

4	MYTH OF THE OPEN SOCIETY
5	HEADLINES OF THE WEEK
6	PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN CEYLON
8	IN RETROSPECT
10	PILL & THEOSOPHY
11	WASHINGTON — PEKING ALLIANCE
15	DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHICAGO
18	THE BORDERLAND — 22
22	FILMS
24	A CHESTERTON MISCELLANY



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## The Defection Of The Federal Party Marks The Beginning Of A New Stage In The Political Complexities Of The Current Period: Will It Mean A Snap Election Or Eighteen Months Of Growing Tensions ?

Nobody had really expected the leaders of the FP to quit the Government over the Koneswaram issue. In fact, nobody had thought that the FP would ever quit the "so-called" National Government over any issue at all — after the Party and its leaders had swallowed the bitter pill of disappointment in respect of practically all the matters which were part of the secret UNP-FP pact which has so far not been officially divulged. The biggest let-down for the FP was over the District Council Bill, and the leaders had "stuck" to the Government in spite of a revolt from within its own ranks. The Koneswaram issue was a relatively simple one and it was not one of the matters of the secret pact. If the FP was "understanding" enough to appreciate the difficulties of the Prime Minister over the DC

Bill, Mr. Dudley Senanayake had every reason to "take the FP for granted" — that it would once gain accept the inevitable arising from a Prime Ministerial brush-off and find some way of saving its face. Why did the FP make Koneswaram the issue on which to quit the Government ?

The suggestions that have been made in several quarters that the FP resignation was prompted by another secret pact with the UNP in order to rush through a snap election do not bear much examination. Once bit twice shy, but twice bit (as the FP has been) it is not likely that Mr. Chelvanayakam and his colleagues will want to rely any more on secret or even not-so-secret pacts. All discerning political observers are agreed that the parting of the ways had come sometime

ago for the FP and the UNP and that the manner of the parting had been determined by the FP on the political necessities of the day and the realities of the current communal confrontation in the country. It *must* be said that FP had displayed a greater maturity and political wisdom than ever before in the manner of its breaking away from the UNP. If it had, for instance broken away over the "communal issue" of the District Councils, there were more than reasonable grounds for thinking that Sinhala extremists would have made it an excellent excuse to provoke racial clashes. The Koneswaram issue is a non-political religious question on which all Tamils would be united. The FP leaders, before announcing the break from the UNP, had also adopted a resolution rejecting the demand of the

FP Youth League for a separate state, a Tamilnad in Ceylon — thus making it clear that they were not backing the demand of the extremist Tamils. Further, in order to minimise the dangers of accentuated racial tensions, the FP had taken the precaution of declaring that it would “support” the UNP government on all matters that did not adversely affect Tamil interests. Whether all these measures will eliminate communal tensions is problematic — particularly because the FP leadership will find it more and more difficult to hold back the frustrated rank-and-file of the FP from starting sustained agitation to secure redress for their numerous grievances. **It can be said that the break between the UNP and the FP was a foregone conclusion ever since the District Councils Bill was ignominiously shelved some months ago and that the FP has now chosen the moment most opportune for it to announce the end of the unequal honeymoon.**

So subservient and loyal had the FP become to the UNP in three and a half years of the National Government that nobody had been willing to admit that a break was possible at all—particularly because the FP had camouflaged even its present exit with proclamations of “qualified support” to the UNP Government. It will take all the tact and political acumen of the Prime Minister to keep the FP within the orbit of the Government — and the UNP may now have to make more concessions to the Tamils than it had granted them during the last forty two months if the FP is to vote with the Government even on issues that do not adversely affect Tamil interests. But having yielded to the blandishment of extreme Sinhala opinion over the District Councils and Koneswaram issue, it is not likely that the UNP will be in a position to make any substan-

tial concessions to the Tamils at this stage, or in the immediate future. Pressures will also grow within the FP for more resolute action, and the propaganda and tactical moves of the Tamil Congress will make it essential for the FP leadership to adopt more vigorous postures. **In the result, there is not the slightest doubt that, unless something very unexpected happens, racial and communal tensions will increase in the coming months.**

The Government still has a working majority in Parliament but the majority without FP support will be most slender and as time goes on will become dangerously precarious. It is in times like these, with General Elections in the air, that defections begin to erode into the innermost ranks of a ruling party. It is significant that of the sixty six UNP Members of Parliament very nearly half hold office as Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries. For a small country like Ceylon, with its meagre finances, the present number of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are far too many and what is worse is that in the period before the next General Elections, the Prime Minister may be even compelled to increase his Cabinet still more. But any further increase in Cabinet strength may, under certain circumstances, trigger defections in the most unexpected quarters. There are many MPs in the Government group who would like to have the honour of being a Minister even for a few months. There are already many speculations about the hopes and chances of many of these aspirants, and political circles are already whispering about threats of “crossing over” pronounced by certain back-benchers. These threats may not materialise immediately but once a major breach has occurred in the over-

hanging parliamentary majority enjoyed by the National Government (it can no longer be called “National”) there is no guessing what will happen. From a position of stability the government has moved to instability and it will now have to maintain extreme vigilance and care to ensure that it is not defeated on a snap vote. **The fate which suddenly overtook the Coalition Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike in December, 1964, has now begun to hang ominously over the UNP government of Mr. Dudley Senanayake.**

It was perhaps an ironic twist of fate that this break in the National Government should have occurred when the propaganda machine of the UNP (official as well unofficial) had worked themselves into a pitch of hysteria over the Czech crisis to cause a split in the coalition of Opposition parties. Many of the pundits in the big daily papers supporting the Government, had predicted that the three Opposition coalition parties were in a shambles because the Communist Party had refused to “condemn” the USSR and the Warsaw Powers for intervening in Czechoslovakia. There may yet be a split in the Opposition coalition, but the break between the UNP and the FP had caused such a major diversion compelling the cold warriors in the big newspaper groups to hop about now on the wrong foot. They have now to “find” explanations as to why the FP and the UNP had to part company—and to assure the voters that this break was immaterial so far as the parliamentary stability of the government was concerned. Many of the political soothsayers in these papers wisely, no doubt, wishfully think that a snap General Election in another six months would minimise the impact of the UNP-FP break and keep the disastrous consequences of such a break within manage-

able proportions. The Prime Minister and his colleagues are being told in direct and indirect ways that it would be advantageous to rush the country into a snap election before next April. **But, it would appear that at this moment, neither the Cabinet nor the backbenchers of the UNP are over-anxious to make an early appeal to the voters.**

Not even the most ardent cold war enthusiasts will say that the UNP can win the election on the Czech issue — what with the high prices and unavailability of essential goods? Pompous declarations over the radio that rice production had increased and that this was a fact and not fiction because the price of rice in the free market had now stabilised itself around 90 cents to a Rs. 1 a measure are greeted with derision by consumers who pay regularly anything from Rs. 1.20 to Rs. 1.80 a measure. Government officials are smug in their complacency on the footing that the Marketing Department sells limited quantities of rice at 90 cents to a Rs. 1 but forget that rice is not available at that price in the free market all over the country. Realists in the Government know that a snap election might prove a dangerous boomerang (as it did in 1956), but they are also conscious that the longer the FP is permitted to remain in the wilderness the “unity” that had brought the National Government to power in 1965 would be corroded more and more. Not only would the “unity” be corroded but the danger of communal confrontations assuming dangerous proportions would also tend to increase. Such are the unpleasant perspectives which have emerged with the split in the UNP-FP Coalition. It will not be easy for the UNP leaders to heap the “blame” for the split on FP intransigence nor will Ministerial as-

surances that the minorities will be “looked after” even after the FP has broken away succeed in creating confidence among the Tamils. The task of the UNP has now become more difficult with R. G. Senanayake and his SMP campaigning all over the Sinhala areas that the FP, the Tamils and the other minorities should be “kept in their place.” The claim has *now* been made that all the areas which until recently were accepted by all as “traditional Tamil homelands” were at all times Sinhala and that the Tamils should have no special areas earmarked for them. **In a world which more and more recognises the need for racial, cultural, linguistic and religious minorities to have autonomous regions for self-expression and greater self-determination, the current trend to reduce minorities to *de facto* second class citizenry in this country will sooner or later cause increased tension and instability.**

Certain UNP spokesmen, moreover, in order to meet the difficulties which have arisen as a result of the UNP-FP break, seem to think that by concentrating on the differences within the Coalition over the Czech crisis it would be possible to divert disillusionment over the shattering of “national unity” inside the Government. There are also indications that the UNP will also use the Czech crisis to stampede the voters on a new version of the red bogey to shun the Communist Parties or even the SLFP or the LSSP with socialist affiliations would “invite” some foreign “Red power” to take over Ceylon — in the same way that some Czech socialists had gone. It was to meet such electioneering slogans that some elements in the Opposition Parties had rushed headlong to make statements “condemning” the Warsaw Powers for the intervention in

Czechoslovakia without pausing to analyse the real issues involved. This fear about the impact of the Czech crisis on the next elections (or the use the UNP would make of it) had even placed the CP on the defensive. The Opposition Parties cannot do better, even at this late stage, to explain to the public the basic differences between the position of Czechoslovakia and Ceylon — and the real causes why the intervention had become inevitable in the area strategically important for the socialist bloc in Europe. Mere academic denunciations, even in the strongest terms, about the “military intervention” by the Warsaw Powers, will not take anyone or any party very far — because opponents can make use of such statements to attack their electoral postures. The UNP will naturally seek to get the best political advantage over the Czech crisis, and it is for the Opposition parties to see how best they can meet it. Making “condemnatory statements” in even stronger terms than the UNP will only deliver the Opposition parties into the hands of the UNP, and the attempts to create an “acceptable image” by throwing out the CP out of the Coalition will make matters worse. In such matters, experience has shown that a defensive and apologetic attitude can prove disastrous, and this is what the Opposition, under pressure from the propaganda barrage from the West has done. Whether they will be able to adopt more positive attitudes is yet to be seen and the only comfort they can derive is that the UNP will not be able to derive the fullest electoral benefit from the Czech crisis owing to the UNP-FP crack. It is also possible that other international episodes will take place in the coming months which will bring the Czech crisis into its proper perspective. With trouble

brewing in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America and in East Asia, more and more "intervention" by the bigger powers will become the order of the day, and in these circumstances the hullabaloo over Czechoslovakia will fade into its proper setting. **What politicians in Ceylon tend to forget is that international events, however important will not ultimately decide the outcome of elections in this country. Economic questions and communal confrontations will undoubtedly determine the outcome of the next General Election — and not what happens in Israel, in the Middle East, in Vietnam, or even in Czechoslovakia.**

*A Soviet Historian Discusses*

## The Myth Of The "Open Society"

by Asya Bolshakova

The term "the open society" began its vogue with the publication of Karl Popper's *The Open Society and its Enemies* in 1945. The philosopher's argument is that, in primitive society, man is weighed down by a system of taboos, so constrained by magical rites and thou-shalt-nots that he is actually in the power of his tribe.

That is what Popper calls "a closed society" in which man has freedom, but is enslaved by customs from birth to death. The tribe is everything, the individual nothing.

Popper then takes a giddy leap from primitive tribal society to our own day. "Any society in which not the individual but a collective of people ranks first is itself a tribal, closed society", he reasons. **Society becomes "open" only when the indi-**

**vidual frees himself from tribal survivals.** Not till they are eradicated will the kingdom of "humanity and reason, equality and freedom" come about.

The western press usually applies the term "free society" to the United States. Yet the race riots which swept the US so recently are still fresh in our minds. Is the bitterness of 20 million negroes — eleven per cent of the American population — a sign of a free and open society? Or the fact that a quarter of its population is doomed to poverty and privation? Or is aggressiveness, which in Vietnam has taken the form of genocide, characteristic of an open society?

Not all thinking Americans, of course agree. The economists, Edward Ziegler, speaks of a "walled enclave" from which big corporations dominate the country. In his introduction to Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, Karl Shapiro remarks bitterly that "we lead the lives of prisoners while we boast about free speech, free press and free religion." The *New York Times* speaks of "the new lost generation, people without a future" — the people under 25 who make up a fifth of the US labour force and a third of the unemployed.

We now see the rationale of Popper's theory. The reason for mankind's present ills must be sought not in the class nature of capitalism (the "open society"! ) but in the magical influence of "tribalism", passing on from century to century.

How, you may ask, did tribalism acquire this amazing power of survival? How can survivals from the remote past not only influence current events but also be the actual cause of all social evils?

Believe it or not, the devil in the woodpile is Karl Marx! Marx, you see said that history was subject to

objective laws. To an idealist like Popper, this is idolatry, the sin against the Holy Ghost.

The doctrine of "obligatory conditioning" of events, he quaintly contends, gives rise to "tribalism" to a closed society incompatible with the freedom of the individual. Opposing "historical determinism" to free expression of personality is an old metaphysical trick.

Ever since Marx's day, anti-communists have accused believers in historical materialism of fatalism: they rule out the possibility of active, conscious human activity.

In fact, of course, there is no contradiction.

Only knowledge of the objective laws of history makes truly fruitful human activity possible. Before Marx, people, nations and classes moved forward blindly and gropingly. Marx turned sociology into into a science, blind necessity conscious necessity, into freedom.

Freedom, said Engels, "does not consist in a dream of independence from natural laws, but in the knowledge of those laws and in the possibility of making them work towards definite ends.... Freedom of will is simply the capacity to take decisions with full knowledge of the subject."

Marxism gave the working class the power and the possibility of creating socialism. When we say socialism is their historic mission, we do not mean that the workers and the masses sit with folded hands and wait for it. Conscious purposeful activity based on knowledge is the guarantee that they will successfully build socialism and communism. Man's freedom, dignity and allround developments are central to Marxist-Leninist teaching.

By abolishing private property and the derogation of humanity it entails, communism gives man back his freedom and makes him heir to wealth and thought of the ages.

# Headlines Of the Week

**THURSDAY, September 12** — The Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake in reply to the Ven. Sri Sumedhankara Nayake Thero has stated that he has asked the Minister of Local Government to suspend temporarily the Commission appointed to go into the question of declaring Fort Frederick a holy city. 164 medical officers who complete their internship in September and December, this year, will be employed by the Government on a monthly salary of Rs. 250 and with a right to private practice as well. The Slovak Communist Party leader joined with other Prague leaders in a pledge that Czechoslovakia would continue along its progressive path.

**FRIDAY, September 13** — The number of registrants at the employment exchanges has more than doubled during the ten-year period ended June, 1968. Ceylon and Sweden have signed a two-year agreement in New Delhi to further develop family planning work in Ceylon. The *Times of Ceylon* reported that butchers had created an artificial scarcity of beef in Colombo to back their claims for an increase in the controlled rates. The US navy commander of the spy ship Pueblo told foreign newsmen in North Korea that his ship was equipped for espionage when it violated North Korean waters on January 23. The Soviet Union stated that it was against any further debate in the United Nations on the Czechoslovakia situation.

**SATURDAY, September 14** — The Minister of Local Government, Mr. M. Tiruchelvam, is expected to resign his portfolio tomorrow. Writers, poets and other literary men were involved in a free-for-all with umbrellas and microphones as weapons at the Sahitya Day Literary Seminar held at Ananda College yesterday. The Czech Prime Minister admitted to Parliament that developments under the progressive Dubcek administration has shown rashness and imbalance and there had been a serious danger from the right.

**SUNDAY, September 15** — The General Council of the Federal Party, which met in Jaffna unanimously decided that the Minister of Local Government should resign his portfolio and that the Party Parliamentary Group should function as an independent group supporting the Government in all matters not detrimental to the Tamil-speaking people. The Prime Minister commended Ceylon's children, teachers, education officials and all others who rallied round the country in its food drive campaign. The Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, said in a statement to the *Times of Ceylon* that she interpreted the withdrawal of the Federal Party from the National Government as a sign that a general election was round the corner. Late

developments in Prague indicated that Premier Dubcek was most likely to be ousted from the leadership by the Russians very soon. The Soviet Union charged that rightwing anti-socialist elements were still in responsible government and public posts in Czechoslovakia.

**MONDAY, September 16** — The Minister of Local Government, Mr. M. Tiruchelvam, resigned his portfolio yesterday. Mr. R. Premadasa was sworn in as Minister of Local Government and Senator J. A. Amaratunga as Minister of Information and Broadcasting. The Minister of Food and Agriculture has asked Government Agents for list of idle paddy lands which will be acquired by the Government under the Paddy Lands Act and given over to cultivation committees. The Egyptian War Minister explained to the National Congress of the Arab Socialist Union the present military situation in the Middle East.

**TUESDAY, September 17** — The Tamil Congress said in a statement to the *Times of Ceylon* that the Federal Party decision to quit the Government was an arranged fight. Senator M. Tiruchelvam said in the Senate that his party joined the National Government after mature deliberation in the interests of democracy, national stability and having confidence in the words, conduct and capacity of Mr. Dudley Senanayake to honour his pledges, but recently there has been a change of events in which this kind of understanding, this kind of forbearance, this kind of capacity to understand his colleagues' point of view has been absent in Mr. Senanayake. President Nasser said at a secret session of the National Congress that the UAR was willing to settle the Middle East conflict through negotiation as long as it does not mean granting territorial concessions to Israel. Sweden's Social Democrats who ruled the country for the past thirty six years, gained a landslide victory yesterday.

**WEDNESDAY, September 18** — The election of Mr. Percy Samaraweera to the Welimada seat in Parliament at the by-election in 1968 has been declared void. The Prime Minister pooh-poohed Mr. R. G. Senanayake's claim that he was the immediate cause for the exist of the Federal Party from the Government. The Ceylon Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam said that the Federal Party's decision to leave the Government was pre-planned to hoodwink the masses with the intention of regaining among the Tamil and the Sinhala peoples the political ground that both parties had lost. The Government has decided to obtain the services of a reputed firm of US consultants to draw up a master plan for the development of Trincomalee area. His Highness the Chogyal of Sikkim said at a meeting held at the Maha Bodhi Headquarters to commemorate the 104th birth anniversary of the Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala that he was one of the greatest men the East had produced. The UAR claimed yesterday that it had shot down one of the two Israeli aircraft flying over Port Said on Monday at fighting broke out across the Arab-Israeli borders.

*As Old As The Hills, But Streamlined For Today*

## Interference And Intervention Through Psychological Warfare: Point And Counter-Point In Czechoslovakia: Backwash In Ceylon, But Offensive To Smash Opposition Coalition Backfires

by Kurumuni

Psychological warfare is as old as man. It has been used throughout history in various forms and in different garbs. It has been used in peace and in war. Psychological warfare is waged not merely to effect a change in ideology, but to undermine *morale*, mislead people and induce action favourable to the enemy — who usually assumes friendly postures. Propaganda is only one of the forms of psychological warfare, but today it has become the chief form. In the present world of mass media, the key objective during peace time in any form of psychological warfare is to win over the personnel in charge of the press, radio, T.V., cinema and the like, and thereafter use them to slant propaganda from within in a way that will ultimately help the enemy. The Trojan Horse today does not hide warriors, but propaganda experts.

Once the ideological ground has been softened, the next step would be bring about changes in governmental leadership, stage by stage — so that a virtual *coup d'etat* is effected from within having all the trappings of a "democratic change" secured through the consensus of the majority. In every country, there are shortcomings and mistakes, and whenever they are grave and have been uncorrected for a long time, as in Czechoslovakia, it is easy for the enemy to penetrate the ranks of those in charge of mass propaganda and the press.

IF ONE reads the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*, or the annals of the the *Trojan* war, one can see the important role that was played by psychological warfare in such mam-

moth conflicts. How one looks at any of these conflicts is what side one favours and which side one hopes will win. In Czechoslovakia, too, those who favoured capitalism were jubilant that a process of change and "liberalisation" had been set in motion from the inside. But, those from the outside, who, had utilised the earlier regime to penetrate the ideological frontiers to undermine the basic tenets of socialism, were in too much of a hurry to bring off the *coup d'etat*. Either they were impatient for immediate success, or were afraid that the "warnings from the Warsaw Powers would jolt the socialism-loving people inside Czechoslovakia to realise the threat that was posed to their way of life.

The Czech people no doubt wanted the mistakes corrected and the errors not to be repeated, but they did not want capitalism to be restored. But the enemies of socialism had all but fully succeeded in capturing power in Czechoslovakia — and if they had taken over complete power, it would not only have meant civil war inside Czechoslovakia itself but also a general war in Central Europe which *could* have triggered a global conflict. The military powers of the West *could* have gone to the support of anti-socialists inside Czechoslovakia *only* if a government had been established in Prague which would have been strong enough to call for such military intervention from NATO.

Before this happened, however, the hard-core socialists within Czechoslovakia had called upon the Warsaw Powers to intervene militarily to stop the activities of the minority of anti-socialists within the country — many of whom had posed as ardent

socialists anxious to give a new "liberal" content to socialism.

The military "intervention" in Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Powers led by the USSR was a "neat" job that has impressed even the Pentagon and not all the shouting by the western capitalist propaganda organs was able to change the trend of events within Czechoslovakia itself. Once the persons in key positions who, had been won over to the West under the garb of "reforms" and "liberalism" had been neutralised, the socialists *inside* and outside Czechoslovakia have started their own psychological warfare to bring the Czechs and the Slovaks to feel happy and contended within the socialist orbit. This will naturally be coupled with political economic and social changes to eradicate the mistakes of the past on which the anti-socialist enemies had capitalised.

The Warsaw Powers were fortunate in having moved in time and were therefore able to prevent either a Czech government-in-exile or a civil war within the country. This only showed that the anti-socialist forces within the country were yet too weak to show their hands openly, and although the "reformers" had won popular sympathy and support for their policies as a corrective to earlier mistakes — they could not preach a return to capitalism. Much as the intervention was and is distasteful to the Czechs and the Slovaks, it will probably be only a question of time before a very large majority of them admit that the police action of the Warsaw Powers had saved their country from a worse disaster.

EVERY EVENT has its own backwash, and Czechoslovakia has no doubt stirred up many ripples all over the world (they remain ripples in spite of western propaganda efforts to make them tidal waves in order to smash Marxism, Socialism and the USSR). In Sweden, the voters had rejected even Communist candidates they had elected in previous elections, and in Italy the Communists feared that the Warsaw Powers' intervention in Czechoslovakia would push the voters to

the Right. In the present era of parliamentary elections, the Communists have sought to win political power by creating an image that they were dumb lambs truly subservient to the rules of parliamentary elections. But, although parliamentarianism has not taken the Communists very far in any country, they still hope and believe that the day will dawn when they will come to power through the ballot.

In actual fact, modern parliamentarianism has corrupted the communist movement in the same way it has corrupted all political parties. But that is another matter. For the moment it is enough to point out that in Ceylon too, the backwash of the Czechoslovakian episode took an interesting turn. On the day the invasion was known, Radio Ceylon (now known as the CBC) broadcast a commentary by Mervyn de Silva (this was re-published in the *Week-end Observer* the next day, 22/8) which was relatively objective and which presented the conflict in Czechoslovakia in a more or less realistic perspective—although in the jargon, idiom and ideological terminology suitable for Lake House and the CBC and the capitalistic West. But, this approach of objective neutrality, whilst analysing the events in a critical way, was discarded as soon as the propaganda barrage started from the West. There were no more commentaries from Mervyn de Silva. For ten days, this country was subject to the biggest barrage of propaganda carried on like open warfare to (a) discredit the USSR and the Warsaw Powers; (b) to liquidate, if possible, the socialist and communist movement in Ceylon; and (c) to smash the united coalition of the three Opposition parties.

Many people were no doubt aghast at the military intervention in Czechoslovakia but very soon they were able to see that this intervention was different from the intervention in Vietnam by the USA. Moreover, practically no blood was shed in the Czech intervention and force was only used to bring about changes in administrative policy. This, no

doubt, constituted arm-twisting and strong-man tactics, and was contrary to the romantic belief that countries and nations should decide matters "on their own" without outside interference. In actual fact, nothing in the world today, particularly among the smaller and weaker nations, takes place without "interference" of some kind from outside.

Interference and intervention are of many kinds today direct and indirect, overt and covert, persuasive and aggressive, honest and dishonest, subtle and crude, etc. etc. — that intervention through armed forces is really only a question of degree. Some idealists seek to draw the line on the question of *force*, but here again they stumble against the realities of history. From over five thousand years ago, idealists and visionaries have preached that *force* and *violence* are bad. For over two thousand five hundred years the Buddha sought to establish an ideological empire based on the *Dhamma*, compassion and persuasion, but even in the countries which claim to be Buddhist today force and violence, at every level, continue to reign supreme. In Ceylon, even the ordinary man wants his wishes carried out at any cost — and if this is not done he does not hesitate to use *force*—and Ceylon has one of the highest murder rates in the world.

INSTEAD of "talking big" about the validity or morality of the use of force, it would be better to examine all problems, national and international from a realistic (if not *pragmatic* — this is regarded as a dirty word among idealists) angle. Can we in Ceylon, with such a high murder rate, get hysterical about the use of force in another country, whether it be in Czechoslovakia, or in India, or in the USA? It is open to one to criticise and condemn if necessary, but it must be in objective terms based on a fair evaluation. Is there not "interference" in the internal affairs of Ceylon? Does not the World Bank "interfere" in our economic affairs—and the fact that this is done at the "in-

terference" of a legal government makes it valid only in the eyes of some people. In the case of Czechoslovakia, too, everything has been and is being done through a "legal" Government, but why all this hullaballoo?

Neither the USSR (and the Warsaw Powers) nor Marxism (and Socialism) can be wiped out by railing at the "Russian interference" in Czechoslovakia. Nor will all this shouting stop the Warsaw Powers from doing what they think is in the vital interests of the socialist bloc. But, in Ceylon, the psychological warfare carried on here under cover of the Czech crisis did compel the Opposition Parties to stage a retreat that has been detrimental to their own cause.

It is not non-alignment to condemn every act which involved "interference" or "intervention." But it is non-alignment to keep out of the cold war and other conflicts of opposing blocs and groups in the world today. The true essence of non-alignment is to maintain neutrality in the face of violent and vehement cold war conflicts, and it is a moot point whether non-aligned countries can go much beyond supporting the struggle of countries for national liberation. Western propaganda had, however, succeeded in making it appear to much of the non-aligned world that the Czechs were waging a struggle for "national liberation", and many governments, political parties and VIPs in the Third World were stamped into issuing condemnatory statements on the footing that the Czechs were waging a struggle for national liberation. Falling victim to western propaganda in this way only detracted from non-alignment.

It must be also remembered that many feared to take an objective view of the Czech developments because of the possible taunt (by western propagandists) that they were stooges of Moscow or were purveyors of propaganda from the socialist bloc. Whilst it is true that Governments which claim to be non-aligned should, as far as possible,

refuse to be carried away by propaganda from the West or the East, the attitudes and sympathies of political parties and persons would naturally depend on their individual political beliefs. What was so ridiculous in Ceylon was that certain big newspapers calling themselves "national" and proclaiming that they were dedicated to "non-alignment" did the work for Western propagandists and sought to chastise (and blackmail) those who differed from them (or were slow to join their chorus (or were slow to join Moscow or betrayers of non-alignment).

It will not be long before all this humbug stands exposed. Events in the world nowadays have a way of making those who take sanctimonious and hypocritical attitudes swallow their own words within a short time. Many of the Opposition groups in Ceylon had undoubtedly formulated their statements on the Czech episode for the sole purpose of election strategy. The UNP and its allies likewise issued statements in order to embarrass the Opposition parties to the maximum possible extent. Neither group seems to have been concerned with the realities of the situation nor were they anxious to arrive at a just evaluation. The Czech issue was only just another issue to score points in the internal party conflicts, and there is not the slightest doubt that the UNP scored heavily in this tussle.

But the last laugh may not be with the UNP or the big daily papers which present the case for the west and capitalism with such force and vehemence. The events and developments in Czechoslovakia belied western propaganda and all that had been predicted has turned out to be wrong. Several announcements were made, for instance, that Dubcek had been murdered by the Russians. It has become plain even to the most myopic that the problem of Czechoslovakia was not a question of "national liberation" for the Czechs and the Slovaks. Whilst the latest developments in Czechoslovakia have put western propagandists in a fix, events in

Ceylon have backfired on the cold war warriors in Lake House and other big newspaper groups. Even as they were issuing daily reports about a major split in the Opposition coalition (with the CP being thrown out unceremoniously), the Government coalition cracked wide open with the FP walking right out of the National Government. This ended the "national" content of the Government and the local cold war experts were compelled to open a new major second front in order to heal the breach caused by the FP defection.

The psychological war in Ceylon will now assume new forms and garbs, but the war will go on unceasingly. The Opposition does not have big daily newspapers to back it, but they have other weapons to wage the war — weapons which can prove equally (if not more) effective than daily papers with "huge" circulations. The Government makes so many mistakes that the Opposition need to do nothing more than point them out to the people: and psychological war mounted on the footing of governmental sins of commission and omission even through whisper campaign can prove devastating.

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*In Retrospect*

## Federal Party's Exit

**IT IS INDEED** a little too much to expect a marriage of political convenience to last its full contractual period when one partner finds the other a political thorn on its side.

And so it has now come to pass that the Tamil Federal Party of Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam has terminated its partnership with the National Government, the major constituent of which is the United National Party of Mr. Dudley Senanayake. The Federal Party coalesced with the Government immediately

after the general election of March, 1965, to make Ceylon safe for democracy (from the Red, or was it the Yellow peril?) and to build bridges of communal amity between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

The immediate issue for the breakaway of the Federal Party has been over Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake's suspension of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Local Government, Mr. M. Tiruchelvam, to go into the question of declaring a part of Fort Frederick in Trincomalee as a sacred area. Mr. Tiruchelvam has resigned his portfolio to make the breakaway look more realistic.

But that alone does not seem to be the only reason for the rift. The other reasons which precipitated the crisis, according to FP spokesmen, were the differences it had with the Government on the nationalisation of the Trincomalee Port which the Federal Party had opposed on the ground that it feared that there was the possibility of a Government using it to provide employment to Sinhala people as opposed to the Tamils residing in the area; (2) the problem of the District Councils; (3) the implementation of the Reasonable Use of the Tamil Act; (4) the lack of development of the Kankeasanturai harbour and (5) the policy of alienation of land in colonisation schemes in the North and the East.

The breakaway has not been altogether complete. The Federal Party leader in a letter to the Prime Minister has stated that the Party is only withdrawing from the Government Parliamentary Group and will remain and function as an independent group in Parliament, supporting the Government on all issues which do not adversely affect the Tamil speaking people.

**THERE WAS** an exchange of letters between the Prime Minister and Mr. Tiruchelvam on the Koneswaram issue. Mr. Tiruchelvam said in his letter that he did not consider it necessary to consult the Prime Minister on the appointment of a



Committee to inquire into the question of declaring Koneswaram Temple a holy area for the Hindus. The Hindus of Ceylon had for a long time been agitating that the area around the Temple be declared a sacred area and that he had been under great political pressure to take action in regard to the matter. They were all unitedly interested in the Koneswaram Temple and they did not expect the National Government to accord them stepmotherly treatment merely because the Rev. Mangala Dharma Kirthisiri Dambagasara Sri Sumedhankhara Nayake Thero had suggested that the Koneswaram Temple, which has been mentioned in ancient Tamil literature as a place of Hindu worship from at least the fifth century A. D., had no right to be declared a sacred area. He had informed Mr. Premadasa on January 18th of his intention to appoint a committee to demarcate the sacred area around the Temple and, he, Mr. Tiruchelvam, did not at that time think that the matter would lead to any controversy and, had Mr. Premadasa thought that it was politically undesirable, he would no doubt have informed him.

The Prime Minister in his letter said that he was surprised that Mr. Tiruchelvam did not think that the appointment of a Committee was a matter on which he need not consult him. Fort Frederick was a land under the control of the Army. He was fully aware of the fact that the Temple was of great interest to the Hindus, and it was this awareness that prompted him to remove the restrictions that Hindus had in the past in visiting it by withdrawing the armed military guard that had always been posted at Arulmalai and to demarcate an approach to Arulmalai so that Hindus could perform their acts of devotion without any trace of obstruction or inconvenience. Nothing could be further from the truth that his decision to suspend the Committee was arrived at after the Buddhist monk had brought it to his notice. In fact, he was the first person to bring the appointment of a Committee to his notice. He said

that as Prime Minister of the country he could not subscribe to hastily and inadequately considered steps that may jeopardise the security of the State and he could also not permit interference in his areas of authority under whatever guise they might come.

IN the Senate Mr. Tiruchelvam said that his party joined the National Government after mature deliberation in the interests of democracy, national stability and having confidence in the words, conduct and capacity of Mr. Dudley Senanayake to honour his pledges. Now recently there had been a change of events in which this kind of understanding, this kind of forbearance, this kind of capacity to understand his colleagues' point of view has been absent in Mr. Senanayake.

After recalling the incidents of March 24, 1965, he said that it was decided that the Federal Party should place its trust in Mr. Senanayake and it joined the Government in the hope that it would be possible to forge national unity. He said that the Party joined Mr. Senanayake on a promise, but he was not prepared to reveal it. However, on such promise was the creation of District Councils and he paid a tribute to him for having tried his best to introduce the D.C. Bill. Although a White Paper on the D.C. Bill was presented in Parliament and debated, but the Prime Minister's capacity to fulfil his promise was frustrated by the Opposition.

He said that when Mr. Senanayake went to Trincomalee the residents of the area submitted to him a memorandum urging that Koneswaram Temple area be declared a sacred area. The Prime Minister sent the memorandum with the endorsement "for necessary action" and all subsequent measures taken by him flowed from the Prime Minister's request. Mr. Senanayake on no occasion had indicated that the Temple was within a military area, or that declaring it a sacred area was something that involved the security

of the State. He said even in taking action, on the Premier's endorsement, he had handed over the papers to his Parliamentary Secretary who was assigned all matters relating to the Temple. Mr. Premadasa went to Trincomalee and made certain observations and it was then that he decided to appoint a special committee. In the meanwhile, a Buddhist monk had complained to the Prime Minister that an ancient place of Buddhist worship was going to be handed over to a community that was neither Sinhalese nor Buddhist. Mr. Senanayake had taken umbrage of the fact that a Committee had been appointed to inquire into the matter without consulting him or his Ministry.

Referring to the letter sent him by the Prime Minister after the Federal Party had decided to quit the Government, Mr. Tiruchelvam said that it contained many inaccuracies and insinuations regarding his capacity to understand the issue. He denied that the Party's decision to quit the Government was taken on the basis of another secret agreement.

WHAT is particularly significant about the Federal Party's breakaway from the Government is its timing when the air has been thick with many stories and rumours that are rapidly gaining currency that a snap general election is to be held in April next. The *Times of Ceylon* group of newspapers, which have many pipe lines to the Government, and which was the first to report that a snap election would be held in April next said that it had no doubts that the breakaway was stage-managed. The *Times of Ceylon* of 15/9 said editorially, "...It is a divorce of convenience that has been carefully stage-managed. While both UNP and the FP have learned from experience that they stand to gain from mutual support, too close an alliance can be a handicap in an election campaign during which the Opposition may be relied upon to beat the communal drum... All our politicians are fully aware of the nature of the UNP-FP divorce, but politics is a strange game, and make-believe is an important element in it,

especially when election time is drawing near... They know their best bet is still the UNP, but the strategy and tactics of a general election have dictated what Mr. Chelvanayakam calls a change in the relationship between the FP and the UNP. The Coalition parties have not been slow to see through the tactics so transparent. But having seen through them what advantage can they extract. So far as we can see, none at all. The change in the relationship between the UNP and the FP can benefit only the UNP and the FP, and in our opinion, will eventually lead to a far healthier relationship than the uneasy marriage of the recent past"

WITTINGLY or unwittingly, some members of the Federal Party appear to be causing embarrassment to the UNP. The *Daily Mirror* on 16/9 reported that some members of the Party, including its parliamenta-

rians, had demanded that the pact entered into by the UNP and the FP on the night of March 24, 1965 should be released to the public on the ground that the time was opportune to disclose to the country the conditions under which the FP had agreed to support the Prime Minister to form the National Government. They have also stated that if the agreement was not going to be made known to the country it would not be possible for the FP to justify its decision to quit the Government. The paper also reported that there were moves to call upon the FP chief to abrogate this pact. The disclosure of the pact may provide just enough cannon fodder for the Coalition to crow about to the people "did we not tell you a long time ago that there was a secret pact between the UNP and the FP to make a sell-out of the Sinhalese to the FP?"

KAUTILIYA

#### Birth Control

## The Pill And Theosophy: A Point Of View From A Different Angle

Much is being said for and against Birth Control sparked off by Pope Paul VI's unpopular encyclical.

Therefore it would not be out of place to remember the attitude and stand taken on this same matter by the famous and valiant Dr. Annie Besant (atheist, and champion of the poor and oppressed), and her courageous and complete change-over after meeting Mme. H. P. Blavatsky and becoming her pupil and an ardent Theosophist.

As a professed Materialist, Annie Besant had said "I judged all actions by their effect on human happiness in this world now and in future generations, regarding man as an *organism* that lived on earth and there perished with activities confined to earth and limited to physical laws..."

Dr. Charles Knowlton, an American physician, had published a pam-

phlet advocating conjugal prudence and parental responsibility in limiting the size of a family within the means of subsistence, stating the methods by which this restriction could be carried out, in order to save desperately poor families.

In defiance of a ban placed on the publishing and sale of these pamphlets, Annie Besant and Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, President of the National Secular Society in London, had it printed and sold. To quote Annie Besant: "...honestly believing that on all questions affecting the happiness of the people, whether they be theological, political or social fullest right of free discussion ought to be maintained at all hazards. We do not personally endorse all that Dr. Knowlton says...but since progress can only be made through discussion, and no discussion is possible when differing opinions are suppressed, we claim the right to publish

all opinions, so that the public, enabled to see all sides of a question, may have the materials for forming a sound judgment. We were not blind to the danger to which this defiance of the authorities exposed us, but it was not the danger of failure or with the prison as penalty that gave us anxiety. It was horrible misconceptions that we saw might arise, the odious imputations on honour and purity that would follow... But I had seen the misery of the poor, of my sister-women with children crying for bread and wages of the workmen were often sufficient for four, but eight or ten they could not maintain. Should I set my own safety, my own good name, against the helping of these? Did it matter that my reputation should be ruined, if its ruin helped to bring remedy to the otherwise hopeless wretchedness of thousands?... So with heart-aching but steady, I came to my resolution: and though I know that I was wrong intellectually, and blundered in the remedy, I was right morally in the will to sacrifice all to help the poor and I can rejoice that I faced a storm of obloquy fiercer and harder to bear than any other which can ever touch me again. I learnt a lesson of stern indifference to all judgment from without that were not endorsed, by condemnation from within." To Mr. Bradlaugh it meant, as he felt the almost certain destruction of his parliamentary position.

But still greater suffering was in store for Annie Besant when Mme. Blavatsky told her that she had erred and explained why.

H. P. Blavatsky explained what man is in the light of Theosophy. She said:—"He is a spiritual intelligence, eternal and uncreate, treading a vast cycle of human experience, born and reborn on earth millennium after millennium, evolving slowly into the ideal man. He is not a product of matter, but is encased in matter, and the forms of matter with which he clothes himself are of his own making... So does each man create for himself in verity the form wherein he functions... We see in sexual love not only a

passion which man has in common with the brute, and which forms, at present stage of evolution, a necessary part of human nature, but an animal passion that may be trained and purified into a human emotion, which may be used as one of the levers in human progress, one of the factors in human growth... abnormal development of the sexual instinct in man — in whom it is far greater and more continuous than in any brute — is due to the mingling with it of the intellectual element, all sexual thoughts, desires and imaginations having created though forms which have been brought into the human race, giving rise to a continual demand far beyond nature, and in marked contrast with the temperance of normal animal life. Hence it has become one of the most fruitful sources of human misery and human degradation, and the satisfaction of its imperious cravings in civilised countries lies at the root of our worst social evils. This excessive development has to be fought against and the instinct reduced within natural limits, and this will certainly never be done by easy-going self-indulgence within the marital relation anymore than self-indulgence. By none other road than that of self-control and self-denial can men and women now set going the causes which will build for their brains and bodies of a higher type for their future return to earth life. They have to hold this instinct in complete control to transmute it from passion into tender and selfdenying affection, to develop the intellectual, at the expense of the animal, and thus raise the whole man to the human stage, in which every intellectual and physical capacity shall subserve the purpose of the soul. From all this it follows that Theosophists should sound the note of self-restraint within marriage, and the gradual — for with the mass it cannot be sudden — restriction of the sexual relation to the perpetuation of the race... she bade me look beyond the moment, and see how suffering must come back and back with every generation, unless we sought to remove the roots of wrong... it is not for you, an occultist, to continue to teach a method which

you now know must tend to the perpetuation of the sorrow."

Annie Besant says she shrank from the decision, though she felt that H. P. B. was right, yet the decision was made "I refused to reprint the *Laws of Population* or to sell the copyright, giving pain as I sadly knew, to all the brave and loyal friends who had so generously stood by me in that long and bitter struggle, and who saw the results of victory thrown away on grounds to them inadequate and mistaken. Will it always be, I wonder in man's climbing upward, that every step must be set on his own heart and on the hearts of those he loves?" Truth

was an imperious necessity for her, whether it brought praise or blame, "loyalty to truth I must keep stainless whatever friends fail me or human ties be broken", said this selfless and courageous woman.

The above presents new aspects of matter over which thinking people all over the world are deeply concerned. The stand taken by Mme: Blavatsky, who has contributed so much to the spiritual regeneration of modern humanity through Theosophy, endorses the present stand taken by Pope Paul, though apparently for different reasons.

LEAD KINDLY LIGHT

*Report From New York*

## Is A Washington-Peking Alliance In The Offing? Trends Which Cannot Be Ignored

*New York,*

Recently Senator Murphy had publicly expressed his astonishment of the decision of Lyndon Johnson's administration to pay Communist China 600,000 dollars for the services rendered by Peking to the Radio Corporation of America in transmitting cables from foreign clients. Senator Murphy has called this action a "strange deal" concluded at a time when the United States was having critical difficulties with her balance of payments.

**Observers in the UN and elsewhere closely watching the development of relations between the US and China, do not share the Senator's astonishment, for despite the formal non existence of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the United States for a long time has been maintaining close contacts with Red China on a broad basis.**

The beginning of the official contacts between Washington and Peking dates back to 1954, when meet-

ings between the officials of these two nations first started. These meetings were often attended by representatives of the State Department and the White House. And although the Chinese attempts to make things appear as if they went to the negotiating table for the sole purpose of returning Taiwan to China, in actual fact a wide range of questions were discussed at the meetings between the Americans and the Chinese — far beyond the scope of relations between the two countries. It has been reported, for example, that apart from considering the question of exchanging the Chinese scientists for their American counterparts detained by the Chinese authorities, other problems were also discussed. Among them: the threat of the spread of the Vietnam war to China, the Indo-Pakistani conflict, etc.

The Chinese, however, appear to be extremely sensitive about even the slightest leakage of information about their dialogue with Washington. In 1966, the Chinese Ambassador Wang threatened to use severe

"sanctions" against the Americans because Washington "had violated the agreement between the People's Republic of China and the US by unilaterally divulging the content of Chinese-American negotiations." Peking's attempts to put a tight seal of secrecy on its flirting with the United States have proved useless although it was apparently due to this particular reason that Peking had postponed the holding of the regular meetings of the Ambassadors at Warsaw until more opportune times. The last meeting was to have taken place on May 29.

Does it mean, however, that Chairman Mao has decided to call it a day and put an end to his parley with American imperialism against which so much propaganda is carried on by the Chinese press? It is necessary to remember that in the past few years a wide network of channels has been laid connecting the United States and mainland China. These channels for unofficial contacts fully make up for the suspension of talks at Warsaw's Myslewits Palace. The former US diplomat Kenneth Young whose special "hobby" is to watch the progress of American-Chinese relations, has noted that in the past fifteen years the Americans and the Chinese had some 300 secret meetings. Geneva and Stockholm, Hongkong and Macao are the places for those "unofficial" Sino-American political "get-together."

Even better opportunities for contacts also exist in the United States itself where a number of persons and even firms operating openly in the interests of Peking are registered as "agents of Communist China." One of their activities is the circulation in the United States of Maoist information on the so-called Cultural Revolution in China. These companies have been used for mutual exchange of information between representatives of Washington and Peking about the positions of their respective governments on various issues of common interest.

As early as 10 years ago, when Mao Tse-tung decided openly to oppose the whole of the Communist

world, Washington deemed it prudent to accelerate the movement for a Sino-American settlement. Spokesman of the White House and of the State Department have stated time and again about US's readiness to recognize China as a great Asian power and honour her interests.

However, things have gone far beyond mere verbal pleasantries. In fact Washington has given up, at least for the present time, its policy of erecting barriers to expanding trade with China. Many American firms, by using the go-betweens in the third countries, maintained lively business contacts with the Chinese Ministry of Trade. In exchange for some raw materials and foodstuffs they export to the Chinese mainland a number of industrial commodities, many of which are in the list of prohibited goods. Hongkong is an important trade centre for Sino-American business contacts. There are branches of four American banks there and representatives of scores of US firms.

**Some of the commodities shipped by Peking to Hongkong such as foodstuffs, steel products, electronic equipment, textiles, etc., are said to be earmarked for the American troops operating in Vietnam. This fact had at one time been pointed out by the Chairman of the US Senate Appropriations Committee Ernest Gruening. The Peking authorities hide such deal with the US under cover of the notorious principle of "separation of trade from politics."**

Naturally, they cannot admit even indirectly that in exchange for services rendered in Vietnam, Peking receives an adequate "compensation" from Washington, including the American aid, in implementing Peking's ambitious nuclear projects. Thus, in the past few years the American Government has allowed several atomic scientists of Chinese origin to leave the US and take up citizenship in mainland China. Today, these people are busy creating the nuclear and rocket potential for Chairman Mao together with Dr. Tsin Hsueh-seng who went to mainland China in the middle fifties.

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US Administration obviously knows that some American firms supply mainland China with information and even some material needed for the making of the atom bomb. In late June this year the *Associated Press* had reported that the United States had shipped to mainland China via Canada and Hongkong spare parts for atomic weapons.

The USA has also helped to bring about military co-operation between Bonn and Peking. According to reports, the American military command in West Germany had ordered, with the approval of Washington, shipments of heavy water and armaments from Hamburg to the Chinese ports of Tientsin and Tsingtau. Besides, a group of German nuclear experts headed by Dr. Wolfgang Pilzn have been working for the past few years at the Chinese atomic installations at Lanchow. Peking pays for this co-operation by supplying the Germans with some of the results of their nuclear research. Thus, the United States is making every effort to settle with Peking and, if despite such conciliatory gestures from Washington, the Chinese Dragon continues to shout about the American "paper tiger", it means that Peking is not satisfied with the terms of the bargain offered it.

One can assume that on the eve of the American presidential elections that the Johnson Administration will want to expedite Chinese-American accord and that he will be take realistic steps in that direction. It is believed that apart from the purely election advantages, the establishment of an American-Chinese alliance would in the long run bring the United States much more positively tangible results. First and foremost, the making of an American ally of Mao Tse-tung's Government will break through the Vietnam *cul de sac* and also deepen the erosion in the Communist bloc.

Now, an important question, what is the price Washington is prepared to pay for the long-drawn out bargaining with Peking? There are whispers in top UN circles that early in August a strictly secret meeting

took place in New York between the Under Secretary of State, Nicholas Katzenbach, and one David Rosen, 95 Fifth Ave. N. Y. C., a Peking agent, who has been known for a long time already as an active lobbyist for Communist China in the United States. His main occupation appears to be the circulation of the propaganda literature published by the Chinese Publishing House Guozi Shudian. During his confidential talks with D. Rozen, under Secretary of State Katzenbach is reported to have promised Peking not only many economic benefits in the event

of reaching a Sino-American settlement, but he had also suggested that the American Government would be willing to "reconsider a Sino-American demarcation line in Asia" and "push it southwards." This new basis for a Sino-American settlement put forward by Washington is still said to be in an embryonic stage. But, even as it is, it is fraught with serious dangers for many Asian states. The foreseeable future will show whether this concession by Washington will satisfy Red China's leaders.

*A Special Correspondent*

nal Studies, the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Social Science Research Council and the National Science Foundation.

**REASON FOR SUSPICION.** In June 1967 however the California University got 60 per cent of the funds needed for the project for the next three years from the *Advanced Research Project Agency*. The Government of India was informed of this but it did not raise any objection as it was not known then that this Agency was part of the U.S. Defence Department. This fact was known only recently after the testimony by Vice-Admiral Rickover before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and after Prof. Berremen, who was to have conducted one of the programmes of the project, had written to Senator Fulbright about the Defence Department financing the project and his dissociation with it, Prof. Berremen is now in Simla to attend a seminar and he is learnt to have written to the External Affairs Ministry last week enclosing a copy of his letter to Senator Fulbright.

As Admiral Rickover told the Foreign Relations Committee, it is the routing of the funds through the Defence Department that has made the project suspect. There is no evidence as such that the Defence Department has any control over the project but still suspicion has been created that the result of the studies may be used by the Defence Department. Will the Defence Department provide such large funds without expecting something in return is the question that opponents of the project have raised. Under these circumstances, the Government could not but yield to the pressure of opinion against the project.

*Madras Hindu*  
13/8/68



*NEW DELHI, Aug. 13*

Prof. Gerald Berremen, the American anthropologist who made the disclosure about U.S. Defence

*Never Too Late, But Damage Already Done*

## Indian Government Bans Pentagon Aided U.S. 'Varsity Himalayan Project

*NEW DELHI, August 12*

The Government of India is learnt to have decided not to allow the California University to continue its controversial project of sociological research in the Himalayan region of India. This decision was taken following the strong feelings expressed in the Lok Sabha on August 5 against the project being financed by the United States Defence Department.

When this issue figured in Parliament the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat had promised to review the advisability of permitting the continuance of the project and the decision to order the winding up of the project is the outcome of this review.

The effect of this decision will be to deny visa facilities for American experts to visit India and conduct studies under this project. Already, visa had been granted in July this year to Dr. Downs, Associate Professor of Anthropology of the University of Arizona, to conduct one of the programmes under the project to study the language and

culture of Tibetan refugees living in and around Mussoorie. It is not clear yet as to whether his visa will be cancelled now.

The furore in Parliament and the consequent decision of the Government not to allow this project are understood to have made officials chary of granting visas to American scholars for other projects as well. According to non-official sources, visa applications of about 40 American scholars, who have received grants from recognised educational foundations for studies in India were pending last week with the Government for a decision.

The California project dates back to September 1960 and since then a number of scholars have conducted field studies in the Himalayan region. Official sources said that none of these scholars was allowed entry to the inner line of the Himalayas on the Indian territory. The work done by these scholars was regarded by the Government as objective. Moreover, the Government saw no reason to object to these studies as the University received funds for the project from institutions like the Institute of International

Department's financing of the California University's sociological project in Himalayan borders, arrived here to-day from Simla and had a meeting with Mr. T. N. Kaul, Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry.

Prof. Berreman later told me that he had a general discussion about the circumstances under which he had to dissociate himself from the California University's project. He said that the discussion was satisfactory.

Prof. Berreman said that prior to 1967, the California University had been getting block grant from the Ford Foundation and other institutions for various programmes of sociological research in South-East Asia. Almost half of these funds were utilised for the Himalayan project. As the feeling grew that studies in other parts of South-East Asia had been neglected, the University authorities had told the Director of the Himalayan project, Dr. Roff, that they would not be able to finance the project to the same extent any more.

Dr. Roff therefore looked for funds from other sources and pitched upon the Advanced Research Project Agency which had agreed to provide nearly \$285,000 for the project in the next three years.

Asked whether it was not known at that time that this agency was part of the Defence Department, Prof. Berreman replied that although the name was not suggestive its address was given as Pentagon and therefore one should have known that it was part of the Defence Department.

So far as he was concerned, Prof. Berreman knew about it only just before he was about to take up the assignment in January 1968. The moment he knew the source of the funds was the Defence Department, he dissociated himself from the project.

Dr. Roff had then assured him that before accepting the funds he

had made it clear to the Defence Department that it would have no control over the project. But his explanation did not satisfy Prof. Burrman who felt that it would be foolish to start a project in another country with funds from the Defence Department.

Prof. Berreman said that he proposed to work in India on another project—urbanisation problem in Dehra Dun—with Education Department grant under the cultural exchange programme. He expected this project to continue for a year and his application for visa to stay in India to conduct the project was pending with the Government of India. He hoped there will be no difficulty in getting it. Meanwhile, he obtained the tourist visa to attend the seminar at the Institute of Defence Studies in Simla.

*Madras Hindu*  
14/8/68



WASHINGTON, Aug, 16

Sixteen University of California scholars who had planned to go to India for further studies are still waiting to hear from Delhi about the action being taken on their visa applications, routed through the Consulate-General of India in San Francisco sometime ago. Delhi is presumably scrutinising these requests in the light of recent disclosures that the University of California sociological research project in the Himalayan region had been partially financed by the U.S. Department of Defence.

Enquiries made here show that India is only one of many countries in which Pentagon-financed social science research projects have been conducted—and has raised political storms. "Project Camelot" in Latin America had to be discontinued during the Kennedy regime after protests raised there and in the U.S. More recently there had been complaints from Sweden about the propriety of the U.S. military establishment being involved in

scientific projects undertaken in association with some Swedish universities. Within the U.S. itself there have been strong criticism of universities such as Michigan and Columbia being involved in Pentagon-backed defence-oriented research by the Institute of Defence Analysis.

The criticism voiced in Parliament in India has therefore not come as a surprise to officials here—some of them tend to view it as entirely justified though the Himalayan project itself may hardly have been a 'spy mission'.

Prof. Gerald Berreman, one of the two men connected with the Himalayan studies project, had himself warned the University of California as early as in January last to sever its connections with the Defence Department and seek funds instead from a disinterested and independent organisation such as the proposed National Social Science Foundation. Resigning from the California University project, Prof. Berreman, a severe critic of U.S. Viet Nam policy, had said last January that he wished to have nothing to do with a project whose studies about Himalayan peoples and nations may be used by the Pentagon to further its political, military policies such as "containing China, freeing Tibet, supporting counter insurgency in north-east India and backing pro-American elements in the region". His views were said to have been shared by a noted Indian social scientist, one Dr. Ray, who had passed through Berkeley early this year.

What scholars and others interested in promoting U.S.-Indian collaboration in the field of general science fear is that the spy mania caused in India by periodic disclosures of C.I.A. or Pentagon involvement in otherwise seemingly harmless scientific and other projects may lead India to view all foreign scholars with suspicion. This could have a deleterious effect on useful exchange programmes. What also remains unexplained is how the State Department and the U.S. Embassy, which are aware of

political sensitivities in India, permitted a Pentagon-financed project to be conducted there when they have clear 'veto power over physical and biological science research projects carried out in foreign areas and involving sensitive foreign policy matters'.

*In The Free World*

# Democracy Behind Babed—Wire Fence: US Democrats' Convention In Chicago

Easwar Sagar  
in Madras Hindu,  
17/8/68

by Gail Omuedt



The writer is a girl student at Berkeley.

BERKELY (California)

their loyalty to the Black Panther leader who is on trial for his life for shooting a cop, five miles away in Oakland.

## TOUGH TEETH

Till now the threat "I'll break your teeth" was enough to make even the brave wary about undertaking action. With the new hard alumina artificial teeth, however, a tooth lost but leads to a stronger one gained. Hard alumina, a ceramic when fused and crushed is ten times as strong as normal dental porcelain. The broken-down fused alumina, as string as diamond, may now give those who have those gaps in their mouths to fill up, the opportunity to flash a dazzling smile.

In density it has two main uses: shell crowns formed out of a fusion of glass-like porcelain reinforced with alumina particles. With a metal slump attached, it has the appearance of a prodigal tooth with a strength six times that of the normal one. The other is the complete bridge teeth. each tooth with a solid alumina core covered with luminous porcelain. An enamel coating for that extra shine. What is perhaps an additional advantage is that the new tooth can be made to match your personality — they can be made in all shapes and colours — from rabbit tooth replacement to tang substitute. In a world full of internecine warfare, the new creation may help you put up a stranger front !

A spirit of revolt is alive in America today as never before. From Berkeley, California, one can watch close at hand a fantastic proliferation of ideas, ideologies and alienation. On the University of California campus, nearly every day, one can watch a group of yellow-robed, head-shaved *sadhus* beating drums and chanting "*Hare Krishna Hare Krishna, Hare Rama, Hare Rama, Hare Hare*". but these are not Hindus but young American boys, caught up in the eastern mystical spirit that has been a deep part of our "hippie" movement.

Down the street of Telegraph Avenue, is the *Free Church*, the Christian part of the hippie scene, where scores of volunteer workers in a building proclaiming "The Free Church loves you" — work to find housing, legal aid and medical care for people who need it—and support draft resistance activities.

Farther down on Telegraph are other heirs of the hippie movement, but these are a new breed, hardened after dealing with the Mafia, the police, and motor cycle gangs: they sit on blankets on the sidewalk collecting money for comrades in jail and talk of revolution. Up and down the street, mixing in with longhaired white boys and girls are many of the local young black militants, wearing their hair in the tight bushy "natural" style, strutting proudly with a new-found cultural pride. And half the people on the street, white and black alike, wear Free Huey buttons, proclaiming

TELEGRAPH AVENUE in Berkeley represents a concentration of many of the rebellious groups in America, yet it is not alone: all across the country more and more Americans, especially young Americans, are wondering seriously if this is not a sick country, wondering if we don't need some revolutionary change, agonizing about how to achieve it".

Black people (we used to call them "Negroes", but now the word refers to a middle-class black man, who has probably "sold out" to white society) are alienated because they have been an oppressed people for so long, and this alienation centres in the young people those most affected by bad education and discriminatory counselling in the schools, harassment by police, structured unemployment.

White rebellion focusses on the young too, but it has a more complex source, deriving from lives bounded by bureaucratization and meaninglessness. That is, increasingly the institutions that affect our lives are growing larger, more remote from our control: more and more people are finding they really have little part in the decisions that affect their lives—and not only people in the ghettos, but affluent whites in the suburbs as well. So their children of high school age are "dropping out" into drugs and a search for an almost individualistic spiritual meaning and their children of college age in larger and larger numbers are turning to political protest as well.

This, of course, is not the whole story. Larger numbers of Americans are apathetic; many react to the rebellion with cries of "law and order"—demands for more police, increasing crack-downs on "crime in the streets".

**AND POLITICALLY**, the situation seems to be as follows:

(1) *The democratic process has been removed from the people.* This is what we feel, we who are young, alienated by our newfound knowledge of urban ghettos and imperialism abroad. We strive to affect it, to change the system that creates ghettos and Vietnams, but all our demonstrations, peace marches, sit-ins, occupation of buildings, riots, sporadic efforts at sabotage and electioneering can do is to call out against us the power and the blandishments of the huge bureaucracies that control American life.

The two political conventions confirm this feeling. A week of ballyhoo, childish noise and endless inane speeches at the Republican convention has resulted in the choice of two irrelevant men for candidates—one a relic from the past whom everyone was almost beginning to feel sorry for after constant losses, the other a man whom nobody had ever heard of.

The Democrats for a while seem to give more promise—in the voices of Kennedy, who caught and symbolized the mood of dispossessed but fervent minority groups and McCarthy, who expressed the idealism of the liberals in the peace movement. But Kennedy is dead, and in spite of the efforts of McCarthy and the last-minute appearance of Senator McGovern, the Democratic convention, controlled by delegates selected by state political machines, have chosen as its candidate another relic, a man who will try to use some of the language of today but who will never understand its meaning.

But there is worse. It is not only true that the intricate workings of the electoral system and the assumptions

guiding American politics frustrate efforts at large-scale change. It is also a fact that there is an unbelievable amount of military power available within the United States.

Rebellion is met on one hand with limited response, and on the other hand by the police, breaking up demonstrations, "saturating" a slum area or sweeping the streets to find drug users. Any mayor of a city or small town, any state governor can, if necessary, call out the police force of a dozen or so cities, the highway patrol, the county sheriffs, the National Guard, and in the last resort, army units—all equipped with modern weapons. If there is rebellion and a revolutionary spirit in America, there can be no violent "revolution" in a way that has been

tried in the past; there are too many techniques of control available.

**THERE** is the second aspect of American politics—

(2) *The "democratic" process has to be guarded against the people:* The seriousness of the rebellion among young Americans is best reflected by precautionary measures taken to guard the Democratic convention in Chicago. There were demonstrations at this convention—demonstrations by hippies, by "YIPPIES". (Youth International Party), by more staid radical political types, by black groups—and the Chicago power structure was ready for anything.

#### NEED TO BORROW

The Bankers are at it again. The Federal Reserve system, that pseudo governmental front for the big bankers, said a few weeks ago that interest rates had to go up. The politicians, you see, failed to fight inflation with a tax increase, so the Fed was forced, much as it disliked it, to raise the re-discount rate to 5½%. This, said the bankers through the Fed, would discourage borrowing thus discourage expansion by industry, thus decrease the number of jobs available, thus reduce the number of people who have money to buy what they want and need, thus fight inflation. Now comes the United States Treasury and says it needs to borrow \$11 billion from the bankers. Since the interest rates are so high (thanks to the bankers) the US Treasury must pay 6% interest. The bankers will now rush to loan the US the \$11 billion. That is, they'll create the \$11 billion in their Tax and Loan Accounts. And they'll have it to lend out to corporate borrowers until the US Treasury calls it in. In brief, through the Fed, the bankers said there's too much borrowing going on; so we'll increase interest rates to discourage borrowing. (A reasonable man might suggest they could just stop lending, but who said capitalism is reasonable in its theory?) Now, through their other governmental front, the US Treasury, they'll create another \$11 billion which they can lend out at fantastic interest rates. And in the operation, they put the US government in hock to them for the \$11 billion. There'll be \$8.505 billion lent the US for seven years, at 6%. The total interest cost to you and me will be \$2.9 billion. Another \$3 billion will be borrowed by the US for 15 months. The interest on this will be a mere \$225 million. The bankers' total score on this caper? It's \$3.2 billion.

*Guardian  
New York.*



From Reuters news service on August 16:

"The Democratic Party will choose its presidential ticket in a fortress sealed off by a barbed and steel fence and guarded by thousands of heavily armed troops and police. The prospect of political and racial violence by possibly a quarter of a million demonstrators has resulted in a security operation resembling the fullscale defence of a vital wartime military target.

"Eight thousand police, 6,000 National Guardsmen and more than 1,000 Federal agents—equipped with machineguns, troop carriers, rifles, riot guns, tear gas and disabling chemical Mace—will be available to protect delegates' hotels and the International Amphitheatre.

"Several thousand Chicago police will patrol the convention hall in the heart of the city's stockyards area adjoining a black neighbour-

hood. A newly built half-mile long chain-link fence topped by barbed wire seals off the area. It is patrolled day and night by police, and watchmen

"Launching pads for helicopters will enable candidates, top part officials and President Johnson to be whirled directly to the convention. Manhole covers in the area were sealed with tar to eliminate possible hiding places. Police and Secret Servicemen, armed with rifles, binoculars and walkie-talkie radios, will be stationed on a catwalk nearly 100 feet above the convention floor.

"Federal Bureau of Investigation agents and detectives will mingle with delegates and roam through balconies reserved for convention guests".

**What kind of democracy is this, that had to take place within a fortress?.**



**FAIR P-LAY THE ENGLISH WAY**

*When in classless field of sport  
You vie with rivals White,  
What boots it if you top the lists  
Unless your race is right.*

*For when the great selectors come  
To judge your shining claim,  
They check if you are Black or White  
Before they write your name.*

*Mean souls and Insoles have sold out  
The English nation's soul,  
And sacrificed it to preserve  
The messy porridge bowl.*

*The Smiths and Joneses must admit  
They dare not so bold,  
To practise principles they preached  
And lose South Afric gold.*

Mervyn Casie Chetty

**SOUL BROTHER**

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

"His skin was black, but his soul  
Was pure and white as the driven  
snow...."

So, according to the cable, says

Yevtushenko

Of the slain Luther King,

The whitest soul, he says

Inhabited the noble Pastor.

His black skin, he continues,

His skin so black,

Was snow inside,

Lily,

Fresh milk,

Cotton-white.

What candor !

Not a blemish

In his visceral white.

(In short, a lame discovery:

That old trite melodrama,

"The Negro whose Soul was White")

And yet,

It might be said another way:

What prodigious black soul

Burned in the gentle Pastor.

What lofty black passion

Consumed his cosmic heart.

What pure black wisdom

Pastured in his fertile mind.

His black love,

Apportioned

Colorless to all.

Why shouldn't the heroic Pastor

Have harbored a black soul?

A soul as black as coal.

THE BORDERLAND — by C. V. VELUPILLAI

CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

## The Big Change

Amaradasa was reluctant to knock at the main door of the Walauwa at that unusual hour of the night. He stole round to Menike's room and gently tapped at the window.

"Menike!" he called and tapped again.

"Who's that?"

"Menike, open the door."

Menike hurried lamp in hand and opened the door. The laird was awoken from his sleep by the bustle and noise.

"Who's that?"

"Uncle", replied Amaradasa.

Menike was alarmed to notice his wan face and unkempt appearance.

"Mahatya, are you ill?"

"No, my dear. I am o. k."

As they went in together Menike read further evidence of what had happened to him from his clothes.

"Your clothes are mud stained. You have fallen somewhere, Mahatya. What happened to you?"

"Nothing very serious. While coming down the steps I had a fall and hurt my head.

"Let me see." She felt the bump on the back of his head. "You must be careful when you get about in the night."

"I have applied something. It should be all right in the morning."

"What about your dinner? Have you eaten anything?"

"Don't bother, Menike. Is there no end to this eating? Tea, breakfast, lunch, tea again, tiffin, dinner! What else? For god's sake don't put up the whole house."

"Mahatya, you have forgotten the custom of our house. We always have food for an unexpected guest."

Amaradasa nodded to himself while he ate and thought of the strange episode of the night. Within a matters of hours the whole thing appeared to be so petty and mean. What did it matter if Sundari slept with another man. There were more important things in life to worry about, he thought.

### TRANSISTORS WORTH LAKHS DESTROYED

NEW DELHI

Transistors worth lakhs of rupees produced in Bharat Electronics, Bangalore, were mixed with gravel and concrete and used in constructing a road inside the factory. This was revealed when the Minister of State for Defence Production, Mr. L. N. Mishra, conceded in reply to a question by Mr. B. S. Chauhan in the Lok Sabha that sub-standard transistors were destroyed and used with gravel to lay a road. This was, however, done to ensure that these transistors did not find their way into the market, he said.

### ALCOHOL AND ACCIDENTS

WASHINGTON

Use of alcohol by drivers and pedestrians leads to about 25,000 deaths and at least 800,000 crashes in the US each year, according to a broad Government study released last night. The problem of alcohol in fatal and serious highway accidents is mainly one of extremely heavy drinkers—mostly men, the report said. The study sent to Congress by Secretary of Transportation Alan S. Boyd concluded: "Research shows that more than half of adults use the highways at least occasionally after drinking. However, the scientific evidence is irrefutable that the problem is primarily one of persons, predominantly men, who have been drinking very heavily, to an extent rare among drivers not involved in crashes."

"What are you thinking, Mahatya?"

"Something sensible?"

"Won't you tell me?"

"Why not, come closer."

She nestled close to him as if she was sitting by the fire—side on a rainy day.

"I have found out everything about that lady. The prying and peeping part of the job has made me very mean."

"Now you know the truth."

"Yes. But should we bother about her?"

"You look bothered all the same."

"I am not worried at what happened. I am perplexed at what I saw. The unaccountable behaviour of human beings, the conflict, shame and misery. Yes, the tragedy of life."

"What happened Mahataya?"

Amaradasa related to her the incident in detail as he had witnessed it. When he came to that part of the episode where Sundari bit and slapped her lover, Menike trembled.

"So, at last you have seen it with your own eyes. And she is not a goddess as she pretends to be. You must now leave that place. Then people will respect you."

"As you please. I'll shift part of it here."

"And do what?"

"Open a dispensary by the road up there."

"Uncle won't agree to a thing like that unless it's big enough for the name of Walauwa."

"That's an idea. We might even try to experiment Rajan's plan."

"Why don't you speak it over with uncle tomorrow? He's anxious to meet Mr. Rajan early and when you tell him about your plan to do something here, he's bound to be happy."

"What a calculating woman, you are. You should go into business."

"Not into business. High time you went to bed."

Next morning the laird took special pains to say a few memorable words to his nephew.

"Putha, you must avoid travelling in the night. I do not say it is unsafe but it is unwise."

### CIA TRADE UNIONS

The greatest single beneficiary of CIA secret subsidies may well be the AFL-CIO. The recent exposes have turned up hard evidence that unions such as the Newspaper Guild, Communications Workers, Retail Clerks and Post Office Employees had received about \$1 million each for the past six years to organize anti-communist unions abroad, principally in the Third World. But that is only a fraction of the total, which insiders in Washington estimate to be about \$100 million a year. Jay Lovestone, a former US Communist party official, is of course, the chief paymaster in his role as George Meany's "Minister of Foreign Affairs." But even Lovestone has a boss: he was — at least until very recently when his cover was blown — Cord Meyer Jr., a 48-year-old liberal who founded the United World Federalists just after World War II and who joined the CIA in the early 50's as bagman for covert subsidies of hundreds of labour, professional, intellectual and student groups. In return for taking Meyer's orders on which labour groups to fund, Lovestone received veto power over the State Department's selection of embassy labour attaches.

—Guardian, New York

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"I got delayed, uncle." After a thoughtful pause. "May I speak to you uncle."

"Yes. Yes."

The laird came out to the hall and settled himself in an arm chair. Amaradasa stood by the doorway and spoke faltering at every word.

"Uncle, I wish to open a dispensary here by the road."

The old man was taken aback for a moment. He looked up at Amaradasa and began to fondle his beard.

"Putha, you must remember that I have been the custodian of a sacred trust left to me by my brother. I am answerable for your future. You have this Walauwa, the lands, the people and other interests connected with this old house. It is not my wish to allow you to drift any more. The time has come for you to take over your responsibilities as the legal heir."

"Uncle, I have already spoken to brother about these matters. He will continue to look after the property as he has done all these years. I have chosen to be a physician and that work will go on unhampered to fulfil a vow I had taken when I was away."

"Putha, our ancestors were not men of medicine. However, it is noble to heal the sick and bring peace to the suffering. Our kings have done it and I don't see why you should not put your gifts to use. I will not object to your wishes. Whatever you want to do the name of your forefathers will be involved in it and it is your duty to preserve their dignity."

Amaradasa was happy as he was baffled to hear the longest oration ever made by his uncle. He took time to reply.

"A good dispensary with an assistant", he fumbled.

"That won't do putha. Something bigger, a real hospital where you can work like a doctor in the city. You have the land, material and men for the mere asking. Think it over."

"As you please, uncle."

"Talk it over with your friend and your brother; get your plans ready and begin the work at an auspicious hour."

"Uncle, once the work is started it may cost a few lakhs."

"Money is no consideration, Putha. Your hospital will not cost one tenth of of your lands. I want you to be here where you will be happy and respected."

The old man rose from his seat and walked away lightly like a feather in movement. He was visibly happy. The entire household listened to the long dialogue that disclosed the future that lay before Amaradasa. Muthu Bandara could not divine whether his cousin was in his senses. To throw away the vast acres of land and the prestige of the Big House, was insanity, according to him. He always felt that Amaradasa would make

### ORGANISMS THAT FIGHT INSECTS

American scientists report finding three new disease organisms that attack insects and may help greatly in controlling them. These diseases attack cabbage loopers and almond moths. Two scientists at the insect pathology research laboratory at Beltsville, Maryland, said a new disease, a cytoplasmic polyhedral virus, attacks cabbage loopers, which are destructive to a variety of vegetable crops. Almond moths are attacked by a nuclear polyhedrosis virus found on moth specimens the scientists received for disease diagnosis from a grain and forage insects laboratory. The scientists said studies of the conditions under which these viruses live may help in developing ways to rear large quantities of the viruses for testing biological warfare approaches against insects, and the safety of these approaches to other forms of life.



### TOPLESS CLUB CLOSES DOWN

LONDON,

The 100,000-pound Caretta Club which opened 15 months ago as Europe's first topless restaurant is closing for lack of business, owners said. They said membership in the London club rose—but few customers came to eat. Owners said the caretta's six "topless" waitresses, currently on vacation near Rome, would be offered new jobs in an adjoining restaurant—fully clothed.

an excellent chief with his attributes of head and heart. He felt sad and nodded at Swarna. Just then Amaradasa came in to see Menike greet him with a smile.

"Do you not like to live in this house and look after all of us?" asked Muthu Bandara.

"Brother, my family has to be wider. You must carry on as you do. I have already spoken to you and that is final."

"When the hospital is built where would you stay?"

"How sentimental you are, brother!"

"Why, Mahataya will live in a modern bungalow with Menike" hinted Swarna.

"You have nothing else in your head except this" replied Menike.

"I think about it night and day, my sister."

The big project of building the hospital did not seem so important to them as having Amaradasa close to them. To his cousins he was the central being around which everything else revolved.

The rest of the day was devoted to the discussion of the selection of the site, the nature of the structure and the builders. Amaradasa found Muthu Bandara to be astute and resourceful with a capacity to erect half a dozen hospitals. He could not have chosen a better planner and builder.

"Brother", said Amaradasa, "you have the idea and experience in these things. I'll give you a plan and you look after everything."

"You want me to look after your property and now your hospital. One of these days you might make me a doctor, Mahataya."

*To be continued.*

### WHO KILLED THE MAMMOTH ?

Man, not Nature, killed off the mammoth, says Professor Mikhail Budyko, a leading Soviet geographer. Why did the huge mammal die off, when the warmer climate led to more food as the ice retreated? He rejects theories that changing climatic conditions killed them off, and suggests over-hunting by Stone Age man to be the more likely explanation. At the end of the last Ice Age the number of mammoths was declining as the number of men greatly increased. Working on surveys, among primitive people in the Far North, Budyko estimates that each Stone Age man ate 1,650 lb. of mammoth meat a year. It was his main food source. Studying modern elephants, he calculates, that the mammoth's natural increase could provide four tons in 40 square miles — enough for only five people. As population densities exceeded this figure, the mammoth began to die out — a process which was spread over 20,000 to 25,000 years.

### HAIL THE REVOLUTION

Hail we heartily from Lanka, the great revolution  
 Which protected Man's dream-child of emancipation  
 And made October the celebrated month  
 Which gave bold Russia the chance to tell nations on earth  
 That labour and love can hammer asunder  
 The wicked chains that our progress hinder.  
 Hail we joyously this great landmark  
 which will make man happier than a lark.  
 Hark! Hark! the joyous voices  
 Of those who drink choice juices  
 Pressed hard from well-nurtured fruits  
 From trees planted by Lenin and comrades  
 Come drink with us in peace;  
 We seek for life a new lease  
 To be want-free, exploitation free, war free  
 And let the light of reason smile free.

*M. K. Anawaratne*

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# FILM PAGE

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Technicolor

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## GAMINI — SAPPHIRE

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Meenamovies

## RUHUNU KUMARI

● **MAN CALLED DAGGER** presented by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, now showing at the *EMPIRE THEATRE*, has many beautiful girls, including Terry Moore as Harper Davis, who risks her life in joining Dick Dagger (Paul Mantze) in thwarting the plot of a notorious ex-Nazi concentration camp Commandant, Rudolph Koffman (Jan Murray), who has defected to the United States and schemes to take over the world. Sue Ane Langdon plays Koffman's mistress, who runs a beauty spot entirely of glamorous girls, and who turns her wiles on Gagger when he investigates the premises in order to obtain a lead in tracking down Koffman. Eileen O'Neil is Erica, one of Koffman's beautiful victims, whom he has captured and whom he forces to make a murder attempt on Dagger. Lovely Mimi Dillard, another of the charming girls manipulated by the Nazi villain, also attempts to liquidate Dagger by way of a murderous and spine-tingling motor car chase.

There are no dull moments in this entertaining cloak-and-dagger tale in which one thrilling adventure after another takes place, including scenes in which Dagger is trapped in an underground maze of corridors and experimental laboratories, and is tortured in a brainwashing chamber, comes close to meeting his death when a yacht on which he and Harper are having a romantic rendezvous is blown up, and faces a cleaver-wielding Koffman in the story's terrifying climax which takes place in a meat packing plant. Everything about this thriller is designed for hair-raising excitements and fun, not the least of which are its unique electronic gadgets and murder devices. Koffman for instance, directs his murderous machine from a wheelchair equipped with firearms, knives, objection seat and a flame-thrower. Another weapon used by Dagger in a scene in which he escapes from vicious guard, Otto (Richard Kiel), is a lethal laser-beam wrist watch.

Others involved in the excitement of the movie are Maureen Arthur as Terry and Leonard Stone as Dick. [www.noolaham.org](http://www.noolaham.org) | [www.aavanaham.org](http://www.aavanaham.org)

Rainer. Filmed in Metrocolor, the picture was produced by Lewis M. Horwitz, with M. A. Ripps as executive producer. Richard Rush directed from a screenplay by James Peatman and Robert S. Weekley. Of additional interest is the fact that TV's Steve Allen composed the music accompanying the tumultuous action.

● **003 TOP SECRET NEW YORK**, an Italo-Spanish Coproduction in Technicolor and Techniscope, now showing at *NEW OLYMPIA*, is a strongly spiced thriller directed by Amerigo Anton, with all the latest adventures, and the sets are vivid and spectacular. There is violence, betrayals, rescues, suspense and sex in this excitement filled movie. The film's interest becomes even greater with its exceptionally powerful impact. In the cast are Lang Jeffries, Aurora De Alma Rafael Bardem, Eleonora Bianchi Gloria Osuna, Valadimir Tuicovich, Angel Jordan, Moa Thai and Joe Kamel.



Air Conditioned  
**LIBERTY**

3rd WEEK

Montgomery Wood in

## “ONE SILVER DOLLAR”

Technicolor Techniscope

4th MONTH

## CENTRAL

K. S. GOPALAKRISHNAN'S

## PANAMA PASAMA

When Dr. Glen Birch, an American atomic scientist is murdered by his personal bodyguard, the authorities become concerned about his collaborator, Prof. Calvert, who is in Europe. The F.B.I. assigns George Collins to assure that no harm befalls Calvert. Numerous attempts are made on Collin's life by the X-Band which has managed to kidnap Calvert. One of their members of this sinister organisations is Olga. Collins succeeds in detecting the place where Calvert is being held. He captures Olga and when she falls in love with him, she is murdered by the band. Collins frees Calvert, and in the meantime a coded message orders him to take the Professor aboard a submarine of the United States Navy. This is a trap laid for Calvert and Collins. But Collins uses an electromagnetic cigarette holder to carry out a telecommand operation on the submarine, causing it to be intercepted by the United States Fleet.

● **THUNDERBALL**, newest of the James Bond thrillers, and fourth in this exciting series, opens on the 26th at the *SAVOY CINEMA*, in Technicolor and Panavision. The biggest Bond of all, the movie has more action, gimmicks and women. Again starring Sean Connery as secret agent 007, the United Artists release features Claudine Auger, a former Miss France as Domino; Martine Beswick, once Miss Jamaica as Paula; Molly Peters as the therapist Patricia and Luciana Paluzzi as the villainess Fiona, whose kisses are a prelude to death. Adolfo Celi is Bond's newest nemesis, Emilio Largo leader of a SPECTRE plot to hold the entire western world to ransom.

Directed by Terence Young, the movie is produced by Kevin McClory from a screenplay written by Richard Maibaum and John Hopkins. Their story, based on one written by McClory in collaboration with Jack Whittingham and Ian Fleming creator of James Bond, sets the action on and under the Caribbean. Over 20% of the action takes place underwater, including a love scene between Bond and Domino. Filmed on location in the Bahamas, the

movie features fantastic sets and prop, including a giant hydrofoil that skims across the ocean at 95 knots, rocket firing motor cycles, a

two-man diving bell, underwater sleds, and Bond's now famous Aston Martin DB5 sports car with its machine guns and ejector seat.

The international crime syndicate SPECTRE hijacks a Vulcan bomber with two atom bombs, and the bombs are taken by utilizing an underwater team of frogmen and sub-sleds. They plan to hold the entire western world to ransom by threatening to bomb two key cities. James Bond Secret Agent 007 (Sean Connery) meets Domio (Claudine Auger), the sister of the NATO pilot who crashed the plane carrying the bombs, and she tells him of a secret channel near the hideout of Emilio Largo (Adolf Celi), SPECTRE's chief. Disguised as one of Largo's frogmen, Bond follows them to the underwater cave where the bombs are hidden, but he is recognised and shut in the cave to drown. However, CIA Agent Felix Leiter (Rix Van Nutter) picks up a beam from a radio active pill Bond has swallowed, and flies a helicopter into position above a hole above the cave. Bond is pulled out by a winch and as they fly to Miami, Bond alters the US Aquaparatroops at Fort Orlando of the plot to bomb Miami. As Largo and his men are placing the bombs in the hull of an old ship wreck off the Florida coast, the Aquaparas attack. Bond joins the fierce underwater sea battle, and with the bombs recovered, he follows Largo underwater back to his yacht. As the Coast Guard and Navy vessels close in on one yacht, Largo converts it into a speedy hydrofoil by jettisoning the cocoon like aft section of the boat. Outspeeding all pursuers at 90 knots an hour, the hydrofoil is about to get away when Bond takes on Largo and his entire crew single handedly. Just as he is about to overcome, Domino, who has been a prisoner below, saves his life by shooting Largo. Together Bond and the girl leap from the out of control hydrofoil just before it smashes into a reef and explodes. A Navy plane drops a raft and picks them up.



**EMPIRE** Air-Conditioned  
Terry Moore — Jan Murray  
IN MGM'S  
**A MAN CALLED  
DAGGER**  
in Colour — Adults Only

Air-Conditioned  
**REGAL**  
Dirk Bogarde - Susan Strasberg  
in  
**THE HIGH BRIGHT SUN**  
in Colour

Last Few Days  
**ELPHINSTONE  
ROXY**  
Jeeva Rani  
Tony Ranasinghe, in  
**INDUNILA**  
From Thurs Sept 26:  
Henry Jayasena - Mallini Fonseka  
Joe Abeywickrema  
Nilanthi Wijesinghe  
in G. D. L. Perera's  
**Dahasak Sithuvili**

4th Week  
**SELLAMAHAL**  
Jayalalitha - Ravichandran  
in  
**MAADI VEETTU  
MAPILLAI**

4th Week  
**CROWN**  
Rajshree — Jeetendra in  
V. Shantaram's  
**GEET GAAYA  
PATTHRON NE**  
in Eastman Colour

**SAVOY** Air-Conditioned  
From Thurs:  
Sean Connery as James Bond  
in

**THUNDERBALL**



Interesting Thoughts

## A CHESTERTON MISCELLANY

by Titus Handuna

**ON REFORM.** No one doubts that an ordinary man can get on with this world: but we demand not strength enough to get on with it, but strength enough to get it on. Can he hate it enough to change it, and yet love it enough to think it worth changing? Can he look up at its colossal good without once feeling acquiescence? Can he look up at its colossal evil without once feeling despair? Can he, in short, be at once not only a pessimist and an optimist, but a fanatical pessimist and a fanatical optimist? Is he enough of a pagan to die for the world, and enough of a Christian to die to it? In this combination, I maintain, it is the rationalist optimist who fails, the irrational optimist who succeeds. He is ready to smash the whole universe for the sake of itself.

**ON SUICIDE.** Not only is suicide a sin, it is the sin. It is the ultimate and absolute evil, the refusal to take the oath of loyalty to life. The man who kills a man, kills a man. The man who kills himself, kills all men; as far as he is concerned he wipes out the world. His act is worse (symbolically considered) than any rape or dynamite outrage. For it destroys all buildings, it insults all women. The thief is satisfied with diamonds; but the suicide is not: that is his crime. He cannot be bribed, even by the blazing stones of the Celestial City. The thief compliments the thing he steals, if not the owner of them. But the suicide insults everything on earth by not stealing it. He defiles every flower by refusing to live for its sake. There is not a tiny creature in the cosmos at whom his death is not a sneer. When a man hangs himself

on a tree, the leaves might fall off in anger and the birds fly away in fury: for each has received a personal affront. Of course there may be pathetic emotional excuses for the act. There often are for rape, and there almost always are for dynamite . . . Obviously a suicide is the opposite of a martyr.

**ON COURAGE.** No quality has ever so much addled the brains and tangled the definitions of merely rational sages. Courage is almost a contradiction in terms. It means a strong desire to live taking the form of a readiness to die. This paradox is the whole principle of courage; even of quite earthly or quite brutal courage. A man cut off by the sea may save his life if he will risk it on the precipice. He can only get away from death by continually stepping within an inch of it. A soldier surrounded by enemies, if he is to cut his way out, needs to combine a strong desire for living with a strange carelessness about dying. He must not merely cling to life, for then he will be a coward, and will not escape. He must not merely wait for death, for then he will be a suicide, and will not escape. He must seek his life in a spirit of furious indifference to it; he must desire life like water and yet drink death like wine. No philosopher, I fancy, has ever expressed this romantic riddle with adequate lucidity, and I have certainly not done so.

**ON FREE THOUGHT AND FREEDOM.** We may say broadly that free thought is the best of all the safeguards against freedom. Managed in a modern style the em-

ancipation of the slave's mind is the best way of preventing the emancipation of the slave. Teach him to worry about whether he wants to be free, and he will not free himself. Again, it may be said that this instance is remote or extreme. But, again, it is exactly true of the men in the streets around us . . . The man we see every day — the worker in Mr. Gradgrind's factory, the little clerk in Mr. Gradgrind's office — he is too mentally worried to believe in freedom. He is kept quiet with revolutionary literature. He is calmed and kept in his place by a constant succession of wild philosophies. He is Marxian one day, a Nietzscheite the next day, a Superman (probably) the next day; and a slave every day. The only thing that remains after all the philosophies is Gradgrind. It would be worth his while to keep his commercial helotry supplied with sceptical literature. And now I come to think of it, of course, Gradgrind is famous for giving libraries. He shows his sense. All modern books are on his side. As long as the vision of heaven is always changing, the vision of earth will be exactly the same. No ideal will remain long enough to be realised, or even partly realised. The modern young man will never change his environment; for he will always change his mind.



Due to exigencies of space the article on **Hindu Education In Jaffna In Early 19th Century** and the other on **Princess Dina, Ceylon And The Middle East** have been held over and will appear in *Tribune* of 29-9-68.