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## THE AGONY OF ANDREI SAKHAROV

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

IT WOULD occasion no surprise to those who have been following the fortunes of Andrei Sakharov, the veteran Soviet dissident who has been living in enforced exile in Gorki for nearly four years now, to learn about the fresh wave of persecution unleashed upon his ailing wife, Yelena Bonner, by the Soviet authorities. According to a moving appeal smuggled out of Gorki and published in *The Observer* (London) on 22 January 1984, Sakharov has apprehended that if Yelena were to be treated for her heart condition in the Soviet Union, "some means may be found to bring about her death."

The latest developments are only a sequel to the continuing harassment that Yelena has been subjected to ever since her Nobel laureate husband was picked up by uniformed militiamen on 22 January 1980 while on his way to a weekly seminar at the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Besides being made a victim of a sustained campaign of slander by the state authorities, Yelena became "the sole hostage" for Sakharov's public activity, particularly after the departure from the USSR first of their children and then of their daughter-in-law Liza Almeyeva. "The whole responsibility for my statements has been shifted on to her," says Sakharov in his recent letter.

An indication of the extent to which the KGB went in its efforts to intimidate Yelena (and thereby silence Sakharov) can be had from the concern the distinguished physicist expressed in a letter — first published in the *New York Times* — as far back as 4 May 1980. "Recently," observed Sakharov, "someone appeared at my mother-in-law's door at 5.30 a.m., describing himself as an officer of the KGB. He warned that if her daughter, my wife, did not stop her trips back and forth from Gorki and stop inciting me with anti-Soviet statements, they would take certain measures. Earlier, some of our friends received letters with similar threats against my wife. Everytime my wife leaves, I do not know whether she will be allowed to travel without hindrance and to return safely. My wife, although not under detention, is in greater danger than I am."

Following the incessant mental torture inflicted on her, Yelena suffered a severe myocardial infarction in April last year and has reportedly had several further attacks since. The response from the Soviet authorities has been predictable. Apart from keeping her Moscow home under constant police surveillance, Sakharov alleges that "doctors hesitate to visit her, fearing the consequences. The tele-

phone in our Moscow apartment was disconnected in 1980, and the nearby coin telephone was disconnected right after Yelena's heart attack. This is certainly not sheer coincidence."

Nor was it a coincidence that in December last year, following renewed worldwide concern over Sakharov's prolonged detention in Gorki, a senior Soviet official, Mr. Vitaly Ruben, hinted that the eminent scientist was mentally ill and that his views on nuclear disarmament proved he was deranged. In a statement which was as shocking as it was ridiculous, Mr. Ruben asserted in characteristic fashion that the Kremlin had banished Sakharov to Gorki out of "humane considerations" and "for his own peace of mind". Mr. Ruben went on to add that, while in Gorki, Sakharov was engaged in writing research papers for publication in Russia and America and was "constantly in touch with fellow physicists."

Fortunately for Sakharov, neither his scientific colleagues nor the governments of the free world were taken in by such obvious falsehood. In a spontaneous display of solidarity with the distinguished dissident, most of the Western leaders, including those even from the Socialist parties of France, Italy and Spain, have expressed their revulsion at the Soviet behaviour from time to



time. American scientists have gone so far as to raise the specific threat of breaking off scientific exchanges between their country and the Soviet Union unless the harassment and persecution of Sakharov was stopped. "Harassment or detention of Sakharov will have severe effects on the relationships between the scientific communities of the US and the USSR," warned Philip Handler, President of the US National Academy of Sciences. "What the consequences may be, I cannot foresee, but I find it difficult to imagine scientific exchange continuing in the spirit we had created heretofore."

Whether or not encouraging statements such as these would bring about any tangible improvement in the treatment being meted out to Sakharov by his Soviet tormentors doubtless remains an open question. However, there can be no gainsaying—as a recent editorial in *The Times* (London) pertinently pointed out—that "when a man of Sakharov's intellectual and moral stature rejects the theory and practice of Soviet communism, abandoning the comfortable life of the upper crust for the discomforts and unknown dangers of opposition, the clouds of self-satisfaction and sycophancy surrounding the men in the Kremlin are dispelled, and for a moment they see themselves as others see them: the beneficiaries of Stalin's mass murders, with nothing to offer the world but chains."

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# AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

IF THE *Sunday Observer's* correspondent in Delhi quoted in their issue of January 29, 1984, is correct in saying that Mr. B. K. Nehru, Jammu and Kashmir Governor, "is reported to have threatened to resign if the Central Government insisted on dismissing the Abdullah ministry" Mr. Nehru deserves to be congratulated on being the first Governor of a State since Mr. Dharam Vira in Bengal many years back to behave like one in a crisis.

The politicians in New Delhi are playing with fire in seeking to "topple" the Jammu and Kashmir Government. This has become such a habit with them that the poor dears don't know when to stop! It is to be hoped that the Prime Minister's wise decision to leave well alone will stand undisturbed. The Union Government has enough on its hands in the Punjab and Assam without adding another indigestible dish on its plate.

I have only met Dr. Farooq Abdullah a couple of times, but I find myself in agreement with Michael Hamlyn, who writes in the *London Times* of January 23: "He is an attractive, ebullient character of great warmth. He looks a winner and he is held in a good deal of affection by the people of the valley". Since then, the Chief Minister has secured a vote of confidence from the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly. That clinches the issue.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Enoch Powell, M.P., took exception on 21 January to a speech made by Queen Elizabeth around Christmas as Head of the Commonwealth. Rather disingenuously, Mr. Powell, who knows his constitutional law as well as anyone, claimed that the Queen's speeches were always made on the advice of some group or other of Ministers. It is true that the Queen's speeches in and about Britain are made with the approval of the British Prime Minister, but Mrs. Thatcher has quite rightly disclaimed any knowledge of the matter. If the speech had been made in Canada or some other monarchy within the Commonwealth, the Cabinet of that country would have been responsible. But, since the Queen spoke as the Head of the Commonwealth, quite obviously she spoke on her own. So far Mr. Powell is "off side".

On the substance of the Queen's remarks, however, a great deal can be said about her taking a somewhat naive view of the economic inequalities between countries. The Queen was certainly not

being a good economist which, I assume, she does not claim to be. By saying that "the greatest problem in the world is the gap between rich and poor countries" and that the main aim of the Commonwealth is to redress "the economic balance" between them, the Queen opened herself to criticism.

As the *London Times* in the Editorials of January 21 and 23, put it: "There is no 'gap' between rich and poor countries. There is a continuous range in per capita incomes among all the countries of the world. There is thus no clear line of division between rich and poor countries, and the invention of the collectivity known as the 'Third World' is entirely arbitrary, given the wide disparity in location and economic circumstances even of those countries which have received official aid. To that extent the Queen in her speech was falling victim to an insidious kind of global egalitarianism which suggests that redistribution of income from better-off to worse-off is an end in itself to which we should all be working. That begs too many questions to be included in a Christmas broadcast, even from the Head of the Commonwealth. . . . This egalitarian view is now so widespread that it would be natural, though unfortunate, for the Queen to have absorbed it intact, coming into contact as she does with so many representatives of the Third World and of the aid lobbies, whose stock-in-trade it is. It is based on a false hypothesis, that the equality of opportunity automatically leads individuals to equality of income, or that it should do so if it does not. It is based on a wholly materialist view of mankind, in which an individual becomes a statistical norm, capable only of behaving according to prescription. It ignores the fact that we are not all the same except for differences in material circumstances. If people were assumed to be equally endowed with motivation about their economic circumstances how could one explain the wide disparities in achievement? The answer which egalitarians give, on both a national and global basis, is that some malevolent force must be at work. If the reality of the market place does not accord with the norm that the egalitarian mind wishes to impose on it, some other reason has to be found. It is but a short walk from this point to the proposition that income differences offend some notional idea of social justice."

Even my friend Lord Peter Bauer could not have put it better.

\* \* \* \* \*

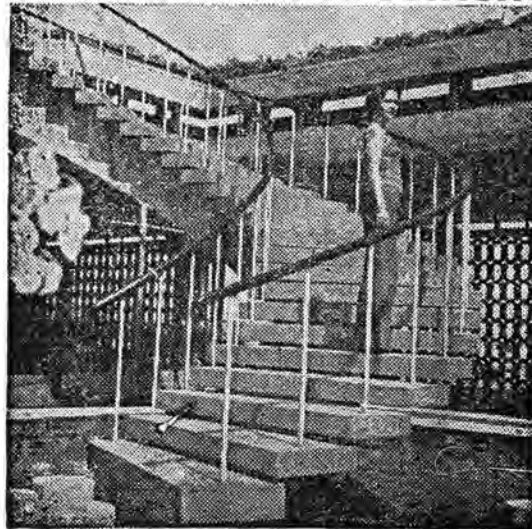
I, FOR ONE, am delighted that President Reagan has decided to stand again for election. My main reason of course is that being younger than me he has not accepted defeat! Long live the solidarity of the old! I hope he is re-elected.

A secondary reason is an ideological one. In my view President Reagan has been the best President of the U.S.A. since President Truman with his "Give 'em 'ell, Harry" outlook. As a result, President Truman left behind in history the Truman Doctrine and the Marshal Plan.

President Reagan's strength lies in the way he has cut the Kremlin and its "evil empire" down to size. There are people who have praised Andropov for increasing moderation in regard to the confrontation over nuclear arms between the two Superpowers. They don't seem to realise that the credit goes to President Reagan for the improvement in the Soviet stand on nuclear armaments. The Kremlin has come down one peg at a time in response to President Reagan's firmness. The danger of a nuclear holocaust has thus been put off.

The latest climb down is of course in regard to the missiles now safely installed in West Germany and Britain. Before this was done Andropov announced that there could be no further discussions with the U.S.A. if a decision to install the missiles was not abandoned. It was not. There could therefore be no question of talks between the two Superpowers. But what is this I read? Do my eyes deceive me? Here it is in black and white in a headline in *The Guardian* (London) dated 25 January 1984: "Russia ready for dialogue—Andropov". The interesting thing is that there is no reference to the removal of the mis-

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siles from the Continent as a pre-condition. A convenient lapse of memory, perhaps? Anyway, a welcome one.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is good that Justice P. A. Choudary of the Andhra Pradesh High Court has lent his authority to the view, which I myself happen to hold, that the Government monopoly of All India Radio and Doordarshan is unconstitutional since, under the Constitution, every Indian citizen has the fundamental right under Article 19(1)A to establish and operate a private radio broadcasting station. All that the Union Government can do is to impose a "reasonable restriction" on the exercise of this fundamental right in the form of licensing of private broadcasting companies. The Supreme Court has ruled that the Article carries the same meaning as the First Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S.A. on which it is modelled.

It is time Mr. Iqbal Malik, retired Director-General of AIR, or someone else were to invite the Supreme Court's decision regarding the validity of New Delhi hogging the audio-visual services of the country and depriving citizens and the States of their rights.

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# Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy And The City of Bombay

ALOO DALAL

IN THE eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the foundations of the City of Bombay were laid by many remarkable men of whom the most outstanding was Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. Born on 15 July 1783, he came from an impoverished family of weavers in Navsari. An orphan at sixteen, he was taken under his uncle's protection whom he helped in his business of selling empty bottles.

In 1800 when he was only 17, Jamsetjee made his first voyage to China and between 1800 and 1808, he was to make four more voyages encountering many hardships and dangerous adventures. Not all were successful. Besides, in 1803, he had lost all his merchandise in the Great Fire which engulfed the city. But Jamsetjee had character, integrity and determination and by sheer dint of hard work he was able to build a prosperous trade with the Far East. By the age of 25, Jamsetjee had amassed a vast fortune entirely by honest means (It was possible in those tax-free days!) and was thus in a position to lay the commercial foundations of this *urbs primus* of India.

As Jamsetjee's affairs prospered, he increasingly began to look upon his wealth not as a means of power and influence but as a "trust" for the benefit of the poor and the disadvantaged, thus anticipating Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship. Wherever human need was to be met or natural disasters like flood, fire and famine were to be faced, Jamsetjee was ever ready with a willing hand and an open purse. Moreover, unlike other Indian benefactors before him, his philanthropy was not limited to religious endowments but extended to secular causes like education, health, art, hospitals, roads, etc. As Mountstuart Elphinstone has very appropriately commented, "It was not the mere possession of wealth that made Jamsetjee's name memorable. It was the distribution of that wealth with unparalleled benevolence and an enlightened desire to attain the height of usefulness, which was equally rare, that rendered him famous."

However, it would be quite inadequate to describe Jamsetjee merely as a large-hearted philanthropist. It is important to recall that he was a man of independent thinking and progressive views and often took a determined and courageous stand against the popular currents of opinion, both within the Parsee community and outside. Perhaps Jamsetjee never saw himself as a moderniser and a reformer; but he was certainly conscious and aware of several occasions when a break with past traditions was both inevitable and necessary. This is clearly seen in his firm espousal

of the cause of girls' education by having his own daughter privately educated and later founding one of the earliest native schools for girls in Bombay.

It has often been alleged by critics that the nineteenth century reform movement in India was elitist and concerned only with the problems of the upper castes and classes. So far as Jamsetjee is concerned, such an allegation would be totally unfounded for his benefactors were truly universal and in fact weighed heavily in favour of the poor and the dispossessed. When he died in 1859, the J. J. Benevolent Institution managed 19 schools, 12 for boys and 7 for girls. These were not elite schools. They made education accessible to the poorest girls of the Parsee community, so that by the turn of the century, more than 75 per cent of Parsee women were educated.

In the first half of the 19th century, education in Bombay was a haphazard affair. Apart from schools run by the missionaries and the Bombay Education Society, there was only the government-managed Native Education Society which later developed into the Elphinstone Institution. Of private Indian initiative in education there was none and it was in the fitness of things that the J. J. Parsee Benevolent Institution was started in October 1849 as a boys' school. What is even more remarkable is that in 1850, Jamsetjee started two girls' schools in the face of great opposition from the orthodox sections in society.

In this connection, Serabji Shapurji Bengalee narrates an interesting incident, when Dadabhai Naoroji had approached the trustees of the J. J. P. B. Institution to finance girls' schools which were to be set up by the Student's Literacy and Scientific Society of the Elphinstone College. Till then Dadabhai and his friends used to conduct classes for girls on the verandahs of those families who were willing to have their daughters educated. Jamsetjee hardly waited for Dadabhai to finish explaining the advantages of female education and immediately took upon himself the task of providing schools for girls. Within four months, four girls' schools were set up by the Institution.

In 1857, Jamsetjee started a school of art where drawing, painting and sculpture could be taught. It was a pioneer institution of its kind in the country which, in 1858, was divided into three branches, the J. J. School of Art, the J. J. School of Architecture and the J. J. School of Commercial Art.

Another pioneering institution endowed by Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy was the J. J. Hospital, the first civilian hospital in Bombay (St. George's Hospital was



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meant strictly for the European garrison). Jamsetjee initially donated Rs. 1,00,000, in addition to a large plot of land at Bahula Tank Road and added Rs. 50,000 more for the construction of the hospital building. The hospital was formally opened on 15 May 1845. The tablet at the entrance reads that it was erected and endowed by Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy for "the relief of the suffering poor" of all communities. Subsequently in 1850, Jamsetjee also endowed an Obstetric Hospital for women which is situated in the J. J. Hospital complex. He also contributed Rs. 18,000 to the Grant Medical College, which was set up simultaneously with the hospital, for books, prizes and medals in order to encourage the students. Altogether, his contributions came to more than Rs. 2,00,000.

Amongst the major works of public utility which Jamsetjee endowed were the Poona Bund and Waterworks and the Lady Jamsetjee Causeway. In earlier times, Bombay was separated by a strait from the island of Salsette. This treacherous stretch of water was crossed by ferry boats which often capsized, especially during the monsoon, thus leading to a heavy loss of life and property. A major disaster took place in 1841 and when the news of the tragedy reached Lady Jamsetjee, she immediately offered a large sum of money to build the Causeway between Mahim and Bandra. She also offered another large sum of money to build a handsome approach to the Causeway which

was opened in June 1845 and was called the Lady Jamsetjee Road.

During Jamsetjee's lifetime, political activities on the part of Indians were minimal. There was certainly no demand for independence. Jamsetjee however, did urge administrative reforms for giving Indians their due share in public offices. He petitioned the British House of Commons demanding the right of Indians to serve as jurors and to be appointed as J.Ps. He protested against the Government's increase of the salt tax in 1842 as being unjust to the poor and recommended higher taxes on luxury goods. When the first political association, the Bombay Association, was formed in 1852 to ventilate the grievances of the Indian people, Jamsetjee was chosen as its Honorary President.

Though Jamsetjee had received no formal education, he was a Gujarati writer of no mean ability, a patron of literature and of several newspapers. He gave generous financial help to the *Bombay Samachar* (founded in 1822), the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier*, besides the Jame Jamshed Press.

During his own lifetime, honours came to Jamsetjee thick and fast. In 1842 he received a knighthood and in 1857 he was made a baronet. Unfortunately, this year, the bicentenary of his birth, has seen no public commemoration. But Jamsetjee needs none. As was said of Christopher Wren, his monuments lie all around us.



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# TWO VIEWS OF THE WORLD MARKET

DR. OTTO COUNT LAMBSDORFF

AGAINST THE background of the discussion of tariffs on technologies and a competition of subsidies granted by the respective governments, we must clearly recognise the fact that we are faced by the fundamental choice of viewing the world market either as a field of action for individual companies or as an arena for competition by the national economies.

In the first case, the task of regulatory policy is to continue to guarantee the conditions for fair performance-oriented competition into the Eighties and to defend it by means of sanctions against restrictive practices and unfair competition.

We must, then, strengthen the GATT and pursue a positive adjustment policy instead of defensive growth strategies.

Such an approach would be for the good of all. Opting for the second choice I have outlined would ultimately mean a substantial increase in the potential for economic conflict, something which is in the interest of none of us. Let me give you more comprehensive reasons for these fears which I first voiced in Japan in April 1982 and for which I could cite many examples from daily events.

Whenever a government joins hands with entire sectors of industry under the label of administrative guidance for the purpose of common economic offensives against foreign markets, the industrial structure of the affected country can be quickly and dramatically altered.

The problem-laden trade relations between the EEC and Japan are a reflex, above all, of such developments.

Industrial targeting and laser beaming are the general terms for such strategies.

In such cases, private companies in the affected branches and countries must exhaust their entire stock of limited and private financing and innovation potential in the battle against the nearly endless resources from the competitor's government.

They quickly fall behind in the effort. It is, then, no wonder that the companies and branches affected attempt to mobilise political and social forces in their own countries to apply counter-measures. Laser beaming would force the affected countries to resort to protectionist measures.

If a number of countries or economic blocs ultimately pursue such strategies in support of promising industries, setbacks for all concerned, including the initiators, will be inevitable.

Retaliatory trade restrictions; government competi-

tion in granting subsidies; excessive industrial concentration; orderly market agreements, that is, cartel arrangements; export moderation; and finally, crowding private enterprises out of business by means other than those available under market economy rules are all elements and consequences of a protectionism of the third dimension which could threaten the free system of world trade in the Eighties even more so than the protectionism of the first dimension, that of tariff barriers, and the protection of the second dimension, that of non-tariff barriers. What an individual government considers to be reasonable means to reach a set goal may prove to be an explosive time-charge with megatons of lethal effect on the open system of worldwide trade and transfers.

Such a development would, in particular, pave the way to severing the industrialised countries from the Third World in terms of trade policy, with the awful economic implications for their debt problems, their share in international prosperity, and their further integration in the global economy.

The fact that this would have implications for competition between the world's two great economic systems is not to be dismissed.

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# CULTURAL ROUNDABOUT

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ANY ATTEMPT at staging a Shavian play by a local Company is always welcome. We recently had Dubey's *Don Juan* and now we have Hosi Vasunia's *Saint Joan*. Mention Hosi Vasunia and one instinctively thinks of Sunday evening entertainment despite his serious production *Whose Life Is It Anyway?* *Saint Joan* is yet another of his brave attempts at presenting a serious play.

Overall, Vasunia's efforts do succeed in presenting on the stage both the ethos and the quintessence of the playwright's intentions. There is also the Shavian wit to "lift" the play. The sets, designed by Urshila Kerkar and Arti Joshi, are imaginative. The lighting devised by Alyque Padamsee is quite effective. The costumes designed by Gita Simoes are fairly period. And Jim Merchant's background music does accentuate the visual impact.

Actingwise, mention needs to be made of Homi Daruwalla in the role of the Bishop of Beauvais, Vijay Crishna as The Dauphin (later Charles VII) and Hosi Vasunia as Robert De Poulengy. Scheherzade Mody in the title role also deserves a special mention. To a considerable extent the success of the play depended on her and she most certainly lived up to one's expectations.

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IN THE third week of January Max Mueller Bhavan and the National Centre For The Performing Arts (NCPA) had organised the East-West Dance Encounter co-sponsored by the Alliance Francaise, the Sangeet Natak Akademi, the British Council and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. The venue was the National Centre's Little Theatre and the Tata Theatre.

The basic idea of this Encounter (this was the third of its kind: the first was on music held in January 1983 and the second on philosophy in November) was to provide a forum to discuss, analyse and demonstrate the various dance concepts, styles, experiences and work. There were closed sessions at the NCPA's Little Theatre during the day. The evenings had shows for the public at the Tata Theatre.

The evening performances were Indian, Western and assimilations and/or experiments. Indian dances covered Bharata Natyam, Odissi, Chhau and Kathak and some of the outstanding performers were Yamini Krishnamurti, Sonal Mansingh, Ileana Citaristi (Italy), Chitra Sundaram, Mrinalini Sarabhai's troupe, Anne Marie Gaston (France) and Kaumudini Lakhi's

troupe. The Western counterpart had Susanne Lake (West Germany), Carmen Delavallade (U.S.A.), Patrizia Ceroni (Italy), Gerhard Bohner (West Germany), Elizabeth Mauger (France), Stephen Long (U.K.) and Dominique Bagcuot (France). The last two offered classical ballet items.

However, far more important for the occasion were the strivings towards an assimilation between East and West. Amongst the striking experiments in this context were by Uttara Asha Coorlawala and Astad Deboo. Uttara's "Winds of Shiva" has music by Igor Wakhevitch and is about the evolution of life on earth and man's search for spiritual values through meditation. Astad Deboo's "Mangalore Street" is the portrayal of the life of Joglekar, a clerk in a private firm—a parody of a middle-class urban Indian, albeit a sympathetic one.

In its own way, the Encounter offered a much needed platform to the dancers to display their talents. To the dancers from overseas it offered an authentic scholarly introduction to the classical Indian dance while the Indian dancers had the opportunity of coming in contact with some of the latest trends in modern dance.

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CO-SPONSORED by The Bombay Madrigal Singers' Organisation and the NCPA, "The Boys Of The Lough", a group of four virtuoso instrumentalists, offered a delightful evening at the Tata Theatre of the traditional folk songs of Scotland and Ireland—both vocal and instrumental. The four "Boys" were: Shetlander Aly Bain on the fiddle, Cathal McConnell (flutist and vocalist) and the brothers Dave and Tich Richardson on guitar. Amongst them they also managed such traditional instruments such as the horn pipe and the penny whistle.

Language proved to be no barrier. In fact, in one of the items, the audience was invited to participate which it did with great gusto! Overall, rhythm and beat dominated although there were also some exceptional melodies as in an eighteenth century love song. Besides, the evening offered a noteworthy rendition of the traditional bagpipe music of Scotland. The climax of the evening probably was the *finale* which left quite an impact on one's ears.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**THE BOOK OF LECH WALESA;** Penguin; Pp. 203; £2.50.

FROM AN unknown electrician in a Polish shipyard to winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Many have risen from anonymity to fame. But one man has done it in the short span of thirteen years. *The Book of Lech Walesa* is a "collective portrait" of this man.

It is not for nothing that Helmut Schmidt called him the "Walesa phenomenon." For he has become a legend in our times. His name is almost synonymous with Poland. Politicians the world over want to bask in his reflected glory. To the Polish people, he is next only to God. They keep chanting his name, want him to solve their personal problems and will accept anything he says. Such is their faith in the man who has spoken up for them.

The main reason for this is that Walesa's is not a narrow trade union outlook which concentrates on short-term gains. In formulating programmes for the future, he has expressed the hopes and aspirations of Polish society as a whole.

The various essays in this book are all agreed that one of the main reasons for Walesa's spectacular success is his diligence and truthfulness. He is totally different from the run-of-the-mill politician whose main qualification seems to be wiliness and cunning. No cheap populism for Walesa. He is not afraid to take a stand against people's expectations and berate them if they are in the wrong.

Moreover, Walesa has the capacity for flexible action and is very clear about his aims—two qualifications which are very essential for anybody leading a movement against established authority.

Another reason why the people have full faith in him is his restraint. They know he will not endanger their lives unnecessarily. Blood, for Walesa, is not an unavoidable price to pay for freedom. But non-violence does not mean compromising on the basics or buckling down to superior force.

The real gem in this book is the interview with Walesa in which he comes across as a thoughtful, intelligent and responsible person. For example, though he is deeply involved in strikes, he recognises that they paralyse life, have an adverse effect on the country's economy and will ultimately boomerang on the strikers themselves. He even thought of an alternative to strikes whereby people would produce more during a period of strike but would expropriate whatever they manufactured without giving the government anything.

There are many such instances which show that Walesa is genuinely concerned about the future of his country. But the Walesa phenomenon cannot be understood without first understanding the Polish situation. The present Polish crisis is not to be viewed in isolation but is part of the centuries-old Polish struggle for freedom from Russian dominance. This fact can be lost sight of because the present movement's avowed aims are just liberalisation of the present political system. There is no explicit statement

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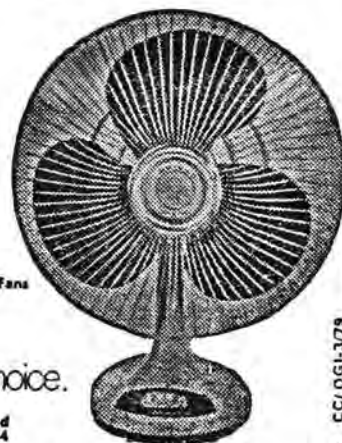
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about a major change in Poland's relationship with the Soviet Union though a certain degree of distancing is implied.

And what is so remarkable is that in spite of constant suppression, the people's spirits are not crushed. Each and every person is willing to contribute his or her own mite to the movement. It ranges from people bringing food to striking workers to Andrzej Wajda making a film based on them. Another significant fact about the present movement is the use of medieval poetry and drama for inspiration.

*The Book of Lech Walesa* is a tribute, not just to Walesa, but to the courage and heroism of the Polish people.

—Komala Sarathy

**VOICES OF EMERGENCY: An All India Anthology of Protest Poetry of the 1975-77 Emergency; ed. John Oliver Perry; Popular Prakashan; Pp. 299; Rs. 150.00.**

WARS, FAMINES, droughts, earthquakes, etc., are traumatic events and often give birth to great works of art. The Emergency declared in India during 1975-1977 was in its own way traumatic for democracy in India which inspired many artists, poets and writers to react and express themselves often at the risk of arrest and/or torture.

The anthology under review is one such product of the Emergency. It is a collection of some 280 poems from 14 regional languages and English (or, Indo-English as the editor prefers), all belonging to the *genre* called Protest literature.

The collection has a Foreword by David Selbourne and a Preface of 32 pages by John Oliver Perry, the

editor, who has also translated some of the poems into English. There is, besides, an Introduction—Poetics And Politics—by K. Ayyappa Paniker and for good measure a postscript of sorts on the Emergency—an overview of official measures and their effects by Dr. Aloo Dastur. Then there is a detailed chronology of the political events during 1974-1977 by Prabhudas Sanghvi and a statewide list of detentions and arrests during the Emergency.

More than anything else, the anthology demonstrates that the Emergency and its concomitant iron rule (including censorship, detentions, arrests and suspension of constitutional freedoms) could not suppress dissent. On the other hand, many ordinary people, some of whom had never before attempted verse, sought in poetry a mode of expression of their emotions. Protest literature served its function of bringing out common feelings of anger, fear, disappointment and helplessness against an oppressive regime.

Overall, political rather than literary criteria dominate the selection in the anthology. (Thus, the inclusion of poems by A. B. Vajpayee and Jayaprakash Narayan!) several of the poems included are, frankly, sub-standard and hardly worthy of a schoolboy. As such, the anthology is of no use to a scholar or a lover of poetry.

Also, one feels that instead of thus going in for quantity (there are about 260-odd "poets" included) the editor should have been more concerned with quality and should have restricted the selection to work of some standard. This would have made the anthology far more meaningful both for the scholar and the general reader.

—S. I. Clerk

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# A LETTER

Sir,

May I, through your columns, inform the public of the existence of the "Society for the Right to Die with Dignity" for the benefit of those who would desire to have guidance from the Society?

The Society was established in May 1981 and was the first of its kind in the country. It is the only organisation in India affiliated to the World Federation of the Right to Die Societies whose biennial Conference will be held in Bombay in 1986. The purpose of the establishment of the Society is none other than to relieve needless human suffering, particularly in the case of those terminally ill. This was graphically and tellingly brought out by the play *Whose Life Is It Anyway?* which was successfully produced in Bombay under the sponsorship of the Society in 1982 and an all India premiere was sponsored by the Society on 1st September, 1983, in the distinguished presence of His Excellency the Governor of Maharashtra, Air Chief Marshal I. H. Latif, and Mrs. Bilkees Latif.

The Society has prepared two draft Bills, viz. (1) to delete Section 309 of the IPC which makes an attempt at suicide an offence, and (2) for the protection of physicians and surgeons in the case of voluntary euthanasia by the terminally ill. It needs to be emphasised here that the Society is NOT for Mercy Killing, but for voluntary euthanasia. Two recent classic examples are those of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who refused medication and sustenance at a certain stage of his illness, and Arthur Koestler, an author of world fame.

We shall be happy if any reader who wishes to become a member or would like any information would write to us at Maneckjee Wadia Building, 127, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay 400 023. (Tel. 273914 between 10-30 a.m. to 1-30 p.m.)

M. R. Masani  
Chairman

Society for the Right to Die with Dignity

## A CORRECTION

In the book review by M. B. Shah appearing in our February issue, it was mentioned that "No less than 16 nations of the world voted against the Soviet Union in the U.N. General Assembly, and called upon it to leave Afghanistan." through a typographical error. The actual number of countries which voted against the USSR is 104. The error is regretted.

—Editor.

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I, J. R. Patel, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

J. R. Patel  
Publisher

Dated 1st March 1984.

## WITH MANY VOICES

An interview is an encounter between an unknown person and a famous person, for which the unknown person gets paid but the celebrity does not.

—Miles Kington in *The Times*, December 25.

A walking banana skin.

—Neil Kinnock describing Mrs. Thatcher in *The Observer*, December 11.

Africa's biggest democracy became Africa's biggest dictatorship last weekend.

—*The New York Times*, January 7-8.

Germany, for the Russians, personifies order, hard work, efficiency and good quality—the very things Russia lacks.

—Michael Binyon in *The Times*, January 10.

Ramnath Goenka is by far the bitchiest person I have ever met—he can even outbitch me. And that's saying something.

—Shobha Kilachand quoted in *The Sunday Observer*, January 15.

Dr. Samuel Johnson used to fall into the trap of unrealistic New Year resolutions. Annually he would forswear sloth and determine to rise early. Annually, he would slide back into his old habit of lying abed till midday. His failure would then assist in bringing on one of those cataclysmic depressions which rendered work impossible and life a torment. The moral is clear, New Year resolutions can be bad for you.

—*The Economist*, December 24.

Instead of wanting to lay down the law, Lord Denning sought to do justice.

—*The Economist*, December 17.

Hijacking a country can in some ways be easier than hijacking an airliner. You don't need to pass through those airport doorways that bleep if you are weighed down with guns. Once in control, you don't need to reach a friendly haven; you've already got where you wanted to go. You can take far more hostages than even a jumbo jet would provide, and the problem of feeding them ought not to arise immediately. Indeed, more airliners than countries have been successfully rescued from hijackers. All this, of course, refers to small countries.

—*The Economist*, December 24.

The Denning crusade, like the charge at Balaclava, was magnificent, but it was not the common law.

—*The Economist*, December 17.