

THE PLAY WITHIN THE PLAY

Some thoughts on the new National Education Policy and
our old educational system

S. K. Ookerjee

Higher education, in other nations, is considered a very important part of their society and civilization and a potent means of improving the quality of life. But for us it is not a part of the serious business of living; it is only a huge bit of make-believe. Publicly and on ceremonial occasions we say very nice things about it, especially its basis in our ancient culture and spiritual values, and we hope that the people of other countries will believe what we say.

From time to time we make loud claims about making the old drama still better. Then committees and commissions are appointed, and reports and policies are born. Important and far-reaching changes are announced which would be more in keeping with our own culture and would revolutionize the unsuitable system which our rulers had foisted upon us. But in reality all this is also a lot of play-acting. The reports and policies are never radically different from what has been going on, and whatever important changes there might be are either diluted at the implementing stage or not sought to be implemented at all. We are not, at heart, really convinced of the necessity of drastic change. These little plays within the main drama only supply periodic comic relief in the greater tragi-comedy of our 'higher' education.

The latest in this kind of histrionics seems to be the draft national policy on education, which was being advertised for the last few months from the highest quarters. Excerpts were published in the newspapers middle of April. It has failed to create the sensation among educationists which its authors seemed to have expected. 'Apart from the shift of emphasis in certain areas,' comments one newspaper, the draft 'does not depart much from the current policy'. I shall discuss some of the recommendations in the draft which appear to depart importantly from the current policy.

'Measures will have to be devised,' says the draft, 'to relieve pressure on higher education', and one of the

means suggested is that 'admissions to institutions of higher learning should be selective'. This, if implemented, would mean fewer students in the now-referred-to as 'majoring' subjects and fewer divisions in the more general compulsory subjects, such as (in Maharashtra, for example) the Foundation Course and the compulsory Languages. In some of the 'majoring' subjects (like Philosophy or English or Sanskrit there would be very few students indeed. In the old days — the good old days — this situation would have been welcomed by many teachers, but today, when we are shivering under the shadow of the Government Resolution of 1977, with its provisions for rendering teachers 'surplus' (what a word!), the recommendation in the draft regarding selective admissions only puts greater fear into the hearts of the younger teachers. Whether a teacher is a good teacher or a bad teacher has nothing to do with his hold on the job which he has chosen as his vocation. His tenure depends entirely on the number of students taking a certain subject and the number of divisions of a class. A couple of years ago it was decreed that no subject could be taught as an optional subject unless twenty students registered for it. Naturally this caused a violent flutter in certain college departments all over the State.

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WE APOLOGISE...

The total cut in power supply in Maharashtra for six days and subsequent restoration of only 30% has thrown out of gear all industrial and commercial activities. Among the victims *Freedom First!* Hence the delay in the publication of the July issue. On behalf of the Maharashtra Government we apologise to our readers outside Maharashtra!

"the time has come," the
walrus said,
"to talk of many things:
of shoes-and ships-
and sealing wax-
of cabbages -
and kings-"

- Lewis Carroll



OF CABBAGES & KINGS

Perils of Ashram Hopping

A new breed of tourists is now doing the rounds in India the hard way. They are by their own admission known as "ashram hoppers". They take the traditional trudge to small ashrams in the Himalayas, after jetting into India and climbing into dusty second class trains, then make for the plains, seeking out the shrine of the "real" Sai Baba ("Who wants a Swiss watch?"), the footsteps of Ramana Maharshi or the even more unpronounceable Shankaracharya, with perhaps a holiday in orange at the hospitable Rajneesh Inn at Poona. They see themselves as "seekers of truth" who come to India because it's hot, it's dirty, the streets are full of beggars and they can truly suffer, because that's the one thing they cannot get out in the wicked, affluent old West.

Recently I met one of them. He was suffering gloriously with prickly heat and semi starvation, because he was so afraid of trying Indian food that he drank only coconut water, pineapple juice and lassi, in that order, every day, thrice a day. He had also found scorpions in his room and killed them, though he felt that they actually looked more like lizards. The idea of sleeping in a roomful of scorpions was however more comforting to him than mere lizards, so he was certain that they must indeed be scorpions. The only problem he had was that he had found a guru within a month's time which he felt was much too fast.

"Unless I go to the other ashrams and get to know what the other gurus have to say, how can I be certain that my guru is just right for me?" he said with the air of a man who goes to a shoe shop and finds that though the first shoe fits him well he would still like to try all the others.

"What made you interested in Hinduism?" I asked with misguided curiosity.

"Oh I don't care about Hinduism at all" he answered. "In fact when I came to India I was afraid I would have to learn about all the gods — you have so many, and I don't believe in God. I believe in self realisation."

When, I probed delicately, did this desire for self realisation set in.

"I tried everything in the West. There is nothing I haven't done," he replied almost at once. "But in the end everything appeared so banal. I wanted to go to a Zen monastery but before that I stopped off on the way at Delhi. There I was told of this Guru

and for the last one month I go to see him every day."

The Indian tourist department is apparently quite sympathetic to these globe trotting self realisers and keep a list of paying guest accommodation, where a seeker may stay with a genuine Indian family and suffer with them, at a modest rate of Rs. 1000 for a room and perhaps a meal.

"My family is so kind," said my friend the Seeker. "They never disturb me at all. Sometimes when they have guests I find that they have been waiting three hours just to meet me, because my family explains that I am a holy man, and that I may be in meditation." The holy man wore an expensively made pale coffee coloured pants and matching safari style shirt. Even that however was in the process of changing. He had begun to wear a white kurta and loose white pants because he realised that for the Indian climate these were more comfortable and there were no precious buttons to be broken.

"Why do so many Indian men wear Western clothes" he asked offering me a beedi from the only to be expected packet of Charminars. "It's so wrong for the Indian climate."

This desire to change the Indian environment so that it suits their idea of reality is what causes most of the friction between the seekers and the natives. When the members of the Hare Krishna organization settled down in Juhu they felt they were doing everyone a favour by sending out letters asking them to abstain from meat and alcohol and refrain from "illicit sex". The Rajneesh devotees are so self absorbed that they tend to ignore the 'hoi polloi' around them. When these protest at the manner in which Rajneesh devotees tread on Indian sensibilities, the devotees can get quite strident. "The full catastrophe indeed!" sneers one of them writing in the *Indian Express* to point out how absurd it is that Indians should take offence at their civilised Western ways. "Western dress in Indian streets — shoulders bared instead of navels, Western affectional behaviour — men, women and children openly loving instead of hiding in the dark for physical contact; Western expectations — the equality of women, defaecation and urination confined to lavatories, table cutlery, straight transactions in commerce and public offices." And further, "We are spiritual seekers; but we belong to the late twentieth century, not a society thousands of years ago."

Nobody minds dear lady, one feels like reminding her, whichever century you choose to live in, or whatever manner you may decide to eat or defae-

cate. What one does mind is the superior tone which implies that its Indians, who live in their own country, and follow their own customs, who must learn to adjust to their ways of behaviour just because they happen to be Western. Even if this confrontation were to be limited to paper wars in the letters column, it would not matter much. What is unfortunate is that this aggression is contagious. It is inclined to transform generally passive and tolerant Indians who don't usually bother about their neighbour's religion or personal habits as long as these don't disturb their own, into intolerant, self-righteous bigots.

Even the Gurus are beginning to lose their spiritual cool with the stiff competition setting into the Nirvana business, the hottest challenge being on the printing side, with literally millions of books being sold to spread the one and only "Truth". Devotees are no longer accepted on trust and my friend the Seeker describes how one of them was "bounced" from his Guru's presence because he had presented himself in the tell-tale orange garb of a Rajneesh follower.

"Have you gone to any other saint?" the Guru is reported to have asked.

"No" replied the orange clad youth, whereupon he was evicted with unceremonious haste as he whined, "How do I know whether I have been to a saint if I cannot yet distinguish who is a saint and who is not a saint."

When, one wonders, are the Gurus going to restrict their membership to Diners card holders only? **GD**

Silent Valley Silenced

Since independence the disappearance of Indian wildlife, highlighted by the plight of the Tiger whose numbers have shrunk from 40,000 to 2500 within this century, has been dramatic. What makes this decline even more tragic is that it has gone on side by side with pious declarations on the part of the government of its good faith in preserving wildlife.

Even as the wildlife sanctuaries have come up (there are now 150 of them) with their elaborate, but often ineffectual, administrative set up, the decimation has gone on steadily. Ten years ago there was an uproar when an Arab prince with forty trained falcons came and hunted the Great Indian Bustard, an endangered species. Two months ago the same act was repeated with cries of outrage following when it was too late. The feeling of inevitability is what gives most Indian environmentalists and conservationists a sense of despair. The *National Geographic* in an article on the subject has put the problem in a nutshell when it asks the question, "Six hundred million people demand room for a living. Can they and India's wild creatures survive side by side?"

To the planners of the Silent Valley project in Kerala, which will inundate a massive area of almost unexplored jungles and destroy innumerable forms of bird, animal and insect life, the answer is "No". To ecologists and wild life lovers who have pleaded for a review of this decision the Prime Minister has

chosen to deliver one of his Pharoah-like judgments — since the project has been planned it will be implemented.

One of the main reasons for this state of affairs is that the government persists in thinking that it is a matter of choice and if one has to choose between the people or the animals, their priority is towards people. The fallacy in this kind of thinking, as has been pointed out by conservationists, is that it ignores that man is but a part of a chain of life. If the other links in the chain are neglected or destroyed, man's own position will be shaken. Since the States are free to make their decisions on their own, in this matter, the general tendency has been to take a limited short term view of the whole problem.

One of the creatures that is most likely to be destroyed in the course of the Silent valley inundation is the Lion-tailed Macaque, which even ten years ago numbered only a thousand. "Several factors" notes a leading authority on the subject "have contributed to the virtual destruction of the Macaque: agricultural expansion of tea and coffee plantations; the felling of trees to meet industrial demands for timber and for use by the local inhabitants as fuel; the replacement of native trees and shrubs by alien ones such as the eucalyptus." With the implementation of the Silent valley project, this splendid creature with the imperious air of a Spanish grandee, with its shining amber eyes set in a black leather face and framed by a magnificent ruff of white hair, will have swung for the last time through the primordial trees of the jungles of Kerala before vanishing silently, forever. **GD**

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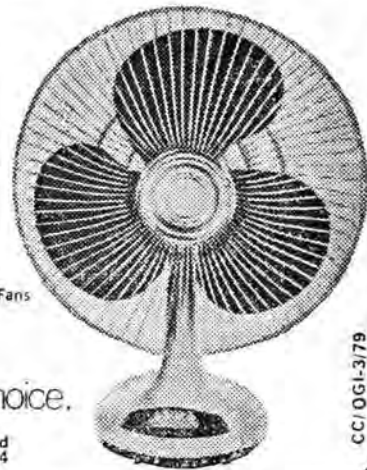
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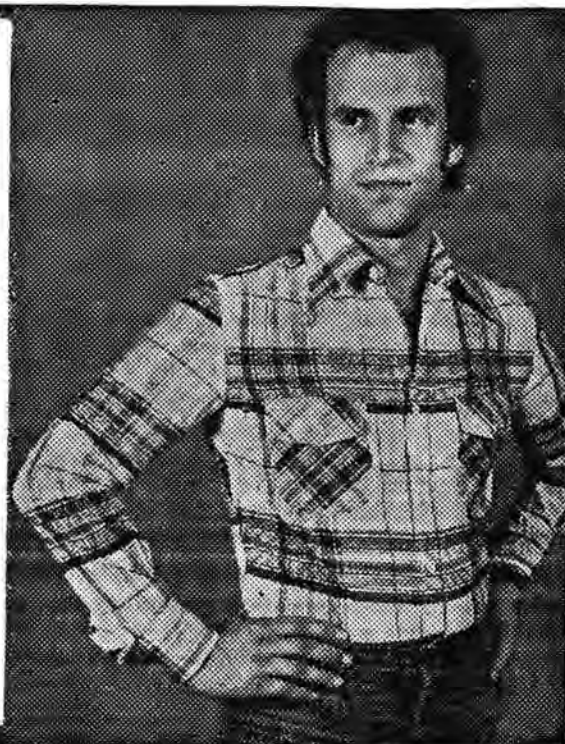
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THE PLAY WITHIN THE PLAY—Continued from page 1

Would the departments that have always attracted very few students (and often serious students) have to close down and the teachers be asked to try their luck elsewhere? But a generous concession was made in the case of those colleges in which the threatened subjects were already being taught in the past. A great sigh of relief was heaved. But even now there are a number of options in the 'majoring' and Applied Component* groups, and if no students choose certain subjects from these (which is quite possible), then the lecture-total of a department handling such subjects would fall, and consequently, the junior-most teachers in the department — even if they have been there for five or six years and have been found to be competent teachers — would face the danger of being asked to go. (The next year, of course, more students may opt for that particular subject and the college may require a teacher, but it may have to make do with an incompetent one—received, with thanks, from the 'pool'**—in place of the competent one who had been asked to go.)

Therefore, every department in a college, and every college that wants to protect and retain its staff, tries to entice and grab as many students as possible for itself — even students whose inaptitude for a certain subject or for higher education itself is not at all in doubt. It is pathetic to see teachers and departments making desperate efforts at self-preservation. This is a case of the survival of one species by means of those who are unfit in another. How, under the circumstances, can we afford to think in terms of 'selective admissions'?

The Government, which is the paymaster, seems determined to let as few teachers survive as possible. In the beginning, under the new dispensation, no class was to contain more than 60 students, so that, if there were more students than 60, another division would have to be opened, which, in turn, would render so many teachers safe. The limit was soon raised to 80 and then to a 100. We shall probably reach our good old limit of 150. We have noted the rule about starting the teaching of subjects not already being taught in a college. The concession to departments already in existence may also be withdrawn sooner or later. Who can be certain of the workings of the bureaucratic mind?

The tutorial method of teaching, requiring the breaking up of larger classes into smaller batches, is the only method by which the quality of our higher education is likely to improve. In the public utterances of educationists this method always receives honourable mention, but when we come to hard facts, it receives step-motherly treatment. In totting up a teacher's work-load, tutorials are not considered admissible items (in auditor's language). Only in some subjects, recently, they have been made admissible and we hope that this attitude will spread. In the Junior College (standards XI and XII), tutorials, which were permitted until the last academic year, have been disallowed from this year. When

academic considerations have constantly to give place to financial ones, one reads with a certain amount of understandable apprehension that, according to the new draft, efforts must be made to realise the objectives through exercise of economy (and) more effective utilization of existing resources'. One fears that this part of the draft will be taken more seriously than the other parts.

The draft says, 'There should be no more than three public examinations during the entire course of education till the end of the undergraduate stage', the third of which would cover the total three-year Senior College learning period. This means that from the time a student begins his 1st year B.A. course he takes no university examination till the end of his third year, and that during this period his progress would be determined by some form of 'internal assessment' decided on by his college. This might take the form of terminal and annual examinations and/or periodic class tests and/or home assignments throughout each term. His performance at these would determine whether he is fit enough to take the final public examination. Unless this last step is taken and taken seriously, 'internal assessment' would be just a fraud.

We know that the Bombay University's attempt to introduce a scheme of 'internal assessment' at the post-graduate stage has not been a singular success and that the university authorities have had to eat their humble pie 'gheraoed' (as they say) by post-graduate students who discovered that such assessment — wherever properly carried out — did not quite fit their long-practised and peculiar style of 'studying'. Therefore, if 'internal assessment' is to really work, many drastic changes in the attitudes of the students, the teachers and the college managements will be required.

However, our general concept of educational achievement and of a good college is determined, respectively, by the passing of the university examination and the percentage of students from the college who pass the examination. And a 'good' college would attract more students and so fetch more income. Thus, if 'internal assessment' were introduced, most colleges, wanting to be considered 'good' colleges, would see to it that a very large number of their students — whatever their intellectual calibre — take the university examination and are not detained at any of the intermediate stages. Apart from this desire to maintain their reputation for being 'good' colleges, various pressures would be brought to bear upon the colleges, including 'direct action' and threats of 'direct action' by the students. To withstand such pressures would require extremely tough principals and staff members, backed by managements having uncompromising integrity and singleness of purpose. Such conditions are hard to come by these days. They would be looked upon as impractical and foolhardy.

One might argue that, after all, the students would have to face the university examination, however lax the 'internal assessment' might have been. And one might further argue that the more lax the 'internal

* Notice the penchant, even among the educationists, for fancy names.

** 'Surplus' teachers have to join the 'pool', from where they would get fresh postings.

assessment', the worse the students would fare in that examination; hence, in its own interest, a college could not afford to be lax about 'internal assessment.' But such arguments would betray one's innocence about the university examinations.

The type of university examination that has long been with us presents little difficulty to those who have been accustomed to unintelligent methods of study. The new draft rightly says that 'the mode of evaluation should discourage memorization', but how is that to be done? The mode of evaluation depends to a large extent on the style and pattern of the question paper. Even with the coming of the three-year course (which had raised some hopes), there is no evidence of a change of heart (or mind) among those who are responsible for such matters. Even in the new subjects the questions which are being set in the current examinations are of the same old type where answers that are just memorized without understanding can be given. In the new Foundation Course paper, for instance, the university furnished, some months ago all the colleges with 'model' questions, and enterprising publishers produced 'model' answers soon after.

If memorization is really to be discouraged, completely new types of question papers — differing, perhaps, from subject to subject — would have to be worked out. Then only would the 'mode of evaluation' change and become, as the draft says, 'more objective and reliable'. This, in turn, would force the colleges to take their 'internal assessment' seriously. These chain reactions pose a very challenging problem to educationists, but it seems that the challenge is not likely to be taken up. They are quite happy to drive the new three-year course along well-worn grooves. A few peripheral changes are made, but the basic structure of higher education—dilapidated and crumbling as it is — is going to be left more or less undisturbed.

With understandable exaggeration the draft says that the 'emphasis should shift from teaching to learning'. If, however, the students are to learn in the right way vis-a-vis the type of examination paper I am here suggesting, they would have to be *taught* in the right way — taught how to learn. At present they do not know how to learn. To teach how would call for a kind of teaching different from that which most teachers have been practising. Lecturing, dictating notes, giving model answers to likely questions and every other kind of spoon-feeding would have to be dispensed with. To discuss the methods which should be brought into play would need another article; here I shall only mention some of the obstacles in the way.

One great obstacle to a change-over to a more sensible style of teaching-learning-examining process would be the resistance from the teaching community itself. Our teachers have themselves been brought up on the bad methods of teaching and the wrong kind of examinations, and do not have the inclination or courage to change. It is sad but not surprising that it is often the younger teachers, from who one would expect a readiness to

experiment with new methods, who exhibit greater inertia.

Another obstacle would be the resistance of the paper-setters, for setting a paper which would 'discourage memorization' and encourage an intelligent grasp of the subject, would call for imagination and careful thinking-out (which many would not even be capable of) and would require an amount of time which it is not usually the practice of paper-setters to devote to this work.

Further opposition would come from the examiners, for a well-constructed question paper (such as I am visualising) could not be assessed by rapidly glancing over the answers.

The students, too would not easily reconcile themselves to the new style of examination paper and their various unions would surely protest.

These are undoubtedly formidable obstacles, but unless they are faced and overcome, the recommendations of the new draft are not likely to be of much use.

The right kind of teaching — teaching to learn — would, in turn, demand a large number of tutorial classes, each containing a very few students to whom the teacher could give individual attention. *But we have seen that the trend of the Government and the universities (usually playing second fiddle to the Government) is to lessen or eliminate tutorial teaching. We have also seen that the maximum number of students permitted per class has risen from 60 to 100. (The argument usually advanced is that it makes no difference whether you lecture to 50 or 500 students. It is quietly forgotten that, unless the lectures are supplemented by tutorials, our students — ill-read and incapable of independent study — are not likely to benefit from the lectures.)

As long as academic matters are tied up with cheese-paring economic considerations, no improvement in 'higher' (or even 'lower') education may be expected. Hope lies only in putting the educational problem first and gearing the economy accordingly. Whether this is feasible I do not pretend to know. I doubt it will be done. We have enough finances to appoint committees and commissions, to produce reports and formulate policies. But we do not seem to have enough money to lower the work-load of the teachers, to reduce the bulk of 'surplus' teachers, to make tutorial teaching function well or to give our teachers salaries anywhere comparable to those paid to persons of equal capacity in other fields.

But even if we had the financial resources to make these dreams come true, do we have the will and the desire to do so? The old drama has had such a long run that, though it does not satisfy us any more, we feel quite at home with it and do not want any other. The play will go on, such as it is, and so will the plays within the play.

* The Oxford-Cambridge (one student-one teacher) type of tutorial would be beyond our wildest dreams.

GIVE THE BISHOP A CHANCE

S. V. RAJU

When British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Lord Carrington told Prime Minister Morarji Desai on July 3 of Britain's decision to legalise Zimbabwe-Rhodesia with the "widest possible international recognition", the latter is reported to have replied that India considered the Salisbury government illegal reiterating that the recent elections in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia were not fair, and its outcome did not bring that country any nearer to black majority rule than under the Smith regime.

The negative Indian attitude is not surprising and is, in fact, entirely in character with our spineless foreign policy—an unfortunate Nehru legacy continued with gusto by his one time critics now in office—which, put crudely, is to pamper the bully while sermonising the victim. Fortunately for Zimbabwe and its new government, the Indian attitude is not important. What is, is the attitude of Britain and the U.S.A.

The Conservative Party is pledged to recognising the new government. After much initial hesitation the Thatcher Government has mustered courage to honour its pledge. In the U.S. despite President Carter's equivocation the U.S. Senate voted on May 15 by an overwhelming majority a demand that sanctions be lifted and set Carter a deadline — June 30—to decide whether he found the Rhodesian elections free and fair.

Press coverage in India of foreign news, by and large, echoes the foreign policy of the Government of India. This has unfortunately deprived the Indian public of the opportunity to make an objective assessment of the situation in Rhodesia particularly developments in the last year or two which have led to the installation of a government led by blacks, with a black majority and a black prime minister.

The new Prime Minister, Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa is a believer in non-violence and in the evolutionary process. Gandhiji would have entirely approved of the man. In one of his election speeches, Muzorewa observed:

"I do not want this new country to be a sham, a fraud, a hollow shell with the mere trappings of independence — a brand new flag, sleek limousines, black faces in parliament and the U.N. I do not want Zimbabwe ever to become another banana republic."

One has only to take a look at a map of contemporary Africa to realise that it enjoys the dubious distinction of having 29 one-party states and 15 military dictatorships. And, as a correspondent pointed out in the *London Times*, "in not a single country has power changed by democratic election." More the pity that when for the first time a State in that continent seeks to do so, the legitimacy of the elected government is questioned not only by the dictatorial regimes in the continent, which is understandable, not only by the Soviet Union and its Cuban stooge which is equally understandable, but even by the

Western democracies on the plea that two guerilla bands operating from outside Rhodesia did not participate in the elections.

The crux of the Rhodesian issue is not the fairness or otherwise of the elections though this may be the overt reason advanced by those critical of the Muzorewa government. The real issue is the demand made by the guerilla leaders that Rhodesia should be handed over to them i.e. to their organisation the Patriotic Front not through election, not through the democratic process of ascertaining from the people who they wish to have as their rulers but to the men with the rifles armed and trained by the Russians and the Cubans. What is more significant of the two guerilla leaders, Robert Mugabe has made it unmistakably clear more than once that what he wants is a one-party Marxist regime (headed by him naturally) in Rhodesia.

Founded in 1890 by Cecil Rhodes as a haven for White settlers, Rhodesia was governed by the British South Africa Company. By the twenties the White settlers began to object to rule by the Company and carried on a movement which in 1923 resulted in the Company being forced to give up control. Northern Rhodesia became a British Protectorate while Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony. The two Rhodesias and Nyasaland formed a federation in 1953 which collapsed 10 years later. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland later became the Republic of Zambia. Southern Rhodesia continued as a self-ruling British colony till 1965, when in a surprise development the whites apprehensive of the snowballing decolonisation of Britain's African empire took pre-emptive action and declared themselves independent. The move was engineered by Mr. Ian Smith a former World War II pilot in the Royal Air Force. Mr. Smith and his fellow whites made it clear that they had no intention whatsoever of ever permitting majority rule which meant rule by Rhodesia's blacks. In fact even as recently as March 1976, he declared that the whites would not give up their power to the blacks "never in a thousand years" he said.

Britain was quick to retaliate. It declared the independence declaration illegal and imposed economic and political sanctions to bring the breakaway colony to heel. The U.S.A. and the United Nations quickly followed suit. But the Smith regime defied the sanctions with the help of South Africa which provided the outlet for the export of agricultural and mineral products of landlocked Rhodesia and the import of goods the country needed.

Within the country the educated blacks resisted the Unilateral Declaration of Independence or UDI as it came to be known. Among those who led the agitation against the UDI was Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The Black leaders were clapped in jail and kept there for ten long years, before they were released as a result of international pressure. De-

sultory negotiations followed between the Smith regime and the blacks. Soon fissures appeared among the black leadership. Robert Mugabe the confirmed Marxist turned west across the border to Mozambique where he established his guerilla base, while Joshua Nkomo a highly respected leader lost patience and turned north to set up his guerilla base in neighbouring Zambia with President Kenneth Kaunda's protection and patronage. The two guerilla leaders came together under the Patriotic Front in a loose federation. While Mugabe's gang was active inside Rhodesia killing innocent men and women, Nkomo's men armed and trained by the Soviets and the Cubans (the Soviets are now dispensing arms to Mugabe as well) waited on the wings — a fact to which Mugabe made pointed reference when the two men fell out a couple of months ago. In six years of guerilla activity over 9,500 lives have been lost of which only around 400 are whites.

Two other black leaders Bishop Muzorewa and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole decided to carry on the fight within the country by peaceful means. They were patient men who were prepared to progress towards majority rule in stages.

The pressure of international sanctions, mounting guerilla activity and the peaceful agitation inside the country compelled Smith to climb down from his perch and face the facts of life. Never mind "thousand years" he realised it would not be possible to carry on for another ten years. He decided to negotiate on the basis of majority rule ultimately. To give the devil his due it should be noted that Ian Smith did not, like numerous white settlers, decide to emigrate to Australia. He considered Rhodesia his native land and wished to stay on securing as much advantage as he possibly could for himself and others similarly placed. Soon after signing the Internal Settlement with the blacks he said "This is the way it's going in Rhodesia, isn't it? One's got to be realistic. We live in a changing world." Ian Smith knew when he was licked and decided to come to terms with reality.

Last year, Smith invited the black leaders including the guerillas Nkomo and Mugabe to the conference table. The guerillas refused. They demanded that he hand the country back to Britain so that Britain could then hand it to the Patriotic Front. But the others including Muzorewa and Sithole who responded to the invitation rejected the claim of the Patriotic Front that "only the gun gave the right to negotiate" and as Muzorewa put it decided that the only way to find out whether Smith was genuinely prepared to agree to majority rule was to negotiate with him.

After 10 weeks of negotiations, agreement was reached. A ten-point Internal Settlement was signed in February last year. The agreement though providing for a number of checks and balances which ensured white control in vital areas involving security, foreign policy and the economy was nevertheless one which would have done any nationalist movement proud. It provided *inter alia* for a bill of rights, protection against nationalisation or seizure of property and land; a free and competent judiciary; an independent public service board to maintain efficient service; non-political civil, armed and prison service, and a 100 seat parliament with 28 seats reserved for the whites. This last provision

was the one that irked the critics of the Settlement most. This was Ian Smith's gambit to secure safety for the whites in Rhodesia. A perfectly legitimate desire particularly when they had decided to stay on under majority rule. It was decided to hold elections in December on the basis of one-man one-vote. This was later postponed to April.

Meanwhile under the terms of the Internal Settlement a Provisional Government was sworn in on March 21, 1978 with each ministry having a black and a white as co-ministers sharing power. An Executive Council was set up consisting of the black leaders and Mr. Smith. This Council would be presided over by rotation by each member for four weeks at a time. Preparations were set in motion to hold elections.

Nkomo and Mugabe denounced the Settlement describing the black signatories as stooges and traitors and vowed to see that elections could not be held. Guerilla activity was stepped up and more people died including innocent passengers aboard a Rhodesian civil airliner. Joshua Nkomo actually boasted of his role in its shooting down. But the Provisional Government went ahead with their decision and elections were finally held over a four day period in April this year. 64% voted in the election — the first one-man one-vote election with a choice of candidates from four parties. The guerilla threat failed (during polling 230 guerillas were killed against the loss of 12 government troops). Muzorewa's United National African Council swept the polls securing 51 of the 72 seats. The Rev. Sithole's party won 12 seats while 9 went to a party called the United National Federal Party. Under the terms of the agreement cabinet posts were to be shared in proportion to the seats won. This gave Muzorewa 10 posts, Sithole 2 and the UNFP 2 with the whites getting their guaranteed 6.

On June 1, Bishop Abel Muzorewa took over as the first Black Prime Minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, presiding over a cabinet which included Ian Smith who held the post of Minister without Portfolio. It was not a 100% victory in view of the built-in safeguards for the whites which would continue for another 10 years and give them a crucial voice in the conduct of government. But the blacks had come a long way indeed.

The world at large however continued its ostrich-like attitude no doubt influenced by incessant Soviet propaganda. The U.N. Security Council meeting on May 1 this year declared the elections "null and void." But the U.K. and the U.S.A. abstained and declared themselves free to recognise the new government. Meanwhile the sanctions continue and the guerillas continue to fight their own people. The danger is that a bold experiment in bi-racial understanding and cooperation on the one hand and the emergence for the first time of a pluralist democracy on the soil of Africa on the other, might fail. This would of course suit the Russians and their Cuban satellite and the African dictatorships who would be spared an embarrassing example of a democracy at work in their own backyard. But should democratic nations refuse to accept the Muzorewa government insisting on all or nothing even assuming that the whites have for the

Continued on page 11

JOB DISCRIMINATION IN THE U.S.A.

V. B. Karnik

There is still a good deal of racial job discrimination in the United States. The discrimination is directed against the Black as well as against the Puerto Ricans, the Chicanos, the Mexicans and others. It is also found in many trade unions which through their apprenticeship rules make it difficult for Black and other discriminated workers to find entry into skilled occupations. Seniority rules negotiated by unions with employers also block their progress to higher paid, more responsible posts.*

This is the position even after the enactment of the Federal Fair Employment statute Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the setting up of an independent agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The Commission has the authority of initiating legal actions against infringements of the Act and securing aggrieved parties damages and other reliefs for job discrimination. Hundreds of legal actions were initiated in various courts throughout the country and a good deal of relief was secured to discriminated workers. Some of them were against big and powerful unions.

The book under review provides a detailed discussion of the issues of law and fact that were raised in the legal proceedings and the decisions of courts. The author of the book, Dr. William B. Gould is Professor of Law at Stanford University. Earlier, he was a consultant to the EEOC, the agency entrusted with the task of providing equal opportunities to all workers irrespective of the colour of their skin or ethnic origin. Still earlier, he was associated with the Union of Automobile Workers (UAW) and the National Labour Relations Board. He is thus thoroughly conversant with the law and its interpretation by courts as well as with the variety of practices of discrimination prevalent in various parts of the country. The book has therefore become a learned dissertation on the law and practice of job discrimination in the United States. That has made it more useful for lawyers and specialists in race relations than for ordinary readers. The latter would have preferred a smaller book explaining the law as it is and the steps that can be taken to secure justice.

Race discrimination is a long-standing evil of American society. It is based on deep prejudices of the Whites and the fact that the Blacks were at one time slaves. It operates in all spheres of life including education, housing, public affairs and employment. The Government and the liberal forces in the country are valiantly struggling against it. The courts, particularly the Supreme Court, have taken a firm stand against it. And yet progress towards a "race-blind" and "colour-blind" society is not as rapid as it should be.

Unions should have taken the lead in this fight against racial discrimination particularly in the field of employment. But that has not happened.

**Black Workers in White Unions*, William B. Gould, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1978; Price \$ 20.

They are dominated by White workers and workers, unless special efforts are made to educate them, are usually conservative on social matters. Racial equality will, moreover, in some cases deprive them of a few of their privileges such as monopoly of skilled jobs and rights of seniority. That is why they are not enthusiastic about the implementation of equal employment opportunities legislation and sometimes go to the extent of opposing it. Prof. Gould is naturally angry with this attitude of unions and has criticised them at several places in the book.

Prof. Gould has enumerated the following as the issues in dispute between unions and Black workers:

"1. Restrictions on admission to apprenticeship programs jointly administered with employers by both industrial and craft unions; 2. the denial of journeyman cards to qualified black non-unionists; 3. refusal of admission to membership even though no union today refers to a formal color bar in its constitutional rules; 4. the establishment of segregated or auxiliary locals for blacks; 5. the maintenance of separate lines of progression and seniority districts which prohibit or discourage transfers by blacks into relatively better paying and more desirable jobs held by whites; and 6. the absence of blacks and other minorities from policy-making elective and appointed positions inside the unions."

In support of issue no. 6 mentioned above, namely, lack of representation in policy-making bodies of unions, Prof. Gould draws attention to the position in the UAW, one of the most progressive unions in the country: "Until 1962, there was no black member of the UAW international executive board. As of 1973 the minority percentage of UAW staff on the international pay roll was only 14.3—and the figures have not changed much since then". This in spite of the fact that "the black percentage of the total union membership is approximately 25-30." The position in other unions is much worse. In spite of large membership of Blacks and other minority workers, the unions "have no room at the top for blacks and other racial minorities" and that "when black trade unionists are elected they are often those who are all too acceptable to a conservative white leadership." The unions have to effect a radical change in this position. The change will be necessary also in view of the ruling of the National Labour Relations Board that a union violates its duty of fair representation... when it refuses to represent employees fairly because of race". Black workers who do not enjoy fair representation in policy-making bodies or staffs of unions can complain of racial discrimination and move courts to terminate the sole bargaining agent status of a union. There is no report so far of any such action, but it cannot be excluded if unions continue to deny Black and other workers representation in positions of trust and responsibility.

Court decisions have played a big role in exposing and remedying job discrimination in many cases.

They have granted affected workers the jobs due to them as well as damages for being kept out of them on grounds of race. In some cases damages have been awarded even against unions for collaborating with employers in their racial discriminatory practices. Prof. Gould has dealt elaborately with many of those decisions and explained the law laid down by them. The most important is the decision of the Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* Explaining the object of the equal employment opportunities legislation, the Court held in that case: "The objective of Congress in the enactment of Title VII is plain from the language of the statute. It was to achieve equality of employment opportunities and remove barriers that have operated in the past that favour an identifiable group of white employees over other employees. Under the Act, practices, procedures, or tests neutral on their face, and even neutral in terms of intent, cannot be maintained if they operate to 'freeze' the status quo of prior discrimination but also 'affirmative action' to help those who have suffered long from discriminatory practices. One court decision says: 'Title VII's imposition of an affirmative duty on employers to undo past discrimination permits compensatory action for those who have suffered from prior discrimination.' Quotas can be fixed for the recruitment of Black workers in proportion to their numbers in the recruitment area. The battle is thus progressing through court actions and a variety of other means and, may be, there will be an end to job discrimination in the not too distant future.

A job is the key to all the desires of workers, such as, a steady income, a house, family and status in society. Job discrimination, therefore, hurts a worker in many ways. Prof. Gould writes: "In addition to the pain and emotional suffering caused by employment discrimination, a Black who has been deprived of his rightful place in the work force or has been harmed in many other ways for example, by being prevented from acquiring and enjoying the type of home or other possessions which would have been available had his income been higher or by suffering physical illness by being forced to work at a more dangerous or strenuous job than he would have but for discrimination." "These and countless other forms of harm, economic and otherwise" cannot be remedied, the author argues by back or front pay or other monetary reliefs. Job discrimination must end, he says and he calls upon all, the government, the courts, the unions and employers to work for bringing it about. "Employment is the key", he asserts, "to the color blind society that must remain this nation's objective."

We have a similar problem in our society in the form of our Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and backward caste workers who have been discriminated against for centuries. In some respects their plight is much worse than that of Black workers in the United States. We are trying the solution of reservation of jobs in government services. The solution is too inadequate, for the jobs are few and the number of job-seekers runs into millions. That, however, is no argument for abandoning the system of reservation. However inadequate, it provides some relief. And that is better than doing nothing.

INDIRA'S INDIA

A POLITICAL NOTEBOOK
BY **S. Nihal Singh**

Insight into the political scene throughout the rise and fall (and rise?) of Indira Gandhi can be gained from Nihal Singh's book; he is among the soundest and wisest of Indian political journalists and this is a collection of his articles in the *Calcutta Statesman*. Among those who should read it, as well as the categories mentioned earlier, are people who imagine that Indian prose is stilted and pompous or that it mishandles the English language."

NEW STATESMAN (London)

It is difficult to predict the shape of things to come. But reflection on the tumultuous times India has been through may yield valuable clues and lessons. It is precisely for this reason that Mr S. Nihal Singh's latest book *Indira's India* should be read carefully...

What stands out throughout is Mr Singh's scrupulous fairness; he spares neither Mrs Gandhi nor the Janata leaders nor any one else. Nor does he lash out unduly. And the book is eminently readable. Rarely does one come across an awkward sentence or a jarring note."

THE HINDUSTHAN TIMES

Since the fall of Indira Gandhi in the March 1977 general election, the former Prime Minister's doings during her years of power have been a tempting subject for many authors. All kinds of writers, expert in their craft or novices, have tried to cash in on the Emergency literature boom. S. Nihal Singh's book too is likely to be taken as another volume on the Emergency or its aftermath. It is not exactly so. The book is a collection of the author's signed weekly column in *The Statesman*, of which he is the chief editor. As a keen observer of the political events of the country for about a decade, he writes with ample background knowledge, clarity and imagination."

THE SUNDAY STANDARD

Mr Nihal Singh's book is quite distinct from most of the contemporary publications on the Indira regime. It is a dispassionate analysis of the major political events and the behaviour of our prominent personalities during the most fateful years (1969-early 1978) of Independent India...

Able editing has enabled the book to avoid a disjointed look. It rather impresses the readers as a coherent and fairly complete account of the rise and fall of Indira Gandhi. Moreover, many shrewd observations and intelligent hints for the future shape of events will make one feel that there are journalists who may, at times, excel the practising politicians in the assessment of political situations."

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The Day the Sky fell on our Heads

Manjula Padmanabhan

The piece of Skylab which fell on our house turned out to be a disappointment — a two-kilo weakling compared to the 20 Kg collector's item which fell next door. As assured by the US authorities in their *Backgrounder*, there was no crater caused by the chunk of searing metal which dropped near-vertically on the house at a velocity of between 48 to 416 Km per hour — though the building is a write-off of course. Still, what is the loss of a few hundred square feet of living space compared to the honour of owning a genuine sliver of space debris?

It is a shame that United States citizens have been deprived of the privilege of being hit by a bit of their own Skylab. This is due to a planning error on the part of NASA technicians, who knew that the space station would fall to earth at some time, but forgot to include their own country in the path of the 160 m wide "footprint". In the early reports it was thought that a mere 500 pieces of satellite would survive re-entry and that most of these would deposit themselves in any one of the various oceans provided for this purpose. Conflicting statements were made; some reports said the debris would not hit a populated area; others said that the trajectory had only just been altered so that no densely populated area would hence-forward be hit; further reports said that it was totally uncertain whether any densely populated area would be hit; and a final report stated that densely populated areas would be hit but no-one would be hurt.

In the early days of Skylab-baiting, the information available on the satellite and its habits was precise. But as attention mounted, data on Skylab grew increasingly vague. Sometimes the fragments weighed between 4.5 Kg or less, at other times, there was talk of pieces weighing over 5000 lbs. Sometimes the Americans were reported to be in full control of their space station and at other times nothing on board was said to be working. Sometimes everyone wondered why this whole situation could not have been avoided entirely.

The chances of anyone being hit by a piece of the satellite were estimated at being one in 152 — or, as stated coyly in the *Backgrounder*, "a single injury if 152 Skylabs were to re-enter", leaving one wondering exactly how many Skylabs there are flying around up there. Then in the last ten days before touchdown it looked like somebody was going to be hit, but NASA could not say for sure who it would be. Then in the last two days it was thought that several people would be hit, but NASA was still uncertain of their identities. When, in the last 20 hours it was realized that several cities would be affected, the All-American Association of Psychics was called out to divert the crisis. The police and the National Guard were called out; the US Marines were alerted; cash prizes were offered to any citizen who could shoot down and capture a fragment, dead or alive; and finally the American President himself ordered the

satellite to surrender without a struggle. But alas, Skylab did not respond, and in the last two hours, seven plane loads of NASA lawyers stood ready to fly off for distant parts of the planet.

And so: 467 pieces of Skylab survived re-entry, and made their way into the hearts and homes of lucky people all over the third world. The Iranian revolution is finally over, as that nation has been razed to the ground; most of South East Asia is two feet under water as a result of the impact and is being colonized all over again by the Dutch; and the only individual to be directly hit by a piece of satellite, was Idi Amin. Twenty three fragments hit Calcutta all at once, and the American Government has convinced our government not to sue, on the grounds that (a) every country can do without a Calcutta and that (b) we are lucky that the Taj Mahal is still intact. As compensation, they say, they plan to issue green cards to all the bereaved peasants and relatives.

In Java a religious cult has sprung up around the "Burning Metal Which Fall From Heaven". Called the Space Debris Cult, the believers tattoo themselves with Skylab serial numbers and invoke the name of the great god NASA.

A brisk international trade has resulted from the sale of Skylab fragments to novelty collectors. It has proven to be a rich source of foreign exchange for many a poor country, especially since most of the collectors are from the US. Already imitations have made their way into the market, scrap metal prices round the world have registered a sharp rise and there is some talk at Tiffany's about Skylab jewellery.

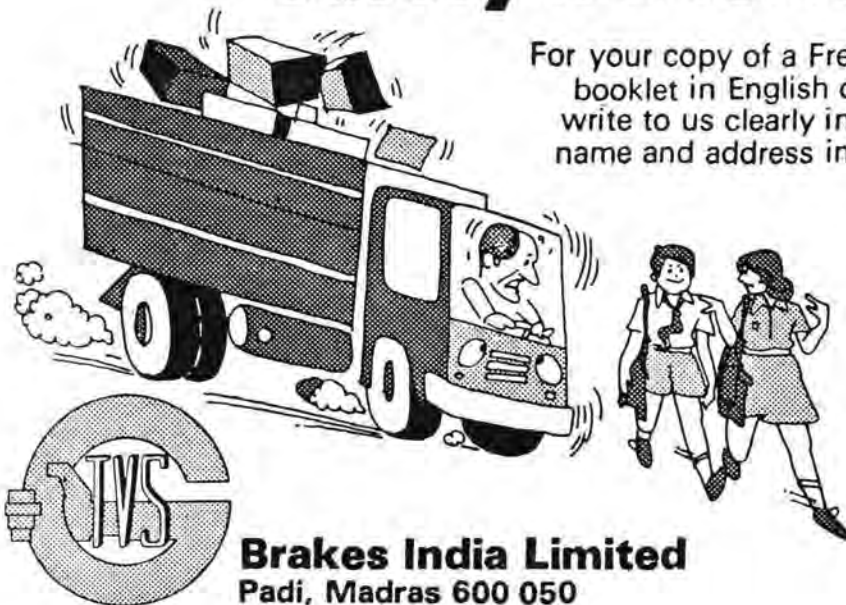
And meanwhile, at least one widely popular American monthly magazine has pointed out that the trials caused by Skylab pale to insignificance compared to the threat to life and property caused by Soviet satellites. Only last year, one of their returning crafts, supposedly radio-active and out of control, narrowly avoided causing a catastrophe of unthinkable proportion: *it almost hit New York!!*

(Continued from page 8)

moment a role far more important than their numbers warrant?

We in India are familiar with the progress of our freedom movement towards independence. It was gradual and every step forward met with British resistance. We can understand Muzorewa's strategy even anxiety that Zimbabwe should emerge as a full fledged democratic nation. He is after all following Gandhiji's dictum "one step at a time is enough for me." Should we then see him succumb to the gun-toting gangs who seek power for themselves even if it leads to a Soviet stranglehold on the country? The Bishop deserves a chance to work out the arrangements towards total majority rule. Should a pusillanimous world deny him this?

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Book Review

POLITICS MAINLY INDIAN

by W. H. Morris Jones, *Orient Longman*,
New Delhi; 1978; pp. 280, Price : Rs 16.00

W.H. Morris Jones is no outsider to the Indian political scene. Having been a keen student of Indian politics for nearly thirty-five years and being in intimate contact with some of India's most astute political observers, men like Sachin Chaudhuri, founder-editor of the *Economic Weekly*, Rajni Kothari of the Centre For The Study of Developing Societies and others has enabled him, as he himself puts it, "to escape from being wholly the outsider, to be accepted as part of the Indian scene and without special effort to look on it with inside eyes". It is therefore heartening to note this noted indologist compliment India not only for having made democracy work, but also for having made it strike genuinely deep roots in Indian soil.

This collection of earlier published essays covers the early period of "Congress dominance" which Morris Jones also describes as the period of "the politics of manipulation", as well as the period (after 1967) which he calls the period of "the politics of populist rhetoric." In his introduction to these dated essays Morris Jones opines that the emergency was in good measure the inevitable consequence of "the combination of populist appeal and personalised methods of managing political and administrative decisions."

In keeping with his overall assessment that Indian democracy has struck genuine roots, Morris Jones observes, "there are those who believe that if Mrs. Gandhi had not miscalculated by calling the 1977 elections the Emergency might have endured indefinitely. In my view this is mistaken and based on a failure to understand the deeper significance of the decade 1967-77 and indeed of the thirty years pilgrimage of India towards democracy". (Introduction page xv). The Emergency, in Morris Jones' view, could not hold long, not only because "the ethos of liberal, constitutional and accountable government had in India taken hold of more than a tiny elite", but also because, "the Emergency made no attempt to create such institutions as could effectively replace the motive powers of democratic demand.... The rulers themselves lacked faith in any thoroughgoing substitute for Democracy", (Introduction p. xvi). On balance Morris Jones thinks, the Emergency "still further matured the electorate, it had taught a lesson they would be in no hurry to forget." (Introduction page xvii).

The collection of essays includes two written in the 1960s which indicate Morris Jones' suspicion of the Gandhi — J.P. variety of "decentralized democracy" based on consensus (as opposed to majority rule). Participatory democracy, consensus, unanimity are terms which can easily come handy to those interested in ushering a totalitarian regime and in fact are commonly brandished terms in modern dictatorships. In fact in a much earlier essay written in 1954 and also included in the volume under re-

view, Morris Jones writes in defence of apathy and attacks the notion that citizenship calls for any basic level of political participation which has to be regarded as a universal duty.

Finally, I would like to refer to one more essay in the collection, "Press Performance and Election Forecasts" for the simple reason that it is suggestive of a very fruitful area of future research in India, where political scientists, as Morris Jones himself observes, "tend to be unconcerned with the press as a subject for serious study".

Adi H. Doctor

The Political Career of C. Rajagopalachari : 1937-1954. A Moralism in Politics

by A. R. H. Copley, *Macmillan* 1978. Rs. 70.00

This slim, but well-documented study on Rajaji's political career during the period 1937-1954 has come at the most opportune moment. Its publication coincides with the celebration of Rajaji's Birth Centenary and has thus helped augment the host of publications on Rajaji's life and achievements which have been appearing in recent months.

Professor Copley is currently teaching history at the University of Kent in England. Earlier he had been teaching at the University College of North Wales at Bangor, from 1963-1967. He was a Visiting Academic at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1973. He had the opportunity of meeting Rajaji in 1971.

Though the avowed ambit of his study is restricted, the author has packed enough biographical material to make the book interesting to the average reader also. This he has achieved by inserting a fairly longish Prologue, and by adding an Epilogue and a Postscript. The author makes it clear that the main work was completed before the end of the Emergency and before the 1977 elections in India.

It was no mean achievement for Rajaji, a small-town lawyer, to rise to national status and eminence with comparative ease. But once he reached the top, he found himself at logger-heads with such stalwarts like Gandhiji, Nehru and Sardar Patel. The Prologue attempts to give glimpses of these controversies and shows how inflexible Rajaji was when he took a particular line. Once he wrote of Gandhiji: "He always felt acute pleasure when I agreed with him! For he found that of his half a dozen colleagues I was the most inclined to disagree when he laid down the law." There were disagreements and rifts between them but reconciliation followed always because their relationship was more a friendship than a political alliance. This friendship was fortified through the marriage of Gandhiji's youngest son Devdas with Rajaji's daughter Lakshmi, though the parents on both sides were initially opposed to such an intercaste marriage. Yet the situation did not improve.

Thus we find Rajaji frequently challenging Gandhiji's interpretation and practice of Satyagraha

itself — the disciple questioning the Guru! For instance only reluctantly did Rajaji accept Gandhiji's Bardoli decision to call off the civil disobedience movement after the violence at Gorakhpur. On his side, Gandhiji was himself getting worried and disgusted by the policies of some of his colleagues. The breaking point with Rajaji came over the latter's attitude towards war-time collaboration with the British. The Delhi Resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress of the 13th July, later approved by the A.I.C.C. at Poona (hence known as the Poona Offer) accepting conditional war-time collaboration with the British Government was, for Gandhiji, the greatest betrayal of the doctrine of non-violence. But Gandhiji showed his magnanimity and charity when Rajaji's policies crumbled through the refusal of the British to accept the Congress' offer.

With Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajaji had very much less in common. Nehru's "agnosticism and socialism was very much in variance with Rajaji's religiosity and distaste for dialectical materialism." Yet both in their own ways sought great truths. Both possessed richly cultivated intellects and shared a common passion for Anglo-Saxon culture. It is misleading to say that they were hostile to one another. On the other hand, Nehru had a great regard for Rajaji's brilliant intellect, selfless character and penetrating powers of analysis. It is common knowledge that Nehru favoured Rajaji for the honoured position as India's first President, but was over-ruled. In later years their relationship wavered, and Nehru was often distressed over Rajaji's political behaviour. In the 1950s Rajaji increasingly attacked the 'totalitarian' tendencies of the Nehru Government. The real alienation took place in 1959 when Rajaji founded the Swatantra Party.

One would have expected greater understanding and harmony between Rajaji and Sardar Patel. But political rivalry poisoned their shortlived amity. Rajaji also grew jealous of Patel's greater capacity for winning Gandhiji's support, and commented disparagingly about the Sardar's blind faith in the Mahatma. Sardar Patel on his part suspected that Rajaji had a soft corner for Muslims in their demand for a homeland.

After this interesting and well-conceived Prologue, the author launches into his main theme. He arranges the material in three Parts: Part I — Premier of Madras: 1937-1939; Part II — Into the Political Wilderness: War-time Dilemmas; and Part III — A Second Chance: 1946-1954. Of these Part I is the most fascinating as it shows up Rajaji as an astute political strategist and at the height of his prowess as the Premier of a vast Presidency like Madras of the pre-partition days.

Rajaji was 57 when he became the Premier of Madras for the first time. There were three contenders in the field for the post. The most popular and formidable opponent was S. Satyamurty who had established himself as a national figure and a great orator. Then there was S. Srinivasa Iyengar, also a national figure of repute, but who was a spokesman of the landlords. Lastly there was the Andhra Leader, T. Prakasam, who too had a large

following. Of these Satyamurty had the best chance of winning the Premiership. How Rajaji created a crisis in the Party and got the Central Leaders to come to his aid is a strategy worthy of a Chanakya. Once he was installed as Premier he ruled the Presidency with an efficiency and impartiality that soon earned for Madras the status of the best-governed Province in pre-Independent India. Rajaji saw to it that he got the best out of the civil servants who were mostly British. Some of the encomiums he earned on this account are interesting. In a letter in 1939, Lord Erskine, the Governor, calls Rajaji "a really good administrator besides being a good Tory in internal politics. In fact he is too much of a Tory for me. Though I may want to go twenty years, he wishes to go back two thousand years and run India as in the time of King Asoka".

But Rajaji had many worries too. To administer a sprawling Presidency which embraced areas which are now in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Orissa and Kerala was no easy task. Problems had to be tackled to the satisfaction of the peoples concerned. The author treats them under the sub-head: Politics of Communalism. Rajaji had made the claim that it was he who had advised Gandhiji to organize the Congress Party on a linguistic basis. This was to recoil on Rajaji himself when the question of the reorganisation of the States came to the forefront. Rajaji had to bear the brunt of the negotiations with the Andhra leaders over the separation of the Telugu-speaking areas. But one thing he was determined to do, and that was to hold on to Madras which also the Andhra leaders claimed.

During this period Rajaji got an excellent opportunity to put through various schemes for economic and social reforms. These covered programmes for agrarian reforms, introduction of prohibition, and temple-entry for Harijans. Naturally, these moves generated keen and sometimes violent opposition by vested interests, but Rajaji was not the man to be deterred by any such tactics. By and large, he had his way in many of the reforms he had embarked upon.

This highly productive and satisfactory period came to an abrupt end when the Congress Party decided to give up office on the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. From this period till 1952 when he again got a chance to head the Government of Madras for a brief period of two years, Rajaji had to experience a period of amazing reversal of fortunes. We have already noticed how his moves for collaboration with the British went awry; but further disasters were to follow when the Congress High Command decided to revolt and passed the 'Quit India' Resolution of 1942. This seemed to be the end of the road for Rajaji and he had no alternative but to leave the Congress. He was to suffer further loss of face and obloquy over the issue of Pakistan. While the South virtually disowned him, some of the top people in Delhi did not forsake him, particularly Nehru. So we find Rajaji again occupying high positions, e.g., Governor of Bengal, Minister in the Interim Government at the Centre and above all, the Governor-General of India — the last in that illustrious line.

Through all these vicissitudes Rajaji never gave up his principles or ideals. It seemed that he carried his resignation letter in his pocket all the time; he had no fear of getting out of office, or going into political wilderness. The main narrative virtually ends with Rajaji's resignation as Chief Minister of Madras in 1954. There is an Epilogue in which the author briefly refers to Rajaji's declining years. It was during this period that he formed the Swatantra Party and became a bitter critic of Nehru.

In a Postscript there is an attempt to compare Rajaji with Morarji Desai. It would have been interesting to have Rajaji's own comments on these observations. But there can be no doubt that he would have felt much satisfaction over the fact that someone after his own heart is at the helm of affairs in New Delhi.

K. V. Padmanabhan

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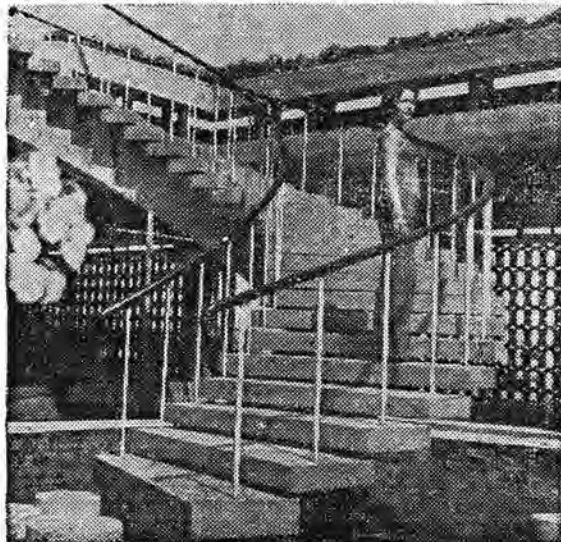
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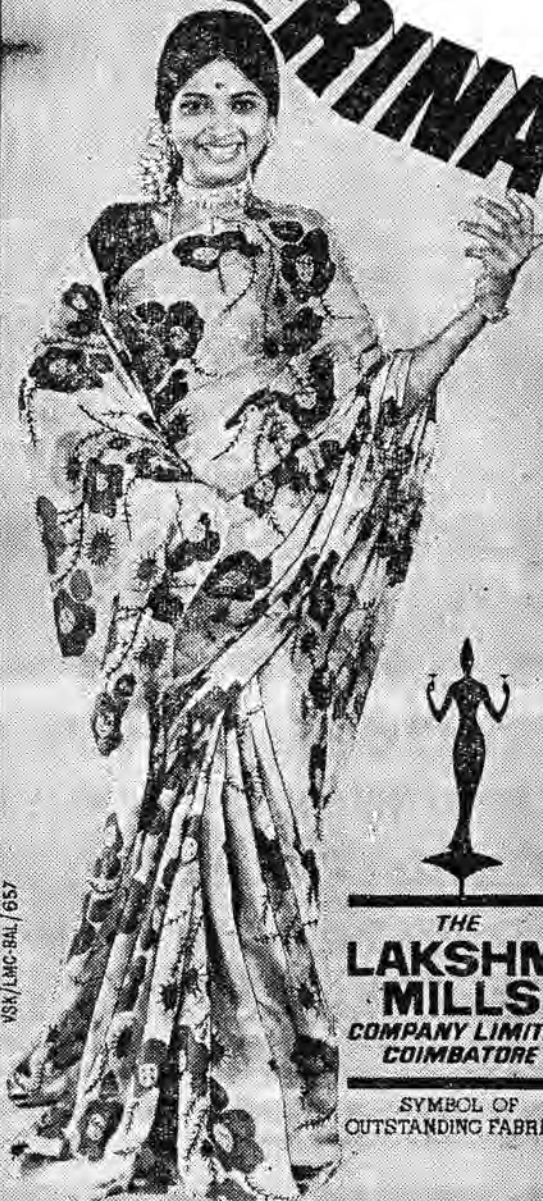
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"The deep
Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

—Tennyson

Four words that (have) droned their way too deeply into the bureaucracy: finalize, utilize, input and facilitate.

Herald Tribune, April 30

Honeymoons are of their nature brief but that is no argument against enjoying them

The Daily Telegraph, May 5

Why should any level-crossing in India be unmanned? Are we short of manpower?

R. G. K. Times of India, May 12

As the Janata men are still not used to being in Government, similarly we are still not used to being in Opposition.

Mrs. Gandhi, The Statesman, May 6

There are two dozen major Hindu and Moslem festivals every year and every one is a potential signal for communal rioting and slaughter.

The Economist, April 21

There is a wind of change in Britain and in much of the democratic world, and it comes from the right not the left.

Lord Blake, The Economist, April 21

Please don't use the word 'tough'. People might get the impression that I don't care and I do care very deeply. Resilient, I think.

Mrs. Thatcher, The Observer, May 5

Not surprisingly, the steel and industries ministers wish to nationalise TISCO so that it will not remain an embarrassing example of an island of efficiency in the industry.

Business India, May, 14

Does Mr. Bosu want the managing director of a Rs. 300 crore airline to live in a chawl and commute by train to his office?

Business India, May, 14

Entrepreneurship in India is not dead in spite of the continuing efforts of the bureaucracy in the last 30 years to stifle private enterprise.

Business India, May, 14

Most of us enjoy convictions, dogma is an affliction of our critics.

The Daily Telegraph, May 11

Be strong with the strength that comes from faith.

Pope John Paul II, The Daily Telegraph, June 11

Who are these people waiting in the long lines at the gas stations? Well, virtually all of them are people who need gas to get to work, and they need to work in order to pay their taxes so that the poor will be supported.

U. S. Senator Hayakawa, Time, June 4

We need to rely less on curbing the private sector and put more emphasis on fiscal restraint and economy by the public sector. That requires a significant reduction in the public sector borrowing requirement.

Sir G. Howe, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Daily Telegraph, June 13

The British people are convinced it is time for a new beginning. We need to strengthen incentives by allowing people to keep more of what they earn so that hard work, talent and ability are rewarded.

Sir G. Howe, Daily Telegraph, June 13

The measure of achievement



99 years ago, we were a single, simple spinning unit. Today, our textile complex is one of the largest in the world. In 1977, sales crossed the Rs. 80-crore mark.

Our manufacturing facilities are very modern and highly automated. We have one of the largest loomsheds—2,160 automatic looms under one roof!

We were the first cotton textile mill to install the revolutionary ultra high speed jigger shuttleless weaving machines in India. The first to produce terry towels on automatic jacquard looms. And one of the first to install a rotary screen printing machine.

Our fabrics are exported to all the sophisticated fashion centres in the world. In 1977 alone, exports exceeded Rs. 17 crores. Taking our total export earnings since independence to Rs. 193 crores—which is one-tenth of India's exports of cotton textiles! This export performance has earned for us, over the years, several awards:

- The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry 1972 Award for pioneering export achievement.
- The Government of India Award for outstanding achievement in export promotion for 1972-73.
- The Government of Maharashtra Directorate of Industries Prize for best export performance for 1973-74.
- The Texprocil Award for outstanding export performance in 1976-77.

How's that for achievement?

BOMBAY DYEING