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TEN YEARS ON

Vladimir Voinovich

(Illustrative of the precarious state of freedom of expression in the USSR is the following account of persecution suffered by Vladimir Voinovich which we are privileged to carry by the courtesy of RADIO LIBERTY).

I WAS probably expelled from the USSR Union of Writers on February 20, 1974. I say probably because a session of the secretariat of the Moscow Writers' Organization was scheduled for February 20, but whether it took place, who spoke at it, what they said, and how the decision was formulated, I do not know to this day.

The leaders of the Union not only did not announce my expulsion in the press, as had happened in previous similar cases, but even set a new precedent by failing to inform the expellee of his expulsion. They did not even ask for the return of my membership card, as they had in most other cases, and this precious document reposes in my archive to this day. Some time later, I learned that my name had disappeared from the list of members of Litfond, but who expelled me, when, and at what level the decision was taken remained a mystery to me.

Subsequently, I realized that the authorities were employing the tactic of completely ignoring me. From the moment of my expulsion from the Writers' Union until my departure from the Soviet Union in 1980, my name was not mentioned once in a Soviet newspaper. Officials of the Writers' Union pretended that they had never heard of such a writer and, when foreign visitors enquired after me, would either ask: "Who's that?" or, delving into the Union yearbook, would declare that no such name was in it.

If a Soviet citizen were to show an interest in me at some meeting or lecture on the international situation, he would usually be told that I had long since left the Soviet Union and was living in one of a vari-

ety of countries—Israel, the United States, or even Yugoslavia, from where my ancestors on my father's side had come to Russia. This information became so firmly entrenched that a well-known Soviet critic who lived in a nearby building and happened to meet me on the street turned pale, thinking I was an apportion, then spent a long time trying to find out when and how I had managed to return from abroad. When I assured him that I had never been out of the country, he grinned distrustfully, as if realizing that there were weighty reasons why I could not reveal this important secret to him.

Anyway, one fine day (I think it was February 20 after all), the secretaries of the Moscow section of the RSFSR Union of Writers gathered in one of the rooms on the second floor of the Central House of Writers, disconnected the telephones, and, in an atmosphere of such strict secrecy that it would have made the Pentagon green with envy, pronounced their wrathful speeches, called on one another to step up their vigilance, cast their votes (unanimously), and composed an extremely secret protocol finally depriving me of the lofty title of a Soviet writer.

This was, however, only the last act in the drama—or, if you like, comedy—that Lidiya Chukovskaya has termed "the process of expulsion." It had been preceded by three preliminary acts or, to be more exact, two acts and an interlude.

The first act had begun six years earlier in the fall of 1968 after I had signed a letter in defence of Ginzburg, Galanskov, Lashkova, and Dobrovolsky. A well-known secret decree hastily passed by a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee instructed all editors and censors in the Soviet Union not only to cease immediately the publication of the books, articles, poetry, and everything else that the decree termed "the works of literature and art and other works" of the guilty writers but also to ban any mention in the press of

these people, as if they simply no longer existed. No simple task, of course, but quite feasible in an experienced totalitarian state. Remove a writer's old books from the libraries, do not publish his new ones, do not mention his name in the press, and straightway, as it were, he ceases to exist. In this respect, my case seemed one of the simplest. The removal of one slim volume, published some years before in a small edition, required no effort. Banning the publication of two manuscripts then in the hands of the publishers was the simplest thing in the world. Proscribing six film scenarios that were being worked on by directors—what could be easier? But I happened to work in two other genres as well, and here things proved much more complicated. Several songs, in which my words had been set to music by well-known composers, had become so popular that they were not only performed daily on radio and television but were incorporated in thousands of variety shows and heard in restaurants and trains. One of them, moreover, had virtually become the hymn of the Soviet cosmonauts, and no ceremony in any way connected with space flights was without it. For a long time, the authorities just could not make up their minds what to do with it. Sometimes it was performed without any mention of the author, sometimes without the words, but they could not dispense with it altogether.

No less of a problem was what to do with my two plays *Khochu byt' chestnym* and *Dva tovarishcha*, which I had adapted for the stage from my stories. These plays were being put on by some fifty professional and countless "people's" theatres. To ban them all meant punishing not only the author but also several thousand actors who were guilty of no sin against the Soviet regime. This proved something of a teaser even for the Soviet authorities, and the simplest and most convenient solution for them would have been for me to renounce my signature on the letter. The other signatories too were asked to do this, but perhaps the most powerful and concerted onslaught was directed at me. I was called in by functionaries of the Union of Writers, the Ministry of Culture, the Moscow City Soviet, the Political Administration of the Army, the Moscow City Party Committee, and the Central Committee of the CPSU. In countless offices I was urged and implored to withdraw my signature, I was flattered, I was threatened, and I was promised I would be ground to dust. Particular zeal was shown by Moscow City Party Secretary Anna Shaposhnikova, a spiteful little lady whose ignorance was legendary. In her eyes I was simply a friend. "Do you know who you are defending?" She said to a stage director who spoke up for me. "Do you know how he talks? He talks

(Continued on Page 7)

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AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

I CANNOT join the simple folk who have been rubbing their hands with satisfaction at what they consider the attractive aspects of the current year's Union Budget. So far as I am concerned, it is one more of the dreary budgets that have been a feature of our national scene for the last twenty years and more. The basic fact about the Budget is that both Plan and Military expenditure has shot up, resulting in Rs. 230 crores of additional taxation and Rs. 1762 crores of deficit finance, totalling around Rs. 2000 crores of additional burden on the people of India. Further inflation is of course inevitable. What was required instead was a massive cut in wasteful public expenditure which would make it possible to reduce taxation and avoid deficit finance. That, of course, was too much to expect from a Government that has neither the guts nor the honesty of purpose to do its bit by the people.

Nothing less than a "U-turn", or indeed a revolution, will suffice to rid India of the "New Class" in Delhi which talks about "socialism" and lines its own pockets. The people of India will have to get rid of the socialist pattern which Winston Churchill described as "a society in which nobody counts for anything except a politician and an official, a society where enterprise gives no reward and thrift no privileges".

Contrast our sad plight with the Budget in the U.K. in which, according to a headline in the London *Times* of February 17, a "tight rein on public spending paves the way for lower taxes". Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has explained her approach: "I came to office with one deliberate intent; to change Britain from a dependent to a self-reliant society—from a give-it-to-me to a do-it-yourself nation; for a get-up-and-go, instead of a sit-back-and wait-for-it, Britain". That means creating a new culture, an "enterprise culture", Prime Minister Thatcher said, "which would breed a new generation of job-creators with status and reward. That means that taxes must be cut. If we are to reduce taxation, we must hold down public expenditure."

On 6 March I attended Bombay's intellectual event of the year—Mr. Nani Palkhivala's speech on the Union Budget sponsored by the Forum of Free Enterprise. Everybody who was anybody was there. There was a huge expectant crowd of around forty thousand—certainly unique for a dry topic like the Budget! Nani's speech was, as usual, a masterpiece of popular education and enlightenment.

In the chair was my old friend and colleague of

Congress Socialist Party days, Achyut Patwardhan, who made a moral appeal in the spirit of Gandhiji's dictum "turn the searchlight inwards". I was delighted when he announced that he too was a "repentant socialist".

Among the points that Nani made were that it was a pity that the Union Budget could not always be introduced only on 29th February because then people could go about their business for four years without this annual disturbance! I was glad he underlined the point I have made earlier in this column that there is a massive increase in Plan expenditure and even more massive deficit financing over the last four years. He suggested that the tax concessions which seemed to have made the newspaper headlines should act as "a sweetener" but not as "a tranquiliser" to lull us into false complacency about a thoroughly bad budget.

It is a pity Mr. Palkhivala's annual exposition of the Union Budget can only be availed of by people in Bombay, but there is good news for those outside because, coincident with this annual event, comes the publication of a book entitled *We, The People* which is a collection of Mr. Palkhivala's speeches and articles on a variety of topics over the past several decades. The book is being distributed by Strand Book Stall, Sir Phiroze-shah Mehta Road, Bombay 400 001, and can be obtained for Rs. 80 by the general public and Rs. 70 by members of the Forum of Free Enterprise, of which Mr. Palkhivala is President.

These days I am often asked whether I approve of the LIC demand for the removal of nine directors from ESCORTS LTD. Of course I don't. But what intrigues me is that hardly anyone questions the right of the LIC to exist at all.

The life insurance monopoly of the Union Government was one of the unfortunate contributions of Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, the then Union Finance Minister, which he unfortunately undertook in order to please the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Those who insure, whether it is their life, or their property, or their car, have suffered since from indifference and callousness on the part of government officials. Government is not meant to render service as insurers and to expect bureaucrats to serve the insurer is asking for the impossible.

My answer to the question therefore is that the LIC has no business to exist in a free society. The sooner it is broken up and private enterprise and competition are restored, the better for the people of India who insure and who are today denied any freedom of choice by which they can escape from the tentacles of a State Capitalist monopoly of a soulless kind.

(Courtesy: *The Statesman*)

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NICARAGUA: THE OFFICIAL VERSION AND THE REAL THING

PETER SAGER

DURING A recent visit to Nicaragua, I was given a revealing glimpse of how, in all Marxist dictatorships, the very rosy version of the state of affairs in the country given by spokesmen of the regime differs so dramatically from the truth. In this particular case, the official version has been worked out with great care, so that it slots into the way of thinking of left-wing circles in the West and in the Third World — who would so much like to think that Nicaragua is a genuinely non-aligned country fighting a desperate battle against super-power pressure exercised by the United States.

Because my aircraft was late arriving in Nicaragua, I was unable to meet the two members of the nine-man military junta with whom I had appointments. Instead, I was received—extremely cordially—by Sub-Comandante Rafael Solis Cerda, in the rank immediately below junta membership. It was from him that I received the official version of how things stand in Nicaragua.

But first a few words about the background. On July 19th 1979, Nicaragua was freed from the corrupt dictatorship of the Somoza family, which had been in power since 1932. There is no doubt that, apart from the Somozas themselves and the 10,000 or so members of their National Guard, all sections of the country were united in the struggle to overthrow this regime, especially the Church, all leading sectors of the economy and the intellectuals. The armed struggle against Somoza was led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and it is important now to realise that the FSLN then promised a system of political pluralism. There were to be free elections, a multi-party system, press freedom and a mixed economy. After the demise of the Somoza regime, a new era in terms of human rights was to begin.

Sub-Comandante Solis was aware of these promises, and it was his main task in our interview to convince me that they had in fact been kept. He told me that two-thirds of the country's economy was still in private hands. There was an opposition newspaper and several political parties. The Parliament consisted of 51 nominated members from the political parties, the trade unions, employers organisations, the army, the Church and other sectors. Of these, there were 29 Sandinista members, 11 Sandinista sympathisers and 11 members of the opposition.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the junta insists on strict neutrality and tries to have good relations with all countries. Dependence on the United States has come to an end, but there is no intention of replacing

this with dependence on the Soviet Union. For example, Nicaragua receives only 12% of its economic aid from the Soviets. It is sympathetic to the guerrillas in El Salvador but does not provide them with bases.

Emphasis is given to health and education, said Sub-Comandante Solis. Thanks to Cuban teachers, the number of illiterates among the population has already been reduced by 20%. There has been a particular problem with the people living on the Atlantic Coast: the Miskito Indians, mainly Protestant and English-speaking, do not belong to the Latin American culture. They were left to fend for themselves by Somoza and are therefore mostly illiterate. In trying to institute reforms, the Sandinistas admit that mistakes were made, but these have now been corrected. Great progress has been made with agricultural reform. Large landholdings have been expropriated and replaced by cooperatives. The proportion of large holdings has been reduced since 1979 from 41% to 12%.

This is the essence of what Sub-Comandante Solis told me. But I had ample opportunity while I was in Nicaragua to find out about the real thing. The first and most important of the Sandinistas' promises—elections within two years—has not been kept. The regime claims that an electoral law is being worked out and should pass Parliament in May, preparatory to elections in 1985. The opposition says that the new law will not guarantee free elections, however, and in protest against it they will boycott elections held under it.

Although Archbishop Obando Y Bravo was one of the leading opponents of Somoza, the Sandinistas are now against the Church and circumscribe its activities. They are trying to create a "People's Church" which will support the regime unconditionally.

Every conceivable difficulty is put in the way of the opposition newspaper, *Prensa*. Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Sr., its owner and editor-in-chief, who was extremely popular and counted amongst the staunchest opponents of Somoza, was murdered in January 1978. The Sandinistas are widely thought to have been responsible. His son, Pedro Chamorro Jr., continues the fight against the regime with great courage. The paper is often banned, but it always opens again as a result of pressure both from inside the country and from outside. There is rigorous censorship; every day articles are banned. And the censors try to spin out their work so that there is no time for preparation of the paper before the end of the day.

After the overthrow of Somoza, the Sandinistas immediately started to build up the army as their most

important instrument of power. Why? In the south, Costa Rica actually abolished its army in 1948. In the northwest, El Salvador could never constitute a danger, and in the east Honduras would never wish to attack Nicaragua. Fear of an invasion, repeated every day by the government media, is artificially cultivated, and Managua, the capital, is full of martial posters and slogans—and was long before the American invasion of Grenada. This is intended to justify the growing militarisation of the country. The army has grown from 7,000 men under Somoza to 40,000 men today. A popular militia is also being created, and this is intended to include more than 200,000 men and women. Students are allowed to attend university only when they have completed their military service — which is why their numbers have dropped dramatically.

Men of military age are no longer allowed to leave the country. People who wish to emigrate must leave their property behind them. Out of three million inhabitants, more than half a million have emigrated—mostly small landowners. In this way, the regime has rid itself of opposition elements and at the same time has exported difficulties to neighbouring countries, which have to look after the refugees. If the poorer people could also “vote with their feet”, there would be many more refugees, as the regime has totally exhausted the popularity which it had after the overthrow of Somoza.

The worst affected by the regime's measures are the Miskitos and the Ramas, the Indian tribes of the Atlantic Coast—where Sub-Comandante Solis admitted to “mistakes”. A serious attempt at genocide was made in these areas, but, in spite of what the Sub-Comandante asserted, it is continuing. And this is not the only area in which human rights are trampled under foot.

The regime is faced with growing difficulties. These are caused mainly by the militarisation of the country, which began before the opposition guerilla movement, the Contras, started their activity. These are led by one of the foremost members of the old anti-Somoza movement, Eden Pastora, who was known as Comandante Zero. The Sandinistas claim that the Contras are Somoza remnants—but Somoza at his best never had as many supporters as that. Pastora, however, lacks the charisma of the murdered newspaper owner, Chamorro, who alone had support amongst all the people and could have been the future leader of a democratic regime.

It is not the Contras, but the country's economic difficulties, which are forcing the military junta to make concessions. Soviet help is much less than the junta had hoped for, and it is now slowly recognised that economic assistance is not a Soviet speciality.

Attacks against the United States are being moderated, the Marxist-Leninist content of the regime's propaganda is also being softened down, and there is constant reference to the fact that the Communist Party of Nicaragua is not part of the government. There is an attempt to cooperate with the activities of the Con-tadora group (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama) and a constant emphasis on the regime's desire for peace. How genuine is this change?

The Nicaraguan Church is certainly very disappointed and feels that the concessions are essentially tactical. The same opinion is held by most of the opposition leaders. As evidence, they cite a speech by Humberto Ortega—who is supposed to be one of the more moderate elements in the junta—to a group of military specialists on August 25th 1981, in which he said: “We cannot be Marxist-Leninists without Sandinism, and without Marxism-Leninism Sandinism is not revolutionary. . . . Our political strength is Sandinism and our doctrine is Marxism-Leninism.” I can also cite a text which was meant to be secret but of which I was able to see a copy. It is dated August 1982 and consists of an analysis of the slogan: “Defend the revolution in order to build socialism.” Socialism is defined in the analysis as a step on the way to Communism.

(Courtesy: Swiss Press Review and News Report)

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TEN YEARS ON

(Continued from Page 2)

about us as 'them'." She personally kept track of all my efforts to find a loophole and earn a living. She spoke of herself in the first person plural: "We will remove him from the Writers' Union. We will not let him earn a single kopeck. We know that he writes under other names, but we will get behind it." I do not know how I provoked the wrath of this harpy, but her persecution of me certainly reflected her personal animosity as well as her official duty. I cannot say whether she was given access to my KGB dossier or had her own personal detective agency. At all events, she was privy to every statement I made on the telephone and even at home, making not the slightest attempt to conceal the fact. In all fairness, I must admit that my comments about her were so uncomplimentary that even now I dare not repeat them. She pursued me constantly and tirelessly until she was transferred to another job. (This uneducated creature is now a deputy minister of higher education.)

By the end of 1969, the authorities had apparently decided that the "signers" had been sufficiently punished, and the grip relaxed slightly. The banned names began to reappear on the pages of newspapers and journals. There was once more talk at the "Sovetsky pisatel'" publishing house of putting out my book. My plays started running again in some, but not fifty, theatres. The Union of Writers issued me a stern reprimand. Thus ended the first act in my "process of expulsion."

The interval was, however, of short duration. A couple of months later, in the fall of 1969, the journal *Grani* somewhat unexpectedly published the first part of *Chonkin*, which had previously been circulating in *samizdat*. Shaposhnikova and her minions could not let such an opportunity slip and began a new act that was to last altogether about four years. During the first half of this period, I was the object of attention from the secretaries of the Moscow section of the Union of Writers both as a group and individually, of a specially formed commission consisting of Sergei Boldyrev, Mikhail Bragin, and Viktor Te'pugov, of the aforementioned Shaposhnikova, of CPSU Central Committee officials Al'bert Belyaev and Yurii Kuz'menko, and of Aleksandr Rekemchuk and Feliks Kuznetsov (the present head of the Moscow writers), both of whom acted as if on their own private initiative and from "friendly considerations." They asked me to acknowledge "honestly and frankly" that the book I had written was not only anti-Soviet but also, still worse (strangely enough), anti-popular, slanderous, and written virtually on the orders of the CIA.

(At a joint meeting at this time, Sergei Mikhalkov called me a special correspondent of Posev and said that I was a bedbug that cannot be squashed with a tank but can be destroyed by other means.)

There were two sessions with the secretariat of the Moscow organization of the RSFSR Union of Writers on the subject. At the first, which was presided over by my permanent investigator, Moscow organization Secretary and KGB General Viktor Il'in, writer Viktor Tel'pugov said that it was unimportant how my story (despite my protests, they insisted on calling a part of a novel a story in order to be able to regard it as a *complete* anti-Soviet work) had got abroad and who had printed it; what was important was that it had been written at all:

Even if I knew that this story had been printed nowhere and was simply lying in the author's desk or had only just been conceived, I would still consider that its author should be dealt with not by us but by those who are professionally engaged in fighting the enemies of our system. I shall myself petition the competent bodies that the author gets the punishment he deserves.

The speaker who followed Tel'pugov was the writer Mikhail Bragin, a colonel. (From my observations, there are as many colonels and generals in the Writers' Union as there are in the General Staff. What is more, they are prone to remark "I am a general" or "I am a colonel," never adding "retired" and never mentioning to what branch of the service they belong. I think most of them belong to the KGB.) Well, this colonel got all worked up and said he had never come across such terrible people insulting his beloved army and asked whether I had really seen anything like I described in his beloved army. I said: "Yes, I have seen considerably worse." My words so outraged the sacred feelings of the colonel that he jumped up, his face flushed, and, hopping from one foot to the other, shouted: "It's a lie! A lie! A downright lie!"

At which I, in deference to the gentleman's age and rank, said that, if he was subjected to fits, he should visit a doctor as soon as possible and avoid taking part in such nerve-racking measures.

"But you are telling lies," repeated Bragin, not in the least appeased.

"I warn you," I said, "I warn all of you here that, if I hear the word 'lie' once more, I will walk out immediately."

The word was, however, uttered again, and I walked out to the accompaniment of passionate pleas (reminiscent of a Greek chorus) from those present of "Comrade Voinovich, come back."

A strictly secret communique issued in connection with this meeting stated that the participants in the special session of the secretariat and the *aktiv*, concerned about the career of their comrade, had met and pointed out to him in a friendly manner the unworthiness of his behaviour, which had in fact led him into the camp of our enemies. The comrade had, however, conducted himself in a provocative and arrogant manner, had denied the ideologically damaging nature of his so-called "work," had created a conflict situation, and, taking advantage of it, had walked out. There followed a concluding sentence, which I think I can reproduce word for word: "Only the absence of a quorum prevented the members of the secretariat from reaching a final decision on the continued membership of V. N. Voinovich in the Union of Writers of the USSR."

In fact, all this was a lot of nonsense. When had they ever needed a quorum? They could always have created one artificially. The reason they did not expel me was that they intended to work me over a little more. The spiritual destruction of a writer has always been more alluring to them than his physical destruction.

In the fall of that same year, I wrote a letter of protest to the journal *Grani* for which some people reproach me to this day. There is no denying that it is rather humiliating to write such protests under pressure from the authorities but, had I been a free man

at the time, my protest would have been far more harsh. The publication by Posev of the first part unsettled me and prevented me from finishing the novel (it is not complete even now). The text of the "protest" was approved and edited by the secretariat of the Union of Writers and by the CPSU Central Committee and was published with additions that were actually the work of General Il'in.

In December, 1970, at a second session of the secretariat, I was given a further stern reprimand and a "last" warning. The leaders of the Union of Writers did not consider that the protest to *Grani* was adequate on its own and called on me to find "a suitable way" of condemning my unworthy behaviour and my ideologically damaging story. Since none of the possible ways seemed to me suitable, my work was not printed and I was unable to earn a living for another two years. At the end of 1972, by which time the authorities assumed I was well and truly on my knees, they decided to forgive me, and two of my books were published simultaneously. This was a major ideological mistake on their part because in the meantime I had risen from my knees, had forgiven the authorities nothing, and had every intention of undertaking fresh actions totally "incompatible with the lofty title of a Soviet writer."

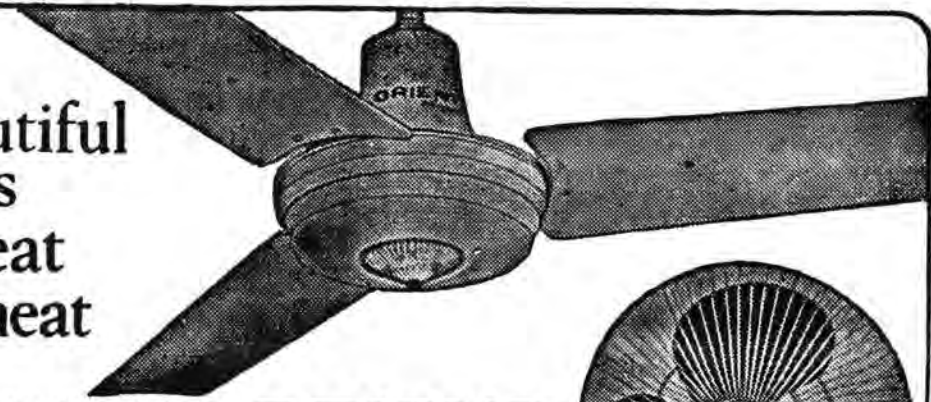
(The second instalment of Mr. Voinovich's account will appear in the next issue of Freedom First).

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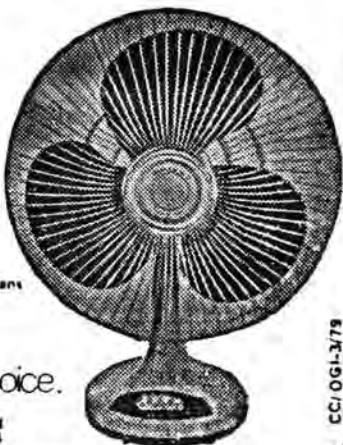
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CULTURAL ROUNDABOUT

S. I. CLERK

THE AMERICAN Center (USIS) organised an exhibition of 40 black and white photographs by the American photographer Rosalind Solomon. The theme was Indian festivals. Solomon had taken these photographs while on a visit to India in 1981-1982. Her locales were Himachal Pradesh, Bengal, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. She concentrates on people in their social ethos. Facial expressions would appear to be her *forte*. She admits: "I do my work as an expression." She also seems to be interested more in striving to bring out the inner feelings of the people she photographs rather than in the events *per se* of the festivals. And she would not mind sacrificing spontaneity if she could obtain the expression she seeks through "posed" figures.

On an immediate level, here was an interesting facet of life in India as observed and captured through the camera lens by a foreigner. One only wishes the relevant catalogue had some technical details as to the equipment used, etc. Incidentally, this exhibition was simultaneously being held at the International Museum of Photography, New York and is scheduled to be put up in 1985 at the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., as a part of the Festival of India in the United States.

* * * * *

ONE OF the leading contemporary Indian sculptors Pilloo Pochkhanawala had her exhibition (a Retrospective of Three Decades) at the Jehangir Art Gallery. This collection of some 80 pieces ranging from the small to the monumental formats and in a wide variety of materials was later remounted at the Tata Theatre in their lower level foyer and the adjoining garden. The exhibition covered the sculptor's work between 1954 and 1984 and it almost dramatically revealed her evolution themewise, technique-wise and material-wise. Overall, today her themes have become almost metaphysical (from the erstwhile Metal Scapes, Sea-scapes, Time Cycle, etc.). And from wood she has "graduated" today to combinations of various materials. For an yet deeper understanding of the sculptor's work, one wishes her Retrospective had included a selection of her drawings. These are dynamic and are independent of her sculptures. At the same time they must be taken into consideration for any evaluation of her as a sculptor. Pilloo Pochkhanawala is also a poet and a designer.

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BOOK REVIEWS

WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 1983: Oxford University Press, Pp. 214, Rs. 30.

THIS REPORT is the sixth in an annual series assessing various World Development issues. Part I reviews recent trends in the development activities of the developing countries, while Part II is devoted to a special topic, viz., the management and institutional aspects of development. The Report was prepared by a team of World Bank experts, assisted by contributors from various international bodies, such as the Development Division of the United Nations, the ILO, the IMF, and the OECD, and also by several other experts. The result is an enormous mass of statistical and analytical material, which can be useful to economic research workers all over the world. Although the factual and statistical data concerning the world economy in a sense defy analysis various conclusions of a general nature have been drawn by the Editors of the volume, which may guide the reader to some extent, and these can be briefly summarised here.

First, it is stated that the recovery in the world economy foreseen in 1982 has not materialised during 1983, and the recession has lasted longer than expected, setting back global development "more decisively than at any time since the Great Depression." Also, "the international financial system remains severely strained and protectionism continues to be an ominous threat."

Secondly, the Editors have rightly pointed out that

"the interdependence of the global economy has become strikingly evident over the past three years." The recession in the developed countries has led to stagnant export markets and lower capital flows to the Third World; moreover, retrenchment in the developing countries means less employment in the developed countries themselves. Also, "limited capital flows and trade growth are likely to be serious constraints on the developing-country growth."

However, according to the Report, although the recession that has afflicted the world economy since 1980 "seems at last to be easing," the economic conditions in many developing countries have worsened. China and India alone among the developing countries have "come through the current recession with encouraging resilience", while many low-income countries, including African and some Asian countries, have suffered badly from the recession. This is partly due to the growing protectionism in many industrial countries in which there has been an implacable rise in unemployment during the recession. A sharp rise in international interest rates also has turned the debt service burden into a "debt crisis" for the developing countries.

Workers' remittances from the industrially developed countries and OPEC countries have no doubt enabled the weaker developing countries to tide over



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their financial difficulties to some extent, but since 1982 growing unemployment in most developed countries has reduced the availability of this source of foreign exchange, and most developing countries are getting deeper into indebtedness. The Report estimates that while in 1982, the total outstanding debt of all developing countries amounted to \$548 billion, it may rise in another ten years to \$1,997 billion. (India, incidentally, has already arrived at a total figure of international debt amounting to Rs. 23,500 crores during the current fiscal year, which may rise further to Rs. 30,000 crore by 1988-89.)

The question that arises is whether all this is actually alleviating poverty in the developing countries. The Report estimates that even with an annual GDP growth rate of 5 to 6 per cent between 1975 and 2000 A.D., more than 600 million people will remain below the poverty line by the end of the century. The report, therefore, urges action for stimulating the growth rate and also for *curbing the population growth* in developing countries.

The present volume has unfortunately failed to take note of an important factor, viz., the enormous expenditure on armaments which is being incurred by the developed industrial nations, particularly the Super

Powers and their respective satellites, and which undoubtedly is at the root of the present economic chaos in the world. The results of the armaments expenditure, which have completely distorted the world economy are plain enough. By applying the capital and human resources of the world excessively to armaments production, the normal production of consumer goods and raw materials has been seriously neglected, thus bringing about a continuous, non-stop hyperinflation (including excessively high interest rates) everywhere. This inflation, however, is partly a cost-push inflation and one caused by scarcity of normal industrial and consumer goods and not one brought by increased demand for them.

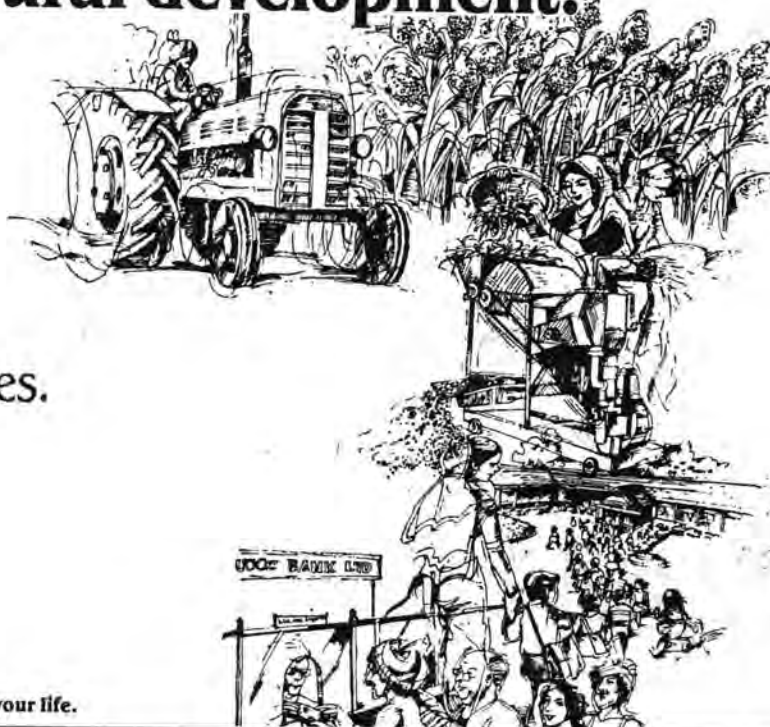
The excessive and reckless armaments production has, moreover, reduced the ability of industrially advanced countries to help the developing countries, which are increasingly unable to obtain funds and have to pay exorbitant rates of interest on loans. Thus, the entire programme of global development has been jeopardised and it is difficult to prognosticate its future. In other words, we do not yet know whether 1984 and the following years will be years of All Well or Orwell for the world's developing and developed countries!

—Prof. B. P. Adarkar

Integrated rural development.

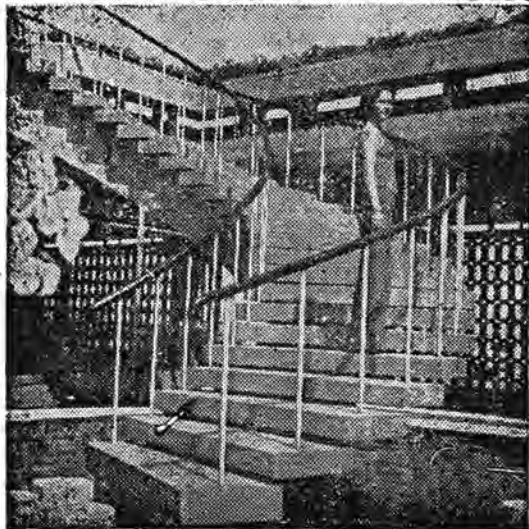
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THE THIRD WAVE: NEO—GANDHISM IN PLACE OF MARXISM—by Alvin Toffler, William Morrow & Co. Inc., New York. Pp. 459, US. \$14.95.

THIS BOOK, written with extraordinary clarity, perception and imagination, is a magnificent and explosive piece of work. It is an illumination of tomorrow with a brilliant analysis of the forces that might lead to an entirely new civilisation. It deals with the third wave of change in history, the first two being the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions.

The author foresees the death of industrialisation and the rise of a new civilisation which will challenge all our old assumptions, old ways of thinking, old formulae, dogmas and ideologies, no matter how cherished or how useful they may have been in the past. The present book is radically different from Toffler's earlier book *Future Shock* both in form and focus. It covers a much wider sweep of time—past as well as future—and is more prescriptive.

According to the author, the first wave of change—the Agricultural Revolution—took thousands of years to play itself out. The second wave—the rise of Industrial Civilisation—took only three hundred years. The Third Wave will sweep across history and complete itself in a few decades. The impact of the Third Wave will be felt by the present generation itself. The Third Wave will affect everyone, rendering our families apart, rocking our economy, paralysing our political system, challenging all the old power relationships, the privileges and prerogatives of the endangered elites of today and providing the backdrop against which the key power struggles of tomorrow will be fought. The Third Wave will bring with it a

new way of life based on diversified, renewable energy sources; on methods of production that will make most factory assembly lines obsolete; on new, non-nuclear families; on a novel institution that might be called the "electronic cottage"; and on radically changed schools and corporations of the future.

The Third Wave will topple bureaucracies, reduce the role of the nation-state, and give rise to semi-autonomous economies in a post-imperialist world. We shall see new governments that are simpler, more effective and more democratic than any we know today. It will bring about a civilisation with its own distinctive world outlook, its own ways of dealing with time, space, logic and causality.

Toffler foresees that, as the Third Wave thunders in, the mass media, far from expanding their influence, will be forced to share it as they are being beaten back on many fronts by the "de-massified media". Each of today's mass-circulation dailies and periodicals will face increasing competition from a burgeoning flock of dailies and periodicals, providing more localised advertising and news. De-massified media will snap at its heels.

The Third Wave will bring a new mode of production—a return to cottage-industry on a new, higher, electronic basis, and with it a new emphasis on home as the Centre of Society—somewhat on the lines envisaged by Mahama Gandhi, but modified and modernised in keeping with the scientific and technological advances. In other words, Neo-Gandhism will replace Marxism which has now become totally outdated.

—Gayatri Jayant

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WITH MANY VOICES

Most Indians now regard all politicians as crooks and gangsters and elections as a choice between predators.

—The Economist quoted in *Indian Express*, January 30.

Rebecca West has said she didn't really know what a feminist was; she just knew she got called one whenever she said anything that distinguished her from a doormat or a prostitute.

—Katharine Whitehorn in *The Observer*, January 22.

No matter who the president is, whether he is well up on foreign affairs or not, whether he leads or forgets to lead the West, no matter how well or badly armed the American defence establishment is, and no matter what the American foreign policy is at the moment, hard or soft, a large number of Europeans will not be pleased.

—Luigi Barzini quoted in *The New York Times*.

Reading Kremlin tea-leaves is a risky business.

—*The Economist*, January 14.

What is a Russian string trio? A Russian string quartet that has just returned from the West.

—Russian Joke quoted by The Rt. Hon. David Steel, M.P., *The Observer*, February 19.

Hindsight is the bad habit of the journalist.

—*The Economist*, February 4, 1984.

There are workaholics. There are people who pretend to be workaholics. There are people who delude themselves into believing they are workaholics. And there are people who — often proudly—manifest no workaholicism whatsoever.

—*The Guardian*, February 24.

A man who cannot endure dirt, squalor, dust, stench, noise, ugliness, disorder, heat and cold has no right to live in India.

—Nirad Chaudhuri quoted in *The Daily*, February 27.

After all, India is not only the Congress (I).

—Farooq Abdullah quoted in *The Times of India*, February 11.

It will be utterly cynical to describe President Andropov's death as a non-event on the specious plea that he lay dying for some weeks, if not months.

—*The Times of India*, February 11.