

NEXT WEEK

On Czechoslovakia

TRIBUNE will publish the full reports, comments and other background material issued by the Czechoslovak Government, on the one hand, and the Government of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact Powers, on the other, to enable our readers to get a clear insight into the happenings in Eastern Europe. We will also publish objective reports and comments from other sources. Our own analysis and evaluation will be for the purpose of understanding events and not for rousing hysteria to satisfy cold war (international and national) imperatives. (vide comment p. 4, 5)

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

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Tourism In An Era Of Conflict And Tension : Will Ceylon's Targets Be Achieved ?

If there is one thing, besides the Food Drive, to which this Government has paid special attention in a concrete manner, it is the campaign to promote Tourism and to make it an earner of foreign exchange. To the credit of the Government it must be said that it has passed from the sphere of plans and programmes to the field of concrete action. The current Tourist Implementation Exhibition at Hotel Samudra, a really impressive display, shows that the Government and the Tourist Board mean business. But, it is one thing to have plans and implementation schemes, but it is a totally different matter to ensure that these optimistic targets are attained. We have elsewhere in this issue published the claims made by the Tourist Board chieftains as revealed in the daily press, and we have also published a critical analysis of these plans by a writer who has made a special study of tourism. *Tribune*, as yet, does not know, whether the targets of the Tourist Board are realisable

targets in the context of the current situation, but it is essential that the country should not be led into the garden path of false hopes created by an over-zealous enthusiasm for tourism as being a panacea for many of our ills.

In the special article, the writer points out that it would be wrong for Ceylon to expect as many tourists as the Board hopes to attract and also cites the report of the World Bank mission as authority to stress that tourists coming to Ceylon may not be willing to spend more than \$ 10 a day for living expenses in a hotel. In view of this limitation, the World Bank had recommended a more cautious investment policy than what the Tourist Board has envisaged. Moreover, there seems to be good grounds for thinking that the targets fixed for potential tourists in 1971 and 1976 are far too optimistic and even unreal. Once the investment is sunk on the basis of a large tourist

traffic with the expectation that each tourist will spend \$ 50 a day, it will be a tragic anti-climax if a lesser number of tourists come to Ceylon willing to spend only \$ 10 a day. It is also necessary to point out that the world is moving into an era of acute tensions and conflicts. The events in Vietnam and Europe do not provide any hope for the view that tensions will decrease. In these circumstances, will it not be more realistic for the Tourist Board to project less ambitious and more easily realisable targets where the investment commitment will not be so heavy? There have been many projects and schemes in this country since Independence, under the UNP, MEP, SLFP and the National Governments, where heavy investments were made by the State (in particular) and which have turned out to be veritable white elephants. It would be a tragedy of the first magnitude if the present investments in the Tourist Industry prove to be equally unrealistic.

Letter To The Editor

Democratic Rights & Social Reform

Sir,

The caste system is admittedly a contemptible social institution which monstrously impede the progress of societies. It is also one of the most widespread fallacies man has ever invented to degrade his own worth as man.

Hindu society is notable for its inordinate subjugation to the dominance of caste system. Hindu social values and social practices are so inexorably interwoven with the caste system and so strictly observed as such in almost all areas of social intercourse that one wonders whether the recognition of caste as a fact of life is a condition peculiar to Hindu mind.

All this is not to say that the violence resorted to by the Harijans to gain entry into the Maviddapuram temple is either praiseworthy or justified. It was indeed a gross violation of public peace on the one hand, and an unlawful and unwarranted attempt on the part of the Harijans on the other, to solve a conflict which was largely of their own making.

The social discrimination perpetrated on the Harijans by refusing them entry into certain temples is an ugly survival of the past which should be challenged and removed with utmost urgency. But in this challenge it is important to see who is or what is responsible for the unfortunate social plight of this depressed class — whether it is the guardians of these temples or the Hindu society itself. I believe it is the latter, and therefore it would serve no purpose to blame the guardians of these temples; they merely think it their sacred duty to preserve and maintain the time-hallowed tradition and customs of worship. With this none can quarrel, for here it is not reason or logic that prevails but faith.

From the very inception of these temples, Harijans have not been permitted to enter them and worship, and the practice has been adhered to purely in the interest of religious susceptibilities. With these susceptibilities one may not agree or even may regard them as obsolete and highly irrelevant in modern society. But that is one's considered view, and I suspect if one has a right to force that view, however enlightened, on others.

The point emerging from the whole temple entry issue is whether we are not delimiting a broad and complex social situation in extremely narrow confines to enable ourselves as critics to attack the legitimate human rights of a select group of people. It is no doubt true that some cultures even today foster and uphold a few primeval features which have long outlived their usefulness, but to endeavour to reform and reconstruct them in the manner the Harijans have thought fit or through the provisions of a social Disabilities Act is destined to be futile.

It is not for a moment suggested here that the State should not intervene with its powers, legislative or otherwise to set aright obnoxious anomalies; laws should and in fact can play a useful role. Such intervention, however, should be reserved for those situations where the initiative is that of the State and not of scheming politicians, and the intentions are genuinely those that concern a democratic social upliftment, not a revolution.

A seemingly innocent attempt is being made in certain quarters to seek the help of the law to deal with the problem, but whatever the outcome a solution by law would definitely be hollow and superficial, for it is the people and the people alone

who must feel, think and act to solve the conflict. This could be secured only through discussion, persuasion and understanding, correct orientation willing and honest participation on the part of the people form the essential foundation of any democratic effort to eradicate long standing social and religious prejudices.

There are other measures of force and coercion, but their results would inevitably breed consequences leading us to totally unexpected situations

Yours etc.,

Vincent

Colombo,
19th August '68.



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Headlines Of The Week

THURSDAY, August 15 — The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Hugh Fernando, appointed a new Board of Directors to the Insurance Corporation headed by Mr. G. V. S. de Silva. The four and a half month old strike by Ceylon Mercantile Union members of the Milk Board was settled yesterday. The Land Army camp at Wannala in Kantalai was burnt to ashes, including all buildings and furniture estimated at Rs. 65,000, according to the Police. Mr. Badi-ud-din Mahmud, President of the Islamic Socialist Front, said at the second annual conference of the ISF at Kalmunai that no more would the Muslim be taken for granted, no more would they be treated like mealtime mendicants and no more would the Muslims be a political joke. The US Defence Secretary, Mr. Clark Clifford, called on North Vietnam to give some signal or make some kind of an arrangement to deescalate the war so that President Johnson could call off the bombing of the North.

FRIDAY, August 16 — A special unit of women Labour Officers to investigate and report the working conditions of women employed in the private sector has been set up by the new Commissioner of Labour. The Government is considering a proposal to unify the maritime services in Ceylon. Nigerian Biafran negotiators have broken the deadlock blocking international aid to thousands of starving women and children. Rhodesian High Court Judges declared that they derived their authority from Rhodesia's independent constitution, rejecting the Privy Council's ruling that the country is still not independent.

SATURDAY, August 17 — The Minister of Labour, Mr. M. H. Mohammed, presented the Interim Devaluation Allowance of Employees Bill in Parliament. The FAO Commodity Review for 1967 which includes Ceylon stated that there were notable repercussions on our tea exports though the long term effects were uncertain. Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake, MP for Gampaha, was suspended from the sittings of the House of Representatives for one week when he chose to defy the ruling of the Speaker. Twenty senior engineers of the PWD have written to the PSC saying that the atmosphere prevalent in the PWD was far from satisfactory and not conducive for fostering and developing the technical talents in keeping with the profession of a chartered civil engineer. Two rice ration will be distributed in Colombo every fortnight from August 26, the Food Commissioner announced yesterday. Czechoslovakia and Rumania have signed a new friendship treaty pledging to take all steps against imperialist and military force.

SUNDAY, August 18 — A National Operations Room will be set up in the first week of October to direct planning. The Kolonnawa election petition challenging the election of Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne to the Kolonnawa seat in the House of Representatives at the by-election was dismissed with taxed costs by Mr. Justice G. T.

Samarawickreme yesterday. Owing to lack of accommodation over twenty thousand applications for admission to Grade One in schools have been rejected. The Minister of Education, Mr. I. M. R. A. Iriyagolle, decided to lift the ban imposed on Henry Jayasena's new play "Apata Puthe Magak Nethe" by the Public Performance Board. Czechoslovakia Communist Party leader, Mr. Alexander Dubcek has issued a stern warning against too much freedom for Czechoslovakia.

MONDAY, August 19 — A scheme to grant insurance cover to livestock owned by co-operative societies and small - holders has been finalised by the Insurance Corporation and will come into effect soon. The National Government is to put out a publication setting out its achievements during the past three years. Red China's Cultural Revolution entered a new phase with a stern order from Chairman Mao that Red Guards should adhere to adult authority. Vietnamese Buddhist leaders boycotted a nation-wide Buddhist Convention in Saigon saying that they were not yet ready to unite with the extremists.

TUESDAY, August 20 — Tax concessions for a period of twenty years have been offered by the Government to hoteliers so that tourism could be boosted in Ceylon. The Director of Health Services has informed the University authorities that only 160 out of the 334 doctors who will complete their internship during the financial year 1968/69 will be found jobs in the Government hospitals. The organisational elections of the DMK which have been completed in seven of the State's thirteen districts have been marred by an intensity of political fighting, violence and litigation that have surprised and perturbed the Party leaders. Hundreds of Jewish youths rioted in the Arab sector of East Jerusalem a series of grenade blasts throughout the city.

WEDNESDAY, August 21 — The fourth Budget of the National Government was passed yesterday by 85 votes to 47. The Government Town Planner's Department in consultation with the Department of Housing the Local Government and the People's Bank is planning to set up fifteen satellite towns in the Colombo districts. The Government has decided that all past investments in government securities should not be subject to wealth tax and only future investments in government securities will be liable to the wealth tax. On the instructions of the Ministry of Trade and Commerce the Commissioner of Tea Export and the Customs suspended the export licences of four tea exporters. The Communist Party paper *Pravda* said that the Prague regime under Mr. Alexander Dubcek was losing control of the country and that the city and district Communist Party organisations were approving anti-socialist activities previously condemned by the ruling party Presidium. Senator J. William Fulbright today proposed an immediate halt in the bombing of North Vietnam, creation of a coalition government in Saigon and neutralisation of all of Vietnam.

Comment

On

Current Affairs

SKYJACKED PLANES: Algerian logic will undermine international commercial air transport

There has, unfortunately, been very little notice or comment in Ceylon about the hijacked Israeli passenger plane that was forced by Palestinian terrorists to land at Algiers airport. There has been an uneasy assumption that this episode was only another event in the continuing "war" between Israel and some of the Arab States. What is even worse is that many people with sympathy for the Arab cause and with hatred for Yankee Imperialism (and Israel is regarded as a willing tool of Washington's Pentagon) consider any act of reprisal against Israel as being justified even if it contravenes either the basic tenets of international law or even a code that makes civilised living possible on this planet. The Israeli plane that was captured was a civilian commercial airplane on a scheduled flight. Secondly the military war between Israel and the Arab States has come under a cease-fire truce arranged by the United Nations. Syria and few other Arab states have no doubt not recognised this truce, but that is no reason for extending the war into civilian commercial air transport. Hijacking planes has become popular, in some parts of the world but in every case, bar that of Algeria, the plane crew and the other passengers were permitted to depart after the refugees found asylum. So far, the vast majority of such instances of skyjacking was in Central America where refugees from the USA and Central Latin American countries forced planes to go off schedule to land in Cuban or US airfields. Even the Castro authorities have in every instance permitted these planes to proceed on the journey after the "refugees" had taken themselves off the plane and had been accepted by the Cuban authorities. But Algeria has refused to play the game in this way. It will be recalled that a group of nationalist Algerian leaders including Ben Bella were hijacked into prison by forcibly interfering with the schedule of a commercial flight. But, when the nationalists came to power in Algeria they seem to have gotten the injustice that stems from hijacking commercial planes on scheduled flights. There was first the notorious case of hijacking the plane that was on a special charter for Tshombe and his group. Whatever be one's sentiments about the infamous Tshombe (and the way he had liquidated Lumumba) there cannot be any justification for condoning piracy in the open skies. Such breach of conduct will undermine the safety of international commercial air transport. The present case of the skyjacked Israeli plane makes it absolutely essential that such air piracy is ended.

ARAB ANTI-PATHY TO ISRAEL : no ground for indulging in air piracy even on the Barbary coast

It is not difficult to appreciate the intense feelings of hatred that the Arabs entertain towards Israel. The disastrous (for the Arabs) six day war in June 1967 have made these feelings more acute. What the Israelis feel about the Arabs is not relevant for the purpose of evaluating the present problem about the hijacked plane. It is also true that the cease-fire is often broken and that fighting has regularly taken place between Israeli armed units and Jordanian and Syrian troops. The UN has also no doubt on several occasions "condemned" Israeli actions. But all these do not, even jointly and severally, entitle Algeria to seize the Israeli Boeing civilian airliner forced to land at Algiers airport by Palestinian terrorists and keep the plane and all Israeli personnel in custody. Some of the Israelis have now been released and the others may be released by the time this appears in print, but the Algerian Government was compelled to do this by pressure from the rest of the world including the threat by the International Pilots Association not to fly any planes to Algeria. Whether Algeria will release the plane itself is yet problematic. It will be sad day for the world if the kind of air piracy which the Algerian Government has openly connived at is not ended. The sea pirates of the Barbary coast (that is, off the present coast of Morocco and Algeria) were notorious in the dark Middle ages of Mediterranean history and it will be terrible comment on the human civilisation if piracy should once again flourish on the Barbary coast, this time in the air. If Algerian logic, mixed with pro-Arab emotionalism, is permitted to justify the hijacking of Israeli planes, then it will be open to all other countries to use such hijacking to inflict reprisals. It will not be difficult for Israel to hijack a number of Arab passenger planes that fly over the Mediterranean. The Chinese can hijack US and Russian planes, and Pakistan will skyjack Indian planes and *vice-versa*. Once this kind of logic is permitted to prevail, civilised human life will become impossible. Even if one totally disagrees with the actions and policies of the Israeli government, even if one believes that Israel was the aggressor in the last war and even if one is convinced that Israel should completely withdraw to the lines before June 5, one must accept the principle that air piracy of the kind that Algeria has connived at should not be tolerated. If the Maldivians develop against a grievance against Ceylon, it will not be difficult for a few gunmen to hijack an Air Ceylon plane to the Gan Base (or what is left of it after the British quit) and hold the plane, the crew and the passengers to ransom until the Ceylon Government submits to this blackmail. Can anything more ridiculous be imagined?

US AID TO THE ARABS : Arabs have received more from the United States than Israel

It was generally believed, and we have shared this belief, that the State of Israel was built with US aid.

What American Jews have and other Jews have privately invested in Israel is a different matter but what is important is what the US Government has extended as official aid. The *Sun*, a few days ago, published some figures about this official US aid and to the Arab countries. To say the least they are most revealing. The figures have not been contested and can therefore be accepted as correct. According to official statistics quoted by the American Congress (Congressional Record P. H. 6617/16 July, 1968), American aid to the Arab States between 1946 and 1968 totalled \$3,762,700,000. The aid extended to Israel during the same period totalled only \$ 770,600. During that time, Egypt alone received 925.5 million dollars' worth of US aid. The following is a breakdown of economic aid given by the United States to the countries of the Middle East: **American Aid 1946—1968 (in millions of US Dollars).** Algeria 191,700; Iraq 98,800; Jordan 622,700; Kuwait 50,000; Lebanon 84,000; Morocco 589,100; Saudia 128,600; Syria 62,600; Tunisia 531,400; Egypt 925,400; Yemen 43,900; Libya 216,600; Total for Arab States 3,762,700; Israel 770,600.

Comment is unnecessary, but it is essential to draw a sharp distinction between official US aid and private investment in Israel by international Jewry. The question which thereafter arises is whether the policy of international Jewry is identical with that of American imperialism (or to the State Department). Washington has to woo the Arabs to safeguard American - owned oilfields in Arab lands and cannot therefore back Israel to the exclusion of the Arab countries. It was no doubt useful for the Pentagon have an Israel in the midst of Arab nationalism, but at times it has turned out to be a source of great embarrassment to the United States. It must not be forgotten that in 1948 the establishment of the state of Israel had received the support of all socialist and nationalist (bar the Arab) governments. The vagaries, mistakes, alignments and aggression inherent in Israeli policies, just as much as in Arab and other governmental policies, is no reason for taking oversimplified attitudes to the Arab-Israeli problem. The simple fact is the Arabs must recognise the existence of Israel; and Israel must confine herself to the boundaries to which she is entitled. And, it would be impractical, at this juncture, to think that Israel will withdraw from her positions of strength until there is some guarantee that her existence would be recognised by her immediate neighbours. This is no doubt a pragmatic view, but emotionalism will take us nowhere.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA : a pragmatic approach based on international realities is essential

Just as it is necessary to take a hard-headed pragmatic view of the impasse in West Asia between Israel and the Arab States, it is necessary to view the developments in Czechoslovakia in the same down-to-earth manner based on hard realities. Newspapers which are cynical or half-hearted about "freedom" and "democracy" in Vietnam and elsewhere (because they believe

in the justifiability of wars to fight "communism") have become full-throated sloganisers about the eternal values about "liberty" in regard to events in Czechoslovakia. Newspapers which are reluctant to say one harsh word about the many threats to freedom posed by certain western countries have now surrendered their frontpages and their editorial columns to irresponsible headlines and hysteria on the basis of "unconfirmed reports" about happenings inside Czechoslovakia in order to confuse its readers about the actions of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. **On the face of it, the actions of the Warsaw countries may seem indefensible and appear contrary to normally accepted international conduct, but it must be admitted that there is no big power in the Western world which has not been guilty of taking similar action when threats had arisen in respect of their state frontiers or ideological commitments.**

Until more information is available as to why the USSR, Poland, the GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria took the action they did, it would be wrong to rush into hasty judgment on the developments in Czechoslovakia. This country was a partner of the Warsaw bloc and every partnership entails rights as well as obligations — until the partnership is formally and *de facto* ended. Right up to the signing of the Bratislava Agreement, even the new leadership of Czechoslovakia claimed to be willing partners of the Warsaw Pact. A quarrel has arisen among partners and full information is not yet available why the drastic action by the Soviet Union and other allies had become necessary. **It must be borne in mind that Moscow must have been fully aware of the international reactions which would emanate from any military action in the present state of continuing cold war between capitalism and socialism, but for reasons as yet undisclosed and unknown it has taken the risk of unrealistic action which has stirred up a hornet's nest. There must have been very grave reasons why the Warsaw Powers have moved troops into Czechoslovakia, knowing that it would cause a major setback on the propaganda front and also cast a shadow on the image of socialism as bulwark of peace and correct action that has been built up laboriously over years. In the present world of armed power, local wars, super-power politics, nuclear confrontation and internal subversion, it is incorrect to pass judgment on the basis of of romanticised slogans about "freedom", "democracy" and "liberty" only for the purpose of deriving cold war comfort. Whether the leaders of the Warsaw Powers acted wisely in the present circumstances only history will decide in the coming months, but it would be best to have fuller information on the matters behind the-scenes before attempting to evaluate the recent developments in Eastern Europe. At the time of writing, the Prime Minister of Ceylon appears to have withheld comment until he receives further information, and for taking this realistic stand he has been berated by some of the daily papers which are afflicted by the anti-communist bug. It is pointless preaching platitudes in order to indulge in cold war propaganda in favour of one side or other.**

In Retrospect

★ **General Elections** ★ **Sinhale**
 ★ **Eela Nadu** ★ **R. G. Senanayake**
 ★ **Islamic Socialist Front**
 ★ **Cost Of Living** ★ **Planning**

ALTHOUGH a general election is due to be held only in 1970, one pro-government newspaper has already hinted about the possibility of a snap election being held some time next year.

The *Times of Ceylon* which reported this story, — has neither been affirmed nor contradicted by government sources—said that as a first step Coalition party leaders were picking candidates and instructing them to start nursing the electorate for which they would be nominated. At the beginning of the year speculation was rife as to whether Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake was contemplating a snap election at the beginning of next year. This speculation arose as a result of a meeting that Mr. Senanayake had with a group of specially selected businessmen. According to a report published in the *Daily Mirror*, the nature of the discussions was that a committee of fifteen was elected to plan the United National Party's election drive. Other reports in political lobbies indicated that an election fund had also been inaugurated. Whatever it is, the coming period will certainly be interesting to watch the political scene which is becoming more and more confused with the founding of new political parties.

UNLESS some world shattering development takes place in this country, Ceylon receives little or no publicity in the world press and its existence is hardly known abroad even in some countries of the Asian world. This is because Ceylon is only a teardrop in the Indian Ocean. The *Sun*, which is the foremost champion of Sinhala and Buddhism, however, seems to think that by changing the name of Ceylon to Sinhale it would be better known throughout the four

corners of the world. But, in suggesting a change in name it would seem that the *Sun* has been motivated by racial considerations than any other factor and this is more than clear from its editorial in which it states "...So now, which shall it be Sinhale or Lanka or Ceylon? The question has come up many times. It has come up again because of the intransigence of the Federal Party and particularly the impossible demands of its Youth Front who ask for a Tamilnad in this country."

While the *Sun* is advocating a change in name for Ceylon to Sinhale the expelled Federal Party Member of Parliament, Mr. Navaratnam, has now set December as the deadline for the formation of a new Party the aim of which is to gather all Tamils of Ceylon under an Eela Nadu which will ask for Dominion Status for it.

In a statement to the *Daily News* reporter, Mr. Navaratnam was reported as saying that "my dream is not very distant and Tamils will have to be prepared to wage an unrelenting struggle for a separate state." He was also reported as saying that his men had already established contacts in all the vital quarters of the various electorates and that he would be joined by many members of the Federal Party Youth League. The report said that he had confessed he was engaged in a subtle propaganda aimed at getting the sympathy of the Tamils in Britain and the United States where he believed a good number of Ceylon Tamils had settled down.

Mr. R. G. Senanayake, leader of the Sinhala Mahajana Pakshaya, held the inaugural meeting of his party at Narammala in the Dambadeniya electorate last week. Ex-

plaining the reasons for the formation of his party, Mr. Senanayake said neither the UNP nor the SLFP would do any work for the cause of the Sinhalese because both these parties came to power with the help of the Tamils and the Borahs and, therefore, they needed a party like the SMP which directly worked for the cause of the Sinhalese. He attacked the Coalition for not partaking in the debate in Parliament on the District Councils issue. He also said that Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike was highly worried about the formation of his Party. She thought that it would be a walk over to the Premiership when she won at the by-elections. But only three weeks after the formation of his Party she said she was faced with a revolution. He added that he knew that not only Mrs. Bandaranaike but also the Tamils were seriously worried about his Party because if he came to power they were done for. He disclosed that he would contest one hundred seats for his Party and win all of them. He also disclosed that he would soon organise another body called the Sinhala Mahajana Sanathawa for the protection of the Sinhala public servants. The employment problem had been aggravated by the fact that sixty percent of the jobs in the public service were held by the Tamils, though the Tamil population was only twelve percent of the population of the country.

THE Islamic Socialist Front held its second annual conference at Kalmunai last week. Its president Mr. Badi-ud-din Mahmud sounded a clarion call to Muslims to rally round the Front said that no more would the Muslims be taken for granted and no more would they be treated like mealtime mendicants and no more would they be a political joke. He said that a distinct process of polarisation in the Muslim community was taking place for the first time and on the one side was the self-interested reactionary and its decadent UNP Muslim leadership as against the resurgent Muslim masses marching towards progress. He went on to say that any one who opposed socialism opposed the Islamic way of life. The socialist

aspect of Islam viewed with contempt the unconscionable accumulation of wealth in private hands because of its most undesirable impact on society. Mr. Mahmud said that the current political developments had deteriorated to such an extent that the National Government had begun to treat the UNP Muslim election platform leaders with scant respect and called upon the Federal Party leadership to speak on behalf of the Muslims on issues vitally affecting them.

WHATEVER efforts the National Government is making to wrestle with the high cost of living it certainly shows no signs of coming down. The Minister of Agriculture and Food, Mr. M. D. Banda, has become the target of heavy fire from government backbenchers who have charged his Ministry with inefficiency which was the result of shortages and scarcities and blackmarketing. They had pointed out that nothing constructive was being done to solve the problem and that if the present state of affairs continued they would not be able to face their constituents.

The Prime Minister had to save Mr. Banda's skin by saying that it was inevitable that the cost of living should rise, particularly after the devaluation of the rupee which the Government was compelled to resort to avoid a calamity and that

SO WHAT ?

The South Vietnamese press gave prominence to reports of US soldiers sacking and looting a town of Cam Ranh and one paper quoted rumours that the town had been ceded to the Americans. The newspaper *Song* reported that some 200 American soldiers led by a colonel looted shops and homes in the town. They forced doors of homes to be opened, struck owners who protested and ran off with money and valuable items.

(AFP report, July 31)

the introduction of the FE C scheme would take some time for its full benefits to be felt. He also assured that steps were being taken to step up the imports of essential commodities. Only twenty members of the Parliamentary Group attended this specially-summoned meeting.

The *Daily Mirror*, which has always kept in public focus the high cost of living, referring to this meeting said editorially that it turned out to be a miserable flop because only a sparse score of MPs and Senators out of the 110 that comprise the Government Group had turned up. It castigated them for their continuing indifference. It dinned into their ears as well as of the Government the "Learn or Depart" motto of schools and warned that if the Government refused to learn the lessons of indifference to the people's needs, it must be depart. In conclusion it said that this lesson was already being imparted in local elections and that all over the island the staggering living index was sapping life from the UNP. The people were not asking too much. What they wanted was fair prices and equitable distribution of goods, and that if a Government could not guarantee this to the people it had no business to be in the seat of power.

IT WOULD APPEAR that the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs has become a little wiser to emulate the example of Malaysia to set up a National Operations Room as from the first week in October, this year. According to a note prepared for the guidance of all Ministries by Dr. Gamini Corea, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, it will provide a central location for the review and evaluation of progress on all development programmes and projects at the national planning level. Hitherto one of the biggest obstacles to development has been due to the absence of any reliable data regarding targets. Targets to be hit by a particular period could not be reached because of the lack of co-ordination either between one Ministry and another or between one Depart-

ment and another. On the food front, for instance, while the Lands Department cleared the land for cultivations the Department of Irrigation was unable to provide irrigation facilities either due to the negligence of its officials or lack of equipment and machinery. It is now expected that with the setting of the Operations Room many of the factors which militate against targets being hit will to a great extent be overcome.

KAUTILIYA

DEBRAY

Young French philosopher, author and revolutionary Regis Debray is serving a 30-year sentence in a Bolivian dungeon for his alleged subversive activities. His trial five months ago drew world-wide attention especially because of the Che Guevara's murder by the Bolivian army. He had lived with the Latin American guerrilla leader in the jungles of Bolivia. Last week in an interview to Hoyos, correspondent of "France Soir", he expressed his apprehension that he might be murdered by the jail authorities. He was found weak and emaciated, "I have been beaten up twice in the last week", he told Hoyos. Born in a rich family he was deeply impressed by the Cuban revolution and wrote the now famous book "Revolution within the Revolution", the Bible of Latin American guerrillas. He spent a few months in Cuba in 1963 and then toured Venezuela filming guerrilla activities for French television. He had a valid passport visaed by Bolivian authorities when he entered that country. But he was arrested on suspicion of being a participant in the guerrilla war led by Che Guevara.

West Asia

Forces Behind Iraq's New Coup

by Ayub Syed

IRAQ is the most difficult country to govern in the Arab world. In ten years since the fall of the monarchy in 1958, it has seen four violent coups six Prime Ministers and 10 Cabinets. The new Government led by General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr has seized power by force which is nothing unusual. If there is anything strange at all, it is only that the seizure of power has come a little later than expected.

The latest coup is the first major political upheaval after the debacle of the Arab armies in the June war with Israel. It reflects the widespread dissatisfaction in the barracks all over the Arab world with the politicians. Defeat by Israel inflicted much humiliation on the average Arab soldier and he is aware that one of the main reasons of Israel's easy victory was "inefficiency and corruption" among the top military officers.

IRAQ'S new Revolutionary Command Council has described the ousted rulers as "opportunists, thieves, illiterate and ignorant people Zionist agents and spies who divided the country into feudal sections for their personal enrichment." These bitter words appearing in an official communique may sound extraordinary to foreign ears but to Iraqis they have a familiar ring. Some of the communiqués issued by the preceding Governments were almost abusive. It is a fact that the Government had become notorious for corruption. Prime Minister Gen Thahir Yehya, now under arrest, was nicknamed "the thief of Baghdad."

The agreement signed between the Iraqi National Oil Company and the French firm, ERAP, was criticised

by Iraq's top oil experts as a one-sided deal. It was concluded after President Aref's much publicised visit to France five months ago and as a bargain for Iraq's demand for the supply of 50 Mirage-V fighter-bombers. The agreement, with local critics thought would permit the ERAP to make "astronomical profits", was not favoured by the section of officers who have now taken over power. They suspected something fishy in the agreement and most of the Iraqi officials connected with the deal are under a cloud. The fate of the agreement itself is uncertain.

THE NEW GROUP of rulers has come into power with relative ease but this does not necessarily mean that they are popular. The unpopularity of the rulers they have replaced contributed to the absence of any serious resistance. The new Revolutionary Council Command, most of whose members remain anonymous, appears to be a much younger set of people. There is no doubt about their Baathist inclination not about the influence of right-wing Baathleaders Mr. Michel Aflak and Mr. Salah Bitar, both of whom are Syrian. Two years ago they lost power after a bitter struggle to the Baathist extremists who are at present in power in Syria. They have been living in exile in Beirut since. Gen Bakr has been an important member of the Aflak faction and has maintained secret links with like-minded military officers.

The army in Iraq, which is the main vehicle of political change, is divided into factions loyal to Baathism, Nasserism, Communism and plain nationalism. It would therefore not be smooth sailing for the Baathist who now hold the reins of power. The situation will become explosive if they attempt to eliminate their political opponents. The Aflakites are the "revisionists" in the Baath Socialist Party and consider the Communists their main rival. If they repeat the mistakes of 1964 (the Communist Party was outlawed and thousands

of party members killed), then another bloodbath is inevitable. The Baathists may have struck at the right moment, as they do when power is the prize, but the Iraqi Communist Party remains the best organized and most cohesive force in the country. If the new rulers set about enforcing policies that lead to a clash with it, there is bound to be chaos.

ABOUT HALF a dozen communiques have been issued by the new Government which amounts to policy statements. From these, it is clear that Iraq's new rulers are more inclined towards the country's rightists. The property and assets of a number of leftists and liberal elements have been ordered to be sequestered. They include staunch socialists like the former Governor of the Iraq Bank, Mr. Khairuddin Hasseb. In his thirties, Mr. Hasseb was architect of Iraq's socialist policies and had dealt a grievous blow at leading capitalists with a series of nationalization measures. Rich Iraqis were therefore after his blood. Some time back they conspired against him and had him removed.

The Baath Government has deliberately avoided use of the word "socialism" in its pronouncement. This leads to the speculation that it has either received massive support from the local reactionaries or that it is under pressure from the rightist army officers from whom Gen Bakr got help. This brings the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Company into the picture. For a number of years the IPC has been like an invisible government in Iraq. Its intelligence department maintains its own dossier on Iraqi politicians and army officers. The North Rumaila oil reserves, supposed to be the richest in Iraq, were "expropriated" IPC property and the ERAP - INOC agreement was based on the exploration of this area. The IPC has frustrated Iraqi efforts to initiate a bold independent oil policy through its powerful lobby in the country.

Patriot

The Tourist Plan: Official Claims

Tourist Chief Paints A Rosy Picture: Big Claims For Bright Future

The Tourist Board has launched a propaganda campaign to boost its 1967—1976 Plan. It has also put up an exhibition to show how the Plan will be implemented. *Tribune* was not invited to the Press Conference to launch this Tourist Plan to make Ceylon a World Centre of Tourism and we therefore publish the reports which appeared in the three pro government daily newspapers about the Tourist Board's ambitious plans.

CEYLON DAILY NEWS

PLAN TO MAKE CEYLON WORLD CENTRE OF TOURISM

(By a "Daily News" Reporter)

The Ceylon Tourist Board presented an attractive and thought-out plan on the development of Ceylon's tourist potential. It included a visual exhibition of the plan at the Samudra Hotel which will be open to the public for three days from August 24. The proposed investment on the hotel development work alone was stated to be Rs. 325,000,000. In the overall plan, the Board has provided for all aspects of this money spinning industry.

Mr. A. C. H. de Soysa, Chairman of the Ceylon Tourist Board, stated yesterday that Ceylon's objective in the tourist industry was to get as big a slice as possible of the amount that the world tourists now spent — and they would be spending in the years to come — in 1966 he said 85 million tourists had spent as much as 13 billion US dollars.

One of the happy features of the tourist facilities development plan announced by Mr. de Soysa was that the needs of local tourists would be provided for in the overall plans of the Board. In the next few weeks young local travellers would be able to hire out camping material from the Board for travel in Ceylon.

In the presence of the Canadian adviser to Ceylon on the development of the tourist industry, Mr. Edward

Bryant, four directors of the Board, Mr. H. M. S. Samaranayake (statistician), Mr. Nimal Silva (frontier formalities), Mr. J. M. Handy (publicity and promotion) Mr. W. G. Rupesinghe (travel trade) and Mr. M. Y. M. Thahir (planning development) outlined the plans which promises to take Ceylon into the centre of world tourism.

Mr. Thahir said that by 1970 Ceylon would have a total of 5,130 rooms for an estimated number of 307,000 visitors. He envisaged the development of several tourist resorts both in Colombo and the outstations by 1971. The capital requirements for the addition to accommodation and transportation equipment was estimated at Rs. 100 million for the first five years, and Rs. 225 million for the succeeding five years — 1972 to 1977. The total outlay was Rs. 325 million for 4,500 rooms and 725 vehicles for the 10-year development plan.

Mr. Rupasinghe surveyed the travel trade facilities, and said that the Board was now introducing a special guide service for tourists. So far he said, 18 to 20 rest houses had been classified hotels, 14 guest houses placed on the Boards' register of approved accommodation. These provided room strength of approximately 1,100 of which 500 rooms were located in Colombo.

Mr. J. M. Handy said the Board has arranged to obtain the services of a reputed research firm abroad to carry out the "visitor motivation" survey from Ceylon. For more information, contact noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

achieve the long range objectives of the Board, the tourism plan had recommended that a marketing program be implemented in three phases in order to measure the development of the visitor plan, the growth of visitor accommodation improved, transportation and projected tour patterns.

Mr. Nimalasiri Silva said that Customs formalities had now been relaxed for the convenience of tourists. Visitors were allowed to take away gems from Ceylon to the value of Rs. 200 without payment or Customs duty and over and above this amount, on the payment of 5 per cent duty. To protect tourists from harassment by touts and other undesirable elements, the Board had set up Tourist Police units in Colombo and Mount Lavinia with specially trained officers. Similar units would be established at other popular visitor destinations points.

Mr. R. Bertorelli, Projects Manager International Hotel Division of Fortes (Holdings) Ltd., was one of the interested visitors at the presentation of the Tourist Plan.

* * *

SUN

TOURISM GETS A GIANT BOOST

By Nihal Kaneira

The biggest promotion drive in the history of the country's tourism industry gets under way today when the Ceylon Tourist Board launches its ten-year Ceylon Tourism Development plan. The Tourism plan formulated after a six-month market and feasibility study of the Island's tourist potential by a team of American tourist experts commissioned by the Tourist Board — has been approved by the Cabinet. It will be formerly announced by the Chairman, Mr. A. C. H. de Soysa, and other members of the Tourist Board at the Hotel Samudra this evening. The development programme envisaged in the plan covers the whole country.

It sets out the measures that the Government would take for the next eight years (the plan covers the period 1966 to 1976) to enable Ceylon obtain the maximum long-range and immediate benefit from the overseas travel market.

The Ceylon Tourism Plan — as it is titled — sets out in detail the integrated programme the board will undertake for the provision of tourist accommodation and facilities; outlines the programme for the development of the tourist industry; and the projected programme of travel promotion including advertising and public relations.

The proposed integrated programme for the provision of tourist accommodation and facilities covers aspects such as:

Estimates of capital cost and income expenditure for hotels of various categories and in different locations allocated on the basis of foreign exchange and local costs; delineated plans for the development of areas best suited for resorts; zoning of areas for the purpose of tourist accommodation in proximity to sites of historical interest and wild life sanctuaries; a general survey of festivals and cultural activities in Ceylon with measures to be taken to acquaint tourists with the Island's rich cultural heritage; provision of recreational facilities and the proposed outline for a beautification programme in tourist resorts and other areas of tourist interest; and the architectural criteria for the construction of tourist accommodation.

* * *

TIMES OF CEYLON

GOVT. SUPPORT FOR TOURISM PLAN VITAL

August 16th was without a doubt the Ceylon Tourist Board's Day. Commencing with the presentation of the Ceylon Tourist Plan by chairman, Mr. A. C. H. de Soysa, one-listened to its five directors marshalling their facts and presenting the

Board's ambitious plans to make the industry a money spinner for the country.

They reminded one of school prefects proudly presenting their record of work with an assessment of what one could expect in the future. The only difference is that they have more than a justifiable claim to pride because what has been achieved in this short space of time is commendable, for any organisation that has to put up with the enormous amount of governmental apathy and re-tape, that has resulted in many sincere men throwing in the towel, out of frustration.

One could not but be struck by the Board's achievements up to-date. Here I would like to mention a few at random; an increasing tourist market — in 1967 an increase of 24.8 per cent was recorded in the number of tourist arrivals; the setting up of a statistical and research division; the reduction of frontier formalities; the cutting down of obnoxious form-filling and simplification and relaxing regulations in respect of health, immigration and customs; the setting up of the Tourist Police Force in Colombo and Mount Lavinia, to protect visitors from touts and undesirables; the harnessing of much of the foreign exchange that has been going to the blackmarket; the work done in promoting more international airlines to use Ceylon, the training of hotel staff, guides, lecturers, importing fishing and skin-diving equipment and photographic films for sale to tourists; the plans to establish tourist shops, the classification of hotels and resthouses, the maintenance of standards by travel agents; the encouragement and incentives sought through the Government for hotels and tourist investors, the promotion of use of indigenous materials and decor; provision of tourist transport to the private trade; the holiday resort project at Bentota, and the feasibility study teams report.

All this is very well but what one fails to understand is how the Tourist Board is going to cater to the increa-

sing number of visitors expected in this country in the forthcoming years. The seeds of the Board's promotional activities are bearing fruit but there is an appalling shortage of tourist accommodation. Only recently it was reported that certain big tour operators were obliged to cancel Ceylon from their itineraries because of the lack of suitable hotel accommodation.

While the Government has given tax relief and certain incentives to prospective hoteliers, the time it has taken in doing this makes one rather wonder whether it has missed the bus. Big businessmen and investors waited patiently for these announcements and it is only now that any tangible attempt will be made to get these hotels off the ground. How long are they going to take to complete and must prospective tourists be turned away because of this serious shortage of hotel accommodation.

If the Government as it has repeatedly declared is interested in the successful furtherance of our tourist industry it must step in, as other countries have to even provide economic and financial assistance to the private sector particularly in the provision of accommodation.

The Ceylon Tourism Plan appears to be sound but it must have the wholehearted co-operation of the Government.

FOR THE RECORD

Re 'Hands off our Saivite Temples' by Mr. C. Suntharalingam in the *Daily Mirror* of the 10th, I am with you in your disagreement with his sentiments. But I would like to know the answer to one thing he says:— "How would the Basnayake Nilames of the Dalada Maligawa react to the Peking Communists insisting on their leading Rodiyas into the Holy Chamber of the Tooth Relic?"

Dr. R. L. Spitted
Daily Mirror

The Tourist Plan: The Other Side Of The Coin

Has Tourism Fallen Flat On Its Face? A Pipe-Dream In Hashish?

by David Livingstone

SHORTLY after the pertinent question in the *Sun's* (16/8/68) headlines: "HAS TOURISM FALLEN ON ITS FACE? MUCH SPOKEN BUT LITTLE DONE", came the Press conference announcement of a Ceylon Tourism Plan for 10 years — 1967 to 1976 prepared by four American firms of tourism consultants. The invitation with fan-fare trumpeting was to an exhibition of pictures of our tourism plans and dreams. But, the *Sun's* question remained unanswered.

Did the silence mean "yes?"

Ceylon has plans without number for Tourism. The old Tourist Bureau Plan, the Chib Plan, the World Bank Plan and now the Yankee Feasibility Plan. It is curious that the first, the former Tourist Bureau Plan and the World Bank Feasibility study plan cover a great deal of common ground. In fact, the *first* coincides with the *third* and the *fourth* in terms of overall costs; in one case, to the exact investment cost of Rs. 381 million for hotels, and Rs. 100 million for ten years' promotion and purchase of vehicles, tourism infrastructure such as yacht harbours, roads, water, sewage, electricity and the many other accessory expenses, needed to build and equip tourist resorts. The first question that arises is: *were all these new investigations really necessary? Was it necessary to use US AID and assistance for a mere elaboration of the earlier plan?*

In announcing the Ten Year Plan, which incidentally extends beyond this government's term of office into the next, and the next — right up to the era of supersonic aircraft which are expected to be in service on the North Atlantic in 1975 (that is, if the US Government does not postpone its investments on March 3 flight of 1,400 miles per hour).

As a piece of crystal ball reading, the Ceylon plan is a pipe dream in hashish. It is as far removed from reality as the thought of large-scale tourism with our sub-standard hotels, and the horrors of our resthouses the roaring blackmarket siphoning off 70 to 80 percent of tourism earnings, the lack of import substitution to reduce the import content of tourism, and last but not least important, Ceylon's position off the arterial air route from West to East which has not yet been counter-acted by making it possible economically for more air lines to touch at Katunayake's new airport.

The whole objective of top level co-ordination to push tourism effectively has not been achieved yet despite the formation of a legally well-endowed Board for promoting and developing tourism. What was wanted was the efficiency of a modern airline: what we have is an organisation from the pre-bullock cart era, when the wheel was first discovered, masquerading as modern tourist services.

There is much tub-thumping and Tarzan-like beating of chests to stake the claim of the Parisian left bank pavement artist: "All me own work." Continuity in the tourist business and clock-work co-ordination are still as far removed from the daily scene as passenger flights to the moon.

The dynamic, business approach of tourism has been totally lost in Ceylon — hence the miserable earnings of Rs. 7.5 millions last year after an investment of Rs. 18 millions, on a Tourist Board and a Hotels Corporation, which in turn have caused a recurring balance of payments deficit of Rs. 19 million, a point brought out in the recent budget debate.

TOURIST BOARD Chairman, Cecil Soysa, announcing the new plan brought out the hoary chestnut that in 1966 there were 85 million tourists in the world who spent 13 billion American dollars. In the first place, the world movement of tourists in 1966 has been officially published as 129 millions and not 85 millions, a fact a tourism authority like the Chairman should have had at his finger-tips - unless, of course, he has been misreported in the *Daily News* of the 18th August.

In the second place, the Chairman should have announced that in 1966 as much as 94 percent of the world's tourists visited Europe and the Americas, where they spent as much as 91.9 percent of the 13 billion dollars Chairman Soysa mentioned. The rest of the world shared the balance 6 percent of the world's tourists, and 8.1 percent of their expenditure.

Source: *International Union of Official Travel Organisations, Geneva.*

Thus, Ceylon competes for a share of 0.3 percent of the travel market and 0.7% of the world's tourist receipts at present, with Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal and India which is the South Asian region for the purpose of these statistics.

CHAIRMAN SOYSA might have taken the trouble to get the picture straight, in the first instance, when trying to sell his (or the Yankee) plan for ten years of Ceylon tourism. It is this type of loose and idle propaganda that has caught the imagination of the ignorant through the purveying of fancy data to the Ceylon public about the glorious millenium of Ceylon tourism as a **World Tourism Centre**. The rest of the world is also active getting in tourist dollars and pounds. Unless Ceylon picks up its socks or slippers we will still remain in the red in tourism with the grandiose plans photographed and fan-fared time and again.

The following table published in Geneva last month shows the actual position of the world's tourist regions in terms of tourist trade:

	TRAFFIC (in '000)		RECEIPTS (US \$ MI.)	
	1967	1966	1967	1966
EUROPE	102,500-74.27%	96,641-75.19%	8,595.0-60.8%	8,185.9-62.1%
AMERICAS	28,025-20.28%	24,775-19.38%	4,399.0-31.1%	3,807.3-29.69%
SUBTOTAL-	130,525-94.48%	121,416-94.57%	12,994-91.9%	11,993.2-91.79%
MIDDLE EAST	2,490-1.8%	3,553-2.74%	230.0-1.6%	323.0-2.4%
PACIFIC & FAR EAST	2,460-1.78%	2,093-1.61%	547.0-3.8%	479.7-2.8%
SOUTH ASIA	530.0-38%	461.0-35%	105.0-0.74%	95.0-0.72%
WORLD TOTAL	138,000-100%	129,300-100%	14,130.0-100%	13,121.5-100%
			(99.8%)	(99.4%)

— Figures rounded off

Why don't we stick to facts ?

The plan outlined in the *Daily News* spoke of 4,500 hotel rooms being built and 725 vehicles being bought for tourists at a cost of Rs. 325 million. Japan built a single hotel two years ago with 1,000 rooms and has over 20,000 rooms in service now. What is 4,500 rooms going to do in 1972 when Japan has four times that number now in 1968 or Hong Kong double Ceylon's target, 9,000 rooms, now.

And what of capital costs? Assuming that vehicles will cost 20,000 rupees apiece, the cost of 725 would be Rs. 14.5 million. (Importers of cars, please note early). The balance Rs. 310.5 million will be the cost of 4,500 rooms, or an average cost of Rs. 60,111 *per room*. Of course, room costs in this instance include the overall costs of all public facilities in a hotel.

Yet the World Bank insisted that, considering the type of traffic Ceylon can hope to get-being furthest away from the main markets in Europe, America, Australia and Japan - Ceylon should not attempt to build the luxury, five-star de-luxe type of room at more than Rs. 65,000 per unit, *and that the rest be scaled down to much lower levels to enable the hotels to run profitably*, instead of being burdened with amortisation charges.

Instead of getting the resthouses into order, expanding them to the required size of say 50 and 100 rooms for the first five years, Ceylon has picked up its best hookah for another

journey into LSD. Two or three hotels will come up if the traffic increases and more airlines call here. Which comes first: traffic or hotels? This chicken and egg argument must be settled carefully. Does traffic stimulate hotel building: or hotel building stimulate traffic?

Why, as M.P.s asked in Parliament, must we invest in the Tridents at a cost of Rs. 80 million to service 590 rooms in 3 new proposed Colombo hotels? The cost of these two Tridents would meet the building costs of two 300 room Hilton hotels in Ceylon. Has the chicken or the egg argument been correctly settled?

TOURISM requires a comprehensive plan — not mere rushing around to build skyscraper hotels. The announcement of the Plan also referred to 5,130 hotel rooms being built by 1976 to serve 307,000 tourists who are expected to arrive. This forecasting is not based either on the least squares method or trend analysis: it is rough guess work.

Three different projections have been put out. The Tourist Board expected 210,000 tourists by 1976 and wanted 3,000 odd rooms. The World Bank applied the cold douche to this fevered imagination of the Board of Tourism by saying that by 1972 Ceylon could expect 55,000 - 70,000 tourists and nett earnings of Rs. 39 million only on a Rs. 181 million investment by 1972. The World Bank's estimate with 4,000 additional rooms added by 1976 is about 118,000 tourists and nett earnings of Rs. 94 million.

Meanwhile Chairman Soysa blithely announced on August 5th, in the *Daily News*, that Ceylon would have 100,000 tourists and Rs. 150 million by 1973 !

Thus, tourism planning goes round the mulberry bush. It is a handy gadget for weaving spells, the magic of dreams, whenever anyone asks.

"Has Tourism in Ceylon fallen flat on its face?"

TELEPHONING BY LIGHT BEAM

A portable telephone recently produced by Britain's Associated Electrical Industries uses a beam of light instead of wires. In a BBC scientific programme, Noel Ernst of A.E.I. explained that this new short-range communications system will be very useful on building sites, making it possible to speak to the top of a building from the ground without having to lay cables. It can also be used in surveying, enabling surveyors to speak to each other across a river without the expense of a radio telephone and the formalities of a frequency allocation. Technically the new system is a modulated light source, the filament of a lamp being modulated by the voice. At present the range is just over a mile (just under two km.), but research engineers hope to extend this very soon.

Pope Paul's Letter

On Regulation Of Birth

by Simon Vannia

WHAT FOLLOWS are further extracts from Pope Paul VI's letter on the Regulation of Birth. 'To justify conjugal acts made intentionally infecund, one cannot invoke as valid reasons the lesser evil, or the fact that such acts would constitute a whole together with the fecund acts already performed or to follow later, and hence would share in one and the same moral goodness. In truth, if it is sometimes licit to tolerate a lesser evil in order to avoid a greater evil or to promote a greater good, it is not licit, even for the gravest reasons, to do evil so that good may follow therefrom; that is, to make into the object of a positive act of the will something which is intrinsically disorder, and hence unworthy of the human person, even when the intention is to safeguard or promote individual, family or social well-being.

'Consequently it is an error to think that a conjugal act which is deliberately made infecund and so is intrinsically dishonest could be made honest and right by the ensemble of a fecund conjugal life. The Church, on the contrary, does not at all consider illicit the use of those therapeutic means *truly necessary to cure diseases of the organism*, even if an impediment to procreation, which may be foreseen, should result therefrom, provided such impediment is not, for whatever motive, directly willed.' This is in contrast to what he says elsewhere, which is: 'We must once again declare that the *direct interruption of the generative process* already begun, and, above all, *directly willed and procured abortion*, even if for therapeutic reasons, are to be absolutely excluded as a licit means of regulating birth.'

He goes on, 'The objection is made today that it is the prerogative of the human intellect to dominate the energies offered by irrational nature and to orientate them towards an end con-

formable to the good of man. Now, some may ask: In the present case, is it not reasonable in many circumstances to have recourse to artificial birth control if, thereby, we secure the harmony and peace of the family, and better conditions for the education of the children already born? To this question it is necessary to reply with clarity: The Church is the first to praise and recommend the intervention of intelligence in a function which so closely associates the rational creature with his Creator but she affirms that this must be done with respect for the order established by God.

'If, then, there are serious motives to space out births, which derive from the physical or psychological conditions of husband and wife, or from external conditions, the Church teaches that it is then licit to take into account the natural rhythms immanent in the generative functions, for the use of marriage in the infecund periods only, and in this way to regulate birth....

'The Church is coherent with herself when she considers recourse to the infecund period to be licit, while at the same time condemning, as being always illicit, the use of means directly contrary to fecundation, even if such use is inspired by reasons which may appear honest and serious. *In reality, there are essential differences between the two cases: in the former, the married couple make legitimate use of a natural disposition: in the latter, they impede the development of natural processes.* It is true that, in the one and the other case, the married couple are concordant in the positive will of avoiding children for plausible reasons, seeking the certainty that offspring will not arrive; but it is also true that only in the former case are they able to renounce the use of marriage in the fecund periods when, for just motives, procreation is not desirable, while making use of it during infecund

periods to manifest their affection and to safeguard their mutual fidelity. By doing so, they give proof of a truly and integrally honest love.

'UPRIGHT men can even better convince themselves of the solid grounds on which the teaching of the Church in this field is based, if they care to reflect upon the consequences of methods of artificial birth control. Let them consider, first of all, how wide and easy a road would thus be opened up towards conjugal infidelity and the general lowering of morality. Not much experience is needed in order to know human weakness, and to understand that men — especially the young, who are so vulnerable on this point — have need of encouragement to be faithful to the moral law, so that they must not be offered some easy means of eluding its observance.

'It is also to be feared that the man, growing used to the employment of anti-conceptive practices, may finally lose respect for the woman and, no longer caring for her physical and psychological equilibrium, may come to the point of considering her as a mere instrument of selfish enjoyment, and no longer as his respected and beloved companion. 'Let it be considered also that a dangerous weapon would thus be placed in the hands of those public Authorities who take no heed of moral exigencies. *Who could blame a Government for applying to the solution of the problems of the community those means acknowledged to be licit for married couples in the solution of a family problem?* Who will stop rulers from favouring, from even imposing upon their peoples, if they were to consider it necessary the methods of contraception which they judge to be most efficacious? In such a way men, wishing to avoid the divine law, would reach the point of placing at the mercy of the intervention of public Authorities the most personal and most reserved sector of conjugal intimacy.

'Consequently, if the mission of generating life is not to be exposed to the arbitrary will of men, one must

necessarily recognize insurmountable limits to the possibility of man's domination over his own body and its functions; limits which no man, whether a private individual or one vested with authority, may licitly surpass. And such limits cannot be determined otherwise than by the respect due to the integrity of the human organism and its functions, according to the principles recalled earlier, and also according to the correct understanding of the "principle of totality" illustrated by Our Predecessor Pope Pius XII.'

The London Economist On

The Pope's Encyclical

by Titus Handuna

'POPE PAUL'S encyclical on birth control can only be described as a tragedy for the world', says the *London Economist*. The quotations which follow will be *verbatim*, but the editing is ours. It goes on, 'It is a tragedy for the world because it will increase the unhappiness of obedient segments of Catholic womanhood...and because it will raise great new difficulties in many developing countries.

'It may be that the world as a whole can afford for some time yet its present average rate of population increase at 2 per cent a year, even though this will double world population in 35 years. But it is quite certain that some developing countries cannot afford their present population explosions; not so much because of the resulting pressure upon food supplies, but because of the resulting pressure from swelling cohorts of the young on the scarcest and most vital resource of any developing country, which is education.

'In Latin America...where Roman Catholics are in the overwhelming majority, the average rate of

population increase is 3 per cent a year.

'The concerted efforts of the richer countries to promote family planning through the medium of the United Nations and other agencies will now have further serious obstacles to overcome, because some rich Catholic countries will feel that they cannot support them...What was totally unexpected and imprudent was the rigorous restatement, without modification or qualification of any kind, of the old scholastic position that contraception is intrinsically evil, contrary both to the law of God, and nature of man, and, as the Pope puts it, "unworthy of the human person."

'Pope Paul's theological justification for this is the flat statement that in marriage every sexual act "must remain open to the transmission of life", and is therefore incapable morally of being modified in any way on human initiative. Such a view has behind it...traditional Roman Catholic teaching.....

'*Why has the Pope taken the stand he has?* It has to be suspected that one factor is that he desires to preserve the prestige and authority of the Roman See. If so, he has made a grave error of judgment in the means chosen to achieve this end... He has been accused of weakness and vacillation, and has evidently determined to show that he is a man of strength. Like Sir Anthony Eden at Suez, he has chosen the wrong issue to demonstrate his resolution... Far from cementing the authority of the Holy See...he has identified the Vatican with the reactionary wing of the Roman Curia. He has consolidated that wing behind the papal throne. The price he has paid is not only the alienation of the left, but the loss of confidence of the centre. *This is as much a calamity for a spiritual as for a political leader, internationally as well as among his faithful....* The Pope himself has abdicated from a position in which he was revered and venerated as the father of all, to become the

Spokesman of a faction.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

'What is likely to happen now?' asks the *Economist*.

To that question — and from here onwards we stop quoting the *Economist* in order to express views which are our own — we might answer, Time alone will tell.

WHAT interests us much more is the method of reasoning that the *Economist* uses, and therefore its application to all the rest that that paper says about all other matters. For instance, it would appear that it has *not occurred* to the *Economist* that the papacy has once gain rejected birth control, other than by the rhythm method or by abstinence from intercourse, because it is wrong. The *Economist* would imply that the Pope has not been influenced in his decision by the objectivity of truth, but by some subjective reason — that, in other words, he is playing theology as someone else might play politics.

If that is the yardstick which the *Economist* uses, then we are entitled to suspect that that is the game which the *Economist* always plays: that, when, for instance, it deplores *apartheid* in South Africa, it does so with its tongue in its cheek, as it were, and that when it maintains that the gold mines are only just run at a profit and that the South African ones will nearly run out of gold in ten years, it is a lie.



THAT'S HOW IT IS

Even with a half million troops, a thirteen year presence and a 66 million dollar a day war expenditure, America has sensationally demonstrated that not one square inch of South Vietnam has been secured.

—Reuter

Impressive Results Of

The Soviet Economy In The First Half Of 1968

THE SOVIET people can look with a deep sense of satisfaction at the results of their labour in the past half year: the six-month programme which brought the current five-year plan to the halfway mark, the Central Statistical Board has announced, was exceeded in all basic respects — for volume of industrial output, freight turnover, real income of the population, and in retail trade.

The growth rate was high. Industrial production went up by about 9 percent as compared with the same period last year, and realization of output exceeded the plan by nearly 4,000 million rubles. The increases in the key areas were as follows: electric power 10 per cent, fuel 5 per cent, iron and steel non-ferrous metals 7 percent chemicals and petrochemicals 12 per cent, engineering and metalworking 12 per cent, timber, woodworking and pulp and paper 5 per cent, building materials 8 per cent, light industry 8 per cent, and food industry 7 per cent. Production of household and other everyday necessities increased by 14 per cent.

The highest rates were in industries such as power, engineering and chemicals, which are basic to scientific and technological progress and to the development of all other branches of industry. There was also a rapid growth in the output of consumer goods, which accords with the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government to ensure the fullest possible satisfaction of consumer needs.

The half-year plan was fulfilled or overfulfilled by all USSR and Union Republic industrial ministries. Electric power production was 313,000 million kilowatt-hours, oil 151 million tons, gas 85,000 million cubic metres, steel 52.9 million tons, rolled metal 42.5 million tons, and steel pipes 865 million metres.

The general efficiency level went up. Productivity of labour in industry increased by 5.7 per cent, and in enterprises working under the new system of planning and management by 6.3 per cent, as compared with the corresponding period of last year.

The plan for reduction of production costs was exceeded, as was the plan for profits in the economy generally and in industry in particular. In comparison with the first half of last year, profit in the economy as a whole increased by 17 per cent and in industry by 18 per cent.

In the course of the six months more than 6,000 enterprises in various branches went over to the new system of planning and economic incentives. Now 13,000 enterprises accounting for half of the country's total industrial output and nearly 60 per cent of the profit are operating under this system.

The enterprises working in the new way topped their enlarged plans for realization of output and profit by 3 per cent. This is further proof of the value of the new system of planning and economic incentives introduced by the Party and the government.

Substantial headway was made in agriculture. The spring sowing plan was exceeded, the grain area expanded, and a considerable increase registered in livestock production. Purchases of cattle and poultry exceeded plan by 8 per cent, of milk by 5 per cent, and of eggs by 6 per cent.

THESE achievements make for a further improvement of the living standard. The growth of both real income and retail trade in the last two and a half years of the current five-year plan topped the planned targets. The average monthly wage

of factory and office workers increased in comparison with the corresponding period last year by 8 per cent and amounted to 108 rubles. The earnings of collective farmers increased by 9 per cent. The money income of the population as a whole went up by 10.4 per cent.

An important indication of the rising living standard is the increase payments from public consumption funds, from which the population received a total of 26,600 million rubles, 9 per cent more than in the first half of last year, in the form of pensions, diverse grants, stipends, paid holidays, free education and medical care, accommodations free of charge or at reduced rates at sanatoriums and holiday homes, maintenance of children in children's institutions and other benefits.

The growing well-being was reflected in savings bank deposits, which increased in the six months by 2,900 million rubles and amounted on July 1 to 29,800 million.

Large-scale construction of housing and cultural and public service institutions continued. More than 500,000 flats built by the state and housing co-operatives and totalling some 22 million square metres in floorspace were made ready for occupancy. Besides, collective farms as well as many factory and office workers and collective farmers, built new homes at their own expense with the help of state credits. Notable progress was made in public education and the training of highly skilled personnel for industry.

THE Statistical Board statement points to the existence of considerable latent potential waiting to be tapped. The planned targets were not fulfilled for such items as oil products, electric motors, metallurgical equipment, some types of machine tools and other machines, cement, and refrigerators. Some ministries and departments are slow in commissioning basic assets, production capacity is not fully utilized at operating enterprises, and there are delays in launching new lines of

production. At times research projects held up and the latest achievements of science and technology are not always promptly introduced. Not all plants are yet up to the mark as regards realization of output.

The Statistical Board points to these shortcomings with a view to rallying the people to remedy them with utmost speed. An earnest of their early removal can be seen in the emulation movement now under way throughout the country for the fulfilment of the five-year plan ahead of schedule and to ensure the fullest utilization of the advantages of the socialist mode of production.

The Soviet people are resolved to carry out the current five-year programme ahead of time and thereby further increase the country's might.

—NEW TIMES

The Vietnam War

Why A US Veteran Now Opposes War

New York

A considerable number of Vietnam war veterans participated in anti-war demonstrations.

The experience which many of them had in Vietnam are reported to be similar to those of James Sloan, a Harvard senior whose reactions to the Vietnam war were given in an interview with Stephen D. Lerner in the Harvard Crimson recently. Following are excerpts from the interview:

JIM SLOAN, now a senior in Arams House, qualifies as one of Harvard first "Viet Vets." After spending nine months of last year as a sergeant-advisor in the Mekong, Sloan came back to Harvard to face a campus overwhelmingly against everything he had been fighting for.

Raised in Clinton, South Carolina, Sloan describes his political upbringing as non-racist, conservative, South ern Republican.

In January of his junior year Sloan enlisted in the Army "for the same reason that people used to go to sea years ago; I was looking for adventure and I felt I couldn't really study until I'd gotten it out of my system." After eight weeks of basic in South Carolina and eight months of advanced infantry training in Louisiana, Sloan volunteered for paratroop training because the pay was good and it was the fastest way to Vietnam. "It was still Kennedy's war then", Sloan reminisces, "and I believed it when they told me that we were fighting to save the parliamentary democracy of the South from the dictatorship of the North."

AFTER three more months of Communications and Methods of Instruction at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, Sloan volunteered for Vietnam but instead was shipped to Munsan-Ni, Korea, because he didn't have the rank to get to Vietnam. After nine months in Korea and a promotion to SP4, Sloan again volunteered for Vietnam and finally made it to Can Tho in the Mekong by April of 1966.

"Our time was split between shooting people and making plans of how to shoot more people; everyone around me was sure they were doing the right thing, and they rationalized the bad by saying that it was the price that had to be paid", Sloan said. "The people I was with were not fanatics, they were thoroughly regular people who were isolated from others with a different opinion of the war", he continued.

After seeing one civilian regime after another crumble, Sloan remembers becoming convinced that the only viable government was the South Vietnamese Army.

"Only when I had gotten some distance from the fighting did the justification for the war begin to erode", Sloan said.

Seeing anti-war demonstrations from Vietnam, Sloan was afraid the Liberals were going to discredit themselves and ruin any chance of progressive domestic legislation. But even more disturbing was the feeling that the people who were protesting the war were "people I admired and respected", he says.

UPON returning to Harvard at the beginning of the spring term last year, Sloan found that "people were shocked at what I had done and I couldn't understand their being upset." Because he "enjoyed a little cheap celebrity", Sloan amused himself by provoking his anti-war classmates.

"I'm used to being alone, and I don't think I changed my views about the war because they were unpopular." But, Sloan remembers, his friends patiently prodded him into rethinking the issues. "Then I read Mary McCarthy and found that her reporting was accurate and analysis valid. I kept asking myself why I hadn't seen through the situation earlier."

LAW & ORDER

Law and order now looms as the No. 1 issue of 1968, even overshadowing a war that keeps more than 500,000 American troops in combat in S.E. Asia. Ronald Reagan got the loudest applause when he told a rally at Alabama that "we talk of sending a man to the moon, but we can't even send a man safely across the park." But what is all this cry for law and order? "There were more than 50 major race riots in the US—with whites always on the offensive", says John Hope Franklin, chairman of history department at the University of Chicago. It is interesting that they were never followed with the cries for law and order . . . Law and order is now just the new way to yell 'Nigger'!

(Time, August 2)

Growing Confrontation

Race War In South Africa

THE VISIT of the President of Zambia to London has once again brought the Rhodesian question to the forefront. Zambia's relations with Britain had been tepid since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Rhodesian settlers. Mr. Wilson had ignored African anger and pursued his own course. He was unwilling to envisage direct military action by British to overthrow the illegal Smith regime and he stood in the way of other nations by claiming Rhodesia to be a British responsibility.

Mr. Wilson still holds these views; he feels that in course of time the moderate elements in Rhodesia — and he includes Mr. Smith among the moderates — will triumph and that will be the proper time for negotiating a settlement.

President Kaunda's efforts to persuade Mr. Wilson to take military action against the settler regime was doomed to failure, though he may have received promises of increased military aid and British officers to train his army.

How far is Mr. Wilson justified in his views? The Harper incident, of course, reinforces his position to a certain extent, Mr. Harper was one of the pillars of the Smith regime and he is the blue-eyed boy of the ultras who want to establish an Apartheid State on the South African model. He was therefore totally opposed to parity of representation for Africans in some indefinite future, as the constitutional commission had suggested. His views are supported by an influential section in the party and the Government, but it was not the constitutional issue that was the bone of contention between Mr. Harper and Mr. Smith.

The head of the illegal government in Salisbury has accused his former colleague of being a security risk. Strange as it may seem, the Minister of the Interior, who was in charge

of security, is according to this statement, not wholly loyal to the regime. Since not even Mr. Smith has accused Mr. Harper of working in the interest of Britain or the Africans, he could only be working in the interest of South Africa. The real difference between the ultras and the so-called moderates is the attitude towards South Africa; the question which agitates the Rhodesian whites is whether Salisbury should be the subordinate ally of Pretoria, or claim at least nominal independence.

This is a quarrel which does not concern the Africans. Both factions of the Rhodesian Front are agreed on the divine right of the Whites to rule and the need for keeping the Blacks in their place. Mr. Wilson, however, has an interest in it, as the so-called moderates might reach an agreement with Britain on a legal transfer of power to the settlers. They might even make some nominal concessions to the Africans to achieve this, but they will never accept Africans as equals or even grant them parity in representation. The interests of Britain, in Zambia and Rhodesia are, however, divergent and it is unlikely that Mr. Wilson will do anything, either directly or indirectly, to weaken the settler regime in Salisbury.

President Kaunda is more concerned with the Rhodesian issue in its wider African context. Pretoria's diplomatic offensive in the African countries of the southern half of the continent has met with considerable success. The ex-High Commission territories have not lost their dependence on South Africa, and Malawi is now firmly established as a client state. South Africa is providing technical assistance to Malawi and between 1965 and 1967 imports from South Africa increased by 400 per cent.

MORE important, Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa are co-ordinating their policies to meet the

African nationalist upsurge. There are regular meetings at ministerial level every month. Co-operation at staff level and exchange of intelligence take place regularly. Military aircraft fly freely and land in each other's territory. South Africa is developing the Caprivi strip as a jumping point; a two-mile long runway has been built at Mpacha ten miles from the Zambia frontier. South African troops and police are operating in Rhodesia, which is still nominally a British territory. Rhodesian and South African planes keep a constant watch on the Zambesi valley and there are regular incursions into Zambia. The three white settler states are pursuing a forward policy and Zambia is the victim. The reason is simple; Zambia is thought to be the main base for African guerillas in Southern Africa. It is from Zambia that the Rhodesian and South African freedom-fighters operate. Recently, the Angolan freedom-fighters based in Zambia opened a new front in the eastern provinces of Angola.

The policy of provocations pursued by the three white-dominated regimes in Southern Africa has forced Zambia to look after its defences. Mr. Kaunda suggested an East and Central African defence pact but this came to nothing. His visit to London is primarily concerned with defence matters and even if Zambia is able to acquire ground-to-air missiles, it will not be in a position to meet the threat posed by the White regimes. It lacks trained manpower and only a joint defence system can ensure the security of its frontiers. The Whites, unable to deal with the guerillas in their midst, want to strike at the base. Rhodesian and South African authorities admit that the African freedom-fighters are well trained and properly equipped and constitute a security problem. No area has so far been liberated in Rhodesia but a feeling of insecurity has been created. The rift between Mr. Harper and the Prime Minister is evidence of the growing strength of the freedom movement and Mr. Kaunda has every reason to be a worried man. The settlers will strike across the Zambesi, if they feel

threatened in Rhodesia, and this will not be a war between states but between Blacks and Whites.

MR. KAUNDA cannot expect Britain to provide him with the arms to meet the threat from the settler regimes. The British Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons, a few days before the Zambian President's arrival, that the policy on Rhodesia remains unchanged. London is certainly anxious to improve relations with the African States, but it has to tread carefully. British investments in South Africa are enormous. Many powerful economic financial, commercial and mining groups are interested in the maintenance of good relations with South Africa; and the apartheid republic is a major trading partner of Britain. Large-scale supply of arms and strengthening of the defence potential of Zambia will have repercussion not only in Rhodesian and Portugal but also in South Africa. It is tight-rope that Mr. Wilson has to walk;

the Labour Government cannot afford to alienate South Africa. The fear of South Africa dominates Britain's African policy and even the attitude to Rhodesia is determined by Pretoria's views. Mr. Wilson's freedom of action is limited and though he utters anathemas against apartheid, he will not take any action which will injure the economic and political interests of South Africa.

Southern Africa is thus a turning point. Mr. Wilson's unwillingness to deal with the Rhodesian secession has created a situation in which Blacks and Whites face each other along the Zambesi. The African freedom-fighters are active in the South and any Rhodesian or South African efforts to turn the tide by an invasion of Zambia, can plunge Africa into a blood-bath. It is to avoid this that Mr. Kaunda has gone to London; while hoping that the settlers will not lose their sanity he is preparing for the worst.

K.M.P.

Third Anniversary

North Vietnam's Missile Units: Soviet Assistance

Moscow,

THREE years ago, in July 1965, Soviet-trained missile units of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam shot down the first US plane. More battles followed, dozens and hundreds of them. But that first one marked the birth of new kind of troops within the Vietnamese popular army. Cases were later often reported when missilemen brought down three enemy planes with two rockets, testifying to increased skills. American pilots who once turned up their noses at the DRV air defences, now are compelled to say with respect: "the fire is very dense and the accuracy of hitting is exceptional." Who else can know better how accurate Vietnamese rocketmen are. There are now quite a number of missile units in the DRV which brought down 30 to 40 enemy aircraft over the past three years.

Special credit must go to the missile battery decorated with three orders and now defending the sky over Hanoi. This unit commanded by Le Long, from the moment it was formed in August, 1965, travelled over many front roads and destroyed air pirates in any circumstances. One American pilot in an interview with a *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent described how Vietnamese anti-aircraft troops are operating. "This is really frightening — a squall of missiles rushing at you..." way back in 1966 US air force men told with one voice: "As for Hanoi, it is today one of the best protected cities in the world: perhaps best protected after Moscow." Statements like this indicate that the Soviet people are supplying North Vietnam with the most up-to-date arms to defend the gains of socialism and to deliver crushing blows at the enemy.

The US imperialists who launched the dirty war in Vietnam have now to admit that the Soviet military equipment is doing colossal damage to them. Sultzberger, a noted American news analyst, noted: with the arrival in Vietnam of a large number of Soviet rockets and anti-aircraft guns "the superiority the Americans and their allies had owing to numerous helicopters and transport planes has been substantially reduced." The foreign press carried quite a number of commentaries concerning the 3,000th American plane shot down over the DRV. It was emphasised that this outstanding success has been the result of outstanding bravery and high skill displayed by North Vietnamese armed forces. At the same time, as the newspaper *L'Humanite* remarked, "the victories of the Vietnamese people are a credit to the peoples who have placed at the disposal of the DRV means for self-defence, for the defence of socialism, and in particular to Soviet working people who provided the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with missiles and fighters."

NOT so long ago Derek Wilson, a *France Presse* correspondent, interviewed on board the American aircraft carrier several pilots who took part in air raids on the DRV. They stated with bitterness that "the Communists are meeting us with ground fire practically from every corner... From the coast and cities to mountain regions." Major Don Thomas, a veteran of this war, added that "missile launch positions and anti-aircraft gun sites are scattered all over the southern part of North Vietnam... They are continually changing their dislocation. This system of anti-aircraft fire is changing from day to day." The Hanoi paper *Nhan Dan* noted that missilemen made an outstanding contribution to strengthening their air defences. In some months they brought down 25 to 35 and even more enemy planes. During the five months of this year missile units of the DRV shot down as many planes during the whole of 1965. Soviet people are pleased to know that DRV rocketmen's successes also contain no small part of labour and efforts by Soviet specialists who are passing to their Vietnamese friends vast experience and skills of handling the most modern and formidable weapons.

E. PAVLOV

Point Of View

Communal Amity

ONE of the brightest features of British rule in our Island was the happy spectacle of the various communities of varied cultural background, speaking different languages and professing different faiths living together in perfect peace and harmony. This was particularly evident in the cities, towns and commercialized areas whose resident populations the most part tri-lingual or at least bi-lingual.

Why, Oh why, cannot this happy state of affairs be continued, extended and perpetuated throughout a free and independent Ceylon? Why should we permit designing though selfishly short-sighted politicians to disturb the peaceful serenity of our island by misleading the masses and sowing seeds of suspicion, jealousy and ill-will by their rabid, emotional appeals to race, religion and language?

It is a common experience today to hear around us the words "*Appey Jathiya, Appey Agama, Appey Bhasawa*" meaning thereby the Sinhalese people, the Buddhist religion and the Sinhalese language. Each is no doubt predominant in its own sphere in our Island. But are these alone entitled to consideration to the exclusion of all other races, other religions and other languages that have hitherto been given a fair deal and a honourable place in this common Island-home of ours from times even anterior to the advent of the foreign conqueror?

The Sinhalese speaking people of this Island are as mixed a lot as any of the people of Europe or the rest of Asia. They have come or been brought from various parts of India and elsewhere at various periods of our history and settled in various parts of the Island. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, or the British as they are now called, have made

their several contributions to this admixture as also Negroid, Mongolian and other races.

The Tamil speaking people of Ceylon are no less heterogeneous group. They are for the most part descendants of the successive hordes of invaders from Southern India who have managed to retain a foothold in the North and East of the Island. Yet others are descendants of labour forces more recently recruited from Southern India in the days of the British Raj to work in the plantations of the Central Province. These latter have by unremitting toil under most difficult conditions built up the economy of this country while the former have for centuries earlier made invaluable contributions to the economic cultural and political progress of our Island. Then there are the sea-faring Arabs "*Marakaldyas*" who settled in the towns along the south west coast and engaged in trade or on the East to become farmers. The moors who came in smaller craft. "*Hamban*" have penetrated into the remotest villages inland where they live in peace and concord with their Sinhalese or Tamil speaking neighbours. All these groups talk Tamil for the most part. This assorted conglomeration, then, go to form the Tamil speaking population of Ceylon.

Thus it will be seen that the Sinhalese and the Tamil speaking peoples of this Island are not two distinct ethnic groups but merely linguistic groups. Their merger can only be a matter of time. But such fusion is a *sine-qua-non* for our common welfare. Where the two have been brought together in their daily lives as in the universities, the cities and industrialized areas they readily mix and merge. Such inter-marriages are of increasingly common occurrences among the English educated classes: so much so that the English language has proved apotent factor in promoting such fusion.

Even before contact with European and other races the kings of Ceylon as well as her aristocracy sought their consorts from Southern India. These later, continued to practise

their religion, Hinduism, in Ceylon without let or hindrance of any sort whatsoever. In fact every facility was provided them for the purpose. Evidence the fact that every ancient Buddhist temple of any importance in the island has to this day a Devale attached.

THE Tamil language too appears to have held an important place in the the Island right up to the time of the Kandyan Convention which bore Tamil signatures.

Such being the case, are we justified today in encouraging or even permitting such irrational emotional appeals to "think with the blood", shutting our eyes to the perils attendant on such a course? Are we to permit, albeit in the name of national integration, slogans and shibboleths that deliberately shut out all races, languages and religions other than Sinhalese and Buddhist? Are all other communities and creeds to be denied a dignified place in this common island-home of ours?

Should we not rather at this juncture take a lesson from the history of the British people? In the British Isles immediately after their release from the Norman yoke there arose an up-surge of desperate nationalism in which the Anglo-Saxons took a leading part. For a time all patriotic literature in the Island referred exclusively to England and the English. But this naturally aroused the resentment of the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish and threatened national unity. The situation was met however with praiseworthy statesmanship by the coining of the words "Great Britain and British."

Why can't we in our little Island similarly use the words Ceylon and Ceylonese or Lanka and Lankikayo so as to take into the fold all communities that inhabit this happy Island and have contributed to her prosperity and well-being to say nothing of their share in our struggle for liberation?

Even in the matter of religion should we not take a lesson from Great Britain where the Church of

England was the established state religion and the Roman Catholic and other Christian sects suffered certain disabilities by legislature? These unfair disabilities have since been removed by far-sighted and fair-minded statesmen; so that there is absolutely no discrimination on religious grounds today in Great Britain.

Coming finally to the question of language, we see that all the world over man has invented and developed language for his convenience and well-being to enable him to live with his fellowman in mutual understanding harmony and comfort. In short, language exists for man and not man for language. To talk therefore of dying for one's language as some ardent champions of "Sinhala Only" appears ludicrously absurd. Equally absurd and even dangerously insensate are the opposing cries of Tamil extremists. Such absurdities on either side if not checked in time will eventually lead to violence and atrocities.

Whatever we may think of Western ways and customs we can not gainsay the fact that Western science and technology which enable man to live in greater health and comfort are today far ahead of their counterparts in the East. The gap is rapidly increasing. If we in Ceylon are to keep abreast of modern progress instead of being relegated to some stagnant backwater we must not lose touch with the English language to which we have already been introduced and which opens out a window for us on the world of modern progress. Our policy should therefore be "English, more English and yet more English."

IT MAY BE urged that Sinhalese is a well-developed language which can be adopted to meet modern requirements in the field of science and technology. But we must not forget the fact that Sinhalese though a well-developed language three centuries ago has long since ceased to grow and keep pace with modern science, though zealously preserved like some museum-piece in the monasteries. The efforts presently

being made to bring it up to date and make it capable of meeting modern requirements will entail an expenditure of time and energy that might be spent to better purpose in spreading the knowledge of English throughout the Island. Remember English today is not merely the language of our erstwhile masters but a world language spoken in many countries besides its original home.

Then again, Sinhalese having at best a limited potential reading public will always suffer in the matter of cost of publication. For that reason the wealth of literature that is available in English through the Pan, the Penguin the Pelican and such like series can never be made available in Sinhalese unless we set about conquering the world to provide a sufficiently extensive reading public.

And finally the retention of English will enable the Burgher community in our Island to continue as they have done in the past to the aesthetic, cultural, economic and political progress of this Island which they have long considered their home. In fact it will put a stop to the general exodus of English educated talent from our Island.

Educationalists today are agreed that the best medium of educating the child is its mother tongue. By mother tongue, I take it, is meant the language of the home. Why not then let parents choose the medium of instruction for their children according, as they speak English, Sinhalese or Tamil in their homes at the same time making English compulsory for all at very early stage.

For the purpose of administration why not let Tamil be used in the Tamil speaking areas while Sinhalese remains the official language of the rest of the Island, at the same time retaining English throughout the country?

Thus no hardship will be caused to any one community while the country will be gradually preparing to adopt English as the Official Language providing a common

meeting ground for all communities and paving the way for speedy progress towards unity, peace and prosperity.

T. F. P.



GREENLAND

CATASTROPHE

The territory on which lethal plutonium was dispersed is six kilometres long and one kilometre wide. The Americans now say they will collect all the radioactive ice into containers and take it away and make it harmless. But even if this immense job is accomplished, what is to be done with that part of the plutonium which penetrated the ice and settled at the bottom of a huge 250-metre-deep fissure of which is locked in ice and will find itself in water when it melts? The currents will carry the contaminated masses of water into the worlds, oceans, and that is fraught with danger for many countries. The U. S. Atomic Energy Commission will long remember Thule," *L'Express* writes. This catastrophe should also be remembered by everyone in any way concerned about the future of mankind. The Soviet government's memorandum on urgent measures for stopping the arms race and for disarmament speaks, among other things, about the need to prohibit flights of bombers with nuclear weapons on board beyond the national borders. The admission of the members of the American commission investigating the Greenland catastrophe confirms once again the timeliness of such a measure.

Revolution In Printing

Lead In Retreat: Plastics To The Forefront

by V. Popov

Some time go an exhibit from the "Soviet Press" pavilion at the USSR Economic Achievement Exhibition was sent to an industrial establishment to be installed there for work. It was a type-setting machine branded "NSHL 5" The new machine is designed for casting unusual, plastic types.

No such machine existed in this country before, nor elsewhere. No other country has anything like this today. Having analysed the advantages of the new typographic machine, the working group's recommendations to the Exhibition Head Office were that the inventors — specialists from the Graphic Arts Machine-Building Research Institute and from the Moscow Type-Casting Plant, where it was put into service, should be awarded 8 medals — 1 silver and 7 bronze.

Here are some historic details:

For centuries since the time of the great printer Gutenberg printing types have been cast from type metal. An alloy of lead, tin and antimony, it was acclaimed as the most suitable type-casting material.

However, possessing many valuable properties, the "irreplaceable" alloy suffers from some outstanding drawbacks. It is low in mechanical properties, i.e. is "inelastic." Hence, its low running capacity — metal types withstand not more than 60-80 thousand impressions: thereupon they "wear off" and printing quality drastically declines.

THE CONSTITUENTS of metal type are fairly expensive and scarce. The alloy is heavy. Suffice it to say that a newspaper type page weighs today as much as 45-50 kilogrammes. Work with a printing form as heavy as that puts under much strain not only the people but the printing

equipment as well. Moreover, to put it mildly, type metal is not harmless as far as man's health goes. As a matter of fact, precisely these reasons were behind the efforts undertaken by the specialists about twenty years ago in search for a new material for the printing industry. A replacement was to be found for something that had been in service for centuries. The helping hand was given by chemistry which had long been destroying our traditional concepts of the professional allegiance of metals. Plastics go today to manufacture numerous articles, even bricks. Initial steps have been made to fabricate typographic type too. Workers of the Plastics Research Institute and of the "Gallant" plant developed a dependable plastic. It is this plastic that is now competing with type metal.

The new types are wonderful. Notable for high elasticity. The new plastic withstands a far greater number of impressions. The new type character is, in fact, three times as resistant as the metal one, and ten times as light. For instance, the Moscow Type-Casting Plant in Tangaka turns out annually, 1,150 tons of types — 1,100 in metal and 50 in plastic. At first sight 50 tons appear to be not much, but the superior efficiency of new types renders 50 tons in plastic equivalent to 1,500 tons of metal.

SIMILARLY to type metal, the plastic type is reversible; once grown useless, it can be remelted and brought back into production. A great deal more could be said to the credit of plastic types, but let us turn back to the "NSHL-5" machine. This is what one of its authors V.N. Ponomarev, chief of the Type-Setting Equipment Department, Graphic Arts Machine-Building Research Institute, has to say:

"In fact, the production of new types in Moscow has been put on a commercial basis. They are soon to be turned out by the Leningrad Type-Casting plant as well. The new types are intended for local printing houses relying on manual setting. There are thousands of such printing houses all over the country.

"The new machine will be displayed at the international exhibition 'interpolygraphmash' which is to open in Moscow in 1969. Our 'NSHL - 5' is externally very unlike the conventional type-casting machines, although the type-casting procedure has practically remained invariable. We succeeded in turning to account all of the standard equipment designed for metal-type casting. Every machine of the new type, as found out by computations, will give an annual economy of 15.2 thousand roubles."

"And what about the conversion of linotype to plastic?"

"Things here are far more complicated. This machine, the introduction of which 82 years ago amounted to a revolution in type setting, could not be so far converted to plastics. Although work on this line was carried on for many years in this as well as in other countries, the results proved a failure. At any rate the work never advanced beyond experimental stage. It appears that the linotype needs plastic of a different formula. Time will tell which one."

Komsomolskaya Pravda

SOUL BROTHER

The poem is by Cuba's most famous poet, Nicolas Guillen. It was written in response to a poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko which the Soviet poet composed in Mexico upon hearing of the assassination of Guillen's poem is by Tana de Gamez.

Pentagon Techniques

Aircraft Carriers: US Weapon For Waging Local Wars

by Col. V. Novak

Prague

Aircraft carriers are, one of the youngest instruments of warfare. They were first used towards the end of World War I but it was not until World War II that they were developed to the full. They played an important role in the Pacific on both the American and the Japanese sides, and in the battle of the Atlantic. Still during the first post-war years aircraft based on American aircraft carriers, together with the airforce, represented the main deterrent force for use against strategic points far into the hinterland of the enemy.

At present Great Britain, France and especially the USA have aircraft carriers in their possession. Britain, however, is in this respect fast falling behind. The five aircraft carriers she has at her disposal are now outdated and do not correspond to contemporary warfare requirements. Therefore they are to be gradually scrapped without being replaced by others. The first on the list for this fate is the aircraft carrier "Victorious" which is to be turned into a floating base for crews of ships which are under repair.

The price of one aircraft carrier is in the region of two hundred million dollars, the price of one nuclear-powered aircraft carrier varies from four hundred to five hundred million dollars. It was these enormous costs that led the British government to give up the idea of building new aircraft carriers.

The French navy is also restricted as far as aircraft carriers are concerned. It has at its disposal only two new ones: the *Clemenceau* and the *Foch*. The main great power in this respect is the USA, which has fifteen classical deterrent and one nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

SOME TIME AGO it seemed that the era of aircraft carriers was coming to an end, even in the USA. Intercontinental missiles and Polaris nuclear-powered submarines were coming to the fore. This revolution in military technique pushed the carrier-borne airforce into the rear. Certain experts raised the objection that aircraft carriers were luxury items in the war budgets. It is now evident, however, that in the event of war, aircraft carriers would still have a special place; only their role in a global conflict would be somewhat modified and would not be of such great importance as it was during World War II and the years immediately following.

In limited and local wars which are taking a leading place in American war strategy, the significance of aircraft carriers could even be said to be rising. In such wars inter-continental rockets and Polaris nuclear-driven submarines are not decisive, but the decisive war media include aircraft from aircraft carriers, marines paratroopers and the like. As the USA is now forced to liquidate some of its war bases in Africa and Asia it is using aircraft carriers to replace them. They enable a fast transfer of troops and war material to distant places and they represent a powerful deterrent force.

The significance of aircraft carriers for waging limited and local wars is now evident in the Vietnamese war. The American Seventh Fleet has three of its aircraft carriers permanently assigned for this war. They cruise within a precisely defined area, in the *Yankee Station* — as it is called — just one hundred miles off the coast of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the Tonkin Gulf, and in the *Dixie Station*, one hundred and twenty miles east of

the coast of South Vietnam. Most of the air raids over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are made by planes launched from aircraft carriers at *Yankee Station*.

Another example of the importance of aircraft carriers is that of the capture of the American reconnaissance ship, the *Pueblo* while cruising in North Korean sovereign waters. Immediately after the incident aircraft carriers, including the nuclear-powered *Enterprise*, drew in close to the Korean coast in an endeavour to exert American pressure on the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

American aircraft carriers also played their role during the Israeli-Arab conflict last summer. Two of these carriers — the *America* and the *Saratoga* — were cruising during the conflict not far from the Egyptian coast, and their aircraft were all the time airborne ready to intervene. In this they formed a grave threat to the Arab states.

AMERICAN PLANS calculate with an intensive building of aircraft carriers within the next few years and very soon others will be added to the present sixteen. Nearing completion is the 78,000 ton aircraft carrier, the *John F. Kennedy*, sister ship of the *America* — the largest American ship of its type run on standard fuel. By 1975 three nuclear-powered aircraft carriers are to be built, each of a 94,000 ton displacement, while the only nuclear-driven aircraft carrier so far, the *Enterprise*, has a displacement of only 85,000 tons. Several older types of aircraft carrier are to be scrapped; even so the total number of planes will increase: while aircraft carriers now base an average of sixty to eighty planes, the new types will base many more than this number.

At the same time modernization of the air fleet is in progress. F-III B jet fighter planes with a speed of 2,750 km per hour carrying six *Phoenix* rockets, are to be added to the present air fleet, as well as F-4 J *Phantom* jet planes, A-7 A *Corsair* fighter planes with a speed of 1,200

km per hour and others. Not even these types, which are still at the testing stage, will fully correspond to the requirements of modern warfare. For this reason other modern types of planes for aircraft carriers are being evolved.

Already from these few notes it can be seen that the American military command places great significance upon aircraft carriers. American imperialism sees in them an important means of waging limited and local wars against the nations of Africa and Asia, an instrument of menacing force, and instrument of pressure in time of peace. Why, just one or two aircraft carriers with a few score aircraft aboard often represent a force exceeding all defence possibilities of the countries of the Third World.

Pragopress

Something To Remember

The Theosophical Society: For A World Outlook

Like every great movement for reform the Theosophical Society which was founded in New York in 1875 by joint efforts of Madame H. P. Blavatsky and Colonel H. S. Olcott has been the subject of self-satisfied condemnation. Ceylon recently commemorated the work of these two by issuing a stamp in honour of Colonel Olcott whose work for the Buddhist revival here is universally acknowledged. The Colonel's guru was Madame Blavatsky whom he first met in America. The following are the concluding paragraphs of a biography of H. P. B. written by an Englishman residing in Hampstead, London, in 1925: *vide* Madame Blavatsky by G. Basden Butt "Undoubtedly the most precious work made possible through the labours of and powers of Madame Blavatsky was the inauguration of the Theosophical Society. For the

Society is an unique combination of theory and practice, mysticism and politics, faith and works. It stands for the grand ideal of World Unity, of reconciliation between peoples, understanding between East and West.

Above all things the Theosophical Society stands for unity in religion — religion which hitherto has been a source of strife and bloodshed. The Theosophical doctrine that the religious faith of the world have a common origin and an underlying unity may lead in future to the union in one Brotherhood not only of Christendom — now divided into warring sects — but of all those who, throughout the world, worship the unseen Father. This movement may mean the death of religious bigotry and intolerance. It may at last mean

peace in the world of religion. And when there is peace in religion, hope may dawn of peace between nations and between classes; peace in politics, commerce and the family. For then indeed will individuals be rooted and grounded in love. This present age of darkness, the Kali Yuga, will be over and past, and the Golden Age, will dawn upon the earth once again. Then may the prophet's dream become a practical reality. There shall be no more swords, but ploughshares; no more tears, but laughter. Life and love and happy children shall increase throughout the earth in the cycle wherein all things are made new. In the realisation of this vision the Theosophical Society which Madame Blavatsky helped to found is one of the practical instruments."

G. Basden Butt

From Moscow

Way USSR Decided To Sell Arms To Pakistan ?

by P. Unnikrishnan
Patriot Link Correspondent in Moscow

FROM PRIVATE discussions and whatever is known of official exchanges so far, a pattern emerges which provides Soviet answers to some of the questions agitating nationalist opinion in India on the reported decisions to sell Soviet arms to Pakistan. Why did the Soviet Union decide on this step after holding back so long — a step which is decidedly displeasing to Indian opinion? What do they expect to gain from it? What are their calculations so far as the long-term interests of stability and the balance of power in the Indian sub-continent are concerned?

Obviously, the decision was not easy for the Soviet and it was not made without a great deal of thought. It is no secret that President Ayub Khan has used every opportunity of contact with Moscow in the past three years to raise the demand for arms aid, or alternatively, to slow down Soviet supplies to India.

HIS most persistent line has been that Soviet reluctance, after the Taskent Declaration, to change their arms policy was patently an act of discrimination against Pakistan. The Soviets were selling arms to other Asian and African countries. Mutual relations between these beneficiaries are not always ideal; nor are they all non-aligned. Iran, for instance, was a member of CENTO. Why was Pakistan, which was making earnest efforts to assert its freedom of international action — examples being its stand on Vietnam and on the closure of the American base in Peshawar — being made the single case of exception? Did it not show that the Soviet Union was arming India not merely against other sources of threat to its security but also against Pakistan?

Much is done by Pakistan at the same time to harm India's image. Reference is made to surcharged

emotional appeals that parties like the Jana Sangh and SSP make, even against fulfilling assumed international commitments over Kutch. Recrudescence of communal disturbances in various parts of India is also mentioned to suggest that normalization of relation continue to be hindered by powerful forces in India and that, in the circumstances, the arms imbalance can only accentuate distrust. No doubt, Pakistan conveniently forgets that it solved its communal problems long ago by the simple expedient of annihilating or pushing out all its minorities. However, the point is that Pakistan has been trying to gain Soviet sympathy by every means possible.

IT HAS BEEN clear to the Soviets for some time, as it has been to India, that Pakistan is bent on acquiring arms from wherever they come and at whatever cost. Arms from USA continued to come through indirect channels like Italy and West Germany. These had been widely reported in India too. China, on the other hand, has not been slow either to use the situation. It has been giving arms to Pakistan for some time. It made its intention towards India clear when it sought to open a "second front" at the time of the September 1965 conflict between India and Pakistan.

But what would appear to have influenced Soviet policy-makers most and speeded the decision to supply arms to Pakistan are intelligence reports that became available to the Soviets about a major plan of Chinese-Pakistan collusion. After General Yahya Khan's probing mission to Moscow, a highpowered delegation headed by Foreign Minister Arshad Hussain is to go to Peking. The plan was to be unfolded then of large-scale supplies of varied equipment and of closer co-ordination of moves against India. Mr. Arshad Hussain's claim recently that Pakistan regarded China as its most reliable ally was apparently not mere rhetoric.

Once reports from all sources confirmed these indications, the Soviets decided to forestall the Chinese de-

sign. By themselves stepping in nominally, they thought they would introduce a new element into the picture which they hoped could not but be a factor in favour of peace and stability.

FROM the Indian standpoint, of course, the question is, what guarantee is there that China will now keep from putting its master plan into action? It can still pump in arms. Besides, does not Soviet entry mean encouragement to Mr. Ayub Khan's policy of blackmail by means of which he is already getting arms from both USA and China? Will this not revive Pakistani military ambitions in the sub-continent?

Summarized, Soviet replies are on these lines: (1) Soviet supplies to Pakistan are on a meagre scale and will remain so compared to the scale of help given to India and which Soviets are ready to expand; (2) the Soviets have secured from Pakistan an assurance of virtual non-aggression against India. It goes beyond the commitment that Soviet arms will not be used against India. The Soviets have conveyed this to New Delhi. They have taken a firm line that in the event of aggression they will, with all their might, take the side of the victim and will not remain neutral. This, the Soviet think, will be a warning against adventurism. (3) Soviet military interest in Pakistan will act as a deterrent against China as well as the West. It will help to foil any dramatic bid, joint or several, to upset the balance of power in the Indian sub-continent.

These considerations should be at the back of Prime Minister Kosygin's assertion that Soviet-Indian friendship — long-term interests rather than those of the moment — will be the basic criterion for determining Soviet policy in the Indian sub-continent including arms supply. It remains the Soviet aim to use its increasing influence with Pakistan to make the Tashkent Declaration the decisive factor in Indo-Pakistan relations, to promote brotherly relations and to strengthen the econo-

mies of both against outside forces which have so far profited from conflicts and which search for newer and subtler ways of deepening existing animosities.

THE NEW SOVIET approach is bound to appear like a point of total reversal of Soviet policy on Kashmir — from the time of Khrushchev's proclamation that the Soviets did not regard Kashmir as a problem but as an integral part of India, to the Tashkent conference where impliedly Kashmir was recognized as negotiable, to the present phase seemingly total equation between India and Pakistan.

Soviet observers, I have spoken to, deny that there has been any change in the Soviet stand. Prime Minister Nehru himself had offered to stabilize the frontiers of Kashmir on the basis of existing realities. There had been a series of Indo-Pak meetings aimed at rational readjustment of of demarcation. India continued to hold that it was willing to talk with Pakistan on every issue. In this situation, how could the Soviet Union appear to be more rigid than India, they ask.

In their own enlightened self-interest, the Soviets want to strength en the best of relations with India. They do not want this friendship to be a restraint but rather the catalyst for further development of international relations towards the goal of a world without war and a world of peaceful coexistence. It is the Soviet conviction that the present atmosphere of angry protests will soon clear up when the realities of Indian interests begin to manifest themselves. They seem convinced that this will be so even from the fact that the present difficult atmosphere in India is being used, predictably, by traditional anti-Soviet forces in India while the stand of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other democratic and progressive forces is one of dignified restraint and understanding, though tinged with a sense of anxiety.

THE BORDERLAND — by C. V. VELUPILLAI

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Sundari's Strange Guest

The Story So Far . . .

Sundari's queer conduct towards Ravi made Amaradasa lose faith in her. The sudden appearance of Menike and the bond he forged with her and the advice of Rajan altered the course of his life. But the moment he decided to turn away from Sundari she had come close to him. He wanted an escape. And it came from Menike. He went to the village to give life to dying Kira and thus proved his worth as a medical man. Menike gave him leave to attend Sundari's party.

When Amaradasa arrived at the dispensary to his surprise he discovered that Sundari had gone to Bandarawela and her Ford was left at his disposal. He was too preoccupied with thoughts of Menike to unduly worry about the long journey before him and he left in time to be at Bandarawela by night-fall.

Twilight had set in when he reached the estate and the smooth, green teacape was soaked in the witchery of the sunset and the oncoming night. A white gravelled road led to the big Bungalow that nestled amidst the foam of dark, green trees. As Amaradasa drew up the car under the porch Sundari came out to welcome him.

"So nice of you to come. How shall I thank you?"

"As usual with your cup of tea!"

"Me and my cup of tea!"

There was a strange irony in her voice. Yet she was as casual as charming.

"Come in."

She sailed ahead of him along the carpeted corridor. As he followed her his attention was drawn to the plush drawing room alive with the chatter of men and women. Among them stood an imposing figure of a man in a well cut fawn coloured suit. He turned round to see the visitor. Amaradasa noticed his remarkable face that bore the stamp of ease, position and pride. A typical go ahead, audacious man with heavy brows and dark shining eyes.

"Can you make him out?"

"Dr. Nayagam, I suppose. A fine personality!"

As Sundari paused Dr. Nayagam came across the drawing room to receive the visitor.

POP MUSIC & HEARING

We always knew it. Fans of the crazy conglomeration of noises charitably called "pop music" are getting deafer and deafer. Dr. George T. Singleton of Florida University tested his daughter and nine other teenagers before and after a rock'n'roll party and discovered a measurable hearing loss. The loss was regained but the ringing in the ears continued for 18 hours. The permanent loss to hearing has not yet been calculated, but experiments with other "noisy workers" have proved a general tendency towards deafness.

Artillerymen sometimes lose their hearing within two years, with noises of the same intensity as that of a jazz band. Dr. Singleton has calculated that from a peak of 120 decibels at the bandstand, the noise level dropped to about 106 decibels at the centre of the floor. Stereophonics and amplifiers, however, ensure that the noise remains at the peak of 120 decibels all over the place. The safe level, in terms of intensity, is around 90 decibels.

If you want to know when the noise which passes for music is reaching danger point, look around to see whether the clothes of the chaperons are flying. This happens when the intensity exceeds 100 decibels. That is the time to tone it down. With science at your service you should no longer worry how the younger generation ever manages to listen to the beating of what seem to be tin cans, an occasional sneeze coupled with the sound of a voice which sounds like a foghorn — it's just that they are deaf!

"Saundra, this is Mr. Amaradasa."

"Very kind of you to have come Mr. Amaradasa."

He shook hands with Amaradasa and smiled at Sundari.

"I was looking forward to meeting you Dr. Nayagam."

"Sundari has told me a great deal about you. After you have rested awhile please join us. By the way, there was a call for you from Mr. Rajan. He will meet you here tomorrow, he said."

"That's good news. Yes, he promised to meet me here. Have you met him doctor?"

"Oh yes. A very good man."

"Is he a friend of yours?" asked Sundari.

"We were in school together."

"Now I'll leave you in Sundari's hands for a while. Excuse me."

"I'll join you in a few minutes doctor."

Dr. Nayagam strode back to the drawing room and Sundari took Amaradasa to his room on the left wing of the bungalow. He felt completely choked in its luxury.

"I know this place will not suit your temperament. It's because you are my friend. I have put you to this inconvenience."

"You know me too well."

She stood framed against the doorway her hands on her hips and held him in a long liquid gaze as if her eyes would melt in his.

"When I left home, I found you had gone away. The village air appears to have done you good. You look so calm and detached."

She stressed the word, "detached."

"Is it possible with all this around me?"

He pointed at her face.

"I wanted my husband to meet you. He's a well read man and you are bound to make him jealous."

"That's the usual sort of thing you do!"

She poured out a peal of laughter.

"I'll see you later. You must relax a bit now."

She closed the door and left.

GIRAFFE'S HEART

When a giraffe raises its head in one clean sweep from the ground to a height of 18 ft., why doesn't it die of a brain haemorrhage? Taking the human body as model, the blood should rush back down inch - thick - hose - pipe jugular vein and create serious complications. But has anyone ever heard of a giraffe suffering from blood pressure? The key to this mystery, as with all apparent illogicalities, lies in the heart (the giraffe's). With a two feet long heart lined by walls three inches thick in parts, and weighing 25 lbs. (about three times the weight of a healthy human newborn), the giraffe carries the heaviest heart in the animal kingdom. The long tapering heart in the nature of a booster pump, is capable of pumping up 8 or 9 ft. the length of the neck. The artery through which the blood is pumped up is elastic enough to withstand the enormous blood leaving the heart. A "miracle net", a sponge-like apparatus does the residual work of moderating the blood flow to the brain. It absorbs the large amount of blood which rushes in as the giraffe lowers its head, and lets it seep through to the brain in the required quantity. When the giraffe suddenly rears its head the blood supply to the brain is maintained from the "miracle nets". A heart that big would be expected to move slower. Surprisingly enough, the giraffe's heart-beat rate is 150 a minute — 170 when running (compared to man's 70-80 a minute. With a heart 50 times larger than man's a giraffe nevertheless tires very easily. An olympic marathon runner would never be able to beat a giraffe in a race, but well before reaching the finishing line the giraffe would have dropped down exhausted.

Amaradasa lay relaxed in the depth of the bed pondering over what Sundari had remarked. He guessed that she knew more about him than she would like to say. He wondered how she was able to get a peep into the recent events of his life. She had been something of a jigsaw puzzle always and now she intrigued him all the more.

The long drive made him tired and weary and he fell into a drowsy sleep. And he was wakened by a knock at his door.

"Mr. Amaradasa, won't you join us", called Sundari.

"I'll be there in a minute."

He shook off his drowsiness, washed and changed and hurried to the drawing room. He noticed that Sundari sat amidst her group of young male friends, while Dr. Nayagam had his own of scented, flashy women.

"Meet Mr. Amaradasa", Sundari introduced him — He bowed and sat between the two groups facing Dr. Nayagam who was in the midst of a lively conversation he had initiated. He was tracing Indian influence on South American dance and to strengthen his theory he referred to the discovery of ancient Hindu temples in remote jungles and then he switched on to the gypsies of Europe. The subject was not alien to Amaradasa and he began to illuminate the less known aspects of their history.

"You never told me about these things before", remarked Sundari.

"Ha! Ha!! Sundari has to come all the way here to hear of it."

"You know Saundra, once he told a doctor that he came from the village that sends out buffaloes."

"Really! Really!!" he laughed, "Where is your village?"

"Kotmale."

"Amaradasa, you must have had the leisure and money to acquire culture."

"I found the leisure, not the money or the intelligence."

"You must be having some interest in the village", probed Dr. Nayagam.

He was in a mood to find a weak spot in Amaradasa to make up for his growing jealousy.

"Well, doctor", he hesitated, "my father was chief and I am his only son", He stopped short.

"You never told me that" said Sundari.

"Sundari, your neighbour is an aristocrat."

"Selling herbs by her fence", concluded Amaradasa.

The women threw up their heads and laughed.

Notes On Latin America

The annual rate of increase of the population in the cities of Latin America is between 4 and 5 percent, considerably higher than in rural areas. Moreover, the cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants have registered a population growth of 6 to 10 percent annually. In 1970 the urban population of Latin America will be some 70 million. This urban growth is closely tied to an exodus of farmers from the countryside to the cities. Most of the new arrivals settle in shantytowns which mushroom up around the large cities. In one such community 50 percent of the population is under 15 years of age and 61 percent of the heads of families are unskilled labourers, a large proportion of them unemployed. Although the population of Latin America increased from 131 million to 245 million between 1920 and 1965, the population density is still not high: 12 inhabitants per square kilometer. Latin America is characterized by large regions which are thinly populated as well as huge urban conglomerations. Greater Buenos Aires has more than 7 million people. Mexico City has some 5 million people. Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have a population of some 4 million. The population of Santiago is 2 million. And Caecac Bogota and Montevideo have all passed the 1-million mark. The highest percentages of urban population are those of Chile, with 66.5 percent in 1950; Venezuela, 62.5 percent; and Argentina, 62 percent. The primary factor for migration to the cities is economic; it is a flight from the abysmal living conditions in the rural areas, where hunger and large landholdings go hand in hand.

Dinner was over by midnight and when the men retired Amaradasa was the first to go to his room, it was the first in the row of four rooms. He did not know who were in the next three. It was a warm and dry night and the soft warmth of the bed helped keep sleep away. Once or twice he opened the window to rinse his mouth and came back to bed. At such times he imagined that he heard a slight movement in the next room. But he did not care to know what it was.

In the next room was Dr. Nayagam prowling about like a restless beast. From the moment he met Amaradasa he developed aversion for him. He despised Sundari for it. "She would not only carry on with him but has the audacity to bring him to my house", he cursed. He wanted to catch her red handed and teach her the lesson of her life.

Dr. Nayagam's attention was glued on Amaradasa and he stalked him from his side of the wall and followed every movement of his. He heard the window open again. He lightly moved to his and watched whether Amaradasa was trying to steal through the garden to his wife's room. But the window closed. The long wait made him tense. Suddenly the light in Amaradasa's room went up again and streamed into his through the fan-light. He nodded to himself and waited but nothing happened. Dr. Nayagam noiselessly shifted a small table to the closed door between his and Amaradasa's room, climbed on it and watched through the fan-light. Amaradasa was up, walking up and down. He went to the window again and kept it half opened. He then switched on the light to see the time. It was 4 a.m. and the doctor too noted it. Yes, the "bitch" was coming here through the window, he surmised. "I'll finish her", he told himself and waited. Amaradasa took off his banian, then pulled out his suitcase and took out of it a long, narrow strip of cloth. Then he moved to the centre of the room and took off his sarong. "What the hell is he up to?" wondered Dr. Nayagam. But Amaradasa tied one end of the cloth round his waist and turned it into a tight suspender like the ones worn by wrestlers. He then crouched on the carpet and shot himself up and balanced on his head. "Good lord, what an ass I have been!" muttered Dr. Nayagam in amusement. He went to bed thoroughly exhausted after the futile vigil. Amaradasa stood in that position for half an hour and slid down and sat in meditation. As it dawned he got up and curled into his bed.

At breakfast Amaradasa had a surprise.

Dr. Nayagam had a chair for him by his side.

"Come, Amaradasa, you must eat well. Did you have a restful night?"

"No doctor. I could not get sleep till dawn."

"You look fresh as a flower", hinted Sundari from the next table.

"Because I walk on my head, Mrs. Nayagam."

"He does Asanas. That's what he means."

Sundari smiled to herself and shot a glance at her neighbour, a sleek, well broomed, boyish looking man, who had a striking

A FLOATING UNIVERSITY

A floating university designed to promote human relations among the nations of the Pacific region will be established shortly by the Omori Research Institute of International Relations. The Institute, headed by Minoru Omori, diplomatic commentator, has concluded a contract for chartering the seminar ship, the 12,000-ton Oriental Queen, which will be used for the "Pacific University" at a charterage of Yen 43 million a voyage. The ship is expected to sail between Tokyo and San Francisco via Honolulu five times a year, carrying a total of 400 persons, including 200 students and 200 non-students from Japan and other Asian countries. According to sponsors of the university, the first seminar is expected to start on June 30th when the seminar ship is due to sail on the Tokyo-Los Angeles - Honolulu - Tokyo route. It will last 35 days. It is reported that some 700 persons had already filed their applications for enrollment at the university. As for the participation fee, students will have to pay between Yen 190,000 and Yen 23,000 each and non-students between Yen 300,000 and Yen 350,000. Participants will study English and other subjects including international politics, economics and culture. In future, according to the sponsors, the seminar ship will also visit Saigon, Haiphong and Shanghai. In a message sent recently to the Omori Research Institute of International Relations US Senator Mike Mansfield said he hoped the ship will "help to knit into a common and peaceful community all of the nations whose shores are touched by the Pacific.

resemblance to Ravi. More than once Amaradasa noted that Sundari looked at him in the same queer way as he had looked at Ravi. Now he remembered that at dinner too he was next to Sundari and had kept clear of him. Nor did Sundari take the trouble to introduce her guest to him.

Dr. Nayagam had completely revised his opinion about Amaradasa but, however, he did not discount a close friendship between him and his wife. In spite of himself he respected Amaradasa for what he found him to be.

"I am glad you are my wife's neighbour", he said in a tone of confidence. "Have an eye on her. It's only the men in our profession know the uncertainty of life. I would not like anything to happen to her in my absence.

"Doctor, you have done me a great honour. I'll remember it always."

While the two men leisurely ate their breakfast, lightly talking of their likes and dislikes, Sundari and her well groomed guest had gone. Amaradasa could not help but notice it.

"The more you know about human beings the less you know about yourself."

"What's the damned use. Know nothing and have the original mind of the caveman." replied Dr. Nayagam.

To be continued

WHY ARE YOU DUMB ?

Imagine an atomic holocaust
 Which in a minute
 Leaves Earth like a tattered pocket
 With nothing in it
 Save you, as King of Kings,
 Over a howling desert,
 A world of ruined things,
 A spinx of stone
 Who walk and sleep alone. . . .
 Who the dead Earth roam round
 Through man y a year
 And nev r see a cat or scurvy hound,
 No songbird hear. . . .
 In draughty station on the Underground
 You shelter from the blast —
 The only one. The point of no return
 Is past.
 Six continents lie under rain or sun
 No vessels breast the main
 No telephone — not one —
 Will ever ring again.
 The twentyfirst century,
 The one you claimed, is come.
 Why are you yelling, man ?
 Yesterday you were dumb !

Robert Rozhdestvensky

**PEOPLE FLOCK TO
 CAMERA MUSEUM**

A unique museum has made its debut in Tokyo and judging from the steady flow of visitors it has found public popularity. This is the Camera Museum, which has on display as many as 600 cameras, both old and new, Occidental and Oriental. Last year Japan's camera output (inclusive of 8 m.m. cinecameras) totalled 65,900 million yen, of which exports accounted for 42,700 million yen or 70 percent. At present, about 600 cameras of various countries, as classified by category, are displayed there, each with detailed explanations, including the year of manufacture and the name of the maker. Old cameras and related equipment of historic value are preserved in the same condition as when they were first unveiled. Among these are cameras from the era of the wet-plate process of the 19th century to the early part of the current century, cameras in use when dry plate and roll film were invented, Japanese-made cameras of the Meiji Era, and 9.5, 16 and 18 m.m films. "We intend to expand this gallery of cameras which is without parallel in the world", said the curator of the museum. "In addition to cameras, we want to exhibit sensitized materials, lenses and other goods related to cameras. As for those items we have not yet collected, I do hope camera fans possessing them among their own collections will kindly make them available to us so that we can increase the scope and number of our exhibits. We are willing to accept them on a rental basis."

FILM PAGE

ANUBAVAM PUDUMAI, Ceylon Theatres Ltd. release, now at the *GAIETY*, *VILASNEE* and other centres, is the type of film that has always been liked and will continue to be liked by cinemagoers for its perennial appeal. This Tamil movie has its own place, yielding comedy, excitement and drama, and is an excellent escapist entertainer at its best.

The story revolves around a young couple, and leads to many complicating and humorous situations when the boy-friend overhears that someone is to be murdered within a week. He tries to save his life of this unknown person with the help of his friend and nearly brings disaster on himself, his friend and four other innocent people including his intended father-in-law. Timely all are saved and the real criminal brought to book at last through the efforts of the young lover, and the others have a wonderful experience by un-

necessarily getting involved in the incidents.

ALFIE, Lewis Gilbert Production in Technicolor and Techniscope, released through Paramount Pictures, now showing at the *LIBERTY CINEMA*, tells the story of a young man of today and the colourful life he leads with the conquest of one girl after another. Teeming with sex and spicy comedy, the movie has something to give to everyone. It is charming, delightful and quick moving, and there is beneath the surface, a lingering tragedy simply and poignantly told about the taker and the taken. The movie won the Special Jury Award at the Cannes Film Festival. Cited for its originality and spirit of research, the frank, ribald and earthy drama of one young man's series of conquests over the fairer sex created a rare excitement during the festival. Produced and directed by Gilbert Lewis, the film has in the cast Michael Caine as Alfie, Millicent Martin, Julis Foster, Jane Asher, Shirley Anne Field, Vivien Merchant, Eleanor

Bron and Shelly Winters as Ruby. The movie is based on a play by Bill Naughton, which was a fantastic success on the London stage.

HELICOPTER SPIES in Metrocolor, an Arena Production, presented by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, now showing at the *EMPIRE THEATRE*, is the newest and most exciting U. N. C. L. E. drama from the TV series with many changes made. In this seventh of the hit spy-adventure films, the elaborate *UNCLE* headquarters is completely refurbished with the latest in electronic equipment and a few new gimmicks in the *UNCLE* tradition. In this film Napoleon Solo (Robert Vaughn) and Illya Kuryakin (David McCallum) embark on a dangerous quest, half way around the world to prevent the "super weapon of all time" from falling into the wrong hands, those of a bizarre, white-haired cult, who plan to take over the world. Exciting highlights in the movie include a spectacular fight in a Persian palace, moments before it is consumed in a mighty explosi-

Air Conditioned
LIBERTY

From Thursday 29th

Montgomery Wood in

**"ONE SILVER
DOLLAR"**

Technicolor Techniscope

3rd MONTH

CENTRAL

K. S. GOPALAKRISHNAN'S

**PANAMA
PASAMA**



Sounderarajan, Ravichandran and Jayalalitha in a scene from the Tamil movie *MAADI VEETU MAPILLAI*, Ceylon Theatres Ltd. release, which opens this week at the *SELLAMAHAL*, *EROS* and other centres. This film with poignant moments tells the story of true love, and the trials and tribulations of a young married couple. Meena, a beautiful girl from a rich family falls in love with a poor class-mate Somu and marries him after obtaining her father's consent, but against her mother's wishes. The mother's brother and his son harass the couple to make their married life an unpleasant one for their own benefit. Somu noticing the danger to their happiness, begins to pose as a villain and brings the culprits to book, and commences to live a happy wedded life. Also starring in the film are Nagesh, Balaji, Jayasiri, Udaya Chandrika and Ramaprabha.

tion; a narrow brush with death by Solo and Illya when they are held captives in a boat about to be blown up at sea and a daring theft of a giant space rocket, followed by its being sent into orbit in a wild climax to the film. Adding characteristic spice to the UNCLE adventure is a bevy of beautiful girls, surrounding

Solo and Illya in UNCLE head quarters, in the enemy stronghold and in a bizarre psychedelic show sequence that proves another highlight. The starring cast includes Carol Lynley, Bradford Dillman, Lola Albright, Julie London, Leo G. Carroll as UNCLE boss Alexander Waverly, John Dehner, John Carradine, H. M. Wynant, Roy Jenson Arthur Malet, ThordisBrandt and Barabara Moore. The movie is produced by Anthony Spinner and directed by Boris Sagal.

THE THIEF OF BAGHDAD (Technicolor), Alexandra Korda presentation, which opens this week at the *NEW OLYMPIA THEATRE*, brings on the screen once again the delightful and fabulous legend of the Arabian Nights with adventure and thrills in colourful spectacle. The movie directed by Ludwig Berger and Michael Powell, has in the cast Conrad Veidt, Sabu, June Duprez, John Justin, Rex Ingram, Mary

Morris and others. The charming story is of Abu, lovable thief of Bagdad, who saves Ahmad, the rightful king of Bagdad, betrayed by the wicked Grand Vizier Jaffar.



<p>EMPIRE Air Conditioned Robert Vaughn - David MacCallum IN MGM'S HELICOPTER SPIES in Metrocolor</p>
<p>3rd Week <i>Air-Conditioned</i> REGAL James Robertson Justice in DOCTOR IN CLOVER in Colour</p>
<p>ELPHINSTONE ROXY Tony Ranasinghe, Jeeva Rani in INDUNILA</p>
<p>2nd Week GAITY Mutturaman — Rajashree in Anubavam Pudumai</p>
<p>From Wednesday August 28 SELLAMAHAL Ravichandran - Jayalalitha in MAADI VEETTU PILLAI</p>
<p>4th Week SAVOY <i>Air-Conditioned</i> For a Few Dollars More Coming THUNDER BALL</p>
<p>From Tuesday Aug. 27 Jeetendra — Rajshree In V. Shantaram's GEET GAAYA PATTHRON NE in Eastman Colour</p>



Jeevarani as Indumathi in Lakminiseya Films' **INDUNILA**, written, produced and directed by Kingsley Rajapakse. Ceylon Theatres Ltd. release, now showing at **ELPHINSTONE** and 16 other centres.

<p>4TH GRAND WEEK</p> <p>LIDO CAPITOL</p> <p>9-00 a.m. 1-30, 6-00 & 9-45 p.m.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● RAJ KAPOOR ● VYJANTHIMALA ● RAJENDRAKUMAR <p>in Raj Kapoor's</p> <p>SANGAM <i>Technicolor</i></p>
<p>5th WEEK</p> <p>KINGSLEY PLAZA</p> <p>2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● RAVICHANDRAN ● JEYALALITHA ● NAGESH ● MANOHAR <p>in</p> <p>NAAN Eastman Color</p>
<p>2ND WEEK</p> <p>GAMINI Daily 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m Roja Films</p> <p>HANGI HORA</p>

A Matter Of History

Indians In Latin American: Can This Genocide Be Ended?

by Calixta Guitera

THE American hemisphere was the part of the world inhabited by members of what was called by the Europeans, the Red, or Indian, race. This was made up of multiple groups of diverse physical types speaking different languages.

The northernmost part of the hemisphere never had a large population. Most of the groups were nomadic and did not create centres where the development of institutions and skills would place them in the category of having "highly developed cultures", as was to happen in the south, where the discoverers and conquistadores found "empires" — such as those of the Aztecs and Incas. The achievements of the Mayas, that were, in certain aspects, more advanced than those of some of the European countries astonished the conquerors.

It was, therefore, in the part of the hemisphere which we call Latin America that the Indian stamped his image for all time. The greatest population density at the time of the conquest was to be found in a strip of land extending from Mexico (with the exception of its northern region) to central Chile, interspersed only in the northern part of the latter with almost uninhabitable deserts.

In this vast strip of land bounded by the Pacific, the greatest population densities were found on the Mexican plateau, the Ycatan Peninsula, part of Guatemala and what is now Peru and Bolivia. These are the so-called "Indian countries", as opposed to those termed "white countries", in which persons of European descent predominate.

The Indian is to be found from Mexico to the southern tip of South America; his influence is felt in the scenery, in the vocabulary and in the way Spanish and Portuguese are spoken, his are the slant eyes, the thick black hair and the dark skin of the inhabitants.

There are 30 million Indians in our America: illiterate, exploited, badly fed and even worse clothed. They constitute a very high percentage of the inhabitants in certain places 33.65 percent of the population of Peru, 41.68 percent in Guatemala, 70.77 percent in Bolivia. And it is these Indians who constitute the bulk of the labour force for the mines fields and forests.

Some live in their own communities; others, on "reservations", on common lands and in small towns in which their individual or family plots of land adjoin the common lands which provide pasturage, firewood and the sticks used in the construction of their huts. Those who have been thrown off their lands live clustered around the haciendas, ranches and mansions as agricultural vassals.

When the Indians work — and that of his wife and small children — fails to support the family he goes (either alone or with his whole family) to pick the crops on the large coffee, cotton, rice, mate, banana, agave and sugarcane plantations or or to work as a day-labourer in the mines which extend from Mexico to Chile and Argentina, on public works, in the saltworks, in textile mills, in the oil fields or in lumbering.

THESE INDIANS who to a considerable extent bear the brunt of

Latin American production, live in huts without running water, without electricity, without plumbing, with hard-packed dirt floors and with walls of reeds, clay stones, palm-tree bark and thatching. The women and children go barefooted, and the men wear rude sandals (called huaraches, yanques and ajotas in the various countries).

The women spin, dye and weave cotton and wool, and the men make everything ranging from kitchen and and the most indispensable furniture to the finest musical instruments, which they play at parties or to assuage their loneliness. They have never heard of medical care. According to information from the World Health Organization, infant mortality is the highest in the world on the Peruvian, Bolivian and Ecuadorian plateau, where more than 7 million Indians live.

These Indians have no legal protection and in some countries do not even have the right to vote or appear before the courts. Their lands and the product of their work are seized, their children are kidnapped and sold in the cities as servants, their women are raped, the men are forced by the planters and army officers to do all sorts of work, and the missionaries force them to work their lands in punishment for their "sins."

Exploiters gradually take over their lands, and, when there is no free land to which they can be moved, they are simply murdered with the blessing — or, at least, with the absolute indifference — of the authorities. Thus we come to the conclusion that the Indian's liberation, like the liberation of all Latin Americans, will not be achieved within the present framework of underdevelopment but rather will be brought about as a result of a revolution that will do away with the present structures which encourage the exploitation of man by man in Latin America.