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VOL. 14 No. 22 | SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1968 | CTS. 25

## LABOUR OFFICERS' STRIKE: GOVERNMENT MUST CONCEDE JUST DEMANDS

The strike launched by the Labour Officers of the Department of Labour is now nearly fifty days old and it is a sad commentary on the Ministry of Labour and the Government that it has still not been settled. It is also unfortunate that the Minister should expect the Labour Officers to return to work, repentant in sack clothes and ashes, and beg of his forgiveness for having gone on strike at all. Such ante-deluvian postures may tickle the fancy of die-hards who think that modern youth and the world itself can be changed by cold war outfits like the discredited and suspect organisations known as the Muslim Brotherhood (masquerading under various garbs) or the anti-Marxist Muslim Front. High dignitaries of these organisations, it is on record, are more concerned in smuggling currency notes and other contraband than anything else. Minister Mohamed is free to tread where angels will dare not enter, but he has also the obligations vested in

his Ministry to think about. One of them is to see that strikes are settled expeditiously and justly. And a strike by Labour Officers, who are in charge not only of implementing labour legislation but also of ensuring industrial peace, should have been resolved without delay. Even if one were to concede that the Minister was entitled to his holiday in Geneva under cover of his preaching a sermon to the ILO on the rights of labour, Mr. Mohamed should have lost no time in meeting the just demands of the Labour Officers (at least half way) no sooner he returned from his jaunt.

The reasons which had impelled the Labour Officers to go on strike are well known. We have pointed out earlier, as have nearly all other newspapers in the island, that the grievances of the Labour Officers are just and legitimate and that for nearly ten years these grievances had remained unredressed although their vali-

dity had been recognised. Whether this sad neglect is due to the red tape and obduracy of panjandrams in the Treasury, or whether it is due to other reasons is of little consequence, but there is no reason why a glaring anomaly should be allowed to continue for such a long time as to compel officers (who seek to bring harmony into labour relations) to go on strike. It should have dawned on the Minister and the Government by this time that the sympathy of the public is entirely with the Labour Officers. Even those conservatively-inclined, who feel that Labour Officers should *never* have resorted to the strike weapon, concede that the demands of these officers are just and reasonable. The least that the Minister and the Government can do is to concede that these demands of the Labour Officers are just and that they cry aloud for remedy. This would be, at least, a beginning to ensure an expeditious settlement of the strike.



From Switzerland

## About Surplus Milk And Greek Democrats

Berne

Switzerland, like several other European countries, has a surfeit of milk and other dairy products. It has already been forced to close its frontiers to low-price imports of these commodities from abroad, and it is also obliged to find a use for the milk that it guarantees to buy from farmers at a fixed — and therefore subsidised — price. In November, 1966, after widespread appeals from public opinion, the Swiss Government decided to allocate 8 million francs to the Federal milk budget so that surplus milk and dairy products — mostly in the form of powdered milk—could be sent abroad to developing countries whose population suffers from undernourishment.

This sum of money was intended to be sufficient to last until the end of 1969, but the programme has proved so successful that the Government has now decided to provide another 10 million francs for the same purpose — in addition to a sum of 5 million already added last October. This means that now 23 million francs are being used for the purpose. Every franc of the sums in question is in fact spent on milk, for the financial task of transporting it from Switzerland to the developing

countries is undertaken by private Swiss aid organisations which are supported directly by the public. **Thus, it can no longer be said that Europe's excess dairy production is simply destroyed — not the Swiss portion of it, at any rate.**

\* \* \*

AN important discovery of pre-historic remains has been made at a building site at Yverdon in the Swiss Canton of Vaud. Carved stone and wood implements, probably dating from the neolithic age, have been brought to the surface and are to be put on show soon. An interesting sidelight on this archaeological dig is the fact that a Congolese student has been taking part: a man who will in the near future be able to throw badly-needed light on the pre-history of his own continent.

\* \* \*

ON June 29th and 30th an international conference was held in Geneva with the participation of delegates from fifteen national Committees for Democratic Greece — made up of personalities foreign to Greece who have joined together in each of their countries to form a pressure group on behalf of Greeks

exiled by the military dictatorship now at the head of their country.

The aim of the conference was to discuss the situation in Greece one year after the takeover by the military regime. Among the discussion themes were violation of Greece's international obligations, contempt for human rights in Greece, jails and torture, possibilities of humanitarian aid, and international solidarity with democratic Greek forces. The conference was also aimed at helping the various national Committees to co-ordinate their work and to set realistic goals for future efforts.

*Swiss Press Review*



**PUBLISHED WEEKLY**  
at 72, Kew Road Colombo-2  
TELEPHONE 33172  
Vol. 14, No. 22, July 14, 1968

TRIBUNE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with general policies

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TRIBUNE is published every Sunday.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES:**  
Ceylon, Rs. 15/-, one year.  
Rs. 8/-, half year, post free  
Overseas Rs. 21/- by Sea Mail,  
Air Mail rates on application.

### ESALA THOUGHTS

An Esala moon shines bright surrounded by clouds who woo;  
On Sansaras ocean noble ones have won honour true,  
By winning ships which float above a strife of a sea.  
A golden beauty of a serene, gentle moon is pleasing to see.  
Multitudes of clouds endlessly floating unnoticed pass  
In a vast universe which challenging mysteries encompass.  
Asokas, and Mahindas, Gaminis, Kings and founders,  
Nightingales, Gagarins and Lincolns and Kennedys,  
Rishis, Fords and Nobles, Pasteurs and Faradays  
Are full moons which reflect vision-giving rays.

M. K. ANAWARATNE



# Headlides Of The Week

**FRIDAY, July 5** — The Tea Commission in its final report has recommended that the overall responsibility for the whole tea industry should be vested in the Minister in charge of Planning and Economic Affairs, who should always be the Prime Minister. A Maha Sangha deputation from the Asgiriya Chapter yesterday urged the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake to abandon the District Councils proposal and to devote the funds, energy and man-power earmarked for the the purpose towards national development. The *Daily Mirror* reported that the Government Clerical Service Union had started a survey to assess whether all public servants were now in a mood to launch an immediate strike. Transport of cement, chillies, onions and sundry goods to Colombo from South India has stopped following a dispute over a boat seized by the Customs for an alleged Customs offence. The Egyptian Foreign Minister said in Copenhagen that the Arab world made a big mistake when it demanded the annihilation of Israel and that the Arabs were ready to recognise Israel. Police have placed a twenty-four hour guard on Saidallah Siran, elder brother of the alleged assassin of Senator Robert Kennedy after shots were fired at him yesterday.

**SATURDAY, July 6** — According to a confidential circular by the Chief Mechanical Engineer an average of 1,140 of the CTB's fleet of 4,987 buses idled every day. The Prime Minister acknowledged that there was widespread public opinion against the proposed DC Bill and said that he would not be contemptuous of public opinion when he met a delegation of the Asgiriya Maha Sangha yesterday. The West German Police warned Paris of a reported plot by French students to assassinate President de Gaulle during the July 14 celebrations in France. The Egyptian President began talks yesterday with Russia's top three leaders.

**SUNDAY, July 7** — Colombo Food and Price Control Officers filed complaints against eight butchers for allegedly profiteering in beef. Malaria experts stated that at a conservative estimate there were over a million known malaria sufferers in Ceylon. Eggs and red paint were hurled at President Johnson's motorcade as he drove into San Salvador on a visit to dramatise US support Latin American integration. Professor Chris Barnard and his heart transplant team were considering a new heart transplant operation on Dr. Philip Blatberg whose condition is deteriorating.

**MONDAY, July 8** — The fourth session of the sixth Parliament opened yesterday morning with the usual pomp and pageantry. The Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, on behalf of the SLFP, LSSP and the CP has challenged the Prime

Minister to dissolve Parliament and face the hustings on the DC issue. President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia speaking at the fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches said in Upsala, Sweden, criticised rich nations which he said were preoccupied with their own problems. The Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, which claims to represent Palestinians attacked the Egyptian Foreign Minister for saying Israel was a reality. Israel told Western governments that she regards the current Egyptian peace offensive to be a propaganda exercise.

**TUESDAY, July 9** — A political party known as the Sinhala Mahajana Pakshaya, led by Mr. R. G. Senanayake, MP for Dambadeniya, was born yesterday. The Government is raising a new 21-25 year public loan of Rs. 35 million. The Mahanayake Theros of Malwatte and Asgiriya have welcomed the Government's present stand on District Councils as stated in the Throne Speech. A boat carrying fifteen pilgrims sank at Nainativu in which six persons were drowned.

**WEDNESDAY, July 10** — The *Daily Mirror* reported that the Working Committee of the Federal Party decided yesterday to defer a decision on whether it should quit the National Government. Footboard travelling has now been declared illegal with an amendment to Section 156 (a) of the the Motor Traffic Act. The Joint Opposition will call upon the Government to drop the reference to District Councils in the Throne Speech and an amendment to this effect will be moved when the Throne Speech is debated in the House of Representatives. Egyptian forces were on full alert yesterday as tension mounted along the Suez Canal after three artillery duels between Israeli and Arab troops. The Soviet Union has decided to support the Conservatives in Czechoslovakia. A crazy gunman who held his wife and child as hostages in New South Wales surrendered peacefully to the Police yesterday.

**THURSDAY, July 11** — The *Sun* reported that legislation has been drafted to make the secret ballot binding on the membership of every registered trade union when deciding on direct trade union action or any such action covered by such terms as defined by the International Labour Organisation. CMU members in the Insurance Corporation staged a token strike yesterday protesting against the delay in implementing the Sansoni Commission report. The Ceylon Transport is unable to repair 560 out of a total of 1,234 immobilised buses due to lack of essential spares. The British House of Commons yesterday gave final approval to the controversial Race Relations Bill after an all-night bitter debate. President Johnson's proposal to introduce a travel tax to stem the dollar flow abroad has run into trouble again when the Senate Finance Committee decided to take no action on it.



# Comment On Current Affairs

## ● NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SURVIVES : triumph for Dudley Senanayake

In certain political circles it was believed that a break could be engineered between the UNP and the FP if the National Government was pressurised into faltering on the question of the District Councils. The Government has indeed faltered in a big way on the District Councils, but it has survived all efforts to cause a rift between the UNP and the FP which would have caused the government to lose its majority in Parliament. There have, no doubt, been threats and resignations within the UNP as well as the FP over the manner in which the question of the District Councils was handled but in the main the UNP-FP partnership has survived all attacks from within and without aimed at disrupting the National Government. Whatever be one's views about the National Government or the District Councils, it must be admitted that Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake has emerged as an astute politician who has successfully navigated his way through the Scylla of Sinhala chauvinism, on the one side, and the Charybdis of Tamil jingoism, on the other. Within the UNP and within the FP, fanatical extremist elements had reacted violently to the question of the District Councils from two diametrical opposite angles, and it is to Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake's credit that he has kept the FP with him in spite of *not merely* delaying the District Councils for well over three years *but also* in making them agree to a form of district decentralisation which was not even a faint shadow of what the FP had once demanded. He has done this with consummate skill and by and large he has succeeded in creating the image that he "would never betray the Sinhalese" and at the same time that he was a politician who wanted to "keep his faith and word" with the Tamils in spite of the constant threat from some of his Sinhala supporters.

Political observers have noted that the Premier has so far foiled all the efforts of the Opposition to topple his government by breaking the UNP-FP coalition. No sooner the Government was formed, the Opposition, including the Left Parties, launched the notorious "masala vadai" communal line in order to cause a mass upsurge among the Sinhala people. This attempt was scotched by stern action and by the imposition of a permanent State of Emergency. The Opposition thereafter based its tactics on the belief that if the Government were pressurised to falter on the District Councils, it would become necessary for the FP to quit the Government. The UNP and the government have faltered in many ways over the question of District

Councils. The matter was postponed from session to session, and draft after draft of the DC Bill was thrown into the dustbin. Finally, the caricature of a DC Bill which had emerged was made the subject of a White Paper. And today, indications are that the District Councils Bill would be quietly dropped if the pressure from the ultra-Sinhala enthusiasts continued to be vehement as it has been in recent weeks. In spite of the virtual abandonment of the District Councils, the dominant leadership of the FP has decided *not* to quit the Government, and to sidetrack the revolt from within its ranks has postponed any final decision until September when the next meeting of the Committee is scheduled to take place. During this time, the leadership will be able to do enough arm-twisting to bring its dissident elements into line. All this political somersaulting in order to sustain the National Government has, however, led to the concretisation of the communal frustration on both sides in the emergence of revolt groups and possibly new parties.

## ● GROWTH OF EXTREMISM : among the Sinhalese and the Tamils

The solution of any problem usually leads to the creation of many others. Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake has no doubt succeeded in ensuring the continued existence of the National Government, but the tight-rope walking he had to do and the postures he had to adopt has led to opportunities being provided to fanatical communal elements to emerge into the open. There has been no breakaway in the UNP (except for inconsequential resignations at local government and district levels), but the universal frustration among the Sinhalese educated youth (which stems fundamentally from economic causes, mainly unemployment) had prompted Mr. R. G. Senanayake to risk a break from the SLFP over the DC Bill. The SLFP took the opportunity to throw him out of the party and this has ensured that the hierarchical order of precedence of party leaders would be maintained — R. G. had wanted to leapfrog over senior SLFP leaders and share top honours with Mrs. Bandaranaike. It is known, however, R. G. Senanayake had evidently wanted to stay within the SLFP and capture power from within, but his expulsion (which has been "unanimously" ratified) has led him to announce the formation of the Sinhala Mahajana Pakshaya with an out-and-out 100% ultra-Sinhala line. He no doubt expects to draw support from the lower rungs of both the UNP and the SLFP, and also from among the frustrated fringe of the Left parties. But, it is significant that no other Sinhala leader of any eminence has yet thrown his lot openly with R. G. They are apparently "waiting to see" what support R. G.'s programme receives among the Sinhala masses. Whilst the faint possibility of concessions to the Tamils in the form of anaemic District Councils has brought into being the Sinhala Mahajana Pakshaya, the well-grounded belief that the National Government will be unable to deliver the goods to the FP or the Tamils (either in language or the District Councils) has led to the growth of substantial revolt within the FP itself.



One MP has broken away and there is no doubt that he voices the sentiments of a large section of the FP. Whether the dissident MP for Kayts and other angry elements within the FP will want to form another party is yet to be seen, but it is likely that they will take no concrete steps at this stage in the belief that the rank and file would be able to oust the present "Pro-Sinhala" leadership of the FP.

It is unfortunate that politics in Ceylon still continue to revolve around communal attitudes in spite of all protestations to the contrary. The Opposition fought tooth and nail against the granting of any DCs to the Tamils not because they were opposed inherently either to DCs or to concessions on language, but because the Opposition wanted to defeat the National Government and if possible pay back in the same coin for the debacle it had suffered in December 1964. There was no way of breaking the UNP-FP combine except by compelling the FP to quit, and no amount of sugar-coating with left jargon and marxist idiom could hide the fact that the Opposition had endeavoured to exploit the communal sentiments of the Sinhalese in order to achieve their objective. In a recent press interview the leader of the LSSP, Dr. N. M. Perera, had stated that the Opposition was not opposed to District Councils but that it merely objected to FP motivations. This was only a euphemistic way of saying that the prerogatives of party politics were all - important in the parliamentary system: that whatever the merits of the need for decentralisation, it was more important to throw the ruling party out of power and that "all was fair" in achieving this objective. The same kind of logic seems to have motivated the Tamil Congress. Its leader Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam has stood for a unitary form of government and at a time when the FP had to all intents and purposes abandoned its "federalism" (the DC Bill which it had accepted had made this abundantly clear), the TC launched its attacks on the DC Bill only because it had wanted to add to the discomfiture and embarrassment of the FP. The TC, as always, seeks to exploit the jingoism of the Tamil public servant in order to strengthen its election machinery *vis a vis* the FP. To a neutral observer all this may seem crazy, but those familiar with the intricacies of political under-currents in a parliamentary system of government (where communal divisions continue to grow owing to economic stagnation) will detect the signs and symptoms of political phenomena that have brought ruin and destruction to many other countries in Asia and Africa.

● **THE COMMUNAL VOLCANO : simmering underground**

The tall boasts of some leaders of the National Government, notwithstanding, that the UNP-FP government has ended communalism and achieved national unity, it is daily becoming more and more clear that communalism has increased in recent times. In the pre-1960 era the Left Parties had stood as a major

citadel against the continued escalation of the communal canker, but in the contemporary period of electoral pacts and "coalitions", political principles have become subordinate to the imperatives of popular voting. Left Parties still pay lip service to the ideals of "non-communalism", but they see no existence if they do not pander to the tribal and communal instincts of the voter. With the failure of successive governments to solve the economic problems of unemployment, and to provide better wages, cheaper goods and the like to the people, frustration has been inevitable. This frustration has in the last two or three decades been slowly channelled into communal ideologies. This had become largely possible owing to total disunity and fratricidal quarrels in the Left movement. The result is that today the Left is compelled to tail behind disguised communal slogans.

Discerning observers are deeply perturbed by the growth of avowed communalism and highly publicised communal ideology. On the surface everything appears to be calm and quiet in this country, but underneath something akin to a volcano has begun to simmer. This communal volcano is no longer dormant. It has become active. Everybody now accepts its existence and is willing to pay *pooja* to it. The outspoken communal politicians make no bones about their desire to harness the upsurge of communalism to bring their parties to power. The so-called "national parties" play a more careful game by attempting to use communalism at two levels: the UNP tries to keep the Sinhalese happy whilst the FP endeavours to make the Tamils buoyant and optimistic — and thereby they jointly hope to keep the menace of communalism at bay. All these parties pay *pooja* to the Frankenstein of communalism in various open and semi-disguised forms, but the Left Parties are in a pickle when they try to reconcile proletarian internationalism with the communal jingoism essential for electoral victories. Those for the moment inclined to adopt wrong political alignments are branded as "reactionaries" and justification is sought for current policies on the footing that all is permissible against "reactionaries." But reactionaries of yesteryear are allies today and *vice-versa*, and the ordinary man and the general public now make little or no distinction between the various blends of the Left movement whatever their party labels. This constitutes a tragedy of the greatest magnitude for the country because the emphasis has been made to shift from economic policies and slogans to a dangerous pre-ponderance of cultural, emotional and communal war cries. Whilst older politicians play with communalism with the next General Elections in mind, other politicians egged on by the angry mood of the indignant young people have begun to indulge in dreams of utilising communal power to sweep everything before them. In the meantime, there is no knowing what the communal volcano itself might do: it may suddenly burst into intense activity and blow its top off. The prospects are dismal and no silver lining has yet emerged on the horizon.



Rowing

## Reflections on the Madras-Colombo Boat Race

by Arul Manuel

WHEN the Madras-Colombo boat race was rowed at 6 p.m. on the 8th July, it was culmination of weeks of training for two crews, each composed of four oarsmen and a coxswain. They went out on the water several times a week under the vigilant eye of a coach. Their business was to row faster than their opponents on a 1000-yard course. Their bodies had to be trained to do this, and any mistake that any one of these men made with his oar during the race might have meant the loss of the race. It might have meant losing the race for the rest of his crew and his Club. A single mistake, if it was a bad one, would have cost the crew several lengths, and these races are often won or lost by the length of a boat or less! A very fit crew, which has trained hard, might achieve a rate of striking which allows much less than two seconds for each stroke of the oar, and over a 1000-yard course an oarsman will strike the water with his oar anything from a hundred to a hundred-and-twenty times. To achieve greater momentum, he uses a seat which slides up-and-down a distance of twenty inches; the whole circular movement has to be done in less than two seconds, and it has to be co-ordinated with that of every other member of the crew. It takes some doing.

On the top of this, the crew is rowing on water which may be calm or choppy. If it is choppy and the boat rolls and the outriggers strike the crest of a wave, the boat is going to ship a lot of water, and that water is going to swish up-and-down the boat with the momentum of each strike of the oars. So, in addition to co-ordinating its blade work and the sliding seats, and crew has to learn to keep the boat on an even

keel as it were (for these racing boats do not have keels.)

If rowing was only a question of striking the water with an oar, it might be easy, but there is the forward movement as well, which is the business of getting from the back position to the front position to take the next stroke, and this has to be done on a sliding seat; and this means using one's legs both going forward to take the next stroke and backwards in actually taking the stroke, so that the legs get no rest at all.

The oarsman has not only to achieve momentum with each stroke of his oar, but he must do it in such a way that the boat gets a good run between strokes: to do this he has to get a strong finish to his stroke, and he uses his arms to get this finish. When he has drawn the oar close to his chest, he has to drop his hands to get the blade of his oar clear of the water, and then he has to shoot his hands out from his body before his knees come up with the forward movement of the slide, or they will collide. Lastly, there is the swing of the trunk of the body backwards and forwards, backwards to draw the oar through the water, and forwards to draw it through again. It is the oarsman's back which takes most of the strain, and it is the back which is easily strained.

No man will ever be a successful oarsman if he does not learn to knuckle down under his coach. It is probably because of this that it used to be said that a rowing blue at Oxford or Cambridge could have any job for the asking. If a man so so much as gives grounds for suspicion that he prefers his own views to those of the coach, he will certainly fall from grace and his chances of making the next representative crew will be seriously jeopardised. In rowing perhaps more than in any other sport does a man develop his personality by learning to do as he is told.

The boats, being light racing boats, are not kept in the water when they are not in use: they are rested upside down on trestles laid out

on the ground, or on racks on the walls. As these boats can be easily damaged when they are turned over, the business of putting them on the water, and taking them out, is carried out like a military drill, and a man is just as likely to get "bawled out" here for doing something out of turn or too slowly as he would be on the water itself. The boats are cared for like thoroughbred race-horses, and the oars like fragile glass. It is not surprising when one considers what they cost.

There seems no term to a boat's life. Varnish keeps the wood from absorbing water, and to keep the wood ever new it would seem necessary to varnish each boat once a year; much would depend on how the boat has been used and on how much it has been used. Before the boat is revarnished the old varnish has to be scraped off. Similar care has to be taken of the oars, but the life of an oar is much less, and there is a term to it.

A beginner can do much damage to a boat, and this is why oarsmen have to undergo a long apprenticeship before they are allowed out in a club's best boats. Beginners should use boats that are heavy, broad, and therefore not easily damaged.

WE, in Ceylon, are slowly learning how to make racing boats, but many, many more boats will have to be imported before we can rely entirely on our own boat-building industry, for the simple reason that we do not know enough about it. Over two hundred schools row in Britain, and there are something like four hundred-and-fifty rowing clubs; and there is no reason why rowing should not be very, very popular all over Ceylon. One thing that keeps people from rowing is the cost of the boats. Government might consider, if it wishes this most useful of sports to spread, allowing rowing boats in without duty as the cost of them is already so great, not to mention their freight: but by all means charge duty on oars and spare parts. As for FEEC's — well, we are not asking government to subsidize rowing!



*In Retrospect*

## District Councils & Opposition Throne Speech R. G. Senanayake's New Party

THE District Councils issue and the Throne Speech were the two matters which were in public focus last week.

A few weeks before the Throne Speech had been delivered it had been more than apparent that the District Councils Bill would be dropped in view of the mounting opposition to it from the majority Sinhalese community, the Maha Sangha and the Coalition. Indeed, the Prime Minister had no alternative but to bow to public opinion for reasons of political expediency and no one was taken by surprise when there was no categorical pledge in the Speech from the Throne that legislation would be introduced to establish District Councils during the new session of Parliament. All that was said by the Governor-General was "A White Paper on the establishment of District Councils under the direction and control of the Central Government was presented in Parliament. The views expressed during its discussions will be given careful consideration by my Government before presenting legislation."

The Mahanayake Theros of Malwatte and Asgiriya have welcomed the Government's stand on District Councils and they have paid tribute to the Prime Minister and reiterated their faith in Mr. Senanayake's leadership. The Mahanayake Thero of Malwatte said, "It is my considered view, and I have said it often, that the Prime Minister will never do anything that would jeopardise the interest of the country. His present action will put an end to any little misgiving the people may have had. It is up to the people to give of their best to the development effort."

The Throne Speech regarding the District Councils issue does not

appear to have satisfied the Coalition. In a statement to the press Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Deputy Leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, said "Mr. Dudley Senanayake probably thinks he has succeeded in buying a little more time to keep himself and his government in power for a while more by what I would describe as a blatant piece of political hypocrisy, when he says in the Throne Speech: The White Paper on the establishment of District Councils under the direction and control of the Central Government was presented in Parliament. The views expressed during this discussion will be given careful consideration by my Government before presenting legislation. Possibly he imagines that he managed to pull a fast one over his Federal Party comrades — who seem to be straining at the leash somewhat from all reports. We are not bothered with this double dealing between the two parties. What we are concerned at is his further attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the Sinhalese people of the country whom he has fooled for the last 3½ years. How long more does he think he can fool them? Does he really think he can deceive them any longer? It will be more honourable on the part of Mr. Dudley Senanayake if he is determined to fulfil his secret pact with the Federal Party—to carry out his 'sell out pact with the Federalists made in March, 1965—to get a mandate from the people of this country and allow them to enforce or reject the personal promise made to the Federal Party by Mr. Dudley Senanayake. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party and its allies challenge the Prime Minister and this Government to face the polls tomorrow on the District Councils. We are prepared to face the hustings on this issue. We would like to have the so-called democrats answer this."

THE Opposition seems determined to get the National Government to omit any reference to the District Councils. The *Sun* exclusively reported that the joint Opposition would move an amendment to this effect when the Throne Speech is debated in the House of Representatives. At a meeting held at Kurunegala Mr. T. B. H. Herath, MP for Walapone said that the ultimate result of the establishment of District Councils would be the division of the country into North Ceylon and South Ceylon and as long as there was reference in the Throne Speech to such a dangerous piece of legislation, the people of the country were not out of danger.

The *Daily Mirror* said that the Opposition would seek a firm answer from the Prime Minister whether the National Government proposed to pursue or abandon the setting up of District Councils. The report said that the statement in the Throne Speech was ambiguous and quoted an unnamed official spokesman as having told the paper that a careful analysis of the Government's intentions only indicated that it was indecisive and preferred to keep the nation guessing. The spokesman was also quoted as saying that no responsible Government could afford to play hide and seek on such a vital question that had roused so much controversy among the people.

There has been no hard news as to what the Federal Party's position will be in regard to the National Government during the coming days. The *Sun* reported that the Federal Party's Working Committee had held a meeting in Colombo without the leadership being able to arrive at a categorical decision whether or not to quit the Government. The paper said that it understood that from the Federal Party leader, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam's intervention prevented a motion calling for the withdrawal of the Party's support of the Government being put forward and that the mood of the members was such that if the motion had been put to the vote, it would probably have been carried with an overwhelming



majority. The *Daily Mirror* said that the Working Committee had decided to defer a decision on whether it should quit the Government and that no decision would be taken until the party leaders met the Prime Minister to seek a clarification of the Government's stand on the District Council's Bill. Whatever it is, it is apparent that the Federal Party is on the horns of a terrible dilemma.

**THE THRONE SPEECH** appears to have been a bitter disappointment to many of its supporters, including the pro-Government newspapers, who had expected some concrete steps would be taken to solve some of the pressing problems confronting the country. The *Lake House* and the *Times of Ceylon* newspapers did not hide their disappointment. The *Observer* said editorially that the Throne Speech did not confront itself directly with the high cost of living and that of unemployment. Proposals offered so far on the cost of living are *ad hoc* relief measures. The *Daily Mirror* said "The National Government's Throne Speech yesterday was the penultimate one of its tenure and therefore the most crucial. In view of this we expected a purposeful, meaningful programme of work for the last two year lap. Instead we have the same litany of "My Government will do this..." and "My Government will do that.." If only the Throne Speech said, "My Government will work", it would have been more welcome than all the blah — blah it brims over with. It is about time the Government cut the cackle about what it will do and instead rolled up its sleeve for a final Herculean spurt. For let us remember that it is now or never...."

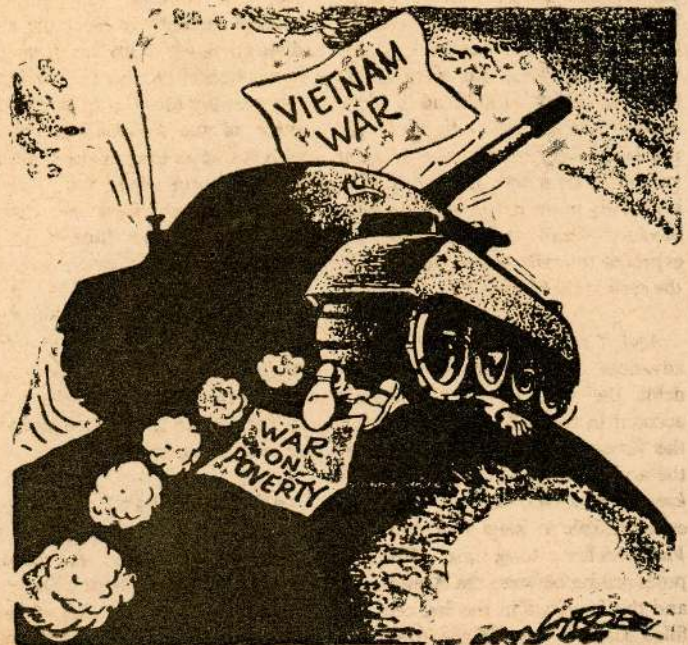
**LAST WEEK** Ceylon witnessed the birth of yet another new political party which had been founded by Mr. R. G. Senanayake, MP for Dambadeniya, who had been expelled from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. The Party is called the Sinhala Mahajana Pakshaya (Sinhalese People's Party). The Colombo correspondent of the *Indian Express* reported to his paper that at a

press conference held at his residence to announce the birth of the new party, Mr. Senanayake refused to disclose names of the founder-members, but claimed they were both from the Government and opposition ranks "Pressure will be brought on them if I disclose their names at this stage", said Mr. Senanayake, who is known for his anti-Indian sentiments. The policy of the new party, outlined in a manifesto is "formation of a socialist Government which ensures enthronement of democracy as opposed to totalitarianism consonant with the national aspirations of the people." Among the aims of the party are preservation of the unitary character of the constitution, bringing together the diverse races of the country under one language bond namely Sinhala and liberation of the economy of the country from the present

foreign stranglehold. Among the objectives of the party are (1) creation of a second electoral register for registered citizens of Ceylon thereby affording protection to the rights and privileges of upcountry rural population. (2) prohibition of establishment within the country

of branches of foreign organisations such as the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam movement or "We Tamils" of South India and propaganda of such organisations through literature and films as they are considered a threat to Ceylonese solidarity. (3) prevention of establishment of district councils in whatever form or guise and absolute prohibition of any type of organisation which seeks to set up a separate State within the country. (4) taking steps to rectify the anomaly of allowing non-citizens to be employed while unemployment among citizens of the country is being aggravated daily. Further provision of free rice free education and health amenities to non-citizens at the expense of the nationals will be considered unjust and action taken. (5) Ceylonisation of foreign banks, investments, industrial projects and estates. Mr. Senanayake also disclosed that yet another limb of the movement called Sinhala Mahajana Sabha had been formed with a non-political base. Its aims and objectives would be disclosed in the near future along with a catalogue of membership and office-bearers.

KAUTILIYA





In The Nineteenth Century

## The Varakudi System In The Tamil Districts

by K. Arumainayagam

An important feature of the economic and social set-up of Jaffna in the past, which almost goes unnoticed, was the *Varakudi* system. A *Varkudi* is one who depends on a farmer known as *Kamakaran* for his livelihood having signed his services for the *Kamakaran* (landowning farmer) for a few years. Unlike the *Kudimakkal* "who are certain classes of so called domestic servants belonging to various low-castes who were obliged by ancient customs to render services to the higher castes, the *Vellales*", the *Varakudis* do not belong to any particular caste. They are essentially agricultural labourers, may belong to the same caste as his master but too poor to stand on their own feet. As such he signs a contract — an agricultural labour contract — with a *Kamakaran* who was rich enough and engaged in paddy cultivation or some other dry grain cultivation on an extensive scale promising to do all services connected with the particular cultivation for an year or two or even three.

HAVING agreed to work in the *Kamakaran's* field, the *Varakudi* is promised with a *varam* which means share in the final harvest, having deducted for seed grain and tithes etc., and if it is dry grain (*varaku* or *kurakkan*) the share of the *Kamakaran* will be two-thirds after deduction for seed and tithes. Thus the *varam* was calculated not on the gross but on the net produce." Once the contract is signed on the dotted line prepared by the *Kamakaran* (for the *Varakudis* were mostly illiterate) an advance was given in the form of grain, cloth and a little money, and this he continued to get regularly every month, the amount varying from month to month. This is actually in the nature of a monthly advance which the *Varakudi* was expected to settle out of his share in the crop at threshing time.

And if the crop be a failure, the advances are carried forward to debit the side of the *Varakudi's* account in the following year. Since the *Varakudis* were mostly illiterate, the accounts are kept by the *Kamakaran* themselves, who will do whatever possible to keep a hold on the *Varakudi* for a long time. The disputes arising between the *Kamakaran* and the *Varakudi* in the last century filled many a page of the Administrative Reports of the Government

Agents and Court Reports. Though the spirit of the system appeared to be beneficial to both parties, in practice it was absurd when the one party tried to exploit the other for its own advantage — in this instance *Kamakaran* was to be blamed.

Another device adopted successfully by the *Kamakaran* was by delaying the threshing of the entire crop for months, threshing only a small quantity to meet the immediate purposes. This was done partly to hoodwink the tax collectors. "By keeping the crop unthreshed the share of the *Varakudi* is detained with it and as long as the share thus remains undecided the *Varakudi* could not quit from his master's service or engage himself to any employer or make any engagement with another employer." If the *Varakudi* wishes to leave his *Kamakaran* he can do so only in July or August, and that too only after settling his debts. If he changes his master, he can get his new master to settle his account.

AN IMPORTANT but an evil feature is that because of the prevailing custom, a son was responsible for his father's debts. Successive generations have to be *Varakudi* until they settled their family loans. A *Kamakaran* had the right to sue

such sons in the event of their failure to settle the debts incurred by their fathers. Daughters were never held responsible for the debts of their parents nor were they expected to return a share of the dowry they received from their parents when the parents fall in debt. The parents feared that it will break-up their daughter's family life and therefore they were prepared to sacrifice their interest to that of their daughters.

The nature of the work of the *Varakudi* differed from place to place — fields depending on tank water, rain water etc. The *Varakudi* could leave his master's service only when the latter falls into poverty or sickness and is unable to support him during the period of his contract. Even then the *Varakudi* could leave his master only after he informs a proper authority. Otherwise this contract had the force of law and a *Kamakaran* could sue the *Varakudi* in a court of law for not fulfilling the contractual obligations. The obligation was mutual, but the *Varakudi* was too poor to sue his master.

There is evidence that when *Varakudis* have stepped into the shoes of their masters — when he was ill or fell into poverty — by marrying into his family and thus saving the family. This shows *Varakudi* belonged to the same caste often *Kamakaran*. When a *Varakudi* falls sick during the period of the contract, the *Kamakaran* was bound to provide him with all medical care. Except for the fact that a *Varakudi* could not engage in chena cultivation or paddy cultivation while serving his master, there was no other restriction on his life, parallel to slaves or tenants of feudal Europe — restricting their movement marriages etc.

A SIMILAR *varakudi* system prevailed among the fishing communities, where a *Varakudi* was expected to live in the sheds provided by the *Kamakaran* (Head fisherman also known as *Kamakaran*). The system of *Varakudi* was helpful for paddy cultivation in far off places in the jungles where there was a shortage of labour. In Jaffna the entire family may be mobilised to work for parti-



cular times for their relatives, but in places like the Vanni where the sanitary conditions were unsatisfactory, only the poor would have been willing to work there. Therefore in those areas the farmer had to live at the mercy of the *Varakudi*. A semblance of this system is practised even now in some nooks and corners of the Tamil districts, but of course on a minor scale.

In the Tamil districts of South India also a similar system prevailed. In India this share was known as *Kudivaram*, and the people employed in the cultivation was known as *Purakkudi*. Here the share varied in different parts depending in the productive powers of the land. In certain places the share varied from eighteen to thirty three percent and in certain places it was calculated less than the village changes.

In South India, the labourers who were Employed as *Purakkudi* were mostly of those people belonging to the low-castes. The system as existed in India bears close similarities to the pattern to manors of medieval Europe. Both system tend itself enough opportunities for the masters to exploit the labour of these poorer classes.



### Feet too large for US Army

Fort Carson, Colorado, — Jim Aufenthie, 19, is being given an honourable discharge from the army because his size feet 16-1/2 just cannot be fitted for military service. The 200-pound soldier is being processed for discharge because his feet make him "unsuitable for military service." The Army has been trying for nearly a year, since Aufenthie enlisted, to find combat boots to fit him. None were found, despite the efforts of custom boot markets.

*Chesterton On*

## The Suicide Of Thought

by Titus Handuna

G. K. CHESTERTON set out to defend the authority of reason in his book, *ORTHODOXY*, written in 1908, for, he said, it needed defence. Of his day, he wrote: "The whole modern world is at war with reason; the tower already reels." The danger, as he sees it, is that "one set of thinkers can in some degree prevent further thinking by teaching the next generation that there is no validity in any human thought."

He declares that reason is itself a matter of faith. "It is an act of faith to assert that our thoughts have any relation to reality at all." There is, he says, a thought that stops thought, and that is the only thought that ought to be stopped. "That is the ultimate evil against which all religious authority was aimed." The authority which he calls more central more undemonstrable, more supernatural than all is the authority of a man to think. Of reason and religion, he says that they are of the same primary and authoritative kind: "they are both methods of proof which cannot themselves be proved." He wrote: "In the act of destroying the have idea of Divine authority we largely destroyed the idea of that human authority by which we do a longdivision sum."

Chesterton touches briefly on the chief currents of fashionable thought in his day, and he comments on them. "If the mind is mechanical, thought cannot be very exciting, and if the cosmos is unreal, there is nothing to think about", he says. He mentions evolution, the theory of progress, and change: "the idea of a fundamental alteration in the standard is one of the things that make thought about the past or future simply impossible." As for pragmatism, which is a matter of human needs: "One of the first of human needs is to be something more than a pragmatist (for) the pragma-

tist . . . makes nonsense of the human sense of actual fact."

"Free thought has exhausted its own freedom. It is weary of its own success." Then he adds: "Our mental ruin has been wrought by wild reason, not by wild imagination". He explains why: "A man does not go mad because he makes a statue a mile high, but he may go mad by thinking it out in square inches."

Chesterton tries to show that the ultimate authority lies neither in a man's reason nor in his will. He says that the "pure praise of volition ends in the same break up and blank as the mere pursuit of logic", for "to admire mere choice is to refuse to choose." He says that "Thou shalt not" is one of the necessary corollaries of "I will" — "when you choose anything, you reject everything else", "just as when you marry one woman you give up all the others." "All denunciation implies a moral doctrine of some kind. . . . The modern man in revolt (written in 1908) by rebelling against everything. . . has lost his right to rebel against anything." Of all fierce and terrible of literature, especially satire, he says: "The curious disappearance of satire from our literature is an instance of the fierce fading, for want of any principle to be fierce about." "Thinking in isolation and with pride ends in being an idiot."

We should, it appears, be like Joan of Arc, who "was not stuck at the cross-roads. . . . She chose a path, and went down it like a thunderbolt." Joan endured poverty as well as admired it; she did not praise fighting, but fought. "She was perfectly practical person who did something, while (there) are wild speculators who do nothing."

CHESTERTON says that he has lost his faith in practical politics:



"the vision is always solid and reliable. The vision is always a fact. It is the reality that is often a fraud." "As much as I ever did, more than I ever did, I believe in Liberalism. But there was a rosy time of innocence when I believed in Liberals." He goes on to explain his understanding of the principle of democracy. He states it in two propositions. "The first is this: that the things common to all men are more important than the things peculiar to any men. Ordinary things are more important than extraordinary things; nay, they are more extraordinary. . . The sense of the miracle of humanity itself should be always more vivid to us than any marvels of power, intellect, art, or civilization." "And the second principle is this: that the political instinct or desire is one of (the) things which men hold in common."

"In short, the democratic faith is this: that the most terribly important things must be left to ordinary men themselves — the mating of the sexes, the rearing of the young, the laws of the state. This is democracy; and in this I have always believed." About tradition — "it is obvious that tradition is only democracy extended through time." About legend, he says: "It is quite easy to see why a legend is treated, and ought to be treated, more respectfully than a book of history. The legend is generally made by the majority of people in the village, who are sane. The book is generally written by one man in the village who is mad." "Those who urge against tradition that men in the past were ignorant may go and urge it at the Carlton Club, along with the statement that voters in the slums are ignorant. It will not do for us."

"Tradition may be defined as an extension of the franchise. Tradition means giving votes to the most obscure of all classes, our ancestors. It is the democracy of the dead. . . . We will have the dead at our councils."

India

## Virtual Freeze Of Foreign Aid

by Mohit Sen

New Delhi

As predicted many, many months ago the Eastern imperialist powers have decided that aid to India is not one of their top priorities. They have decided that even without giving more than marginal aid they can bend the will of the Government of India for their own ends. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the Aid India Consortium meeting that has just concluded.

WHAT is the outcome in quantitative terms? With insolent irony the Aid India Consortium has endorsed *the assessment of the World Bank* that India would need 1,450 million dollars of non-project aid in 1968-69. This includes the 100 million of debt rescheduling that has been agreed upon. The assessment of the World Bank — which the Government of India has supinely accepted — is based on the following calculation.

The World Bank decided that in 1967-68 and in 1968-69 India would need 750 million dollars in each year (the Government of India estimate for the former year was 900 million dollars; its estimate for 1968-69 has not been made public). But in actual fact the actual commitment by the Aid India Consortium last year was only 557 million dollars, of which as much as 225 million dollars was made available only when the Indian financial year was over. If this latest spillover is added the 200 million dollars shortfall from last year and then both figures are tagged on to the 750 million dollars guess estimate (plus the 100 million dollars rescheduling) then we get near enough 1,450 million dollars. The whole thing is a most crude piece of statistical jugglery without any foundation in reality.

As *The Statesman* of May 28 noted that in the Aid India Consortium meeting it was for the "first time that no pledges have been given by individual countries of their probable contributions." While this is, indeed, a grim warning that India should not expect that any significant

amount of aid would be forthcoming from the Western imperialist powers, it cannot be said that the outcome of the recently-concluded meeting is a cause for astonishment.

Take what happened last year. 900 million dollars was solemnly pledged but in the end only 557 million dollars was committed, of which authorisations till the end of the 1967-68 financial year was only about 330 million dollars. The US had pledged to contribute 380 million dollars but in the end paid only 275 million dollars. The International Development Association (IDA) was expected to commit as much as 200 million but gave absolutely nothing.

And the position of the Western imperialist powers has considerably worsened over the last year. The pound has been devalued but the UK economy remains a mess. The US balance of payments deficit has led to a gold rush with every chance of the dollar being devalued. France is going through all the turmoil of a grave political crisis.

*How on earth, then, could the Government of India have expected anything other than what has happened. Its expectations and the despatch of the Patel begging mission were only expressions of its deep seated servility. And even now it refuses to expose the whole make-believe behind the 1,450 million dollar figure.*

How make-believe it is was brought out by the despatch of the Washington correspondent of



*The Indian Express* (May 29): "The key to the success of leading to India in 1968-69 is replenishment of the International Development Association's funds. Yesterday the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to defer indefinitely the Administration's request to make the American contribution." This followed the same Committee's rejection, a few days ago, of a request from the Administration for 200 million dollars by way of special funds for the Asian Development Bank.

The correspondent's estimate is that India will not get in 1968-69 more than one-third of the 1,450 million dollars, i.e., about 480 million dollars. This estimate would seem to be quite reasonable. But its implications are grave, indeed.

See what happened last year. As against 557 million dollars of aid India paid out about 310 million dollars in debt repayment and about 750 million dollars for import liberalisation. A little over 500 million dollars was used from the aid which had been authorised earlier and but not used — called aid in the pipeline. It is known that about 750 million dollars of such aid still remains. Taking account of the 100 million debt rescheduling, 400 million dollars is the debt repayment to be made in 1968-69. This itself is about the amount of "fresh" aid that can be expected. And so 750 million is left for imports, i.e., the same amount as in the depression year of 1967-68.

*What it means is that the Indian economy is confronting its gravest foreign exchange crisis ever. What it means is that whether the Government of India likes it or not, there is no escape from an immediate programme of development without aid. This would require big structural changes in our industrial set-up as well as in our foreign economic relations. This kind of economic change requires tremendous political change. But without it the Indian economy will go over the brink.*

It is to be noted that just at this time a terrific press campaign has

been unleashed against the growing economic ties between India and the Soviet Union. One complaint is that Soviet prices are too high as a result of devaluation. Another is that India does not now need machinery and plants from the Soviet Union but maintenance imports and essential raw materials. Still another is that the Soviet order for railway wagons is make-believe since our wagons are of an unsuitable size and that it is only intended to put pressure on India to buy unsuitable Soviet planes. All this is whipped up just prior to Dinesh Singh's visit to Moscow.

None will deny that concrete problems and difficulties are bound to crop up when economic relations between two countries are to be expanded on any significant scale. But the crux of the matter is: can India do otherwise, if she is to survive and develop, than radically reorient her economic relations with the outside world?

Can she survive without a massive expansion of trade and other economic ties with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist states? What has been the experience as to who was a friend and who an enemy when it came to independent economic development?

The three imperatives arising from the present aid impasse are:

- (i) A moratorium on debt repayments involving the expenditure of foreign exchange.
- (ii) A switch from linkage to the world imperialist division of labour.
- (iii) A crash programme for economic self-reliance in the next five years.

Not only are these three points absolutely essential for India's survival, the very situation in the world today is such that the left and democratic forces in India can force their implementation through the necessary political changes.

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## GUEVARA DIARY PUBLISHED IN HAVANA

Havana, The Cuban Publishing Institute has published the diary of the revolutionary leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara, with a preface written by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. The diary of war will also be published in English, French, Italian and other languages in a number of European and Latin American countries. The diary was printed from photo-copies of the original, and furnished with photos of Guevara's guerrilla activities in Bolivia, where he was captured and finally murdered. It was announced here that the diary will be given free of charge to Cuban workers since Monday. The surprising news fails to inform how the Cuban Publishing Institute received the diary, which was supposed to be the property of the Bolivian Army, and for which huge sums of money have been offered by Western publishing houses.

CETEKKA



## EXILE

Wang Ming, once the supreme leader of the Chinese Communist Party and an ardent critic of Mao Tse-tung, has been living in Moscow for nearly ten years. This was revealed in a recent Red Guard publication which denounced Liu Shao-Chi and Teng Hsiao-ping for having allowed Wang Ming to leave the country to conspire against the Maoist leadership.



In Tamilnad

## Power Struggle Within Congress And DMK

Madras

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Pradesh Congress Chief, is not inclined to seek election to the Lok Sabha from Nagercoil in the ensuing by election. This is not because he is afraid to risk another defeat which may have serious consequences for his political future, but because he is keen on consolidating his grip over the Pradesh Congress. In other words, he does not want to be "kicked up" to Delhi even if it means a sure place in the Cabinet.

**THE BY ELECTION** in Nagercoil has to take place before the end of this year to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Nesamony, the Congress veteran who won in the general election by a majority of more than 50,000 votes over his immediate Swatantra rival, Dr. M. Mathias, who was backed by the alliance partners. This constituency is considered a Congress stronghold by the showing of party's performance in all the general elections. Mr. Subramaniam will not be taking a serious risk if he were to accept the suggestion of his "friends" in the Congress High Command to seek election to Parliament. A better opportunity may not come his way in the next four years.

Mr. Subramaniam may maintain that he is "getting on fine with Mr. Kamaraj", but the fact is that the two do not see eye to eye on any major issue. In fact, they are very suspicious of each other. Mr. Subramaniam, as President of the PCC for seven months now, has done everything to create the impression that he and his close followers are increasingly in control of the party organization, eliminating elements suspected of political or personal leaning towards Mr. Kamaraj, Mr. Kamaraj is known to feel uneasy about Mr. Subramaniam's "group activities."

Mr. Kamaraj is disappointed that his gesture in backing Mr. Subramaniam for the position of TNCC chief, has not been reciprocated. While he would not like to disturb Mr. Subramaniam from his present position in the interests of the party, Mr. Kamaraj is under constant pressure from his own group of powerful followers to intervene in organizational affairs more positively and assert himself.

Mr. Kamaraj would not, therefore, like to prevail upon Mr. Subramaniam to stay put as TNCC president in case a chance comes the latter's way to re-enter the Central Government. Perhaps Mr. Subramaniam is in no mood to oblige Mr. Kamaraj just when things are going in his favour. He wants to consolidate his base in Tamilnad and on the strength of it assert his position at the Centre. It is natural that Mr. Kamaraj should feel apprehensive of his own position.

**GREAT SIGNIFICANCE** is attached to Union Food Minister Jagjivan Ram's "plain-speaking" to Congress workers at Satyamurthi Bhawan early this week, *vis-a-vis* the forces at play within the party. The Congress workers, who seemed to have taken the cue from Mr. Subramaniam, were openly hostile to the Union Minister who is known to have his own serious reservations about Mr. Subramaniam. Mr. Jagjivan Ram almost sprang a surprise on the workers when he chided them for bothering all the time about the ruling party without being anxious to set their own house in order. The DMK, he said, had come to power mainly because of the support it had received from the poorest sections of the people. The Congress could hope to regain its hold only by doing better than the DMK in its concern for the poor. The only person who could impart such timely and profitable bias to the party's

work was Mr. Kamaraj. Congress workers should realize that Mr. Kamaraj and no one else could save the Congress for democracy and socialism.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram's reference to Mr. Kamaraj is not a mere expression of friendly admiration. Keen observers see in his remarks a direct attack on Mr. Subramaniam and his group for their attempt to by pass Mr. Kamaraj and denigrate him at the all-India level. Perhaps Mr. Jagjivan Ram has his own axe to grind in the context of alignments at the Centre. Being shrewd, Mr. Kamaraj is not likely to miss the significance of Mr. Jagjivan Ram's "invitation" to him to play an active role in shaping Congress policies.

It is not likely, however, that Mr. Kamaraj will seek election to the Lok Sabha. He has no desire to enter the Central Cabinet. His immediate concern is to fight attempts to undermine his influence in his home State. There are indications that Mr. Kamaraj is preparing for a show down with his detractors. If he takes a tough, uncompromising line towards the ruling party, he is merely seeking to deny quite a few of Mr. Subramaniam's rich followers the advantage of good "business" relationship with the DMK Government. Mr. Subramaniam, in his desperate struggle to retain "*de facto*" control of the party machine has no alternative but to adopt a more militant line of opposition to the DMK than even Mr. Kamaraj.

**THE DMK** seems to have "blundered" into its own version of the Kamaraj Plan. The author is Public Works Minister Karunanidhi whose "K-Plan" started as "loud thinking" but has snowballed into a serious manifestation of internal rift in the DMK.

Mr. Karunanidhi has the reputation of being a skilled organizer and builder of mass movements with a touch of melodrama. A gifted orator he is looked upon by his partymen as the man primarily responsible for bringing about the alliance of anti-



Congress forces to secure immense advantage for the DMK.

Because he is considered to be the "Rajaji of the DMK" there is naturally apprehension about his plans and his moves. If he is admired by a section of the ranks, he is feared, even hated, by other sections which deify Mr. Annadurai.

Mr. Karunanidhi created a sensation by pleading for the exit of senior Ministers from the Cabinet to carry on party work. He proposed that along with him, Food Minister Mathiazhagan, Industries Minister V. P. Nedunchezhian and Harijan Welfare Minister Mrs. Satyanimithu should quit office.

He did not consult Mr. Annadurai before he made his startling proposal. One explanation is that by his proposal Mr. Karunanidhi is seeking to scotch the attempts being made by Mr. Annadurai to get him out of the Cabinet on the plea of giving him a top party post. He is deemed to have put Mr. Annadurai on "notice" that if he was to go, he would not go along with him and that there were at least three other equally senior leaders deserving of important assignments in the organization.

Another explanation is that Mr. Karunanidhi is too ambitious to wait too long to succeed Mr. Annadurai as Chief Minister. If in the prevailing circumstances it becomes impossible for Mr. Annadurai to "sacrifice" four of his senior colleagues to strengthen the party to stand up to the Congress Opposition's militant offensive, the logical alternative would be for him to quit office himself! In this event, it would be easy for Mr. Karunanidhi to take over as Chief Minister as the second most popular leader of the party.

Mr. Karunanidhi's "K-Plan" provides eloquent commentary on the internal pulls and pressures in the DMK. The party's organizational elections had not been free of wrangles and faction fights. The "Anna group" and the "Karunanidhi group" — styled openly as such —

are still fighting for the control of party units even at the village level. Mr. Annadurai is known to be uneasy over the activities of the Karunanidhi group.

Yet another interpretation — rather far-fetched — is that the authorship of the "K-Plan" can be traced to Mr. Annadurai himself. In the DMK there is known to be great dissatisfaction over the performance of the three Ministers named by Mr. Karunanidhi. Serious charges have been levelled against these Ministers by partymen. Mr. Annadurai is said to have found a lot of substance in the charges. In party circles there is a belief that it is Mr. Annadurai's technique to express himself through Mr. Karunanidhi to avoid embarrassment. The impression now is that Mr. Annadurai has done it again.

#### SURPLUS

The withdrawal of British forces from East of Suez has resulted in a surplus of 800,000 pairs of army boots. The footwear trade is worried about the consequences if the Defence Ministry releases the stock into the home market.

#### Fair Exchange



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#### Brain Drain from Third World

That America does not train enough professionals is common knowledge. In the engineering field only 45,000 graduate annually, when the demand is 75,000. Likewise common knowledge is its systematic poaching of brains from other nations. There are special agencies for the purpose, Careers Incorporated for instance, and about 85,000 scientists, technicians, doctors and other trained professionals were "imported" between 1949 and 1964. Less well-known is the fact that these brains are drained not only from industrial Western Europe but even from Asian, African and Latin-American nations which are desperately short of trained personnel. Here are a couple of illustrations from the medical fields. One and a half thousand doctors have been recruited to the United States from India; New York alone has as many Iranian doctors as has the whole of Iran; There are over 500 Turkish doctors in the US. The tiny Dominican Republic has furnished 300 doctors. The US "benefactors" have much to say about their scientific and technological assistance to developing countries, including assistance with scientists. But here is an example of what this "assistance" is like. US universities and colleges had at the end of 1966 1,143 teachers of Indian origin. The corresponding figure for American teachers in India was only 192. Scientists and technicians are being poached even from countries so badly off for trained people as Kenya, Tunisia, Morocco and Thailand. Really, "the brain drain" is too mild a phrase for it. It ought to be "the great brain robbery."



*Mao Strategy*

## Peking And The Vietnam War: Immediate Peace Unwise

*Singapore*

The Red Guard paper *Combat Outcry Bulletin* quoted Mao Tse-tung as saying that: "If the Vietnamese, wholly relying on their own strength wage the war for another 8 or 12 years, China will be so strong by then as to render them effective aid and without difficulty throw the invaders into the sea. But today we advise our Vietnamese brothers to wage a guerilla war of attrition avoiding major clashes." The paper has been smuggled from mainland China into Hongkong late last April.

Thus, right on the eve of the Paris peace talks between Hanoi and Washington, Mao again attempted to throw his weight on Ho Chi Minh to avoid a compromise with the Americans. This time, however, he did not use the habitual diplomatic or party channels, but resorted to the method of information "leakage." Mao's statement is a warning to the so-called internationalists (a group of Liu Shao Chi's supporters) who suggest that no palliative measures be taken and instead volunteers be immediately used for a strategic offensive against the American and Saigon troops.

**CHAIRMAN MAO** believes that by waging a long-drawn out war the people of Vietnam will prove the correctness, universality and force of his concept of the people's war and of "self reliance." In his cable to Ho Nguen Giap Marshal Lin Piao undoubtedly expressed the view of the Chairman when he wrote: "The brilliant victories of the armed forces and people of Vietnam in the repulsion and routing of American imperialist aggression have fully demonstrated the incomparable might of a people's war...."

The war of attrition in Vietnam is needed by the Mao-Lin group not only for confirming their theoretical dogmas. It will be instrumental in preserving tensions in Asia, thus providing an opportunity for a major showdown in this world area between two super-powers, the US and Russia. Such a war will perpetuate Vietnam's dependence on China and will enable

the Chinese leaders to exploit the danger of American invasion of China which will lead to the tightening of all screws there. That is why Peking is least of all interested in the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam.

There is more to this than that. It is taking steps to expand the Vietnam war turning it into an Indo-Chinese conflict. Peking does this by using its fifth column and inciting the peoples of a number of Indo-Chinese states to an armed struggle against their governments which are allegedly, "in collusion with American imperialism." The governments of Laos, Burma and Cambodia are watching with ever increasing alarm the stepping up of anti-government activities of the pro-Chinese groups in their respective countries. Prince Norodom Sihanouk has said recently that the local Maoists have "practically declared war on him and his regime."

**HANOI'S STATEMENT** on its readiness to establish peace contacts with the United States has come as a most discouraging surprise for Peking. The Chinese papers which have been widely covering the Vietnam war have not informed their readers of the preliminary peace contacts between the representatives of the United States and North Vietnam.

The attitude toward the negotiations as part of the general issue of China's role in the Vietnam war has proved an additional impetus which precipitated a fresh crisis in the

Chinese leadership the recent victim of which is Acting Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff Yang Chen-wu. On Mao's behalf Lin Piao accused General Yang of right-wing deviationism, i.e. of the same sins of which Peng Ten-huai and Lo Jui-ching were accused earlier. Yang proposed to develop the New Year's offensive of the South Vietnamese (Vietcong) by putting into action against the Americans some 150,000 well-armed Chinese troops thus dealing several painful blows at the aggressor that would compel President Johnson to realise that the Americans have very slender, if any, chances of holding their ground in South Vietnam and that the only way out of a stalemate is the complete withdrawal of American troops from that country. In Lin Piao's opinion, the proposal made by Yang Chen-wu runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's concept of a People's war and "self reliance." The removal of General Yang is another proof of Mao's and Lin Piao's unwillingness to see the quick cessation of the Vietnam war even by military means.

Faced with Hanoi's desire to seek peaceful ways of settling the conflict and not risking direct interference in North Vietnam's affairs (sending its troops into North Vietnam and removing President Ho Chi Minh) Peking, it seems, has not given up attempts to foil or at least procrastinate the negotiations and thus force the Vietnamese to "wage the war to the last soldier."

**THE OBSERVERS** in Hanoi point out to the growing concern of the North Vietnamese with the recent heightening of attention of Chinese embassy officials and military attaches to the North Vietnamese coastal defences, primarily the patrol torpedo boats and artillery crew. The observers do not rule out the possibility that Peking may use these boats and crew of the Coastal batteries to frustrate the Paris talks in the event they prove sufficiently successful. An attack by the PT boats on one of large American warships by artillery fire on it may provoke retaliatory action.



Noteworthy also are reports of Chinese refugees from Yunan Province to the effect that the detachments of the People's Liberation Army training in the jungle of that province will be dispatched to South Vietnam this coming summer. Anything can be expected from these detachments: they can attack the American Embassy in Saigon, capture a remote American military base, shoot American prisoners of war held by the Vietcong, etc. Any such action may tell adversely on the Paris talks.

However, the main stakes are put by Peking on its supporters in the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. With the help of the pro-Chinese functionaries in the NFL the Chinese leaders want to set up a government of the liberated areas. The first step in this direction was taken when the NFL representation in Peking was given the embassy status. The Chinese promise to give a 120 million dollars loan to such a government and render it all round military and technical aid enabling it to continue the war against American aggressors.

*Mao Tse-tung's desire to see the continuation of the Vietnam war is so great that he decided to use his personal authority to bring pressure to bear on the NFL leadership. In his cable to the Chairman of the Central Committee of the NFL Mao wrote: "The persistent continuation of the struggle means victory. I am quite certain that by waging a war of attrition the people of Vietnam will undoubtedly throw out the American aggressors from their country."*

*A Special Correspondent*

### US / VIETCONG ?

South Vietnam's police chief Brig. Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, resigned when the US embassy in Saigon put pressure on him to release a high-ranking Vietcong official who had entered the city to hold talks with the embassy officials but was arrested by the puppet police.

### VIETNAM SPEAKS

You may come with your mechanized armies,  
You may come with your menacing guns,  
Yet, you shall not dare to touch one hair  
Of the Mother of obstinate sons,  
The Mother has given us vision  
And the Mother has given us strength  
Which shall conquer your mechanized armies  
And emerge all triumphant, at length !

We are the young flame-lighters  
Of the lanterns of our land . . .  
We are proud guerilla fighters  
Whom you could never withstand.  
Our blood is a magical fountain  
Ever-flowing and wide-awake.  
Our will is a magical mountain  
Which nought on the earth dare break !

You might hurl your mechanized numbers  
At us who are young as yet !  
But then, you must know that our nation  
Is equal to all your threat !  
Since we who belong to our nation,  
Ashamed of false applause,  
Are conscious that we are battling  
For a more than sacred cause !..

You shall not conquer our people,  
You dare not dream of the splendour  
Of a mastery over our people:  
It is you who shall have to surrender,  
Surrender, defeated, dejected,  
Ashamed of yourselves who were sent,  
Poor hirelings of war, by Johnson,  
World-hated President.

You may come with your mechanized armies,  
You may come with your menacing power,  
But believe you are coming towards your doom  
About to strike the hour  
When you shall be struck by our nation  
And your pride shall be shattered to bits,  
And you shall face humiliation  
At the end of your arrogant blitz.

Since we are the young flame-lighters  
Of the lamps you have come to put out !  
We are brave guerilla fighters  
Your insolence never shall rout !



## THE BORDERLAND — by C. V. VELUPILLAI

## CHAPTER TWELVE

## Only A Dream

## CHAPTER TWELVE

*The Story So Far.....*

*Sundari lived alone in her estate bungalow. Of all her admirers Amaradasa was very close to her. Dr. Nayagam's nephew, Ravi came to spend the April holidays with her. Her conduct towards the youth seemed queer to Amaradasa.*

*The comely Mrs. Tilikeratne who came for treatment to Amaradasa later turned out to be his cousin. He promised to meet her in the village.*

*Amaradasa took Sundari and Ravi to a cattle farm. On their way back he found further evidence of the queer conduct towards the youth.*

*That night Sundari suffered an emotional imbalance due to the presence of Ravi in the House. She locked herself in the room and her mind went back to the past. She recalled her early love for Rajendran, his betrayal and the consequent emotional disorder.*

*The next day Amaradasa found Sundari and Ravi seated together in an unusual way. This disrupted their friendly relations. The following day Sundari and Ravi left for Colombo.*

*Amaradasa came back to his village. Its affectionate atmosphere made him a new man. He received a letter from his school friend Rajan.*

*In spite of objections he visited Mrs. Tilikeratne. Her personal appearance, her uncommon illness and life greatly disturbed him.*

Amaradasa returned home, thoughtful and pensive, with a far away look on his face. Swarna knew at once that something had happened to upset him.

"Mahatya, how is Menike? What's wrong with her?"

"It is a difficult illness, Akkey. I have been thinking about it all along the way."

"I have sent for her to come here and help me. She can take her medicine here and also look after your food."

"You all have gone crazy. Please don't do that."

"There is nothing wrong in that. She is a member of this family. Now you bathe and have your lunch."

USA

## "NICE LITTLE WAR"

The Congressional Joint Economic Committee is studying the impact produced by the war in Vietnam on the US economy. Addressing this committee on April 27, Carl Madden, director of economic research at the US Chamber of Commerce, declared that anxiety over the possible recurrence of recession as a result of the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam was both understandable and justified. It is difficult to understand the nature of this "anxiety". The war in Vietnam is a gold mine for the US monopolies. It is not for nothing that the monopoly press writes of the "blessings" this war brings the American economy. The influential *Journal of Commerce* (April 24) writes: "On balance, the war provides numerous stimulants to the economy, by creating a new demand for transportation equipment, military planes, ships, and large reserve supplies of all kinds, in warehouses in Vietnam as well as in the US." The paper added that war expenditures, which now exceed \$70,000 million a year and constitute about 10 per cent of the gross national product, "are support to many industries." The *Journal of Commerce* should have said they "support and enrich" the war industry bosses who, as Senator William Fulbright recently declared, regard the Vietnam conflict as a "nice little war" which does not take too big a toll of lives and gives plenty of support to the economy.



After lunch Amaradasa was in bed, reading the newspaper. The bath after the long walk and the heavy lunch began to take effect. He fell asleep.

He must have slept for nearly two hours. He heard someone call him from far away. He got up to find Menike standing by his bed with a cup of tea. He felt awkward that his people have not outgrown old habits.

"What's all this Menike? That is utter nonsense. You people have gone off your head."

"Why do you fuss so much? I am not an outsider. I am a free person."

"Yes. Free with your old habits. When did you come?"

"About an hour ago. You were sleeping like a log. Must be that long walk."

"I felt bad when I left your place."

"Is it because you came to my place?" she taunted him.

"Don't talk like that Menike."

"Then why?"

"I saw misery everywhere, unbearable misery. What has happened to this village! It is like a wounded creature unable to die."

Menike looked at him for a long time as if she was sharing his sad thoughts. At last she spoke.

"I know why people like you and you must do something to heal the wounded creature."

"I do not know what to do."

"First take your tea and think about it afterwards."

There was the sound of footsteps outside accompanied by a low cough.

"Uncle", said one of the boys, "Kira has come to see you."

He came out to find an old man like a giant lizard, twisted and contorted, with a brownish tuff of beard and dry head of hair. He wore a mud stained sarong; and was leaning on a stick.

"Mahatya, I heard you have come home."

"How are you old one?"

I am waiting for the final day, Sir. Now that I have seen your kind face. I'll rest in peace."

Menike watched Amaradasa talk to the old man with deep abiding kindness. It was this quality in him that touched her so much.

### WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO KILL MOSQUITOES BY BIOLOGICAL MEANS?

While Mosquitoes communicate serious diseases from animals to men, virus was not known that would kill mosquitoes without harming other living creatures. Only a few years ago the workers of the Insect Pathology Laboratory of the Entomological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, found a virus that kills larvae of mosquitoes. The infected larvae change colour and become faint green. This change in colour is caused by the concentration of virus in the destroyed tissues of the larvae. A similar infection like that found in Czechoslovakia is known to occur also in mosquitoes living in water with a small concentration of salt along the coast of Florida. The infection is being studied intensely in both places and possibilities of a struggle against the mosquitoes are being sought. The infection is communicated from the mother mosquito to the young in the eggs. Some species of mosquitoes can be infected artificially. It will be essential to find out to what extent it will be possible to spread the infection in mosquitoes in nature. The World Health Organisation is also concerned with this problem and is following the research with interest.



"Come in her and sit on the bench. Don't wait there. Come."

The old man shuffled forward and with some effort, came in and sat on the cemented floor.

"Menike, please give him something to drink."

"All right."

"Old one. I used to be very fond of your songs. You must stay here tonight and sing."

"Kira", called out the old laird from his room, "after dinner you lie in that shed out there and sing."

"Very well, Sire."

Menike called the old man for his drink to the kitchen. He got "Putha", up and went to the backyard leaning on his stick.

"Yes, uncle."

"Do not bother to go anywhere for a couple of days. You must rest."

The old man then lapsed into silence. Amaradasa was thankful for this piece of counsel for now he was assured that his uncle would not speak to him for another week. Amaradasa went out to the compound and strolled towards the backyard. In the cardamon plantation below Muthu Bandara was busy with his men collecting the spice. Amaradasa moved towards the kitchen.

"Akkey", he called out as he stepped in.

Swarna was busy, cooking. Menike was scraping coconut, her batic tucked up to her knees. She felt shy and got up in a confused way. Amaradsa was too slow to notice it.

"Mahatya, this kitchen has not changed very much in the last ten years. Only mother is not here. Sometimes I used to think that she is out in the garden. I don't know ! That's how I felt all these days."

"You have been too close to her and no wonder you feel that way."

He smiled to himself wistfully as if there was nobody in the kitchen. And he moved out quietly with the same look on his face.

The night was fast gathering over the Hunukottuwa ridges and the mountain on the right was casting its cool shadow on the valley. Amaradasa felt lonely. In the hushed silence of that hour he felt as if he were in a wasteland. He went in and lay on his bed in a heap. Menike passed up and down lighting the lamps and closing the windos and she noticed the change in Amaradasa with the approac of night.

Relief came to him with dinner. Today the table was laid for him along with the children. He felt a touch of gladness for he was always the artist with an innate love for children. But

USA

### A Prediction Come True

The 1967 outlook, *US News and World Report* wrote a year ago, "now appears to be for a year of labour strife in many big industries — and possibly a strike record exceeding that of any recent period." The prediction for 1968 printed in the same journal on January 8 is hardly less gloomy: "In union-employer relations 1968 threatens to bring turbulent times. The outlook is for . . . big strikes. Developments last year offer ample ground for such pessimism. The strike movement in the United States in 1967 set not one but three records. There were 4,475 disputes — more than in any of the preceding fifteen years. And they cost the United States 41 million man - days — more than in any of the preceding eight years. The strike involving 75,000 rubber workers lasted three months and the dispute at Ford's went on for 66 days. The longest is the first general strike of 60,000 copper smelters. It broke out on July 15 and is still going on. Like other capitalist propaganda organs, *US News and World Report* has written a great deal about labour capital differences being ironed out and class struggle subsiding. Its latest prognostication does not fit in with these theories.

### RECOGNISE GDR

Wilhelm Wolfgang Schuelz, chairman of the "Indivisible Germany Curatorium", an organisation supported by the West German Government, is under sharp attack for having proposed in a secret memorandum that the Bonn Government establish diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic.



Menike found him to be otherwise. She felt that a strange mood was coming over him like a shadow. This was not the same man she saw that morning at her house but the tense, agitated creature she saw at the dispensary.

• He spoke to his little nephews lightly and jokingly. He asked them what they wished to be when they were grown up men.

"I don't know uncle", said the elder boy.

"I learnt in your school. Do you know that?" asked Amara-dasa.

"When, uncle?"

"It's a long time ago."

"Did Menike Amma also learn with you?"

"He won't know that now, son," teased Menike

After a heavy dinner he retired to his room. He took out an old book from the shelf, turned its pages and remembered the incidents connected with the period when he first read it. He read them between the lines and they were a part of his own story. Just then Menike appeared at the door.

"Mahatya, do you want anything, coffee or tea?"

"Don't worry. I have had enough. In a little while I should be fast asleep."

By 10 p.m. the inmates of the house had retired. The old laird was in bed, under a heavy blanket. After dinner he went to bed quickly and found comfort in its warmth. Muthu Bandara and the children were in their bed room waiting for Swarna. The lamps were bright in the back corridor leading to the kitchen and in Amaradasa's room.

In that eerie quiet of the village night Kira cleared his throat and struck out the opening bars of his song which he used to sing during harvest time. His was a deep, distorted voice, flowing like muddy water from an old cave forcing its way through sluggish ravines. It seemed to flow from the incline of the night to the river of moving darkness. Somehow Menike did not like it. It dug up the scars and opened the sores of the past. She recalled her early girlhood with her father and mother and how the three of them would sit in the compound and listen to the self same song in the moonlit night. Such memories always brought her pain. They were a part of her lost forever.

Amaradsa lowered the lamp and lay on his side listening. It seemed a long, long while that he was in that position between sleep and wakefulness. The changed prospects of the old house, the death of his father and mother that was a painful presence in his mind; his school days, the days he spent in India, his shameless infatuation for Sundari; all these gathered around him.

Kira changed his voice. Now it was a deep, far away call, the man speaking to the animal, so haunting, full of pain

### DESERT ONCE OASIS

Sites of primeval human settlements have been discovered in Kyzyl-Kum, a Central Asian desert. Archaeologists found places where Stone Age people made work tools, and numerous relics dating back to the Neolithic, and Bronze periods. From these finds the conclusion may be drawn that no fewer than three Neolithic cultures existed on the territory of Kyzyl-Kum. Until recently scientists believed that in the past the Kyzyl-Kum Desert was practically uninhabited. Latest archaeological excavations, however, point to the presence of man in the area as far back as 100,000 - 500,000 years ago. Experts are inclined to think the people were forced to leave the central area of the desert due to water mineralisation. Uzbek geographers claim that some 3,000 to 4,000 years ago the area was not a desert, but a fertile land with ramified system of fresh water lakes and springs, and a profusion of greenery. Annually, however, a 2.5 cm. layer of salt was deposited because there was no outlet for the water. This gradually caused the ancient oasis to dry out.



### ERRED

Secretary of State Dean Rusk admitted at a secret session of the Senate armed services committee that the US Administration had erred in sending highly armed spy ships into troubled waters. He promised to have the present policy and the existing spying programmes of the US Government reviewed in the light of the Pueblo incident.



and pathos like the cry of a lost animal in the wild waste. It was a carter's song to the bull on his way to Haputale. In that calm night its intensity was unbearable. Menike quietly made her way to find out whether he was sleeping or not. As Kira came to the words, "Powkora Gono", Amaradsa clutched the pillow, pressed his face into it and shook violently unable to utter a word. He was as dumb as the bull harnessed to the heavy cart, panting and pulling its load, every muscle strained and its heart throbbing with anguish. Menike had come close to him now and was watching him with terror in her eyes. She had an impulse to catch hold of him and cry. In a hoarse whisper she asked him:

"Mahatya, why?"

He did not speak.

She knelt beside the bed and laid her hand on his shoulder.

"What happened?"

"Stop that song."

"Kira", she shouted, "Master is sleeping. Stop that song and go to bed."

"Please lower the lamp and go and sleep."

"What happened Mahatya?"

"That song about the bull upset me."

"But why like this?"

"That's something which I cannot understand. Now go and sleep, Menike."

"I'll go. Please don't drive me away like that."

She lowered the lamp so abruptly that it flickered and went out. She knelt by his bed. In the silence and darkness only the hundred different tiny voices of the insects could be heard, not even the breathing of Menike...

She lay beside him limp and frightened. He felt her warm body against his. He turned round without pushing her away. She moved closer to him. She pulled his face close to her breast. His hands clasped her body with the eagerness of a child. And he lay there in the same way as he had laid twenty years ago in the embrace of his mother. To him Menike was not a woman but a sexless creature, so powerful and strong to shield him. Suddenly his mind was alive to the presence of a woman in his bed.....

He got up. There was no one. It was only a dream.

USA

### DRAFT EVADERS

Emigration from the United States has increased noticeably since the escalation in Vietnam. In 1966, for instance, the number of people who moved to Canada was 16 per cent greater than in 1965. "Never since the War of 1812 have so many indefinite periods", the Danish *Land og Folk* writes, citing the American *Ramparts* magazine. It is noteworthy that most of these are young people who thus hope to avoid being drafted into the armed forces and sent into the South Vietnam jungles.

The paper also describes some of the other methods young Americans resort to in evading conscription. In 1966, it says, 300,000 of them did so by replying in the affirmative when asked whether they had ever felt the urge to kill or assault anyone. Others got away by producing certificates saying they were suffering from mental disease, chronic ailments and even homosexuality. Put on lace panties, kiss the medical officer, and you have nothing to worry about, the *Ramparts* says, according to *Land og Folk*.



### GOOD NEWS

A British firm has made a pill which can neutralise the effects of alcohol. Made of charcoal, ascorbic acid and kaolin it is black in colour and has a rather pleasant taste of lemon. Two persons swallowed the pill after gulping four pints of beer and four double whiskeys and then underwent breath tests. They were clear.

To be continued



# FILM PAGE

## EMPIRE

Michael Parks - Celia Kays

### WILD SEED

Next: MGM's

LUTRING WAKE UP & KILL

4th Week

Air-Conditioned

### REGAL

Rock Hudson - George Peppard

### TOBRUK

Next: The Fall of the Roman Empire

Last Few Days

### ELPHINSTONE

E. A. P. Films'

### BICYCLE HORA

Next: S. P. M.'s

AMATHIKAMA

Last Few Days

### SELLAMAHAL

• Jayashanker • Jayalalitha

## Raja Veettu Pillai

### GAIETY

M. G. Ramachandran

in

### GULEBAKAVALI

### ROXY

By popular demand

Lester James Pieris'

### Golu Hadawatha

10th Week

### CROWN

Vijayanthimala - Rajendra Kumar

### SURAJ

Next: V. Shantaram's

GEET GAAYA PATTRONE

Last Few Days

Air-Conditioned

### SAVOY

Audrey Hepburn

### How To Steal A Million

Next: STAGECOACH

● **THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE** photographed in Ultra-Panavision and colour by Technicolor, coming to the **REGAL THEATRE** this week, shows the great episode in the second century, the might of Rome that seemed set for eternity, and how the prosperous people were destroyed by a corrupt ruler and an irresponsible Senate. Producer Samuel Bronston chose to take this theme and adapt it to magnificent and moving cinematic terms. To help him in a task which had so far deterred other producers, he enlisted Anthony Mann, the director, and Robert Krasker, the cinematographer, and Dimitri Tiomkin, the composer, four times an "Oscar" winner. In addition, he acquired a cast which sprinkles with names of international renown, and he set much of the action in and around a re-creation of the Roman Forum dwarfing any motion picture set ever constructed. Among the many scenes of splendour, action and majesty of Bronston's achievement include sequences where Commodus (Christopher Plummer) manipulates the Senate to infamous decisions. A duel by chariot along treacherous mountain roads, between himself and Livius (Stephen Boyd), great Emperor Marcus Aurelius (Alec Guinness) and his three councillors at a meeting. The movie is distributed by The Rank Organisation.

*Story:* One hundred and eighty years after the birth of Christ, the Roman Empire is at the height of its glory under Emperor Marcus Aurelius (Alec Guinness). To a Roman Fort in the snowy mountain wastes in the north, he summons the governors, princes and kings of the Empire to urge their support for a Pax Romana. The only frontiers still hostile to Rome are the nearby, forest, where the Barbarians hide and Persia in the east. Among the arrivals are Livius Gaius Metellus (Stephen Boyd), a military Tribune whom the Emperor has brought up as a son, and the Armenian King, Sohamus (Omar Sharif), who seeks to marry Lucilla (Sophia Loren), daughter of Marcus Aurelius. In

the presence of Lucilla, the Emperor tells Livius that his son, Commodus (Christopher Plummer), is interested only in pleasure rather than in the future of the Empire. He has decided that Livius shall be his successor. Cleander (Mel Ferrer), the blind court prophet, overhears this and plots to kill Caesar before he can publicly proclaim Livius his heir. Commodus arrives with Verulus (Anthony Quayle) a handsome ageing warrior, and is ordered to take his gladiators ahead into the forest to draw the Barbarians into the open so that Livius and his Legionaries can capture them. When the Barbarians attack, the gladiators flee and Livius is forced to save Commodus. The gladiators are punished as cowards by Livius but Commodus attempts to stop him. Livius challenges Commodus to a contest to see who can force the other's chariot over a nearby cliff. Livius is victor but again saves Commodus as his chariot is hurled to the rocks below. Although Livius and Lucilla are in love, she agrees to her father's wish



Jayashanker and Jayalalitha in a romantic scene from the Tamil movie **RAJA VEETU PILLAI**, Ceylon Theatres Ltd. release, now, showing at **SELLAMAHAL**, **EROS** and other centres.



that she marry Sohamus to show the world how much value Rome places on its eastern frontier. Livius urges Lucilla to come with him, when they receive an urgent summons to the Emperor's headquarters. There Marcus Aurelius dies with the world "Livius" on his lips. Without any document to prove that Caesar had wished Livius to succeed him, Commodus proclaims himself the new Emperor. Livius pledges his support and Commodus appoints him Commander of the Roman armies. Convinced that Livius no longer intends to carry her father's wishes for the Empire Lucilla marries Sohamus. Timonides (James Mason), a Greek Philosopher and a supporter of Marcus Aurelius' belief that love can overcome hatred, attempts to win over the Barbarians after Livius and his Legionaires avenge an ambush in a death march and capture their leader, Ballomar (John Ireland) in his cave. Lucilla returns to Rome to warn Commodus that a rebellion is growing in the East over the taxes he has imposed to maintain his profligate pleasures in Rome. At the request of Lucilla,

Livius goes before the Senate and appeals for freedom for the Barbarians. The Senate upholds him and the furious Commodus orders Lucilla back to Armenia and banishes Livius to the northern frontier. When the entire east rebels and pestilence scourges Rome, Commodus sends for Livius. He reveals that Rome's Eastern Army has gone over to rebels and that the Empire can be saved only if the Northern army can crush them, though it means Romans fighting against Romans. Livius agrees to lead his Northern troops against the rebels in the hope of eventually achieving Roman Peace. On an eastern plain, Livius meets with Virgilianus (Norman Wooland), pro-consul of Egypt, and Marcellus (Virgilio Texera), governor of Syria. There too Lucilla pleads with Livius to join forces with them and destroy the intolerable rule of Commodus, but he refuses. In the ensuing battle with the Armenians, Sohamus is killed. Livius takes Lucilla and they start for Rome. After a dispute between Commodus and Livius, the former, in rage sends his guards to destroy the Barbarian village and bring Ballomar and his people to Rome to be burned at the stake in defiance of the freedom Livius had secured for them. Timonides too dies in the attack. The village goes up in flames, when Livius and Lucilla reach it. Livius goes alone to surrender to Commodus to effect a peaceful treaty, and faces Commodus in the Temple of Jupiter. The Senate this time supports Commodus. Lucilla tries to kill Commodus, but encounters Verulus and learns he is Commodus' father, and Verulus is slain. With the primitive pageantry of the Saturnalia at its peak, Commodus orders Livius, the Barbarians and Lucilla to be burned at the stake. Commodus when preparing to light the pyre blaze, suggests that he and Livius fight each other with javelins and let the gods decide who should rule Rome. In the thrilling, brutal contest Livius emerges triumphant. Commodus dies. Renouncing the throne, Livius and Lucilla go away, knowing that although Rome may die, the Brotherhood of Man will live forever.



5th Week  
**KINGSLEY**  
 Daily 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.  
 President Award Winner  
 AVM's

100 Day Celebrity  
 ● Gemini ● K. R. Vijaya  
 ● Nagesh in

**R A M U**

3rd Week  
**GAMINI**  
**SAPPHIRE**

Daily 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m

● Roy ● Shirance  
 ● Stanley  
 in

Venura Production  
**VANASARA**

Story & Production  
 S. A. SOMARATNE

4th Week  
**CAPITOL**

3.30, 6.30, & 9.30 p.m.

**THE FORBIDDEN**  
**CITIES**

Eastman Color (Adults Only)

**LIDO** (BORELLA)

10 a.m., 2, 6 & 9.30 p.m.  
**MOTHER INDIA**

Tomorrow:  
**JIS DESH MEN**  
**GANGA BEHTI HAI**

**PLAZA**

2, 6, & 9.30 p. m.

**NADODI MANNAN**

2nd Month

Air Conditioned  
**LIBERTY**

TONY CURTIS  
 JACK LEMMON  
 NATALIE WOOD  
 IN

"The  
 Great Race"  
 Superpanavision 70 mm

3rd Week

**CENTRAL**

● GEMINI ● NAGESH  
 IN

K. S. GOPALAKRISHNAN'S

**PANAMA**  
**PASAMA**



*Dubcek Explains*

## Czechoslovakia's New Foreign And Home Policy

*Pragu:*

"OUR closest alliance with the Soviet Union is the main basic line of our foreign policy", Mr. Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, said at a celebration of friendship with the Soviet Union in Lisen near Brno on June 30.

"The policy of alliance with the USSR and the socialist countries is the vital interest of all our people. We have had a far too tragic experience in 1938 and for this reason too we consider it to be in our vital interests to be members of the Warsaw Treaty and also for this defensive system to be prepared to face any threat from outside. That is also why we also participate in all the things which contribute to this preparedness. . . . Just now one of the successful exercises of the forces of Warsaw Treaty is drawing to a close. The units which took part in it are leaving. We heartily greet them", Mr. Dubcek said.

In his address Mr. Dubcek recalled that "30 years ago it was the anti-fascists and in the first place the communists who called for active defence against aggression which threatened the Republic, who unmasked the racist ideology of fascism, its anti-semitism, its programme of the annihilation of mankind. . . . and in the same way today we refuse any ideas which could remind us of repetitions of fascist ideology", Mr. Dubcek said.

"We are of the opinion that Czechoslovakia has the right to voice its opinion on the basic questions of European security, economic and scientific technical co-operation in Europe, that we have not by far used up all the possibilities

of active diplomacy which the new developments in our country open, up", Mr. Dubcek said in a further part of his speech.

"The need for a really new internal policy has really grown, the need for deep measures in the political and social structures which would create the prerequisites that forces foreign to the people would never again get into the lead of the country, forces foreign to the needs of both our nations Czechs and Slovaks, forces not respecting their integrity", the First Party Secretary continued.

"We must, however, see the part of more than 20 years really realistically, in complex, in their historical conditions. We underline that a great work of the rebuilding of the social structure has been carried out over the past 20 years. We are proud of our participation in it. At the same time it would not be logical to recognise the importance of the changes but to judge the work of people from the point of view of mistakes which every revolution cannot avoid."

"We have uncovered the distortions, we have shown and will continue to point out their bearers. We are truly determined to uncover and analyse the causes which lead to the distortions and to make the necessary conclusions", Mr. Dubcek said.

"He pointed out that "there is no other alternative for us than the Marxist programme of socialist development which our Party bears. There is no other political force here true to the revolutionary traditions which could become a guarantee of the socialist process of democratisation. For this reason we defend the leading role of our Party in the

society. We know that this is not a thing given us automatically. We wish to solicit it, to deepen it with good and courageous work, by service to our people, our country."

"THE formulation and gradual implementation of our economic policy will become increasingly more important in our policy", Mr. Alexander Dubcek said. "The new Government of the country is not in a position to solve the problems which have accumulated in a single day. The solution of the problems is often complicated by demands voiced regardless of possibilities and at the same time categorically pushed forward. The Government is bound to gradually solve the justified wage and social demands according to their urgency and the possibilities of the national economy. But if we want to radically and permanently solve some of the justified demands then we must first create the prerequisites in production."

Mr. Dubcek then said that "only the most pressing problems are being solved at present. A more detailed solution will be undertaken as soon as our economic situation improves."

"Nervousness, impatience and imprudence will not help us. Nor will appeals which do not consider realistic facts and possibilities. . . . To democracy also belongs the awareness of the results of words, appeals, strikes and calls to strikes which should lead to anarchy and social disruption. We underline that we want our solution of amased problems to be really civilised and really humanitarian."

Mr. Dubcek then underlined that "we see our main tasks in the realisation of the tasks of the Action Programme and the development of the policy of the National Front. We do not want to remain half way. The only solution is the way ahead."

CETEKA