

TRIBUNE

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This week's *TRIBUNE* is a special number on the current Czech crisis. Readers of newspapers in Ceylon have been inundated with articles and comments *either* from a Western orientated cold war angle *or* from a highly emotionally and romantically idealistic viewpoint — to condemn the military intervention of the Warsaw Treaty Powers. It is necessary to view the matter with pragmatic objectivity detached from cold war inhibitions and also from emotionalism. *TRIBUNE*, in this and the coming weeks, will endeavour to make the record straight by publishing material which has been ignored or suppressed—so that readers can form their own independent opinion.

Hard-Headed Objectivity Essential To Understand The Current Czechoslovakian Episode: How Ceylon Should View The Matter

Tribune, in the recent past had refused to be carried away by emotional hysteria on any subject *either* in the cold war of international politics *or* in the acrimonious polemics of domestic party warfare. It had sought to view all matters from a hard-headed objective angle, and wherever necessary, from the angle of Ceylon's national interests. The view has always been orientated from a pro-socialist, pro-left angle because *Tribune* believes that socialist motivation will infuse modern technology and advanced industry with the necessary ethical, moral and humane considerations that will make life better and happier for a larger number of people. *Tribune* has moreover maintained that socialist objectives can be attained in multifarious forms; and that therefore every genuine experiment towards transforming capitalism was worth watching and studying — because, in the ultimate

analysis, Ceylon would sooner or later have to evolve her own path to a socialist salvation out of the economic, political and cultural stagnation (and aberration) in which this country is presently enveloped. Emotionalism which stems from cold war inhibitions (or obligations) or party affiliations (or loyalties) inevitably carries a person or a newspaper into wrong attitudes and incorrect conclusions. It is not easy to tread the narrow path of hard-headed objectivity or sustain a detached pragmatism in viewing the complex and difficult problems of the present day, and even if *Tribune* had fallen by the wayside on some matters on certain occasions it had always sought to get back to the rails no sooner its mistakes were either pointed out to it or had dawned upon it.

In regard to the current upheaval in Czechoslovakia,

Tribune has adopted a cautious approach, and has refused to be drawn into hasty conclusions or to indulge in emotional hysteria platitudinising on meaningless slogans under cover of pleading for "freedom" and "self-determination". Persons and newspapers, refusing to accord even elementary rights of freedom and self-determination to linguistic or racial minorities in one's own country, are least qualified to shout about "freedom" elsewhere. It is not necessary to go into individual motivations to understand that nearly all the big daily newspapers, the big political parties and the big names in Ceylon which revel in headline print, were carried away by the cold-war infected propaganda barrage from the West to "condemn" or "deplore" the action of the Warsaw Powers without seeking to understand the underlying issues with a view to taking a detached view consistent with

Ceylon's foreign policy stance of "active neutralism or dynamic non-alignment." Now that the hysteria has died down, it is not too late to reflect on all issues involved in the Czechoslovakian crisis in a calm and contemplative manner.

In the concrete situation in the world today, there are three ways in which the Czechoslovakian episode, or any other matter, can be viewed: *from* the angle of capitalist west, *from* the angle of the socialist east, and *from* the angle of the national interests of Ceylon itself. The fact that there are so many major and minor variations in approach (based on national and other interests) in both the capitalist as well as the socialist camp is no reason for ignoring the basic conflict (hot, cold, propaganda and otherwise) between capitalism and socialism. For the capitalist west, the "reforms" and "liberalisation" in Czechoslovakia represented a wedge and bridgehead through which capitalism could be restored in Czechoslovakia. The "reforms" would *not* have been hailed in Washington, London and Bonn if they had only led to the strengthening and advancement of socialism. The *Ceylon Daily News* would not have devoted endless columns to the Czech "liberalisation programme" if the "reforms" would have made socialism in practice better than what it has so far been. Washington, London, Bonn and the *Ceylon Daily News* do not love socialism and have openly declared total enmity to it; and it would have been strange if they supported any reforms or changes which would have strengthened socialism. Any check upon the "reforms", which pleased the diehards of capitalism so much, was a blow to the plans to restore capitalism in socialist countries, and the howl they set up when the Warsaw Powers took police action to curb the

Czech "reformers" is clear indication of the motives of western propaganda. **The West cannot openly declare that their plans to dismember the socialist economy of the Czechoslovakia Socialist Republic (CSSR) were thwarted by the military intervention of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Powers. They cannot afford to give the show away in such a shameless manner, and had therefore to shout about "freedom" and "liberty" forgetting that the past and present records of the big and small powers of the West, particularly the USA and UK, do not entitle them to take the holier-than-thou attitudes which the propaganda machines in these countries have assumed. It is not necessary to draw detailed attention to the record and history of the Western Powers to show that they cannot preach sermons about "freedom". But, in the national interests of the Western powers and the international interests of capitalism, it was essential that every effort should be made to save the "liberalisation programme" in the CSSR and to compel the Warsaw Powers to withdraw their troops and give "reformers" a free hand.**

On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Powers were and are committed to socialism and the preservation of socialism. The socialist bloc had suffered many setbacks in recent times particularly after China had taken a highly Chinese and individualistic approach not only to the socialist bloc itself but to the rest of the world at large. China's attitudes afforded the capitalist West with much comfort and many western propagandists found it useful to adopt Chinese logic to batter the USSR and its socialist allies. At the same time, Rumania had also been adopting certain individualistic stances, but Rumania's leaders were **cautious and did not let**

reforms run away with meaningless enthusiasm for purposeless conceptions of "freedom." Furthermore, Rumania did not have a common border with nazi-entrenched West Germany. **In the case of Czechoslovakia not only does it have a common border with the Federal Republic of Germany but its reforms had veered to so much free-wheeling that a few designing opportunists could have easily pushed the country back into capitalism. When a party is in power, it is not difficult for opportunists and adventurers (who can mouth slogans and catch-words) to climb to the top, and some of the reforms proposed in Czechoslovakia pleased only the capitalists in the West. It is significant that socialists everywhere had been wary and chary about the reforms in Czechoslovakia, especially because there was no full or clear information about what these reforms implied.**

If anyone was competent to judge whether the Czech reforms were truly socialist in content or whether they would have ultimately led to the restoration of capitalism it was the Warsaw Powers — and certainly not Washington, London, Bonn or the *Ceylon Daily News*. The various conferences between the "reformist" leaders of the CSSR and the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries culminating in the Bratislava Agreement were undoubtedly for the purpose of ensuring that these "reforms" would not lead to the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. Not satisfied that the Bratislava Agreement was being implemented in a genuine spirit of co-operation, the Warsaw Powers say that they were compelled to take military action to defend the frontiers as well the content of socialism in practice. The fact that Czechoslovakia was a separate independent sovereign state had given an excuse for the western

propaganda machine to howl about "aggression" and "suppression of freedom", and the Warsaw Powers were caught on the wrong foot, so far as propaganda was concerned—because they had not furnished the world sufficient material about why the Czech reforms were dangerous and suicidal for the socialist cause. But, propaganda or no propaganda, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Powers could not afford to relent in their own interests and and the socialism they had built in Eastern Europe.

In these circumstances, what attitude can non-aligned countries like Ceylon adopt? It is not part of non-alignment to pass hasty judgement on problems which are posed as *right* or *wrong* either by the capitalist camp or even the socialist bloc. Those inclined towards capitalism will naturally be disappointed that the "reforms" in Czechoslovakia had suffered a reverse, and those who actively favour socialism would instinctively tend to support the action of the Warsaw Powers; but for the Government, as such, a strictly neutral position in the dispute would have been the most appropriate. But the onrush of the propaganda blast from the West and the total lack of any propaganda from Moscow or the Warsaw countries swept the government of Ceylon and the political parties into condemning or deploring the action of the Warsaw Powers. Even the pro-Moscow Communist Party was so shaken by the propaganda barrage (particularly the threat to dislodge it from the Coalition bloc) that it sugar-coated its first statement explaining the Soviet military action with a proviso that it was uncertain whether the conditions inside Czechoslovakia really justified the actions of the Warsaw Powers. The socialist movement in Ceylon, so far as the Czech crisis was concerned, was swept into tailing behind the capitalist

propaganda machine by the fanciful whiplash that it was "non-alignment" to condemn any intervention. What the Left in Ceylon seems to have ignored is that the military intervention of the USA in the Dominican Republic had passed unnoticed in the local daily press: that the aggression in Vietnam is played down: that the conflict in the Middle East last year was handled very differently: and that the suppression of "black" freedom in Africa and the USA is displayed without enthusiasm and without headline platitudes and editorial sermons about "freedom".

So far as Ceylon is concerned, it is enough if we seek to understand the issues involved, and so far as it is in the power of a small nation like Ceylon, to help lessen the tensions which emanate from such military intervention. The Czech episode has some special features. It was intervention where the leaders of the "attacked" government had negotiated in the capital of the "attacker" as to how the intervention could be ended. There was muscle-twisting and military strength, no doubt, but no legal or other reason had arisen for other Governments to resort to intervention either directly or indirectly. It was a home-and-home quarrel in the Warsaw camp, and it would have been best if Ceylon had studiously adopted a position of strict neutrality. The government of the USA and even that of the UK had *de facto* adopted a position of "neutrality" — no doubt for reasons of their own; but the propaganda machines of these countries were used to sweep "non-aligned countries" like Ceylon to say and do things which the Big Powers of the West did not do themselves. It is pointless for persons, papers and parties in Ceylon to talk big in the terminology of high morality to help

other people to fight their propaganda battles. It is enough if we seek to find out the real issues.

If one is inclined towards capitalism, there is no option but to support the "reforms" and adopt the slogans of the West condemning the action of the Warsaw Powers. If one is inclined towards socialism it would be incumbent to support the Warsaw Powers, or the least one could do was to seek to find out whether the Warsaw Powers were justified in their action, and not to rush into condemnation of the USSR before all the facts were available. But so far as the national interests of Ceylon are concerned, it is not necessary to support either the capitalist west or the socialist east. And it was too early and premature to pretend to support the "people and the government of Czechoslovakia." The statements and propaganda released from certain Czech sources during the early days of the intervention should have been treated most cautiously because no one was certain of the outcome of the conflict or of the issues involved. It is in the national interests of Ceylon to lessen tension in the world, and this cannot be done by condemning the action of the Warsaw Powers and joining the propaganda chorus of the West.

Military intervention is always to be deplored, but at the same time the forces that made such intervention necessary should be also condemned. The dangerous revanchist and diehard forces in Europe and North America, which had endeavoured to draw Czechoslovakia away from the camp of socialism into the camp of capitalism through the bridgehead of "neutrality", must bear the primary responsibility for making military intervention in Czechoslovakia inevitable. It looks futile and hypocritical

to condemn the military intervention of the Warsaw Powers without first condemning the action of the Counter-insurgency units of the capitalist west for seeking to undermine socialism in Czechoslovakia. It is equally futile to pretend that the "people" of Czechoslovakia were in favour of the "reforms" because the process of obtaining consensus in the socialist countries is different from those in capitalist and other states. It is not possible to know from the reports that emanate from the West as to what the people of Czechoslovakia want, but the fact that even the dubious "reformers" in the "leadership" of the Czechs had paid total lip service to socialism was clear indication that very nearly the total population of the CSSR had wanted no retreat from socialism. And neither the high priests of Washington nor the pundits in the *Ceylon Daily News* can decide whether the reforms were slanted in favour of socialism or against it—because neither Washington nor the CDN want anything but the total destruction of socialism.

Apart from adopting a position of strict neutrality in the conflict, and apart from condemning the units of capitalist subversion for making military intervention in Czechoslovakia by the socialist powers necessary, it is essential for those who are socialists to know what the underlying issues in the Czech crisis really are. Towards securing such an understanding, *Tribune* this week publishes a great deal of material which will throw revealing light on the subject. Readers in Ceylon have all been inundated with material from the West about the "crime" committed by the USSR and the Warsaw Powers. The big daily papers for nearly ten days had published nothing else. The *Ceylon Daily News* had even published

a special Supplement in support of the "reforms" in Czechoslovakia as its special contribution for the world's fight for "freedom." (It will be recalled that in happier days whenever Czechoslovakia published special Supplements about socialist progress on its National Day, the *Daily News* took special care to print prominently that the whole Supplement was a paid-for advertisement. It does not require much discernment to see through this kind of hypocrisy.) *Tribune* is therefore publishing material from the angle of Warsaw Powers to find out why military intervention had become necessary. This will help readers to find out whether the intervention was justified, timely, or premature. With the limitations of space and resources, it is not necessary for *Tribune* to repeat the pro-west, anti-Soviet articles which have appeared *ad nauseam* in the local press.

The material we publish is not to hold a brief for the Warsaw Powers, but only to understand their approach to the question. The "other side" about any matter must be known for objective evaluation. The big local papers would have done well to have published similar material before rushing into editorial sermons condemning the Warsaw Powers. It is also necessary to examine the statements that have emanated from Peking, Yugoslavia and Bucharest to see whether the Warsaw Powers were justified in their action—looked at from the angle of countries which claim to be socialist. This cannot be done in this issue of *Tribune* and it will be done in coming issues.

It must be said to the credit of Mr. Dudley Senanayake's government that it had adopted a more cautious and careful attitude than many other governments similarly placed

and that the emphasis now being laid upon decreasing international tensions that have been stirred by the Czech crisis is a positive step towards strict neutrality. The Government should in fact condemn the intervention of the subversives of the West that tried to destroy socialism in Czechoslovakia before deploring the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact Powers. This, in the view of *Tribune*, after examining all the material that have so far become available, would be an appropriate approach for the Government of Ceylon. But so far as persons and parties are concerned, it would be most useful to study the Czech crisis from a position of strict neutrality: (a) what role the units of counter-revolution like the CIA had played in the Czech "reform" movement; (b) why the press in the West had played up the Czech "reforms"; (c) whether the Warsaw Powers were justified in resorting to military action at this stage; and (d) what the outcome of the Czech episode will be.



HOLY CRAB

DAR-ES-SALAM,

Some Christians in Zanzibar have been offering special prayers after inspecting a remarkable crab at the island's Natural History Museum, it is reported here. Caught by a local fisherman the crab has markings across its shell like a cross flanked by three figures, one kneeling and two standing. Moslems as well as Christians have queued at the museum to see it. More than once in the past, fish have been caught in these waters with scale markings said to resemble Arab writings from the Koran.

Headlines Of The Week

THURSDAY, August 29—In a statement issued by the Central Committee of the LSSP it said that it particularly applauded the reformist steps taken in Czechoslovakia under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party, Mr. C. P. de Silva, has informed the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake that it has decided to join the United National Party. The United Press International reported that there were signs that some Czechs had lost faith in Dubcek. About three thousand students marched in the heart of Prague behind a banner reading "No compromise for treason." The Kremlin warned Czech leaders that they must take decisive action against liberal party members and other counter-revolutionary forces still active in Prague.

FRIDAY, August 30—The *Observer* reported that the SLFP—LSSP—CP Coalition was now taking stock of the local situation caused by the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and the refusal of the Communist Party to follow the line of condemnation taken by counterpart parties in Europe and elsewhere. The *Times Weekender* reported that it understood that senior SLFP right-wingers were moving to bring about a coalition between the SLFP and the UNP and that in the event of an alignment being effected between the two parties it was likely that Mrs. Bandaranaike would be the first President of the proposed Republic of Ceylon. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey was officially declared the Democratic Party's Presidential candidate.

SATURDAY, August 31—In a statement to the press Mr. N. Sanmugathasan, Leader of the Communist Party (Peking Wing) said that it was the height of mockery and hypocrisy for the Soviet revisionists to claim that they invaded Czechoslovakia to preserve its socialist gains and socialist unity. The Lanka Salu Sala will put out for sale a wide range of luxury suitings by the end of this year. The Czech Prime Minister told a private briefing of government officials today that the Soviet occupation commanders had threatened to take over the country with brutal force if necessary and urged them to quit the country while they could. Rumanian and Russian troops exchanged rifle fire across the border. The Malaysian Prime Minister accused the Phillipines of invading Malaysian sovereignty and doing an unfriendly act by passing a Bill in the Phillipines House of Representatives declaring Sabah to be part of the Phillipines.

SUNDAY, September 1—A District Court judgment delivered makes it obligatory for the Local Government Service Commission to re-employ all officers non-proficient in Sinhala who entered under the Official Languages Act. Two officials of the National Lotteries Board have been interdicted on charges of having fraudulently made payment of Rs. 10,000 against a non-prize winning awsep ticket. The Czech President accepted the resignation of the Interior Minister, Mr. Josef Pavel. The Soviet Union has told the United States that it has no intention of invading Rumania.

MONDAY, September 2—The Government has decided to increase the foreign exchange allocations for the import of canned fish, dried fish and pulses. The Government has decided against implementing the proposal to introduce a five day working week. The Government Medical Officers' Association yesterday held out the threat of launching a general strike of its membership to win its demands. The Cabinet has decided to shelve temporarily the five-year phased prohibition plan of the Government. All the members of the Science Teachers' Association of the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, unanimously decided to refrain from correcting the answer scripts of internal candidates as a protest against the new salary scale conversions. The rift between the Italian Communist Party and the Soviet Union widened sharply as the party organ *L'Unita* said that no document existed in the Communist movement to justify the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Vatican newspaper said that Roman Catholics were bound to obey Pope Paul's ban on artificial birth control even if they could not agree with it scientifically. Alexander Dubcek told his Party Central Committee that Czechoslovakia's most important task now was to restore Soviet trust.

TUESDAY, September 3—The Minister of Communications, Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, is now considering a proposal to revise taxi fares. The Customs and the Commissioner of Tea Exports are insisting on rigid quality tests on all tea shipments leaving Ceylon, to ensure that exporters send out the identical blend they have contracted. The unofficial death toll in eastern Iran which was hit by two successive earthquakes has reached 20,000 with more than 100,000 rendered homeless.

WEDNESDAY, September 4—The Ceylon Transport Board admitted that Dr. N. M. Perera had got possession of a confidential document which revealed a huge mess in the CTB. 125 men from the Overseas Telecommunication Service stopped work today on a token strike over the claims for better pay, emoluments and service conditions. The *Times of Ceylon* reported that there were strong rumours that the Government would go to the polls next year, immediately after the Sinhalese New Year in April. Tourist hotel and rest-house tariffs will be brought under control by the Ceylon Tourist Board. The World Bank has held that Ceylon's educational system was primarily responsible for the unemployment problem in the country. The *Sun* reported that the Government's crash programme for producing subsidiary foodstuffs had crashed. Japan has agreed to supply Ceylon with a loan worth five million dollars to help it to tide over its foreign exchange difficulties. The Rumanian leader was reported to be desperately trying to stall off Warsaw Pact manoeuvres on Rumanian soil. Russian troops occupying major cities in Czechoslovakia were reported to be withdrawing into the neighbouring rural areas. Malaysia has welcomed the sending of more security forces by Thailand to the Thai-Malaysian border area to step up the war against communist terrorists operating along the border.

In Retrospect

- ★ **Govt. & Opposition On Czechoslovakia**
- ★ **P M On Emergency**
- ★ **Times On SLFP — UNP Merger**
- ★ **TC & Leftists**
- ★ **Food Minister & Rice**

WHILE Czechoslovakia seems to be returning to normally, all the daily newspapers kept that country in public focus last week. They spared no pains to brand the Soviet Union an aggressor which had raped the independence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia and to warn the people of this country against Russia's sinister designs. They also spared no pains to highlight stories that a serious crisis was threatening the Coalition over the attitude adopted by the Moscow wing of the Communist Party towards the events in Czechoslovakia. But to a shrewd observer of the political scene the stories appeared to be inspired ones, and that every effort was being made to break up the Coalition.

In the House of Representatives the Minister of State, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, made a statement on the situation in Czechoslovakia. He said that what was happening in Czechoslovakia was today not only a suppression of the freedom of a people. It was the over-riding of a people by outsiders bent on snuffing out a reformist movement which, if properly handled, would have as important consequences as the great reformist movement in Europe four or five hundred years ago. He said that under the new Constitution the Czech people were today to enjoy freedom of association and assembly; they were to be permitted to form their own organisations and to elect their own office bearers. They were also to be guaranteed the freedom of opinion and expression and a special Bill was to be brought before the National Assembly for this purpose. Censorship was to be abolished and the press was a great force in bringing about the reformist movement. Religious freedom was

also to be assured and legislation was to be enacted giving the people the freedom of movement both within and outside the country.

Continuing Mr. Jayawardena said that constitutional and legal freedoms were to be guaranteed by procedural laws. He said, "We who live in a free and democratic society do not appreciate what it is like to live in a country where the people are not free and where a police state prevails." The dismantling of a police state had been pledged in the programme of action. The National Assembly was to be given the status of a free Parliament and the government would exist only at the will and pleasure of the people. The Communist Party itself had adopted a far reaching resolution to the effect that they were not going to hold office or authority by virtue of being a Communist and that it would refrain from dictating its will to the people, but they would listen to the voice of the people. And, finally, the freedom of the judiciary was to be assured.

Mr. Jayawardena said that all the resolutions, part of the reforms of Mr. Dubcek was in keeping with the Charter of Universal Rights as proclaimed by the United Nations and there was nothing outside that, and the people were completely behind the government. Whether Marxism or Communism could assure these democratic freedoms, he did not know, but they could not deny to the Czech people the democratic right of electing their own government, ensuring to the people the freedom of expression, the freedom of elections, the freedom of an Opposition and the freedom of the judiciary.

He said that these were the activities that brought about the wrath of the Warsaw Pact countries to trespass on Czechoslovakia, and he thought it was the duty of the House to voice its unqualified support of the Czechs, as was done by the House, when Hungary was invaded. He said that it was not a matter that affected the UNP or any constituent party of the Government or of the Opposition. Freedom was indivisible, and if it was destroyed in one segment it would be destroyed in others as well. And to say that the Czechs should not have the freedom to initiate a democratic state within a Communist framework or even outside it, was not a matter for them. The fact that the movement was growing not only in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, but even in the Soviet Union itself showed that there was a spirit of freedom amongst the peoples who formed the great Communist countries. He said "it would be a shame if we did not pledge our support to such people in their fight for freedom to be written in the history of mankind as a great epic."

MR. PRINS GUNASEKERA said that he was not afraid to talk of Czechoslovakia or any country and asked why the Government did not talk about Vietnam. The Government had not protested at any of its meetings about the acts of American aggression in Vietnam. He said that the Minister of State had paid a tribute to the Czechs, but he had not said the same about Vietnam. At one time the Opposition had asked the Prime Minister to name the aggressor in Vietnam and all that he had done was to say that there was nothing to be gained by pointing a finger at the aggressor. On the Czech crisis he was readily willing to point an accusing finger at Russia. Today the Government was overjoyed at what was happening in Czechoslovakia and could not contain itself. The Opposition had condemned both Russia and America. He accused the Government of pursuing a double-faced foreign policy and adopting two different attitudes in respect of American and Soviet aggression.

THE Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake made a categorical statement in the House of Representatives that he would repeal the State of Emergency as soon as the two Bills, one to enforce the payments of the devaluation allowance to workers, and the other to deal with offences by co-operative societies, were passed. He said that he agreed that it was a very unsatisfactory state of affairs ruling with Emergency. But he warned that he would have no hesitation in recommending the proclamation of the Emergency again to the Governor-General, if trouble was created or would be created in the country.

The *Times Weekender* exclusively published a report that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was to merge with the United National Party and that in the event of an alignment being effected, it was likely that Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike would be the first President of the proposed Republic of Ceylon. The report said that it understood that senior SLFP right-wingers were moving to bring about a coalition between the UNP and the SLFP and that SLFP-ers had had informal discussions with senior UNP members in this connection. It also said that some of Mrs. Bandaranaike's relatives had also been active in the matter.

What was particularly significant in this report was that the *Times Weekender* did not mention the names of those right-wing SLFP-ers who were trying to bring about the SLFP-UNP merger, and this has naturally kept the people guessing as to whether this was yet another inspired report of the *Times of Ceylon* group of newspapers to cause a rift in the Coalition which seems to be jittered that all attempts to break up the Coalition have up to now proved hopelessly futile. In any case, those who know the mind of Mrs. Bandaranaike ask will she have any truck with the UNP even if the first Presidency of the Republic of Ceylon is dangled before her. They say that never the twain shall meet.

Nobody was in the least surprised on reading the report that the Sri

Lanka Freedom Socialist Party had decided to merge with the United National Party and that the Prime Minister had been informed of this move by its leader, Mr. C. P. de Silva. It was only in name that the SLFSP existed as a party, although it had been known that it had merged with the UNP a long time ago.

THE most unpredictable political developments take place in Ceylon. Not long ago one would have shuddered at the thought that the All Ceylon Tamil Congress would have any truck with the leftists. But now comes the report in the *Times* group of newspapers that the Congress may soon join the leftists to fight the Federalists in the Northern Province. The report said that secret talks were now being held in Jaffna between the Congress and the leftists to consider the feasibility of having a common programme to form the basis of a no-contest pact against the Federal Party in the forthcoming municipal elections.

The National Government now seems to have become a little wiser in the light of the experience gained in the past, and it has decided to increase the foreign exchange allocations for the import of canned fish, dried fish and pulses.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture, Mr. M. D. Banda, was high-mistic when he said at the inaugural sessions of the International Rice Commission Technical Working Parties that Ceylon's prospects for rice production had improved during recent years and that if the current trends continued it was most likely that Ceylon would nearly reach the target of seventy million bushels in 1969, one year ahead of schedule.

He said that there was a distinct response from the farmers to the Government's program for increased rice production, and this response had been sharpened by the Government's decision at the end of 1968 to cut the rice ration by half. As a result, the producer's price had improved and sometimes farmers were able to obtain prices better than that guaranteed by the Government. The improved interest shown by farmers had to be sustained by improved extension methods, intensive farmer training and increased collaboration between extension and research workers. In all these the Government had taken several positive steps.

KAUTILIYA



A Russian soldier in friendly conversation with people in a street in Prague

Pope & The Pill

An Answer To Dr. Lionel

by Simon Vannia

"THE CHURCH AND CONTRACEPTION" is a little booklet written by Dr. N. D. W. Lionel, in favour of contraception. As a blurb says, it is a revised reprint of an article which was published in the Catholic Medical Annual of 1966. This in turn was based on a lecture delivered to the Catholic Students Society of the Faculty of Medicine, Colombo. The contents of the booklet, in almost its entirety, has been published in the *Tribune*.

The booklet is erudite, and we cannot hope to match Dr. Lionel's erudition. Dr. Lionel knows his subject well. We have heard that Pope Pius XII once illustrated a maximum called the "principle of totality." Not ever having seen this principle defined, we yet feel that the idea of totality, from its derivation speaks for itself, and it is on the grounds of this principle that we challenge in this article the views put forward by Dr. Lionel in favour of contraception.

We shall first trace, so far as we are capable of doing it, the unfolding of the argument used in his booklet. But before doing so, we shall express our own private view on the matter under discussion.

To us — that is to the writer of this answer to Dr. Lionel — contraception is a worse crime than murder, and for this reason. When a child dies, no matter in what way or by whose hand, the child's existence does not come to an end. The Christian teaching is that the human being, once created, is immortal. That human person does not cease to exist with death. With contraception and with sterilization, the case is totally different, for where there is the married act in these circumstances, life or existence is denied to a would-be human person altogether. There

can be no eternal existence because there is no existence. In such a situation there is a sin against all life, as it were, which is not the case with murder or abortion.

DR. LIONEL begins by saying that the question of birth prevention becomes a problem at two levels—the personal one as an individual family problem, and the public the demographic or "population" level. The difficulty at the personal level is embedded, as he says, in what he calls "the structure of modern society", and one of the difficulties is that of education. The difficulties are largely economic.

Dr. Lionel then goes on to quote statistics, and they are impressive. By doing so, he projects the problem on to the national level. Indeed, it becomes a world problem. Briefly the trouble is that world population appears to increase in some sort of geometrical progression, so that, as the years go by, the pressure of increasing population grows more acute. The threat, the Doctor says, is to survival of modern civilization and all that that stands for. Dr. V. T. H. Gunaratne is quoted as bringing it down to a problem of rupees and cents. (-page 6). Dr. Lionel admits that in the solution to all these economic problems that face the world and families, the limitation of births is only one factor in the solution — and this is the one he tackles in the booklet. His business is to see a way round the Roman Catholic Church's declared anathema on artificial methods of birth control.

He enumerates the various methods of birth prevention. Broadly, they are abstinence, the rhythm method, and contraception. He details the various methods of contraception, all the way up to sterilization. It is contraception that the Roman Catholic Church forbids.

Total abstinence, says Dr. Lionel, is unrealistic for most married couples. The rhythm method, he says, is not quite satisfactory, either. He, it seems to us, is perfectly fair in his depiction of the difficulties. The point about the "pill" is that it

is reliable, but the Church forbids it. It would appear that many Catholics use it and other forbidden methods. There is a cleavage, as it so often happens, between doctrine and practice, just as there is, so very often, between precept and practice.

The doctor then examines the bases, or legs, on which the Church's doctrine stands, and he refutes them to his own satisfaction. As he believes in what he argues, there is no point in going over the same ground. When it comes to challenging the doctor's thesis, that contraception is permissible, we shall have to make a new approach to the totality of the problem.

WE SHOULD LIKE to begin by quoting some lines which appeared in a previous number of the *Tribune* about the revolt of the undergraduates of the Sorbonne University in Paris. The author of the lines is Alain Woodrow, and the original article appeared in the *Tablet*. We quote these lines to show that not everybody, especially among the youth, accepts the standards and the strait jacket of modern civilization which Dr. Lionel seems to think lies at the base of the emotional strain set up in people by the choice they appear to have to make between the family and the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church.

The quotations are: "A radical opposition to the affluent society, and to the rat-race it demands, lies at the root of the revolt"; "the world under attack is that in which the demands of economic expansion take precedence over all human values"; and "their movement is a *cultural revolution* is the literal sense, since it aims at a complete change of the existing system of values."

So much for the objections to modern civilization, and now for the answers; our quotations are from the Book of Ecclesiasticus and the Gospels. The Knox translation is used throughout.

"Blessed is the man who has no greed for gold." "Blessed the man who puts no trust in his store of

riches." Then, Christ's own words: "You must serve God or money; you cannot serve both."

Here are other sayings of Christ. "Do not fret over your life, how to support it with food and drink; over your body, how to keep it clothed. *Is not life a greater gift than food? Is not the body a greater gift than clothing?* And why should you be anxious over clothing? O men of little faith! Do not fret, then, asking, What are we to eat? or What are we to drink? or How shall we find clothing? Make it your first care to find the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be yours without the asking." (The "Grow More Food" policy in Ceylon is to do with foreign exchange, and it is to solve a vital political problem for the well-being of this country). All these sayings of Christ are from the sixth chapter of St. Mathew's Gospel.

WE WOULD NOW LIKE to refer to Pope Paul's latest encyclical on Family Planning. The Pope makes it quite clear that if married couples consider that "procreation is not desirable", then "positive" steps towards this is permissible *only for "just motives"*. (The words in inverted commas occur in the second half of the last paragraph of Art. 16 of

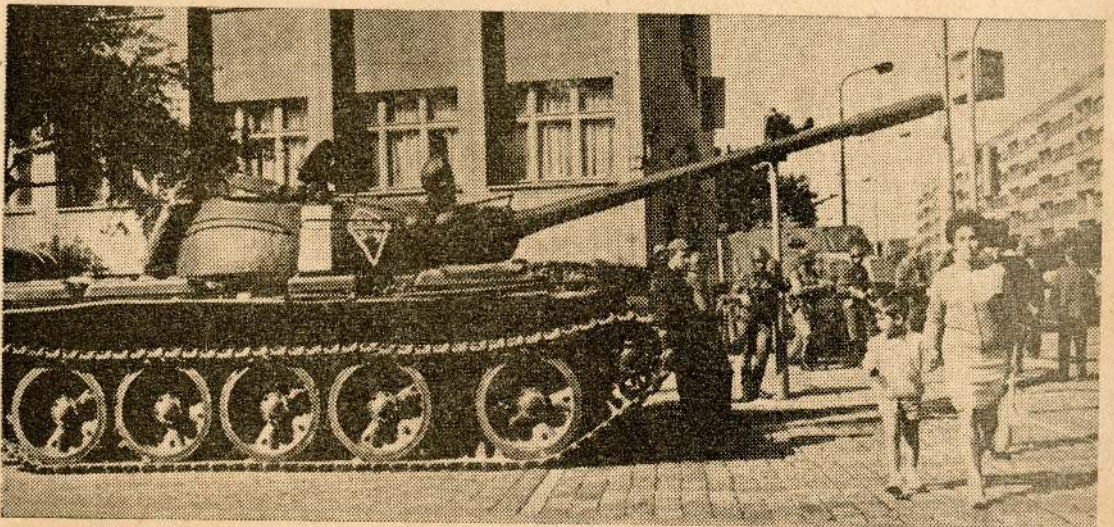
"The Regulation of Birth.") Dr. Lionel points out quite correctly that the permissible positive steps, according to the Church's teaching, are either abstention or periodic abstention. The point we wish to make clear is that as such abstention should not, according to Church's teaching be the normal state of marriage, the tensions and stresses, that Dr. Lionel quite correctly draws our attention to, should not, for that very reason, be the normal state of affairs for married couples either, because they are only caused by such abstention. Abstention from intercourse and contraception are sought because of the deep cleavage between marriage and its ends on the one hand, and the sense of priorities which are dictated by modern civilization on the other, a disparity which can only be resolved by having recourse to the "principle of totality", the principle as we imagine it to be.

Dr. Lionel's solution or analysis of the situation is different. He would have it that, because there has been a development and deeper understanding of the Church's teaching on marriage in the two thousand years of the Church's existence, a further development would be a recognition of contraception. It is on that point that Dr. Lionel and the

Roman Catholic Church disagree. We humbly support the Church in this matter because we believe that Dr. Lionel's conception of totality in the matter of birth control is less than that of the Church. We believe that if married life and economic life as presently enunciated become incompatible, it is the modern conception of life and its practice that must give way, that should be made to give way.

A cardinal factor in modern world civilisation is that of education. The method of education broadly speaking as practised in Ceylon is no different from that of the rest of the world, and educationalists in Ceylon now realize that there is something very wrong with it.

There was a man called Sir Philip Gibbs who was a highly erudite journalist. One of his books we have before us now, which is called "The Pageant of the Years." He recalls how his father brought up seven children on a civil servant's pay of £400 or £500 and educated them all himself at home. His method was to show them how to educate themselves. If this is one solution, might there not be other, equally effective, solutions to the problem of education in large families?



A Soviet tank in Prague
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A Radio Talk By

President Ludvik Svoboda

Prague,

"AFTER four days of talks in Moscow we are again among you in our homeland, said President Ludvik Svoboda. We returned together with Comrade Dubcek, Cernik, Smrkovskis and others. Our thoughts were with you all the time. The numerous manifestations of your trust gave us strength in our talks, the President went on. I think that we justified this trust. We were helped by the reason and high discipline displayed by you all, Czechs and Slovaks, working people and our military units. As a soldier I know how much blood could be shed in a conflict between citizens and an army equipped with modern weapons, President Svoboda said further, as your President I found it my duty to do everything to prevent this from happening, to prevent a senseless shedding of the blood of peoples which must live in friendship and at the same time to safeguard the main interests of our homeland and its people. We are really interested, the President said, in restoring trust and sincere co-operation between the countries whose destinies are linked by a common road. Indeed, the place of our country in today's world is, and cannot be anywhere, but in the socialist community. As I stressed in my previous pronouncements I left for negotiations in Moscow with the consent of the government of the Republic, feeling that the solution of a complicated situation must be speedy normalisation of the work of the constitutional and other legitimate organs of our socialist state and society and of leading representatives."

"As I already reported to you from Moscow and as you can see for yourself, we came back together with all the comrades who resume at once fulfilling the functions which were entrusted to them through a democratic way and to whom you have given your complete trust. This is for us an important step to restora-

tion of normal life in our country. The withdrawal of the troops of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries from the territory of our republic is of course connected with this. We have reached a fundamental agreement of the gradual withdrawal of all troops. Pending this their presence is a political reality. The reason and discipline which you have so far displayed are a necessary condition for the final settlement of this question. I tell you this with a sense of full responsibility as President, patriot and soldier.

Speaking of the people's trust and the loyalty to socialism displayed by the people, President Svoboda said "that this was a tremendous capital, a huge force. and we take this into consideration in our striving to ensure a further consistent socialist development of our homeland, he added. Proceeding from the decision of the January, April and May plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, we wish to develop further the socialist social system, to enhance its humanistic, democratic nature, as it was expressed in the programme of actions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in the programme statement of the government, the President said, we wish to continue, together with all the national front, building our country as the true homeland of the working people. We shall not budge on inch from our goals. Naturally, we shall not allow those to whom the interests of socialism are alien to abuse these goals in their interests. This is why we must organise our work in a decisive and purposeful way."

In conclusion, President Svoboda urged the citizens of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic — workers, peasants and intellectuals — to unity, to unification of all socialist, patriotic and creative forces in the work for the benefit of the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

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A Radio Talk By

A. Dubcek On The Moscow Talks

Prague,

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia A. Dubcek said over the radio about the results of the talks at Moscow, He noted with the satisfaction that big incidents and conflicts had not taken place in the towns and villages. We are convinced, he said, that we will find means for active work to normalise the situation in the country.

Representatives of the Soviet Union did much to normalise our relations in the present-day situation. Dubcek noted that in the course of the talks agreement was reached on the gradual withdrawal of troops of the five states from the territory of Czechoslovakia as the situation in the country normalizes. He called on all citizens to observe order and discipline, to prevent provocations. The normalisation of the situation, Dubcek stressed is the main condition of further development. Dubcek stressed that Czechoslovakia would further advance along the road of socialism in accordance with decisions of the January and May plenary meetings of the Central Committee, develop humanistic and socialist principles. We are returning to work. It will not be easy for us. But to ignore reality would mean to bring matters to anarchy. Dubcek noted that the consolidation of the situation was a difficult matter but that it also was the main consideration of all further measures. We count on your trust even in the event if we will have to resort to extraordinary measures. We rely on your ability to proceed from the reality that cannot be ignored. A. Dubcek condemned the irresponsible statements that sounded over some radio stations after President Svoboda's

speech. It is easy to throw words to the wind but it is necessary to be aware of one's responsibility he said.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia called for the unity of all party members for the further implementation of the tasks of socialist construction. Only unity of the party will enable it to find a way out of the difficult situation, he stressed. Dubcek said that a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will be convened. Experience taught us that policy must be made resolutely,

so that hostile forces, coming out against socialism, would not make use of the situation taking shape. Our socialist policy must be protected. In conclusion of his speech, Dubcek expressed gratitude to the people and party for their trust. The Czechoslovak people belong to the community of socialist nations. Despite what has happened we believe that relations between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the peoples of other socialist countries will be settled. Czechs and Slovaks are internationalists and humanists. We entertain internationalist feelings for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

PAPER TIGER ?

The cure for disaster has now come up in the shape of "paper houses." A London exhibition displayed a house made up of a triple wall of corrugated fibre-board, a material hitherto used for packaging. It is meant for interim relief in disaster-stricken areas, its makers insist. Aren't you for the day when someone will turn out a 'test tube paper baby' which may even grow up into a paper tiger?



President Svoboda was received in Moscow with full honours. Also in the picture are Premier Kosygin, President Podgorny and Party Secretary Brezhnev

Communique On

The Soviet-Czechoslovak Talks

Moscow, August 27. Following is the text of the Communique on Soviet - Czechoslovak talks: Soviet - Czechoslovak talks were held in Moscow from August 23 to 26 with the participation:

From the Soviet side — L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, G. I. Voronov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, A. P. Kirilenko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, D. S. Polyansky, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, M. A. Suslov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, A. N. Shelepin, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, P. E. Shelest, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Central Committee, of the Ukrainian Communist Party, K. F. Katushhev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, B. N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Defence Minister of the USSR, A. A. Grechko, Foreign Minister of the USSR A. A. Gromyko.

From the Czechoslovak side — I. Svoboda, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, J. Smrkovsky,

President of the Czechoslovak National Assembly, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, O. Cernik, Chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia, Member of Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, V. Bilak, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, F. Barbirek, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Slovak National Council, J. Piller, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, E. Rigo, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, J. Spacek, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, O. Svotska, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, M. Jakes, Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, J. Lenart, Alternate Member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, B. Simon, Alternate Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, G. Husak, Vice-Chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia, U. Indra, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Z. Mlynar, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Colonel-General M. Dzur, Minister of National Defence, B. Kucera, Minister of Justice of Czechoslovakia, V. Koucky, Czechoslovak Ambassador to the USSR.

DURING the talks in a free comradely discussion the two sides consi-

dered questions relating to the present development of the international situation, the activation of imperialism's machinations against the socialist countries, the situation in Czechoslovakia in the recent period and the temporary entry of troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakian territory.

The sides expressed their mutual firm belief that the main thing in the present situation is to carry out the mutual decisions adopted in Cierna Nad Tisou and the provisions and principles formulated by the Bratislava Conference, as well as to implement consistently the practical steps following from the agreement reached during the talks. The Soviet side stated its understanding of and support for the position of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which intends to proceed from the decisions passed by the January and May plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party with a view to improving the methods of guiding society, developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist system on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Agreement was reached on measures aimed at the speediest normalisation of the situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Czechoslovak leaders informed the Soviet side on the planned immediate measures they are carrying out with these aims in view.

It was stated by the Czechoslovak side that all the work of Party and state bodies through all media would be directed at ensuring effective measures serving the socialist power, the guiding role of the working class of the Communist Party, the interests of developing and strengthening friendly relations with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Expressing the unanimous striving of the peoples of the USSR for friendship and brotherhood with the peoples of socialist Czechoslovakia, the Soviet leaders confirmed their readiness for the broadest

sincere co-operation on the basis of mutual respect, equality, territorial integrity, independence and socialist solidarity. The troops of the allied countries, that entered temporarily the territory of Czechoslovakia, will not interfere in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Agreement was reached on the terms of the withdrawal of these troops from its territory as the situation in Czechoslovakia normalises.

The Czechoslovak side informed the Soviet side that the Supreme Commander - in - Chief of the Czechoslovak armed forces had given the latter appropriate orders with the aim of preventing incidents and conflicts capable of violating the peace and public order. He has also instructed the military command of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to be in contact with the command of the allied troops. In connection with the discussion in the United Nations Security Council of the so-called question on the situation in Czechoslovakia, the representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic stated that the Czechoslovakia had not requested the submission of this question for consideration by the Security Council and demanded its removal from the agenda. The leaders of the CPSU and the leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia confirmed their determination to unswervingly promote in the international arena a policy meeting the interests of strengthening the solidarity of the socialist community, upholding the cause of peace and international security.

As before, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will administer a resolute rebuff to militaristic, revanchist and neo-nazi forces that want to revise the results of the Second World War, to encroach on the inviolability of the existing borders in Europe. They confirmed again the determination to fulfil unswervingly all commitments undertaken by them under multilateral and bilateral agreements concluded between socialist states, to strengthen the defensive might of the socialist community, to raise the effectivity of the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

A Synopsis Of The

World Peace Day Celebrations At Panadura

THE celebration of the World Peace Day, which began on August 6 in Hiroshima in 1948, has been regularly celebrated in Panadura since 1952 and was celebrated for the seventeenth time at Universal College, Dias Place, Panadura, on August 6.

Rev. Pundit Govakane Pamaratna Adhikarana Nayaka Thero of Sudharamaya, Mirawinna, who presided said, "I highly appreciate the noble aims, perseverance and self-sacrifice of Dr. W. S. Fernando, Principal of Universal College, who is the organiser of this meeting. He has rendered a valuable service to country by running his model English School independently for the last fifty three years without having any connection with the Education Department, by organising the Ahimsa Movement and celebrating the World Peace Day on August 6 regularly. It is the duty of the people to support such a person in his endeavours. Dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the Americans brought the Second World War to an end. Nothing but leading a religious life can bring peace to the world. If we wish to have World Peace first of all we should have peace in our homes and it should be gradually extended to every part of the world. We must be grateful to the UNP and the UNESCO for the efforts they make to maintain peace in the world. We must give the proper place to the English language which has become the leading international language."

Dr. W. S. Fernando, the Founder-Principal of Universal College, the organiser of the meeting, who made a long speech said "The main cause of war are want of bare necessities, namely, food, shelter, clothing, education and employment. I shall touch upon only two things, namely, education and food. I started my model English School with only a single child on February 17,

1915, and made up my mind to run the school independently without any connection with the Education Department sacrificing over a lakh of rupees not because I have no regard for the Education Department but because I felt that I would not be able to put into practice my theories in education, if I had got into the hands of Education Department. As a result of this I made religion a compulsory subject in 1921 fifty years before our Government made religion a compulsory subject. You will agree with me when I say that for two thousand years parents of Sri Lanka had full freedom in selecting the teacher to whom they should send their children for their education and the teacher had full freedom to impart education to the children who came to them. The rules and regulations have deprived them of their freedom. On March 16, 1945, the then Minister of Education, Hon'ble Mr. C. W. Kannangara delivered a public lecture on "Free Education" at the Panadura Town Hall. The late Mr. M. H. Jayatileke, Proctor S.C. presided. After the lecture offering remarks, I pointed out to the Minister what harm had been done to the education of the country by the unnecessary rules and regulations of the Education Department and exhorted the audience to make up their minds to set up 999 independent schools like my school that do not expect a single cent aid from the Government. I spoke 23 years ago. Now the conditions have changed tremendously and the population has gone up like a rocket. Therefore, it is essential that the people should have 4,000 independent schools untrammelled by the rigidity of departmental control. If they be given their freedom our country will be literate one hundred percent within two years and our Government will be able to impart the best education even to the poorest child. If the present rules and regulations are not

immediately amended the education of our country will deteriorate tremendously. You will understand the present position of education from the report in the *Ceylon Daily News* that St. Joseph's School, Maskeliya, has 500 students, ten classes and five teachers".

"On May 10, 1943, I had a discussion in education with the late Dr. A. P. de Zoyza, who was then a member of the Executive Committee on Education and at the end of the discussion he said that the rules and regulations should be immediately amended

"At present, although our politicians clamour for Sinhalese only the standard of Sinhalese has gawn down and the knowledge of English is poor. Since English has become the most international language I suggest that some well-to-do persons in Panadura should come forward to start classes to teach French, German and Russian.

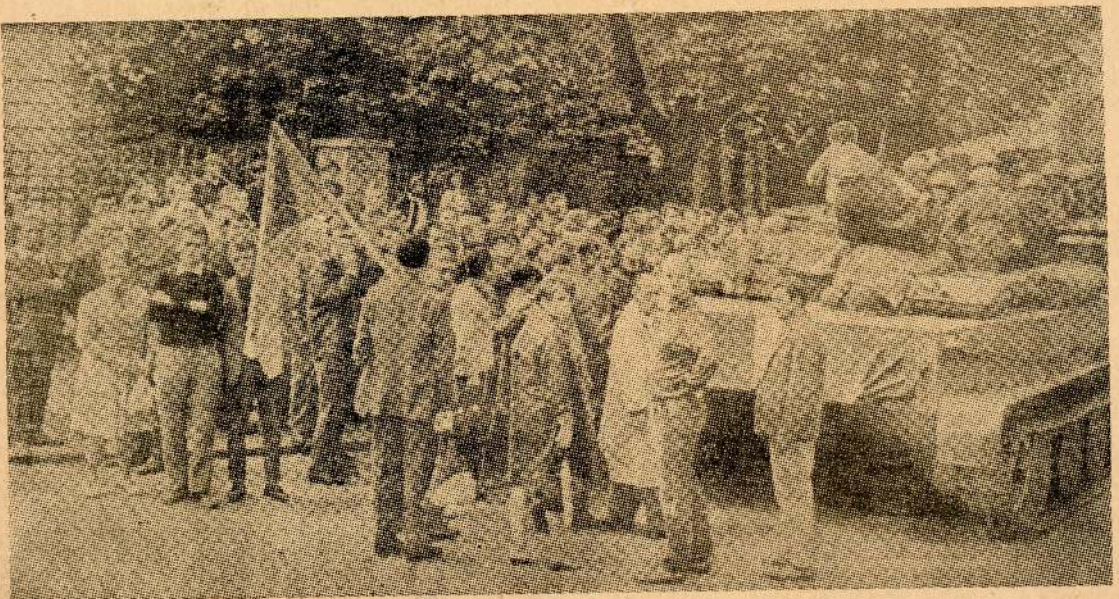
"IF we wish to have world peace one of the foremost things that we should do is to fight hunger throughout the world, which is the common enemy of man. Instead of spending colossal sums of money on armaments sensible people should invest

that money on agricultural pursuits to relieve the millions of people who are underfed. In order to assist the food drive I organised last year the World-Wide Fruit Growing Campaign. This year I sent 400 letters together with the circular on Ahimsa Week to prominent persons in 55 countries appealing to them to give their kind co-operation to the Fruit Growing Campaign.

"I am very glad to state that I have received many encouraging replies which are far beyond my expectation. Remember, I have decided to send on November 1 five hundred letters to the prominent person in 56 countries together with the circular on Ahimsa Week which is going to be observed for the 45th time in 1969 requesting them to hold public meetings within the first week of January to make the necessary plants available on April 27, 28, 29 and 30 for the people to plant them on April, 27, 28, 29 and 30 and for the people to plant fruit trees on May 1 at 6.30 in the morning. I shall send 500 letters to Ceylonese with the same request on December 1".

MR. D. J. KUMARAGE M.B.E.
Chairman of the Panadura Conciliation Board, said, "During the last

three years a good number of cases came before the Board. I was surprised to see that most of the cases were between two parties who were either relatives or neighbours. We do not come across a case between two persons of Panadura and Moratuwa. Husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister have cases often. Peace must start at the home. If we wish peace we must have peace within ourselves and it must exist among the members of the family. We must try to live in perfect harmony with our neighbours. By hatred we cannot appease hatred. Think of America and Russia. They have formidable weapons. America can destroy Russia and Russia can destroy America. Both are very powerful. But both have fear. Mr. Johnson is not free from fear. If there is fear there is no true happiness. It is true that practising non-violence is rather difficult. But the victory that non-violence brings is a lasting one. Think of Mahatma Gandhi who won freedom for his country through non-violence. Leading a religious life creates an invisible power which surpasses that of hydrogen or atomic bombs. So if we wish to have world peace let us lead a righteous life which is not harmful to any being".



A Warsaw Pact tank in Czechoslovakia. The local population appear to be friendly.

Press Release By

The Czechoslovakia Embassy In Ceylon

The National Assembly reflecting the unanimous will of the people expressed in hundreds of resolutions received by the National Assembly considers necessary to state: 1. The National Assembly continues to consider the occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the troops of five members-states of the Warsaw Pact as illegal and contradictory to international agreements, contradictory to the Charter of the United Nations and to the Warsaw Pact as well. 2. The National Assembly thanks the President of the Republic, the leaders of the Nation Assembly of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the National Front for their endeavour at the Moscow negotiations and appreciates their efforts directed to the removal of the present abnormal situation in our country. 3. The National Assembly is convinced that the only possible place of this country is in the community of the socialist nations and states. 4. The National Assembly is convinced that our army is fully capable of securing our western border and requests the Government to insist consistently and decisively on a specification of concrete dates of the speediest withdrawal of foreign troops from our country and to stick unswervingly to those dates. 5. The National Assembly requests that the freedom of functioning of all constitutional governmental and state organs and institutions and of all legal means of communication be made possible and ensured without delay. Further, all measures directed against the interests of the people and of our State should be prevented. It is only by prudence and deliberation that we can get out of a situation we are not guilty of, to go back to normal life and to continue — however grave the conditions are — in the development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic according to the aspirations and ideas of its people. This declaration was passed unanimously."

The declaration of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, of the Prime Minister, of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the President of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, dated 28th August, 1968

Dear fellow-citizens

"We are with you in our thoughts all the time. We share your feelings and we understand you. We are aware of our responsibility in return for the trust you have placed in us. We beg you in the name of all that our people cherish: don't allow your emotions to carry you away into actions that would result in a national catastrophe. At this crucial moment everything depends only on you, on your decision! Make your decision with statesmanlike prudence and wisdom. We know you are capable to do so.

"The main problem today is whether we are capable to find a way out of the actual situation and govern by ourselves in this grave moment, or if we allow the irresponsible imprudent anti socialist forces to provoke actions by the troops still on our territory. All you who love our socialist country, do you want the troops to return to the streets of our towns which most of them have already left and will continue to leave? Does anyone think that we are unable of governing by ourselves? We believe that we can do it under any circumstances. It was your demand that all representatives elected by you be returned in their functions. They are grateful and obliged to you for the rest of their lives. At this moment we beg only for one thing: support the noble cause for which we have returned to our posts—support all measures to be taken if your and our efforts should be of any sense. Give your support to the endeavour for consolidation and thus

create a situation for the gradual pull out and final withdrawal of all foreign troops. Be on our side against everything that may frustrate our efforts on this road. Help us prevent provocations. Prevent gambling with the fate of our peoples. In this is the only sense of our activities. That is the condition under which we can continue in the policy which received your full support. We feel bound by your confidence. However, it is our duty to govern this country according to your mandate. Enable us to do so if you want us to do the Nation good!

(Signed):

Ludvik Svoboda,
President,

of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Josef Smrkovsky,
President

of the National Assembly.

Oldrich Cernik
Prime Minister,

Alexander Dubcek
First Secretary,
Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia

What It Means

The Warsaw Treaty & Czechoslovakia

Moscow,

The Soviet - Czechoslovak talks held in Moscow from August 23 to 26 are in the focus of the world public attention. The results of the talks were met with a great deal of satisfaction by all supporters of peace and progress. And, *vice versa*, they dejected the counter-revolution force in Czechoslovakia and their imperialist inspirers abroad and this is quite understandable. The meeting of Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders resulted in an agreement on important measures designed at promoting and developing the unity

and co-operation of the USSR and the CSR.

THE Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia confirmed in Moscow their "determination to fulfil unswervingly all commitments undertaken by them under multilateral and bilateral agreements concluded between socialist states, to strengthen the defence potential of the socialist community, and to raise the effectivity of the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organisation." The Warsaw Treaty is known to have been signed on May 1955. It gave an international formulation to the military - political co-operation of European socialist countries. The Treaty was the collective response to the setting up of the NATO imperialist bloc.

The Warsaw Treaty pursues the chief target of guaranteeing peaceful conditions for building up socialism and communism in the Treaty member - countries and for defending the revolutionary gains of their peoples. Articles 5 of the Treaty stresses that the countries that have signed it will take all the necessary measures to defend the peaceful labour of their peoples, to guarantee the integrity of their borders and territories, and to ensure defence against any possible aggression. The participants in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation underlined in all their documents and declarations that the defence of socialism in fraternal countries was of their common cause and their lofty international duty. One of these declarations was made in July 1966 at the Bucharest Conference of the political consultative committee of the Treaty. This conference again manifested the immense significance of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation standing on guard of the socialist system and gains of fraternal nations. The conference pointed out that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe were vitally interested in guaranteeing peace on the European continent where some hotbeds of tension still existed. The present policy of the USA is an immediate menace to the security of European nations. Utilising the North Atlantic Military bloc the aggressive circles of the United

States strive to aggravate the split of Europe. This policy is particularly dangerous because it leans increasingly upon a complot with the militarist and revenge - seeking forces in West Germany which are preaching frankly aggressive aims and are raising the issue of revising results of World War II and the borders of European countries.

The participants in the 1966 Bucharest Conference rejected resolutely the territorial claims of West German revenge-seekers. They declared these claims to be entirely unfounded and with no prospects. The declaration of the Bucharest Conference of the political consultative committee emphasises that the inviolability of the existing borders between European states, including the borders of the sovereign German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia, were among the chief prerequisites for guaranteeing European security. The states represented at that Conference confirmed their resoluteness to crush any aggression against them on the part of the forces of imperialism and reaction. The collective measures undertaken by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty Organisation members for rendering prompt assistance to Czechoslovakia, including assistance with armed forces, due to the menace to its socialist foundation may serve as further proof of the fact that socialist countries are true to their word. These measures are fully in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty and other reciprocal commitments of socialist countries for consolidating and defending the gains of socialism, in conformity with the principles of friendship and co-operation among them.

COULD the socialist countries have acted otherwise in that situation? Could they have put up with the subversive activity of counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia and with the attempts of the foes of peace and socialism at restoring the order in that country and wresting it from the socialist camp? No, they could not. To act otherwise at such a decisive historical moment would have been tantamount to giving up

the spirit and letter of the Warsaw Treaty, to treason upon the cause of socialism. The point is that the destinies of the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people and the destinies of Czechoslovakia as a socialist state are not only the internal affair of its people. It is the common business of the entire socialist community of the whole Communist movement.

The Socialist countries, acting in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty and the other mutual commitments, forestalled the execution of the plans of the counter - revolution. Jointly with the Czechoslovak army, the armed forces of socialist countries which entered Czechoslovakia temporarily have reliably shielded its borders against possible aggression on the part of imperialist forces. They are helping the Czechoslovak people to eliminate the menace to socialism in Czechoslovakia on the part of internal and external reaction. The allied troops, as had been stated, right after their entry on Czechoslovak territory and confirmed at the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks in Moscow, will be withdrawn as soon as the situation in that country grows normal again.

The forces of socialism have been resorting to all possible means to slander the actions of socialist countries in connection with the events in Czechoslovakia. They counted on their malicious propaganda being capable of poisoning the minds of the Czechoslovak population and thus facilitating the carrying out of their predatory designs. But these calculations have proved to be a failure, too. The successful completion of the Moscow talks which confirmed the resoluteness of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to go on "unswervingly prompting in the international arena a policy meeting the interests of strengthening the solidarity of the socialist community, upholding the cause of peace and international security", gives us all grounds to maintain that the working people of Czechoslovakia will come with honours out of the difficult situation in their country and deal a crushing blow at all the foes of peace and socialism.

I. P. Odkopayev

From The Angle of The Warsaw Powers

Background To The Czech Crisis: Fourteen Questions And Answers

by A Special Correspondent

1. WHY DID THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW POWERS ENTER CZECHOSLOVAKIA ?

It is now generally known that responsible party leaders and statesmen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had asked the Soviet Union and other allied states to render the fraternal Czechoslovak people urgent assistance, including assistance with armed forces. This request came with the appearance of a threat to the socialist system in the country.

Socialism in Czechoslovakia is indeed in deadly danger. The "liberalisation" campaign which originally started under the flag of correcting the mistakes developed into actions which had endangered the very existence of socialism in the CSSR and all the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people. "Liberalisation" in the CSSR had become a screen for anti-socialist, anti-Soviet and anti-people activity. The participants in the Warsaw conference, alarmed by the situation in Czechoslovakia, wrote in a letter to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party dated July 15. "... We cannot agree to hostile forces pushing your country from the path of socialism and creating a threat of severing Czechoslovakia from the socialist community. This is already not only your cause. It is the common cause for all Communist Parties and states united by an alliance, co-operation and friendship. This is the common cause of our countries which have joined in the Warsaw Treaty to ensure the independence, the peace and security in Europe, to set up an insurmountable barrier for the intrigues of the imperialist forces, aggression and revenge." After an exchange of letters between the fraternal parties and the Czechoslovak Com-

munist Party, after calm and businesslike meetings at Cierna-Nad-Tissou, after the solemn pledges assured at the conference of six parties in Bratislava, it could and was to be expected that the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, if they really hold dear the interests of their people and confidence of their own party, would take all measures in order to safeguard socialism, and would be able to curb the counter-revolutionary forces. Yet this did not happen. Hiding behind smooth phrases, the Dubcek group was unable, as life shows, even tried, to put a firm barrier to the petty-bourgeois, nationalist and reactionary tendencies encouraged from the West. On the contrary, it became overwhelmed by that onslaught.

Was it accidental when the bourgeois press lavished praise on First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Dubcek while at the same time spitting upon Czechoslovakia's socialist achievements? Was it accidental when the Bonn newspaper *General Anzeiger* proclaimed that Dubcek's failure "would be a failure of western policy?" Well, now all is clear: western policy is suffering another defeat. The consolidation of the anti-socialist and reactionary forces in Czechoslovakia has recently assumed threatening forms and proportions. While C. Cisar, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, allowed himself to divide Marxist - Leninist teaching into "European Marxism" and "Asian Leninism", explaining the latter by an "outdated regional form", the authors of the Program-inspiring "2,000 words" in fact urged the overthrow of the system based on Marxism - Leninism, its elimination through establishment of new organs of power — "civil committees." Calling "not to dramatise" the insti-

gatory nature of the "2,2,000 words" some of the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party objectively facilitated the spread of such a practical form of anti-socialist activity as are now all kinds of reactionary "Clubs", "Societies", and "Associations." An example of such organisations was the reactionary "Club-231" ostensibly set up to unite people who had unlawfully suffered due to political activity. Breaches of socialist legality did take place in Czechoslovakia, but could mature Communists if they played a decisive role in recent developments, not find that this "Club" with amazing speed was also joined by real criminals and foreign intelligence agents. They slandered all the socialist past of Czechoslovakia and, speculating on pity for the people who suffered innocently, waged an active struggle against the system existing in the CSSR. While anti-socialist organisations sprang up like poisonous mushrooms and stepped up their noisy activity, the real champions of socialism were actually gagged. For whom, then, does freedom of the press exist in Czechoslovakia?

Many things in Czechoslovak events become clear when analysing the position of the former owners of plants, who by virtue of their class essence do not accept socialism. They have always been a reserve of counter-revolution. Now they are its vanguard. Their aim is to strangle the workers' and peasants' power to get their property back. The leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party failed to see this trend. But imperialist propaganda was quick to sense it. The newspaper *Rheinische Post* (FRG), deliberating on the proposed "step-by-step dismantling of Communism" in Czechoslovakia, promised that enterprises would be returned to private hands. The main thing, however, is that the events in Czechoslovakia cannot be regarded in isolation from the general international situation, from the historical confrontation of socialism and capitalism, from the situation in Europe. Even the bourgeois British newspaper *Observer* could not conceal its joy over the fact that "if Czechoslovakia, by taking the road

of apostasy, will quit the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union's military positions will be seriously weakened, and the geographic map really confirms it. For it shows that Czechoslovakia like a sharp wedge cuts across Russia's frontiers." No matter how hard the imperialists may deny it: the present situation in the CSSR is of their making, and they cannot escape the truth. It is a question not only of moral support that was ensured for the reactionaries perhaps since 1948, but also of the direct moves of imperialist agents on Czechoslovakia's territory. The West German magazine *Der Spiegel* in describing the essence of the increased flow of West German tourists into Czechoslovakia, is revealing the card of those who are recruiting on a mass scale spies and saboteurs being sent into Czechoslovakia. Over the past six months 368,000 West Germans have crossed the Czechoslovak border, with the West German authorities specially registering them and choosing from long lists agents for the "Federal intelligence Service." Such the magazine says ironically is "the principle of strict non-interference" in the affairs of the CSSR, proclaimed by the Bonn Chancellor.

All these and many other such facts have confronted advocates of socialism in Czechoslovakia and their true friends in the socialist camp and the international communist movement with the choice: either — to allow reaction to push the country away from the socialist road; — to allow the return of old "owners" of Czechoslovak plants and estates in order to crush people's rule and to put the workers and peasants again into the yoke of capitalist exploitation; — to agree tacitly to a new Munich and the secession of the Sudeten lands to revenge-seeking Western Germany; — to open to imperialism its much-favoured road to the east between the ore mountains and the ridge of the Czech wood, thus jeopardising the gains of world socialism and the results of the Second World War; — to continue fruitless negotiations and correspondence with Dubcek; and to discharge to the end their inter-

nationalist duty and to defend the socialist order in Czechoslovakia with the entire might of the forces and ideas of the socialist community; — to help consolidate the people's rule, develop the Czechoslovak economy and preserve the socialist gains of Czechs and Slovaks; — once and for all to put an end to Munich policy, discarding all claims of Hitler's revanchist heirs; — to raise an impenetrable barrier to another "Drang Nachosten", once again showing to the world that no one will be able to recarve the post-war frontiers established as a result of the just and selfless struggle of the sons of many nations against fascism; — to extend a hand of fraternal assistance to the healthy forces in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — this militant vanguard of working class — so as to strengthen the party's leading role in the further development of the country along the socialist path.

Genuine Communists could make only that choice which would answer their noble international duty to the working class and working people of Czechoslovakia, to their own peoples, to the memory of the heroic victims of the Second World War and martyrs of the Communist movement, to generations to come and to history. The Communists, the working class, the peoples of the Warsaw Treaty countries — the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria — could not indifferently and carelessly watch the alarming developments in the CSSR. While crushing the Hitler war machine and liberating the Czechoslovak people from Nazi yoke, Soviet people displayed unbending courage and mass heroism. We know the sacrifices made by the people were not forgotten by the Czechs and Slovaks, in the same way as we remember the names of those sons and daughters of the Czechoslovak people who laid down their lives for the triumph of socialism on their native soil. In spite of the slanders and suspicion — sowing pronouncements in the press, radio and television, the Czechs and Slovaks gave a warm and fraternal welcome in the summer of this year to soldiers

and officers of the Soviet army, and fighting men of other armies of the Warsaw Pact who participated in the command and rear exercises. Whatever the enemies of Soviet - Czechoslovak friendship may invent, the peoples know firmly human blood is not water. Loyal to their international and allied duty, the peoples of the USSR, Poland, the GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria will help the healthy forces of the Czechoslovak people and its Communist Party to preserve the socialist gains. **The presence of the armed forces of the fraternal countries in Czechoslovakia is not an act of war but a factor ensuring tranquility and stabilisation and lending confidence and strength to the real defenders of socialism in that country.**



2. THE WARSAW LETTER OF THE FIVE FRATERNAL PARTIES TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CCP EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. ISN'T SUCH A LETTER AN ACT OF INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THIS PARTY ?

To remind you what the five parties participating in the Warsaw conference wrote to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on July 15: "we neither had nor have any intention to interfere in such affairs which are strictly the internal business of your party and your state, to violate the principles of respect, independence and equality in the relations among the communist parties and socialist countries. . . . At the same time we cannot agree to have hostile forces push your country from the road of socialism and create a threat of severing Czechoslovakia from the socialist community. This is something more than your cause. It is the common cause of all the Communist and workers' parties and states united by alliance, co-operation and friendship. This is the common cause of our countries, which have joined in the Warsaw Treaty to ensure the independence, the peace

and security in Europe, and to set up an insurmountable barrier for the intrigues of the imperialist forces, aggression and revenge." The danger of tearing away such a state like Czechoslovakia from the socialist community ceases being already a private internal affair. After all, besides endangering the socialist gains of the Czechs and the Slovaks, it concerns the vital interests of all the member countries of the community. Both the Central Committee of the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the other countries, firmly convinced that the peoples of the socialist countries would never forgive any indifference and unconcern in face of the danger of a counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia, considered in their international obligation and duty to express anxiety concerning the situation that has arisen in this country.

Let us face the facts. The anti-socialist and opportunist forces in Czechoslovakia have started a slanderous campaign against the leading role of the Communist Party, against its devoted personnel. The press and the radio depict the policy of the fraternal Communist Parties in an impudent and insulting tone. They cast aspersions at the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR, the people of these countries, demagogically camouflaging these attacks with catch words like "freedom of the press", "liberalisation", etc.

It went so far that not only irresponsible youth papers but even the newspaper of Czechoslovakia's Defence Ministry, "*Obrana Lidu*", tried to give publicity to free Europe, the radio station that is notorious for its dirtiest counter-revolutionary nature. Various counter-revolutionary groups and clubs appeared in the country. Well-known anti-Communists and spies and provocateurs gathered in Czechoslovakia under the guise of tourists and specialists. Former factory owners, sensing the support of their imperialist partners, are raising their heads. The newspaper "*Rheinischepost*" (FRG), in discussing the assumed step-by-step dismantling of Communism in Czechoslovakia, proph-

sies that the factories will be turned over to private owners. Is such a situation acceptable for a socialist country? The real internationalist forces in the socialist community couldn't permit the socialist system in Czechoslovakia to be smashed by the counter-revolution, and the enemies of socialism to embroil them in a quarrel with the peoples of Czechoslovakia, whose friendship has been cemented by blood in the struggle for a new life. That is the cause of the anxiety of the fraternal parties for the destiny of socialism in Czechoslovakia and the inevitable conclusions drawn about the measure capable of rectifying the situation on the principles of fraternal, class solidarity.



3. WERE THERE "WINNERS" AND "DEFEATED" IN CIERNA NAD TISOU?

NO, there were none. As world public opinion justly noted after the meeting, what won in Cierna Nad Tisou were common sense, fidelity to the cause of socialism and the common desire to perfect methods of socialist construction. Leaders of the two parties which took part in the meeting, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, came to a unanimous opinion: it is necessary to explore ways for the further development and strengthening of traditional friendly relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, between our parties and peoples. The legend concerning the "winners" and the "defeated" was thrown in, like an armful of fire — food, from the outside of Czechoslovakia in order to inflame the passions of those persons in the country who are longing after the bourgeois system.

If we are to use the western terminology, losers as a result of the talks in Cierna Nad Tisou were the anti-socialist and anti-Communist elements in Czechoslovakia who are supported by capitalist reaction and the ideological saboteurs of imperia-

lism. And if the right-wing revisionist elements in the leadership of the Communist Party and the Government of Czechoslovakia had not disrupted the fulfilment of the agreement reached in Cierna Nad Tisou, further developments would have taken quite a different shape.



4. TOUCHING UPON THE RESULTS OF THE BRATISLAVA MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, THE LONDON TIMES SAID: "IN FACT, THE DECLARATION DOES NOT COMMIT CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO ANYTHING BUT A DEMONSTRATION OF GOODWILL IN THE MOST GENERAL FORM." TO WHAT DOES THE DECLARATION OF THE BRATISLAVA MEETING COMMIT THE COMMUNISTS IN REALITY ?

On August 3 in Bratislava representatives of Six Communist Parties demonstrated, clearly and unambiguously, their unity on the most important questions of the further development of socialist construction and the most complicated problems of international politics. This is evident from the declaration which was adopted unanimously. It, naturally, not only states the community of views, but imposes certain obligations on all participants in the meeting. What are these obligations? In the field of foreign policy, each party and each socialist state should, as the declaration says, "agree and co-ordinate their actions in the international arena." The most important aspects is relation to which a common line has been adopted are enumerated. They are common struggle for peace, freedom and social progress, the necessity of continuing to support the heroic Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the American interventionists to work for wiping off the after-effects of Israeli aggression on the Middle East, not to allow violation of peace in Europe; to comply with the decisions of the Karlovy Vary Conference; to give a rebuff to the revanchist forces in West Germany, to

the growth of militarism and nazism in that country; to support and develop co-operation of the participants in the Warsaw Pact which was and remains "a mighty factor of peace and the security of the European peoples. Obligations bearing on the struggle for socialism are formulated in the joint declaration with the same clarity. Here are the main facts. The parties undertook "to develop and defend the socialist achievements of their countries, and to work for further advances in socialist construction." What does this mean? First of all, this means an irreconcilable struggle against the propaganda and ideology of capitalism, against the anti-socialist forces inside the country, rebuff to imperialist intrigues. Each party, the declaration says, shows a creative approach to solving the questions of its further socialist development, takes into consideration its national conditions, "guiding itself, strictly and consistently, by the general laws underlying the construction of socialist society", among which the most important one consists in strengthening the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. Of primary importance in this respect is unswerving fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, the education of the masses in the spirit of the ideas of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

Fraternal parties also expressed their firm desire to do all they can for the comprehensive co-operation of their countries on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, fraternal mutual assistance and solidarity. In Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union the Bratislava declaration was assessed as a manifestation of the common resolution to defend the common cause of socialism. As for Czechoslovakia, the sound forces of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the masses of the working people have found themselves in jeopardy. Anti-socialist statements in the press and the meetings and hooliganism on the part of "liberalisation" supporters have become

even more pronounced and this cannot but alarm all persons who treasure the interests of the socialist community and the destinies of the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia.



5. IT IS OBVIOUS FROM NUMEROUS REPORTS COMING FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA THAT THE VOICE OF THE WORKING CLASS NOT ONLY WENT UNHEEDED BUT ALSO THAT EVERY ATTEMPT OF HONEST WORKERS TO COME OUT IN DEFENCE OF THE GAINS OF SOCIALISM WAS SUBJECTED TO FIERCE PERSECUTION. WHAT IS BEHIND THIS ? TO WHOSE ADVANTAGE IS IT ?

The working class of Czechoslovakia has no need of especial commendation. Its industriousness and talent, its patriotism and revolutionary traditions are known to all who came into the slightest contact with Czechoslovakia and her people. The fact that many events in the first half of 1968 passed in the country without its participation or against its will is an astounding paradox against this background. Or perhaps the point is that, having seized means of mass-scale information, the representatives of the anti-socialist "elite" only depicted the working class as being passive while carrying on unseemly actions behind its back? Most probably that is the case.

Open and camouflaged attacks against the working class have been conducted lately in Czechoslovak newspapers. Various forms were used for this purpose, from pseudo-scientific philosophical discussion to baiting and misinformation. Its main content is the attempt to demoralize the working class ideologically, disarrange its ranks, sow discord between the workers and the intellectuals and, in the final end, to wrest power from the working class. The people's power, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, was proclaimed in the press as the

power of "unenlightened people" incapable of guiding the life of modern society on a strictly scientific basis. It was asserted that the practice of leading society by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as the vanguard of the working class closed the doors to "the more capable and qualified, creatively thinking section of society" to active political activities. Thus the working class was declared to be "the reserve of conservatism, a force of "political inertia" incapable of rising to an understanding of the urgent problems of the society as a whole, and to escape from the circle of purely productive, narrow material interests." The adherents of the "elite" theories proclaim the intelligentsia the only democratic and creative force of modern revolutionary - technical progress. "The rehabilitation of reason" and "democratization of reason"—that is the cure-all for all ills, they declared. The "elite"-theory has been expounded more consistently and frankly in the "2,000 words", which are in substance a counter-revolutionary programme of the nationalistically inclined representatives of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia. Petty bourgeois prejudices and the disdain of the authors towards the working class, to all the working people of Czechoslovakia, and their desire to diminish the role of the working class in the country's political affairs in every way can be clearly seen through all this scribble. Take for instance, the persecution of 99 workers from the "Auto-Praga" works whose only "guilt" was in expressing their loyalty to the ideals of socialism and internationalism. After writing to "Pravda" a letter full of feelings of friendship and gratitude to the Soviet people, they became the target of a savage smear campaign in the press which has for many months now been running down the 20 years of socialist achievements in the CSSR. No matter what their intentions may be, the authors of all these theories and assertions are on the same footing with the barefaced enemies of socialism both within Czechoslovakia and beyond its borders. They are revising the very pith—the main context of the Marxist-

Leninist teachings on the world historic mission of the working class.



6. REACTIONARIES OF ALL HUES AND THEIR YESMEN ARE LITERALLY VYING WITH ONE ANOTHER IN SLANDERING THE RESULTS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S 20 YEARS' OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. WHAT IS THE REAL STATE OF AFFAIRS ?

One cannot agree with those who are trying to deny the results of 20 years' of work by the people of the CSSR. On May 27 in the newspaper *Rude Pravo* Alexander Dubcek opposed the nihilistic attitude to the 20 years' of Czechoslovakia's socialist experience, the "devaluation of the work of hundreds of thousands and millions of people, "the" belittling of the selfless work of thousands of honest communists." In practice, however, a campaign both spoken and in the press was conducted criticising what had been done in Czechoslovakia since 1948, and mistrust was cultivated to all who during this period occupied party or state posts of any magnitude. Thousands of honest Communists were persecuted and hounded as "conservatives." The past 20 years have been years of socialist construction, if it is proved that they have turned out to be "sterile years", the conclusion may be drawn that socialism has given nothing to the country, so it is not needed for the future, too. What is more, it was asserted that socialism has allegedly retarded the development of the country and become a brake on the economy. Such statements are being made by a number of Czech economists. Sentiments like these are being encouraged by western propaganda which in veiled form is presenting the current "difficulties" of the Czech economy as the result of "old policy." What are the sins of the "old policy" in the opinion of western observers? In the fact that the Czechoslovak Communist Party is trying to develop the economy according to plan, that it understands the primary importance of heavy industry and that

it is giving priority to the development of chemistry, electronics and machine building. The western "helpers" advise that the CSSR should weaken its ties with the CMEA, should establish closer relations with the west and give more freedom for the market. Yet it is precisely by following the road of socialism, by developing and strengthening its contacts with other socialist countries within the CMEA that Czechoslovakia has achieved the present level of her economic might and is developing in a planned way, without crises, ensuring full employment.

Over the years of socialism the working people of Czechoslovakia have effected a socialist reorganisation of the national economy and considerably increased the country's economic potential. As compared with 1948, industrial output has gone up by 5.5. times. The national income increased by approximately 3.3. times, and personal consumption of the population has risen by about 2.5 times. It was precisely during the years of socialist construction that Czechoslovakia became a country producing very complicated machinery, machine tools, instruments, equipment from marine engines to aircraft and watches. The constantly growing state expenditures on meeting the needs of the working people from public funds are invisible externally, but are felt by everyone. incomparably better than in the period of the "first Republic" are met the population's requirements in the field of education, culture and public health, there has been an improvement in social pension and hospital maintenance. Czechoslovakia, which was a backward part of the country has considerably "caught up" and achieved economic maturity. Industrial output here increased by 9 times over the 20 years.

Serious shortcomings in economic development are not the fruit of socialism. They are the result of under-estimating the economic methods of management, drawbacks of planning, the weakness of labour and technological discipline. Socialism is a society of working people-

and it is built upon labour, its successes depend on the quantity and quality of work of masters of society —the producers themselves. Good things of life are not a manna from the socialist sky. Workers understand this and it is not mere chance that there is much talk in Czechoslovakia that apart from the need to reorganise economic management and to improve the economic structure, it is also necessary to strengthen very vigorously the labour discipline, to raise the consciousness and responsibility of every working person for the quality of work, and to strengthen socialism. Here is the point of further developing the country's economy not in running down the recent socialist past.



7. UNDER THE COVER OF THE "LIBERALISATION" SLOGAN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA VARIOUS GROUPS AND TRENDS ARE ATTACKING ALL THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK WORKING PEOPLE IN THE PAST TWENTY YEARS. WHAT ARE THE TRUE AIMS OF SUCH ATTACKS ?

If such people had true courage and elementary honesty, they would have called things by their proper names. However, as they were not courageous enough to declare their aims to the people, their statements contain much that they borrowed from socialist phraseology. A close analysis of the published statements of such groups and trends leaves no doubt as to the main thing: they have a strategic plan designed to eliminate the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. A campaign for discrediting the Czechoslovak Communist Party as the leading force of the country was conducted covertly and overtly. Persistent attempts were made to belittle the significance and the role of the Communist Party within the framework of the national front. The reactionaries wanted to expand the national front on account of the newly-born anti-Communist groups. A certain A. Lim, expressing the opinion of the reactionary

forces, said in the newspaper *Lit-erarni Listy*: "The national front is not an end in itself, but a means for the transition of power to a force that will eventually give bearings and choose the further road of national development." Although this extract abounds in reservations, its true meaning is obvious to all. They want to use the national front for the "peaceful" overthrow of the regime, the change of the system and for political re-orientation. A campaign for legalizing opposition parties and giving them the right to struggle against the ruling Communist Party was conducted openly. Behind the slogan of a "genuine democracy" the counter-revolutionary forces urged that restoration of a multi-party parliamentary system, regarding it as a means for removing the Communist Party from national leadership. Simultaneously, the revisionist wing of the party tried to discredit communists faithful to Marxism-Leninism, to silence them and deprive them of influence. In the conditions of the artificially-caused disorientation of the population and by using the anti-socialist forces for seizing the commanding heights in the press, radio and television, the counter-revolutionaries counted on defeating the sound patriotic forces devoted to socialism in the elections to the National Assembly. Rupture of allied obligations under the Warsaw Pact, the desocialisation of the economy, the establishment of "special" ties with the USA, the FRG and other western countries and, finally, restoration of the capitalist system — such are the goals of the counter-revolutionaries who managed to turn the revisionist wing of the Czechoslovak Communist Party into their weapon.



8. WHERE THE USE OF THE SLOGAN OF "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIAN CONDITIONS COULD HAVE LED TO ?

Firstly, let us make it clear: the theory of the so-called "democratic socialism" was in vain presented by certain organs of the Czechoslovak

press, television and radio as some "new word" in the development of scientific socialism. As a matter of fact, two decades back the theoreticians of "democratic socialism" expressed themselves more clearly than its present Czechoslovak adherents. The rightist leader of the British Labourites Attlee stated in 1948 that he wished that all nations should accept the principle of "democratic socialism" which, in his opinion, is a dynamic counter-means of fighting Communism. It is by no means fortuitous that the theory of "democratic socialism" was advanced by the ideologists of the reactionary social-democracy soon after Churchill's Fulton speech which became the initial salvo of the cold war against the Soviet Union unleashed by the imperialist circles.

Secondly, no matter what eloquent words are uttered on this question, the preachers of "democratic socialism" call upon the working people to reject the class struggle, the socialist transformation of society, and to defend some abstract "pure democracy." So "democratic socialism" has become the slogan of those who, under the guise of talks on "liberalisation" and "perfecting the socialist system", are delivering a blow at the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. One of the authors of the notorious "2,000 words" — call to counter-revolution — significantly stated in an interview given to a correspondent of the Parisian newspaper *"Figaro"* that, in his opinion, "the Communist Party is just one of the parties existing in Czechoslovakia", and that it may be "denied any trust." He was echoed by another active proponent of "liberalisation" — the writer L. Mnacko, who slanderously asserted that socialism in Czechoslovakia "was not for man, that it demoralises and oppresses him."

Some of the Czechoslovak leaders asserted that there is no reason for apprehension and that there were no organised forces in the country capable of carrying out a counter-revolution. However, the facts testify to the contrary. They indicate whose

hands are stretching forth for power — "liberalisation" and "democratic socialism." Thus, back in April, the "organisation for the defence of human rights" was organised in Bratislava with a certain Z. Vydra as its Chairman. It was he who organised in 1956, shortly before the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary, an illegal rightist party in Czechoslovakia for seizing state power. Vydra and his accomplices had connections with the hostile emigration. They have even set aside several places in the underground Central Committee for the emigrants. This party had set itself the task of dissolving the national front, to return the plants to private owners and the land to the churches. This is the true countenance of these fighters "for human rights" and "democratic socialism."



9. WHAT IS BEHIND THE SLOGAN OF "COMPLETE FREEDOM" OF THE PRESS" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA ?

The slogan of "complete freedom of the press" proclaimed by some "theoreticians" of the Czechoslovak revisionism has paved the way for internal anti-socialist reaction. The implementation of this fashionable slogan did much damage to the socialist society. The party, the trade unions, the organisation of Communist youth either kept aloof or were removed from the leadership of press organs that belonged to them. The vacuum so formed was filled with revisionist or openly anti-socialist forces. As the Austrian newspaper *Volkstimme* points out, there appeared "non-democratic privileges of editors who can use their special position for the polarisation of their subjective, personal political opinions." Indeed, is a more paradoxical and absurd presentation of the question possible? If the newspaper is led by the party or another organisation, it is undemocratic, and if an irresponsible editor is able to indulge in arbitrariness on its pages, this is genuine democracy. In practice "freedom of the press" in Czechoslovakia turned out to be freedom only

for certain biased opinions. The newspapers, radio and television widely opened their columns, giving the microphone and blue screen only for the criticism of the socialist foundations of society, only for defaming the past 20 years' of socialist construction. Calls were made in Prague finally to destroy and smash the "conservatives", "dogmatists" and other differently-minded people. If one takes on trust the slogan of "complete freedom of the press", then it would seem that people not entirely agreeing with the present development of the country should have the possibility of expressing their opinion and to argue on the pages of newspapers and on the radio. But the groups which seized commanding heights in organs of mass information, have actually gagged all those who would like to express their own points of view. These groups arrogated to themselves the monopoly right to spread information which reached the people after the appropriate processing in the spirit which was required by revisionists and counter-revolutionaries. This is why "complete freedom" was given to attacks on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, malicious statements against the friendly socialist countries and calls to revise Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. The problems of struggle against imperialism, aggression in Vietnam and the threat of West German revanchism—all this has disappeared from the pages of the Czechoslovak newspapers which became filled with unfriendly polemical articles against the countries of socialism. In modern society the means of mass information play an exceptional role. And it is not accidental that the counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia were trying first of all to gain complete control over the press, radio and television so as with their help to divert the country from the socialist path of development to the path of restoring the bourgeois order.

10. WHY DO THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA FALSIFY THE HISTORY OF WORLD WAR TWO ?

This is done with the obvious aim of perverting the meaning of the historic victory of the Soviet Union and the popular resistance movement in East-European countries, the victory which routed the forces of reaction and opened the victory to socialism in these countries. Mouth-pieces of the enemies of socialism in Czechoslovakia try to prove that; First, the nazis allegedly treated the Czechs well; second, the resistance of the peoples of Czechoslovakia to the German occupiers was allegedly as writer Jan Prohazka put it, "a sheer legend"; third, the Soviet army, although it liberated Czechoslovakia, brought with it another "foreign yoke" by having "imposed" the socialist system upon the country. It is strange to see the magazines *Gost Do Domu*, *Student Reporter*, the newspapers *Mlada Fronta*, *Literarni Listy* and other press organs readily offer their pages to the falsifiers of recent history. The magazine *Plamen* for example, published a story "For The Motherland" by K. Misarz who tried to defile the memory of soldier-liberators. Let's recall some historical facts. In what did the "good attitude" of the German occupiers to the peoples of Czechoslovakia show itself? Wasn't it in the fact that they executed 375,000 Czechs and Slovaks and threw into prisons almost 1.5 million persons, or every tenth citizen? It is painful and difficult to speak of this. Resistance to the occupiers was not a "legend", but a massive, veritably legendary movement which included the Slovak national uprising and the Prague uprising. As for the Soviet Union, it was during World War 2 it made big sacrifices in the struggle for the freedom of Czechoslovakia: 140,000 lives of its officers and men. Attempts made by the newspaper *Lidova Demokracie* and other press organs to extol the role of the US army in liberating Czechoslovakia are a characteristic example of the falsification of the history of the war years. They began emphasizing the contribution of the US army to

liberating the western part of the country and the city of Plzen. In reality, Plzen had been freed by the Plzen people the day before American troops came to the city. By that time the war had assumed a "strange character: the German troops were fiercely resisting on the eastern front and willingly surrendering on the western front.

Although the outcome of the war was predetermined, shortly before the "curtainfall", on April 25, 1945, American aircraft perpetrated a massive bombing of Plzen, having destroyed or damaged over one-third of the buildings in the city. Hundreds of persons were killed. Almost without fighting, American troops went, as was agreed before, to the Karlovy Vary — Plzen-Ceske Budeevice line. In this connection encyclopaedia *American* said: "the offensive proceeded with extremely low losses." Thus, on one day the 3rd army lost only three men and took 9,000 German prisoners. Some troops entered Plzen which was already in the hands of guerillas. One hundred and forty thousand Soviet officers and men were killed and only a few Americans were killed. Can one compare the incomparable? Such attempts are presented as the "restoration of historical justice" with the aim of undermining the roots of Soviet - Czechoslovak friendship.

11. WHO DIRECTS SALLIES AGAINST THE WARSAW TREATY AND IN WHOSE INTERESTS ARE THEY MADE ?

The imperialist forces of the west and their agents in some socialist countries are trying to blow up the Warsaw Treaty. And this is why since the Warsaw Treaty was concluded in 1955, it was and remains an insurmountable barrier to the imperialist forces of aggression and revanchists united in NATO under the aegis of the USA and Western Germany. Just like for other socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty is of tremendous importance for the security of Czechoslovakia. It is a reliable guarantee of peaceful constructive labour. Why is it necessary to mention that



truism now when everybody sees the vitality of and the need for the united military organisation of the countries of the socialist community? The point is that organs of information and even some officials in Czechoslovakia cast aspersions on the Warsaw Treaty, slanderously distorting its aims and very purpose.

The signal for provocative attacks against the Warsaw Treaty was given by General V. Prhlik, former leader of the recently abolished state-administrative department of the control committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He publicly bore down upon the organisational principles of the united command of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, trying to sow division among its participants and to cast a shadow over the combat community of the countries of socialism, over the Soviet army. If the Warsaw Treaty is being discredited by a Czechoslovak general whose elementary sense of patriotism and military duty would seem to tell him to show concern for the strengthening of this organisation, what then can be expected of the outspoken exponents of the anti-socialist forces. They stuck to Prhlik's pronouncement and used the normal and natural episode of military co-operation between the socialist countries — joint command and headquarter exercises of the Warsaw Treaty troops—for malicious accusations of "violating the sovereignty" of Czechoslovakia. In particular, the newspaper "*Zemledelske Noviny*" wrote shamelessly on July 17 that the dwarf state of Luxemburg had more rights in NATO than Czechoslovakia in the Warsaw Treaty.

It is very strange that in spreading about the alleged "discrimination" allied armies and their representatives within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, both General Prhlik and Czechoslovakia's organs of information, were pretending that the well-known facts were unfamiliar to them. Did they not know that the manoeuvres "Quartet" were carried out under the direction of the Minister of National Defence of the GDR, that actions of allied troops

in the exercises "Rodopy" were directed by Bulgaria's Minister of National Defence, and the "Vltava" manoeuvres were led by the Minister of National Defence of Czechoslovakia? Can these and many other facts of equal co-operation of all Warsaw Treaty member states be evidence of "discrimination?"

In whose interests? It is not hard to guess. An irresponsible slander campaign against the Warsaw Treaty which is being conducted by the counter-revolutionary forces inside Czechoslovakia is being whipped up in every way by the aggressive circles of the USA and West Germany. As a hen dreams about millet, so they dream of the Czechoslovak banner being lowered from the flagstaff of the Warsaw Treaty organisation and about that country becoming an easy prey for domestic counter-revolution and foreign intervention. As can be seen, the "critics" of the Warsaw Treaty — from General Prhlik to NATO generals — are concerned in words about Czechoslovakia's "sovereignty." But only in words. In reality they are trying to break the shield which is reliably safeguarding the independence, peace and security of all socialist states of Europe. Czechoslovakia included.



12. CAN THE HEALTHY FORCES INSIDE CZECHOSLOVAKIA CHECKMATE THE REACTIONARIES ?

Contemporary Czechoslovakia has a strong working class with big revolutionary traditions. Communist Party cadres who have been tested and steeled in struggle, armed formations of working people in the person of the people's militia set up in February 1948 during the most internal political struggle in the country, and a considerable number of people from among the soldiers and officers of the army and the partisans who fought side by side with Soviet people for the freedom of Czechoslovakia. It therefore follows the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has the necessary social basis

for checking the counter-revolutionary forces and defending the cause of socialism. Of course, it must be taken into account that both the working class and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which united with the Social Democratic Party in mid-1948, is not free of the influence of social-democracy with all its negative manifestations. Wherefore it is by no means accidental that the programme of the so-called "democratic socialism", with which the socialist international armed itself, is now finding such favourable soil in Czechoslovakia. Unquestionably there are healthy forces devoted to the cause of socialism in both the cities and countryside of Czechoslovakia. They form the vast majority of the working class and the Communist Party, and they exist also in the masses of the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. Unfortunately, so far the necessary desire for uniting and consolidating precisely these healthy forces of the party and the country's labouring classes has not been manifested. People loyal to the cause of socialism, true Marxists-Leninists have been deprived of the means for organising the masses in defence of socialism in Czechoslovakia and first and foremost such means as the press, radio and television, where the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces receive almost a complete monopoly of a tribune. Now the healthy forces of the Czechoslovak people will find the ways, methods and forms for their consolidation around the Marxist-Leninist nucleus of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and give a worthy rebuff to the counter-revolutionary forces.



13. OF LATE THE WESTERN PRESS HAS BEEN CONDUCTING A NOISY CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF THE SO-CALLED "LIBERALISATION" PROCESS IN THE CSSR. WHAT IS THE REAL CAUSE OF IT ?

The best answer to the question was given by the West German newspaper "*Rheinische Post*" which wrote

"the aims of the current process of reforms must be a stage-by-stage dismantling of Communism in Czechoslovakia." West German propaganda has probably never before acted so dexterously and purposefully as at present. Czechoslovakia has become, in the true sense of the word, the target at which are aimed the entire propaganda apparatus and centres of revenge-seeking associations. It is being shot through with radio and television waves. Bonn commentators are conducting a day-to-day campaign whose aim is to create an ill feeling between Czechoslovakia and her socialist allies. Thousands of West German tourists who flooded across the Czechoslovak borders help so-called "fighters for democracy" in Czechoslovakia from "Free Europe" and "*Deutsche Welle*" to spread slanderous rumours. The task before them is to encourage the local counter-revolutionary elements, to drive a wedge in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, and to sow doubts concerning the sincerity of the internationalist motives of the fraternal socialist countries.

These subversive ideological actions are being sanctioned in Bonn at the "summit level". As Chancellor Kiesinger said, the FRG is "extremely interested" in... the "prosperity" of Czechoslovakia. What is meant here is of course the prosperity of anti-socialist forces. Among the visitors there are quite a number of eminent personalities of the Bonn regime. They are coming to Czechoslovakia, according to the western press, to establish a "political bridgehead in Czechoslovakia." Bonn politicians stake on the so-called "quiet revolution". The less we talk or write about Czechoslovakia, "the better our cause will advance", said Franz Josef Strauss. Best of all the aims of this "noiseless counter-revolution" were disclosed by Claus Menert, a former nazi agent and now a specialist on anti-Communism. "The content of the Czechoslovak state", he wrote, "must gradually change radically, but the external appearance of the socialist system may at first remain what it was." It is in keeping with this recipe that

West-German propagandist and subversive centres are acting now.



14. WHAT WAS BEHIND THE USA'S OSTENTATIOUS "NON-INTERFERENCE" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S AFFAIRS ?

The American reactionaries are well aware that lately the situation in Czechoslovakia has created favourable grounds for the smuggling of counter-revolution, if not its direct export. Though the United States asserts that it is not interfering in the affairs of Czechoslovakia, actually it is rendering active support to the anti-socialist forces in that country. On May 1 a State Department spokesman greeted "with interest and sympathy" the events in Czechoslovakia. Subsequently the State Department grew silent and made believe that it's none of its business. But the American press being more vociferous, continued to manifest both "interest" and "sympathy" towards "the liberalisation in Czechoslovakia. "*The Wall Street Journal*", for instance, frankly expressed the hope that the changes in Prague would give the United States the possibility of driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and its partners. The USA press occupied itself with the ways and means of "encouraging" the development of Czechoslovakia on the counter-revolutionary rails. The war in Vietnam and the sorry state of the balance of payment, "*The New York Times*" complained in this connection, hamper the United States from playing in the near future a sufficiently eminent role in helping Czechoslovakia satisfy her economic needs. Nevertheless, the newspaper added, the government could undertake some beneficial steps to demonstrate its interests and sympathy which it had recently expressed towards the Prague events.

What are these steps? Is the affair limited to mere sympathies? Not at all. Recently the United States made a decision to pay 700 Czechoslovak citizens 5 million dollars it owes them for social insurance. These are pebbles which America has forgotten

even to think of until the recent events." *The New York Times*" hailed this step as the first cautious attempt to show not only in words that Washington is serious about the "sympathy" which it had expressed earlier in the spring towards the new tendencies in Prague.

Some newspapers, including the reputable London "*Financial Times*" reported that Czechoslovakia had been offered already an American loan of 400 million dollars. A bill was proposed in the Senate on liberalisation of trade with Czechoslovakia in particular, granting her the most favoured nation treatment. The author of this bill, Senator Walter Mandale, stated that Czechoslovakia had taken a splendid course and that it needed new contacts with the West. Wherefore he warned that trade restrictions may do harm to the liberal movement in Czechoslovakia. And the adoption of the Bill would be a demonstration of the United States interest and sympathy towards the Prague events, he claimed.

It is naive to think that the United States, this world policeman, a country of political murders that is waging a dirty war in Vietnam, is concerned over the "democratisation" of Czechoslovakia. But everything assumes its proper place in getting acquainted with the statement made by Congressmen John P. Saylor. The time for the revolt has not come as yet, he warned, stating that the people of Czechoslovakia should not be pushed towards an open revolt as long as the time for it had not ripened. He also added that they wished the Czechoslovak people to look with the enthusiasm towards the future and promised to help it to ripen.

Now, when the fraternal countries which have the approval of all the progressive forces of the world, have come to the assistance of the Czechoslovak people in its struggle against rampant counter-revolutionaries, the US imperialists have dropped the mask of "imperial observers." They have raised a slanderous issue in the UN. By raising a hue and cry about "protecting Czechoslovakia" they

want to distract mankind's attention from the dirty doings of imperialism: the whole world knows that to the present day children in Vietnam are being torn to pieces by American bombs.



Explosive

Middle East Dangerous Hot Spot

The Middle East is quickly becoming an increasingly dangerous hot spot which could explode a new at any moment. The ceaseless incidents are simply the symptoms and outward manifestations of a difficult situation.

When the so called "English" resolution was adopted after half a year of sessions in the United Nations there was a widespread conviction to the effect that "something" had finally been accomplished and that things would work themselves out. A mediator was appointed and sent to the Middle East where he launched consultations. The matter was formally removed from the agenda, at least for the time being. However, what was new about that resolution and how did it influence the tense situation in the Middle East?

THE state of affairs created by the resolution was strikingly similar to that following all earlier military conflicts. Territorially, a new "status quo" was established, while politically, all problems remained unsettled and tension was unabated. This time, the territorial situation differs radically from those preceding it. After the conflict in 1949, and then again in 1956, the temporary cease-fire line was more or less acceptable as a temporary solution and could have been maintained for years; now, however, the third line separating the Arab countries from Israel cuts so deeply into the territory of the neighbouring Arab states,

affects their vital interests so intensely and offends their national sentiments to such an extent that it cannot even be considered temporary to say nothing of long-term.

True, it was established and it has already been in existence for one year, but this should not be allowed to deceive. It is being maintained only because it was imposed by force last year and because not enough power has been built up to remove it. It is being tolerated, but day in and day out it is engendering hatred and bitterness.

Saying it exists because sufficient power is lacking to remove it, should not be conceived of exclusively as an allusion to the military might of the Arab states. Sufficient power could be provided through joint action by big powers and those around them which have so far been passive or have extended outright support to Israel. If these powers were to act together and vigorously demand that Israel withdraw from the conquered areas, and if they were to bolster their demands by appropriated measures provided for by the Charter and by United Nations practice, the political and economic counterforce thus engendered would establish some sort of balance and offer a basis for the final resolution of the outstanding problems of the Middle East.

This has not come to pass, however; moreover, there are no signs leading us to expect any kind of effective action in the near future designed to make Israel retreat, and to incorporate positions acceptable to both sides in the process of resolving the entire complex of problems besetting that region. In point of fact, although more than a year has passed since the war, a much greater effort and much more insistent pressure on Israel would be needed today to achieve withdrawal.

In referring to pressure, we are of course thinking of pressure in the sense of the United Nations Charter. A basis for such action could be found in the existing resolution. But the decisive thing is that a number of influential members of the United Nations lack the will to do their duty in terms of the Charter.

The lack of positive action designed to solve the problem by political means, meaning the sanctions provided for by the Charter, has led to a painful situation of impotence on the part of the world organization in the teeth of an obvious attempt to annex foreign territory. From the point of view of the Arab states, particularly after the adoption of the foregoing resolutions, the organization seems powerless to achieve



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Russian soldiers fraternising with workers in Prague.

aims and to intervene efficaciously in a case which involves its vital interests.

IT GIVES no cause for wonder, then, that there is a growing conviction in some Arab countries among the people at large in the Arab world, and not there alone, that they should rely on their own forces to set matters right. This is an extremely dangerous tendency, the responsibility for which is borne by those who have permitted the fruits of aggression to be enjoyed with impunity. Allowing matters to take such a turn in the Middle East lends strength to the argument that force is more powerful than justice.

Is it then any wonder that, in such a situation, the Arab states are endeavouring to reconstruct their armed forces as quickly and completely as possible after their being dealt such a blow in the last year's war as a consequence of poor military leadership and deployment. For the present, the strengthening of these armed forces is the only positive act contributing to the establishment of balance and creating the pre-requisite for solution of the problem.

This is a grave observation, but the truth must be faced up to. When it turns out to be futile to hope for international action, then each nation possessing sufficient strength to maintain itself in times of crisis starts building up its own power as much as it can. This does not mean to say that the launching of military operations by the Arab states for the purpose of expelling the Israeli occupation forces should be anticipated, encouraged or approved. But it is a sad though irrefutable argument, drawn from past and present experience, that the possession of military power is one of the strongest arguments at the round table,

Whether the resulting situation and the build up of armed forces lead to a squaring of accounts on the battlefield depends on a number of factors, foremost among them being: will the countries supporting Israel's occupation perceive the

perils of the policy they pursue. Finally, judging from information on the most recent incidents, it might be concluded that military operations could be renewed by way of "preventive" military action on Israel's part.

As a matter of fact, the reconstruction of the Arab armed forces has led to an arms race and to the strengthening of Israel's military might. That race has a logic of its own. In the final analysis, and in the sufficiently long run, the Arab forces would obviously come out the stronger, making the state of affairs based on Israel's military superiority untenable. It is not therefore surprising that belligerent circles in Israeli are mobilizing and, through incidents on the demarcation line, creating a situation in which they might one day fish in

troubled water in a way making it difficult to establish how the whole thing actually began.

In conclusion that revival of the war between Israel and neighbouring Arab states might have, should not be lost from view. In any case, the Mediterranean area is already beginning to shape up into a zone of rivalry and competition in terms of military presence. The significance of the Middle East is sufficiently well-known, particularly the significance of the Suez Canal. Consequently, any rival of military operations and especially a long war with an uncertain outcome in this area set in motion forces which considerably transcend in scope the forces engaged in earlier conflicts.

Leo Mates
Tanjung



Ordinary Czech citizens greet Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia.

True Story

Was "The Consul Who Disobeyed" Right?

by Arul Manuel

WAS IT CEYLON, or India; an African country, or England; or America? The man who disobeyed was Aristedes de Sousa Mendes, the Portuguese Consul-General in France. The government to which he was accredited was in flight: the French Government had fled from Paris to Tours, and then to Bordeaux, one hundred and twenty miles from the Spanish frontier.

The time — was it the Middle Ages or 1968? To be precise, it was June, 1940, a mere twenty-eight years ago. We are indebted to the *Catholic Digest* for a condensed version of the story, by Harry Ezratty, which appeared in "Jewish Life." The man, whom the story is about, died in Portugal in 1954, "forgotten and impoverished, but he had never regretted his actions."

The background was briefly this. Hitler's invasion of France was underway. His treatment of the Jews no secret. We know now of the gas chambers, and Aristedes de Sousa Mendes saved 10,000 Jews from these.

It was a question of **PASSPORTS AND VISAS**, the talismen of the modern world. Spain had only recently finished her civil war, where Franco, aided somewhat by Hitler and Mussolini, had thrown out the Communists, who were supported by people like Lord Attlee, then a major in the International Brigade. 30,000 refugees had reached Bordeaux, and their destination was Portugal; but to get there they had to pass through Spain.

There was no difficulty about passing through Spain *at first*, providing they had a visa to enter Portugal, and the issuing of that visa fell within the purview of the Portuguese Consul-General in France, Mendes.

He had moved with the French Government to Bordeaux.

It was probably because of the unusual situation caused by the large numbers of potential exiles clamouring for visas, that Mendes had to consult his government in Portugal, and Portugal, possibly overwhelmed by the large number of applications, stopped answering correspondence. There could therefore be no more *legal* travel through Spain.

"Outside of the Portuguese consulate crowds of unkempt refugees waited silently in the street", and "inside the consulate sat a remarkable man who was about to ruin his career." It was Mendes, the Consul-General. It is on record that, before France had fallen, he had helped individual refugees with *visas* and money. "He had even issued a few *passports* that only looked valid."

"Now Mendes sat in his office. It was no longer a question of a few people. He could see thousands from his window. He had given his house over to them. They sat in his waiting room, occupied his bedrooms, sprawled out along the staircase. Mendes and his family ate in the kitchen. But within all this chaos was some order."

Mendes had at last received instructions from Lisbon. They read: "**No refugees are to be given any visas unless they can establish bona fide residence in Portugal. No Jews are to be admitted under any circumstances.**" There were 10,000 Jews, and each one feared for his life.

Eventually, Mendes walked out of the kitchen. Here is a translation of the exact words he uttered: "I cannot allow these people to die. I am going to issue a visa to anyone
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who asks for it, regardless of whether or not he can pay", and then he gave his reasons — in a sentence.

It took him three days, assisted by two of his sons, to issue 10,000 visas. He stopped only to sleep and eat. It goes without saying that he took no money, "though more than once he had been offered a fortune in gold." He was a sick man by the time the door closed on the last applicant.

In the meanwhile, Lisbon had been informed by someone, as it always happens, and two officials were sent to bring Mendes back to Portugal. On their way out of France they passed through Bayonne, nineteen miles from the Spanish frontier. There was a Portuguese consulate there in charge of a Vice-Consul, and another crowd of refugees outside it. Mendes and his party invaded the office and asked the Vice-Consul why he was not helping those people.

"I have instructions from Lisbon not to grant any visas, especially to Jews. I am carrying them out", was the answer.

MENDES' REPLY to this was: "I have not yet been removed as consul general. I am still your superior", and walking to the Vice-Consul's desk, he proceeded to assemble the seals for the visas. "No one could stop him, not even the officials from Lisbon." The visas this time were simply *slips of paper* with the consulate seal and the following inscription: "The Portuguese government requests the Spanish government the courtesy of allowing the bearer to pass freely through Spain. He is a refugee from the European conflicts en route to Portugal." It took a whole day to issue all the visas, and the journey to Portugal was resumed the next morning.

Hendaye is on the Spanish border, and here a shock awaited them. *Spain had closed its frontier to the refugees*, and "all the work of the past few days had gone for nothing!"

However, where there is a will there is a way, and it was so in this case, for Mendes knew his frontier. "Just follow me", he said to the refugees. He reasoned that the Spanish authorities would expect the refugees to cross at Hendaye, which is on the direct route, and that only that point would have been alerted. It must have been at Ainhoa, thirteen miles away along another route, that the refugees got through, although the name of the town is not recorded in the Digest. There "the officers were ignorant of the whole affair. Mendes flashed his credentials. The people passed through."

The epilogue — Mendes forced his government to change its *policies* of asylum, but, of course, he lost his job; and, by the way, he was the father of fourteen children!

From An Editorial In "Patriot" On Czechoslovakia

Proper Approach

It was only to be expected that the darkest and the most reactionary political elements in our country would try to whip up anti-socialist and anti-Soviet hysteria by making use of the grave crisis in Czechoslovakia. India's abstention from voting on the Western Powers' resolution in the Security Council seeking to "condemn" the Soviet Union has been attacked by them, as was the Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha on Wednesday. The Anglo-American resolution was a propagandist effort. It was meant to deflect world attention from the staggering crime of US aggression in Vietnam, which these very powers who support US imperialism in the Security Council and elsewhere constantly, have yet to utter a word to condemn. If the purpose of the resolution were to seek a solution for the Czech crisis or urge restraint, the Western powers would have accepted the modification suggested by India's attitude, outlined in the statement by the Prime Minister, provides

the most rational and balanced approach to a very complicated and distressing situation.

The use of military forces for the solution of any issue of international relations today is bound to evoke the strongest reactions and stir deep emotions. The average non-political person is unable to understand the significance of the dramatic developments. In the circumstances, anti-socialist forces everywhere find it easy to capitalize on their feelings and therefore have launched a fierce campaign against the Soviet Union and its allies. In India, the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh have led the campaign against the very concepts of socialism and communism. Mr. Asoka Metha whose days as a member of the Union Cabinet were in any case numbered has chosen to make an opportunity of the Czech debate to forestall an ignominious exit. The Indian people will not think that by the Government of India's refusal to "condemn" the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries, India has in any way failed to uphold its professed ideals.

Nobody can ever dispute that Czechoslovakia's rights as an independent and sovereign state under the UN Charter must be fully and completely respected. But it will not do either to counterpose these rights against the interests and security of the socialist system of which Czechoslovakia is a part in the economic and military sense. The disruption of this system is the objective of the imperialists. This aim assumed the shape of rank interventionist conspiracy in the days of the cold war. It has necessarily to be more circumspect and more calculating at present. That the Soviet Union and its allies have not advanced satisfactory evidence so far to prove the existence of such a conspiracy does not mean that their secret aim is to halt the measures of democratization in Czechoslovakia. At least, the categorical statement by the Soviet Union and its allies assuring support to the January decisions of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party should convince

fair-weather friends of the socialist countries that only apprehension of real danger to the security of the socialist system could have compelled them to act as they did.

An event of this magnitude can be understood only in the long view of history and of the development and growth of socialism as a superior order of society over all others known hitherto. It has reopened many questions thought to have been settled within the socialist camp. The crisis of the capitalist world and the ambitions of powerful, revanchist West Germany are factors that the socialist community will have to take into account as threats to European peace and stability. The "occupation" of Czechoslovakia is not the aim of the Warsaw Pact powers. They cannot ignore the appeals for withdrawal of troops as speedily as possible and enable the true forces of Czechoslovak socialism to establish their power. India's role in the world-wide debate over Czechoslovakia should be to further this objective, and this, intemperate language or hysteria will not.



COLD WAR ?

Dozens of million dollar worth of various literature, chiefly of an anti-Soviet content, was imported from the Chinese People's Republic to USA in the recent 3-4 years with the consent of the American government. Bookshops in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and other cities sell books and periodicals from China in English, Spanish and Chinese. They include Mao's writings. It is circulated by contractors receiving subsidies from Peking and officially registered with US government. (*Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 27).

In The Indian Parliament

Emotional Debate On The Czech Crisis

The Czechoslovak crisis hit Parliament last week like a South Sea tornado, with sound and fury the like which was not seen in recent years. For three days, from Wednesday to Friday, it tore through both the Houses in a rising crescendo of anger, protest and passionate denunciation. The intensity of this emotional burst was such that many jeered, and many more gleefully hoped, that it would blow sky-high the Prime Minister and the Government. But Mrs. Gandhi faced it all with extraordinary firmness, equanimity and courage and refused to be swept off her feet. While aligning herself unequivocally with the people of Czechoslovakia, she projected and stoutly defended India's constructive role in resolving this tragic dispute between two of our country's best friends, spurning pressures from a high-riding Right, a morally-lacerated Left and her own party which was a house divided in itself. Indeed, these were the finest moments in her career as Prime Minister.

IT WAS a very difficult and delicate situation, in which sincere moral indignation and cold, calculated power politics were inextricably mixed. The news of the entry of Soviet and other Warsaw Pact powers stunned the world, like a bolt from the blue. The suddenness and unexpectedness of the development threw friends of the Soviet Union and socialism into confusion and disarray. They could not reconcile themselves to the march of Soviet troops into a fraternal socialist state. While some tried to analyse and understand this distasteful reality, many others were stricken by an agony of conscience. But to the enemies of socialism, this was the heaven-sent opportunity they were praying for all these years. It was a two-edged battleaxe for them to hew down socialism abroad and strike at the Government at home. All these conflicting trends

were magnified and reflected in the bitter political battles in Parliament.

The Prime Minister's statement in both Houses on the Czech developments and her speeches, intervening in the various debates, clearly enunciated the Government's stand on the issue. Mrs. Gandhi repeatedly made it clear that India stood for the speedy withdrawal of the armies that had entered Czechoslovakia, restoration of the country's sovereignty and its legal government and the settlement through negotiations of the political disputes between Czechoslovakia and its allies. She expressed the Government's "deep concern and anguish" over the developments, offered its sympathy to the Czech people and hoped for the safety of their leaders.

But the Prime Minister did not believe harsh words would heal the situation, or would enable India to help the Czech people in their hour of need. She emphatically rejected persistent pleas from the Swatantra-led sector of the Opposition and a section of her own party to "condemn" the Soviet Union. She also

vehemently defended India's abstention in the UN Security Council on a resolution which sought to 'condemn' that country. But the Prime Minister had to wage a determined struggle to carry her policy in Parliament.

THE SWATANTRA and the Jana Sangh spearheaded the attack on the Government. The SSP, PSP and DMK were, at the best, able companions. In their new-found ardour for the Czechoslovak Communist Party and its leader Dubcek, the Swatantra and its friends let loose a torrent of high-sounding phrases, and glutinous words that sometimes seemed to stick to their teeth. Emotionalism was carried to such a high pitch that Swatantra spokesmen Mr. Minoo Masani in the Lok Sabha and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel in the Rajya Sabha, and Jana Sangh's Balraj Madhok in the Lower House suddenly discovered virtues in Jawaharlal Nehru, whose policies they had attacked relentlessly all these years. PSP's Nath Pai rose to great heights of sentimental oratory and invoked her father against Mrs. Gandhi. Invariably appeals were made on the basis of India's great traditions. And all this revolved on the question: to 'condemn' the Soviet Union or not to 'condemn' it.

But behind all this fire and brimstone, a two-fold political objectiv-



Czech women talking to a Soviet army officer.

was easily discernible. The first was to demolish the image of the Soviet Union, which in spite of its highly controversial action in Czechoslovakia still continued to be the main bulwark of the world's socialist and progressive forces. The other was to use the emotional smokescreen of Czechoslovakia to mount an offensive on the Government's foreign policies and against the Government itself. The Swatantra and Jana Sangh spokesmen did not mince words on either of these two issues. They succeeded in getting warm support on both from the non-Communist Left parties and a section of the Congress whose understanding of the issue was mainly centred round the question of 'aggression.'

THOUGH the Congress Party rallied round the Prime Minister passively on Wednesday and on Thursday and more actively on Friday, it has yet to sort out the issues involved in the Czech crisis. It was true that the Prime Minister was able to carry with her most of the senior Ministers on this issue.

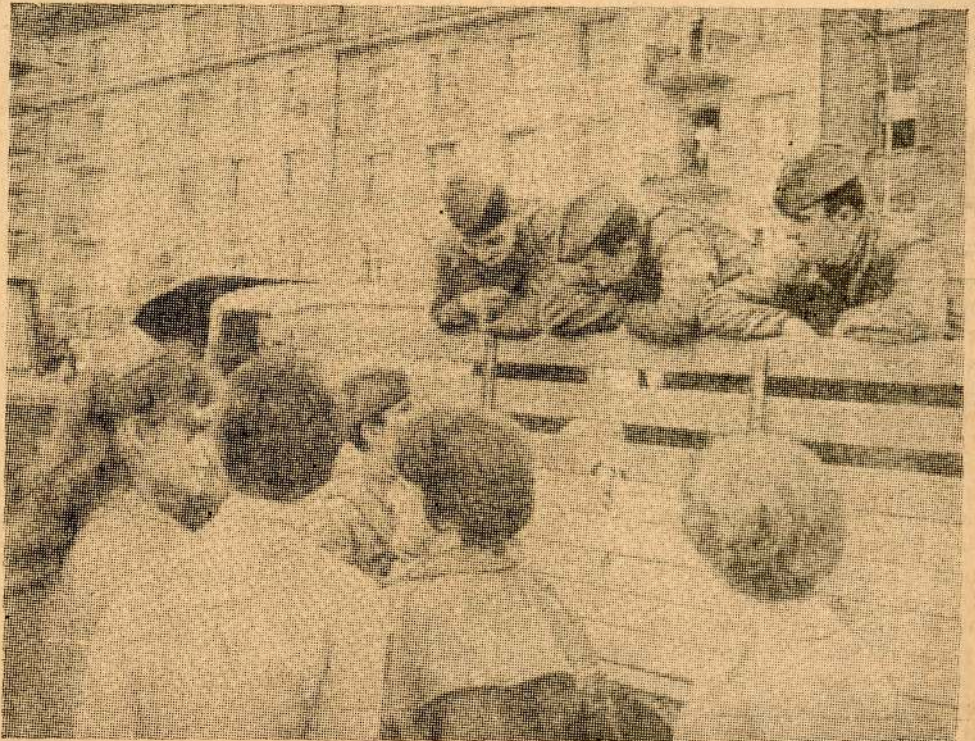
But the open revolt by a Minister like Mr. Asoka Mehta, defiance of the whip by a senior member like Mrs. Mrs. Kripalani, caustic attacks on the Government and indirectly on the Prime Minister by important Congressmen like Mr. Hanumanthayya, Mr. Bhandare, Mr. Venkatsubbiah in the Lok Sabha and Mr. Chandrasekhar and Mr. Mohan Dharia in the Rajya Sabha clearly demonstrated that the Swatantra strategy had worked.

The utter helplessness of the Congress Party was most visible on Friday afternoon in the Lok Sabha when for more than two hours, the Swatantra-led Opposition let loose such a pandemonium, that neither Ministers nor Congressmen could speak a word. They wanted the Prime Minister to answer whether India had abstained from voting on the Security Council resolution. A straight "yes" or "no" and nothing more, they shouted in anger. The Congress Party, including the Deputy Prime Minister, sat back dazed.

IT WAS LEFT to the Prime Minister, who arrived from the other House to retrieve the situation "Resign", shouted the Opposition but Mrs. Gandhi was in no mood to oblige them. She hit back at the Opposition, pulling no punches and forced them to hear her in silence. This in a moment electrified the scene and the Congress benches woke up from their trance. In spite of their reservations over Government's policy towards Czechoslovakia, many of them suddenly realized the brink to which they were led by the Swatantra and Jana Sangh.

This new spirit was clearly visible in some of the speeches made from Congress benches that fateful afternoon. Mr. Bedabrata Barua and Mr. K. R. Ganesh, while strongly deploring the Soviet action, strongly defended the Government's stand of not rushing into cold war politics. Mr. Barua pointed out that India's duty was to work for peace and withdrawal of troops in Czechoslovakia. Reduction of tension was the main

Soviet soldiers talking to Czech people. The hostility which Western propaganda makes much about seems to be absent.



duty and for that harsh words may not be the best weapon.

Mr. Ganesh hit the Opposition where it hurt them and exposed them most. At least half the Opposition, he said, did not have the moral right to speak about strangulation of democracy in Czechoslovakia. He did not remember them speaking with the same emotion or feelings when napalm bombs were rained by the US on the people of Vietnam.

In the Rajya Sabha, veteran Congressman Arjun Arora went one step further. While defending the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, he posed the question of the security of the socialist system. Were there not forces working in Czechoslovakia which tried to undermine the socialist system in that country and wanted the restoration of capitalism he asked.

The Communist Parties, naturally, were put in a very embarrassing position. Their erstwhile allies in the Opposition were now unreservedly attacking them, especially the CPI, which was known for its close ideological affinity with the Soviet Union.

THE CPI stand was explained in Lok Sabha by Mr. Yogindra Sharma and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha. While the CPI group in the Lok Sabha appeared to be on the defensive, the indomitable Bhupesh

Gupta was at his fighting best in the Rajya Sabha. Mr. Gupta expressed concern and sorrow at the Czech developments. He told critics of the party that the CPI had welcomed the new liberalisation policies in Czechoslovakia carried out under the leadership of Dubcek, much before the Swatantra and Jana Sangh flaunted it. His party even now stood by it.

He ridiculed the "concern" shown by the Swatantra and its allies, to whom till a few days back, Czechoslovakia was a Soviet "satellite." To them Novotny and Dubcek were the same. But their sudden interest in Czechoslovakia was a camouflage for their internal policies which aimed at reversal of India's foreign policy and its close ties with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gupta drew attention to the question of the security of the socialist system. Certain elements in Czechoslovakia and others injected by West Germany into the country were trying to exploit the programme of liberalization. That was a danger of the socialist system and had to be faced. He warned friends of capitalism that Czechoslovakia would not return to the capitalist system.

The CP-M justified the Soviet action. Mr. P. Ramamurthi in the Lok Sabha and Mr. A. P. Chatterjee in the upper House however blamed

the Soviet Union for its "revisionist" sins which led to such an unhappy situation. Mr. Chatterjee emphatically declared that other socialist countries have the right to step in and crush counter-revolution in any fraternal socialist state.

Letter To The Editor

Rodiyas & Buddhist Temples

Sir,

Recently Dr. R. L. Spittel raised the question of what the Basnayake Nilames of the Maligawa would do if the Rodiyas were to enter the inner chamber.

I would like to point out that there are no Basnayake Nilames of the Maligawa and non-existent people can therefore do nothing !

Secondly I doubt whether the Diyawardana Nilame himself would bother to do anything because the Rodiyas have for a long time been worshipping at the Maligawa. Their cause was led many years ago by a noble Buddhist — the father of the distinguished President of the present Senate — Honourable A. Ratnayake and hardly any serious problem was created then.

Tribune appears to be desperately searching for parallels to minimize the inhuman casteism that marks Jaffna society. It should realise, along with the facetious Dr. Spittel, that beef-eating Rodiyas enter Buddhist shrines as freely as other "beef-eating out-castes" of whatever race or creed.

Yours faithfully,
David de Silva

39/4 A, D. S. Senanayake Road,
Colombo 8.
August 28, 1968

Note by Editor

Tribune does not seek to minimize the "inhuman casteism" in Jaffna by "drawing parallels." Tribune only seeks to provide background perspective to enable our readers to get an objective view of any situation.



A Soviet army officer talking to a Czech family

THE BORDERLAND — by C. V. VELUPILLAI

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Picture

The Story So Far....

Rajan laid bare the reason to Amaradasa why they were invited to the party. They found that under the glitter and pomp of their social life, the Nayagams were hard, calculating people who exploited labour.

"I have got an open air bath for you, doctor. It's ready in the enclosure behind the bath room", said Menike as Amaradasa sipped his morning coffee.

"You are a very resourceful woman !"

"You flatterer, can't you see how late it is. Come and have your bath."

They went out together and Amaradasa got to his bath while Menike stood out to keep him company with a mouthful of questions.

"I was up when you came."

"Then why didn't you come out? I was dying for a drink. I was afraid to put you up because Rajan might have objected.

"You made him come down. What a man !"

"I begged of him not to come down, but he insisted that he must deliver me at home for your sake."

"He's a very thoughtful person. Was the party a big one?"

"Yes. A vain affair. We laughed at the whole thing. Rajan asked me how we fitted into it."

"So, what did you say?"

"What's there to tell him. He's from the estate and I am from the village."

"You must have met a lot of people known to you. I mean familiar faces."

"No familiar faces except for a mysterious fellow who avoided me. He was a sleek, well groomed, well built guy, almost boyish in appearance. He kept clear of me and was the favourite of Mrs. Nayagam."

"I thought, you are her favourite."

"I have been her talking machine. Tell me, why you asked about familiar faces?"

SCANDINAVIA

BLACKBALLED

The CIA attempts to use the International Union of Socialist Youth to sabotage the World Youth Festival in Sofia had unfortunate results for the Union's General Secretary, Jan Haekkerup of Denmark. At the IUSY Congress in Amsterdam late last month he was obliged to vacate the post. For many of the affiliated organizations were outraged at his connection with the CIA, which through one of its disguised offshoots had supplied him with funds to organize a so-called "youth camp" in Holland at the same time as the Sofia festival. When this came to light Haekkerup tried to act the innocent, claiming that he had not known the money came from the CIA. But this was a singularly unconvincing dodge. As the Copenhagen *Politiken* pointed out, he had "carried on secret negotiations with the Americans and supplied them with confidential information."

Also blackballed at the Congress was Control Committee Chairman Ola Teigne of Norway, who, it emerged, had been initialled by Haekkerup into the secret dealings with the CIA. And it was his own countrymen, the Norwegian delegates, that most insistently demanded his dismissal both from the IUSY leadership and from the chairmanship of the regional Scandinavian Union of Social - Democratic Youth. Collaboration with the CIA proved a sure way to invite odium.

"A woman is always inquisitive and you notice such funny things in a big crowd."

"No, Menike. He behaved in such a queer way that I could not help but notice him."

"And your lady friend did not care to introduce him to you?"

"Yes. She did not."

Menike lapsed into silence. Amaradasa peeped over the enclosure and to his surprise found Menike grim and ponderous.

"What ails you, madam?"

She did not expect him to look at her and was caught unawares.

"Nothing, Mahataya", she laughed in a guilty way and moved away saying: "I'll get your tea ready."

After breakfast Amaradasa sat in the porch reading the morning paper.

"Putha!" called the old man.

"Yes, uncle."

"Will you write your friend and ask him to come here next week?"

"I'll write to him today, uncle."

The oration was over and Amaradasa went to his room to write the letter.

That afternoon while Amaradasa was chatting with Swarna and Menike, Subir came running and announced that old Kira had come to see him. They all went together to find Kira waiting for them leaning on his staff, bent and twisted. In his right hand he held a tube like bag turned out of palm leaves. He bent low and saluted them.

"You gave me life, Mahatmaya and I have come for your blessing."

"You must not say that, old one. Why did you come all this way?"

"It's never far to god's temple, Mahatmaya."

With both the hands he gave the leaf-bag to Amaradasa as it were an offering.

"What is this?"

"The first fruits from the tree I planted some years ago. It is meant for you, Mahatmaya,"

HHH & THE DOLLAR

Speaking of political finances Hubert Humphrey's decision to run for the Democratic nomination was repeatedly made only two days after LBJ's withdrawal. On the night of April 2, Humphrey attended a private dinner in New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel by Gardener Cowles, president of Cowles Communications, Inc. (*Look* magazine and other holdings). After dinner, Cowle's brother and nephew brought Humphrey to their hotel suite for a meeting with other wealthy potential contributors to his campaign. These included Henry Ford II, Roger Blough of US Steel, Sidney Weinberg of the investment banking concern of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (and a former fund raiser for both Eisenhower and LBJ), and others. At about 3 a.m. the private session moved to the apartment of Dwayne Andreas, a former Minneapolis banker who, like many wealthy contributors to both the Republican and Democratic parties, is registered as an independent. By dawn, Humphrey had received pledges for a \$3.5 million starter on his campaign kitty and enough Big Business support to convince him to run for President.

FEVER ?

When Hubert Humphrey took to his bed in Washington with a 101-degree fever, Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty said that the reason for his sudden indisposition was the threat—which indeed materialised—of massive anti-war demonstrations in Los Angeles, where he had been scheduled to address a Democratic Party rally.

(*Time*, July 19)

Amaradasa was deeply moved and so were Swarna and Menike. They looked at him in silent amazement. Amaradasa had received many tokens of appreciation from his patients but none of them came so near to his heart as this humble gift from Kira.

"After Punchi Hamenay came to the Walauwa there is prosperity in the village" said Kira.

"What Kira?" asked Swarna jokingly.

"Punchi Hamenay", he repeated, "has brought good luck to the Walauwa and the village."

"Who says that??" asked Swarna again.

"Everybody in the village says that. I, too, think so."

"Now what have you to say, Menike? Our villagers can read your mind by the way you walk."

Menike visibly blushed; and in an effort to divert the conversation, she spoke to Kira.

"Come round that way and rest your limbs till meal time."

Kira shuffled along to the backyard but Swarna did not spare Menike.

"Now the village has begun to talk. What are your plans, my good sister?"

"My plans? You are the one who plans and plots."

"I am glad you came out with it my sweet sister. I'll see that everything is done in good time."

"Mahataya, you don't listen to her. If you are not too busy, can you paint my picture?"

"That's a fine idea!" hinted Swarna.

"For god's sake go to the kitchen, Akke."

"Very well, I am off."

Swarna withdrew to the kitchen.

"Why is this sudden desire for a picture, Menike? Are you serious?"

"Yes, very serious."

"O. K. It would keep me occupied. I must look for the material."

"You need not worry. I have found all that in your cupboard."

"When a woman wants something, she knows how to get it. We will have to go to your cottage."

WEST GERMANY

REQUIEM FOR A NAZI

Presumably because it seemed unlikely to be accepted into the Kingdom of Heaven, the soul of the lately deceased ex-nazi General Ramcke found itself committed into the care of West Germany's Defence Ministry. On personal orders from Defence Minister Schroder, a force of Bundeswehr paratroopers under a Brigadier - General Schmidt arrived like a bevy of angels to fetch it away. After depositing a mourning wreath on the coffin, Schmidt gave forth with a most touching funeral oration, General Ramcke's "military services", he said, could be a model to every Bundeswehr man of "faithful service and performance of a soldier's duty." When this reached the ears of the West-German public, however, it emerged that not everyone shared that view. The Defence Ministry was bombarded with indignant protests, one of them from the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution. The Association very pertinently pointed out that with the example of nazi generals like Ramcke young Bundeswehr soldiers were being indoctrinated "in the spirit of the nazi war criminals and militarists." The protest went unanswered, nor is it particularly surprising that the Bonn Ministry said no more. Through the month of Brigadier - General Schmidt it had said plainly enough how warmly it values and cherishes former nazi generals.

In the well lit, airy sitting room of her cottage Menike lay on the couch reclining on her left arm in such a way that her limbs and face were revealed to their full advantage. There was a kind of fullness and glow in her body that was suggestive of a vat brimming with red wine. Amaradasa set to work. He made sketches and heaped them aside and sketched again. Menike lay in that position till late in the afternoon. She watched him narrowly as the hours went by.

"Aio, Mahataya, I am getting cramped" she complained.

"You asked for it madam and you have to go through it."

"Why are you making so many sketches?"

"My approach to painting is cock-eyed. I do not paint anything as it is but as I see it. If a person's head is taken away from the body he can't be identified easily because we are only used to knowing the person by the face. In my case I can recognise a person by his finger or toe. Every part of his body and his whole personality get soaked into my memory. So, after I have made these sketches I'll draw you as I see you, not as you are; and yet you will find in it a close resemblance to you."

She never heard him speak in that strain before. He looked so abstract and distant. He had become the drawing itself.

It was now evening. There was a mixture of deep red, orange and pink with streaks of smoky blue on the horizon. There were the chirps of little birds from trees and the drone of the giant beetle could be heard from the kitul palm. strange lyric of colours over the Hunucottuwa ridge changed. Amaradasa worked faster.

"Menike, I have finished. Now we can go home and I could work on it leisurely."

"Now you must have your lunch."

For the first time they sat together at the small table and ate the cold food while Menike's old aunt looked on with a benign look on her face. In their silence Amaradasa discovered so much of contentment and peace beyond words. And Menike knew that she was deeply in love with him and the world. They were like a tree rooted in the soil with two branches.

When they returned home lights were on. Swarna was all smiles and the old liard too was glad.

"Putha", he called from his sanctum. "I hear you are drawing pictures again."

"Yes, uncle. Menike wanted one done."

"Very good son. When will your friend come?"

"He should be here next week."

After a light dinner Amaradasa began to compose his picture. He was lost in the tide of the urge that flowed from his body and soul. His love for Menike, stood even as a candle

MENTAL ILLNESS RISING

Mental illness is rising throughout the world at an alarming rate—and many of the thought-of advantages of modern living are to blame. This was a conclusion of 2,500 experts who met recently in London at an international conference on mental health. The experts dissented on most aspects of modern living and found little comfort. They decided: the older generation were strangers in a fast-changing technological world, the young hid their confusion behind drugs, sex and pop music, religious fervour could cause grief, anxiety and depression, insecurity among coloured immigrants, bred mental strain, while their white neighbours suffered from anxiety and mild paranoia.



ABE FORTAS

With the Abe Fortas appointment as Chief Justice of USA still before the judiciary committee, the campaign against his appointment took a new turn. One Judiciary Committee witness charged that Fortas had provided the pivotal vote in a 5-4 decision that supposedly gave a clean bill of health to a fourteen-minute striptease movie devoted entirely to recording the writhings of a girl on a couch as she stripped herself of her bra, garter belt and sheer panties. To the most of the members the movie did indeed seem to be 'hard-core pronography.'

(Newsweek, August 5)

flame over his canvas as his brush delicately moved like a butterfly flitting from flower to flower. It was long past midnight when dawn stirred in the waters and hill tops the picture was born, fresh and partly wet like the dew bathed grass outside. Tired, exhausted and happy, Amaradasa went to bed.

It was long past 7 a.m. when Menike found him still asleep and softly took his coffee to the table. And her picture lay there with all the magic of colours in mute beauty looking at her.

“Ha !” she exclaimed in amazement.

Amaradasa got up and stood beside her watching the picture.

“Mahataya, the face is not mine. It’s like your mothers.”

“That’s how I must have seen you last night. A picture is a picture and it can’t be explained.”

“But tell me, how you got your mother’s face out of me?”

“I suppose a man goes searching back to from where he first came. Perhaps you know that I was very fond of my mother.”

She felt as if her heart would burst.

She stood behind him leaning her head on his left shoulder scanning every bit of her likeness on the canvass. It was wonderful to look at. Under the film like saree and jacket her body was smouldering in amber glow, trying to burst in flame. Passion and pride, love and purity blended in the cast of her face, and her eyes were like dark, deep, blue fire. Amaradasa turned round and looked at her face.

“Menike, just stand as you are. I’ll change the face.”

With a few strokes of his brush, he revealed her face in fawn like expression.

“Thank you, my artist” she hugged him, “All this work without sleep! Where’s your name?”

“You vain woman ! Is it necessary?”

“The picture will not be completed without your name.”

“Very well. Here it is.”

THE MOON

What’s the moon made up to? Cheese, lover’s delight or just the moon man.? Nothing half as romantic. The top surface layer of the moon consists of loosely connected particles, with an average size of 0.2 millimetre. Half of the substance volume consists of open pores. This porous substance covers a four-metre layer. The moon, being what it is, tends towards fickleness—the density, thermal conductivity and chemical composition of lunar substances are prone to temperature variations. A big fluctuation of temperature (from plus 125 to minus 180 degrees Centigrade) leads to additional heating of the porous substance at a depth of 7-15 centimeters.

CROCODILE FARMS

The Central Leather Research Institute has prepared a project report for breeding crocodiles, whose rare skin is much sought after by fashionable ladies in the West, reports PTL.

Dr. Y. Nayudamma, director of the CLRI, said that Andaman Islands were the best place for breeding this precious but dangerous water life.

A veterinary doctor attached to the CLRI, recently toured some countries like Burma, Malaysia and Thailand to study the development and maintenance of crocodile farms there. The project report had been supplied to the Wild Life Board for action, Dr. Nayudamma said.

To be continued

FILM PAGE

From Wednesday 11th
AT

CAPITOL-PLAZA

and at 7 other centres

M. G. R. Sarojadevi
K. R. Vijaya Manohar
Asokan in

NAAN AANAIYITTAL

6TH GRAND WEEK

LIDO

CAPITOL

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

● RAJ KAPOOR

● VYJANTHIMALA

● RAJENDRAKUMAR

in
Raj Kapoor's

SANGAM

Technicolor

7th WEEK

KINGSLEY PLAZA

2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.

- RAVICHANDRAN
- JEYALALITHA
- NAGESH
- MANOHAR

in

NAAN

Eastman Color

● **GEET GAAYA PATTHRON** NE in Eastmancolor at the **CROWN THEATRE**, is a touching love tale, replete with melodrama and incidents strictly pertinent to the narration. The backdrop of the story is art. A lovely girl is lost by her parents and and she is brought up in another home unknown to her. Now grown up, while on a picnic, she falls in love with a sculptor who takes her and her friends on a guided tour of an ancient temple of art. In spite of the obstacle placed by her guardian, she runs away from home and marries the artist. While she is on a assignment the guardian kidnaps the girl. When he returns and locates his wife, she is seen with a baby in another house. In disgust, and presuming the baby boy is not his own child, he leaves and returns to his place of assignment. His wife escapes and eventually manages to get a job as a servant and stays with the child in the house where her husband lives. While making use of her as a model to sculpture figures, he discovers his own wife. Later at the function it is revealed the artist's wife is the lost daughter of assigner under whom the artist works. The misunderstandings are cleared, and all united together again. The film directed by V. Shanataram is set in picturesque locales providing a feast of scenic beauty with superbly photographed images. The sets are artistically designed and even put up on a big scale when wanting to represent exteriors. This commendable Hindi movie has eye-filling dances and an attractive musical score. In the cast are R. Rajshree Shantaram, Jeetendra and others.

● **THE SECRET PASSION** produced by Wolfgang Reinhardt and directed by John Huston, presented by Universal Pictures, now at the

5th WEEK

GAMINI

Daily 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m

Roja Films

HANGI HORA

RIO CINEMA, tells the story of a young doctor, whose remarkable discovery revolutionised the world of medicine by his research in the field of sex repressions and the hidden recesses of the human mind. The period of the film is 1880's and was shot on location in Vienna. Montgomery Clift plays the role of Dr. Sigmund Freud, a brilliant 30 year-old neurologist. Eric Partman is Professor Meynert who disputes over the nature of hysteria. Fernand Ledoux enacts the role of Dr. Charcot, a man who has dared to use hypnosis to demonstrate that disease can be mentally induced, and under whom Freud studies in Paris. Susan Kohner is Martha Bernays, fiancee of Freud. Larry Parks is Dr. Joseph Breuer who has been using hynosis in treating a patient. Susannah York is Cecily Koertner, whom Breuer hopes eventually to bring about a cure. David McCallum is Carl von Schlosser, who under hypnosis reveals his homicidal hatred of his father and his incestuous love for his mother. Rosalie Crutchley is Freud's mother and David Kossoff is Freud's father.

Air Conditioned LIBERTY

Montgomery Wood in

"ONE SILVER DOLLAR"

Technicolor Techniscope

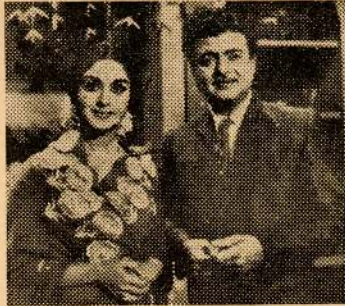
3rd MONTH

CENTRAL

K. S. GOPALAKRISHNAN'S

PANAMA PASAMA

● **THE KNACK**... And How To Get It, Woodfall Film released by United Artists - Lopert Pictures, now at the *SAVOY CINEMA*, is from the stage success of the same name by Ann Jellicoe, which charmed audiences in both London and New York. This comedy, a screen treatment by Charles Wood, won the coveted Cannes Film Festival Award for Best Picture of the year. internationally. Director Richard Lester put through the paces of this new kind of film, an all-out assault on the senses, which swells with joy, zest, delight in the world, the awful ecstasies of the young. It is about sex, youth, innocence and love, with hilarious scenes. The movie is produced by Oscar Lwentein, and the musical score is by John Barry.



◆ Gemini Ganeshan and B. Sarojadevi in a Scene from the Tamil movie **PANAMA PASAMA.**

The story is of two boys and a girl in present day London. One of them Tolen (Ray Brooks) has The Knack, that is to say, he knows to make the women fall for him. The other Colin (Michael Crawford), hasn't got The Knack, but likes to. Both live with another tenant Tom (Donald Donnelly) who is right there with the free advice, in a Victorian apartment house in London. Into their lives comes Nancy (Rita Tushingham), fresh from the country, as naive as they come, highly imaginative and suspicious of men, but like most women, wants to be chased.

Tolen figures, she is the ideal person upon whom to demonstrate for Colin the business of working. The Knack, that is to say, how to get her fall for him. Tolen's demonstrations are bit too realistic, and she falls for him. Complications ensue. The maddest, most inane and improbable of complications. They carry that trio, and half the population of London on a chase through the city as never graced the screen. But it all works out in the end in rather suprising fashion, proving that if you haven't got this all-important Knack, nature often has a way of stepping in and taking care of things in her own time honoured and highly satisfactory way.



Nagesh, Baby Rajee, Jaishanker, K. R. Vijaya, Sunderarajan & V. K. Ramasamy in Tamil movie **PONNAANA Vazhvu, Cinemas Ltd. release.**



3rd WEEK
EMPIRE Air-Conditioned
 Robert Vaughn - David MacCallum
 IN MGM'S
HELICOPTER SPIES
 in colour

5th week
 Air-Conditioned
REGAL
 James Robertson Justice in
DOCTOR IN CLOVER
 in Colour

3rd Week
ELPHINSTONE ROXY
 Jeeva Rani
 Tony Ranasinghe, in
INDUNILA
 Directed by: Kingsley Rajapaksa

2nd Week
SELLAMAHAL
 Ravichandran - Jayalalitha
 in
MAADI VEETTU MAPILLAI

4th Week
GAIETY
 Mutturaman — Rajashree
 in
Anubavam Pudumai

2nd Week
CROWN
 Jeetendra — Rajshree in
 V. Shantaram's
GEET GAAYA PATTHRON NE
 in Eastman Colour

SAVOY Air-Conditioned
 Rita Tushingham in
THE KNACK
 For Adults only



An Archdiocesan

Youth Convention

by Titus Handuna

AN Archdiocesan Youth Convention was held at St. Joseph's College on August 21st and 22nd. It was all in Sinhalese, with simultaneous translation for those who did not know it well. The delegates were drawn from the eighty-two parishes. They did not come unprepared, for the matters under discussion had been put forward by them at previously-held district and parish youth meetings summoned for this purpose.

The matter that came out of this gathering of youth fills five-and-a-half pages of fool's-cap. We have before us a translation, and here are some of the views expressed:—Parents do not take seriously the ideas and problems of their children. They do not give their children freedom to act according to their age and maturity. As a result of their giving priority to superficialities such as caste, wealth, power and social status, the values which youth hold dear—such as friendliness, dialogue, social service and personal development—are often submerged. Because the expectations of parents for their children are based on superficial values, the latter are prevented from following a profession or avocation in keeping with their desires and talents.

On account of the disharmony, drunkenness, etc., which prevail among parents in certain families, their children get disillusioned about them and about family life. The final decisions about marriage, employment and social intercourse should rest with the children themselves. Parents should attempt to develop mutual understanding and unity and show a genuine love towards all children, to build up a united home attractive to the children.

Parents should not on the basis of caste, status and wealth, obstruct

the activities and decisions of youth based on values they hold dear. Youth, in rejecting the false values of their parents, should endeavour not to cause them pain of mind and heart.

All this came in the section, YOUTH AND THE FAMILY, and received an affirmative vote before the closure of the Convention. What follows on YOUTH AND RELIGION could not receive a final vote because of lack of time, but some of the views expressed were as follows:—

Religion is not seen as relevant to life by youth; it has become meaningless to them; there was no association with other religions until recently and the Church failed in that aspect of her mission; that section of youth which is poor, uneducated, caught in social evils, and without much loyalty to the Church, is completely neglected; the Church has not been taking an adequate interest in the welfare of the tens of thousands of the working classes; the faithful have an idea that they have no responsibility in political matters.

FURTHER POINTS WERE:— Whether it be at school, in sermons or in lay apostolate organisations, Christian doctrine should be presented in a way which will bring fulfilment to man; in the present Liturgy, the first place should be given to the Mass, and, in general, the whole Liturgy should be adapted to the National Culture without prejudice to devotion.

The last section on YOUTH AND SOCIETY received a final vote, and here are some of its conclusions:—The economic system of the country based on community agriculture was changed to a capitalist system based

on commerce after the British occupation; and the educational system was geared to producing the limited personnel required for public administration. They are completely incapable of meeting today's social needs and of widening employment according to personal abilities. Evils such as bribery and corruption, injustice and insincerity, prevalent in our society are hindering national development.

Because the educational system is unsuitable and irrelevant, it should be reorganised in the present context of the Nation to harness the talent and energy of youth for national development. To this end the Church should give every possible help.

The youth agreed that they must make every effort, according to the possibilities of the situation, to fight against social evils and promote the growth of virtue, respect for human rights and brotherhood among men in order to build up a better new generation, and they proposed that youth devote a year in the service of national development.



FOR MORE MILK

Cows with their head and neck held in individual enclosure cooled to 18.4 degrees Centigrade during the summer heat give 15 to 20 per cent more milk. Agricultural engineer G. Le Roy Hahn has found this after a study of the effect of various ambient temperatures on milk production.

Mr. Hahn conducted his tests at the climatic laboratory of Missouri University for the US Agricultural Research Service.