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IN THIS ERA OF REVOLT—WHAT IS THE WORLD HEADING FOR?

There is no doubt that the sixties of the twentieth century will be characterised in history as the era of revolts. The seed for these revolts had been sown earlier, but it was in the sixties that they surfaced with a bang. There are so many revolts and revolts — within revolts in the world today that it would be an encyclopaedic task to list the number of revolts that has taken place in less than a decade: political, economic, social, cultural, religious, sociological, medical — in fact in every walk of life. The decade had opened with the revolt of P. King against Moscow with all the repercussions that followed. This was almost simultaneous with the revolt of the “new frontiers” in the USA which even the assassination of men like the Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King has not been able to stop. The solidarity and diehardism of the American Establishment had, of course, compelled a section of Yankee youth to turn to narcotics, hippism and other esoteric cults and culminated in the revolt

against the war in Vietnam.

In every country, every establishment of every kind — right, centre or leftwing, religious, cultural or otherwise — is today confronted with a revolt. Communist Parties, like the International Communist Movement, are no longer monolithic as they were in the twenties, thirties, forties, and even the fifties. The NATO is in a shambles. There is no CENTO or SEATO. The Warsaw Pact is no longer what it was — with Rumania and Czechoslovakia virtually out of the picture. The revolt of Czechoslovakia was as unexpected as it was dramatic. A truce seems to have been established, but how long do these truces last? The USA, and more especially the CIA, seems to have the satisfaction that the Soviet bloc now has a little “Cuba” in its very midst. The word liberalisation is a very alluring one, but it certainly hides a great deal. The liberals in the Catholic Church have sought to stage a revolt from within, but the Pope has come down very

heavily upon them on one of the questions (*viz.* birth control) which the liberals had believed that they had sufficient mass support among the Catholics to pressurise the Pope. Once birth control is admitted, the whole edifice and ideology of the Catholic Church will be in tatters. Like every establishment, the Pope is doing his best to put down the revolt of the liberals inside the Catholic Church. All these revolts make history, but the one question which nobody seems able to answer is what the world is heading for — disaster, deluge, or a new golden age. Who can tell? But many insist on guessing and making predictions; some insist that a nuclear blow-up is inevitable, and others feel smug in the certainty that the balance of deterrence between the super powers will prevent a global nuclear holocaust. Apart from the question of a nuclear conflagration, one does not know what human values and ideologies will endure into the next generation.

Gap Between

Developed & Developing Nations Has Not Narrowed

DESPITE the continued increase in world economic activity in 1966, the gap between the developed and developing regions in many essential areas was not narrowed according to the United Nations Statistical Year Book, 1967, reports PTI.

Figures from the Year Book released in Delhi recently show that the total gross domestic product in market economies expanded by 102 per cent over the 16 year period 1950 - 1966 and that this expansion was made up of a 100 per cent rise in the developed market economies (Canada and the United States, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand, Japan, South Korea) and a 104 per cent rise in the developing market economies (Africa excluding South Africa: Asia and the Far East, excluding Japan, Latin America and West Asia.)

These increases correspond to average annual growth rates over the period of 4.5 per cent of the market economies as a whole, 4.4 per cent for the developed economies and 4.5 per cent for the developing economies. Industrial activity (mining, manufacturing and the production of electricity) increased more rapidly during the period than other branches, particularly in the developing countries where it rose 195 per cent for construction and only 57 per cent for agriculture.

ACCORDING to the Year Book, world exports in 1967 reached an all-time peak of 214,000 million US dollars, representing an increase of five per cent over the corresponding aggregate for 1966 (204,000 million dollars). The corresponding increases in 1966 and 1965 were just over nine per cent and eight per cent respectively.

World exports in the 1960's up to 1966 have been expanding steadily at an average rate of over eight

per cent per year. In this respect, the expansion in 1967 represents a slowing down as compared with the earlier years.

Of the total of \$214,000 million, exports by the market economies amounted to \$189,000 million as compared with \$180,500 million in 1966 and \$165,000 million in 1965. Exports by the centrally planned economies are expected to amount to \$25,000 million in 1967 as compared with \$23,100 million in 1966 and \$21,700 million in 1965.

In the field of agriculture, although the total world food production in 1966 was about four per cent higher than in 1965 and eight per cent higher than in 1963, the per capita food production only went up to two per cent in 1966, as compared with the previous year.

Nevertheless, of 57 countries shown in the Year Book table, 28 registered an increase which amounts to over eight per cent of the world production during the period 1963-66. Among the 28 countries, substantial increases are shown for South Korea, Yugoslavia, Greece, Panama and Taiwan, each with an increase of over 20 per cent for the same period.

On population growth, the Year Book observes that the world population was estimated at 3,353 million in mid-1966, compared with 3,000 million in 1960 and 3,170 million in 1963. Asia (excluding the Soviet Union had 1,867 million persons — 381 million more than the rest of the world put together — followed by America and Europe). Oceania had the smallest population (one-half per cent of the world total).

Over the period 1960-66, world population increased at the annual rate of 1.9 per cent. Among the regions with rapid population growth

were Latin America, where the increase was 2.9 per cent a year, and South Asia and Africa, with increases of 2.5 per cent and 2.3 per cent respectively, over the same period.

ON manufacturing and consumption on major items, the Year Book says world production of crude steel (excluding China) amounted in 1966 to 459 million metric tons. 22 per cent over 1963. The US with 122 million tons was the largest producer, followed by the Soviet Union. Japan and West Germany with 97 million, 48 million and 35 million metric tons respectively.

The consumption of steel in the US in 1966 as 131 million metric tons followed by the Soviet Union (92 million metric tons): West Germany (38 million) the UK (21 million): France (17 million), Italy (14 million) and China (13.6 million).



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Headlines Of The Week

THURSDAY, August 8 — The Alles Committee on the CTB has slated bus conductors and drivers for rudeness and discourtesy. The Ministry of Agriculture has released two hundred acres of farm land in Kundasale to the Faculty of Agriculture at Peradeniya. The Vatican said that messages of support for Pope Paul's encyclical banning artificial birth control were continuing to pour in from all parts of the world.

FRIDAY, August 9 — The *Daily Mirror* reported that caste clashes had now spread to the south of Ceylon and that according to police reports high caste Sinhalese had been battling it out with low caste Sinhalese at Pugoda. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, General Secretary of the Federal Party addressing a meeting at Kilinochi said that there was no truth in the allegation that certain Federal Party members were in the bribery net and challenged those persons who were carrying on this mischievous propaganda to prove it. The Ceylon Tea Association at its monthly meeting resolved to urge the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Tea Commission without delay. Richard Nixon in a stunning comeback from the depths of political defeat, won the Republican Presidential nomination on the first ballot early on Thursday. Japanese surgeons have transplanted a heart into an 18 year old boy in the first such operation ever performed in Asia.

SATURDAY, August 10 — The Government has turned down the proposal of the World Bank to raise rail fares by one cent per mile if the Railway is to run at a profit. Papers of appeal in the Kularatne murder case were handed in at the Supreme Court yesterday. The Public Accounts Committee in its latest report has made a scathing criticism of the Ceylon Transport Board for failing to carry out repeated recommendations of the Committee. A Rhodesian High Court Judge endorsed the legality of the breakaway Ian Smith Government and its post Independence laws. Mr. Richard Nixon in a major policy speech said that a Republican administration would give first priority to ending the Vietnam war and extending the hand of friendship to Russia and China.

SUNDAY, August 11 — An opportunity of buying shares in Consolexpo will soon be given to the public. The devaluation of the rupee and the price-hike of food stuffs in the world market have caused the Ministry of Agriculture and Food to incur an additional expenditure of Rs. 80 million during the current financial year. The Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. W. Dahanayake, has rejected the proposal made by the Prohibition Advisory Committee to the issue of liquor through a permit system. The East German Head of State, Walter Ulbricht, has proposed that the two Germans negotiate an exchange of diplomatic representatives and also hinted at possible trade contacts. President Tito and

liberal leaders opened talks in Prague a few hours after the Yugoslav leader arrived in Prague.

MONDAY, August 12 — The Government has decided to invite a foreign expert to head the proposed National Salaries Commission. The Minister of Home Affairs has asked the Government to impose a travel ban to India in order to prevent saree smuggling by local women. Under a Bill to be presented by the Minister of Communications, Mr. E. L. B. Hurule, all drivers who operate public vehicles like, buses, taxis and lorries will be subjected to periodical driving tests. President Johnson was reported to be seeking a secret promise from Hanoi and Vietcong to desist from launching offensives against South Vietnam cities in exchange for a complete halting of bombing of the North. Reports also stated that the US President was seeking an invitation from Moscow so that Soviet-American collaboration on a Vietnam settlement could be initiated.

TUESDAY, August 13 — The Minister of Education has instructed all Regional Directors of Education that they must take every step to stop religio-communa organisations in schools. The Minister of Trade and Commerce has requested the entire Insurance Board to resign so that he may re-constitute it. The Prime Minister said when he declared open a branch of the Bank of Ceylon at Nugegoda that the Government would take further steps to widen the contribution which the Bank of Ceylon could make to the economic development of the country once the respect of the Bank of Ceylon Commission was received. Walter Ulbricht arrived in Czechoslovakia for talks on further relations between the two countries. Two persons were reported dead and forty injured following clashes between the police and Negroes in Watts in Los Angeles. Vatican officials have expressed concern over Pope Paul's safety when he visited Columbia because of the situation in several Latin American countries.

WEDNESDAY, August 14 — A team of doctors from Japan has arrived in Ceylon to help Ceylon fight malaria. The Commissioner of Commodity Purchase and Chairman of the Committee has recommended to the Minister of Trade and Commerce that a Minor Products Agriculture Unit and a Spices Advisory Board to spearhead a program for the extensive and intensive cultivation and marketing of minor agricultural products be established. The Government is to set up an Inspectorate in the Department of Import and Export to carry out checks on tea for export. Mr. R. G. Senanayake, leader of the Sinhala Mahajana Pakshaya, in a letter to Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has said that she should refrain from indulging in gross irrelevancies and face the challenge at Dambadeniya. An assassination attempt was made yesterday on the Greek Prime Minister. The Rhodesian High Courts Bench came into open conflict over the country's independence resulting in the resignation of South African born Justice John Dendy Young from the judiciary.

Comment On Current Affairs

● EGG AND YOU: latest talking point but no laughing matter

The price of an egg is now the latest talking point in Parliament and outside. The egg may seem a small item but it symbolises today the unprecedented increase in the cost of every article that makes the diet of the ordinary householder in Ceylon. For years now, the price of an egg was stabilised around 20 to 25 cents each for the best and biggest grade. Today the price has shot up to 35 to 37 cents and no seller now bothers about size, grade or weight. Eggs of all sizes are dumped into one lot and the buyer has to take it or leave it. In the old days (and not so far away either), the smaller eggs were sold at prices ranging from 15 to 18 cents, and considering the fact that in every dozen bought today very nearly half are small-sized, and it can be said that the price of eggs has doubled during the last one year or eighteen months. Experts in the governmental economic machine have hinted that, as things are, the price of eggs may reach as much as fifty cents each within a short time and stay put there. Fish prices have doubled, meat prices have doubled, and vegetable prices have more than doubled. But incomes have been stationary. The *Observer* and the *Daily Mirror*, which exist to ventilate the grievances of the small man, whilst still keeping him within the orbit of the National Government, have editorialised warning the Government that the increase in the price of eggs might prove to be the last straw on the voter's back. But, these two papers also seek to remind the voter of the heroic deeds of the Govi Rajas and the National Government. Whatever the papers might say that the Government or its Govi Rajas have done, the price of rice and all other agricultural produce has registered steep increases. There is not a single item of foodstuff which has dropped in price in the last three years. What the voter will do in these circumstances is to some extent problematic? Will he swallow the propaganda excuses trotted out by the Government to explain its failure to provide cheaper food, end unemployment and provide higher standards of living? Or will he want to switch over to the Coalition—Opposition in spite of the fact that the Common Program of the SLFP-LSSP-CP has still not yet begun to grip the imagination of the voter? Or, will he be carried away by the emotional cry of of changing the name of the island to *Sinhale* for the purpose of making everything Sinhalese (which some say is a panacea for all our ills)? The pundits have still not found the answers to these questions, but what the 1970 General Elections will reveal is anybody's guess. The egg and all that it stands for may yet prove to be a crucial factor in the next General Elections.

● THE NEWSPAPERS AND YOU: will the massive government advertisement bonanza yield the appropriate dividends?

Although the *Lake House* and the *Dawasa* group virtually blacked out Mr. Maitripala Senanayake's exposure of the government subsidies to the daily press which supports it, the *Times* and more particularly the *Daily Mirror* raised a *furor* not because this kind of bribery was immoral and detracted from the hypocritical crowing about "the free and independent press", but because the *Daily Mirror* said it was shabbily treated in the share-out of government bounty. Every government spends money on newspaper advertisements, but in many countries pro-government as well as opposition newspapers get a part of these handouts — and thus everybody is kept happy in the "democratic set-up." Whilst it may be said that the last Government had sought to distribute the spoils of government advertising to newer and smaller papers which were being bought and read, the present government has channelised all government advertisements on a massive scale to the three biggest groups in order to strengthen and bolster their profits which exclusively support the Government. According to the figures mentioned in Parliament and repeated with gusto by the *Daily Mirror* (and with no protests from any of the newspapers concerned), the total for this (and each of the coming years) will be Rs. 8,296,000 annually. The distribution is as follows: *Daily News* Rs. 1,680,000; *Dinamina*, Rs. 1,159,000; *Observer*, Rs. 1,008,000; *Thinakaran*, Rs. 672,000; *Dawasa*, Rs. 672,000; *Sun*, Rs. 672,000; *Virakesari*, Rs. 762,000; *Times*, Rs. 1,260,000; *Lankadipa*, Rs. 823,000; and *Daily Mirror*, Rs. 350,000. The *Daily Mirror* gets only a third of what is given to the *Observer* and about half of what is given to the *Sun*, and there is no doubt that the *Daily Mirror* has a better circulation and more readership pull than either of these two papers. The *Mirror's* complaint is that it has been left out in the cold because it often criticised the National Government for its many acts of commission and omission. Said the *Mirror*: "Ministers have forgotten that the *Daily Mirror* was the only newspaper which relentlessly, unswervingly and consistently fought the battle for democracy before the 1965 elections, imagining that the UNP would usher in that democracy — one of the fundamentals of which is the freedom of speech." Now, the *Mirror* states that it has failed to get its due share of the reward because of its refusal to be "servile cheer squad" (which the rest of the "national" press presumably is). The *Mirror* no doubt has cause to complain, but the question that is of consequence is something else. It is not the question of ethics — whether it is correct for the government to subsidise or bribe the three major press groups in the country in this way — because the only ethic which governments today go by is success. The National Government of Mr. Dudley Senanayake no doubt hopes to reap rich dividends for itself by investing Rs. 8 million on the three press groups. At least, the investment is assured for two years, but in the third

the results of the elections may upset the apple-cart. It is to prevent any such upset that the Government is proposing to sink Rs. 24 million of taxpayers' money in the three newspaper groups to ensure its return to power in 1970. But will the gamble — this is a gamble if ever there was one — work? In spite of the blackout in the daily papers, every voter will know within a few weeks of the annual Rs. 8 million subsidy to the three newspaper groups, and it might well turn out that even the facts and truth printed by these papers will become suspect in the eyes, minds and hearts of the voters. With prices of all foodstuffs doubled and trebled, with unemployment doubled since the government came to power and with a big drop in *real income* — can the three newspaper groups pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the National Government? Such “miracles” sometimes do happen in a “democracy” in the present day world, but will the National Government have the “luck” to bring off such a “miracle.”

that nothing is being done, but it might soon dawn upon some of the big panjandrums who control the destinies of the medical services that this shortage of doctors will create a bad image for the National Government among the voters. No sooner this happens, the three big newspaper groups (encouraged by the 8 million subsidy) will spread banner headlines about the plans that “have been launched” to end the shortage of doctors. The ayurvedic doctors and the veda mahatamayas, regarded as some of the best election agents, have been pampered no end, but the western-style hospitals are crowded as never before. The veda mahatamayas, most of them unqualified, cannot cope with the diseases that twentieth century civilisation has brought, and thousands flock to the government western-style clinics and hospitals which can cope only with a part of that number. The prospects are grim so far as the future of the medical services are concerned, but the story is no different in every other field of activity in this country.

● **WHERE ARE THE DOCTORS?** the cause of the shortage is not important but the present suffering

● **MPs ALLOWANCES:** a good case for increase but it will be a signal for all wage-earners to demand more

The newspapers are full of reports about the shortage of doctors in government hospitals. One report stated that a doctor had only one minute per patient — to examine, diagnose and prescribe — in the OPDs and other governmental centres. Another report stated in an eight hour day, a doctor could give each patient only thirty seconds, or half a minute. Whilst the University authorities were finding ways and means to restrict the number of students who sought to qualify as doctors (the university had no places for more), the Government had launched a campaign to restrict recruitment (because there were no funds to employ more). But, at the same time, the population keeps growing by leaps and bounds (in spite of the best efforts of the Family Planning Association). Today, the country is faced with a big shortage of doctors in the government health services. A large number of those who had qualified from our medical schools have sought employment in foreign countries for a variety of reasons. An even a greater number has opted to go into private practice because it is far more remunerative, and at the same time they become free of the trammels of red tape and bureaucracy. Why the shortage exists is easy enough to explain. It is possible to write a long thesis on why the shortage has occurred. But that does not take us anywhere. The question is how the government and the country can overcome the present shortage of doctors. No doubt it will take a few years before matters can be set right, but has the government taken even the first faltering steps towards a solution? Present indications are

There is no doubt that the MPs and Senators deserve an increased allowance. The cost of living and the cost of everything else have gone up so much that it has become necessary for MPs to demand more pay and allowances for the work they do. In this era of profit, it is futile to expect anyone to “sacrifice” for the country or any other cause. Nobody dies for his country in a successful and affluent society. The US soldier in South Vietnam is one of the best paid wage-earners in the world. The Vietcong soldier has a harder life in comparison, but he had probably no alternative (like everybody else he had to choose between two the evils — either to be bombed to death by US B 52s or fight the Yankee aggressor and avenge his soul). In poor and underdeveloped countries one hears about “self-sacrifice” and “duty”, but in Ceylon (although we are not an affluent nation) nobody has heard the term “sacrifice” for a longtime. When the question of the MPs allowances was mooted some of the newspapers preached sermons that our guardians of democracy should “sacrifice” a little for the national good. Nobody takes these sermons seriously — because these self-same newspapers will not “sacrifice” the subsidy they get from the Rs. 8 million kitty for the sake of the national good. In the total eradication of the idea of self-“sacrifice” in this era of profit, there is no alternative for the wage-earner but to keep asking for more and more — like *Oliver Twist*. Any move to increase the MPs allowances will naturally and justifiably trigger a major wage demand in the public and in the private sector.

Pope Paul VI

On The Regulation Of Birth

by Simon Vannia

THE transmission of human life is a serious duty, and married persons are the *free* and *responsible* collaborators of the Creator in this matter. This duty is sometimes accompanied by not a few difficulties and by distress, but it has always been a source of great joy to the couples themselves.

There has been a temptation for the Authorities in developing countries to counter rapid demographic development with radical measures, for fear that the population will out-grow available resources. The stupendous progress that man has made in the domination and rational organisation of the forces of nature has tempted him to extend this domination to his own body, to his psychical life, to his social life, and even to the laws which regulate the transmission of life.

The question raised is whether the ethical norms which have been in force up to now in marriage should not be revised in the face of the sacrifices, sometimes heroic sacrifices, that these old norms now call for. *Does the finality of procreation pertain to the ensemble of conjugal life, rather than to its single acts? Must the task of regulating birth be entrusted to man's reason and his will, rather than to the biological rhythms of his organism?* These are two questions which must be answered.

The Catholic Church in her endeavour to answer these questions, has reflected deeply upon the principles of the moral teaching on marriage, which is a teaching founded on the natural law, illuminated and enriched by divine Revelation, for the Church is competent to *interpret* the natural moral law. The Church regards herself as the *guardian* and *authentic interpreter* of all the moral law, and this has been the case since the time of the apostles.

The natural law is an expression of the will of God, and is as necessary for salvation as that of the gospel. The matter sought here is a coherent teaching both on the nature of marriage and on the correct use of conjugal rights and of the duties of husband and wife. There has been a Study Commission on these matters since March, 1963, and the Commission included married couples.

The Commission gathered opinions on the new questions regarding conjugal life, and in particular on the regulation of births, and it had its own contributions to make. The Teaching Authority of the Church had to give an adequate reply not only to the expectations of the faithful (i.e. Catholics), but also of world opinion.

The Papacy has been able to measure more exactly all the aspects of this complex matter, thanks to the help of the Commission and of the Bishops throughout the world. The conclusions of the Commission could not be regarded as definitive, for it could not dispense the Pope from a personal examination of this serious question. The documentation has been sifted, and time has been taken for mature reflection and assiduous prayers. The Pope has now decided that the time has come to give a reply to the grave questions posed above.

The problems have to be solved in the light of an integral vision of man and of his vocation, both natural and earthly, supernatural and eternal. The two great realities of married life are conjugal love and "responsible parenthood." God, Who is Love, is the author of conjugal love, and so marriage is not the effect of chance, but the wise institution of the Creator. The reciprocal personal gift of self is proper to the husband and wife, and this leads to mutual

personal perfection. Another end of marriage is the generation and education of new lives.

IT IS of supreme importance to have an exact idea of the characteristic marks and demands of conjugal love. It is *human* in that it is not just a simple transport of instinct and sentiment, but also an act of the free will, and this love is intended to grow by means of the joys and sorrows of daily life, tending towards the husband and the wife becoming one heart and one soul.

It is also *total*, a very special form of friendship, in which husband and wife generously share everything, without undue reservations or selfish calculations. It is also *faithful* and *exclusive* until death, for this is what bride and bridegroom conceive it to be on their wedding day. This kind of fidelity is always possible, and a source of profound and lasting happiness.

Conjugal love is also *fecund*, for children are really the supreme gift of marriage and contribute very substantially to the welfare of their parents.

"Responsible parenthood" must also be exactly understood. Briefly it implies that husband and wife recognize fully their own duties towards God, towards themselves, towards the family and towards society, in a correct hierarchy of values.

Consequently, they are not entirely free to do as they like, for they must conform their activity to the creative intention of God, which is expressed in the very nature of marriage *and of its acts*, and which is also manifested by the constant teaching of the Church. The acts, by which husband and wife are united in chaste intimacy, and by which human life is transmitted, do not cease to be lawful if they are forseen to be infecund because of causes independent of the will of husband and wife. Experience also bears witness that not every conjugal act is followed by a new life. The fundamental norm of the natural

law, in respect of marriage, is that that *each and every marriage act must remain open to the transmission of life.*

There are two meanings or purposes of the conjugal act — the *unitive* and the *procreative*. They have an inseparable connection which cannot be broken by man on his own initiative lawfully, except in accordance with natural laws and the rhythms of fecundity.

Unlawful is a conjugal act imposed upon one's partner without regard for his or her condition and lawful desires, and it is not a true act of love. Just so, a reciprocal act of love, which jeopardizes the responsibility to transmit life according to the laws inserted by God in this act, is also unlawful, for it interferes with the will of the Author of life. Man is not the source of human life, but the minister. Just as man does not have unlimited dominion over his own body, so he has no such dominion over his generative faculties outside the laws of nature, of which God, the principle of life, is the author.

John XXIII himself declared: "Human life is sacred; from its very inception it reveals the creating hand of God."

The Private Sector

In A Developing Economy

by **Victor Karunaratne**

In Ceylon and in other developing countries, a common feature has been the scarcity of resources necessary for economic development. On the surface this may appear to be the result of many causes: some are political, as the use of resources to secure national sovereignty, or to retain it once secured; others social, such as the cost of establishing wide-ranging schemes of social security; and in others sheer megalomania or even plain ineptitude.

Yet, after a certain measure of political equilibrium is established and the nascent state embarks on its chosen path of selected economic policies, the emergence of scarcities is soon evident. Previous improvidence, if at all, is only a partial explanation. In the present there is a need to reduce or to curtail consumption to enhance the volume of investment.

THE RESULTS of these efforts — to curtail or reduce consumption — manifest themselves in rising prices and create opportunities for making profitable investments to meet these demands. It is possible to devise a framework of general instruments of fiscal and monetary policy to guide investments into channels so as to produce the articles of consumption in the amount demanded at socially acceptable prices.

Yet, in practice it is never possible to achieve this ideal. Hence through other instruments of policy, licensing control supplemented by tax incentives and so on there are created areas of investments of high profitability. Resources for such investments are also scarce, a notable example is foreign exchange.

In a democratic framework the private sector is accepted as having a role to play in providing some of the investments that are required—subject to the regulation of investment to some degree by the community and not alone on grounds of prices and of profits. Likewise as resources are short, pricing policies for products must be such that these are socially acceptable while providing adequate profits to the investors.

The elements of these disciplines can be roughly delineated. The first is that private sector investments cannot be permitted to be made by the community purely on the basis of commercial profitability, i.e. on an adequate return on capital employed. The truth of this is seen when it is realised that in order to make these investments, the private

sector draws upon the nation's resources that are in short supply and at prices that do not reflect the prevailing scarcity; an example is foreign exchange required by the private sector for its investments.

It is here that the concept of national economic profitability is relevant. The delineation of priority fields of investment for the private sector and the evaluation of investment proposals on the basis of national economic profitability is unfortunately not an exact science. An element of judgment must always be present.

THE APPROVED INVESTOR

in this sense has a benefit conferred on him which is denied to others, for "approval" is in fact a negotiable document. Among the investors, therefore, there arise tensions, sometimes popularly explained and accepted in terms of quite different criteria based on, e.g. domestic vs foreign investor, or domestic investors of varying social and racial groups. The investing classes thus tend to polarise around these concepts and so damage the movement towards national unity.

The *second* element is the economic relationship between the investor and the consumer who buys his products. A pervasive situation of scarcity induces a regime of high prices and high profits. In a politically inarticulate and underdeveloped society, a system of equilibrium can be allowed where high profits are diverted in the next phase to investment and the creation of additional consumer goods, so that the community does in fact, after a period derive a benefit from the investment of the profits.

But such developments are possible only if this equilibrium is maintained over a longer term. Private Sector investments in most developing nations and newly sovereign states have in fact to operate in an entirely different economic and social milieu. Results in short period are demanded and when these are not available the economic and political equilibrium reached is easily destroyed

by the demands of the community as consumers.

Through The Back Door

Britain Conducting Military Exercises In Cyprus

THE PRICING POLICY of the private sector, therefore, if not policed by the government has to be self-policed. If this is not done, the validity of the existence of the private sector is open to question. It could be argued that the political and social equilibrium will in fact be reached at an acceptable level of income, as a result of the measures taken on the economic front. The weakness in this argument is twofold. The first is the time factor that intervenes. This may disrupt the whole process. The second is perhaps the more important. That is, after a higher level of income is in fact achieved, the drive for rapid economic growth will continue. It will lead to an imposition of burdens on the community and scarcities will again emerge.

It is the possibility of these events that makes a continuous regulation of the private sector necessary in the interest of the community. Within these constraints the private sector can make a contribution to economic growth. Scarcities for several years to come make regulation by the community necessary. And rejection of the claims of the community in defining the areas of investment or in pricing and profit policies lays open the possibility that the community could in a gesture of despair reject the need for the private sector over yet larger areas of economic activity.



THE British authorities are carrying out a new dangerous venture on Cyprus. According to a report in the Cyprus *Phileleftheros* they are conducting large-scale preparations on the island for military exercises of British troops at the Akrotiri and Dhekelia bases. At the same time it became known that Britain has dispatched to the Cyprus bases a large group of Vulcan heavy bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

These actions evoked the legitimate indignation and protest of the Cyprus population, which ever more resolutely comes out for the dismantling of British bases. Forcing onesided agreements on Cyprus before the latter's independence was proclaimed in 1960, British imperialist quarters later used their bases for aggressive operations against Arab states as well as for undermining the sovereignty of the Cyprus Republic. The desire of Britain, the United States and other Western powers to retain at any price foreign bases on the island, to transform the latter's territory into a NATO military strategic bridgehead in the Mediterranean was the main reason for the armed clashes provoked in December 1963 between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. Nevertheless, the NATO conspiracy against Cyprus failed to produce the results desired by its organisers. The Cypriots succeeded in defending the freedom and independence of their country. Today when negotiations are in progress between representatives of Greek and Turkish Cypriots on normalising the situation on the island, the British military, in collusion with the United States, are attempting to increase tension on Cyprus, are intimidating the population of this Republic by resorting to military provocations.

Exposing what is behind these actions of the NATO ring-leaders,
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the *Phileleftheros*, which is close to the Makarios government, wrote on August 2 that, "the transformation of Cyprus into an arena of NATO and CENTO military exercises, the stationing of planes capable of carrying nuclear weapons at bases" represents a crude challenge to the desire of the Cypriot people to live in peace." Actually, behind the present measures taken by the imperialist powers is the same desire to use Cyprus as a NATO bridgehead on the approaches to the middle eastern countries. The only difference is in the nuances: as a frontal attack had failed to subordinate Cyprus to the aggressive north-Atlantic bloc, its ring-leaders are now trying to gain access through the "back door" — via the British military bases.

The interests of peace in the eastern Mediterranean, the sovereignty and independence of the Cyprus Republic urgently demand that all loopholes be closed for NATO interference in the affairs of Cyprus. The scrapping of foreign bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of this state are a major link in solving this problem.

THE URALS DIAMONDS

Diamonds far superior to their size and quality of those found in Yakutia have been struck in the basin of River Vishera, the Urals. Today the commercial mining of the precious crystals is concentrated on the Taiga-grown banks of Vishera's tributaries. A large bluish crystal, the Vishera diamond are coming to occupy an ever more honorable place in the country's treasure troves.

How Far & How Near ?

Moscow To Pindi

by A Special Correspondent

THE PRESENT excitement in India about the shift in Soviet policy towards Pakistan has to be examined in depth. It would be incorrect, as is being made out by New Delhi pundits, to think that Moscow's attitude towards Pakistan has undergone a mid-summer shift with the invitation extended to the Pakistan military mission headed by General Yahya Kahan. In fact, the shift could be noticed by careful international observers for quite a long time. The decade from 1955 to 1965 has seen a sea of change in world affairs. In 1955 when ebullient Khrushchov made sensational remarks on Kashmir, one has to note that at that time the Soviet Union was trying to take counter measures against the then American policy of encircling it with a chain of military alliances from NATO to SEATO and then on to support for Chiang Kai shek and trying to make an anti-Soviet base in Japan.

Incidentally, it is necessary for observers in India to understand that the Soviet ban on selling of arms to Pakistan had nothing to do with the Soviet stand in the Security Council with regard to the Kashmir dispute, nor was it influenced by Moscow's efforts to strengthen Indo-Soviet relation by giving massive aid, economic and military, to India. In fact, the ban on the sale of Soviet arms was imposed by Moscow on the partners of US military alliances: it was a counter-measure to the American ban on the sale of strategic material to Communist countries. So long as Pakistan agreed to transform itself into a docile American stooge, allowing her territory to be made into a spring-board for attack on the Soviet Union, it was but natural that the Kremlin should have imposed a total ban on the sale of arms to any country subscribing to such a policy.

The lifting of the arms ban is therefore to be connected not with

any change in Soviet policy towards India but to a change in Moscow's assessment about the military potentialities of the menace that Pakistan as an American satellite posed against the Soviet Union.

It is therefore to be taken for granted that the Soviet experts on Pakistan view the recent developments in Pakistan's foreign relations as marking a qualitative change from the days of Liaquat Ali Khan; a change which is sufficiently significant to merit a fresh assessment on the part of the Soviet leadership. That is, although formally Pakistan still belongs to CENTO and SEATO, the contents of its foreign policy has, in Moscow's view practically ceased to be an instrument for the furtherance of US policy against the Communist countries, whether Soviet Union or China.

In this connection it is worth recalling the big Western uproar which took place when President Ayub made his first overture to China: the opening of the civil air lines by the Pakistan International Airways to Peking was viewed with considerable misgivings by Washington at that time. Soon after Ayub made the statement that he was prepared to use his good offices to bring about a rapprochement between China and the USA, a statement which in the prevailing state of American thinking was slightly premature. Nevertheless, it indicated in the eyes of the US State Department a very serious shift from the traditional Pakistani stand of acting as Washington's cannon-fodder in its confrontation against the Communist world. Since that time, with the steady growth in Sino-Pak relations, the American plan of using Rawalpindi as a base of operations against the Communist world as a whole has become progressively infructuous.

THIS CHANGE in Pakistan policy towards the Communist world was itself the result of many important factors and should not be ascribed to the genius of a single personality. Ayub Khan, as is sometimes unwittingly done in the Indian press.

For one thing, after the U-2 incident in 1960, there was a feeling of trepidation in Rawalpindi for getting too much involved in the American camp at the risk of making an enemy out of a very powerful neighbour. The striking advance of Soviet nuclear and rocket programme must have impressed the policy-makers in Rawalpindi about the need of cultivating the strong neighbour, particularly at a time when the Western global policy itself was suffering setback after setback in Asia. The inability of the Americans to overpower Vietnam or to disrupt China through Chiang Kai shek, became a constant reminder to Pzakistan that it would not be wise to throw in her lot entirely on the side of the Americans.

In the general weakening of the military - alliance blocs started with de Gaulle's revolt against NATO and the total incapacity of the SEATO to checkmate the advance of the Vietcong, the refusal of Japan to act as a pliant client of Washington in its military plans against the Soviet Union, the growing co-operation between India and the Soviet Union even with regard to importing military hardware, a co-operation which was long resisted by West oriented elements in New Delhi — all these had their impact on Pakistan's foreign policy.

Initially, Ayub took the easier road to Peking than to Moscow and for very good reasons. For one thing, the American antipathy towards a stooge Government making overtures to a Communist country would have been sharper in the case of Moscow than in the case of Peking secondly, when the Chinese took upon themselves to antagonise India. Ayun following the traditional Indo-Pak digit responded to Chinese overtures and since then with Bhutto's policy in full blast the link-up with Peking became stronger every month. In this period roughly corresponding to the first half of the sixties, Pakistani response to Moscow's overtures were practically insignificant and certainly very restrained because it was felt by Ayub by responding to Moscow

he might incur the displeasure of both Washington and Peking.

This position changed considerably in the last few years, particularly after the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965. It may be due to several reasons. firstly, the Chinese heroics turned out to be fulminations of a paper tiger: neither could India be overpowered, nor did the Chinese plans of extending its overseas influence from Algeria to Indonesia succeed. In fact, the toning down of Peking's African adventure and the fiasco in Indonesia must have had its impact on Rawalpindi. There was also the poor performance by China in coming to the support of Pakistan against India during the 1965 conflict.

Secondly, Pakistan's attitude towards America has also considerably changed. The gamble during the 1965 conflict with India was that in case of a fullfledged armed confrontation, the Western powers would respond to Pakistan's call for support; while Britain responded to it even under a Labour Government by making sharp attacks on India, the American response was much more guarded and this set in a process of disillusion among the more bellicose elements in Rawalpindi. It may be recalled that Bhutto criticised US Government arms aid to India after the Chinese attack; he said that this act "has not merely jeopardised the concept of alliance but has shattered it." The discredit of US standing in the eyes of Rawalpindi has been much more devastating with the debacle of American policy in Vietnam; this could be seen from the comments in the very controlled press of Pakistan.

It is interesting that in this very period President Ayub chose to undertake his journey to Moscow and Pakistan's approach to Moscow became more and more pronounced. It might have begun as a lever of pressure against Washington but it has fast grown into an important axiom in Pakistan's foreign policy. Significantly Ayub got rid of Bhutto who, it may be recalled, had said in 1962 that "the military threat to us, if there is one, would come

more from Soviet Union than from China."

The first signs of Pakistan's tempered attitude towards Soviet Union came with Ayub's acceptance of Kosygin's invitation to come to Taskent and his signing of the declaration that followed in January 1966.

Taskent is a significant landmark of Soviet diplomacy in Asia: What had so long been the preserve of the Western powers now came into the hands of Moscow. The last round of Western attempts at mediation between India and Pakistan came in June 1965 with the British Government suggesting arbitration over Kutch. As for Kashmir, the Anglo-American mediation came to an end with the round of Indo-Pak talks on Kashmir in the first half of 1963.

In this background, Pakistan's acceptance of Kosygin's mediation at Taskent was a significant departure from her previous habit of depending almost exclusively on Western pressure in any talk with India. Besides, Kosygin's diplomatic style itself was very different from the Western method: in every Indo-Pak dispute, the series of Western attempts had been to suggest a plan detrimental to India's stand or to propose a mediator with a definitely anti-Indian basis. In contrast Mr. Kosygin acted only as a go-betw. en, trying to narrow down the differences and impartially acting as the coordinator of direct talks between Ayub and Shastri. This point is worth noting particularly today when there is a tendency in India to equate the present Soviet approach with the previous US stand in Indo-Pak affairs.

Taskent Declaration was subjected to attack by Peking and quite understandably, since the Chinese Government could hardly view with equanimity any advance of Soviet influence into Pakistan. Similarly the Western circles were also disconcerted at this successful arrival of Soviet diplomacy in the Indo-Pak

Taskent, the Soviet Union has made headway in Pakistan. Talks on economic aid have taken place, and various delegations have been coming from and going to the Union. It is known that one common theme raised by all the Pakistani delegations whether of VIP or of lesser luminaries, has been that the Soviet Union has been partial towards India, and it is Soviet arms which had killed the Pak jawans in the 1965 war. The argument that the Soviet arms were supplied to India to defend herself against the Chinese carried little weight in Rawalpindi whose emissaries were reported to have frankly asked their Soviet hosts whether India needed Soviet tanks to fight the Chinese on the High Himalayas.

In fact, this was an argument which Pak propaganda laid it thick throughout the Arab world and one can easily understand the Soviet predicament on this score. Air Marshal Noor Khan's mission to Moscow last year pressed this home; and the Pakistani leaders could make a strong case against Soviet discrimination on the score of arms purchase by showing that the CENTO and the SEATO were in shambles and so so far as Rawalpindi was concerned, it had permitted no anti-Soviet action since the 1960 U-2 episode. The demand for the removal of the US intelligence base at Badaber might have been met by the Pak authorities not agreeing to renew the lease this year.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union's need for keeping her southern front friendly and neutral has assumed fresh urgency. The Western front is ringed with the 20-year old NATO, which despite Moscow trying to make a few dents — facilitated by de Gaulle's anti-US stand — still remains an armed battlement. Now, a new front of hostility has come up in the east with the growing intransigence of the Mao regime in China. It is significant that Moscow's fears about Chinese adventurism against the Soviet Union have grown in recent months. With the US debacle in Vietnam, the make-friends-with-Peking school is bound to be

strengthened in Washington, and there is every likelihood of this becoming part of the US policy after the US Presidential election in November. The strategy of this school in America as worked out by its adherents in the State Department and the Pentagon — is that China can be humoured and through this means, the Soviet Union with huge arsenal nuclear bombs and rockets can and must be isolated.

AGAINST this new danger of encirclement, Moscow's counter-measures are necessarily concentrated on the southern front. It is worth noting that in the last two years in particular, the Soviet Union has been making extra efforts to win over the Arab world. This could be seen in a comparatively minor instance: even with powers with whom the Soviet Union has got very angry relations. Such as China, West Germany or the USA, there has never been any break in diplomatic relations, but in the case of Israel, this rule was waived and as an obvious gesture to the Arab world, Moscow broke diplomatic relations with Tel-Aviv.

This region is not only the soft under-belly of the Soviet Union but also the gateway to Africa. With the US fiasco in South East Asia it is possible that the next American gamble can come off in this theatre round the Indian Ocean. And this is also the world of oil, which feeds the military machine of every power: although the Soviet Union is self-sufficient in oil, it has to see to it that the Middle-East oil does not fall into the hands of her potential adversaries.

It is in this background one can understand the Soviet anxiety to placate Pakistan. An Indian newspaper has banteringly asked if Moscow found Ayub Khan more Left than Indira Gandhi: this can be counterposed by asking if the Shah of Iran is more left than Ayub; since acceding to present indications Iran may get Soviet arms. The point is not a question of a Government becoming Left; it is a matter of the Soviet Union trying to have a

ring of friendly States on her southern border. And the efforts at making friends extend upto Turkey with her membership of NATO.

A question that is often posed nowadays is: what is the difference between the US strategy *vis-a-vis* the Indo-Pak subcontinent ten years ago and the present Soviet approach? Is not Moscow following in the footsteps of Washington and will it not meet with the same disastrous consequences?

The difference between the two strategies is basic. Even if one dismisses the ideological point that one is a socialist power and the other an imperialist power, one cannot get away from the reality itself. Washington's strategy at the height of the cold war with Dulles; policy dominating was that Pakistan was to be made into a military base of operations for the West. (Incidentally, the US gave massive arms aid free to Pakistan as part of the military-alliance deal, while the latest Moscow concession is to let Pakistan buy Soviet arms on cash-and-carry basis; with the poor turn-over of Pak-Soviet trade, the scope for buying Soviet arms is thus very much restricted in the case of Pakistan).

The US policy of military alliance with the Pakistan actually helped to accentuate Indo-Pak tension because (a) a massive arms accumulation came in the hands of Rawalpindi free of cost and services; and (b) the US policy officially denounced India's non-alignment and boosted Pakistan's adherence to America's military bloc. In other words, Dulles almost wrote off Nehru's nonaligned India, and pinned his entire hope on Pakistan, with its US military base and its CIA-operated U-2 operation centre.

In contrast, the Soviet policy has been for maintaining stability in this region for Moscow's own interest. A tension-spot on its southern fringe can easily turn it into a happy hunting ground for both USA and China, it fears. Instead, if stability could be maintained in this subcontinent, with ties of amity and econo-

mic and defence support strengthened with both India and Pakistan, it will help to promote Moscow's enlightened self-interest.

From this point of view, the urgency of meeting the Pak complaint about arms embargo was no doubt pressing for Moscow: equally important would it be to see for it that the relations with India, built through years of effort, are also maintained and strengthened.

Kosygin is known to be unorthodox but cautious in his foreign policy approach; he demolishes traditional barriers without being a gambler. Glassboro was not Camp David, but he was equally firm in support of Nasser in 1968 as Khrushov was in 1956. He was bold enough to go in for the Tashkent strategy of extending positive influence over both India and Pakistan. Since then he has been working on this dual policy; nobody can deny that despite a lot of uncertainties in the Indian scene, the present Moscow line has not deviated from befriending the Government of India even without Nehru at its helm; equally painstakingly Moscow has been cultivating Pakistan.

IT IS EVIDENT that when Kosygin writes to Indira Gandhi assuring her that the Soviet approach to Pakistan would not be at the expense of India, it is not a piece of empty rhetoric but the axiom of a policy. Viewed from New Delhi or Rawalpindi, this attempt at enforcing a dual friendship may seem an impossible task, but from the Soviet Union's geopolitical interest, such a task has become a 'must' today. This may need tight-rope walking but a skilful tight-rope walker need not necessarily trip; and if he succeeds he wins the applause of all.

It is therefore nothing unusual for Moscow to assure Pakistan that the Soviet arms to India is no threat to her security just as it is assuring India that the Soviet release of arms sale to Pakistan could not be a threat to this country's security. It is perhaps difficult just now for Indian public opinion with its own series

of armed confrontations with Pakistan, to feel totally assured; at the same time, the Soviet Union's series of efforts to keep peace in the sub-continent need not be dismissed as mere airing of platitudes. The leverage that Moscow has been able to gain in both the countries will no doubt help her to further her own policy of promoting stability and peace in the Indo-Pak subcontinent.

An interesting tailpiece for this commentary can be made out of the timing of the Soviet notification about the withdrawal of the arms embargo in favour of Pakistan. It was very nearly expected when Kosygin visited Pakistan in April, but strangely enough, it did not come off then. A point of speculation for international observers may very well be, as to why this came with General Yahya Khan's visit to Moscow. For a Pakistani it was a singular honour to have made this breakthrough. Before the man in the street in Lahore or Rawalpindi, General Yahya Khan today is known as the man who could bring the Soviet arms to Pakistan. In the strange world of Pakistan's politics, the armed forces constitute the only solid base for power. Could it be that the Pak watchers on the Kremlin towers are trying to spot the man who might succeed the ailing Ayub?

—MAINSTREAM

Salient Points From The Tablet

The New Revolution

by Arul Manuel

What follows are parts of an article called *REVOLUTION A LA SORBONNE*, by Alain Woodrow, which appeared in the English weekly, *THE TABLET*, in its issue of 8th June, 1968. The words have been taken *verbatim* from the original article.

IT WAS INCREDIBLE — and yet logical. The Gaullist regime has allowed itself to become progressively cut off from the nation. In the best tradition of *panem et circenses* the people, especially the young, were offered an industrial and commercial sub-culture, propagated by the mass media, to keep them quiet and happy. The American way of life — with its affluent society, its pop culture, its idols, all driven by the powerful motor of advertising — has been imported into France without demur.

A RADICAL opposition to the affluent society, and to the rat-race it demands, lies at the root of the revolt. The real questions were soon being asked. What is the purpose of a university? What is the point of learning to appreciate beauty, the classics, philosophy, of studying man's intellectual, spiritual and cultural heritage, if the outcome is to

find a cosy pigeon-hole in a society wholly motivated by material values?

An important contribution to this intellectual underpinning of the students' position is found in the writings of Herbert Marcuse, the German-born sociologist who lectures in the political sciences at the University of California. His book, *ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN*, which has just been translated into French, argues that in the advanced society exemplified by the United States man has become one-dimensional — he has lost his freedom, his ability to say "no", and his aggressivity is canalised... It is the dehumanising brutality of neo-socialism that must be fought.

A visit to the Sorbonne, at present occupied by the students, is an enlightening experience. After the inevitable political groups, the Marxist - Leninists, the Trotskyists, the Maoists and anarchists, the first thing that struck me was the grand piano in the main hall, surrounded by an enthusiastic crowd listening to Beethoven, Chopin, and Debussy. Among the rash of cuttings, slogans, manifestos and portraits of Marx, Lenin and Mao that has burst out all over the walls, several phrases give pause for thought: "It is forbidden to forbid"; "Imagination has taken over"; "The revolution is also fighting for beauty. Help us banish ugliness from the world"; and, maybe the most revealing, underneath the front page of one of the popular Sunday papers, full of scandal and gossip about a well-known film star, these words: "Look at this and then answer. Who is mad? We? Or your world?"

The world under attack is that in which the demands of economic expansion take precedence over all human values. These demands can exist, and be equally alienating, in a socialist society as in a capitalist one, which is why the student's battle finally transcends politics in the narrow sense.

The clarion call sounded by the students was immediately heard and echoed by the industrial and agri-

TRAGEDY

I saw men... big men... dead.
The goal was far, far away
Distant beyond the horizon.
I saw runners, big runners, dying.
They had no heart to urge the living.
Hearts were dead; the bodies moved
As if some big worm inside stirred.

The torches were lying, wasting.
Light and fruitlessly burning.

M. K. Anavaratne

cultural workers, and then by white-collar workers. An impressive feature of the strikes which soon paralysed the country was the pacific occupation by the workers of their factories, by the employees of their firms, even by school-children of their schools, doctors and nurses of their hospitals, and seminarians and theological students of their seminaries — in order to discuss the necessary reforms, the ways of participating in the running of industry and social services, and the possible forms of co-management and auto-management.

In fairness to the workers, it should be noted that if many of the students are sickened by the affluent society it is often because they are from *bourgeois* families and have never known hardship, while the workers have fought hard for their share of the cake, and can hardly be said to be suffering from indigestion. The Christian-inspired CFDT union (has) the students' ideological fervour.

The CFDT handout, for example, states clearly: "The workers' struggle is inseparable from that being fought by the students. We are all in opposition to the existing society. By their action the students have not stopped at material reforms."

It is largely a conflict of generations. The target of the student and working youth's attack lies beyond the Gaullist regime; it is the very foundations of Western society. *The student refuses to become a battery-fed hen; the worker refuses a robot existence; the citizen refuses to be treated as a child who can be bribed with sweets.*

THE ATTITUDE taken by Mgr. Marty, the new Archbishop of Paris, is significant. He showed his sympathy to the students' aspirations by deciding on a token half-day strike of his presbyteral council. In a text elaborated by the archbishop and his presbyterium, which he sent to

all the priests in the diocese, he says: "The Church has given us *MATER ET MAGISTRA, GAUDIUM ET SPES, POPULORUM PROGRESSED*. How have these documents been translated specifically into our lives? It would seem that they have had no effect and that the majority of those who have read them continue to benefit happily from the material and moral advantages of a society dominated by money and profits. *It was necessary for the inspiration to come from elsewhere before things started moving*; does not this remind us that the Spirit bloweth where he listeth?..."

A group of well-known Christian writers and journalists formulated their position thus: "The incipient revolution is a revolt of freedom against the bureaucratic organisations which rob man of his responsibility; against the scientists and technocrats who monopolise learning in order to increase their own power; against the financial magnates; against the pseudo-moralists who turn a blind eye to the tyranny of money and the violence of the State; against the businessmen who will sell anything as long as they sell; against the mass media which communicate with no-one; against the professional politicians. These oppressive systems flourish and feed both on capitalism and on the ruins of Stalinism, and Christians would be greatly mistaken if they think they can stay aloof from this revolution, in order to judge it."

From this it is clear, once again, that the struggle is radical and trans political. The young are aware of their strength and conscious of their mission of renewal. Their movement of rebellion is a "cultural revolution" in the literal sense, since it aims at a complete change of the existing system of values.

Their idealism, in the French revolutionary tradition, is beyond question, but how long will it resist the siren song of the affluent society?

Pope Paul's Visit To Colombia

Aggiornamento In Latin America

by Alvaro Delgado

THE NEWS that Pope Paul is planning to go to Bogota this month for the International Eucharistic Congress has caused much speculation in the press. This will be the first visit ever made to Latin America by a head of the Catholic Church.

The fact that Pope Paul chose Latin America for his third trip beyond the precincts of the Holy See is not fortuitous. He himself has said that he had Latin America primarily in mind when he wrote his "*Populorum Progressio*" encyclical.

The Catholic Church today is having difficulty in establishing itself in Africa. In Asia too the war in Vietnam has undermined faith in the traditional Catholic Church which has voiced its support for the aggressive war waged by the United States in Vietnam — suffice it to recall the blood-thirsty utterances of Cardinal Spellman. In Latin America, where Spanish Catholicism has been firmly entrenched for four and a half centuries, things are different.

The Vatican is seriously disquieted by the dwindling of its flock everywhere, especially in the Third World where people are concerned less with the hereafter than with the problems of procuring food, clothing and a roof over their heads in this world. This applies to Latin America too. The struggle between that section of the clergy which is striving for "aggiornamento" (renewal) for an approach to the popular masses, and the Church leaders who are resisting the new trends is perhaps sharper here than anywhere else in the world.

The Vatican is keenly aware of the need for renewal. This is evident only from the deliberations of the last Ecumenical Council. But the

new tendencies towards the democratization of the Catholic Church reflecting the desire to adapt to the present-day realities, have not yet met with response among the top levels of the Church hierarchy in Latin America. On the contrary, the reactionaries in cassocks are bitterly opposed to anything new. And this, in turn, has led to the advent in Catholic circles, and especially among the lower clergy, of "rebel" priests opposed to the conservative upper crust.

The declarations of the last Ecumenical Council, then, have ardent adherents as well as sworn opponents in Latin America, and the presence in Bogota of the Pontiff himself will doubtless strengthen the positions of the prelates whom the ultra-reactionaries have branded as "subversive elements."

What is in question is setting the stage for the popularization in Latin America of some of the new ideas advanced at the Ecumenical Council. On August 24, before flying back to Rome, Pope Paul plans to open the second conference of the Latin-American Episcopal Council in Bogota. It will be attended by 250 bishops from all parts of the continent. Their decisions will show how the postulates of the last Ecumenical Council are being carried out by the Latin-American Church leaders.

Judging by the first Latin-American Episcopal Council, the new ideas are gaining ground among the Argentine, Brazilian and Chilean clergy. But the positions of the Church are still strong. Especially is this the case in Colombia.

It is something of a paradox that Pope Paul's first Latin-American visit should be to Colombia, where he has few supporters among the higher clergy. The choice was probably prompted by the fact that Colombia is the most Catholic country in the Americas and one of the most Catholic in the world where the majority of the people, even the cutthroats who under cover of religious slogans ravaged the Colombian countryside during the reign of terror in 1946-57, wear the cross.

It is doubtful, however, that the visitor from Rome will have an opportunity to see how the Colombian people really live. Bogota is already being hastily decked up for his arrival. Expensive new structures are being put up and the authorities are clearing the city of beggars and homeless children.

AGAINST the background of widespread poverty, the wealth and pomp of the Church stands out glaringly. There is no exact data available on its economic might, everybody knows that it has enormous wealth invested in land and industrial enterprises. The Church holdings range from universities, secondary schools, orphanages and monasteries to newspapers publishing houses, radio stations and bookstores. It is unlikely voluntarily to give up any of its economic positions and the upper hierarchy will hardly support the new principles proclaimed by the Ecumenical Council,

In connection with the forthcoming Papal visit, the Colombian top clergy published on May 12 a pastoral letter which ignores the country's social ills and makes no mention of Ecumenical Council's recommendations relating to social problems. It by-passes the evils that have corroded the Colombian Church and the crimes it has committed, including complicity in the persecution of the fearless revolutionary priest Camilo Torres Restrepo, who refused to submit to the diktat of the Colombian Primate and eventually was killed fighting in a guerilla detachment.

By and large the Colombian higher clergy thinks in terms of last century and is opposed to the new Vatican line initiated by John XXIII and continued by the present Pope. During Pope Paul's visit those members of the clergy who support this course will be left in the sidelines.

Nevertheless the Pope's visit will not be regarded as a pure formality by many churchmen, not to speak of the laity. It will once again afford

an opportunity for a confrontation of the views current among the clergy in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America. The churchmen who have been working quietly but persistently among the peasants, workers, and students in support of genuine reforms, including a reform of the Church itself, have not yet said their decisive word. But in spite of that their influence on the leadership of the Church in some Latin-American countries is growing. This is evident for instance, from the working document published on July 16 by the Preparatory Committee of the Second Latin-American Episcopal Council. The document points out that the average annual per capita income in Latin America is barely \$300, and that this is largely due to dependence on foreign capital, the power of which is steadily growing. On the other hand, a privileged two or three per cent of the population appropriate the lion's share of the national income. "We cannot remain indifferent when our peoples are moving to meet their historical destiny", the document says. "The evolution they are undergoing makes it imperative for us to take new positions."

Whatever the subjective aspirations of the supporters of "aggiornamento", objectively they contribute to the popular movements for change in the Latin-American countries. Because of this many revolutionaries, believers as well as atheists extend their hand to the supporters of renewal in the Church in order to strengthen the common struggle for social and political progress.

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Communist Press Comment

On Bratislava Meeting

IT would not be an overstatement to say that there is hardly a single organ of the press which would not comment, in one way or another, on the results of the meeting of the CPSU and the CPCS delegations in Cierna - nad - Tissou and the meeting of the Six in Bratislava. This fact alone manifests the general recognition of the importance of the Bratislava meeting. The results of that meeting, notes Hungarian newspaper *Magyar Hirlap*, have frustrated the hopes of the bourgeois enemies of socialism and dispelled the doubts of the well-wishers and friends. According to Yugoslav newspaper *Politika*, the Bratislava meeting of the Six constituted a "consolidation of the countries of the Socialist Commonwealth for creative labour", for a future development of their contacts. The high appraisal of the results of Bratislava meeting voiced in Prague, Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin, Budapest, Sophia and Belgrade manifests the urgency of the decisions it has taken and their particular topicality in the light of the present-day international situation.

"There is no doubt", writes the Bulgarian weekly *Pogled*, "that imperialism will go on trying to undermine the unity among the Communist Parties and socialist states. But the Bratislava statement constitutes an effective foundation for exposing and frustrating those attempts — no matter where they may come from." The anti-socialist forces have never altogether ceased their attempts to sow discord between the fraternal countries, but there have been certain periods when they became unusually intense. That was exactly the case — in the past few days in connection with the Czechoslovak developments.

As can be seen from the results of the Bratislava meeting, this time too, the calculations of the enemies

of socialism have been frustrated. This is the idea expressed by the organ of the CPSU in its commentary with a well-warranted satisfaction. *Pravda* stresses that in the spirit of the existing traditions, in an atmosphere of complete frankness, adherence to principles and friendship the Bratislava meeting has discussed the pressing problems of struggle for socialism, further cementing of the Socialist Commonwealth, and unity of world communist movement. The urgency of the struggle waged by the socialist countries for their unity and solidarity, for further cementing their creative collaboration is prompted, above all, by their own interests in the face of the perils aroused by the aggressive policy of imperialism. The stability and reliability of the Socialist Commonwealth constitutes, in full sense of the world the hope of the peoples, the bulwark, of universal peace and progress. The socialist countries' achievements in the advancement of their economy, culture and socialist democracy are a living example to be followed, a stimulus for anti-imperialist struggles. The unity of the standpoint taken by the socialist countries in the sphere of their foreign policies is a prerequisite for keeping up the development of European political situation in the direction of further relaxation of the tension. According to the British Communist paper "*Morning Star*", the foreign policy section of the communique of the communist and the workers' parties the "Six countries will arouse the discontent of the imperialists for it is another confirmation of the unanimity on the most important problems of foreign policy."

There is no doubt that the meeting in Bratislava has given a fresh lease of life to the entire world's workers' and communist movement, to the world's anti-imperialist forces. For instance, the Lebanese newspaper *An Nida* writes that the document signed in Bratislava is of great significance for cementing the ties between the socialist countries, as well as for extending the fraternal contacts between all the Communist and workers' parties on the basis

of proletarian inter-nationalism. *Popular*, organ of the Uruguayan Communist Party, comments on this event in the same spirit. The newspapers of the majority of the countries note the resolution of the participants of the meeting of the Six to strengthen the Warsaw Pact — the shield of the gains of socialism. Just as if it were summing up all these commentaries, the Finnish *Kansan Uutiset* emphasizes that the tendency for unity in the socialist camp expressed in the communique of the Bratislava meeting, has produced this time a much stronger impression than ever before.

We shall conclude by quoting the standpoint of the political bureau of the French Communist Party which has issued a special statement to approve the results of Bratislava meeting, emphasizing that the meeting has created favourable conditions for strengthening the co-operation among the socialist countries, the unity of the entire international communist movement and at the same time — conditions for stepping up the struggle against imperialism, struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

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Dollars & Sense

Canada's Sovereignty & US Investments

by Victor Perlo

US TAKEOVERS of Canadian industry and resources have reached a record depth for a politically independent country. By 1963, foreigners controlled 60 percent of Canadian manufacturing, 74 percent of its oil and gas and 59 percent of its mining and smelting. Four-fifths of the foreign control was by US corporations. Big Canadian bankers and businessmen are integrated into the US financial - industrial empires, subordinate in power but well-rewarded monetarily.

Dissatisfaction among some Canadian business circles flares up occasionally, as in the recommendations of Bank of Canada Governor James E. Coyne eight years ago, and in "A Choice for Canada", the 1966 book of President of the Privy Council Walter L. Gordon.

This year a group of professors prepared for Gordon's Council a comprehensive, devastating report on Foreign Ownership and the Structure of Canadian Industry. Some of its proposals, mild as they were, caused disquiet in US corporate headquarters.

GORDON wrote that snowballing foreign investment in Canada pointed towards economic union with the US, which "would be a disaster for Canada, that in such circumstances most of the industrial expansion needed would take place south of the borders, and that hundreds of thousands of young Canadians would be forced to seek employment in the US. Inevitably, this would mean a reduction in the standard of living of many Canadians who stayed behind. This is what we must prevent."

Gordon's program consists of: Pressing for sale of minority

shares in US-owned subsidiaries to Canadians.

Forcing more financial information out of US-owned companies.

Taxing them more, and subjecting them more to Canadian economic policies and laws, reducing the present infringements by US balance of payments measures and anti-Communist trade regulations.

Setting up a government - private Canada Development Corporation that would start certain major projects under Canadian control.

There would be no attempt to repatriate major existing US holdings, or to block large-scale future US investments.

EVEN WITH Gordon's proposed measures, Canada would still lag behind most other capitalist countries in restrictions on US investment. The Coyne-Gordon approach represents the attempts of some business groups to get a bigger share out of integration into US high finance, rather than a struggle for real independence. These men have gotten short shrift from decisive Canadian policy makers. They represent a dwindling social base, the independent, non-monopoly Canadian capitalists.

New forces are coming to the fore, capable of mounting a meaningful offensive against US domination. They provide the backbone that accounts for the verbal boldness of Gordon and the latest Privy Council report.

These forces are the emerging coalition of Canadian labour, the French-Canadian liberation movement, the progressive youth,

anti-war groups, the political left around the New Democratic Party and the Communist Party.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC Party is moving away from its old support of integration with the US economy. Its leader, Thomas Douglas, made protection of Canada from US domination the keynote at the party's last convention.

The Communist Party pioneered in cold war decades in stimulating resistance to US domination, and has recently demonstrated increasing influence by winning a number of local elections.

The recent Steelworkers and Canadian Federation of Labour conventions broke sharply with US foreign policy — on Vietnam, NATO, and NORAD — the "defense" scheme which places US military installations on Canadian soil — and by repealing the federation's US-inspired anti-communist clause. This sets the stage politically for labour to launch a serious economic program with its spearhead directed against US dominated monopolies.

THE CONCEPT that Canada lacks capital and needs outside funds is a myth projected by US corporations and their Canadian collaborators. During World War II, Canada achieved its most rapid all-round growth without outside private capital and despite wartime supply-shortages. Canada's rich endowment can provide the financial base for a rapid rise in living standards and broadening the structural foundation of the Canadian economy.

A serious move by Canada to curb US corporate domination and build its independent economy under a labour-led coalition would be of immense benefit to US working people. On the industrial front, it would markedly reduce employer's ability to hit US workers by shifting output back and forth across the border. On the political front, progressive anti-monopoly gains by the Canadian people would strengthen the forces fighting for anti-monopoly reforms and improvements in the overall situation of labour in the US.

THE BORDERLAND — by C. V. VELUPILLAI

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Amaradasa's Healing Hand

Story so far.....

Sundari's queer conduct towards Ravi came as a shock to Amaradasa. The sudden entry of Menike and the bond he forged with her created a new climate in his life. However, he discovered that Sundari had come dangerously close to him and he grappled with his swift dividing mind to free himself. Rajan's plans for the future and Menike's influence over him were factors that steadied him.

While Amaradasa was grappling with his swift dividing mind, unable to decide whether he should visit Sundari's parlour or not, he received a telegram from Menike asking him to come immediately as Kira was seriously ill. That provided the escape he needed so much to fly from Sundari. He collected his "emergency bag" and started for the village immediately.

When he arrived at the Walauwa he was transported to the good old days of his beloved mother. The walls had been brightened with a new coat of distemper, the furniture had a glowing sheen and the brass and silver gleamed in the niches; the subdued colour of the curtains and cushions gave a restful effect to the whole atmosphere. He felt exhilarated.

Menike came to greet him.

"Mahataya, I am glad you have come at once."

"You have turned this place into a paradise! Now tell me, what's wrong with Kira?"

"He's seriously ill. I have just sent for his daughter."

"I appreciate your concern for our people. Mother used to be like that."

After Amaradasa had changed and relaxed he went round the rooms to find that everything had a refreshing look. At last he came to the room she occupied. It was arranged with quiet elegance and his mother's dressing table stood against the window facing her bed. These drastic changes indicated that she had appropriated authority to herself. As he came out smiling she eyed him archly.

"So, what doctor?"

"You are a clever woman!"

"These were gifted to me by the old one to prevent you from becoming a priest."

They laughed.

ARGENTINA

ECONOMIC SUBVERSION

When General Juan Carlos Onganía's military government came to power in Argentina in June, 1966, it announced that it would "encourage foreign investments." Since then, foreign monopoly expansion — especially from the United States — has assured such proportions that even the Argentine government is worried. According to the newspaper *La Razon*, General Onganía has ordered the intelligence service to investigate the "absorption by foreign capital of certain banks and industrial enterprises."

The reason for this order is that the US monopolies, not wishing to aggravate the situation in Argentina, are laying hands on her economy more covertly than openly. *El Economista* writes that the controlling packets of shares in Argentine companies often pass into foreign hands "in absolute silence." The weekly names twenty of the biggest industrial firms and banks which have latterly been taken over by foreign interests notably North American.

The situation is beginning to disquiet Argentine business circles. The weekly *Primera Plana* reports that they are planning to submit a number of bills to the government to put an end to the economic plunder of Argentina. Judging by everything, it is this step that has prompted General Onganía to order investigations into the under-cover infiltration of foreign capital into the Argentine industry.

"May I tell you something to spoil your mood?"

She nodded.

"My neighbour has come back and has invited me to a party."

"By all means go, Mahataya."

Subir came in running to announce that Kira's daughter had come. Amaradasa noticed that he was clean and bright.

Amaradasa went out to the backyard to find a spectre of a woman stand there. She was pitifully lean, brown of skin and her eyes were like black beads under a dry, bushy head. From her appearance it was apparent that she may not have used soap or oil for many days. Perhaps they were beyond her means, he thought.

"Iyo, Mahataya!" she cried. Her teeth coloured with betel dye suggested that she may have chewed often to forget her hunger.

Her pathetic plight stood out in violent contrast with the wealth of the Walauwa. The grinding poverty and wretchedness which she had inherited struck him with the force of a sledge hammer. He felt ashamed.

"What's wrong with your father?"

"He has burning fever and has no life to get up."

Amaradasa was caught in the wedge of "tradition" that was so dear to the Walauwa. Yes, its life breath of authority. As the legal head of the big house how was he to take the medicine bag and go to the hut of Kira. The whole situation irritated and amused him. He looked at Menike who stood behind him.

"Do not ask anything from uncle, Mahatya. You have to decide for yourself. If you are in a hospital here you would have treated him. He's our servant and you are a doctor. After you have heard of his desperate condition you cannot be indifferent. You must go."

"Thank you Menike." Turning round he called, "Akkey!"

She was close at hand.

"Tell uncle that I have gone to see Kira."

She was silent as a rock.

In his sarong and shirt sleeves he set out with his bag. Kira's daughter led the way along the foot path above the hollow and through the thicket and withered chena. Under an old mango tree stood Kira's four foot high mud hut with its mana grass roof. A couple of old planks put together leaned against the doorway. The wild shrubs and thorn bushes that grew around seemed to choke the life within the hut. He wondered how any human being could live there.

POLAND

CRIME WITHOUT PUNISHMENT

The Committee is still far from having completed its work. At present it is investigating another 3,000 or so murder cases involving at least 10,000 nazi criminals, most of them living in the German Federal Republic. In the last few years Poland has sent the West-German judicial authorities more than 50,000 micro-films of documents concerning nazi criminals. Nevertheless, many of them have not yet been charged, although under a law passed in Federal Germany in 1965 the statute of limitations is to come into force on December 31, 1969, and after that no proceedings will be taken against nazi war criminals.

The 23rd UN General Assembly is to discuss a draft international convention on the non-application of the statute of limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity. Realizing that this would place West-Germany in an unpleasant position, Bonn's Social-Democratic Justice Minister Gustav Heinemann last year proposed to revise the 1965 law. But the nazi's protectors, led by Christian Social Union leader Franz-Josef Struss, fiercely opposed the idea. As a result, on June 21 the Bundestag's Judicial and Foreign Policy Committee voted down Dr. Heinemann's suggestion.

The Polish General Committee for investigating Nazi crimes has protested this decision. It is to be hoped that the General Assembly will approve the above-mentioned draft convention and thus seriously complicate the manoeuvres of those who shield the nazi criminals.

The peasants who lived close to Kira's hut came running to pay their respects to their young chief. It was a unique day for them to see the master come to the hut.

"Mahatmaya, you cannot bend down and go in. We'll bring him out."

"Please do not do that. I can go in and see him."

Someone removed the planks for Amaradasa to go in. Light crept into the room from the two large holes made in the wall for the purpose. In the corner of the room Kira was lying on a bed, crudely turned out of bamboo sticks and old sacking. His lower limbs were covered with a tattered piece of sarong.

"Mahatmaya from the Walauwa has come, father", she cried.

Kira lay motionless, breathing hard. Amaradasa turned him over and examined him carefully while the people stood aloof and watched him in respectful silence.

"I'll give a few pills and a little oil. Give him two pills now and two in the night. Someone must rub the oil well on his head and feet."

"Very well, Mahatya", said a young man who stood close to Kira's bed.

As Amaradasa came out of the hut he noticed that the hearth was filled with ash, small black pots hung in pyramid form on ropes suspended to a stick in the roof. The odour of wet earth filled the room.

"The room must be kept warm with a little fire", he advised.

"Will he get well, Mahatmaya?" asked Kira's daughter.

"We must look after him". Amaradasa repeated thoughtfully as if he was speaking to himself. "We must look after after him." He spoke in the same caressing tone as in his dispensary. The peasants listened to him as if it was a sort of prayer.

Without further comments he left and a crowd followed him.

"Do not bother to go with me. You may have work to do."

Nevertheless, the crowd followed him and he went ahead thinking of poverty and its various forms. The villages took leave as he neared the Walauwa. Menike eagerly waited for him at the porch.

"How is he, Mahatya?" she asked him almost in a whisper.

"Not very well and not too bad for any medical man. I have given some pills and some oil. He must respond. Otherwise... well".

"This is your first case in the village."

He nodded and asked what was foremost in his mind.

G. F. R.

Meeting With Understanding

It would seem that the functions of Minister of Defence and Minister of Finance are clear from their very appellations. And yet during their simultaneous though not joint visits to the United States Defence Minister Gerhard Schroder and Finance Minister Franz-Josef Strauss did not busy themselves only with affairs directly affecting their departments. In their talks in Washington both displayed a heightened interest in what was going on in neighbouring Czechoslovakia. "In his conversations with State Secretary Rusk and other US government officials Strauss showed keen interest in Czechoslovak developments. "Frankfurter Allgemeine reported on July 25. A day earlier this paper had written that the situation in Czechoslovakia was one of the subjects Schroder discussed with Defence Secretary Clark M. Clifford. The two Bonn Ministers tried everything to involve their senior partner in their revenge schemes. Strauss, for instance, even withdrew his objections to the penetration of American capital into Europe and promised more financial backing for the dollar. And Schroder said he was ready to place additional orders for American warplanes and other material. The West-German Ministers apparently met with complete understanding in the American capital. It is not for nothing that the *New York Times* reported on July 2nd that the Nato forces in Europe "have been placed on a state of limited alert" and that the "heavier US forces and their tactical nuclear stockpiles" are some 40 miles from the Czechoslovak frontier

"What did uncle say?"

"He asked Akkey where you had gone. She told him that you have gone to see Kira."

"Any comments?"

"The usual silence,"

The silence was reflected in the house. They could not even hear the voice of children at their studies.

"If Kira gets well everyone will praise you. Otherwise nobody will spare you. It's all because of me."

"No Menike. It's a trial, small as it is. We have to go through it."

The night was indeed a trial for Amaradasa and Menike. While he lay wakeful through the long hours he remembered what the Indian Sanyasin told him three years ago. "Serve the unfortunate and helpless. You will have the grace of God." And today he needed the grace of God more than ever. When he fell asleep it was well past midnight.

"Putha !"

Amaradasa heard the liard call him. He got up. It was 7 a.m.

"Yes, uncle."

"Kira's nephew has come to see you."

From his affectionate tone Amaradasa knew that there was good news for him. He noticed a young villager wait for him in the compound.

"How is Kira?"

"You have given him life, Mahatmaya. He is sitting up and the fever has come down."

"Now give him one pill at a time, morning, noon and night and continue the oil. He will be all right in a couple of days."

Amaradasa's heart was full. He looked behind to find Menike stand in the hall.

"Menike, Kira has escaped. Now he needs nourishment. You will have to send him some rice and provisions to last a few days. O. K."

"All right, Mahatya."

The icy silence that oppressed the house melted away and along with it the weight on Amaradasa. The village too showed its gallant spirit. In the far flung fields, the chenas and homesteads men and women spoke of their young chief and his "blessed hand." Before noon the talk of the village reached the ears of

SOUTH YEMEN

The Red Wolves of Radfan

The situation in the People's Republic of South Yemen is disturbing. A few weeks ago the country was invaded by mercenary bands which tried to sever all communications leading to Aden. The government called upon the people to take up arms to repulse the attack.

The People's Republic of South Yemen became independent last November. The sultans who ruled the various states of the South Yemen lost their jobs and their possessions when the country was proclaimed a republic. They naturally refused to reconcile themselves with such a state of affairs and started hatching a plot against the republican government. And, of course, they found backers and the mercenaries to do their dirty work.

The statement issued by the South Yemen Cabinet says the rebels were helped in their preparations by international imperialism and "reactionary Saudi Arabia", which gave them guns and gold, and set the "zero hour." This is proved by documents now in the government's hands.

Whom are the enemies of the republican government using in their attack? The nomad tribes known as the Red Wolves of Radfan. They once gave a lot of trouble to the British. Now their sheiks are serving the highest bidder. And these are the imperialists and the Saudi rulers, for whom the People's Republic of South Yemen is a menace because it is a bulwark of the national-liberation movement on the Arabian Peninsula.

Muthu Bandara and the liard too. He realised that Amaradasa was a gifted physician and he could not contain his feelings of joy.

"Putha", he called from his room, "was Kira in a bad way?"

"Yes, uncle. I had no hope."

"If your mother was alive today she would have lit a hundred tapers in the shrine room."

"Shall I do it, uncle?" asked Menike who was listening to their conversation.

"Yes. Of course! It's your job now."

She was not dense to know its meaning.

To be continued

G. K. Chesterton

The Flag Of The World

by Titus Handuna

CHESTERTON: "When I was a boy there were two curious men running about who were called the optimist and the pessimist. Upon the whole I came to the conclusion that the optimist thought everything good except the pessimist, and that the pessimist thought everything bad, except himself. It would be unfair to omit altogether the mysterious but suggestive definition said to have been given by a little girl. An optimist is a man who looks after your eyes, and a pessimist is a man who looks after your feet. I am not sure that this is not the best definition of all. There is even a sort of allegorical truth in it.

"A man belongs to this world before he begins to ask if it is nice to belong to it. He has fought for the flag, and often won heroic victories for the flag long before he has ever enlisted. To put shortly what seems the essential matter, he has a loyalty long before he has any admiration.

"In the last chapter it has been said that the primary feeling that this world is strange and yet attractive is best expressed in fairy tales. The

reader may, if he likes, put down the next stage to that bellicose and even jingo literature which commonly comes next in the history of a boy. We all owe much sound morality to the penny dreadfuls. Whatever the reason, it seemed and it still seems to me that our attitude towards life can be better expressed in terms of a kind of military loyalty than in terms of criticism and approval. My acceptance of the world is not optimism, it is more like patriotism. It is a matter of primary loyalty.

"The world is not a lodging-house at Brighton, which we are to leave because it is miserable. It is the fortress of our family, with the flag flying on the turret, and the more miserable it is the less we should leave it. The point is not that this world is too sad to love or too glad not to love; the point is that when you do love a thing, its gladness is a reason for loving it, and its sadness a reason for loving it more.

"All optimistic thoughts about England and all pessimistic thoughts about her are alike reasons for the English patriot. Similarly, opti-

mism and pessimism are alike arguments for the cosmic patriot.

"Let us suppose we are confronted with a desperate thing — say Pimlico (e.g., the Pettah). If we think what is really best for Pimlico we shall find the thread of thought leads to the throne of the mystic and the arbitrary. It is not enough for a man to disapprove of Pimlico: in that case he will merely cut his throat or move to Chelsea (e.g., Cinnamon Gardens). Nor, certainly, it is enough for a man to approve of Pimlico: for then it will remain Pimlico, which would be awful. The only way out of it seems to be for somebody to love Pimlico: to love it with a transcendental tie and without any earthly reason. If there arose a man who loved Pimlico, then Pimlico would rise into ivory towers and golden pinnacles; Pimlico would attire herself as a woman does when she is loved.

"For decoration is not given to hide horrible things; but to decorate things already adorable. A mother does not give her child a blue bow because he is so ugly without it. A lover does not give a girl a necklace to hide her neck. If men loved Pimlico as mothers love children, arbitrarily, because it is *theirs*, Pimlico in a year or two might be fairer than Florence.

"Some readers will say that is a mere fantasy. I answer that this is the actual history of mankind. This, as a fact, is how cities did grow great. Go back to the darkest roots of civilisation and you will find them knotted round some sacred stone or encircling some sacred well. People first paid honour to a spot and afterwards gained glory for it. Men did not love Rome because she was great. She was great because men loved her.

"Men did not cultivate courage. They fought for the shrine and found they had become courageous. They did not cultivate cleanliness. They purified themselves for the altar, and found that they were clean. Anarchy was evil because it endangered the sanctity. And only when they made a holy day for God did they find they had made a holiday for men."

FILM PAGE



3rd Crowded Week

LIDO CAPITOL

9-30 a.m. 1-45, 6-00
& 10-00 p.m.

- RAJ KAPOOR
- VYJANTHIMALA
- RAJENDRAKUMAR

in
Raj Kapoor's

SANGAM

Technicolor

4th WEEK

KINGSLEY PLAZA

2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.

- RAVICHANDRAN
- JEYALALITHA
- NAGESH
- MANOHAR

in

NAAN

Eastman Color

GAMINI

Daily 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m

Roja Films

HANGI HORA

● **KILLER ON A HORSE**—the new MGM tense drama of a town visited by evil, now showing at the *EMPIRE THEATRE*, has Henry Fonda and Janice Rule heading a cast of seasoned performers. Based on the book by E. L. Doctorow, with Burt Kennedy writing the screen play and directing the movie is an uncompromising drama of good versus evil. Its villain, Man from Bodie, enacted by Aldo Ray in a performance one will not easily forget, is a drunken, outlaw, who ravages and burns the small, early West community called Hard Times. Its hero, Will Blue in an equally memorable portrayal by Henry Fonda, is a coward. After Ray has burned the town, its few survivors, including Fonda, Janice Rule (Molly Riordan) who has come

close to be killed by Ray and who despises Fonda for his cowardice, is certain that the murderer will return and teaches young Michael Shea (Jimmy Fee) to shoot in preparation for that day. In the meantime, they are joined by a travelling show troupe run by Keenan Wynn (Zar) who decides to settle down in Hard Times and build a saloon patronised by miners from adjacent hills. Gradually, the town achieves a semblance of order but Fonda knows that if it once again becomes deserted, that is when Aldo Ray will strike. And when the mines close down and the workers no longer come to Hard Times, the killer again arrives. It is now the moment of decision for Fonda, and climax of the film is a terrifying one. Produced by Max E. Youngstein



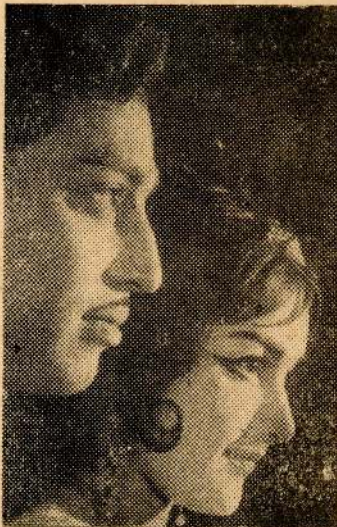
Stunning Jill St. John creates a memorable star role as Laurel Scott, the night club entertainer in Joseph E. Levine's colour and wide-screen film **THE OSCAR**, now showing at the **LIBERTY CINEMA**, released through Paramount Pictures.

and David Karr, the picture was filmed in Metrocolor largely on location in California's Conejo Valley. Here the town of Hard Times was built, burned down and rebuilt.

● **JILL ST. JOHN JOLTS SCREEN WITH TORRID "OSCAR" DANCE** — Fascinatingly beautiful Jill St. John performs a wild and memorable Afro-jazz dance in Joseph E. Levine's exciting multi-million dollar colour wide-screen film, **THE OSCAR**, now at the **LIBERTY CINEMA**, released through Paramount Pictures. Playing a roadhouse and night club entertainer, Laurel Scott, Jill St. John explodes across the screen in the uninhibited dance sequence, made overwhelmingly stunning by her flashing red hair and fabulous figure. At the end of the performance she is given a stomping, whistling and thunderous applause. Dancing talent, however, is only one fact of the poignant character she portrays in the turbulent screen story of actors and actresses competing for Hollywood's richest and most coveted award, based on Richard Sale's best selling

novel. She creates a dynamically dramatic portrait in the role of Laurel Scott, inextricably involved with Frankie Fane, the ruthlessly ambitious Oscar aspirant, portrayed by Stephen Boyd. Jill a stunning combination of enviable statistics (36P - 23 - 35; IQ 162), shares star billing in the movie with Stephen Boyd, Elke Summer, Milton Berle, Eleanor Parker, Joseph Cotten, Edie Adams, Ernest Borganine and Tony Bennett, who makes his screen debut.

At the age of six Jill St. John was veteran actress, able to read her own lines when she joined **ONE MAN'S FAMILY**. By her teens, she was also a veteran of television and motion pictures. Rated one of the most photographed young women in the world, she is described by one star-photographer as, "so beautiful, it's overpowering". Jill St. John's most recent film is **THE LIQUIDATORS**, in which she co-stars with Rod Taylor and Trevor Howard.



Mutturaman and Rajashree the pivotal characters in the Tamil movie **ANUBAVAM PUDUMAI**, a rumbustious, rollicking entertainer, Ceylon Theatres Ltd. release.

EMPIRE Air Conditioned
Henry Fonda—Janice Rule in
MGM'S **KILLER ON A HORSE**

NEXT: MGM'S
HELICOPTER SPIES

Extending 3rd Week

Air-Conditioned

REGAL

James Robertson Justice in
DOCTOR IN CLOVER

From Tuesday

In Ceylon Theatres Circuit:

Tony Ranasinghe-Jeeva Rani

in Lakminiseya Films'

INDUNILA

4th Week

SELLAMAHAL

M. G. Ramachandran
Jayalalitha—Saroja Devi in

Arasa Kattalai

GAIETY

Mutturaman — Rajashree

Anubavam Pudumai

3rd Week

SAVOY Air-Conditioned

Clint Eastwood in

For a Few Dollars More

in Colour — Adults Only

CROWN

From Tuesday Aug. 27

Rajshree—Jeetendra in

V. Shantaram's

GEET GAAYA

PATHRON NE

in Eastman Colour

Air Conditioned
LIBERTY

Next Change

Michael Cane as

"ALFIE"

Technicolor
From Paramount

8TH WEEK

CENTRAL

Gemini—Nagesh

in **GOPALAKRISHNAN'S**

PANAMA

PASAMA

*Bolivian Regime Admits
Authenticity*

Che Guevara's Diary In Bolivia

LA PAZ, July 9 (UPI)

The authenticity of Che's Diary in Bolivia, published in Havana, was confirmed by General Alfredo Ovando Candia, Chief of the Armed Forces of Bolivia, at a press conference in which he also announced the setting up of a tribunal to investigate and clear up the question.

In a written statement Ovando made it clear, first of all, that the version published in Havana corresponds to the original Guevara diary, which is in the office of the Army Staff Headquarters, and secondly, that, as the public had been able to ascertain, the document has no military significance whatsoever nor does it contain any information or details which could be considered state secrets, and that what is disturbing about it is how it could have been sent to Cuba.

A third point in Ovando's statement dealt with the necessity for clearing up the matter and punishing those responsible through the setting up of an investigating tribunal made up of persons who are not part of the military high command, a tribunal whose members could not have had access to the documents captured in the struggle against the Castroite invasion.

The statement maintained that Guevara's death resulted from wounds he received in combat and that the report about Col. Ayoroa, Col. Selich or Captain Prado having given orders for his execution is false.

The statement also asserted that the Bolivian Armed Forces will publish other documents of guerrilla origin of far greater importance

than the Guevara diary, documents which will give the world a clearer idea of the flagrant invasion of that country.

Special Distinction

NEW SOVIET AMBASSADOR



It is not often that a top diplomat returns to a posting in a county where he had served not many years before, but the new Soviet Ambassador to Ceylon has this special distinction. Mr. Valentin Pavlovich Stepanov, the new Ambassador of the USSR in Ceylon, who arrived in Colombo earlier this week, was Counsellor at the USSR Embassy here a few years ago and counts many friends. Ambassador Stepanov can be counted upon to strengthen the friendship and other ties between Ceylon and the USSR in a marked manner with the dynamic touch of his personality.

Mr. Stepanov was born in 1921 and entered the Soviet diplomatic service in 1949. During this time he has occupied a number of responsible posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and abroad. He was the First Secretary of the USSR Embassy in India, Assistant to the Head of the South East Asia Division of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Counsellor of the USSR Embassy in Ceylon, and Counsellor of the South Asia Division of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. From 1966 Mr. Stepanov has been Deputy to the Head of the South Asia Division of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Mr. Stepanov has won many Soviet Government awards. He is married and has two children. Mr. Stepanov is also concurrently accredited as Soviet Ambassador to the Maldivé Islands.