

Founder : M. R. MASANI

Editor : K. S. VENKATESWARAN

33rd Year of Publication

freedom first

JANUARY 1985 Price Rs. 2

383

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

“THE LAST OF THE ROMANS”

S. V. RAJU

‘THE RAJAJI STORY’ is the second of a two-volume biography of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari by Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of Rajaji and Gandhiji. The first volume was published by Bharatan Publications, Madras, in 1978 under the title “A Warrior from the South” and priced at Rs. 45. Inflation seems to have caught up with the second part published six years later.

The biography brought back nostalgic memories of a period between 1960 and 1972 when I had the opportunity to meet Rajaji at fairly frequent intervals.

What impressed me the first time I met him was the simplicity of the man, and the total absence of appurtenances that are generally associated with VIPs. And Rajaji, whether in power or out of it was indeed a VVIP.

A thought that kept intruding while reading this extremely well-written biography, was speculation whether Rajaji would have been India’s first Prime Minister had he been born in the north. In one of their rather flamboyant pre-poll advertisements, the Congress (I) asks whether a person’s destiny should be decided by birth or merit. Whether it is Rajiv Gandhi or Rajaji, birth was very much a factor in deciding that the former would be Prime Minister and the latter not!

Right up to 1941 Gandhiji considered Rajaji to be his successor but now he was replaced by Nehru. Rajmohan Gandhi explains the reasons: “Nehru’s popularity was wider than C.R.’s, his (Nehru’s) face and personality had drawing power...his lack of faith in negotiations with the British was more in accord with the public mood than C.R.’s willingness to keep trying...Moreover having failed to master Hindi... C.R. was not in a position to achieve a rapport with

the vast North Indian masses. Gandhi realised that the nation as a whole was more likely to turn to Nehru than to C.R. Gandhi recognised a philosophical bond in the broadest sense of the term between himself and Nehru.”

Being grandson to both the Mahatma and Rajaji, Rajmohan Gandhi, I suspect, tries to tread the fence on occasions. The biography, as I have already mentioned, is extremely well written and brings out Rajaji’s personality, warts and all, in a manner that few biographies I have read, do. But this attempt I felt crept in several times when dealing with the relationship between Rajaji and Gandhiji.

The fact of the matter is that even if he differed with Gandhiji, Nehru chose to keep such feelings to himself or at least not to differ with his mentor publicly. Rajaji, on the other hand suffered from no such inhibitions. Reason and logic dictated his attitudes and actions. If he thought that Gandhiji was wrong, as he did for instance on what he was convinced was the need to co-operate with the British in the war effort or opposing the Quit India resolution when the Japanese were knocking at India’s eastern gates or again on the inevitability of Pakistan, he had no hesitation in debating the issue with Gandhiji and differing with him publicly if necessary. It is now a matter of history that in each of these issues he was vindicated by subsequent events. Gandhiji, it has been repeated a million times, made men out of clay. Rajaji was no clay to be moulded. He was a man in his own right.

If we are paying today with dynastic rule, the finger squarely points in the direction of Gandhiji who designated Nehru his heir. Public figures have no moral right to nominate heirs as if the country is some kind of family business or inheritance. Harsh words, perhaps, but can the facts be denied?

Rajaji, as incidents in the biography illustrate, had

THE RAJAJI STORY (1937-1972) by Rajmohan Gandhi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 420 pp. Price Rs. 100.

the courage of his convictions. He also had the courage to admit mistakes and change course if facts so dictated. His small monograph *My Inconsistencies*, for instance, documents his moving away from championship of Hindi to uncompromising opposition. Power or the lure of office did not tempt him away from saying what he felt was the truth.

The official positions Rajaji held resemble a ride in a roller coaster: Premier of Madras 1937-39; Minister without Portfolio, Minister for Industries, Minister for Education and back again as Minister for Industry and Supplies all in a period of eleven months; Governor of Bengal for 10 months; Governor-General of India; Home Minister and finally as Chief Minister of the composite Madras State. After resigning as Home Minister, he received a letter from Lord Mountbatten with Nehru's encouragement, suggesting that Rajaji take up the post of India's acting High Commissioner in London because Krishna Menon was "at the end of his tether". This was a bit too much even for Rajaji. He wrote to Mountbatten: "You and Edwina are so intensely interested in Jawaharlal Nehru that, may I say, you have no eyes to see or mind to think about any others. Rajaji is just a matchstick to light the cigarette. You throw the matchstick into the ash tray without a thought after it has served the purpose..."

"...I must one day cheerfully accept a senior clerk's place somewhere and raise that job to its proper importance. May the heavens lend you some pity".

There were good reasons for Rajaji to feel sore. As the only acknowledged leader of the Congress in Madras, he was the unanimous choice as Premier in

1937; he was shunted between ministries to accommodate the Muslim League and others in the Interim Government; was sent off to West Bengal as Governor to cope with the communal violence there soon after Partition; was brought back as Governor-General because Nehru and Sardar Patel needed a common friend to keep the peace between them; brought back as Home Minister for the same reason and sent back to Madras when the Sardar died as Nehru no longer needed a peacemaker and when the communists were in strength in the old Madras State, Rajaji was picked on as the person who could deal with them and made Chief Minister only to be sidelined when Andhra separated from Madras and the communists posed no threat to Tamil Nadu. Any wonder he felt the way he did?

But the periods he was in office serve as a model to all those occupying ministerial office. His relationship with civil servants is in sharp contrast to present-day ministerial practices. In 1937 all his civil servants were Englishmen. But this did not prejudice him though they were instrumental in having Rajaji jailed. In one of his first statements he referred to the officials as "my comrades in the permanent public service". To implement his hobby horse, prohibition, he appointed a British Officer Mr. Dixon. Himself a teetotaler Mr. Dixon not only made a success of his job but, writes Rajmohan Gandhi, "British officials felt trusted."

Rajaji's frugality with public funds was legendary. On assumption of office as Premier of Madras in 1937, he was entitled to the princely sum of Rs. 56,000 per annum. But Rajaji had the rule amended to draw Rs. 9,000 leading to the Governor calling him a miser.

(Continued on page 7)

Looking for quality

intermediates & dyestuffs

As a leading manufacturer we have

a wide range to offer you.

For particulars contact :

K. C. A. LIMITED

**Rang Udyan, Sitladevi Temple Road,
Mahim, Bombay 400 016.**

**KCA—A Subsidiary of
AMAR DYE-CHEM LIMITED**

AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

SO THOSE at the helm of affairs in this country have once again displayed their penchant for converting tragedy into burlesque. The horror of the accident in Bhopal is grim beyond measure. The sufferings of the survivors are likely to exceed even those of the dead. Here was an occasion for all concerned to co-operate in the relief of distress. Instead, the Congress (I) Government in Madhya Pradesh flippantly engaged on December 7 in a series of steps which have resulted in a fiasco.

The Chief Minister, Mr. Arjun Singh, should of course have immediately resigned, but instead he went off to Indore to join Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on an election tour. The report in *The Indian Express* of December 8 from Bhopal reads as follows. "Leaving this city of the dead to its fate, Mr. Arjun Singh flew to Indore today to accompany Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on his election tour. Mr. Singh left the town at a time when complaints about official negligence and lethargy in relief work had started pouring in. This correspondent today met a group of about 100 women from Brahimganj, one of the localities affected by the leakage of the killer gas. They had managed to reach the Chief Minister's residence to complain about inadequacy of relief operations and corruption by officials. But they had to return bare-handed because the Chief Minister had gone out of the town to seek votes for his party. 'Where can we go now?' weeping women asked." Where indeed!

Not to be outdone by his Chief Minister, Mr. K. T. Chandy, the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, flew to Bombay after the magnitude of the disaster was known and dallied there till the 12th. What a wonderful Head of State. It is difficult to say who has outshone the other, the Governor or the Chief Minister!

In an editorial article on December 9, *The Sunday Observer* commented: "Union Carbide's culpability does not absolve the Madhya Pradesh government for its own failure in ensuring that the chemical plant posed no risk to the city. The fact that the municipal administrator was transferred some years ago after proposing that the plant should be relocated outside city limits shows up the criminal callousness of the State Government. Instead of acknowledging his Government's responsibility, Mr. Arjun Singh appears to be resorting to sensational and foolhardy actions to deflect public anger. What is worse, he was off again on Friday to Indore to campaign with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi while serious complaints of official negligence and corruption in relief work were being made in

Bhopal."

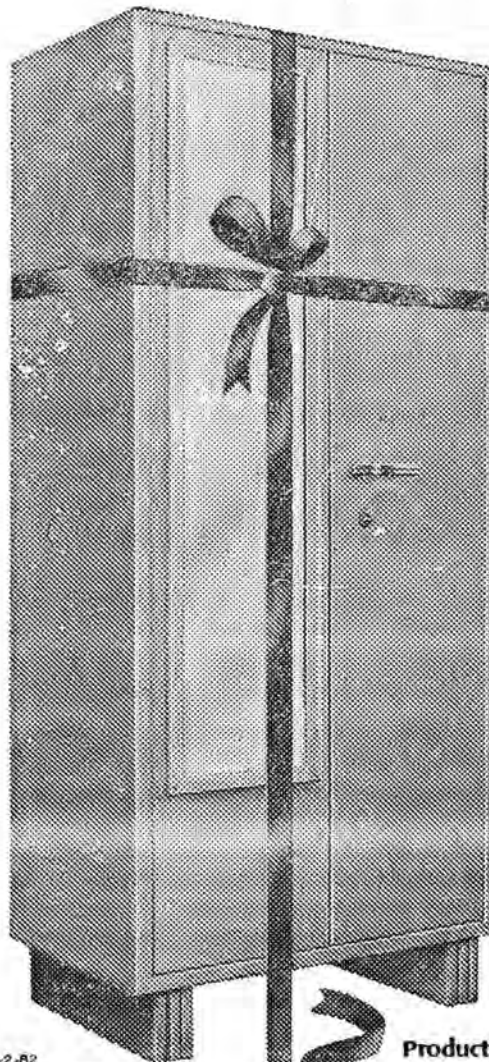
In a crude attempt to cover up his own guilt and that of the State administration, the Chief Minister ordered the arrest of Mr. Anderson, Chairman of Union Carbide in the U.S.A., and Mr. Keshub Mahindra, Chairman of the Indian company, who had rushed to Bhopal to investigate and arrange relief. Not only that, but they were charged with the non-bailable offence of "culpable homicide not amounting to murder" at a time when both of them were hundreds of miles away from the scene of the accident, while the Chief Minister was there on the spot.

Then started a round of one illegality after another. Mr. Anderson was released and smuggled out of Bhopal without the knowledge and permission of the magistrate, although he had been arrested for a non-bailable offence. Evidently, New Delhi decided to rectify the mischief of the Chief Minister's gaffe. This was followed by a second illegality when the Chief Judicial Magistrate was asked to remand Mr. Keshub Mahindra and Mr. Gokhale to police custody without their being produced in court. This Mr. B. M. Tandon quite rightly refused to do. So, later in the evening, like thieves at night, the police produced these gentlemen at the residence of Mr. Tandon and secured a remand till Monday, December 10. It has never been explained why, if Mr. Anderson could be released, the other two charged with the same offence could not be similarly released. Of course they are not foreigners who could create an international incident, but only miserable Indian citizens.

There is evidence that the Madhya Pradesh Government had ample warnings. *The Indian Express* of December 9 says: "In 1982, a team of Union Carbide experts from the U.S. highlighted a series of alarming safety problems in the Bhopal pesticides plant. The report of these experts referred, among other things, to the danger of a leakage of methyl isocyanate. Hence both Union Carbide India Ltd. and the Madhya Pradesh Government were forewarned, but apparently took no action to relocate the plant or effectively ensure that no further leakages took place".

Writing in *The Sunday Observer* of December 9 from Delhi, Mr. Ajoy Bose says: "The astonishing arrest of Mr. Warren Anderson, the American Chairman of the Union Carbide Corporation, in Bhopal yesterday and his hasty release a few hours later, has placed Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi as well as the government in an acutely embarrassing position. The Government is trying to wriggle out of its embarrassment

Godrej Storwel – the gift of a lifetime



ULKA-GS-2-82

The Godrej Storwel is the ideal gift for any occasion. A gift that will be appreciated for a lifetime. The most functional yet elegant steel cupboard, it offers distinct benefits like greater durability and more security as compared to conventional cupboards; steel or wood. And to add to its elegance it has a superior scratch-resistant finish obtained by a painting process exclusive to Godrej.

Besides a full length 137 cm mirror of imported plate glass it has unpickable locks, concealed hinges, a 3-way interlocking bolting device, and adjustable shelves. All this makes the Godrej Storwel a memorable and lasting gift.

Godrej®

Products of superior technology... lasting value

by throwing the blame for the entire fiasco on Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Arjun Singh who arrived in New Delhi this evening to plead his case. Senior sources in the government said that Mr. Singh, in a 'foolhardy' step, ordered the arrest of Mr. Anderson and charged him with serious crimes like criminal conspiracy and culpable homicide despite the fact that the multinational chief had been assured of safe passage in India by the Government itself."

Some questions call for an answer. Why has Mr. Arjun Singh not been charged with culpable homicide not amounting to murder? Why has Mr. Ghani Khan Choudhury not been similarly prosecuted for his responsibility over the numerous deaths of passengers travelling on the Indian Railways? Yet these are the kind of men who, by way of an attempt to find a scapegoat and resort to cheap demagoguery to influence the electorate, have shown their cowardly courage by arresting others. Incidentally, Mr. Keshub Mahindra is not only the Chairman of this company but a most respected and public-spirited citizen of Bombay who has given away in public benefactions several times more than Mr. Arjun Singh could hope to earn throughout his lifetime.

The Chairman of the Indian Merchants Chamber and editorials in *The Times of India* and *The Indian Express* of December 10 have protested against what

they described as "Inexcusable Bungle" and "Deplorable Blunder".

Double standards—one for politicians in office and another for "ordinary" Indian citizens—have been the constant feature of our public administration. How long are these to continue?

(Courtesy: *The Statesman*)

For The Most Professional Service in Air Cargo Bookings—Domestic and International



Regd. Office: Neville House, Nicol Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038.

Branches: Bangalore, Bhadohi, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Madras, New Delhi, Kanpur, Pune, Srinagar, Trivandrum and Varanasi.

(Approved by I A T A)

**WITH BEST COMPLIMENTS
FROM**

CONSOLIDATED COFFEE LIMITED

(Regd. Office: POLLIBETTA—571215, Karnataka)

INDIA'S LARGEST COFFEE GROWERS AND CURERS,
ONE OF LEADING EXPORTERS OF CHOICEST INDIAN COFFEE,
SHIPPING, CLEARING, AND FORWARDING AGENTS,
AND DEALERS IN ESTATE SUPPLIES

Now in the Fifth Decade of Service

to

COFFEE CONNOISSEURS

CURING WORKS AT

MANGALORE
KUDIGE (Kodagu District); and
TELLICHERRY (Kerala)

ASK BY NAME OUR FABRICS!

100% POLYESTER SAREES
SUBRABHA, GALAXY & SUVARNA

100% POLYESTER PRINTED SHIRTINGS
SUPER STAR & SUPREMACY

100% POLYESTER BLOUSE MATERIAL
APSARA

100% POLYESTER AND POLYESTER BLENDED SHIRTINGS
EXCELLENCE, EMPEROR, ROYAL GOLD, GOLD CROWN & LAKSHMI STAR

100% COTTON PRINTED DRESS MATERIAL
CITIZEN

100% COTTON PRINTED SAREES
PRITI & BALLERINA

2 X 2 AND 1 X 1 BLOUSE MATERIALS
PRIYA & ROOPMATHI

POLYESTER / CELLULOSIC BLENDED SUITING
POLY CROWN & CHANCELLOR

MANUFACTURERS OF FABRICS AND YARNS OF THE FINEST QUALITY



THE LAKSHMI MILLS COMPANY LIMITED

348, AVANASHI ROAD
COIMBATORE 641 037

TELEX:

COIMBATORE: 0855-212 KOVILPATTI: MA0445-286 SINGANALLUR: 0855-236

TELEGRAMS:

COIMBATORE: LAKSHMI KOVILPATTI: LAKSHMIMILL SINGANALLUR: RUKMANI

TELEPHONE:

COIMBATORE: 30251 to 30255 KOVILPATTI: 613 and 614 SINGANALLUR: 87335 to 87337

SPINDLES: 2,14,560 LOOMS: 504

JS

(Continued from page 2)

Miser he certainly was with public money. It should be remembered that Rajaji's personal finances were in very poor shape. He neither inherited any large estate nor was he from a family of aristocrats. He went through the same exercise after his appointment as Governor-General. He drew attention to certain taxation provisions that enabled him to retain an enhanced amount and had the excess voluntarily surrendered to the Government.

The quality of his administration is best summed up by one of his officers: "The administration was toned up to a level that has not been reached before or after independence."

His favourite advice to governments in power was to keep the corridors of the secretariat free of party-men. Naturally he was not exactly popular with Congressmen. How could he be when he told his Party MLAs "Don't expect favours from me. A request means denial. Blame yourselves if you find me tough." He did not pay mere lip service to the elimination of corruption. He was hard on anyone found to be corrupt. If he told the communists that he was their enemy number one, his enemy number two was the Public Works Department.

It was inevitable that the man who preferred political wilderness during the Quit India movement would not take lying down the growing deterioration of public life in independent India and would resist the statist direction in which Nehru was leading the country. The result was the Swatantra Party. Rajaji was 80, but as he repeatedly said, with a cause to fight he felt much younger.

This was the time I had the privilege of seeing him at close quarters. Just as he never was president of the Congress, he never held office in the Swatantra Party. He was only a member of the Party's National Executive. But his was the voice that lent credibility to the party and gave it the morale and the strength to take on Nehru's Congress.

There was no element of populism in his thought or action. He sternly resisted all suggestion which tried to cater to popularity to the exclusion of intrinsic merit. He fully supported the party leadership in resisting attempts at forming students' unions and trade union fronts. He frowned upon walk-outs and unparliamentary behaviour. Irresponsible statements and cheap gimmicks drew his ire. I remember once in disapproval of a gimmick by a party leader he wrote an article in *Swarajya* entitled "Stunts have no place in Swatantra."

Rajaji's rigid adherence to right means to achieve party ends cost the Party dearly in terms of mass support. Ironically, but not surprisingly, it was Rajaji and not Nehru who proved to have more durable philosophical bonds with the Gandhian ethic.

When the Swatantra Party emerged as the leading opposition party in the Lok Sabha, the senior partner in a coalition government in Orissa and the official Opposition in the State Assemblies of Rajasthan and Gujarat, it was a personal triumph for Rajaji. He had proved that the socialist *mantra* could be successfully challenged.

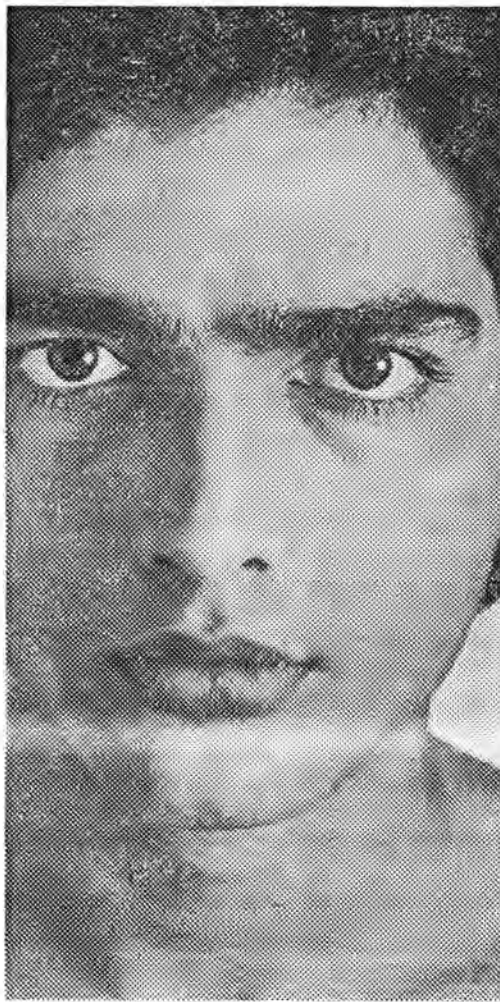
Unfortunately the Party's rapid growth brought in its train internal stresses and strains. His frail health made it difficult to sustain the level of physical activity. With the race against time on the one hand and the internal party difficulties on the other Rajaji perhaps for the first time in his long life allowed emotions to cloud his judgement. His endorsement of the Grand Alliance and its negative slogan of 'Indira Hatao' boomeranged. Instead of improving on its 1967 performance the Swatantra Party took a tumble. Rajaji was 92 in 1971. Masani who was Rajaji's most trusted colleague in the Party and enjoyed Rajaji's unqualified confidence resigned from the presidentship. In his desperation, Rajaji even wrote to me pleading that Masani should be persuaded to continue for at least another year as president. But like Rajaji, Masani too was an obstinate adherent to principles.

Weary and ill, Rajaji plugged on manfully in his columns in *Swarajya*. I last met him in July 1972. A group led by the late Piloo Mody had devised a mini-Kamaraj Plan to dislodge H. M. Patel as Party president. I reported to Rajaji what was happening in the Party. He asked me why some people in the Party wanted Piloo Mody as president. I replied that they thought that Piloo Mody was more dynamic. Prompt came the retort: "Yes, dynamic to say irresponsible things." Nevertheless being himself very ill and with Masani not prepared to resume an active role, Rajaji acquiesced. He attended what was to be his last public appearance for the Swatantra Party at the General Council and blessed Piloo Mody. Six months later he passed away.

After his death, Rajaji was claimed as their own by almost everyone who had disowned him when he was waging the battle for *Dharma* as he would describe his role in the last decade of his life. Little can these people realise the depth of his feeling for what he was doing. And he lived up to his ideals to the very end. "The last of the Romans", as Frank Moraes once described him, was gone.



A FRESH TWIST TO SHAVING.



Now! Godrej adds a touch of freshness to shaving. The tingling freshness of lime. Subtle and appealing. With rich creamy lather. Makes it so much more pleasant to face yourself every morning. Day, after day. Shave after shave.



New Lime-Fresh fragrance. Plus a choice of your favourite Rich Foam & Menthol Mist.



CLARION/GS/6/203

SOVIET UNION PLAGUED BY DEFECTIONS

RAMA SWARUP

AT LEAST twenty leading personalities, artists, soldiers and trade union leaders have defected from the Soviet Union and sought political asylum in the first eight months of 1984. Most of them enjoyed the closely restricted privilege of travelling abroad because of their occupation or status. And they decided not to return home. Five of the 20 defectors even took the greatest risk of fleeing the country.

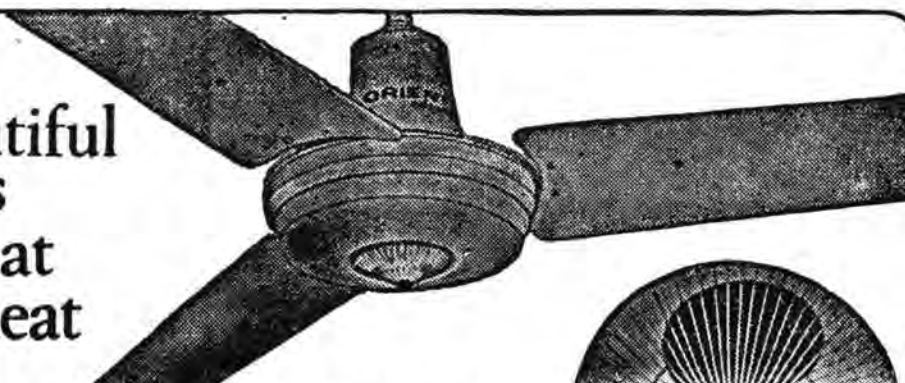
Among the reasons offered for defecting, the war in Afghanistan figures prominently, especially among the younger lot. All the six Estonians including the four athletes who defected this year have mentioned Soviet efforts at Russification in Estonia as well as the fear of being drafted to serve in Afghanistan. All the four defecting artists cited the lack of artistic freedom in the Soviet Union as the principal reason for their decision.

Among the artists who have refused to return to the USSR Mr. Yuri Lyubimov is the founder and until March this year the Director of the Taganka Theatre in Moscow. He was removed from his post

in March and the authorities had made it extremely difficult for him to work. Some months before his removal from his post Lyubimov had expressed his frustration with the conditions under which he had to work in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Andrei Tarkovsky, another film maker who had to struggle hard for 25 years announced in Italy on July 10 that he was not returning to the USSR. He told a Press Conference: "I was prevented from producing, from working and maintaining my family. At one moment I was forced to walk to the various Government offices because I did not have the 5 kopecks to take a bus". Larisa Tarkovskaya, the film maker's wife also decided not to return to the USSR.

Yurii Aleshin, a twenty-five-year old member of a Moscow ballet troupe who was on a tour of Japan sought political asylum along with the troupe in the United States on June 29. He said that he did not want to return to the Soviet Union because there is no artistic freedom there.



Beautiful ways to beat the heat

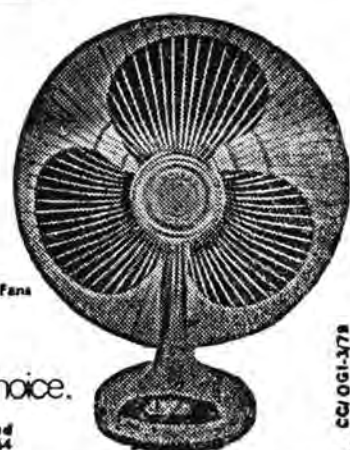
Whatever your need, whatever your taste or your budget, Orient can offer more of what you want. More of quality, more of beauty, more of value, and more of choice—the widest selection ever!

Why sweat this summer? Beat the heat, with Orient breeze at your fingertips!

Guaranteed for two years

ORIENT FANS

4 Ceiling Fans • 6 Table Fans • 2 Pedestal Fans



More of beauty. More of choice.

Orient General Industries Limited
6, Ghore Bih Lane, Calcutta 700 054

CC/001-378

✓
Farakka
Barrage

✓
Sone
Barrage

THE GUINNESS BOOK OF STRUCTURES

bridges, towers, tunnels, dams

John H Stephens

Page 194

**At HCC...
we don't
break
records,
we create
them.**

 The world's largest barrages over 1000 m in length or passing a flood of over 20000 m³/s (about 3300 ft or 700000 ft³/s)

Name of Barrage	Length m	Maximum head m	Maximum flood passed m ³ /s
Farakka	2245	13.7	70510
Lloyd (Sukkur)	1500	8	42000
Ghulam Mohammed	1000	6	42000
Sone	1407	7	40400

HCC

THE HINDUSTAN CONSTRUCTION CO. LTD.
Construction House, Walchand Hirachand Marg, Ballard Estate,
Bombay 400 038. Tel: 268091, 266956. Telex: 11-4796 HINC IN

THE CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE IN THE NATION'S PROGRESS



GUINNESS SUPERLATIVES LIMITED
CECIL COURT LONDON ROAD ENFIELD MIDDLESEX

PALMAJA

The six Estonians who defected are Valdo Randpere and his wife, Leila Miller, and four athletes whose names have not been released. Valdo was an Assistant to the Estonian Minister of Justice and a member of the Central Committee of the Estonian Komso-mol, while his wife is a popular singer. Both requested political asylum in Sweden on August 15. The four athletes have said that they feared they would be drafted for fighting in Afghanistan. They felt that Estonia itself was under Soviet occupation.

Four soldiers from the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, Aleksei Perssien and Nikolai Movechen, both sergeants, and Sergec Zhizalin and Yurii Shapovalenko, both privates, sought refuge with the Afghan resistance group and have reached the US. They have said that they had been told that they would be fighting against American, Chinese and Pakistani forces and that they would be defending the USSR's southern border against foreign intervention. It is only after they reached Afghanistan that they discovered that they were fighting against the Afghan freedom fighters. One of the soldiers Movechen said: "In the Soviet army, particularly in Afghanistan, the senior men treat the new draftees or conscripts in an inhuman way. What happens is that the senior men make you do anything they want, and they can beat you up any way they want and any where. This is what they were doing to us."

Yurii Shtankin, who defected in Paris in January, was a member of the Soviet trade mission in Paris. Igor Egorov, a third officer of a Soviet grain ship docked in Normandy, had requested asylum in the US at about the same time.

Irena Majumdar, a thirty-five-year old Soviet citizen applied for asylum in the United States on May 23, shortly after she reached Los Angeles from India. Married to an Indian citizen she had settled in India with her husband but continued to be harassed even in this country by the Soviet KGB. She was threatened and intimidated by the KGB because she refused to work for the Soviet security organ as a spy in India.

BOOK REVIEWS

TRUTH IMAGES AND DISTORTIONS: A VIEW OF THE INDIAN PRESS by Sunny Thomas; Heritage Publishers, New Delhi; Pp. 224; Rs. 95.

THE TROUBLE with Sunny Thomas' lively book is that the title and the text do not match. The title leads one to expect a sharp examination of the Indian Press in the matter of what it is and what it should have been. Such an exercise has not been attempted before and would have been more welcome in these

days where sycophancy is more the rule than the exception among journalists. Instead Mr. Thomas provides us with a panegyric of reporters, editors and other denizens who haunt newspaper offices to such an extent that the text would appear to be a distortion of reality, which is obviously not what the author set out to do.

In years past the *New Yorker* used to run a regular column called the Wayward Press which took the American press gently to task for all its many sins of commission and omission. The column was suffused not with malice but with not-so-subtle wit and often devastating humour and was read, one suspects, more by newsmen themselves than their readers. The column was unsparing and had no heroes, however elevated some of the personalities were, whose writings were put under the microscope. Mr Thomas perhaps intended to follow that rich example. The failure, which is obvious, is a failure of nerves.

Goodness knows that the Indian Press needs to be called to order. In his preface, Mr. Thomas rightly remarks that "when truth flees journalism, it becomes the abominable trade of Uriah Heep" and he further contends that a "manipulated press is a symptom of a manipulated democracy". But where are examples of governmental manipulation of the press? If Mr. Thomas had looked for them even casually, he would have found dozens of them. Either Mr. Thomas thought that was too dangerous an enterprise or contented himself with the thought that discretion is the better part of valour. In the circumstances, a whole lot of reporters and editors who should have been blasted for their many errors and omissions come unscathed, some even bathed in the effusion of Mr. Thomas' praise.

Of the 224 pages, Mr. Thomas devotes 104 pages to the ABC of usage which was best left to a text book on journalism and is totally out of place in a book that claims to take a view of the Indian Press. Another 37 pages (page 63 to 100) consist of quotations from famous perorations in history beginning with Pericles and ending with Jawaharlal Nehru. Another 29 pages (page 100 to 129) are devoted to how news should be reported and how copy should be edited. What all these subjects have to do with truth images and distortions is not clear. Nor is it clear what relevance ten pages allotted to excerpts from Jefferson, John Stuart Mill and James Bryce have to the central theme, or another eight pages given to "the origin and growth of Indian newspapers". One gets a feeling of being cheated.

Mr Thomas has a very entertaining style and is obviously fully capable of doing justice to his subject and it is intriguing why he has chosen not to. He can hit hard when he wants to. He shows his fangs

when he talks about the Proprietor's Ghost or when he points out that "what elevates true journalism above the gutter press is its commitment to truth and values worth preserving—and a healthy respect for the people whom it criticises". One looks in vain for examples in this book of distortions of truth so freely practised in even the most sophisticated newspapers. The author, one presumes, has failed to do his homework.

Mr Thomas quotes one editor as having written that "ninety days of Emergency was 90 days of national discipline". Who, in heaven's name, is the editor? Many of us have reason to blush for our past follies, but surely an author should name names? The fact seems to be that Mr Thomas is willing to wound but afraid to strike. Back to your typewriter, Mr Thomas. You have a good idea there and you might as well exploit it. And never mind the gore.

—M. V. Kamath

IN SEARCH OF EXCELLENCE by Thomas J. Peters & Robert H. Waterman, Jr.; 1982; Harper & Row; Distd. by India Book Distbrs. at a special price of Rs. 80.

THAT EXCELLENCE has never been at a premium in India hardly needs stating. Whether in industry

or sport, politics or the creative arts, administration or education, the dominant attitude has always tended towards the acceptance, sometimes even encouragement, of mediocrity. Any attempt by an odd individual or group to break away from this culture is not only frowned upon, but forcefully resisted by the introduction of mindless hurdles which are calculated to sap the enthusiasm of all but the most determined.

Not so elsewhere in the free world. As the authors of this interesting study point out, the pursuit of excellence has always occupied an important place in the American ethic. Nowhere is this more evident than in that much derided instrumentality of American capitalism, viz., the business enterprise. "We have a host of big American companies that are doing it right from the standpoint of all their constituents—customers, employees, shareholders, and the public at large. They've been doing it right for years. We have simply not paid enough attention to their example."

What is interesting, say Peters and Waterman, is that the apparently instinctive quest for excellence among these companies is perfectly consistent with sound management theory. They cite the thesis propounded by the psychologist Ernest Becker in support which argues that man is driven by an essential "dualism": he needs both to be a part of something and to stick out. "The excellent companies require

Raymond's suitings

A GUIDE TO THE WELL-DRESSED MALE



The Raymond Woollen Mills Limited

J. K. Building, N. Morarjee Marg,
Ballard Estate, Bombay-400 038

BIG DEAL FOR SMALL INDUSTRIES

A new climate needed for fostering the development of small scale industries, cottage industries, handlooms, handicrafts has been created in Karnataka State. Many ambitious new schemes have been drawn up for the year 1984-85 to promote development of small and cottage Industries. The schemes provide financial assistance and technical know-how to the entrepreneurs.

The Schemes are:

1. Construction of 1510 industrial sheds by December 1985 at a cost of Rs. 36 Crores as against the construction of about 2,000 sheds at a cost of Rs. 20 Crores during the last 20 years.
2. Establishment of functional industrial estates for pharmaceuticals, leather, hand tools etc.
3. Creation of a marketing Corporation for small scale industries.
4. Establishment of a Handloom Technology Institute
5. Establishment of State Coir Development Corporation
6. Establishment of a Leather Technology Institute
7. The Contributory Thrift Fund Scheme applicable to all weaver members of the primary co-operative societies would be extended to Karnataka Handloom Development Corporation.
8. Development of Industrial areas exclusively for non-resident Indians.

'KARNATAKA INFORMATION'

Integrated rural development.

That is
where our future lies.

 **Jyoti Ltd.** Vadodara
Shaping technologies for a better life — your life.



EVERETT/82/JY/291

and demand extraordinary performance from the average man." Numerous examples are cited to demonstrate the lengths to which motivated personnel go in achieving or maintaining excellence in their respective organisations.

In 1970-80, the authors conducted an intensive survey of some 75 "excellent" companies, the results of which, they say, came as a pleasant surprise. "(These companies) were, above all, brilliant in the basics. Tools didn't substitute for thinking. Intellect didn't overpower wisdom. Analysis didn't impede action. Rather, these companies worked hard to keep things simple in a complex world. They persisted. They insisted on top quality. They fawned on their customers. They listened to their employees and treated them like adults. They allowed their innovative product and service 'champions' long tethers. They allowed some chaos in return for quick action and regular experimentation."

Of how many Indian companies can the same be said?

—K. S. Venkateswaran

MEN AND WOMEN: HOW DIFFERENT ARE THEY: By John Nicholson; 1984; Oxford; Pp. 193; £ 2.50.

old mystery surrounding the battle of the sexes. How different are men and women? John Nicholson's answer begins in bold simplicity with a front cover sketch of two human faces in profile and runs through 179 pages of stirring reading of illuminating, incisive, and convincing arguments drawn from an in-depth scrutiny of findings of scientific researches and authentic surveys.

The book would offer women a revealing discovery of themselves, shaking them out of their socially conditioned helplessness and crippling feelings of inferiority. To many men it may be a two-edged sword cutting them down to size and their true position. The author may not succeed to the extent of making every reader recognise man and woman as equals. However, he would succeed in making them accept that men and women are less different than they thought.

While Nicholson successfully argues his view that there is no such thing as a "woman's job", he cautions that, unless the idea that there is no such thing as a woman's job except of course giving birth to children is sold, women will not win their battle for the equality of the sexes.

A POWERFUL, scholarly effort to unravel the age-

—(Dr.) Thangam Jacob

THE HAPPY CYCLE OF TRUST

YOUR TRUST HELPS US GROW, OUR GROWTH
INCREASES YOUR TRUST

Yes, Sundaram Finance is surging ahead with your support-with its own funds (Capital and Reserves) increasing from Rs. 158 lakhs in 1972 to Rs. 722 lakhs in 1983, what's more, the assets of the company as at 31st December 1983 exceeded Rs. 116 crores.

The corporate policy of the company has always been service-oriented, which means, when the customer comes to Sundaram Finance, he gets not just hire-purchase finance or leasing facilities but service throughout the period of contract.

With the kind of Service we offer, it's not surprising that the number of customers has grown. Today, Sundaram Finance has on its roll 8500 customers and over 65,000 depositors.

THE PEOPLE TO TRUST IN
HIRE PURCHASE AND EQUIPMENT LEASING
SUNDARAM FINANCE LIMITED

Regd. Office : 180, Mount Road, Madras-600 006.
Central Office : 190, Mount Road, Madras-600 006.

Nachiketa Publications Limited

5 Kasturi Buildings, J. Tata Road,
Bombay 400 020.

A STATESMAN ENTERPRISE

Books for all bookshelves and budgets:

		Rs.
Bihar Shows the Way	by S. K. Datta-Ray	10/-
D. M. K. in Power	by P. Spratt	6/-
Education in the Fourth Plan	by J. P. Naik	6/-
Gandhi and the American Scene	by C. Seshachari	6/-
Glimpses of Old Calcutta	by R. R. Chowdhury	33/-
German Scholars On India—Vol. II		30/-
Indira's India: A Political Notebook	by S. Nihal Singh	12/-
The Career Of the Secondary School Teacher in Poona	by P. Kale	9/-
Under the Indian Sky	by A. Chanda	6/-
Writings and Speeches Of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan	by S. Mohammad	12/-
What Price A Free Press? edited	by V. V. John and A. B. Shah	4/-

Also available from:

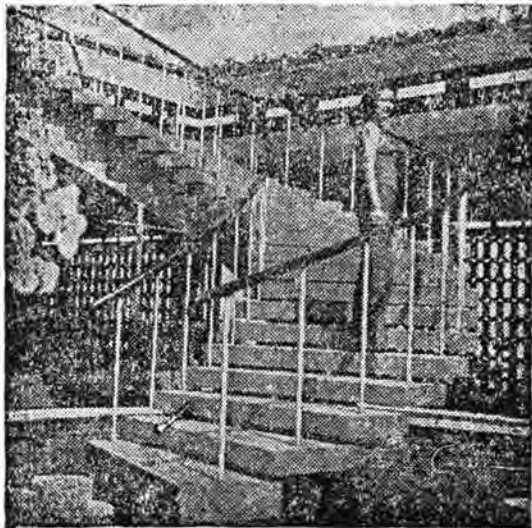
THE STATESMAN LIMITED

Statesman House,
Connaught Circus,
New Delhi 110 001

Statesman House,
Chowringhee Square,
Calcutta 700 001

Fagun Mansion
26 Commander-In-Chief Rd.
Madras 600 105

Silvicrete white cement.



not just exclusive...marvel-lous!

a product of The Associated Cement Companies Ltd

ACC

Freedom First

Subscription Order Form

127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay-400 023.

Please send *Freedom First* to me for one year
(twelve issues) at the following address :

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

This is a New/Renewal* subscription.

I enclose payment of Rs. 20 in favour of *Freedom First* by

*Cheque *Bank Draft *Postal Order

I have remitted by money order, receipt enclosed. For outstation cheques kindly add Rs. 2 for bank charges. Renewal intimation cards are posted to subscribers separately.

(Overseas subscription rate £4 or \$6)

Signature_____

WITH MANY VOICES

Had he (Scargill) lived in the Soviet paradise he so longs for, he would long ago have been clapped into a mental institution.

—Frank Chapple quoted in *The Times*,
November 15.

I think it as daft to suggest that we talk to this Government ... as it would have been for people in the Second World War to talk to the Nazis.

—Arthur Scargill quoted in *The Times*,
November 15.

Watching the (pre-election) drama, one felt that if even the opposition parties challenged the Congress (I) with the kind of passion, commitment and sheer dedication they showed in their wars against one another, they would have no problem defeating Rajiv Gandhi.

—M. J. Akbar in *Sunday*, 2-8 December.

History may well judge that the concept of trying to create a unitary state run centrally from Delhi over such a huge area and including such diverse elements was an impossibility; and that the politics of Mrs Gandhi over the years have been a growing reflection of that reality.

—*New Statesman*.

It is the son's duty to carry out the parent's wish.

—Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

He (Mr Gandhi) has a clean slate to write on.

—Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Now I know what it must have felt like to be a Jew in Nazi Germany.

—Khushwant Singh, quoted in *The Observer*.

Socialism was a doctrine I found fairly satisfying but in my opinion it did not confront the real questions. For example, the question of what a man was under socialism. One had to trade the socialism of needs for a wholly materialist conception of human nature. One had to be a materialist in order to be a consistent socialist, and I was not a materialist ... There was something I found repellent in socialism because the individual was done away with in favour of communities.

—Jean Paul Sartre quoted in *The Economist*
October 20.