists unaffected even at the final stages. This, as one should understand readily, is the whole chemistry behind the philosophy of the coloured photography.

The subject is still in its formative period and we expect more and more developments in this new, astonishing branch of photography. This particular branch is sure to oust all other branches, in days to come.

[^14]


# Use of Radio Isotopes in Medicine and Industry 

Kiron Bordoloi<br>Sixth Year, M.Sc.

Modern news paper readers are familiar with tales of isotopes rushed to sesitals, of isotopes used in industry to determine wear in pistons or to control the dyeing of fabrics, even of isotopes used in sport to locate elusive rolf balls. The extensive use of radio isotopes, obtained as a by-product of york on atomic energy, occupied the attention of the nuclear physicists in lifferent parts of the world. They made a vigorous research in this field or long ten years and were successful in applying economically in medical herapeutics and in industrial processes.

## What is an Isotope?

The nucleus of an atom is built up of protons and neutrons. In all the toms of a given element the number of protons in the nucleus is constant, $t$ is called the atomic number. With this fixed number of protons there nay be associated a varying number of neutrons. This means that all the toms of any particular element have the same chemical properties; but their nasses may differ (because the mass of an atom is equal approximately to he sum of the masses of the protons and neutrons in the nucleus). These lifferent forms of the same element are called the isotopes of the element. The isotopes of one element differ from one another in their physical not their chemical properties. There are two types of isotopes-stable and radioactive. The radioactive isotopes are those whose nuclei break down spontaneously and emit particles or electromagnetic waves or both. At least one radio active isotope is known to exist for all known elements. The two features of radioactive-isotopes that give them their technological importance are that they are indistinguishable in their chemical properties from the stable isotopes of the same element, and that they emit radiation which can be detected by various means, such as photographic films, electronic instruments like Geiger Müller counters and the scintillatrons produced in certain phosphors and organic crystals. Although some radio isotopes occur in nature, most of them are made artificially by bombarding stable elements with neutrons, protons and denterons (nuclei of the heavy hydrogen atom). For the production of isotopes formed by neutron bombardment the nuclear
reactor is obviously supreme, since it generates neutrons in far larger quantities than any other device.

## Isotopes in Medicine:

Radioactive isotopes are extensively applied in biological and medical investigations. Their uses for these purposes are based on the fact that biological organism cannot distinguish between a radioactive clement and its non-radioactive counterpart, since the two are chemically identical. Therefore, if somebody drinks or has injected into him a solution containing a radioactive isotope (for example radioactive iodine 131), mixed with its stable naturally occurring isotope (in this instance iodine 127), the active and inactive isotopes will follow exactly the same paths in the body. But the location of the radioactive substance can readily be determined by the effect of its radiations on suitable detecting instruments and since whatever happens in the body to the iodine 131 also happens to the stable iodine, the fate of the latter can be established. In this instance, the iodine goes to the thyroid gland, which is the chief store house of iodine in the body. and much of our understanding of the functions of this gland and the effect of certain drugs upon it has been obtained with the help of radioactive iodine. Thus tracer experiments with iodine 131 showed that iodine in iodides is converted by the thyroid to thyroxin and the latter is thyroid hormone. Moreover, this particular tracer application of iodine 131 is used in the diagnosis of diseases of the thyroid: by means of a suitable Geiger counter the shape of the gland can be traced quite accurately and of the intensity of the radiation is measured an indication can be obtained of the rate at which iodine is taken up by the gland. If there is an advanced cancer of the gland and fragments of the diseased tissue have broken off and moved to other parts of the body, they can be located by radiations and excised surgically.

Another interesting application of radioactive tracers to medical diagnosis is the use of sodium 24 to determine the rate of flow of blood, for example, when it is suspected that there is restriction, as in thrombosis. Suppose a Geiger counter is placed on the patient's hip and an active sodium chloride solution injected into a vein in his foot, the interval of time that elapses between the moment at which the injection is given and at which the counter begins to respond, indicating that blood containing active sodium is flowing in the hip will show how long it has taken the blood to flow up the leg. If the time taken is so long, compared with the other leg, as to suggest that there is a constriction in the arteries, the position of this constriction can be found quite accurately by moving the counter down the leg. This principle can be extended to study the puming action of the heart. Another active isotope, phosporous 32 , can be used to measure the total volume of blood in the body: by comparing the activity in unit volume of the blood with a standard sample suitably prepared. In another field, that of botanical
and biological research, much new knowledge of photosynthesis in plants and of metabolism in cells has been obtained from tracer experiments with compounds containing radioactive carbon 14.

It has been noted that in addition to their use in medical rescarch and diagnosis, some radio isotopes have therapeutic applications; for example the long established treatment of tumours by gamma-rays from radium. These therapeutic applications depend on the fact that the radiations produce ions in diseased tissues and destroy them. In some treatments discased parts are irridated from outside the body, the external sourcc of radiations may be an x -ray tube, radium or nowadays a radioisotope like cobalt-60. Cobalt 60 is a strong gamma-emitter which has many advantages over radium, particularly that it is cheaper and emits much more homogencous gamma-radiation and much softer beta-radiation which can be filtered out; also there is no danger of radioactive contamination of radon gas. It can, morcover, be machined to any desired shape or size before irridation, or it can be drawn into thin wire ; in this very radioactive sources can be tailored to fit any special needs. An alternative method of treatment is to take the advantage of the property of preferential uptake, which we have discussed in connection with iodinc ; thus if a patient is given a dose of a solution containing iodine 131 in much greater strength than that required for tracer use, the radiations from the great concentration of iodine which builds up in the thyroid will be absorbed in the diseases tissue, as otherwise it will not be possible to get enough radioactive substance into the tumour to destroy the malignant cells without at the sametime destroying normal cells elsewhere. Unfortunately, there are many conditions for which this necessary prerequisite cannot be satisfied, so far at any rate.

## Isotopes in industry :

Isotopes are extremely good tools for finding solidification boundaries in continuous casting process of aluminium. In process of improved casting two different methods were used. The first is called "activation analysis", in which the sample to be investigated, is irridated in a nuclear reactor after a trace of non-active material has been added during the casting process. Conclusions can then be drawn from simple autoradiographs.

In the other method, a radioactive component was added during casting. Both methods proved to be highly successful and helped to improve the casting process.

Ganges containing radioactive materials are also helping industry to produce better quality products and to save time in locating faults. These have proved of great value in measuring the thickness of materials being rolled such materials as paper, plastics, linolcum rubber or sheet matcrial. The latest developments in this type of gause enable specdy location of corrosion in pipes without dismantling the installation. With this gause, one operator
can detect from the outside any corrosions within the pipes, eleminating the need to halt production and saving the expense of x-ray equipment.

Another use of radioisotope is detecting leakages. A paper read at International Radioisotope Conference dealt with the use of isotopes for waterflow and velocity measurements. Further progress has been made in this field since then, perhaps the most outstanding achievement being the ease with which it is now possible to detect leakages in pipelines--hitherto an exceedingly difficult task.

To trace a leak in an underground pipeline, a radioactive salt is dissolved and put into the pipe, which is then washed out with clean water. A recording detector is sent through the pipe ; this records any activity that has leaked out into the surrounding ground, and by knowing at what time this records was at each place during its journey, it is possible to find the exact spot where the leakage has occurred.

This simple method will save considerable sum in the future detection of leaks.

Isotopes are also being used in construction of pipe lines, wherever a pipeline is being laid, all wells have to checked with the help of x-rays, but to use a conventional $x$-ray apparatus in the field presents problems of its own, for electrical supplies are needed, and x-ray sets require maintenance. By the use of radioactive isotopes no longer than a small pea, the need for special power lines and the problem of maintaining complicated equipment are overcome.

Radio activity can be used, too, to reduce or prevent fire risks in certain types of factories. In the manufacture of paper and textiles or any other insulating materials, for example, it is quite common, specially in dry climates, for static electricity to be produced by rubbing of the material. If the static electricity potential is too high, there is a danger of sparking and therefore a big fire risk.

Engineers have for long been seeking a means of getting rid of "static", which can now be achieved fairly easily and cheaply by installing a radioactive source near the place where it is being formed. In most cases this will overcome the fire risks and in some instances production can be increased, for machines can be operated at higher speed once the formation of static electricity has been mastered.

Thus radio isotopes have found wide application even in its stage of infancy. The future awaits its maximum lines of applications.

## Farewell Address of Prof. S. C. Sircar to the Students of the College

Dear Friends,

For almost a quarter-century, without a break, I have been lecturing and talking in the precints of this College, and it seems that even today a speech is expected of me. But all of you will understand how difficult it is for me to talk coherently at a time like this. Leaving Presidency College is such a wrench in my personal life that I cannot trust myself to control my enotion. The gracious words to which I have been listening have moved me so deeply that any conventional words of thanks will seem inept and inappropriate. I have been touched specially by the fact that many students who are not cven directly my pupils, wanted to bid farewell to me. This is indeed a proud moment in my life.

Memories throng upon the mind thickly on an occasion like this. Almost forty years from today, I entered the College as a young boy, pulsating with life and eager curiosity. I spent six happy years here-perhaps my happiest years. For four of these, I was living across the street in our beloved Hostel. I only hope that the students of today have as happy an experience as we had in our days.

Memories of great teachers gather round me as I speak today. I must mention two of them separately-Kuruvila Zachariah whom I have always regarded as my 'guru', and Praphullachandra Ghosh than whom I cannot imagine a more inspiring teacher.

I left the College in 1923, and ten years afterwards it was one of the happiest moments in my life when my old College called me back to join the ranks of its teachers. Since then for twentyfour years I have directly shared the joys, the sorrows, the triumphs, and the failures of the institution. Today I am standing on the brink of the break in that direct link.

At a moment like this, one must try to face things philosophically. In the personal life of an individual, such a break is a necessary end which will come when it will come. In the life of an institution, whatever void one may leave behind will be filled up in the course of time. All wounds are healed by Time, the refreshing river.

I have been, I suppose, regarded as a fairly successful teacher. Looking back today, I feel however that what little I could do is overshadowed by the vast undone. And if there has been any success, that has been due primarily
to the response I have received from the streams of young people who, year after year, have flowed through the portals of the College, and have patiently listened to me. Day by day I have watched bright young minds, unfolding like flowers, petal after petal-if I may paraphrase the words of one of the greatest teachers in our history.

My young friends, I have never presumed to give any direct advice to you or your predecessors, but today you will forgive me if I claim the privilege of old age and retirement. Try to build up in your lives a devotion to something impersonal-as distinct from personal ambition, career, wealth, fame, family ties, or personal relationships. Try to cultivate a love for something impersonal -an institution, pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, some abstract idea, some cause, some movement. In the words of a great figure in history, in relation to the image of his native city,-let your thoughts dwell upon it day by day till the love of it fills up your mind. Impersonal love does not mean that you must be blind to the limitations in the thing you love-you love it in spite of these. That is the way to gain strength, courage, endurance, dignity, a stature, and some nobility in life.

I offer my most grateful thanks to the members of the College, my colleagues and my students, for the love and affection which has been showered on me. Thank you again.

## Editorial

In India today we are living in a period of transition. Far-reaching changes in the economic, social and political order of our society are taking place. To explore the character and the future developmemt of these changes is a task which is both fascinating and inspiring. But since all the contributors to our magazine have concentrated their attention on subjects of academic interest, it has been left to the editor to make an attempt to outline the main directions of these far-reaching changes.

## I

India today has entered into an era of planned cconomic development. National economic planning always derives its meaning and direction from the aspirations and goals of the society within which it operates, of the people whom it serves. The aspirations of the people in our country today are to rise above their abject standard of living and to conquer for ever their four great enemies: poverty, unemployment, hunger and discase. Hence the all-out effort to build an integrated national cconomy, industrialize the country, extend its transport facilities, expand agricultural production, wipe out mass unemployment, raise the living standard so that the doors of a richer and more varied life can open out before the eyes of our teeming millions.

The path of economic transformation of our society, as we have visualised it, is radically different from that followed by the majority of the leading nations of the world today. In countrics like U.K. or U.S.A. economic development was promoted chicfly through the initiative of private capitalists and this pattern of development was naturally associated with growing inequalities in income and wealth.

We, in India, have rejected such a line of advance not only because the private enterprise is economically weak in our country to undertake such gigantic programmes of development but also because of our inherent aversion towards the acquisitiveness of society. The philosophy bohind economic planning in our country is that "the basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit but social gain." The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society so that a new milicu for the common man can be created.

To usher in this new milieu the State will have to play the crucial role. It has to act as the principal agency speaking for and acting on behalf of the community as a whole. A rapid expansion of the economic and social
responsibilities of the State will alone be capable of satisfying the hopes and aspirations of the people today. This need not involve complete nationalization of the means of production at the present stage. It does mean, however, a progressive widening of the public sector and a reorientation of the private sector to the needs of a planned economy.

The assumption of the responsibilities for economic development by the State, however, does not signify an automatic solution of all the problems. In the under-developed societies the aspirations of the people far exceed the possible limits of actual performance. This gap grows wide as development proceeds and as the Plan requires more and more austerity on the part of the people it begins to lose that popular support which is vital for its successful working.

Economic planning in our country today is also sharing the same fate. In the end of the first year of our Second Plan the people of our country, faced by an increasing burden of taxes, soaring prices, rising unemployment are becoming alarmingly pessimistic over their economic future.

Such an outcome is incvitable if economic planning proceeds within the existing socio-economic framework. In fact, if one takes the social institutions and social relationship as given, one can never overcome the contradictions between growth and equality or between technical progress and employment that are rooted in the very structure of an underdeveloped economy. The only way that then remains is to make a retreat from the ambitious path of progress and slow down the pace of development.

But there is another way out of the impasse and paradoxically enough, this lies not in slowing down but in accelerating the pace of development. And this, it must be emphasized, is possible only when there is a right approach to the problem of development, only when economic planning is viewed as an integral part of a wider process aiming not merely at the development of resources in a narrow technical sense but at the development of human faculties and the building up of an institutional framework adequate to the needs and aspirations of the people. In planning for a better economic order a readoption of social relationships and a reorientation of social institutions thus becomes necessary so that the community can draw upon the latent energies within itself to an extent which insures development at rates much faster than what the blue-print of the plan might suggest. As Maurice Dobb, writing about the experiences of Soviet planning, has remarked "Planning in a backward economy must not be concerned with economic problems only, it must be concerned equally, if not more, with wider issues concerning those social relationships that compose the basic texture of society."

## II

In a society involved in a process of transition a struggle ensues between the out-worn social forms and the new urges which cannot be contained in
the old moulds. In this struggle the new forces generally emerge an victorious. The old social units like the joint fanily systems disappear with the crosion of the social systems based on status (slavery. serffom. caste, family, race) and they are substituted by systems based on contract and upon equality of opportunity with a high level of vertical social mobility. This breakdown of social hierarchics and the removal of restrictive strata give for the first time a sense of liberty and equality to the millions which had formally accepted their lowly position in socicty as ordained by fate.

In India today we are also witnessing such a revolutionary break from the past social order. But to make the process of transition smooth and frictionless and to utilize the tremendous release of human energy in the task of national reconstruction, such social changes have to be consciously planned and directed. From the very start they have to be related to the basic objectives which the society has in view. Thus the task before our planners today is to remould and refashion our socio-conomic: framework on democratic and egalatarian lincs so that it can contribute effectively ${ }^{16}$ the realization of wider and deeper social values.

In India over the last decade we have no doubt made laudable advance in certain directions of social change. Equality of opportunity has been granted to all irrespective of race, religion, sex or creed, cducational facilities have been increasingly provided for the poor and the underprivileged, old social customs and conventions like untouchability that thwarted the development of human personality have been prohibited and a determined struggle has been undertaken to uproot casteism, commualism and linguism from our country.

But in those major fields of social change which have a direct bearing on the economic destiny of our country, progress has been cither hatting or unsatisfactory.

A major socio-economic experiment was undertaken in the vast rural sector of our economy under the First Plan to abolish fcudalism and establish in its place the nuclei of a cooperative society. But in every stage of this mighty experiment concessions were made to the landed interests. Thus the landlords received compensations at exorbitant rates, large-scale eviction of tenants went unheeded, the proposal for imposing a ceiling on landholding was ceremoniously dropped by certain State governments and the landless proletariat for whose benefit the experiment was undertaken remained as poor and landless as before.

Again, in another major socio-economic field which is vital to our ountry's economic prosperity no experiment has even been undertaken "" hange certain old institutional relationships. And this is the field of abour-management relationship. What we have to remember here is that mere transformation of private industries into nationalized undertakings rould not solve the conflict of class interests. In a socialist society labour
has to be accorded its due place of honour and prestige and has to be increasingly associated in the task of management of industries. This is what transforms the character of state-capitalism into cooperative socialism. But here we are yet to begin at the beginning.

In fact, our national plans have not yet launched any frontal attack on the citadels of vested interest. But mass enthusiasm in the task of national reconstruction can never be created except curtailing the rights and privileges of those classes which have come to be associated in the public mind with the inequities and deficiences of the old order. Such actions, it may be urged, would transcend the boundaries of democratic planning and set us on the high roads to authoritarianism. Planning for socialism under a democratic framework is a difficult task, it is true, and a delicate balance has always to be preserved between coercion and cooperation. Any upset of this balance may produce harmful results but the effects would be still more disastrous if democratic planning aims at a mere preservation of the 'status quo'.

A national plan has to be an expression of a basic unity of purpose in the community. It is this unity which would constitute the ultimate sanction behind the plan, give it driving force and evoke the necessary sacrifice on the part of members. But such a unity can never be forged unless it is clearly visible to the people that out of their ordeal would emerge a new and desired type of society.

## III

To explore the possibility of a synthesis of democracy and socialism in our country we cannot help enter the controversial arena of politics. After all, in a democratic form of government such as ours, it is the political parties which would shape the society of our future. Hence an analysis of their trends and goals is central to the understanding of the process of transformation of our society.

During the period of colonial rule all the parties in India had one common objective-national liberation and all other differences were submerged behind this common aspiration. When this goal was reached, for a moment there was confusion and chaos in the political scene. But it is heartening to find that in the present period of national reconstruction all the major political parties of our country are once again finding a common base of unity. And this common base is provided by their acceptance of the democratic path and the goal of socialism.

While the parties of the Left have realized the futility of revolutionary struggle under the present circumstances, the parties of the Centre have also this sober. realisation that only a socialist society can today embody the hopes and aspirations of our vast multitude.

Such a broad identity of national aims should not, however, make us too much complacent. Socialism is such a vague objective that it may be interpreted differently to suit the interests of different people. It is quite possible that if any single party enjoys the monopoly of political power. vested interests would infiltrate into its ranks, capture positions of vantage within it and use the prestige of the party to serve their own selfish ends while paying a lip-service to the ideal of socialism. And if such a process continues for long, people will be slowly driven to despair and in a mighty upheaval of the discontented masses all our schemes of cconomic development, social uplift, cultural revolution will be swept away.

Hence the need for vigilance, the need for a ceaseless struggle against vested interests is all the more necessary today. And for this the country needs a strong democratic opposition and (if possible) an alternative government in one or two States to provide the requisite 'check and balance'. Such a change in the political perspective of our country should be welcomed by all for that would help us to renew our efforts in the task of national reconstruction on a broad united basis.

Contemporary India is seeking to achieve in decades what the Western world has taken centuries to accomplish. The development of the West was spread over at least three hundred years during which old barriers were removed and there was a liberation of man's energies that found expressions in all forms of creative activity. There is no reason why the same experience should not be repeated in India. And with our ancient traditions and the immense resources of our past culture such an cfllorescence in our country will enrich the heritage not only of our countrymen but of the whole humanity.

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Statement about ownership and other particulars about Presidency College Patrika.

1. Place of publication
2. Periodicity of its publication
3. Printer's Name Nationality
... Address
4. Publisher's Name

Natıonality
Address
...
...
...
5. Editor's Name ... ... Asoke Kumar Chatterjee (the name of the

Nationality ... ... ... Indian.
Address
Names and addresses of $\quad .$.
individuals who own the newspaper.
... ... 5, Chintamani Das Lane, Calcutta-9.
. Calcutta.
... 2 issues per year.
... Prabhat Chandra Ray,
. Indian.
. 5, Chintamani Das Lane, Calcutta-9.
. Prabhat Chandra Ray.
Indian.
Asoke Kumar Chatterjee (the name of the
Editor is changed from time to time).
Presidency College, Calcutta-12.
Presidency College, Calcutta-12.

I, Prabhat Chandra Ray, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.


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[^0]:    

[^1]:    

[^2]:    

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Arnold Kettle's essay "The Progressive Tradition in Bourgeois Culture" which remains as a landmark in Marxist literary criticism.
    ${ }^{2}$ The phrase is Mr. Kettle's.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Miss Annete Rubinstein's recent "The Great Tradition in English Literature" offers a truly monumental example of this confusion.
    ${ }^{2}$ Does this, one wonders, have any bearing on the relative mediocrity of post-war Soviet fiction? Certainly a new literature and a new criticism go hand in hand.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Quoted by G. L. Mchta, Ambassador of India to U.S.A., in his speech delivered at the 89 th Annual Commencement of Simpson College on 3rd June, 1956.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ The last-named country has at least formally accepted the Panch-Sheela, though her recent action in Hungary proves the otherwise.

    Indeed, "doubts can be raised about the sincerity of States in their acceptance of the principle of peaceful co-existence. It is possible to argue that States are willing to pay a lip-service to this principle so long as it is expedient for them to do so." March, ['P6]. Co-existence" by Deshpande, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Jan.-

    Stalin told a Bolshevik Congress in. 1927 that temporarily, until they had an upper hand (italics mine), the Soviet should base their policy towards capitalist lands on 'admitting the coexistence of two opposed systems.'

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ Quoted by G. L. Mehta, in his speech delivered to the Cleveland Council on World Affairs on January 30, 1956.
    ${ }^{2}$ Peaceful co-existence is, however, no new or novel discovery of India. This principle has been regarded as the basis of international morality through all times. It has been simply revived with a new emphasis in the new context of an atomic age.

[^8]:    ${ }^{2}$ Maine-Ancient Law, Chapter IV.

[^9]:    ${ }_{3}^{3}$ Sabine, A History of Political Theory, Part III, Chap. 28.
    ${ }^{8}$ Barker-Social Contract, Introductory Chapter.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rousseau, The Social Contract, Book I, Chap. VI.

[^11]:    ${ }^{5}$ Merrian--History of the Theory of Sovereignty since Rousseau, Chap. I,
    ${ }^{6}$ Rousseau-The Social Contract, Book II, Chap. III.
    : Ibid, Book II, Chap. IV.

[^12]:    ${ }^{8}$ Dunning-A History of Political Theories, Vol. III, Chap. I.
    ${ }^{9}$ Hearnshaw-History of Political Ideas, Chap. VI.
    7

[^13]:    ${ }^{10}$ Tozer-The Social Contract, Introductory Chapter.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{Ag}$ means silver.

