

STATE OF THE NATION

M. R. Masani

There have been many demands from readers of Freedom First for the reproduction of a letter that the Editor wrote to Encounter magazine in London in response to an invitation from its Editor. It was published in their January 1976 issue. The story told in that letter was as of 31st October 1975 and a postscript carried in the March issue of Encounter brought the story up to 5th December. While it is true that several developments have taken place since then, the overall picture, by and large, is not very different today.

YOU have asked me for a postscript to the conclusions in my little book *Is JP the Answer?*, extracts from which I understand you are reproducing in *Encounter*. It is not an easy assignment at a time like this, but I feel like responding in view of my old association with *Encounter* and your own warm invitation.

Perhaps I should explain that I retired from active politics as far back as 1971. I have since attempted to view the scene, even when a good friend like Jayaprakash Narayan is involved, as a student of history and it is as a student of history that I have observed the sad events of the last four months in our country.

Under the heading of "The Prime Minister's Options", I sketched in my book the alternatives of a confrontation *à outrance* on the one hand and an adjustment between the Prime Minister and Jayaprakash Narayan on the other. Things have moved in a very different direction from what I had suggested was in the country's interest, but I must confess to being somewhat unrepentant on this point. It can hardly be claimed that what has happened during the past four months has proved my fears about the dangerous consequences of a clash to be unfounded.

True, some readers of the censored Press and users of the Government-controlled Radio and Television may perhaps be led to think so. Isn't everything quiet? Has not discipline been restored in the factory, the secretariat of government, and the campus, and have not illegal strikes been eliminated? Do not trains run on time? Is it not true that there has not been a single act of violence and that the Emergency has been welcomed by the people at large?

If that is so why, one may ask, are thousands, including men and women of influence in the country and the leaders of democratic parties, still imprisoned? Why are *détenus* under the Maintenance of Internal

Security Act held in prison without a reason being given and without recourse allowed to the Courts of Law which are valiantly trying to perform their duties under the Constitution? Why are Jayaprakash Narayan and some other distinguished *détenus* kept incommunicado and denied company?¹ Why is it necessary for the Press to be fettered and denied the right to comment *inter alia* on the Emergency, on Parliamentary proceedings, and on the Supreme Court proceedings on the Prime Minister's case according to the latest guideline which is held out as a "relaxation" of press censorship?

The nature of this alleged relaxation is evidenced by the fact that even at the end of October the number of political prisoners, the arrest of individuals and the location of *détenus* were not allowed to be published in the newspapers. So too the very fact of censorship and the contents of the "guidelines" issued from time to time. In mid-October, I addressed in the capital of Gujarat an All-India Civil Liberties Conference attended by around 1,000 people, presided over by a former Chief Justice of India and inaugurated by a former Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, who had also been a Cabinet Minister and an Ambassador. Next morning, not a line was allowed to appear about that event in the nation's Press. Is it any wonder that such a situation breeds a crop of rumours, many unfounded, which follow one another in quick succession?

As EDITOR of a little monthly named *Freedom First*, I decided right from the start not to submit to the whims and fancies of the censor. I therefore suspended publication of the monthly and applied to the High Court of Bombay for a writ of mandamus against the

¹ This was written shortly before the ailing Narayan was released on parole (in mid November) to obtain urgent medical attention.—ED. NOTE.

censor. That was on 17 July. My writ was admitted by the High Court, but I am still waiting for the matter to come up for hearing.

The saddest part of it all is that the reasons given for the Declaration of Emergency and the steps taken under it are far from convincing. There was no clear and present danger to the security of the State. True, there was a threat of civil disobedience to press the Prime Minister to resign in the light of the judgment of the Allahabad High Court unseating her on an election petition; but such a situation could have been dealt with under the existing laws. Certain positive steps taken (such as the observance of discipline by various sections of the public; including Government employees who report for work on time and the maintenance of queues at bus stops) could surely have been achieved without the severe repression which has accompanied them? To imagine that arbitrary power in the hands of the executive, which is not subject to judicial review, can function for long without oppression is an illusion. The discipline of fear, which is what we have now, is always deceptive. It deprives those in authority of knowledge of the extent of dissatisfaction among the people and of dissent from official policies, with the result that they tend to get more and more out of touch with the realities of the situation, as has been proved by the history of developments in other countries. It is a prescription for popular alienation which (as Mr Pyarelal, who was Mahatma Gandhi's secretary, wrote in the *Indian Express* on Gandhiji's birthday on 2 October this year) "may take the form of a word or a look, a sign—even silence. It cannot be suppressed."

The solution, if it can be called that, is an extremely short-term one. One can only quote what a writer has to say in the journal *Blitz* of 5 October:

"Though no all-India party has been banned, all activity was immobilized. A strange inertia seems to have descended on them... The forces of bitterness and resentment have not died; they have gone underground. Party politics has become subterranean."

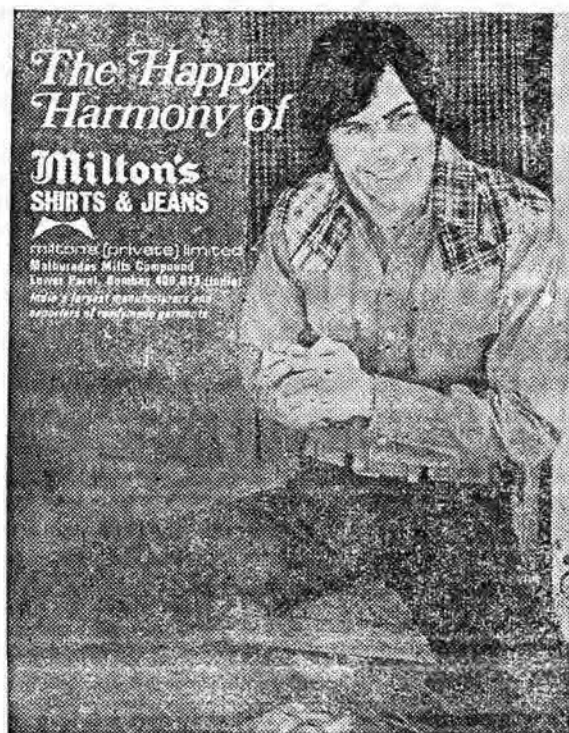
This is something that only a fellow-travelling journalist would be permitted to publish.

How to describe our present situation which has something of the nature of a nightmare? I would certainly not describe it as either a Fascist or Communist dictatorship. I see it as a limited form of authoritarianism from which one can go down the slope to totalitarianism or revert to democratic procedures. One of the more cheering aspects of the situation is that it is reversible. Indeed, the Prime Minister's repeated public statements that she continues to believe in democracy, that the repressive measures have brought no pleasure to her, and that the Emergency is temporary and will be terminated as soon as the changed

situation warrants it, are encouraging straws in the wind. It may then be asked: what are we waiting for? The Prime Minister's answer is that it is for the opposition to manifest a change of heart. But, assuming that the leaders of the campaign against her have had second thoughts, how are they supposed to express them when they are held in solitary confinement and can neither meet one another nor their colleagues outside?

In such a setting, what is the role of the liberal democrat? It is, in my view, to eschew romanticism on the one hand and craven fear on the other. He should endeavour, to whatever little extent may be possible within the limits of legality, to assert the rights of the citizen and to seek to expand the bounds of freedom, for in such a climate even normal calm and courage have a therapeutic value. At the same time the liberal will accept the need for a measure of self-discipline. He will endeavour to address those in authority in the spirit of the Russian proverb: "The yes-man is your enemy, but your friend will argue with you." Our friend Kukrit Pramoj, now Prime Minister of Thailand, set a rather good example of this kind of posture when he functioned as editor of a daily newspaper for several years under an authoritarian régime.

The liberal, maintaining a sense of history, will also bear in mind that there are historical reasons for such developments and that a resort to demonology explains little. He will recall the fragility of India's



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democratic institutions; the way in which the Indian politician, by and large, played the fool; the absence of an infra-structure of grassroots vigilance. He will recall warnings given by many of us during the 1960s that a highly controlled economy, public sector monopolies, the combination of political and economic power in the same hands and a general acceptance of Statism under the slogan of "socialism" cannot be expected to co-exist for long with democratic processes. Bearing all this in mind, the liberal will endeavour to find common ground between the warring parties and to heal the wounds of a divided nation.

Happily all parties, whether in Government or opposition, are agreed that the people of India should be free to decide their destiny through a general election to Parliament, and the Prime Minister has more than once said that elections will be held as soon as the necessary conditions come into existence. She is right in making this reservation as it is obvious that under prevailing conditions—with the kind of censorship of the Press that exists, the detention in prison of a large number of men and women of influence in the country and the threat of detention without cause and without trial under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act—no election that would enjoy any credibility could take place. It is obvious that in order that an election campaign can be conducted fairly and freely there will have to be freedom of expression and discussion on the platform and in the press over a reasonable period of time. It has also to be conceded that, in order that an election can take place in a calm and orderly fashion, extra-constitutional weapons would have to be set aside. Many people in India see no reason why some such arrangement cannot be worked out in the national interest, reinforced by considerations of legitimacy and democratic durability. Any other approach is likely to lead to tragedy, and tragedy is probably the aim of those who, like the Communists, seek to intensify the conflict.

The present régime offers the traditional promise of all authoritarian systems so aptly described recently by a writer in the *New Statesman*, "a perfect future in return for no questions asked." Its long-term stability is dubious unless it can give the people a demonstrably better life within two or three years' time. The threat to Mrs Indira Gandhi's government comes not so much from Jayaprakash Narayan and the opposition parties as from the eventuality of a failure to deliver the goods.

Put very briefly, the question is whether the Government with its present policies, which are not far removed from what in England is known as "Bennery", can generate a surplus of around 10 million tons of food-grains in place of the current deficit which has called for imports this year of around 5 million tons. The answer to that problem lies in the provision of inputs such as water from tube wells and minor irrigation works on the one hand and the flow of consumer

goods at reasonable prices to the countryside on the other. The two are interrelated. Indeed, to the extent that most consumer goods in India are not consumer-durables but "basic" goods like foodgrains, cotton textiles, vegetable oil products and leather goods—which in turn are heavily dependent on agriculture—this flow of consumer goods is itself a function of our success in agriculture. Given our failure on the agricultural front, it is not surprising that the *per capita* index of basic consumption goods (except only for radios, bicycles and sugar) has been stagnant or declining all the way since Independence. On the other hand, industry too is stagnating and its major units, both in the private and the Government sectors, are facing the worst demand recession since Independence.

All this can be mended only by a reversal of the counter-productive policies and priorities of the successive Five Year Plans; a positive attitude to foreign capital investment; the diversion of scarce resources to agriculture and consumer goods industries made possible by the abandonment of an expenditure of between 480 and 650 million rupees per annum on Atomic Energy and a drastic cut in Defence expenditure, which would in turn call for a shift in foreign policy. If this is not done, unemployment will go on growing and inflation will again resume its stride after a short pause. If economic failure becomes clear in two or three years' time, what price political stability? True, the Indian people are fairly docile. True, "verbal socialism" may act for a while as a soothing syrup. True, the resilience of the Indian people is something to be admired. But, as the phrase goes, "even the worm turns."

In this sultry weather comes a breath of fresh air from an unexpected quarter—the Prime Minister's son, Sanjay Gandhi. In an interview for a periodical journal, extracts from which were published in sections of the press on 28 August despite the efforts of the censors to countermand their original sanction, Mr Gandhi argued strongly against nationalisation. He said he would not mind the Government sector being "allowed to die a natural death" where "it cannot function in competition with the private sector." Mr. Gandhi argued for increased production through the restoration of competition, the removal of controls, and the reduction of taxes. While few things in India have been discussed so much in conversation in recent weeks, there has not been a single comment on it, whether friendly or critical, permitted in the censored Press. Perhaps, therefore, in a situation as full of enigmas as this, may I end my letter with a question mark as to what this statement, coming from where it does, implies and what its implications for the future might be?

Bombay

30 October 1975

Yours sincerely,

Minoos Masani

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World News

BRITISH PRESS:

Royal Commission's Recommendations

DURING 1975 anxiety grew within and without Fleet Street about the financial prospects of the national newspapers and the possibility of closures. The Government in September, with the support of publishers and trade unions, asked the Royal Commission to undertake an enquiry and to make an interim report.

The interim report deals only with the present situation of the national press. Nothing in the report prejudices conclusions about such wider issues as the nature, purpose and conditions for survival of a free press which will be dealt within the final report.

The Commission believe that the immediate action now required should be governed by the public interest in:

- (a) enabling as many national newspapers as possible to continue publication;
- (b) ensuring, by minimizing the costs of production, that national newspapers are so far as possible profitable and that their price is no higher than necessary;
- (c) improving industrial relations and securing stable employment and proper remuneration for the industry's permanent employees; and
- (d) making any necessary reductions in manpower and changes in methods of working in a socially acceptable way.

The Commission conclude that:

- (i) the financial position of the industry is poor and in particular the cash-flow of a number of houses, including most of the quality newspapers, is becoming critical;
- (ii) there is no immediate prospect of increasing revenue sufficiently to change this position for the better;
- (iii) the only adequate means of cost-savings is to secure higher productivity through reductions in manpower and the introduction of new technology;
- (iv) these changes can only be made quickly and effectively if socially acceptable terms can be agreed;

- (v) there is a genuine will in the industry to reach agreement on a wide range of hitherto intractable matters.

As a result of their analysis of the financial situation of Fleet Street and from discussions with the industry, the Commission formed the view that medium term assistance in the form of loans is required. The Commission considered two main sources: the private and public sectors. The latter presents two considerations. First, assistance from the public sector would pose a difficulty unique to the newspaper industry. The Commission regard it as fundamental that governments must not be in a position to exert partisan influence upon newspapers. Secondly, the full benefits of financial assistance can be obtained only if the progress of the industry in its next crucial phase is properly monitored. Monitoring by government would risk accusations of partisan interference. If monitoring is to be acceptable and effective, it must be carried out by a body independent of government.

The Commission recommend that assistance should be drawn as far as possible from the private sector and from a single organization with experience in handling problems at an industry level.

The Commission conclude that a healthy, independent and diverse press is an indispensable feature of a democratic society.

(Continued from page 3)

POSTSCRIPT

May I add a postscript to my *Encounter* letter (January)? Since I wrote my report there are a couple of interesting and not unhappy developments to report.

The detention order on Jayaprakash was withdrawn yesterday (4 December). But unfortunately he has been released in very bad shape and is now in hospital undergoing treatment on his kidneys which have been badly damaged during his 4½ months of being held incommunicado. He is cheerful, but I do not know how long we will have him with us.

The other development is that, on 25 November, we at last won our law suit in the Bombay High Court against arbitrary censorship of our monthly publication, *Freedom First*; but, since it is likely the other side will be appealing, further comment will have to be suspended.

Bombay

MUNOO MASANI

THE SOVIET PARALLEL MARKET

Dimitri K. Simes

ALTHOUGH officially all sectors of the Soviet economy are either the property of the state or are controlled by it, there exists a huge, illegal market of goods and services which functions outside the system of institutional economic relationships and beyond governmental controls. Precise figures are unknown, but it can be stated with a reasonable degree of confidence that this market accumulates annually billions of rubles and involves in its activities, both as producers and customers, the greater part of the Soviet population. Even more important, the parallel market, despite official suppression, seems to be a vital element for the normal functioning of the Soviet economy in particular and of Soviet society in general, and an essential part of the Soviet daily routine.

The parallel market includes, but goes far beyond, the traditional black market, well known outside the communist community. First of all, the parallel market is in no way a temporary phenomenon resulting, say, from rationing and shortages. It is permanent, a product of the very nature of the Soviet economic system, brought into existence by the inefficient methods by which goods and services are distributed—even in relatively good economic periods—and by the lack of quality as well as quantity.

The parallel market offers not only better (usually foreign-made) clothing or rare editions of popular authors, but also gives those Soviet citizens, who are in a position to pay, an opportunity to obtain medical care, a higher standard of training and education, better vacations, better interior decoration for their apartments, better baby-sitting facilities, better transportation, even identification papers, diplomas and other documents. More than that, not only private individuals, but government firms, agencies and collective farms frequently use the services provided by the parallel market in their efforts to obtain equipment, spare parts, manpower and professional expertise.

The ordinary Soviet citizen uses the parallel market on an almost daily basis. If he lives in an apartment building, as most Soviet people do, he frequently needs assistance in carrying out household repairs or redecoration. He can call the maintenance department located in every apartment complex and ask for a plumber, but it will probably take quite some time before a plumber appears, and there is a good chance that the plumber will be in a hurry and will have no time to repair things properly or perhaps even to examine what is wrong. But his attitude will change totally if you offer him a tip: suddenly he has plenty of time, and possibly even deficit spare parts can be found somewhere. Usually, you will be told that these parts are

unavailable at the maintenance office and, if you still want your bath to be repaired, that you will have to pay more.

Redecoration of apartments brings even greater problems. Again, there exists an official firm called "Zarya" which can send you men and materials. But in most cases, "Zarya" will put you on a waiting list; then you will be told that they don't have the kind of wallpaper your wife likes, and, finally, the men who are sent to do the job will arrive completely drunk, will strip off your old wallpaper and will then disappear, leaving a nightmare scene in your apartment. After a few such experiences, you will look for somebody upon whom you can rely. Some of your friends will suggest a name, give you a phone number, and you will get what you are looking for. But you should avoid asking tactless questions, such as, "Where did your new wallpaper come from?" it was probably stolen. The Soviet press regularly publishes articles about petty thieves—so-called *nesuny*, or "carriers"—who take home stolen equipment and materials by tricking or bribing factory guards.

If a man has a car, it goes without saying that he is a regular customer of the parallel market. There is a shortage of service stations in the Soviet Union, and those which do exist simply do not have spare parts. A friend of mine spent a month in a vain effort to buy a windscreen for his Moskvitch. Finally, he went to a small street near an automobile plant in Moscow, where he was approached by a man who introduced himself as a worker at the plant and promised to deliver the windscreen the same day for reasonable remuneration—even less than the official price. Needless to say, the worker kept his promise. But even if someone is fortunate enough to need nothing more than a simple car repair, he will not be taken care of unless he pays a station attendant.

It is obvious that everyone who owns a car in the Soviet Union has to be a permanent customer of the parallel market. But even those who prefer or who have to use public transport frequently come into contact with the parallel market. For there are not enough cabs in most Soviet cities, and if you want one, you will probably have to wait up to two hours or more. During rush hours or late at night it is extremely difficult to find a cab. Long lines of people wait at special taxi-stands. But, at the same time, there are usually many cars available. Some are just cabs whose drivers say that their working hours have expired or that they are going to have dinner. A couple of rubles or even less will usually change their minds. Others are official cars, off-duty. Their underpaid chauffeurs are hungry for additional income and rarely hesitate to give a ride to

those who are willing to pay. The normal fare for a trip in Central Moscow is one ruble, slightly more than the charge for a regular cab.

It is generally accepted that today Soviet people are better dressed than 10 years ago. At the same time, expectations, especially those of younger people, have grown much faster than the ability of the Soviet retail trade to satisfy them, and this is fertile ground for speculators and black marketeers. One merely has to compare the way people are dressed in Moscow with the clothes that are available in nearby shops to realize how many fashionable suits, skirts, coats and shoes have been bought from speculators. Certainly some people have access to special stores for top officials or the so-called *Beriozka* stores, which sell goods for foreign currency or special coupons. However, speculators play a prominent role in providing modern clothing.

Medical care, private tutoring and legal services are also available on the parallel market. In theory, every Soviet citizen is entitled to free and good medical care. It is not so in practice. Soviet hospitals and clinics are always overcrowded. Physicians do not have enough time for thorough examinations; they spend most of

their time filling in innumerable papers instead of treating their patients. There is also a shortage of hospital beds; and admission to a hospital is difficult, unless one is really critically ill, although some doctors and hospitals have a better reputation on this score than others. But the patient does not usually have a choice. Except in cases where the illness is so complicated that it can be treated only in certain selected hospitals and clinics, a patient is expected to go to his local clinic and see a doctor who is entrusted with the care of the residents of his block or apartment complex. If necessary, this physician sends him to a local hospital where he will probably be put on waiting list. It is surprising that many Soviet citizens look for ways to be examined and treated by someone they can trust. This is possible, but it costs money.

Thus, many people try to make their own arrangements with physicians and even surgeons. Although only a handful of doctors are officially permitted to have a private practice, and all surgeons are associated with official institutions, quite a few make deals with their patients. Interestingly, illegal payment is fre-

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BHUTTO'S PAKISTAN

A. G. Noorani

MR. ZULFIQAR ALI BHUTTO could achieve his ambition of becoming Prime Minister of Pakistan only on its dismemberment. It was a condition of his success. In a united Pakistan he had no chance of reaching such a position. Mr. Bhutto contributed handsomely to the partition of his country and he worked hard to become the self-styled *Qaid-e-Awam* (Leader of the Masses). He acquired a remarkable ascendancy within months after being sworn in as Premier in December 1971. But authoritarian by nature, he set about acquiring greater, yet greater, power with results that are there for all to see.

Two books, *The End and the Beginning: Pakistan 1969-1971* by Herbert Feldman (Oxford University Press; Rs. 50/-) and *Pakistan in Transition* by Meenakshi Gopinath (Manohar Book Service; Rs. 40/-) tell the sorry tale of Pakistan's break-up and Mr. Bhutto's rise to total power.

Mr Feldman's book is in continuation of two earlier volumes dealing with Field Marshal Ayub Khan's martial law and presidential administrations and has the same qualities and failings as the earlier works. It is informative, especially to an Indian reader who has not easy access to the facts of Pakistan's political life.

But it is not particularly analytical, indeed it is hopelessly confused in parts. His main thesis is that Ayub Khan was largely responsible for the dissolution of Pakistan. "To have restored the country after Ayub Khan's regime would have required in his successor a measure of political resource, character, and good fortune such as Yahya Khan could never claim. Yahya Khan received into his hands a political and economic *haereditas damnosa* virtually beyond hope of recovery. History may well conclude that it was Yahya Khan's misfortune to have completed what Ayub Khan had launched."

The break-up became inevitable because of Yahya Khan's predecessors' misdemeanours. "The man who probably laid the foundations for the demise of the old Pakistan was the late Ghulam Mohamed, a former Governor-General. By his summary dismissal of Khwaja Nazimuddin from the Ministership in 1954, Ghulam Mohamed did four things. First, he convinced many in East Pakistan that West Pakistan and, in particular, the Punjab intended to keep the reins of Government permanently in hand. Second, he demonstrated that coups of this sort were possible in Pakistan. Third, he introduced the army into politics with the appointment of Ayub Khan, then Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, as Minister of Defence. Fourth, to use Callard's words, "The price of the Governor-General's coup was high. Three major conventions of

Cabinet Government had been destroyed or weakened.' Indeed, from this time onwards political decline hastened until, in 1958, Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan tried to cut the tangled skein by recourse to Martial Law."

As one reads the narrative of the events of 1971 one is struck by the author's refusal to accept some of the Pakistani myths as also by the handicaps to which writers on the sub-continent are subject. "While it is an undoubted advantage to live continuously in a country whose progress through time one desires to observe, the disadvantage to the Pakistan-dweller is that he is cut off from Indian journals and books while those from other countries are expensive and exist under the shadow of the ban. This is important than the opportunity to become familiar with events as they occur, to meet people, hear their views and witness their reactions and, if only through sheer propinquity, to absorb the prevailing atmosphere, but the want of newspapers and books is certainly felt."

Nonetheless it is useful to have a different version of what happened in those crucial months. More cannot be said of it.

Ms. Meenakshi Gopinath's book is a scholarly account of the rise to power of Mr. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party which he launched in November 1967. He tried, first, to set up a Forward Bloc within Ayub's Convention Muslim League after he had fallen out with the President but was rebuffed. "There is no place for any Forward or Backward bloc in the Muslim League" remarked one of its leaders.

Mr. Bhutto could not join any of the Opposition parties either. "As a close associate of Ayub, he had in the past condemned the Opposition parties, and while they would have now welcomed him in their ranks, they could not accept him as a leader. Moreover, the Opposition parties had demonstrated an inability to break away from the past. Few of them recognized the gravity of the deprivation that the masses had suffered. They continued to cling to abstractions of ideology and persisted in invoking Islam as the only panacea for all ills. After the "restoration" of constitutional life in 1962, internal dissensions and constant bickering characterized their politics. Bhutto did not want to identify with any of them." He chose to be different—and won.

The main planks of his programme were rejection of Ayub Khan's authoritarian methods, socialism, and an "independent" foreign policy — all knit together by profuse references to Islam.

But Mr. Bhutto is no radical. He is pragmatic, even opportunistic. The election manifesto of 1970 would

make interesting reading today. As the author sums up it advocated that: "Pakistan should follow an independent foreign policy. The first step in this direction is to be achieved by getting out of entanglements with 'imperialist-neo-colonialist powers.' This would involve withdrawal from SEATO, as it had been 'serving the neo-colonialist interest of its white members.' The manifesto accuses the United States of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan and referred to the dispute with the Soviet Union over the U-2 American spy plane in 1960. The manifesto states that Pakistan would support the 'oppressed' peoples of Asia in their struggle against imperialist powers and in 'particular, the cause of the heroic people of Vietnam who have for long years held the imperialist aggressors at bay.' Voicing the then prevalent and widespread anti-American sentiment existing in the country, the manifesto commends that 'We shall join hands with other nations in an effort to bring about the evacuation of Asian soil occupied by the military forces of the United States and other Western colonialist powers.'"

What manner of men joined the PPP? A majority of important PPP party members had little or no political experience before their association with the PPP. Many of the candidates who contested on the PPP ticket (and with success) were relative newcomers to politics. Most of the PPP dignitaries had gained prominence as lawyers, engineers, or were known as landlords. 'The inner circle of the PPP consists of half a dozen persons whose relationship with Bhutto (with the exception of Rahim) is essentially a combination of friendship, loyalty, obligation, subservience, and dependency. It is evident that Bhutto wishes his primacy to be accepted and will not tolerate opposition within the party ranks.'

The author points out that of all the parties in the West the PPP was most militant and vociferous, indulging in rather indiscriminate namecalling and mudslinging at their opponents. Of all important campaigners, Bhutto was the youngest, the most energetic, agile, and the most indefatigable, conducting a gruelling campaign and drawing the largest crowds. Bhutto made the most violent speeches, and PPP party workers mostly figured prominently in inter-party clashes. "The PPP campaign followed a well-planned strategy. There was hardly any tactical blunder worth the mention, except perhaps Bhutto's repeated chastizing of the Press and his constant allegation that the National Press Trust was a capitalist oriented organisation. One of the principal elements of the PPP's modus operandi was the maximum exploitation of Bhutto's charisma. For instance, in the West, the only meetings and processions to display huge portraits of their leaders were those of the PPP. Bhutto was presented as the Qaid-e-Awam (Leader of the Masses) and his election symbol, the sword, was represented as the Zulfiqar-e-Ali."

Once in power, Mr. Bhutto had no hesitation in ruling by authoritarian methods. Things are perhaps not as bad as they were in the early years of President Ayub Khan but that is not saying much "In his political activity, Bhutto has sought a balance between freedom and recession. A possible tendency toward authoritarianism in the PPP has emerged. For this reason fissures have begun to appear in the party with erstwhile Bhutto supporters charging that the PPP is being run on authoritarian lines. Ironically, the Government has come down with a heavy hand to meet the forces that its cry for distributive justice and political freedom has unleashed. After Bhutto's taking office, peasants had pitched battles with landlords in NWFP, and occupied their land, workers seized a rayon factory in Lahore. The Government met these challenges by police and military action. Bhutto made early move to lift press and other media controls. Soon afterward, however, several leading editors, publishers and newsmen were arrested, displaying Bhutto's lack of inhibition in settling old scores."

The author is scrupulously fair to Mr. Bhutto and has no hesitation in recognising his superiority in talent over his opponents. But as she points out, "What then can be said about the democratic experiments in Pakistan? One serious flaw is that Bhutto seems to be confusing legitimacy and credibility with the numerical strength of his party in Government while greater care and attention must be given to the methods employed. Bhutto's repressive techniques are only making the extremists in the Opposition more popular. At any rate a period of public quiescence has terminated in Pakistan and people have shown greater readiness than ever to take to the streets to redress their grievances. At the period of transition under consideration here Bhutto and his party have played a crucial role by mounting the relevant slogans, and channelizing the democratic movement in a desirable direction, by infusing it with the necessary vigour. The participatory urges of the people have now surged ahead where even Bhutto will not be able to regulate them. He too will have to demonstrate continuous deference to this process, if he is interested in holding the reins of Government. At any rate it is unlikely that a book will be written in Pakistan entitled 'After Bhutto, Who?'"

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INTERACTION OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

Ernest Van Den Haag

IN a market economy the distribution of inequalities—the social structure—is independent of moral criteria such as justice. The market system produces more of the pie which makes distributive justice possible than any other economic system. But justice concerns apportionment of the pie, a problem raised, and all too circumscribed, but not decided by its size. In the words of Friedrich A. Hayek: “it is meaningless to describe the manner in which the market distributes the good things of this world as just or unjust . . .”, Meaningless? Not quite. Irrelevant to the function of the system, yes.

For the market rewards economic merit through the incentive allocation, ignoring moral merit. These two are not the same, unless the production of market value, economic merit, is defined as moral merit.

Whatever independent criterion for distributive justice is chosen is certain not to identify moral with economic desert. Hence, morally and economically justified distributions may differ. They do. A sexy movie actress, a shrewd promoter, a successful manager, or advertising man, or inventor, or oil discoverer may deserve economically what the market allows them to earn. But they are not morally superior to a faithful nurse or worker, to a courageous lifesaver or veteran, a great poet, philosopher or economist. People are economically deserving according to the market value of the services they supply. But those who supply services which have high market value and who, therefore, have high earnings cannot be regarded as *eo ipso* morally more deserving than the economically less successful. To argue otherwise—to regard the successful movie actress as morally more deserving than the less well paid nurse or the unsuccessful actress—is to identify their market value (or that of their activities) with their moral value. Such an identification of moral and economic desert does not express what ordinary people, or philosophers, mean by “morally deserving”.

It is because they do not identify moral and economic value that people wish to link them. For the fact that on the market the services of the morally less deserving can be more valuable than those of the more deserving, outrages the sense of justice. The felt discrepancy between distribution according to the market value of services and distribution according to moral value of services—justice—is the source of widespread dissatisfaction with income distribution, and of the consequent political attempts to adjust the economic to the moral. This felt discrepancy and the attempts to bridge it by political means are the major source of

all threats to the market economy. None of the remedies proposed seems likely to help. Many are likely to make matters worse.

We may disregard moralists who have disguised their objections to the injustice of the market as objections to its efficiency in calling forth production. They can be factually refuted. A look at the available alternatives is altogether persuasive here. The socialist systems are less efficient by far than the market systems they replace. They intolerably reduce the size of the pie as they redistribute it so that, with the exception of the government itself, almost everybody is worse off. Claims about justice in the distribution of what remains are less easily assessed. However, if “justice” is defined independently from “socialism”, the socialist systems which aim directly at distributive justice have not been notable so far for achieving more of it than market systems. And they unquestionably grant less, if any, individual freedom.

The actual alternatives to the market system are worse in all relevant respects. Alternative systems too lack tradition as a source of legitimacy. But they have defences which the market economy lacks. They present their system as a transition to ultimate justice and equality. Marxism does so in all its forms. And they can suppress any critical analysis to the contrary: the promise of ultimate justice justifies dictatorship. Further, once it is established in an industrialised country, socialism reduces mobility. This too helps to legitimise inequality. The socialist promise survives disappointment just as major religions do survive the indefinite postponement of redemption from the evils of this world.

The commitment against the market distribution of income leads socialists to reduce cognitive dissonance by insisting that the market distribution of income is becoming less and the socialist distribution more equal. This is not the case. Yet, paradoxically the threat to the market economy is intensified by the actual decrease of poverty. In the USA the trend in the last fifty years has been for the income of the lower income groups to rise much faster than that of the upper income groups. Further, the size of the group at the lowest end of the distribution has decreased, while the size of the groups in the middle and upper ranks has increased: in 1920, fifty per cent of all families were below the present government poverty standards adjusted for changes in purchasing power; in 1966, less than eleven per cent.

Poverty was discovered to have become an exciting social problem, just when it had been reduced so pre-

cipitously, because contrary to naïve expectation shared by revolutionaries (who fear contentment) and by reformers (who hope for it), shortening of the distance between them and others increased the resentment of the poor. When rich and poor were as "two nations", the resentment of the poor was vague and unfocused; they experienced and envied each other more than the remote rich. No longer isolated by vast and apparently insurmountable distances in education and living conditions, the poor now share much of the common outlook. They share, in particular, the poor consuming ambitions of the nonpoor brought home to them by TV and by all modern media of mass communication. But by definition they lack the means to fulfil these ambitions and resent more than ever what they now learn is deprivation. Further, while the habitual is regarded as inevitable and the inevitable is tolerated, the insufficient is resented. Improvement as a process is always felt to be insufficient—it can never keep pace with the rise in expectations it generates. The market economy is resented because it involves a perpetual process of improvement.

In the past, finally, the proportion of the poor in society was so great they saw their condition as natural. So did everybody else. But nobody any longer can. The poor are comparatively few now. Rather than separated or different, they feel isolated and passed by. The rich, in turn, feel guilty for having left them behind. At least their children do. The social perception of poverty has altogether changed. No one—rich or poor—any longer believes that poverty can be an individual responsibility or fault of the poor, let alone part of a divinely sanctioned, just or even tolerable social order. Poverty is now seen as an injustice committed by the rich, guilty of depriving the poor. ("Cui Bono?" is proof of their guilt). No longer accepted as part of the physiology of the body social, poverty has come to be regarded as social pathology.

If to be poor meant only to have less than a biologically defined minimum needed to survive, poverty would affect only a very few among those called poor in the USA. But "poverty" is defined by history and society, and refers not to incomes, high or low, but to the social judgement passed on income differences. In the USA people whose living scale is less than half of the (median) average are judged to be poor, regardless of the absolute size of their incomes.

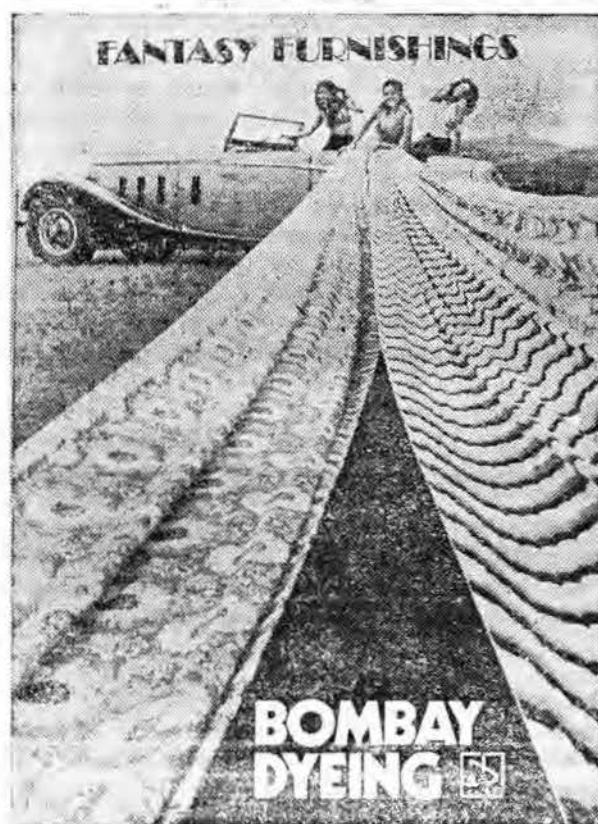
Because roughly only 10-12 per cent of all families remain poor even by this social definition, the temptation to regard poverty as curable pathology and to "wage war" against it is hard to resist. Yet though many battles have been won, and more can be, the war cannot be won since anything other than a totally equal distribution of income puts some people at the top and others at the bottom. The top group will be called rich, the bottom group poor. The size of the bottom group and the distance from others can be changed.

Not enough, however, to make us perceive the remaining distance as insignificant: those at the bottom continue to be regarded as poor by themselves and others, just as those at the top will be perceived as rich. And the situation—despite its arithmetical unavoidability—continues to be perceived as unjust.

In any socialist planning system the economically advantaged—the planners—hold political power. In a market system they do not. It is usually combined with a political system—democracy—that permits those who feel disadvantaged to attempt to control the economic system in their favour. The disadvantaged—or those who feel they are—being, by definition, more numerous, wield more political power than the economically advantaged, by definition few.

The leaders of the poor and powerless can use the political process to become rich and powerful. Even some of their followers may benefit. But the size of the poor as a group, and its distance from the non-poor, are not likely to be affected, even if incomes (rewards) are distributed directly by a political system and not by the market. The purpose of such a radical change may be to distribute in accordance with moral merit or material need, rather than economic desert. However, a political system of distribution is as unlikely

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ENDURING WITH MOTHER COURAGE

Geeta Doctor

ONE tends to judge the Performance Group of New York's version of "Mother Courage" by its effects on the seat of one's pants. This was because the production demanded that the audience accommodate itself for a period of four hours in a variety of hard and uncomfortable positions ranging from the floor up to dangling unhappily from the top of the three tiered scaffolding that had been erected all round the area of action. Some commentators of the event seemed to find it strange that a "bourgeois" audience should voluntarily undergo such discomforts to witness a play written by a dramatist of the proletarian cause. Does this imply, one wonders, that bourgeois bottoms are too soft and only sturdy proletarian backsides can bear up to a performance of Bertolt Brecht? These were some of the extraneous considerations which were allowed to influence the production which must otherwise be regarded as the most exciting theatrical experience of the season.

"Stop goggling like a lot of romantics" Brecht himself is said to have growled at his audiences. He advocated introducing the spirit of the boxing ring or of a race course into the theater. Under Richard Schechner's direction there was little chance for any goggling. From the moment the audience bought their tickets to the end of the performance when they stumbled out into the night bruised, battered, but triumphant, Richard Schechner appeared to be in charge. He, no less than the regular actors had a role to play, at times appearing plump and genial like a circus owner, occasionally brash and obnoxious like the original ugly American but always controlling the audience and the action like a "deus ex machina" or a puppet master in charge of all the strings.

He created the sense of "Verfremdung" or alienation or strangeness that Brecht recommended. To begin with the play was staged in the quadrangle of the Cathedral School. The audience were kept waiting at the small back entrance to the school just long enough for them to get restless, so that finally when they were let in there was a tendency to push frantically in search of the best seats. Instead of this however they were greeted by an atmosphere of apparently total chaos. There were no seats. They had to use gunny bags spread out on the ground, or climb up the scaffolding which had been built to form a large square with openings that served as passages and platforms that alternatively provided acting or seating places. At the far end, on one of the platforms, an exceedingly plain and very American looking young woman seemed to be getting dressed. This was going to be Mother Courage. Other actors equally unconcerned and a little

bored appeared to be moving the props around. In the midst of all this under the glare of lights, a network of thick ropes, pulleys, bells and a ladder hung about haphazardly suspended in the air.

Presently one of the actors began a monotonous drumbeat which began to get louder and louder and amazingly Mother Courage began to unfold. The actors, the puppets, jerked into life and suddenly they were no longer a bunch of all American youth but the living, swearing, sweating, suffering flesh and blood creatures of Brecht's mind.

At its simplest level Mother Courage is a bitter, biting indictment of war and the degrading effects the war has on the central characters, who even as they are destroyed by it, refuse to understand its viciousness. Mother Courage believes that with her wagon-load of goods behind her she can make the best of any situation. She wheedles her way through the war making no distinction between friend or enemy since both need her goods. In the process she loses one by one her children who in spite of her curses and her cajoling are not able to show an ounce of her stamina for survival. She is particularly contemptuous of virtue and warns her children from falling a prey to it. She warns Eilif her eldest against being too brave and he gets caught while trying to hustle a herd of cattle during a lull in the war. He gets hanged. This echoes the principle voiced by the two soldiers at the very start of the play who believe that virtue is only needed in times of war. During peacetime Eilif's bravery becomes an embarrassment and he has to pay for it. This particular cynicism is part of Mother Courage's credo also. "Anywhere were there's a lot of virtues" she says "it shows something is rotten... In a good country there would be no need for virtues they could all get half marks and be cowards for all I care."

Swisscheese fares no better. He is too honest and gets killed for holding on to the regimental cash box when the enemy is after it. Only poor dumb Katrin is left and her virtue is compassion. Mother Courage taunts and raves at her for it but she succumbs and is killed in a uselessly heroic act in trying to warn a sleeping town against the enemy.

Mother Courage is now left alone. Like the camp following whore who not only survives but positively thrives on the war, she still has her wagon of goods. Girding the harness onto her shoulders she decides that the only thing for her to do is to make her way on her own.

In this production the visual image of the last scene is brought out with tremendous force. As played by Joan McIntyre, Mother Courage is not the monumental

heroic figure of some versions, but a slight frail creature whose will, because of this, seems all the more indomitable. After crooning a lullaby over her dead daughter and then methodically stripping her of her clothes, she picks up the ropes from every side of the set. Then using all her strength she strains at them and cries to the retreating army, "I must get back to business. Take me with you." We see her as she is, both a creature trapped in a web of her desires and yet struggling to overcome them. The last scene provides the point and counterpoint of Brecht's ending. It is both tragic and moving, emphasizing Mother Courage's stubborn tenacity. Yet it also becomes a condemnation of her total lack of understanding of the events that have overtaken her.

Before we go into the merits or defects of this particular production it is important to examine Brecht's own view on the subject. Coming as he did from a poor but undoubtedly middle class background he always appears a self-conscious convert to the communist cause. When he wrote plays one of his main concerns was how to create a situation which would convey his political credentials and yet have the universality of all great literature. He not only had to represent reality to his audiences but to rub their noses into it to make sure they understood. To this end he created plays that have a number of short scenes with announcements at the beginning to make sure that the audience is alert as to what is happening. He wanted strong lighting and insisted that the actors should not identify with their roles as this would again mislead the audiences. He hoped that by thus alienating and antagonizing the spectator he would get him to react against what was being represented. By doing so he felt that he was promoting the cause of Communism. Since it was certain to him that once having been convinced of the necessity for change, the only way an individual could initiate the process, was through the ideals set down by the Communist party.

To understand the particular urgency in Brecht's work one must realise that he was writing at a time when Germany was plunging into the vortex of Fascism, a danger which he felt that the middle class in their fear of change refused to face in their anxiety to cling to the status quo. By the time Hitler came into full power Brecht had fled to America, an interesting comment on the strength of his communist sympathies.

When we consider the Performance Group's production in this context there could not have been a better interpretation of Brecht. The actors were superb playing multiple roles with ease and yet always maintaining a distance between their roles and their individual personage. The musical numbers, the diverse sound effects, such as the church bells that tolled monotonously, the continual clinking of the cash register at the mention of money all combined in setting the mood

of a particular scene on one hand and assailing the spectator's senses on the other. The play managed to be rough and gentle, humorous, bawdy, revolting, and inspiring all at the same time. The spectator had not only to change his place and thereby his perspective but he was forced to react continuously. His thoughts, his feelings were taken and mercilessly spun about until he felt a total sense of disassociation which was both tiring and exhilarating.

There were some who could not stand the strain of these conflicting impressions which appeared to them only as a cacophony of discordant noises and actions. One cannot rule this out as a valid reaction to the play. The Performance Group would probably accept this as being within the scope of their intentions. Seeking highly innovative modes of expression, in the United States they have produced a play on Vietnam where the action takes place simultaneously in different booths. The audience is expected to wander about and watch whichever fragment of the play appeals to them.

"All action" they say "is incomplete." When they choose a play they find perhaps a third of the action in the play. Another third they provide by their interpretation. The rest has to be provided by the spectator himself who has to decide how and to what extent he is prepared to continue the action. Naturally only those who are willing to make this connection will find it meaningful.



(Continued from page 10)

to avoid the troubling discrepancy between economic and moral with one between political and moral desert. But political is no more than economic desert identical with moral merit. The abilities making for moral merit (pleasing one's superiors; or, getting oneself elected; or gaining power some other way) are as unequally distributed as economic abilities. Distribution by a political system relying on political merit might be different, but not more equal or justifiable than distribution by a market system relying on economic merit.

So far I have spoken of the forces that threaten to overthrow the market system as a whole. But those that threaten to erode it by piecemeal reform are no less important. I am confined to consider just two of these erosive threats, although unfortunately they do not exhaust the list.

Inflation is no more inherent in market than in non-market economies. It is, however, a historical characteristic of the degeneration of democracy into populism. William Jennings Byran and George McGovern were both beaten back. But only by allowing some of the inflation they advocated. The pressure for increases in public services and in private consumption and for reduction in productive efforts is unrelenting. Inflation is the politically easy way out. But inflation leads from temporary feverish disorder of the market mechanism to its total paralysis when the measures taken to control it are analgesics which ultimately induce anaesthesia. Welfare policies are as erosive as inflation to which they are related.

The threats to the market economy seem overwhelming. It is thought to distribute its benefits immorally. Non-market systems have been introduced in vast areas of the world to do better. Where the market system still exists, it is under bitter and perpetual attack by the great majority of the intellectuals, and its mechanism is distorted by inflation, controls, and welfare measures, all nearly unavoidable in the increasingly populist political climate in which the market must function.

Is there an optimistic note which might relieve the gloom of this analysis? The only comfort I can offer is derived from Karl Popper's rejection of "historicism". My prognosis is based on diagnosis of the existing forces, and extrapolation, as any scientific analysis must be. Clio, however, seems a very fickle girl, seldom going steady with any of the forces with which she has been paired. If history teaches us one thing, it is that extrapolation never has been predictive. Futurology has a future only because the demand for prophesy has not decreased as its authority waned. The unexpected happens, and by definition, is unpredictable. Thus the market may be saved. But I'm damned if I know how.

—Courtesy, *Lugano Review*, Lugano, Switzerland

AFTER KGB HARASSMENT, AMALRIK ACCEPTS EXILE

ANDREI AMALRIK, the dissident writer who suffered years of imprisonment and Siberian exile, has reluctantly succumbed to a campaign of police harassment and agreed to accept exile abroad.

He and his wife, Gyusel, a painter, have yielded to suggestions from authorities that they apply to emigrate to Israel. Mr. Amalrik said the other day in an interview. The couple, who are not Jewish, intend to travel first to the Netherlands and then to the United States.

"This is not a decision taken freely," the 37-year-old writer declared. "I did not want to emigrate to Israel or anywhere else—ever. When a man is born in a country, and is a writer, he doesn't want to leave—not ever."

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quently required even when patients are treated during regular office hours and in government medical facilities. I was told of a prominent surgeon who made a fortune by accepting payments from potential patients. These people, presumably, were not local residents and they needed the sponsorship of the surgeon in order to be admitted to his hospital and to be operated upon by him.

If some privileged citizens can still enjoy adequate medical assistance without paying for it, virtually the only chance they have of getting a good lawyer is to pay some additional unofficial fee for his services. Certainly, one can limit one's expenses to a modest payment delivered to a cashier in a legal office. And, if criminal charges are brought against the defendant, he can even declare himself incapable of paying. The court would then be obliged to nominate a lawyer for him. The only question is, what kind of lawyer? Those who want the assistance of a reputable professional must find someone who knows and who can recommend one. A lawyer will usually ask first for references and only then say how much he wants for his work on top of the official fee. Not only ordinary people, but also famous writers and film directors, academicians, KGB colonels, and even Central Committee members have had to pay unofficial fees to their lawyers.

Private tutoring is another interesting subject. According to a poll conducted several years ago among freshmen at Moscow University's Department of Mathematics, 85 per cent of the students used the services of private tutors in order to prepare themselves for admission tests. This private tutoring has two different, rather contradictory effects on the selection process at Soviet universities and colleges. Obviously, services of a tutor are much easier to obtain for those in better financial positions and in major urban areas, and in this sense, private tutoring brings less equality to the Soviet educational system, by favouring applicants with upper and middle class city backgrounds.

To sum up, one may say that almost all kinds of goods and services are available on the parallel market and millions of Soviet citizens do not hesitate to buy them.

Not only individual Soviet citizens, but also industrial and agricultural executives seek the services of the black market, thereby infringing numerous laws, instructions and regulations. Moreover, it would seem on the basis of reports published in Soviet periodicals, that the entire Soviet economic system could not survive without the parallel market. In a letter published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, a Soviet construction executive from Rostov says that it is difficult to find a manager who does not violate "financial discipline" or try to disregard obsolete instructions. According to a prominent Soviet columnist, Yuri Feofanov, some government agencies have issued as many as 12, 15 or even 20 thousand instructions and regulations to guide their executives' every step, and, in quite a few cases, bureau-

cracy virtually forces industrial and agricultural managers to look to the parallel market to obtain the things they need. There, equipment and materials which are otherwise not available are sold to eager customers. At the same time, in order to get cash to pay for those unauthorized purchases, the customers also become involved in illegal transactions, selling, in their turn, part of their own factory's or farm's output on the parallel market. Naturally, many business executives start to infringe the law motivated by the interests of their enterprises and farms, but finish up trying to make a fortune for themselves. Illegal financial transactions and the handling of large amounts of unregistered cash corrupt quite a few business executives, especially those in the retail where stealing is a way of life. It is safe to suggest that virtually everyone who holds a managerial position in the Soviet retail trade breaks the law almost daily.

The parallel market offers not only industrial and agricultural products, but also manpower and expertise by qualified professionals. Every summer, many collective farms hire groups of city residents to do construction jobs. Some of these people are students, others belong to many different professions, but only a few are employed in the construction industry. However, in the summer, they become construction workers, form so-called brigades, and offer their services to collective state farms. Usually, they are paid far above the official rates. But agricultural managers, short of manpower, feel happy to get these *shabashniks* who are paid, not for the hours they work, but for the job they do and, consequently, are not afraid of overtime.

In the late sixties, research and consulting firms of a

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new kind were established in many Soviet cities by scientists and engineers eager to earn additional income. Specialists associated with the firms, kept their official jobs and committed their own time to work on firm assignments. The firms became extremely popular, especially among younger professionals, tired of their modest salaries and the monotonous functions which they had to perform in their regular jobs. Industrial managers, in their turn, were quite willing to make contracts with the firms because of their reputation, unusual under Soviet conditions, of being reliable and capable of doing a good job. Unlike executives of Soviet official institutions, the managers of the new firms could not expect anybody to pay them without being satisfied with their work. Their only chance of survival was to establish a good reputation. In this they succeeded.

The huge scale on which the parallel market operates can hardly be conducive to the Soviet government's peace of mind. A totalitarian regime, by its very nature, cannot tolerate any initiative coming from outside the institutional system. It sees such initiatives as a threat to its control over the economy and the people, and thus does not like its citizens to become even partly financially independent of the state.

Also, most goods available on the parallel market are stolen from the state, and many people perform their parallel market functions in office hours, frequently making use of the facilities and equipment of state institutions and enterprises. This is another obvious reason for the authorities' disapproval of the black market.

The black market also causes serious economic distortions and interferes with official plans. From the point of view of governmental economic agencies, the equipment and supplies which are obtained on the parallel market by some energetic manager may be needed more and could be used more effectively by other firms and enterprises.

Generally speaking, during recent years some degree of tolerance, if not approval, has developed in the Soviet Union towards certain kinds of parallel market activities. Speculators and thieves are definitely considered criminals, but those who become involved in the parallel market "for a good cause" enjoy unprecedented lenience. At the moment, the parallel market is the only answer for many dedicated business executives. And it seems that the Soviet leadership is not ignorant of their situation. If there were ever to be a choice between reforms giving economic management actual autonomy and a semi-tolerance of the parallel market, the Soviet leadership could very well favour the latter.

The parallel market is a huge economic structure, simultaneously independent from and a part of the official Soviet economy. This private sector penetrates every segment of Soviet society.

—Courtesy, *Survey*, London

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

Call me Field Marshal. There are many lords but few field marshals.

—Viscount Montgomery in *Guardian*, April 2.

As Irving Kristol, Peter Drucker and others have observed, there are three main causes for continuing food shortage. The three causes are the Soviet, Chinese and Indian governments.

—George F. Will in *International Herald Tribune*, April 3.

Perhaps it is better to be irresponsible and right than responsible and wrong.

—Sir Winston Churchill quoted in *Times*, April 1.

Apres Mao, Mrs Mao?

—*The Economist*, March 20

A statesman is a politician who seems to be almost a man.

—Robert Strausz-Hupe in *Encounter*, March 1976.

Dame Agatha Christie made more people happy in bed than any woman since the world began.

—The *Guardian* quoted in *Encounter*, March 1976.

Nowhere is the condition of man as orderly, as certain and as obvious as it is in prison.

—Robert Strausz-Hupe in *Encounter*, March 1976.

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The Soviet Union is trying to bring us to our knees. But I will get on my knees before no one but Allah.

—President Anwar Sadat in *Time*, March 29.

In foreign affairs, there is something almost Orwellian about the transformation of the word liberal to mean the opposite of what it meant a decade or so ago.

—Professor Daniel Patrick Moynihan in *Time*, April 5.

If retirement at 70 were to be introduced in Russia, seven out of the sixteen members of the slightly reshuffled politburo, including Mr. Brezhnev, would have to go this year.

—*The Economist*, March 13.

People who cannot grow sufficient food for themselves should not be entitled to rule a modern state.

—Rowland Davies in *The Economist*, March 13.

Egalitarianism + materialism = inflation.

—Prof. Nisbet quoted in *The Economist*, March 13.

Whenever her position is threatened, Mrs Gandhi has been swerving from right to left and vice versa, making scapegoats of her advisers.

—R. S. Gupta in *The Economist*, March 13.

To talk about a Socialist manager is about as sensible as talking about a Christian mathematician or a Hindu plumber. What you want is a good mathematician or a good plumber.

—Peter Parker in *Observer*, March 28.

I'm a liberal but not a damn fool.

—Senator Henry Jackson quoted in *The Economist*, April 3.

No one need feel sorry for Dr. Kissinger. He has done more than his share of intriguing. His present case reminds me of the porcupine who sat on a splinter.

—Joseph Kraft in *International Herald Tribune*, April 10

Socialist democracy is as meaningful as boiling ice.

—Peter Jenkins in *Guardian*, April 4.