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UNESCO and the New World Information Order

CUSHROW IRANI

FOR THE past decade at least UNESCO has allowed itself to be used as a forum by governments of a particular persuasion to make curbs on the free press respectable. These governments provide a built-in majority at UNESCO and comprise the Soviet Union and other Communist regimes and the large majority of governments in the Third World who, although not Communist in form, share a common attribute—intolerance of any dissent.

Demands for a New World Information Order were initially accompanied by loud protests that the concern was not with the content of the message, the concern was with the imbalance in information technology which made the poor countries of the Third World the recipient of what they regarded as hostile propaganda. In the process, the major international news agencies were clubbed together and damned as a monopoly. No one with any knowledge of the newspaper world would say that Reuters, AP, AFP and UPI have carved up the world among themselves and are indulging in a monopolistic information advantage. The fact of the matter is that they actively compete for custom. There is also the curious disinclination to name the largest agency of them all—Tass. I suspect that the reason for such forbearance is that those who demand a New World Information & Communications Order, that is to say, governments and their spokesmen and supporters regard Tass as the model of the kind of news agency they would like for themselves.

This is not to suggest that the existing situation is ideal. No reasonable man would be that complacent. At the annual assembly of the International Press Institute in Nairobi (Kenya) in 1981, in a session devoted to reporting the African countries, the local representative of AP in reciting his experiences confessed that when he first arrived in Nairobi he did not

even know the names of the capitals of the East African countries he was supposed to cover. Keith Fuller, the head of AP who was in the chair, readily admitted that this should not have happened and said that it would be his endeavour to ensure that no AP correspondent was sent anywhere in the world so ill-prepared for his task. There is an epilogue and a lesson here. This same reporter, by dint of hard work and application, is now one of the best reporters covering East Africa. The lesson to be drawn is that a free press working in freedom is constantly evaluating its performance and trying to do better.

The Worst Alternative

Whilst not for one moment denying the need for self-improvement, it needs to be said that the remedy that is offered—of government-sponsored information systems—is the worst of all possible alternatives. We have one example in the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool. It is controlled by Information Ministers who meet regularly in council. The title gives the game away. Non-alignment is a political, not a professional, journalistic concept. We have an extension of this now in the shape of the recently concluded Namedia conference in Delhi. Namedia stands for Non-Aligned Movement Media. The non-aligned countries are not a special kind of animal. Respect for the basic human right of free speech has no relationship with the level of economic development in any particular country. The Namedia conference was actively sponsored by the Government of India, whose embassies were directed to gather together as many acceptances as possible for the Indian Government's invitation to come to New Delhi. Some professionals uncommitted to this concept of a special definition of news for developing countries, who attended the meeting were promptly ridiculed by the Prime Minister herself who

asked what they were doing there. Had the concept of non-alignment changed or had the individuals changed their views, she asked.

The view is often expressed that UNESCO formulations are not mandatory and are, therefore, harmless. Such an attitude begs the question and is designed to lower our guard. We are all invited to come together in the name of compromise, but there is no compromise possible between those who believe that it is the duty of a free press to act independently and, where necessary, as an adversary of the government, and those who look upon the press as an extension of government information departments. UNESCO formulations are not harmless. They lend philosophical justification to governments all over the Third World and elsewhere who, whatever their protestations to the contrary, are determined to suppress such freedoms as exist. Let me enumerate just three of them:

Commercialisation of the Media

(1) Denunciations of 'commercialisation of the media', which are also to be found in the MacBride Report, provide the justification for imposing penal customs duties on the already high prices of newsprint and printing machinery. Disallowance of legitimate advertising expenditure and government attempts to control advertisement rates and to channel more and more advertising through the government's information ministry are all sought to be justified as measures against the commercialisation of the media. Advertisements from corporations and individuals appearing in newspapers are supposed to be manifestations of the evil of commercialisation. If governments first create a monopoly of advertising as they are seeking to do and then distribute the largesse to those whom they wish to favour, this is to be regarded as high public policy and, therefore, justified.

Right of Access

(2) Slogans of 'democratisation of the media' have resulted in the Second Press Commission's majority recommendation to give all and sundry a 'right of access' to the press. This is to be distinguished from the right of a citizen to seek redress from a newspaper that has defamed him or has otherwise misreported the facts. The proposal in effect means that anyone may approach any newspaper of his choice for anything he may wish to say and at any length. And the onus then shifts to the editor to explain that he has not acted arbitrarily or unfairly in rejecting the contribution. This right of access is to be made enforceable in the first instance by the Press Council. The

question is not whether we should or should not have confidence in the Press Council. The question is why the editor should have to waste his time in defending himself in this fashion. Nothing is better calculated to clog the working of the more reputable newspapers.

Right to Communicate

(3) UNESCO has now discovered a new right—the right to communicate. In UNESCO-sponsored consultations, it has been elaborated in the following syllogism:

- (a) a right is basic and freedoms merely follow from a right;
- (b) freedom of the press is one such derivative of the basic right to communicate; therefore—
- (c) rights being basic are fundamental, but freedoms being derivatives can be amended and abridged

Content of the Message

UNESCO'S protestations, often repeated with considerable heat, that it is not concerned with the content of the message and that it is primarily concerned with transfer of technology from the developed to the developing world bears a little examination. At the last meeting of the IPDC (an offshoot of UNESCO) held at Tashkent in September 1983, it was stated on behalf of the Director-General that projects thrown out because they were ideological and political would be restored and the Director-General would find other sources of finance for them. The Draft Medium Term Plan 1984-89 by the UNESCO Secretariat submitted

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(Approved by I A T A)

to the General Conference in 1982, says explicitly in paragraph 3007, "Clearly then the international community cannot ignore the problem of the content of these messages". So the cat was finally out of the bag. The debate that ensued was revealing. During discussions in Commission the words "the content of" were agreed to be deleted by consensus. When the matter came before the Plenary Session, the Soviet Union, sensing their advantage, denied that there was any such consensus and demanded restoration of the word "content". The final wording that emerged was "the problem of these messages and what they say"! This was not before the Indian delegate, coming to the rescue of the Soviet position, offered a "compromise" of his own. "Let us say", he said, "the problem of the messages and what they contain"! This episode speaks volumes for the charade that is being enacted at UNESCO in the name of debate and compromise.

Time to take a stand

The United States has now served notice that it will withdraw from UNESCO at the end of the current year. This could not have been an easy decision to take. One's natural instinct is to stand and fight but this is hardly the issue here. The issue is

whether one should appear to be helplessly acquiescing in what is going on and whether the time has come to take a clear stand on principles. Great Britain and West Germany are also giving the matter very serious thought. The worry is that the majority of the governments at UNESCO have locked themselves into their collective position but it remains to be seen whether they would be prepared to place their roubles and their other devalued currencies where their mouths are. Desperation and the need to save face may drive them precisely in these highly dangerous directions. The UNESCO Secretariat has been busy in the Third World canvassing support for the view that UNESCO would be better off without the handful of difficult governments. There are signs of second thoughts, which need to be encouraged. Sooner rather than later, the U.S. should follow up Secretary of State George Shultz's letter to Mr. M'Bow with a firm commitment that the U.S. contribution to UNESCO will not be regarded as a saving to the U.S. Treasury. The U.S. and, hopefully, Britain and Germany too should declare that their contributions will be used within UNESCO if possible, outside it if necessary, for UNESCO's real purposes as laid down in its Charter and which, as a club of member-governments dedicated to government, not free press objectives, it is today in danger of subverting.

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THE TISDALL AFFAIR

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

THE PUBLIC outcry following the conviction and sentencing of Sarah Tisdall, a junior clerk in the British Foreign Office, for leaking confidential information on the arrival of Cruise missiles in Greenham Common has once again catalysed demands for radical reform of the Official Secrets Act in that country. Believed to be the first case in a decade when a custodial sentence has been imposed under the much-debated Section 2 of the Act, the Tisdall affair has succeeded in eliciting reactions which have been as strong as they are diverse.

"Anyone who believes that a sensitive system of criminal justice is necessary for a stable community life should be extremely disturbed by this case," said one correspondent in *The Times* (London), expressing his revulsion at the sentence passed on Miss Tisdall. Another correspondent, however, minced no words in deploring what he called the abuse by Miss Tisdall of "the privilege of working in the Foreign Office" and the trust that was placed in her. "In my book she got what she deserved," said the correspondent.

Extreme as these reactions are, the case itself is fraught with considerable complexity, involving questions that are not susceptible of a purely legal solution. For one thing, Miss Tisdall cannot be likened to a conventional 'mole' who is actuated by considerations either of ideology or monetary gain into passing on secret information to outsiders. Not only was she free of any record of political interest, but as she herself admitted to the police before her conviction, she was not even opposed to nuclear weapons. Asserting that she acted in a moment of sudden anger, Miss Tisdall is reported to have said: "I don't agree with Cruise because we do not have any control. I am not a spy but I could not sit there and let them (the documents) go through as I felt it was immoral."

Miss Tisdall's invocation of her conscience in support of her action, impulsive though it clearly was, has been relied upon by those who considered Mr. Justice Cantley's order in the case unduly harsh. But, as *The Times* pointed out in a well-reasoned editorial, "the argument that this was a conflict of loyalties between her duty to her service and her duty to her conscience and that in choosing the latter she should

be exempt from punishment is to miss the point. There must be occasions, under tyranny, where conscience demands disobedience and disloyalty but then, precisely because it is a tyranny, the consequences are understood and faced. This is not a tyranny, and yet the climate of opinion is too inclined to excuse breaches of trust as carrying no penalties. This cannot be so, certainly not where security is concerned."

Indeed, Mr. Justice Cantley himself was not unaware of the relatively innocuousness of Miss Tisdall's offence. What prompted him to send her to jail instead of awarding a suspended sentence was the need, in his opinion, "to make perfectly clear by example that any person in contact with material classified as secret, and who presumes to give himself permission to decide to publish, will not escape custodial sentence."

Whether or not the incarceration of Sarah Tisdall will have the expected deterrent effect on future 'moles', only time can tell. The debate, meanwhile, on the need for a thorough reappraisal of the law on official secrecy rages on, unabated. Which is just as well.

MR. SHANTILAL SHAH

Mr. Shantilal H. Shah passed away on April 5, 1984, after a long life of good deeds and public service.

Mr. Shah's association with the Democratic Research Service extended over three decades. He was the Honorary Treasurer of the DRS and a member of its Executive Board from the early fifties, when it was established till some time in the seventies when he retired by reason of failing health. He was a staunch and loyal colleague and we shall miss him.

Mr. Shantilal Shah was a very able Labour Minister in the Government of Maharashtra.

He was a Gandhian and a friend of the Sarvodaya Movement.

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AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

I MET Arun Shourie after an interval of more than twenty years. Some time in the 60s when I was a Member of Parliament and Arun was a student in St. Stephen's College, his father had brought the young man to see me. Much water has flowed under the bridges since then and Arun has become something of a celebrity.

This was shown by the fact that the two M. N. Roy Memorial Lectures he delivered in Bombay on the 19th and 20th March were attended by more than a thousand persons who listened to him with rapt attention for more than an hour on each occasion. Arun Shourie's theme was "Ideology as an Obstacle", and he illustrated the thesis by referring to the way in which the Indian Communists in pursuit of their ideology of "revolutionary defeatism" betrayed India by aligning with the British and becoming their informers and stooges during World War II. Shourie spent most of his time reading from some 800 documents he had obtained from the National Archives in Delhi, including correspondence between Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member of the Viceroy's Council, and P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party and notes in Sir Reginald's own hand about the secret discussions with Joshi.

To me, of course, as the author of a short history of "The Communist Party of India" published in 1954, this was 'old hat' and Arun was generous enough to mention in his talks that I had established the Communist treachery during the period of the "People's War" from 1941-45 long before the archives were opened up under the 30-year rule.

I had written: "For six months this anti-war attitude persisted amidst much debate and wrangling in the Deoli Detention Camp and outside till a letter from Harry Pollit, Secretary of the British Communist Party, ordered a clear switch over. This letter was delivered to the communists in detention by courtesy of Sir Reginald Maxwell, the then British Home Secretary of the Government of India. Soon thereafter, the imperialist war became a 'People's War'. The new decision to support the war meant that the communists put themselves in the position of wartime allies of the British imperialist regime in India and in total opposition to the Indian National Congress, the Congress Socialist Party and the mass of public opinion."

Since these charges had been denied by the Communists, it had become necessary for me in my book to refer to an interview given to the press on 22nd

February, 1946, in Bombay by S. S. Batlivala, a former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, explaining the reason for his severing his connection with the party a little while earlier. "I became thoroughly convinced", said Batlivala, "that I could not trust the *bonafides* of my comrades or rely on them to work honestly in the movement for the achievement of Indian freedom." Batlivala then proceeded to refer to a confidential file of correspondence during years 1942, 1943 and 1944 between P.C. Joshi, the Party's General Secretary, and Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member of the British Government of India, which he had seen. According to him, that correspondence, if published, "would conclusively prove that an alliance existed between the Politbureau of the Communist Party and the Home Department of the Government of India, by which Mr. Joshi was placing at the disposal of the Government of India the services of his Party members". Batlivala asserted that he had repeatedly called for the publication of this correspondence which had been kept secret even from members of the Central Committee so that the Party's ranks could be educated to the fact that "the various political drives undertaken by the Party in the name of anti-fascist campaigns were a part of the arrangement which helped the Government of India to tide over certain crises."

Batlivala's statement then went on to make the serious charge that P. C. Joshi had "detailed certain Party members without the knowledge of the Central Committee or the rank and file of the Party to be in touch with the Army Intelligence Department and supplied the CID chiefs with such information as they would require against nationalist workers who were connected with the 1942 struggle or against persons who had come to India on behalf of the Azad Hind Government of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." These charges were repeated by Batlivala in a letter to a columnist in the *Bombay Chronicle* weekly, which was published in its issue of 17th March 1946. In that letter, Batlivala went on to add that among the secret communications that had passed between the Party's General Secretary and the British authorities in India was one which "offered to help retain the morale of the Indian soldier by performances staged by the Indian People's Theatre Association (a communist dramatic front) in the front lines in Burma and Assam—when sons and daughters of the soil will sing, dance and recite in the language of the sepoy himself with the aid of folk music—so that he will be convinced

that he is fighting a patriotic war". This offer, according to Batlivala, was "made behind the back of the rank and file of the Party members as well as the IPTA Executive Committee members."

The most serious charge made by Batlivala in his letter was that Joshi had, as General Secretary of the Party, written a letter in which he offered "unconditional help" to the then Government of India and the Army GHO to fight the 1942 underground workers and the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) of Subhas Chandra Bose, even to the point of getting them arrested. These men were characterised by Joshi in his letter as "traitors" and "fifth columnists".

Arun Shourie also made the point, which he said was of contemporary interest, that whenever the Communists in India or elsewhere could not explain their misbehaviour in earlier years but were not prepared to admit their mistake, they resorted to the "solution" of flatly denying established facts!

It did not take long for Shourie's point to be established because, lo and behold, EMS Namboodribad, the CPM leader, came out with a ridiculous denial on March 22 accusing Shourie of 'slander'. According to him the whole Chapter of the "People's War" was a figment of the imagination of Shourie and earlier writers, presumably including Jayaprakash Narayan and myself. Unfortunately for Namboodribad and his mendacity, *The Illustrated Weekly of India* is carrying in four successive issues commencing with that of March 18-25 a great part of the documentation from the National Archives under the title "The Great Betrayal". That, of course, will not stop Namboodribad or his comrades, who are habitual liars in the

Party's interest. Did not Lenin teach them that lying, treachery and murder are all legitimate in the Party's interest?

I have no hesitation in complimenting Arun Shourie on his valuable research and characterising Namboodribad's statement at his press conference as a cold-blooded lie. Way back in the thirties EMS, who was my co-Joint Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, had for several years denied he was a member of the Communist Party. Jayaprakash once told me that of all the Communists the ones who had most successfully deceived him were P. C. Joshi and E.M.S. Namboodribad.

What intrigues me is that some good people still seem to be led by Communist mendacity into overlooking their real nature as traitors to this country who would cheerfully sell it out to the Soviet Union without the slightest hesitation. Among these people who have still to learn to stop associating with the Communist Parties are the Janata Party and the Peoples Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL). After Arun Shourie's disclosures, will they at last put themselves right?

Shourie referred in his talks to what he called "the verbal terrorism of the Left" which leads Socialists and others to be apologetic *vis-a-vis* the Communists. The groups referred to above are the victims of this "verbal terrorism" to which Shourie referred and it will be interesting to see whether even now they are able to shed it. Shourie insisted that the conduct of the Communists from 1941-45 has relevance for us today. Quite so.

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TEN YEARS ON

Vladimir Voinovich

(This is the second and final instalment of Vladimir Voinovich's account of persecution suffered by writers in the USSR. The first instalment appeared in the April issue of *Freedom First*).

On life's stage, events do not, however, always unfold according to an author's plan. No sooner had I started casting about for ways to deliver a long-premeditated blow, than KGB Colonel Ivan'ko turned up on the scene. Having no inkling of my hostile intentions, he merely wanted to take my apartment away from me in order to install his overseas toilet bowl in it.¹ And so began the third act or, perhaps, the interlude, which I described at length in my book *Ivan'kiada*.

I had not the slightest desire to make the acquaintance of Ivan'ko. I would have preferred never to have known who he was, but he continued to persist in his misplaced delusion, and I was obliged to bring down upon him my entire reserve of accumulated fury. Deploying superior forces against me, Ivan'ko claimed that, by opposing him, I was opposing the Soviet regime. I must admit that he was quite right: Ivan'ko epitomizes the Soviet regime. Nevertheless, at this stage he suffered a crushing defeat and, hiding behind diplomatic immunity, fled ignominiously to the United States (returning, incidentally, after his cover was blown by a former Soviet agent).

I was not standing still either. In that same year, 1973, I sent off to *Grani*—this time of my own volition—my story *Putem vzaimnoi perepiski*. Then I signed a letter—together with Sakharov, Maksimov, and Galich—in defence of Solzhenitsyn. Then I sent the next part of *Chonkin* to the West. Then I began looking for some other actions of the Soviet authorities that I could find fault with and stumbled on the creation of VAAP, the All-Union Copyright Agency. When my satirical letter to the head of this organization was broadcast by Western radio stations, General Il'in rang up my wife and cautiously enquired whether I was quite right in the head.

Later, I was called in by Yurii Strehnin, another secretary of the Union of Writers (but only a colonel), who, not knowing what to say, asked me if I realized what I was doing.

In December, 1973, a meeting of the bureau of the prose writers' association was scheduled to examine

1. I suspect that Ivan'ko was not carrying out his assignment all that conscientiously when, instead of bringing with him technological secrets, he carted back toilet bowls from America.

my "personal case," but it did not take place. The members of the bureau either reported sick, disappeared from Moscow, or simply did not answer the telephone. Finally, they managed to get some of them together. This was in January, 1974, between the expulsion of Chukovskaya from the Union of Writers and the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union. The large room in which the event took place was crowded with people, three-quarters of whom I knew neither by sight nor name. The chairman was Georgii Radov, who for some reason had disliked me ever since I first appeared on the literary scene. Bureau members Pavel Nilin and Yurii Trifonov did not turn up. In that gathering, the nonentities Berezhko and Amlinsky shone out like stars of the first magnitude.

I arrived at the meeting with exceedingly aggressive intentions. I was all set to tell "them," the awesome representatives of an awesome regime, what I thought about them. But there, sitting in front of me, were pitiful, frightened little people. Somewhere in the back row, fearful that I might notice him, cowered Hero of the Soviet Union Ivan Parfent'ev, who had recently been currying favour with me. A certain Andrei Starkov had only a few days previously come running up to me in the subway and, after glancing around, had shaken me by the hand quickly whispered: "I admire your courage." There was Grigorii Brovman, a miserable critic, who had himself once been put through the mill. His son had just been run over by a car and the funeral had not yet taken place, but he came running. What had brought them all here? Well, some wanted to ingratiate themselves with the bosses. Others were concerned, not with ingratiating themselves with them, but with avoiding their ire or displeasure and not letting them think they were on the other side. Only Radov made no effort to conceal his satisfaction with the forthcoming settling of accounts. (Radov died soon afterwards; three years later his son told me: "My father was an honorable man, but I am sorry he did such a nasty thing before his death.") Radov announced that hostile radio stations were broadcasting such-and-such a letter, and the author of it was sitting there.

"What do you think about it?"

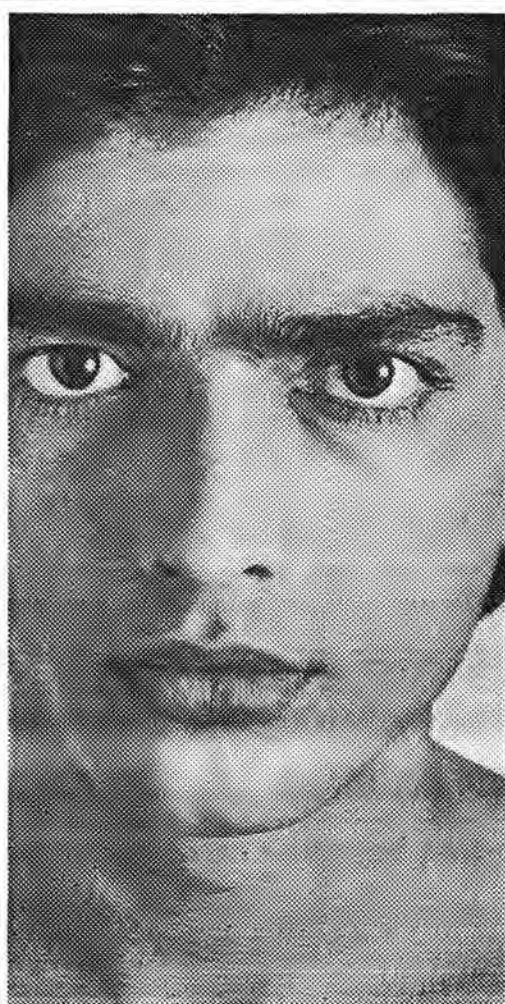
"This matter is of no interest," I said. "Let's go on to something else."

"When you are asked a question, you are obliged to answer," intoned Radov didactically.

"I am not obliged to do anything for you," I said.



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"If I had come here to join the Union of Writers, then I would be obliged to, but I have come to take leave of you."

This somehow confused them because they were all ready to drive me into a corner, and here was I doing it for them. Radov proceeded to read some passage from the statutes of the Union of Writers to the effect that only people who shared its views could be members of the Union. I said that when I joined the Union nobody had read me this passage. If they had, I might not have joined. Evidently expecting that I would raise objections, Radov several times made the point that enough bureau and *aktiv* members and ordinary members were present to form a quorum. I told him that I was not interested in procedural matters, that it was all the same to me whether I was strangled with full observance of the formalities or without. They then all started yelling their own contributions, some of them quite irrelevant to the matter in hand:

BEREZKO: "Voinovich, you shouldn't have written your terrible *Chonkin*. It's a very bad book."

LIDIYA FOMENKO: "I don't understand why you talk about these rights. What do you want rights for? I, for instance, have no need of any rights."

BROVMAN: "We must realize that we have an ideological enemy before us. We must talk with him as with an enemy. You are a puppy that barks from a safe corner. You treat us with contempt and underestimate our talents."

At this point, I could not resist remarking that, in the case of his, Brovman's talent, I had been overestimating it.

RADOV: "Why are you insulting him?"

MYSELF: "Do you think that only one party can be insulted here?"

RADOV (hastily): "But nobody is insulting you."

MYSELF: "Well, he is calling me a puppy. Isn't that an insult?"

BROVMAN: "He's angry with me because I, once criticized him."

MYSELF: "You have delusions of grandeur. Surely you don't think I have ever read any of your scribblings."

The critic Stanislav Lesnevsky began to say that I had insulted Verchenko in my letter, and Verchenko is just as fine a person as Il'in, and Il'in is a man of

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As I expected, Amlinsky began in a lyrical vein: "I knew Volodya Voinovich as a good writer. And now I am amazed. I do not understand what has happened to him. We must find out why he has gone over to our enemies."

Three of those present began their speeches almost identically: "I am by the nature of my duties constantly obliged to read anti-Soviet literature. . . ." But even in that literature they had rarely read such vicious attacks as those contained in my letter.

This gave me a pretext to remark bitingly: "I thought I had come to a meeting of my colleagues, but this is a gathering of strange people who spend all their times reading anti-Soviet literature and are still at liberty."

The circus ended with a vote (unanimous, of course) recommending the secretariat to expel such-and-such a person from membership of the Union of Writers.

The meeting of the secretariat was set for February 20, but a few days before that I went down with pneumonia. On the morning of the 20th, Il'in phoned me:

"I should like you to come to the secretariat, we should have a talk. We are bearing in mind that you are a good writer; we don't want to part with you. Nobody is after your blood, so please come along, I beg you."

This was a new tone. He had not talked to me like that before. I said:

"We won't be able to get together before the meeting because I cannot come. There are two reasons. The first—a quite flimsy one—is that I am sick."

"That's quite all right," Il'in interrupted me happily. "In that case, I'll put off the meeting."

"There's no need to put it off," I said. "Even when I'm better, I won't be coming. I have another reason, a weighty one: there is nothing for us to talk about."

Il'in went on trying to persuade me that I should come. They only wanted to have a chat with me, they would not expel me. At worst they would hand down another reprimand.

I asked what sort of reprimand that would be, when I had already received two severe ones, the second containing a "last" warning.

"Don't worry yourself about that, it's a purely routine matter. We'll sort that out somehow."

"I'm not interested in your routines any more," I said, "and I no longer acknowledge your reprimands. I am going to reprimand you."

"That's fine," said Il'in. "Come along. You can criticize us and we'll criticize you."

I once more said that I was not coming and that I would be sending my criticism off that same day in written form.

Just before the meeting began, my wife went to the secretariat with a letter that started with the words: "I am not coming to your meeting because it will take place behind closed doors with the public excluded. That is illegal, and I do not wish to take part in any illegal activity."

That day my life underwent an abrupt change. I had the physical feeling that I was now free. They could beat me, they could crush me, but my soul had escaped from their clutches and was no longer under their control.

At two o'clock in the morning I was awoken by a phone call from the Moscow correspondent of Reuters. He had just received a call from London asking him to find out whether it was true that I had been arrested. I said that I might have been arrested but I didn't know anything about it yet. Then I turned over and went peacefully back to sleep.

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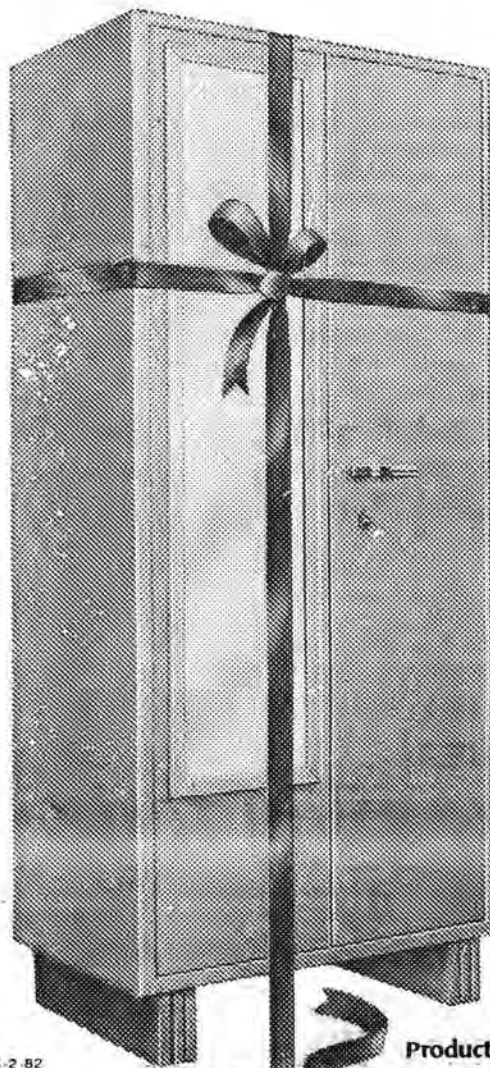
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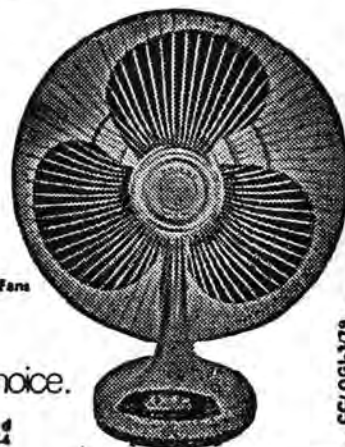
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Hosi Vasunia comes off quite well as Willie Stark though a bit loud at times. Worth a mention are Homi Daruwala as John Burden, a reporter, Sharon Prabhakar as Willie Stark's secretary and Meher Jehangir as his wife. It is a huge cast with some of the members having double or even triple roles. To his credit, Alyque Padamsee as the director of the play obtains a remarkable team spirit from his cast. He has also designed the sets and has conceived the entire production. Perhaps the only distracting point in this otherwise extraordinary production is the attempt at American accents. At times, the result is decidedly jarring on the ears.

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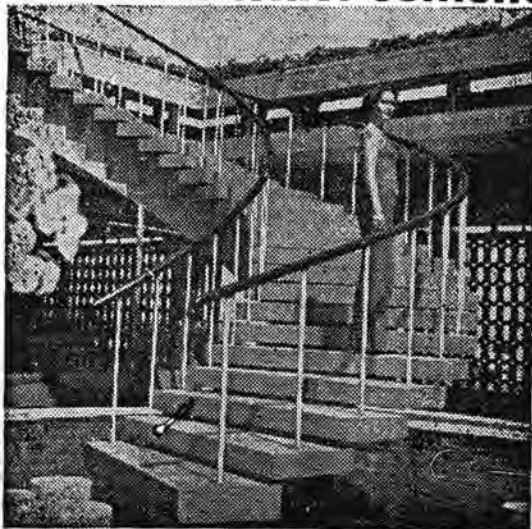
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For Westerners, there is a temptation to assume that politicians in the Third World can act within the same framework of custom and law as in the West. They often cannot. There are men of integrity in the Third World who can discharge public duties only by bribery and favour.

—*The Economist* quoted in *The Economic Scene*, February.

The Tory whips' office is engaged in a small investigation to discover the identity of a Tory backbencher who was recently asked by a magazine to complete a questionnaire on his current political attitudes. To the question, "If Mrs. Thatcher was run over by a bus, who would you like to see succeed her?", he replied: "The bus driver."

—*The Times*, March 4.

Religion is the opium of the masses. Marxism is the opium of the intellectuals.

—Swaminathan Aiyar in *The Indian Express*, March 11.

In our century, the old have been, and are being, treated—in the West at least—with a greater degree of overt disrespect than was, I think, general in any other period of human history, I hear and read such phrases as 'geriatric old twit': an expression which would hardly have sprung to the lips of the pious Aeneas.

—Conor Cruise O'Brien in *The Observer*, March 4.

If you told us to take our troops out of Britain, they would be gone within a day or two.

—Casper Weinberger, US Secretary of Defence quoted in *The Times*, March 4.

If you topple Newton, you get the Nobel Prize. If you topple Marx, you get a bullet in your back.

—Swaminathan Aiyar in *The Indian Express*, March 11.

I confess I view with complacency the statistic that people are living longer.

—Conor Cruise O'Brien in *The Observer*, March 4.

Very soon—after two world wars had claimed the thrones of four emperors and 11 kings—there will be just five monarchs left in Europe: the four kings in a pack of cards, and the King of England.

—Egypt's King Farouk quoted in *The Times*, March 19.