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Anniversaries And Upheavals: Gandhi Centenary: Turmoil Grows Apace In The World

With so many new nations and states in the world today anniversaries and national days abound every month, but in early October there are two anniversaries which have a great deal of significance in the complex political realities of the contemporary world. *The People's Republic of China*, in its current heyday of Maoist logic, celebrated its founding on October 1 with the customarily huge rally in Peking, where its leaders this year branded "revisionist" Communist *Russia* its enemy number one collaborating closely with its other sworn enemy, the *USA*, to encircle China and subjugate her. China, despite her weak economic infra-structure, is emerging as the third biggest military power in the world and she seems determined to take her place in the sun with special Chinese forcefulness. On October 7, the *German Democratic Republic* will celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the first German socialist state.

From the Middle Ages in Europe right up to the Second World War, it was the militarism of the Germans which had triggered the big wars, and the fact that the new German State is wedded to a new ideology based on peace and friendship is of tremendous importance not only to Europe but also to the world. The GDR consists of territory which was mainly agricultural and underdeveloped in the past, but today it has become one of the first ten industrial nations of the world. Coupled with these two anniversaries came the 99th birth anniversary of the redoubtable Indian leader *Mahatma Gandhi* on October 2. This occasion was celebrated with lavish publicity in India, Ceylon and several other countries and tremendous efforts are being made to make the 100th anniversary, which falls next year, something to remember for all times.

But, the celebration of these anniversaries, this year has come amidst unprecedented upheavals. In Ceylon, they are

on a small scale with the deflection of the FP from the Government, the defeat of Maithripala Senanayake in the CPU elections, and the like: in India, they are on a much larger scale with strikes and border fighting; in Mexico student riots threaten to bring about a cancellation of the Olympic Games: in Peru there has been another *coup* a few days before the Indian Prime Minister was due to pay a State visit; in Europe, France continues to keep Britain out of the Common Market whilst West Germany has begun to develop jitters because of the Russian threat to "intervene" to stamp out neo-fascism and in the USA, the Presidential nominee for Chief Justice had to be withdrawn whilst the third candidate from the extreme Right was stealing a march on the two candidates from the traditional parties. The list of such upheavals is inexhaustible. Upheavals seem to be the order of the day, and nobody seems to be able to predict what would happen next.

A Note From Washington

SUBVERSION — A U.S. SPECIALITY: HOW THE GOULART REGIME WAS OVERTHROWN IN BRAZIL

Washington

A NEWS REPORT from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee titled "Survey of the Alliance For Progress" tells who the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD) engineered the overthrow of the Joao Goulart Regime of Brazil in April 1963.

AIFLD, according to the report, operates a training institute in Front Royal, Va. where Latin American trade union leaders are brought for a three month cram course in "union leadership". The emphasis is "democracy versus totalitarianism". The "graduates" of this school are then sent back to Latin America on salaries paid by the Institute to spend a nine month period of internship as "teachers" in Latin American trade unions.

Testimony by W. Doherty Junior, former director of AIFLD's social projects department, gives a graphic picture of the activities of these trainees in Brazil: "...Well, very frankly, within the limits placed upon them by the administration of Joao Goulart, when the (AIFLD trainees) returned to their respective countries, they were very active in organizing workers, and helping unions introduce systems of collective bargaining and modern concepts of labour-management relations. "As a matter of fact, some of them were so active that they became intimately involved in some clandestine operations of the revolution before it took place on April 1, what happened in Brazil on April 1 did not just happen. It was planned, and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders, some whom were actually trained in our Institute, were involved in the revolution and in the overthrow of the Goulart Regime".

THE REPORT also recounts how AIFLD trainees broke up a strike movement in Colombia. "In Columbia the local union called Colombiana, S.A., (a subsidiary of the Celanese Corp. of America, a contributor to AIFLD) had been debilitated by its Castroite orientation. Within a few months several illegal work stoppages had taken place, plus a sympathy strike in favour of Castro. The company retaliated with mass firings. AIFLD graduates together with other democratic leaders were able to gain control of the union".

J. Peter Grace, chairman of the board of AIFLD, and also president of W. R. Grace Co. summed up the philosophy of AIFLD in these words, quoted in the report. "Through the AIFLD business, Labour and government have come together to work toward a common goal in Latin America, namely supporting the democratic form of government, the capitalistic system and general well being of the individual. It is an outstanding example of a national consensus effectively at work for the national interests of the U. S. and for the interests of the people of Latin America".

The W. R. Grace Co., owns the Grace Line which runs steamships exclusively to Latin America, J. Frank Holland, assistant Vice President of W. R. Grace Co. told me that Grace has "extensive investments" throughout Latin America. He mentioned investments in the paper and paint industry.

The President of AIFLD is George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO. The Institute has spent a total of \$ 16.4 million dollars in Latin America \$ 15.4 million of which came from taxes appropriated for the Agency for International Development (AID). Another \$ 1.06 million dollars was donated by the

labour movement from dues collected from American workingmen. The big corporations, on the other hand donated a piddling \$938,000.

Headquarters of AIFLD are in Washington, D. C. where it employs 85 staff workers. It also operates 18 offices throughout Latin America including an office in Brazil which employs 46 staff workers. Elliot Marcus, Chief of Information Services, denied that AIFLD is a strike-breaking organization. He said, "The charge that we are connected with the CIA is not a new charge. It has been refuted repeatedly." George Meany, the number one man, denied it when those charges were made again. But nobody really believes Meany.

TIM WHEELER

DONOR'S FAMILY TO SUE DR. BARNARD

Johannesburg, Sept. 23

The family of South Africa's mystery heart donor is suing Dr. Christian Barnard and his team of doctors for taking the heart without permission, according to the African Newspaper, "Dagbreek en Landstem". Hospital authorities have persistently refused to identify the donor—whose heart now beats in the body of Mr. Pieter Smith, Dr. Barnard's third heart transplant patient—but the paper said she was reputedly Evelyn Jacobs, an African. She belongs to a religious sect which does not allow the removal of bodily organs after death, the paper reported, and her mother said that she would not have authorised the removal of her daughter's heart under any circumstances. The case is expected to come up in Capetown. "Dagbreek en Landstem" said a figure of 100,000 rand (140,000 dollars) is being mentioned unofficially.

AFF

Headlines Of The Week

THURSDAY, September 26 — The World Bank and its affiliates have incurred a loss of 31,810 dollars as a result of the devaluation of the Ceylon rupee last year. The Government has rejected a request of a number of importers for the restoration of quotas at the official rate of exchange. The former president of Jaffna College, Dr. S. K. Bunker died at the Englewood Hospital in New Jersey. The Phillipines President called on the Malaysian Prime Minister to remove the obstacles on the way to a summit meeting on the Sabah dispute and said he hoped the Tunku would agree to sit with him in an effort to reduce tension in the area. The Yugoslavia Prime Minister announced in the Federal Assembly that measures had been taken to strengthen the combat readiness of the Yugoslav army and the entire country.

FRIDAY, September 27 — The Lanka Salu Sala has recorded a profit of Rs. 5.7 million during the first eight months of its trading operation. The Bandaranaike Commemoration Day was celebrated yesterday and the Government placed its mass media service at the disposal of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. A number of luxury and semi-luxury articles will go up in price as from next month. Mr. Mallory E. Wijesinghe, Chairman of the Employers' Federation, has called for the evolution of a *modus operandi* to prevent strikes from undermining the country's economy. The Government has decided to acquire the site of the Hilton Hotel at Steuart Place, Colombo. Nearly 13,000 acres of dry zone fields will be sown with miracle paddy to bridge the gap between rice production and self-sufficiency. King Mahendra of Nepal has dropped the Foreign Minister in a Cabinet re-shuffle. Prospects of a summit on the Malaysian - Filipino dispute over Sabah appeared dim as the two countries differed on the agenda.

SATURDAY, September 28 — The *Daily News* reported that a top secret circular had been sent by the Central Bank to all commercial banks asking them to restrict loans, overdrafts and finances for imports of all types to not more than eight percent over the level of such advances as at August 31, this year. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, General Secretary of the Federal Party, claimed that before the Party withdrew from the Government it has secured an assurance from the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake and the Minister of Education, Mr. I. M. R. A. Iriyagolle, that a Tamil University would be established at Trincomalee. President Johnson announced that James Russel Wiggins, editor of the *Washington Post* would be nominated to succeed Mr. George Ball as US Permanent Representative in the United Nations. Filipino students set fire to a part of the British Embassy in Manila and later stoned the guardhouse outside the United States Embassy.

SUNDAY, September 29 — The *Times Weekender* reported that police reinforcements had arrived in Trincomalee in connection with the demonstration and protest rally by Hindus against the Government's action on the Koneswaram Hindu Temple issue. Former President Sukarno of Indonesia was under interrogation, President Suharto announced in Djakarta.

MONDAY, September 30 — The leader of the Federal Party, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, said at Kondavil to mark the Vanniasingham Day that the Federal Party would never give up its call for federalism and the party would never join those who were opposed to it. The National Youth Service Council will begin work from October first and ten million rupees have been provided in the 1968/69 estimates for its work. At the public meeting held at Trincomalee in connection with the Koneswaram Hindu Temple Mr. M. Tiruchelvam said "Let bygones be bygones. I request the Prime Minister to forget whatever happened in the recent past and declare the Koneswaram Temple area a sacred area. Russian troops re-entered the heart of Prague today as tourists. The US Defence Secretary said he hoped that US troops could come home from South Vietnam by next June, but emphasised there were no plans yet for such a withdrawal.

TUESDAY, October 1 — 37,000 children will be admitted to the kindergarten classes in government schools in the Colombo Educational Region in 1969. The Principal Collector of Customs fined three Directors and the General Manager of a Ceylon import-export firm a total of Rs. 16,637,000. A State-sponsored Coconut Growers' Association is to be formed shortly with a view to reviving the coconut industry. South Vietnam re-affirmed its willingness to enter direct peace negotiations with Hanoi and offered to discuss the possibility of cultural and economic exchanges with North Vietnam. Total prohibition will be enforced throughout India to mark the 100th anniversary this week of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi.

WEDNESDAY, October 2 — The Government has decided to set up a sugar refinery in Colombo which will have an annual capacity of 150,000 tons. The Prohibition Advisory Committee has decided not to convene any more meetings until the Government declares its policy on prohibition. Nearly 35,000 persons of Indian origin will be repatriated to India under the Indo-Ceylon Agreement before the end of the current financial year. The Ceylon Coconut Board has decided to impose stricter quality control checks on the export of desiccated coconut to the US to ensure high quality. The Ministry of Agriculture has planned a number of special paddy extension projects covering over 67,000 acres in an effort to hit the 71 millions bushel of paddy target next year. The Minister of Finance, Mr. U. B. Wanninayake, said at the joint annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank in Washington that the agricultural breakthrough in Ceylon was especially bright. The Czech President has appealed to his countrymen to restore good relations

with the Soviet Union.

COMMENT ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

SNAP GENERAL ELECTIONS : strong suspicion that UNP will spring a surprise on the Opposition

Although the Prime Minister and some of his Ministerial colleagues have been anxious, in fact *over-anxious*, to stress that there would be no General Elections until April, 1970 suspicions have been expressed in responsible quarters that these statements were really intended to mislead the Opposition Parties. *Alice* who writes the column *Through The Looking Glass* in the *Times Weekender* of September 29 declared as follows under the heading A SNAP ELECTION ? THEY WON'T ANNOUNCE IT IN ADVANCE:

"On Tuesday morning the Prime Minister told a meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group that he did not plan to call a snap general election. His government, he added, would run its full course — that is, early in 1970. What else could he say publicly or semi-publicly ? Suppose, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Senanayake did actually plan to go to the polls before the due date. His motive would be to turn to his party's advantage some temporary embarrassment of the Opposition, say as a result of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia; or to exploit some temporary success of his government — a good harvest and plenty of consumer goods, perhaps; and to make full use of the element of surprise to discomfit his opponents. Would he, then, publicly announce now that he intended calling a general election in December or March ? On the contrary, he would keep his plans dark, except for the very few members of his inner Cabinet. It is not likely that, as a matter of fact, Mr. Senanayake has already decided when he is going to ask for the dissolution of Parliament. His strategy would be to get ready now — with something like eighteen months in hand — to take quick advantage of anything that might make a good election issue. In keeping with this strategy would be the tactic of divesting his party of what might prove an electoral handicap, like a close association with the Tamils. But if, by some chance, Mr. Senanayake did last his full term, he would be the first Prime Minister of Ceylon to do so. Strange, is it not, considering we have now had no fewer than nine governments since Independence..."

It may well be that columnist *Alice* was trying to cover the tracks for the *Times* which had announced when the FP had quit the government that this "parting" was a *collusive* one for the purpose of rushing through a snap general election. This, many think, was a bit of wishful kite-flying on the part of the *Times* to soften the impact and the implications of the FP's defection. In fact, many observers are convinced that though there was no collusion between the FP and the UNP in regard to the parting, there was every likelihood of a snap election. It is also possible that the FP, which may have had a premonition or foreknowledge that a General Election was in the offing in mid-1969 had decided to quit in order to prepare the ground for its own election battle, particularly with the TC. Whilst the *Times* seems anxious to proclaim that a snap general election is round the corner, *Lake House* is at pains to deny it (but is utilising all its pages and columns in a manner which indicates that the Government is getting ready for the hustings). Whilst the *Times* and the *Lake House* seem to be one hundred (and ten) per cent behind the UNP, the *Dawasa* group betrays a softness for the rightwing of the SLFP and its policy seems to be based on the hope that "really Sinhala" elements in the SLFP, UNP and SMP, must sooner or later, get together to make Sri Lanka a truly *Sinhala Dipa* immediately.

Whilst all these three big newspaper groups have the same objective of ensuring a stable UNP-led government, the tactics they adopt are suited to the readership to which they cater. Every one of these newspapers is today going full steam ahead on the footing that a General Election is close at hand (and not in 1970). All this has naturally made the Opposition parties alert and they too are getting prepared for an election at any time. The *Forward*, the organ of the CP set out the thinking of the Opposition Parties very succinctly. It said in its front-page commentary on September 28 "The Prime Minister's statement to his Parliamentary group that his Government will go its full term should not put the progressive forces off their guard. Nor should they take without a pinch of salt Minister Iriyagolle's categorical declaration that the next general elections will be held in the first quarter of 1970. The general reaction in political circles to these two public announcements is that the Ministers concerned protest too much ! It is not secret that the "divorce by consent" between the UNP and the Federal Party began a sharp controversy within the ruling bodies of the Government of whether or not to call an early election. And political circles believe that a temporary decision on this matter was reached during the long, last weekend in Nuwara Eliya where Mr. J. R. Jayawardene was, after many years, the Prime Minister's house-guest and the two leaders of the UNP demonstrated their new-found unity on the golf-course". It said "The progressive forces should strengthen the United Front and put an end to the public polemics that some sections seem determined to continue with reckless disregard for the consequences for the progressive forces themselves. They should intensify their offensive against the Government and their exposure of its failures and misdeeds. And they should see that all arrangements that have to be made to face a general election at any time are speedily completed. Not to take these steps is to invite the Government to spring an unexpected election on an unprepared Opposition".

Topical

KONESWARAM: BRIEF NOTES ON ITS HISTORY

by C. S. Navaratnam

(Author, History of the Tamils, History of Hinduism, The Story of the Vanniya, etc.)

AS MANY members of the public are anxious to know the history of this ancient shrine I shall here briefly state some facts about its history.

A Tamil inscription that was found in the Koneswaram Temple before it was destroyed by Constantine de Sa in 1624 gives the story of the founding of the temple. It was translated by the most learned native and certified by an *Ouviodor* (Magistrate) of Ceylon and sent to His Majesty the King of Portugal. The translation reads as follows:

“Manica Raja Bau, Emperor of this Lancaue erected this Pagoda to the God Vidia-Mal Manda in the year (according to reckoning it comes to be 1300 years before the coming of Christ.) There will come a nation called the Franks who will destroy it and there will be no King in this island to rebuild it once more”.

This translation was found in Codex 51, VIII - 40 in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon. (Journal of the Ceylon Branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. x x x No. 80 page 449). There is no God as **Vidia-Mal Manda**. The Tamil words should be *Vedium, Metthalium, Mandapamum வீதியும், மேற்றலியும், மண்டபமும்* - premises, edifices and halls the builder dedicated unto the Lord. As the French were well known in Syria, the people of the East called all Europeans with some corruption of Franguis. The Portuguese themselves were impressed by this prophecy.

Writing of events in the fourth century A. D. the author of the *Mahavamsa* says: *“The King (Mahasena) built also the Manihira-*

Vihara and founded three viharas destroying temples of the Brahmanical Gods. The Gokanna Vihara and another Vihara Erakavilla and a third in the village of the Brahman Kalanda” (Mv. (Geiger) Chapter. 37 V. 41). All these places were in the Eastern coasts.

The author of the *Yalpana Vaipava Malai* who had no knowledge of the *Mahavamsa* and the chronology of the rulers of Anuradhapura says that during the reign of King Pandu in the Saka era 358 (436A.D.) **Kulakoddan**, a Chola Prince repaired to Trincomalee and restored the temple and made endowments for the daily services of the temple. The Pandu Kings ruled at Anuradhapura from 433 to 460 A. D. The building of the temple by **Kulakoddan** is supported by the lithic record that is now at the entrance to Fort Frederick.

Daksina Kailasa Manmiam which is a section of the great *Skanda Puranam* (Sanskrit) of the sixth century gives a general survey of Hinduism in Ceylon. It says that from very ancient times nine sacred shrines were famous for the Hindus. Of these seven are in India, and two in Ceylon namely Koneswaram and Tirukkettiswaram.

IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY, Sambandar, one of the four most famous of Saiva Saints, had sung the praises of this temple. The Pallavas also seem to have taken great interest in the temple, for some of the Sanskrit inscriptions unearthed in the Trincomalee District are in the Pallava Grantha script. From the pillars and decorated stones that were found in the fort area we have to infer that the temple might have been rebuilt by the Pallavas.

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VIRA PANDYAN invaded Ceylon about 1263 and after the victory, he left his ensign the double fish at the main entrance of the sacred building. This ensign can still be seen at the entrance to the fort. (*University History of Ceylon* Vol.1 Part II - page 685).

Later the Arya Chakravarties of Jaffna took some special interest in the temple. According to *Konesar Kalveddu* one King Gajabahu has also made endowments to the temple. It was under the direct management of the Vanniya Chieftains of Trincomalee until the advent of the Portuguese. (*Yalpana Vaipava Malai* page 11) The Vanniya Chieftains of the North gave each a portion of their revenue to the temple. (*Yalpana Vaipava Malai* page 12).

The traditions of Koneswaram are closely associated with the epic **King Ravana**. It is one of the temples in Ceylon that is associated with **Agastiya** traditions. The stories of Agastiya were based on historical memories. The books which deal with the story of the temple are *Daksina Kailasa Puranam* (Tamil), *Konesar Kalvettu*, *Tirukonasala Puranam*, *Tirukonasala Venpa*, *Machcha Puranam*, *Tirukonamalai Anthathy*. Several other Tamil works speak of the greatness of this sacred shrine.

Most of the Tamil works call Koneswaram as *Daksina* (South) *Kailayam*. Mt. Kailas is known as *Uttara* (North) *Kailayam*. One is in the mountains and one is in the sea. It is interesting to note that Mt. Kailas and Trincomalee are in the same meridian. The Buddhists of Tibet used to go on pilgrimages to Mt. Kailas as the Hindus.

DE QUEYROZ, an eminent Portuguese historian, says that the temple was the 'Rome of the Orient' and was more frequented by pilgrims than *Rameswaram* or *Jaganath* in Puri. (*De Queyroz* Book II - page 236).

About this great shrine the same book says: "Over that large harbour (Trincomalee) there juts out from the land into the sea a rock on which the Kings of Ceylon erected three pagodes two at the extremities of the hill overhanging the sea and one in the middle and the highest point which was the principal one and one of the most venerated in India". (De Queyroz Book I - page 66).

Constantine de Sa in 1624 demolished the temple of a 'Thousand Columns' in order to employ its material for the building of the fort. It would have been a venerable relic of Hindu antiquity in this island had not the Portuguese destroyed it. Some of the images of this sacred edifice were taken to Thambalagam where later a temple was erected by Rajasinha II. (Konasala Puranam).

Thanks to Mike Wilson and Rodney Jonklaas, two great underwater explorers who discovered the ruined temple below the sea, the stone column that was salvaged by them might be the 'Lingam' of the old Koneswaram temple. From 1944 many images of this ancient shrine have been unearthed from different parts of the fort area. In 1950 three images of Siva, Parvati and Chandrasegaram came to light just in time to satisfy the long felt yearning of Ceylon Saivites to rebuild the historic temple. This, in brief, is the story of the temple.

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In Retrospect

FP Protest Meeting

FP & TC

Bandaranaike Day

Great Leap Forward

Miracle Paddy

THE PAST WEEK was a relatively uneventful one. The daily papers had nothing of particular importance to report on the governmental front, except to keep in focus the Koneswaram Temple protest meeting called by the Federal Party.

From reports, it would appear that the meeting held by Hindus at Trincomalee calling upon the National Government to declare the Koneswaram Hindu Temple a sacred area was a spectacular one. The *Times of Ceylon* group of newspapers, which gave prominence to this meeting quoted the ex-Minister of Local Government, Senator M. Tiruchelvam as saying, "Let bygones be bygones. I request the Prime Minister to forget whatever happened in the recent past and declare the Koneswaram Temple a sacred area."

Mr. A. Amirthalingam, MP for Vaddukoddai and General Secretary of the Federal Party, said that for two thousand five hundred years the temple had been an important place of worship for the Hindus. The army, which the Prime Minister had claimed to be important at Trincomalee, had moved in only eleven years ago. He could see no reason why the Prime Minister did not declare the area a sacred area. The *Times of Ceylon* reported that Pandit K. Saravanamuttu, who presided, warned the speakers not to make their speeches political. The report also said that Mr. M. Sivasithamparan and Mr. T. Sivasithamparan, who are members of the Tamil Congress and who

arrived for the meeting at Trincomalee, did not participate and the former had told the paper that he refused to be gagged and claimed that the speeches made by the speakers of the Federal Party were political.

The *Times Weekender* of 29/9 reported that a large number of CID Special Branch men had arrived in Trincomalee in the wake of rumours that there might be a breach of the peace, and that there was a strong rumour current that a bana preaching ceremony would be held to coincide with the meeting of the Hindus. The report also said that slogans had been scrawled on the walls of the town to provoke communal disharmony and that those writings had been found immediately below the posters announcing the protest meeting. Of course, at the time of writing of these notes no untoward incidents had so far been reported.

IT SEEMS hardly likely that the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party will ever see eye to eye in spite of all attempts to bring about unity between the two parties by leading Tamils residing in Colombo. Mr S. J. V. Chelvanayakam laid to rest speculation that the Federal Party would give up its call for Federalism. Speaking at a public meeting held at Kondavil to commemorate the Vanniasingham Day, Mr. Chelvanayakam declared that the party would never join those who opposed Federalism. He said that the Tamil speaking people wished to live in this country as free citizens

with their due rights. They could live with self-respect and as free citizens only under a Federal set-up. The Party would not drop this demand and would not hesitate to continue its battle.

At the same meeting Mr. Amirthalingam did not spare Mr. Ponnambalam. He said that the unity move of Mr. Ponnambalam was yet another political stunt. The attempts of certain persons belonging to the Tamil Congress to bring together both parties was to help Mr. Ponnambalam to create confusion in the minds of the people and to win votes. Mr. Ponnambalam's main idea in trying to unite the Tamils under one banner was not to achieve unity among minorities but to assure himself of a place in the House of Representatives. He said that Mr. Ponnambalam, who had been trying to wipe out the Federal Party from the political scene for the past twenty years, had failed and had now come to join the very people who advocated federalism to give up the policy of federalism. How could two persons travelling in opposite directions go together, he asked. If Mr. Ponnambalam was sincere in his attempts to achieve Tamil unity they would gladly welcome him if he would join the Federal Party and work for the freedom of the Tamils.

THIS year's Bandaranaike Commemoration Day — the fourth to be celebrated after the National Government of Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake took office in March, 1965, was totally different from the others for the reason, as the *Sun* reported, that the Government in a gesture of magnanimity to a rival political party and spontaneous homage to the memory of a great national leader, had directed its Film Unit to show the film "*The Last Journey*" to be screened at the Town Hall and at no cost to the organisers. Why the National Government went all out to be magnanimous to its bitter rival is something that has even puzzled the most ardent supporters of the United National Party.

The *Observer* of 25/9 sang the litany of praises of the performance of the National Government on the economic front. It reported that Ceylon had taken a great leap forward in its economy this year and said that according to the estimate of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, the country's rate of economic growth had shot up to six to eight percent — the highest rate of growth achieved by Ceylon. The paper quoted the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Planning, Dr. Gamini Corea, who said that the rate of economic growth earlier was determined mostly by tea, rubber and coconut production in this country, but it was now going through a new experience and for the first time there has been a sizeable increase in production outside the traditional crops. It also quoted Dr. Corea as saying that in most developing countries of the world the average rate of economic growth was between one percent and eight percent, but it was very rarely that the rate shot up to around six to eight percent and Ceylon was one of the few countries to have achieved this high growth rate. The strange irony of the claim by the Ministry of Planning is that the country does not appear to have felt the great leap forward up to now.

Two days later the same paper reported that the price of dried chillies in the open market had plunged from Rs. 8 per pound to Rs. 3.25 and Rs. 2.70 and that the drop had been due to increased production locally and a smooth flow of dried chillies from abroad. But consumers who have experience of the open market have yet to feel the effects of a price drop since a pound of dried chillies in the open market is still around Rs. 5 per pound.

THE MIRACLE PADDY over which there has been a great controversy, is very much in the news today. The *Daily News* of 27/9 reported that the gap between rice production and self-sufficiency would be achieved with the cultivation of nearly thirteen thousand acres of dry zone fields with the IR 8 next month when the Maha season

begins. Researchers have, however, cautioned the Government that the sowing of the miracle paddy should be confined to the Dry Zone because of the danger of disease if it is cultivated in the waterlogged or marshy areas. Earlier reports indicated that this paddy had been grown in non dry zone areas and that it was strongly susceptible to disease. Although the cultivation will be confined only to the dry zone areas, what guarantee has the Government that this paddy that will be distributed to farmers will not find its way into the hands of those in the non dry zone areas?

In Washington where the Minister of Finance, Mr. U. B. Wanninayake, is attending the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, predicted that Ceylon would be growing all the rice it needed in the 1970s, but at the same time he noted that if Ceylon's present population growth rate was unchecked and there was not a corresponding increase in production, the situation could be disastrous.

KAUTILIYA

MAHESH YOGI WARNS BEATLES

Sydney, Sept.

Maharshi Mahesh Yogi, the Beatles' former friend and spiritual adviser, warned here on Sunday: "The Beatles will make a disaster of their lives if they stop meditation". He said the Beatles had not become disenchanted with him but with "their own weakness". The Maharshi flew into Sydney on Sunday for what is expected to be one of his last trips abroad. He said his time in the outside world was almost finished and he would be retiring to meditate at the end of the year.

History

THE CHINESE INTELLECTUALS' ATTACHMENT TO MARXISM — LENINISM BETWEEN 1917 AND 1949

by Kantha Retnam

We are publishing this article in two instalments. The concluding instalment will be published in Tribune of 13-10-68.

Not all Chinese intellectuals were enamoured of Marxism-Leninism. (North, Robert C., *Chinese Communism*, London, World University Library, 1966, page 193.) There were many who had pursued studies in Europe or in the United States of America; others who had not been fortunate to gain knowledge in the Western democracies had had their education in missionary educational institutions in China. Among all these categories of people, Western influences largely prevailed. A majority of them had no knowledge of Marxism-Leninism; several there were with animosity towards it. Still, it cannot be denied that Marxism-Leninism proved attractive to large numbers of intellectuals during the period 1917-48. Not all of them, however, had had contact with Western influences. Even among those whose views had been moulded by their democratic training, lack of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism was no impediment to their growing attachment to it. Marxism-Leninism was placed in favourable light by a variety of factors. But it must be emphasised that the swing to Marxism-Leninism was not due entirely to the conditions prevalent during the period under review; some of the contributory factors had their beginnings even before the dawn of the twentieth century. The setbacks suffered in a bygone century too contributed to the repercussions in China long afterwards.

A FACTOR of this nature was the collapse of Chinese cultural, ethical, political, social, and econo-

mic values after the contact of the merchant, the missionary, and the intellectual from the West with China. (North, Robert C., *Moscow And Chinese Communists*, Second Edition, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1963, pages 31-33). Till about the Opium War of 1839, China had been a self-contained unit; the Chinese till that time lived in a world of their own. Their ancient civilization served their needs adequately. According to Confucian principles and practices, the Emperor of China was not merely a ruler but the Son of Heaven who mediated between heaven above and man below. No man, not even a foreigner living in another country, could secure rapprochement with heaven except through the Chinese Emperor, the Son of Heaven.

The claim to represent the interests of the non-national living abroad was made on the acknowledgement of the superiority of China over other countries. (Fairbank, J.K., and Teng, S.Y., "On the Ch'ing Tributary System" in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (June, 1941) VI, No. 4, pages 138-39 quoted in *Ibid*, pages 31-32). But when the Confucian system received crippling blows by the recognition of the merits of Western culture and ethics by the Chinese scholar, he found to his dismay that the "Son of Heaven" had forfeited his claim to plead to heaven even on behalf of his own people. He therefore sought to implant in his country the cultural and ethical concepts that were treasured in the West, for he felt that China had much to gain from them.

Various reform movements aimed at changing the traditional Chinese concepts like those relating to the family, woman, procreation, etc., were therefore initiated. (North,

Chinese Communism, page 26). Since Western contacts had, in addition, exposed the inadequacies of the Chinese political, economic, and social set-up, the need to transform China according to an altogether new pattern was felt. For this, the ideas of eminent men like John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, and Woodrow Wilson gave encouragement; a blue-print, however, was not available. On the other hand, the declarations of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin were capable of serving different functions; apart from the provision of an ethical framework, they constituted a plan for changing the political, economic, and social structure of the country. To these Marxist-Leninist declarations, Chinese intellectuals increasingly turned.

ANOTHER FACTOR that served to draw them close to Marxism-Leninism was the virtual transformation of China from a tribute receiving state into a tributary of the Western countries. (North, *Moscow And Chinese Communists*, page 32.) At some time or another over several hundreds of years, she had been given tribute by Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Siam, Korea, the Ryukyu Islands, and the Sulu Islands. Whether the material benefits conferred on the Chinese Emperor by the Western countries are labelled "tribute" or "gifts" necessary to induce him into granting them concessions in his country, the fact remains that Chinese intellectuals had tended to look upon them as tokens of foreign submissiveness to their ruler. When, for example, the Earl of Macartney had presented himself before Emperor Ch'ien-lung in Peking in 1793 as the emissary of King George III of England in order to win trade concessions at Ningpo, Tientsin, and elsewhere, the emperor had rushed to the conclusion that the English king was acknowledging

his greatness; and the gifts that Macartney had taken to Peking had been looked upon as tribute by the Chinese bureaucrats. (*Fairbank, J. K., Reischauer, E. O., and Craig, A. M.; East Asia. The Modern Transformation, (London, Allen and Unwin,) 1965, page 77.* On that occasion, the emperor had refused to enter into import trade with "barbaric" England as all the needs of China were, he claimed, being met from within her borders. (*Fairbank, J. K., The United States And China, Revised Edition, New York, Viking Press, 1962, page 21.*)

Already the company-conducted Anglo-Chinese trade in Canton was booming, and before long, "barbaric" countries in the West were carving out economic and political spheres of influence in China, thereby making a mockery of Chinese sovereignty. To the settlements of the West established in the Chinese, cities of Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Hankow, etc., in the nineteenth century, Chinese administrative powers did not extend. (*North, Moscow And Chinese Communists, page 34.*) Foreigners in these cities and even other parts of the country were shielded from the implications of Chinese authority by the principle of extraterritoriality.

In addition, leaseholds by the Western powers became operative in parts of the country, Czarist Russia obtained lease of Port Arthur and Dairen for twenty-five years, Germany of Kiaochow for ninety-nine years, France of Kwangchowan for ninety-nine years, and Great Britain of Weihaiwei, Deep Bay, and Mirs Bay. They even extended their economic and political penetrations from the coastal areas further inland, and brought large parts of the country under their spheres of interest. The extent under Chinese influence shrank when Manchuria was looked upon as falling within the Czarist Russian sphere of interest, and Shantung province within the German. China was held more and more in economic bondage as parts of her territory were given for the construction of rail-roads and for the exploitation

of mineral wealth by Western combines. These types of exactions were made by the Western powers even during the second decade of the twentieth century. Gone were the times when these Powers were tributaries to China. The latter was now by allowing them economic and political privileges paying them tribute. It is therefore, not surprising that the dislike of her intellectuals towards the European nations and what they stood for became deeply entrenched.

AGAINST this bleak situation, the declarations of Soviet Russia to waive her claims in China created a favourable impression of her new form of government in this disgruntled class. (*Ibid, page 46.*) In July, 1918, Chicherin, the Commissar of Foreign Affairs stated that this country would give up the Czarist Russian encroachments in Manchuria, make extraterritoriality inapplicable to her subjects in China and Mongolia, cease making Czarist exactions, stop perpetuating the practice of posting military guards to the Russian consulates in China, and transfer Russian rights on the Chinese Eastern Railway to China if the latter met the expenditure incurred by his country on its construction. But the negotiations were long drawn out, and some of the offers made by Soviet Russia were not incorporated in the treaty signed in 1924. In particular, the subsequent promise to hand over the Chinese Eastern Railway to China without compensation was not honoured. The disparity between the promises made and those effected did not unduly perturb the intellectuals. They were flattered that at long last the country opposed to Western materialism was prepared to treat China on a level of equality.

Adding to their disenchantment with the European countries was the treatment of China as a pawn on the international chess-board. (*Ibid, pages 41 and 54.*) Britain agreed during the first world war to support Japanese claims to German concessions in Shantung in return for Japanese assistance in the Pacific theatre of conflict

against Germany. Subsequently France and Czarist Russia intimated to the Japanese that some of their aspirations in China could be accommodated. By the Lansing Ishii Agreement concluded in 1917 and operative till the early months of 1923, the United States of America recognised that Japan's special interests in China came about by the geographical nearness of the two Far Eastern countries.

Once hostilities commenced between Germany and Japan, the latter lost no time in seizing Kiaochow, disregarding Chinese neutrality in the course of the seizure. As Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle, she had no intention to distract an ally from her war effort just for the sake of honouring the neutrality of China. And the United States of America was, despite the appeal to her, unwilling to do what Britain had not done. Before long, Japan exercised jurisdiction over the whole province of Shantung. When she, intent on extending her power to the other parts of the country, made the twenty-one demands, the European official protests were not forcefully expressed. Furthermore the Western prime-movers at the Peace Conference of Versailles refused to heed the plea for the restoration of German privileges in the Shantung province to the central government; they wriggled out of their predicament by stating that it ought to be addressed to the League of Nations. In all these happenings, the intellectuals did not fail to note that Chinese reliance on the European Powers did not benefit their country in any way.

IF the material West had given economic assistance to China at the time it was urgently needed to set the country on the road to stability, the disillusionment with capitalism might not have been complete. (*Ibid, page 33.*) But unfortunately, the era of aid to developing nations had not dawned. At the time when the European states had been accorded privileges, the construction of rail-roads and the undertaking of other develop-

ment works were desired. But the Ch'ing dynasty found to its chagrin that assistance if sought from those countries would make them clamour for additional privileges. After the fall of this dynasty, Sun Yet-sen endeavoured to get Western aid.

But his attempts proved unrewarding. In fairness to the capitalist nations it must be stated that it was not possible for them during the early stages of the appeal for aid to decide whether Yuan Shih-K'ai and his Northern successors or the relatively weak Kuomintang in the South under Sun Yet-san constituted the lawful government of the country. To cause confusion in later years was the knowledge that Mao-tse-tung, before embracing communism had professed ideas synthesizing Western democratic liberalism and theoretically perfect socialism. It was, therefore, easy for the Western nations to be carried away by the deceptive view that he was nothing more than an agrarian reformer.

Sun Yet-sen who had taken upon himself the task of building the economy and parliamentary institutions of China was full of lofty ideals. But he had no specific plan for gaining his objectives. Even his foreign-educated supporters had no plan for translating the thoughts they had grasped abroad into practice; to his other supporters who were members of secret societies, Western ideas had no special significance. The non-availability of a plan was not, however, a serious drawback as he expected guidance in addition to financial assistance from Britain and the United States of America.

But most of the people there believed that the transformation of China on the Western politico-economic model was either unnecessary or impossible. But in denying her the benefits of advanced Western technology through aid, the United States of America and the other countries of the West drove her intellectuals deep into Marxism-

Leninism. When Sun Yet-sen enlisted Soviet Russia's aid, there was a favourable response, (*North Chinese Communism, Page 171*).

To be concluded

American Presidential Elections

Democrats Face Bleak November

by **Aswini K. Ray**

THE tumultuous scenes which culminated in the nomination of 57-year-old Minnesotan, one time druggist and Mayor of Minneapolis, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, for the Democratic Presidential candidature will go down in history as the end of the era of Democratic supremacy. The era began in 1932, ironically in Chicago, when the Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt. FDR's personal popularity threatened the running theme of the Jeffersonian Republic in a way which compelled a constitutional amendment debarring a third term for any President after FDR's death in his fourth term.

Since then the Democrats had uninterrupted supremacy in US politics except for the eight Eisenhower years when in any case, Lyndon Johnson continued to be the leader of the Senate majority party.

This year promises to break the monotony in U S politics. Humphrey and his running mate Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine seem the type of combination cut out for disastrous defeat in the November election—which incidentally promises to be the Cartoonists' delight with Nixon and Humphrey pitted against each other.

It seems now that the Republicans, by nominating Nixon, have done more for the Democrats

than the Democrats have done to help themselves at Chicago. For one thing, Nixon by his two earlier defeats has built up the image of a game loser whom the Americans like without supporting. He was the one among the GOP candidates whom all the Democratic candidates wished to fight against.

But Humphrey, more than any other Democrat, partly because of his association with the present administration and party because of his own pursuit of the "politics of joy" has been identified as the chief villain of the policies of the Johnson administration, next to its architect. He has little chance of survival in a country with a growing number of Vietnams and Black Power "nihilists". The 'doves' in the Democratic camp accuse him of representing the odious hard line of Johnson's Vietnam policy; segregationists like Georgia Governor Maddox identify him with the administrative blessings for the Civil Rights movement: the Republicans accuse him of having appeased the Black Power "nihilists" and of supporting the Communists.

BUT Humphrey's credentials and antecedents hardly justify such accusations. As party boss and Mayor he purged the Minneapolis Democratic Party of Communists and their sympathisers; he sponsored the legislation in 1954 banning the Communist Party at home and has been an ardent advocate of the cold war policy of containing Communism abroad: he advocated "law and order" and said that "America needs stability with a sense of social progress" when President he has promised "to help draw that line" between Democracy and nihilism, because "you cannot have anarchy and have democracy. You cannot have nihilism in this country a repudiation of all government."

One of Humphrey's major weakness is his tongue which bears comparison with the 1964 GOP

nominee "Goldie". One of his close friends has remarked that "Hubert has been clocked at 275 words a minute, with gusto up to 340."

Not all political accusations are always fair; neither are political protestations in US politics. In any case, Humphrey has his liberal share of unfair advantage received from the administration and party bosses over his party rivals at Chicago.

Firstly, the absence of President Johnson from the Windy City helped Humphrey in limiting the anti-war, anti-administration demonstrations of 15,000 youths from all ranks in front of the Conrad Hilton which included Hippies, Yippies, priests, Poor people, Blacks led by Gene Genet, the French playwright, Allen Ginsberg the poet William Burroughs the novelist, Terry Southern the author. With LBJ in Chicago Mayor Daley would have had to break many more heads, including those of many more newsmen, to save the Convention and the reputation of the administration.

But Johnson was not quite non-committal. While the pro-administration camp, consisting of delegates from Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas, were fighting it out with the anti-administration bloc consisting of California, New York, Georgia, Massachusetts and Michigan inside the convention hall; 'grandpa' LBJ, while blowing out the 60th candle from atop his birthday cake at his daughter Luci's home at Austin, expressed the hope that the convention would endorse a candidate and platform not "too divergent" from his own views on Vietnam. The intervention was decisively in favour of Humphrey. Soon afterwards Johnson applauded Humphrey's nomination and called upon the party to "unite behind him and move forward to victory in the election".

EVEN a message from the U S Commander in Vietnam, General Creighton W. Abrams, was circulated to promote the Humphrey candidature. The General was reported to have said, replying to a question, that additional casualties would result if the US stopped bombing North Vietnam unconditionally and that the North would be able to increase its military capacity in the South five-fold.

Humphrey's programme naturally has not satisfied the Democratic 'doves', particularly his two party rivals Senator McCarthy and Senator McGovern. Maddox left Chicago announcing his intention to work against Humphreys; McGovern, though unreconciled, made up later on with Humphrey because of long-standing friendship rather than in acceptance of his policies. But Senator McCarthy still remains unreconciled to his defeat and leads the Democratic detractors against Humphrey.

After the election McCarthy said about Nixon and Humphrey; "I will not endorse either of them". He said he had set out to encourage people to "make a judgment" against the war in Vietnam and "we did accomplish that" but "the judgment could not be put through the procedures of politics in 1968". But he announced his future plans about the way he seeks to elicit public support for his anti-Vietnam plank. This plan was apparent in his statements in two different contexts. When he visited a bandaged youth, victim of police atrocities 23 floors below Humphrey's suite in the Conrad Hilton, the young man asked McCarthy what it all meant. McCarthy replied: "It's the way the movement will go on from here". He said in another context U.S. Senate being able to "save the world" but "with ten more Senators, we'll determine the foreign policy of this country with either Humphrey or Nixon in the White House".

In other words, his group does not rule out any form of dissent.

The Democrats as a house divided in contrast to the Republicans who after the Miami Beach convention present a nearly unified front. Of course there can be little to divide members of a party long out of power.

Nixon, being a shrewder politician than 'Goldie' in 1964, is likely to take advantage of the new illiberal "white backlash" raging in the country alongside increasing prosperity and increasing city violence LBJ who for Humphrey was such an asset in the party convention may prove the biggest liability for the Democratic party in the national election.

There are only two ways now left for LBJ to help his party's tenancy in the White House. He can either dissociate himself completely from Humphrey or announce unilateral bombing halt in Vietnam. The first course would still leave a large credibility gap, the second would satisfy his earlier protestations.

From now to November the election results will be determined by Johnson more than anyone else. With his known predilection for historicity he may find ways to make the Democratic Party appear coterminous with the "future of humanity" and the "credibility of American guarantee".

Otherwise November may bring a bleak harvest for the Democrats, a far cry from the hopes a few months back when the indefatigable Bobby Kennedy by a barnstorming campaign worked up a nation-wide "Kennedymania". The assassin's bullets at California eliminated not only a powerful American liberal but the only possible winner in a discredited party.

The European Scene

NATO POWERS REASSESS THEIR STRATEGIC PLANS AGAINST NORMALISATION

by Ziaul Haq

THE CZECHOSLOVAK developments are making the Western powers take a fresh look at their strategic plans.

Despite all the propagandist talk being so loudly carried on with systematic though hidden coordination by publicists of Peking as well as of the West about a mythical secret US-Soviet understanding and a so-called collusion between the "super-powers" the reality of the imperialist camp's aggressive designs against the socialist world and the need recently arisen for their revision can in no way be covered up. Screaming headlines in Western papers announce it. "Nato Forced to Reassess Its Defences", proclaims a UPI report. 'European Policy is Under Review at White House', says a banner headline in the *NY Herald Tribune* (Paris edn., September 5).

It needs no emphasising that the nature of these policies, whether they are sought to be camouflaged behind terms like 'defence' or 'detente' has always been aggressive. The search and striving has always been to make these policies effective and successful under the conditions existing at the given time.

The same search and striving is being carried on now, under conditions heralded by the Czechoslovak developments.

President Johnson has held long sessions of his National Security Council; he has reviewed the whole situation with the Director of the CIA, Richard Helms, and with the head of the foreign intelligence advisory board, General Maxwell Taylor (of the Vietnam war fame). The Defence Secretary Clark Clifford revived the late

John Foster Dulles's phrase of dealing with USSR "from a position of strength".

Another Western capital humming (and hawing) with equal if not greater activity over this affair is Bonn where everybody who is anybody is agog with anger and excitement. Chancellor Kiesinger is in constant consultation not only with his cabinet colleagues and policy advisers, but also with US Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge (again of the Vietnam war fame).

At a meeting with the latter, Kiesinger, according to the *New York Herald Tribune* report cited above, "stressed the seriousness with which his government views the Soviet presence in Czechoslovakia".

In Brussels, we are told, the NATO "Defence Planning Committee" has been engaged all this while in reassessing "the strength and deployment of its military forces in Europe"—besides other connected and relevant matters! It has already held seven emergency meetings on the issue.

SOMETHING HAS GONE SERIOUSLY WRONG with NATO's strategic plans. Behind the noisiest ever denunciatory propaganda campaign unleashed by imperialist agencies against the Soviet Union at this juncture, it is this failure of certain neatly laid plans of theirs, and frustration of certain hopes, that send them into paroxysms of rage and fury.

Some light on these frustrated plans of the imperialist camp against the socialist countries is thrown by an article appearing in last week's *New Statesman* of

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London—currently an intensely anti-Soviet journal. Dealing with West German reactions to the entry of Soviet and allied troops into Czechoslovakia, the article (by Sebastian Haffner), wittingly or unwittingly, hits the nail on the head as far as one major casualty in the recent developments is concerned. The article says:

"The West Germans—this is not new but it always needs recalling—have never accepted their defeat, and the one constant factor in their policy during the last 20 years has been the fixed aim to undo the results of the Second World War in the East. What has varied is the means with which this aim has been pursued. In Adenauer's time, West German hopes were pinned on the Cold War, on the Western alliance, and on superior Western strength. Since the end of the Cold War, first Schroeder and then Brandt, have developed the conception of the 'New Eastern Policy'. This policy is certainly different from Adenauer's, but the difference lies in method, not in aim. The aims remain unchanged; it makes no practical difference whether Erhard starkly stated that it was the restoration of the German Reich along the frontiers of 1937 or whether Kiesinger elegantly circumscribes it "as overcoming the *status quo*."

It was these plans for "overcoming the *status quo*" in Eastern Europe that had received a very serious setback. As the West Berlin CDU paper *Der Abend* wrote two days later: "The last hour has struck for the (West) German New Eastern Policy..... Foreign Minister Brandt is faced with a pile of ruins".

WHILE ENGAGED IN REASSESSMENT of their long-term plans the Western imperialist powers are currently over-busy trying their very hardest to see that the Moscow agreement between the Czechoslovaks and the Soviets is wrecked.

Writes Haffner in the same article:

"Since Dubcek concluded the Moscow Agreement — (West) German sympathies for him have cooled again. He is now, so to speak, on probation in (West) Germany. There is still readiness to accord him the role of the good soldier Schweik; but the term 'quisling' is also in the air. What is certain is that the news media in West Germany have done their best since the Moscow confrontation to make fresh trouble between Dubcek and the Russians. While Dubcek and his associates have been imploring their countrymen to bow to the inevitable and practise self-restraint the West German press, radio and television have gone to great lengths to encourage further resistance in Czechoslovakia and embroil the Czech government in it, not even refraining from inventions — e.g., the allegation that the Czech premier Cernik has called for 'a mass emigration of the best brains'. This canard was put out not only by the Springer press — which throughout behaved in the predictable manner — but by the most respectable (West) German media."

We can imagine very well what all these very respectable West German and other Western media must have done earlier to the Czechoslovaks and what all they must still be trying to do.

One instance of this has appeared even in the columns of an Indian paper — the very respectable *National Herald*. Cecil Parrot, British Ambassador in Prague from 1960 to 1966, who again graced that beautiful city with his highly dubious presence for several weeks in July-August 1968, writes in an article reproduced so obligingly by the *National Herald* offering gratuitous advice to the Czech leadership that it should in no case abide by or implement the Moscow Agreement.

HE SUGGESTS AND UNDERTAKES himself to run a campaign, inside and outside Czechoslovakia,

against the Moscow Agreement. If that Agreement is implemented, this self-appointed friend and well-wisher of "the unfortunate people of Czechoslovakia", tells them they "will be sent back behind the Iron Curtain from which they extricated themselves some eight months ago (sic!) by their eminent courage and wisdom. *At all costs this must not be permitted to happen*", (*Emphasis added*).

For this hardboiled imperialist Czechoslovakia had already left the socialist camp as long ago as in January 1968 ! In any case the fact that it is somehow still there is one that he can never accept. "At all costs this must not be permitted to happen" ! Memorable words these. Surely the Czechoslovaks shall never forget them.

"Normalisation" — a word and a process that the imperialists hate so much in relation to Czechoslovakia these days — is proceeding apace, despite all difficulties and complications, and some reflection of it is found even in the blue-blooded Tory press. For example, a despatch in the London *Observer* of September 8 from its Prague correspondent admits that the struggle for normalisation is being waged not by Russians, "who do not intervene these days", but by the Czechoslovaks themselves.

The leading part in this in Slovakia, says the *Observer* correspondent, is played by Gustav Husak, a member of the team that negotiated the Moscow Agreement and recently elected first secretary of the CP of Slovakia. Describing him as "boldly optimistic", the correspondent recalls how Husak assured a "frightened population" that nobody had been arrested.

Husak is quoted as saying, "there was no terror by the KGB. We have guarantees that no foreign power will interfere in our internal affairs. Nobody intends to carry out persecutions or arrests."

Husak, goes on the correspondent, denied that "freedom and

democracy were illusions now. Democratisation would go on, Husak insisted, 'although we must impose some restrictions on ourselves'.

"Now Husak is throwing himself into making the 'compromise' (Moscow Agreement) work... He is trying to make the 'compromise' a positive policy... His confidence and forcefulness are infectious... His little country is behind him.."

This is what the *National Herald*, Cecil Parrot, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Richard Helms *et al*, fear and hate so much — the Moscow Agreement as a positive policy, its implementation and its success. Fortunately, for the peoples of the world, it is not they who will decide the future.

U. S. MAY SHUT DOWN MANY BASES

Washington

The U. S. Army is considering shutting down a number of anti-bomber missile batteries as an economy measure, U.S. Defence Department sources say. Built at a cost of millions of dollars, some bases have been operating for the last 10 years or so. The proposed action reflects the pressure the services are now under to effect spending cuts ordered by Congress in exchange for passage of President Johnson's 10 per cent income surtax. The U.S. navy already has gone on the financial chopping block, laying up 50 ships, including a nuclear submarine and a flock of World War II support vessels and de-activating eight air squadrons to save an estimated \$118 million. The Army was hit earlier with a Defence Department decision to save \$125 million by not activating the 6th Infantry Division at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky, as originally planned.

Why Paul VI visited Colombia ?

POPE ANXIOUS ABOUT DIFFERENCES WITHIN CLERGY IN LATIN AMERICA

Pope Paul's visit to Colombia from August 22 to 24 includes in addition to other aims — the Pontiff's participation in the 39th International Eucharistic Congress and the opening of the 2nd Conference of the Latin American Episcopal Council on August 24. The bishops' conference was held under the auspices of the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM), with headquarters in Bogota. CELAM was founded in 1955 under the sponsorship of Pope Pius XII in an effort to centralize the action of the Catholic Church in this part of the world.

IN LINE with recommendations made by Pius XII, the first President of CELAM was Cardinal Jaime de Barros, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, well-known for his conservative thinking. Later, under the influence of the reformist tendencies of John XXIII and Paul VI, the leaders of CELAM have been changed, and today the top position is held by the Archbishop of Teresina, Brazil, Avelar Brando.

The first Latin American Episcopal Conference was held at Mar del Plata, Argentina, in October, 1966. The second Conference — called by the Pope as a special assembly — will debate the question "The Church in the present transformation of Latin America, in the light of the 2nd Vatican Ecumenical Council". The discussion of this will make it possible to bring out the various tendencies which exist in the Catholic Church in Latin America today.

Among the clergy of Latin America there are some priests who act in accordance with the ideas and the example of the guerilla priest Camilo Torres. Others who take a diametrically opposite position, and some groups which have taken middle-of-the-road stands.

All these varying points of view were the topics discussed in the debates of the Episcopal Conference. These debates centered around a document prepared under the direction of Monsignor Avelar Brandao himself, although it was drawn up by a CELAM committee.

This document included an analysis of the following aspects of the Latin American situation: (1) The demographic growth; (2) The economic situation of the continent, with special attention given to the low wages in Latin America as compared with those in the United States and Europe; (3) The social situation as a direct result of the economic situation and (4) The Latin American political systems, with emphasis on the fact that the governments of this continent are characterized by varying types of oligarchies and that in many countries the military play a decisive political role.

The CELAM document also included three points which can be summarized as follows:- (1) That the Latin American man has discovered that he is not destined to live in a state of underdevelopment and social injustice forever and that he will, if need be, resort to violent means to change these conditions.

(2) That in many parts of the continent a revolutionary attitude exists and that this stand calls for bold, sweeping, urgent and profoundly progressive changes. (3) That the Church is not surprised by the existence of trouble areas in Latin America resulting from the abuse of the dignity of man. "What is surprising", the document points out, "is the patience of the people, who have for so many centuries tolerated a situation hardly acceptable to those who have any true awareness of what human rights

This document has been discussed in conferences held by the national dioceses. These discussions have already revealed the diversity of opinion which exists among the clergy in various nations and even within a single nation. The Argentine ecclesiastical hierarchy has expressed complete opposition to the CELAM document, according to a report in *Panorama* magazine. According to this source, of the 66 bishops in Argentina, only 4 or 5 have progressive ideas.

THE Ecuadoran conference — which was expected to take a stand similar to that of the Argentine clergy—surprised everyone by making a statement pointing out that the country had no hope of emerging from underdevelopment without a "profound, accelerated and planned change, in every sense of the structure of our society".

The Colombian diocese is expected to strongly oppose, if not categorically condemn, the contents of the document. In the case of Colombia, it is worth recalling that measures taken last March by the Archbishop of Manizales against eight priests with progressive ideas resulted in their being separated from their parishes and severely censured, while Father Manuel Alzates' book in defence of Camilo Torres resulted in the Archbishop's disowning the views expressed in the book.

In Uruguay the Catholic hierarchy recognizes existing evils, although it speaks of avoiding violence and seeking peaceful solutions.

Bishops and priests in Chile, in a pastoral letter entitled "Chile, the Will to Exist", stated that violence "is not always unjust", but that the use of violence is "morally justifiable and historically fruitful only in the case of having intelligently attempted to reach a solution by all other means."

Last March in Peru 50 priests published a manifesto in which they criticized the injustice which prevails in that country, accusing

the ruling classes of dishonesty, calling for a change in the situation and stating that their lives are at the service of social justice.

In May, 80 priests in Bolivia sent an open letter to the ecclesiastical hierarchy protesting its inability to understand that the people's clamour for justice is the cause which has been taken up by the guerrillas in that country.

Divergent views within the Latin American Church have been particularly in evidence in Brazil. There the situation has reached such a point that the military courts have demanded that 12 Franciscan priests be tried, accusing them of having allowed a clandestine student congress to take place.

MEANWHILE, a reactionary Catholic organization—the Brazilian Society for the Defence of Tradition, the Family and Property — launched a large-scale campaign against “communist infiltration in the Church”, making accusations against Monsignor Helder Camara and Father Joseph Comblin. *O. Play*, a Brazilian daily, reported that Helder Camara stated, in answer to accusations of subversion made against him, that, “The present situation in this continent is subversive”.

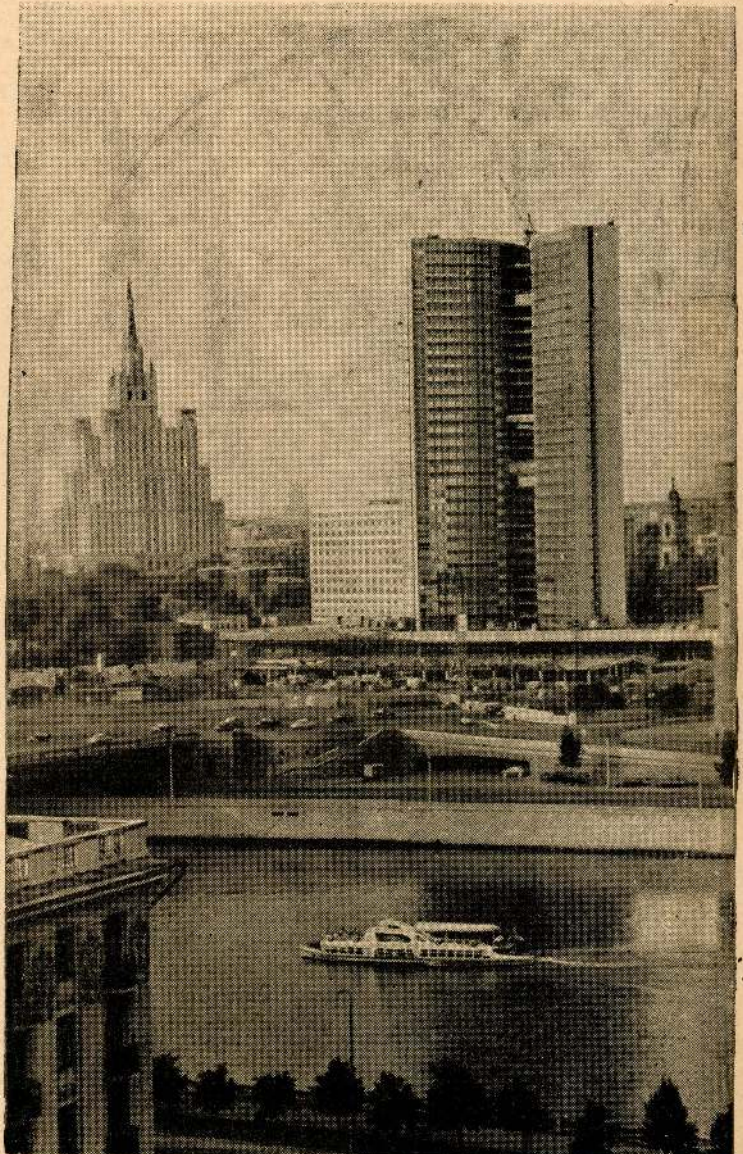
The Brazilian episcopal conference—held from July 15 to 20 with 3 cardinals and 220 bishops and archbishops attending — attempted to clarify the position of the Church in regard to that country's present situation. The few excerpts released to the press reveal little of what took place at the sessions of the conference — held in secret — but it is clear that the hierarchy favors structural reforms “within a framework of nonconformism and non violence”.

At this conference two archbishops called for the annulment of a document drawn up by Father Joseph Comblin in which he stated that the structural changes could only be brought about through a revolution such as that in Cuba.

The Brazilian episcopal conference also received a manifesto from 350 priests — from four of the major Brazilian states — in which they expressed their support for reforms within the Church. Twenty other priests asked the conference to fight for the distribution of land and an agrarian reform, so as to save the nation.

The highly controversial nature of the whole situation within the very heart of the Latin American Church is one of the reasons for the Pope's visit to Colombia, and especially for his decision to make the opening speech of the 2nd CELAM Conference on August 24.

PRENSA LATINA



Introductory Review Of New Book On

WHAT HAPPENED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA ? NEW METHODS OF "QUIET COUNTER-REVOLUTION"

THIS QUESTION, is now troubling millions of people all over the world. Unfortunately, the forces of world reaction, which have used the events of the last eight or nine months in Czechoslovakia to launch an unprecedented campaign of misinformation and slander, managed to confuse many people, including even some honest and sincere supporters of socialism.

For this reason the publication of the book *On the Events in Czechoslovakia. Facts, Documents, Testimonies of the Press and Eyewitnesses* (Issue 1), prepared by a group of Soviet journalists, is a very timely and important undertaking. The book has been published in Moscow in a mass edition in Russian. In the next few days it will be published in English, French, Spanish, German, Czech, Slovak and a number of other languages.

The compilers of the book—journalists who followed hot on the heels of the events—have presented a convincing picture which discloses the genuine meaning of what had happened.

The short forward, addressed to the readers, stresses that the facts and testimonies collected in the book are "only a small handful of all the covert activities of the anti-socialist forces, only the top of that 'iceberg of counter-revolution', under whose cold slab the imperialists wanted to bury socialism in Czechoslovakia". The tactics of the so-called "quiet counter-revolution" was the specific feature of the events in Czechoslovakia which distinguishes them from, let's say, the counter-revolutionary revolt of 1956 in Hungary. At the present stage of historic development when socialism has turned into a world system, and when the might of imperialism has been seriously undermined, international reaction has no opportunity of implementing

its plans for "rolling back", let alone of "liquidating", socialism by means of armed intervention in the affairs of socialist countries. *Because of that anti-communism is compelled to resort to new tactics.* As the events in Czechoslovakia show, the reactionary, anti-socialist forces have started to use the forms of "quiet" or "peaceful" struggle (in the first stage) against the socialist system.

Hiding their counter-revolutionary plans and playing on the loyalty of the masses of the people to the socialist cause, the enemies of socialism assured everybody that they were not fighting against socialism in general, but against "bad" socialism, and for "good" socialism. But as the facts show they call the genuine, real socialism "bad" and the right-wing reformed, so-called democratic socialism, which in real life means the return to the bourgeois system, the "good" kind.

"These tactics", the book stresses, "where conducted in Czechoslovakia with some success, because of certain conditions. Considerable masses of the population inside the country were taken in by the demagogic bourgeois-nationalistic slogans. And it was precisely that which created the real danger... Unfortunately, there were quite a few people, including Communists in the fraternal Parties, who also failed to understand the new methods of counter-revolution, believed the declarations on the 'democratisation' of socialism, and did not analyse the real activities of those who strove — under the smoke screen of the talk about 'improvement' of the socialist system — for its liquidation".

Several chapters of the book are devoted to showing how the enemies of socialism, playing on the slogan of "freedom of speech", and demagogically utilising the effort

of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia aimed at rectifying certain errors in socialist construction which occurred in the past, tried to, denigrate the achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia in the last 20 years and undermine the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The book tells how the anti-national forces, which were acting under the flags of various "clubs" and other reactionary organisation, were preparing to seize power and overthrow the socialist system.

THE CHAPTER "The Counter-Revolutionary Underground Drops Its Mask", gives a convincing picture of how the collusion of the anti-socialist forces against people's power in Czechoslovakia was prepared thoroughly and well in advance, with the direct support of international reaction. Considerable space is given to facts and testimonies which reveal the genuine picture of support given to the counter-revolution by the forces of international imperialism — from the prolonged "psychological brainwashing" of certain unstable strata of the population with the help of sophisticated anti-socialist propaganda, right up to the district financing of the reactionary 'clubs' secret deliveries of arms organisation of underground radio stations, etc.

Under the same heading we should list the feverish activities of West German revenge-seekers, the behind the scenes manoeuvres of the NATO staff, the utilisation of the flow of foreign tourists, especially those from West Germany, for sending counter-revolutionary agents, spies and subversive agents into Czechoslovakia.

All these activities of the most aggressive forces of international reaction, which were supported by the military and intelligence apparatus of NATO, were directed towards snatching Czechoslovakia out of the socialist community, taking her out from under the defensive shield of the Warsaw Treaty and pushing her into

the camp of imperialism. The provocative hullabaloo raised by Western propaganda in connection with the so-called occupation of Czechoslovakia is intended to draw away the attention of the world public from the fiasco suffered by the plans of counter-revolution and its Western sponsors.

In the concluding chapter, "The Nation Will Not Be Duped", the compliers cite comments by various representatives of world public opinion, supporting the activities of the five socialist countries which had resolutely come out in defence of socialism. We may as well quote here the Bulgarian newspaper *Zemedelsko Zamy*a which as it were, sums up the entire book.

"The facts are piling up day by day. The false excitement is subsiding and the philistine tears are drying up. The lies and the slander will peter out and only the truth will be left on the soil of Czechoslovakia. And nothing else but this truth alone will now, and in the days and months to come, be the sole correct criterion of the rightness of our position."

S. ALEXEYEV

Zond-5

U.S.S.R. ONE STEP NEARER MANNED FLIGHT TO THE MOON

The automatic space station "Zond-5" was launched by the Soviet Union on September 15th, 1968. After a seven day flight along an Earth-Moon-Earth route the station returned to the Earth. For the first time in history, a Soviet spacecraft has flown around the Moon and successfully returned to the Earth at a speed of about 11,000 m. per second, bringing with it a large amount of scientific data.

At 18.54 hours Moscow time, on September 21st, 1968, the automatic space station re-entered the Earth's atmosphere at a velocity of about 11,000 metres per second, and at 19.08 hours made a splash landing in a predetermined area of the Indian Ocean. The splash-down took place at a point 32°33' South 65°33' East. The flight of the station in the atmosphere in the section of aerodynamic drag proceeded on a ballistic trajectory. After the aerodynamic braking the station was parachuted down. The automatic station with its scientific instruments was taken on board a Soviet vessel of the search and rescue service on September 22nd.

During its flight the "Zond-5" automatic station performed the following operations: (1) The flight around the Moon; (2) the exploration of the space area around the Moon; (3) the return to the Earth at a velocity of about 11,000 m. per second and a soft landing in the predetermined area. During the flight the station's systems and aggregates for manoeuvring on the trajectory and for returning to the Earth were tested. Flight control systems of the station and the radio-engineering means for measuring the parameters of its trajectory ensured the successful execution of the programme.

The outer space research programme and that of the integrated

testing of the systems and aggregates on board the "Zond-5" automatic station were carried out in full. The successful flight of the "Zond-5" automatic station over the Earth-Moon-Earth route, and its return to the predetermined area are an outstanding achievement of Soviet science and engineering. Another scientific-engineering problem has been solved, and broad prospects have been opened up for further research of outer space and planets of the solar system by automatic space station which bring back research data to the Earth.

—TASS



MAILBAG OF THE UNIVERSE

There are no doubts that the flight of "Zond-5" is a major new stage in the exploration of near-solar space, and is significant for the subsequent progress of cosmonautics. One of the objectives set during the preparation of the "Zond-5" launching was the field testing of all the assumptions embodied in the calculation and design of the automatic station.

The experiment is also noteworthy in that it had, for the first time, accumulated a large volume of data in the various apparatus carried by the station. Now all this information is available to scientists. This delivery of information to the Earth broadens considerably our possibilities of studying outer space. In all previous space experiments the information on the properties of outer space with the exception of the areas immediately adjacent to the Earth, was received through radio signals. In this way valuable data was obtained on the pressure,

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chemical composition and temperature of the atmosphere of Venus. All this was radioed from the Venus 4 automatic station. However, when information is transferred by radio from outer space we have to consider the annoying effect of different interferences, including those which develop in the ground receiving systems.

The theoretic research into the theory of information, made by Soviet and foreign scientists, for instance, by Academician V. Kotelnikov in the USSR and Dr. Claude Shannon in the United States, determined that the volume of information which can be transmitted by radio waves is related to the ratio of useful signals and interferences. The greater the distance covered by information, the worse is, this ratio.

Furthermore, the study at the Institute of Problems of Information Transfer (it is attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences) made it clear that basically it is possible to transmit only a certain amount of information from an automatic station which is flying away from the Earth, no matter how broad is the radio wave range. It was found that the volume of information which can be transmitted to the Earth from a cosmic station departing from the Earth is directly proportional to the power of her transmitter on the station, and inversely proportional to the velocity of the station.

From this point of view it is desirable to accumulate as much information as possible in the systems on board the station, and radio it when the station is approaching the Earth, or as was the case in the "Zond-5" experiment, that the station should deliver all the instruments, with the information, to the Earth.

I think that in future space travels to more remote areas of near-solar space, this integrated application of the means of radio communication will be widely used. Of course, this space post method

is slower than radio communication. However, the delay will be fully compensated by the volume of information received.

— Vladimir Siforov



EARTH - MOON, AND BACK

The recovery of "Zond-5" is one of the most important stages on the road to solving the problem of interplanetary flight. The recovery intact of a space vehicle after its prolonged journey to another orb in the planetary system is one of the more important problems of cosmonautics.

Spaceships and sputniks have returned to the Earth before. But only at orbital velocity. When the vehicle travels at orbital velocity (7,912 m/sec.) the temperature between the shock wave and the surface of the vehicle upon its re-entry is some 8,000° C., and when it travels at escape velocity (11,200 m/sec.) this temperature reaches 12-13,000° C.

The securing, within extremely narrow limits, of the correct inclination of the ballistic trajectory at the re-entry stage, and the implementation of special measures for the thermal protection of the vehicle, present particular difficulty. To tackle these problems it was necessary to carry out a very large volume of theoretical computations and special laboratory experiments, to evolve a theory, and to undertake special experimental research to study the movement of bodies in gas with velocities 20 times greater than the speed of sound.

The successful recovery of "Zond-5" has also shown that all the systems of automatic control have passed their exams with flying colours. Manned flight in interplanetary space will be possible only after this problem is solved in all its aspects. Soviet science has made the first step along this road.

The "Zond-5" experimental has one other aspect of supreme importance. Its recovery on the

Earth after the space flight makes it possible to analyse — directly in terrestrial conditions — the tremendous amount of information, which the station absorbed in the flight. This information cannot always be successfully studied through telemetric channels.

Soviet people feel a special pride that for the first time a most sophisticated scientific instrument has left the earth, flown around our satellite — more than 300,000 km. distant from us — and returned again to our planet.

— Evald Mustel



HOW "ZOND-5" WAS FOUND

The Soviet automatic station "Zond-5" that flew around the moon, splashed down in the Indian Ocean on September 21. Ships of the rescue service and ships of the USSR Academy of Sciences were used in the operations for discovering the station, Ivan Papanin, Chief of the Department of Sea Expeditions of the USSR Academy of Sciences told a TASS correspondent. "One of the ships, the "Borovichi" had a task to receive information from the area where the station was expected to splash down," Papanin said.

In bad weather, at night-time, when the storm was 4-5 force, the vessel used all its radio technical equipment and searchlights and sailed on the pre-set course to the station that splashed down in the area. Captain of the "Borovichi" gave the coordinates of the station to the vessels of the rescue service which sailed towards, and the apparatus was lifted on board the ship. Besides the "Borovichi" other vessels of the Academy of Sciences - the "Morzhovets", the "Nevel", the "Kegostrov", "Dolinsk" and "Cosmonaut Vladimir Komzrov" were used in observations over the "Zond-5" station.

— TASS

THE BORDERLAND — by C. V. VELUPILLAI

CHAPTER TWENTY FOUR

MENIKE'S PAST

Amaradasa boarded the slow train and took a corner seat unmindful of his fellow passengers and trans gazed vacantly at the fleeting landscape. He was puzzled at the unaccountable, undefinable vagaries of life, specially the ones that had lain shrouded in mystery.

“For the last three years I have lived right at her doorstep,” he told himself, “How blind I have been to the liaison between her and Tilikeratne? Under the facade of uninhibited relation with her many male friends she had been a sadistic maniac and ruined the life of poor Menike”. His mind shifted to Tilikeratne. If Menike and he had gone their own way why should he still evince such interest in her. Had not the wife and husband relationship ceased long ago? Had Menike made him a fool ?

Now he pieced together the answers he had given her to the many questions she had asked him about the party and subsequent events and constructed a coherent story. It unfolded the whole sequence of events from the time Sundari left for Colombo with Ravi and the telephone call he had from Tilikeratne. He felt like an utter ass. However, his sympathies went to Tilikeratne. How naive and spoiled he looked as he walked into his dispensary with Menike's picture in his hand and how like a school boy he sneaked out unable to stand up to him. Menike had fallen for this handsome dandy! She might have loved him with all her being. He felt jealous and yet sad. What a matchless pair they would have made! Often the dream of human beings turned to ashes. What hand can hold back the working of karma ?

He recalled the last episode where Sundari prevailed upon him not to quit her house at that ungodly hour of night and took him to her room. She might have spent the night in his arms. If that was so why did she put up such a desperate resistance to save herself from his violent advances? She was so beautiful, refined and disciplined in her ways towards men and yet suffered from an unnamed disease-like love that lay hidden in the depths of her body. He sat up suddenly and passed in his thoughts as if he had discovered a new kind of ailment. His trained mind probed into it for a moment. Then the Ravi incident flashed across his mind. Vividly he remembered that afternoon when he walked into her drawing room and she with Ravi, in a state of disorder staring at the wall as if she was possessed. Is the infirmity of the mind a disease, he asked himself, drifting away from what he had dignosed. What terrible disparities in God's creation.

The train drew to a halt at the little railway station and he collected his canvas and got out.

He took a cab to the village and right through the journey a thousand thoughts of Menike, Sundari and Tilike-

BRITAIN

MILKING THE STATE

Capitalist ingenuity has devised many a trick for milking the state, which ultimately of course means the taxpayer. The London *New Statesman* (Aug. 16) tells us about some more of them. Various inducements are provided in Britain to bring new industry to the country's depressed areas with their large number of unemployed. Enterprising businessmen are making a very good thing out of them. One dodge is to install new machinery at a factory in such a "development area", where it qualifies for a 45 per cent government grant, and then to move it to another factory, outside the development area. "In this way", the *New Statesman* records, "a company can re-equip itself with the state paying almost half the cost". The financial agreements in connection with retraining schemes are also neatly turned to account. Take the matter of the government paying employers for defective articles turned out during the retraining. As the *New Statesman* succinctly puts it. "since the state will pay for the defective ones, it is more profitable to produce scrap", of which a man can turn out more in the same time. A good way for his employer to make more money. The article also describes other such stratagems. And it quotes a TUC report estimating that government financial assistance to private industry is running at £ 2,000,000 a day.

ratne passed through him. They passed round him,—the pivot. They ended with the exclamation, "how strange !"

He got down near his hospital site and noted that three acres of flat land by the border of the tea estate had been cleared. The spade work was in progress under the keen eye of Muthu Bandara. He walked round making a brief survey of the plans taking solid shape. The foundation for the quarters of the staff, the doctors' bungalows was complete and a dozen men were digging the earth to lay the foundation for the main structure. In his imagination there rose before him his hospital with its wards, OPD, theatre, clinics; all connected by wide corridors. He even saw the staff at work and the ailing men and women in their beds. He found the time allotted to him for his ward rounds were insufficient because Menike in a starched white saree with a funny head-gear was urging him on to visit the other wards.

From this magnificent day dream of service the picture episode receded to utter insignificance. And he hastened to the woman who would share his dream and labours in the future. As he entered the walaowa he wanted to give a frightful surprise to Menike.

"Menike, please come here." he called out in a gruff voice.

She had seen the canvas in his hand and found herself suddenly disorganised and trembled all over.

"Why did you do this? I thought you are a sensible woman. You wanted the picture for you and you sent it to that wretched woman".

Menike stood pasted against the wall, panting.

"You got this from her?"

"No. From your beloved husband."

"Did you hurt him, Mahataya?" She almost cried. He gave up the pretence.

"No my dear. I am not a man of violence. I don't know. He made me very sad".

She was silent.

"How clever you are. You wanted to spite the woman who took your husband. But you overshot the mark."

"I am sorry, Mahataya."

"Why didn't you tell me all this before."

"Nothing has been lost".

"Here, take your picture"

NORWAY

DARK CHAPTER

Hot on the heels of the scandal over Union of Social Democratic Youth Chairman Ola Teigen's involvement in CIA moves to sabotage the Sofia World Youth Festival, another and even bigger scandal seems about to break in Norway. This one involves the Secretary of the Norwegian Labour Party, Haakon Lie. The Oslo newspaper *Orientering* reports that Lie received a call recently from representatives of the U.S. magazine *Ramparts*, which has been exposing CIA penetration of various bodies. They wanted to clarify certain particulars concerning the so-called Labour Movement Solidarity Fund. This fund has come into being in somewhat unclear circumstances on a plan of Lie's following his trip to South Vietnam; it had supposedly been intended for aid to India. Suspicions had developed that the CIA had had a hand in it.

There are also Lie's ugly activities in the matter of anti-Communist literature. In 1954 he lent his name to a filthy anti-Communist pamphlet, published in Norway but remarkably similar to one of CIA origin. The *Orientering* adds that he also acted as "regular distributor of other anti-Communist publications, known to have the CIA behind them". And it believes that "not all has yet been written about this darkest chapter in the history of the Norwegian labour movement".

Menike could not recover from the first shock. She was limp and done up. She took the picture as a symbol of renewed life.

The vexed moment for Menike passed away and she was eager to talk to Amaradasa about many matters connected with the work of the hospital. Like a guilty child she approached him.

“Are you still angry with me, Mahataya?”

“I was not angry with you.”

“Then what?”

“I pretended to be angry, and you got scared.”

“Poor me ! I thought I would faint, Mahataya. You must never do that again”.

“Yes. That’s a promise. Tell me how all this happened’.

“It’s a long story Mahataya. I will tell you everything. I don’t want to keep back anything from you.”

“Please make it short.”

“Perhaps you remember that my father died when I was a little girl. I grew up here till I was about eleven. When mother came to live here she sent me to a relation in Colombo, and I went to school there. Whenever I came home here for the holidays you were away. Later you went away to India. But mother had plans for you and me. But when I finished my studies and went to the training college I met Tilikeratne there. He swept me off my feet. Although he was one year my junior, we married secretly. When we passed out we took jobs there and I never came here. But Tilikeratne decided to become an engineer. He studied and passed. Through a friend he got a job at Norton and we came there two years ago. Life was very pleasant until about a year ago. There was a party. That devil of that woman came there and met him. That very evening she took him away under the pretext of getting something done at her bungalow. I expected him to return that evening. But he arrived only the following afternoon with a swollen face. I asked him what was wrong with him but he would not say a word. I was thoroughly upset and left him alone till lunch was over. He went to bed and feel asleep. I looked at him to find teeth marks on his neck. When he got up I asked him how he came by those marks on his neck. He became furious and hit me. That was enough for me. Thereafter we drifted and lived by ourselves and I got this stomach trouble after that. . . . I tried a few English medicines and they did not answer. . . . A friend in the scheme told me that there was an Indian doctor known as Amaradasa. At once I remembered you. . . . When I came to you I saw that woman for the second time. . . . The rest you know.”

SPAIN

**BARGAINING
ABOUT BASES**

Although no official communiqué was published after Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Maria de Castiella's talks in Washington earlier this month, the Washington press got hold of what he discussed with his American colleagues. For years now the United States has maintained naval and air bases in Spain. The Agreement which was signed in 1953 and prolonged for another five years in 1963, expired on September 25. The Associated Press reports that it was this issue that Castiella discussed in Washington. According to a Spanish Embassy spokesman in the American capital, Castiella did not bring any concrete proposals with him. Western observers, however, say that what Spain wants is not another prolongation of the agreement but a new pact which would give her more military aid in return for her consent to the Pentagon's continued use of the bases. Since 1953 U.S. military aid to Spain has added up to about \$700 million. The Franco government naturally does not want to lose this source of American dollars. Washington, on the other hand, does not want to lose the strategically valuable bases which lie at the crossroads of Africa, Europe and the Middle East. But it isn't worried. After all, the stability of Franco's regime depends a great deal on the United States. The United States will not meet with difficulties in getting its military agreement with Spain prolonged, writes the Madrid correspondent of the *New York Times*.

FILM PAGE

4th Week

CAPITOL—PLAZA

10 a.m. 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.
and at 7 other centres
M. G. R. Sarojadevi
K. R. Vijaya Manohar
Asokan in

NAAN AANAIYITTAL

70th Day

LIDO

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

- RAJ KAPOOR
- VYJANTHIMALA
- RAJENDRAKUMAR

in
Raj Kapoor's

SANGAM

Technicolor

77th Day

KINGSLEY

10 a.m. 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.
● RAVICHANDRAN
● JEYALALITHA
● NAGESH
● MANOHAR

in

NAAN

Eastman Color

3rd Week

GAMINI — SAPPHIRE

10 a.m. 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.
Meenamovies

RUHUNU KUMARI

● **DAHASAK SITHUVILI** (A Thousand Thoughts), Kalapela presentation, released through Ceylon Theatres Ltd. now showing at *ELPHINSTONE, ROXY, ASOKA* and other centres, narrates a simple story with comic interludes, songs and dances well knit together. The story told in flashback mostly, and are shown in Sopia-Tone. Lalith (Henry Jayasena) falls in love with Nilanthi (Nilanthi Wijesinghe). Then owing to forced circumstances in his family matters, he is unable to keep an appointment with her, made earlier. This unexpected turn of event, gives Nilanthi an opportunity to enjoy herself at the outing with Sagara, who also works along with her, Lalith and Sonny (Joe Abeywickrema). Eventually she falls in love with Sagara, and the couple now desert their former friend Lalith. Upset over the new developments, Lalith tries to find out why he is shunned by Nilanthi and Sagara. Then Sonny tries to bring them together, but is not successful. Finally Lalith who learns of Nilanthi's intimate friendship with Sagara, overcomes his depressed state, and begins to live a new life.

Performances by Henry Jayasena, Joe Abeywickrema and Nilanthi Wijesinghe are good and the other artistes in the supporting cast pro-

vide extra flavour to the production. The speed of events under the direction of G. D. L. Perera is pleasant enough, and it is a deft job to achieve satire, as some of the vignettes are amusing. The entire proceedings of the story passes well and there is much to engage and entertain, because of the expertise of the cast and the director. The music is equally refreshing and effective in keeping with the subject.

● **SELVA MAGAL**, Ceylon Theatres Ltd. release, now showing at *SELLAMAHAL, EROS* and other centres, provides pleasant entertainment with suspense, action, songs and dances. The plot revolves around a gang who are out to steal jewels and grab the wealth of others. Jaishanker saves Rajshree when she is being kidnapped by the gang's chief Sunderarajan and his second in command. The chief having learnt about Rajshree's plan to get the wealth by getting her married to his henchman. The scheme almost succeeds, but Jaishree becomes suspicious, and fights in his own way and reveals the wrong-doers, and also comes to know who are his real parents. The plot of this Tamil movie is novel and well executed, with an exciting ending.



Joshua (John Derrick) and Moses (Charlton Heston) in Cecil B. DeMille's production *THE TEN COMMANDMENTS*, Paramount Pictures release, opening this week at the **LIBERTY CINEMA**.

● **THE ADVENTURES OF ROBIN HOOD** (Eastmancolor), Ceylon Theatres Ltd. release, now showing at the *GAIETY*, is the story of the triumph of Right over Might. When King Richard is away fighting a bitter battle with his enemy the French on their own soil, his brother, Prince John plots with the other nobles to oust the King and capture the throne of England. Lord Alfred who is very loyal to King Richard refuses to join forces with the vily Prince. The people rally round Robin Hood as their champion to settle matters, and this becomes a headache to Prince John. Then Marian daughter of Lord Alfred falls in love with Robin Hood, and this is followed by a series of adventures in repelling the traitors.

This Hindi movie has in the cast Prashant, Parvin Chowdhary, Nilofer, Bhagwan, Lino Jones and others. The musical score is provided by G. S. Kohli, and the film is produced by Dhanpat Rai and directed by B. J. Patel.

● **THREE ON A COUCH** in Columbiacolor, released through

Columbia Pictures, now showing at the *EMPIRE THEATRE*, in Jerry Lewis' 34th motion picture in which he stars, produces and directs. This movie is Lewis' most important comedy to date, a film that packs a pleasurable amount of sophisticated comedy as well as the more familiar laughter evoking madness that has been a Jerry Lewis hallmark for years. The film is a constant, hilarious pleasure to watch, a comedy which moves with pleasurable ease from sophistication to confusion and back again. Bob Ross and Samuel A. Taylor penned the screenplay for the Jerry Lewis production, based on a story by Arne Sultan and Marvin Worth. The music was composed and conducted by Louis Brown.

An artist, Christopher Pride (JERRY LEWIS) plans a Paris honeymoon with his fiancee, Dr. Elizabeth Accord (JANET LEIGH) a psychiatrist who insists her patients need her. The patients all are men-haters because of unhappy love affairs: Mary Lou Mauve (LESLIE PARRISH) is a Southern belle now immersed in zoological studies; Anna Jacque (GILA GOLAN) has become infatuated with the Old West; Susan Manning (MARY ANN MOBLEY) has turned to athletics including Judo and Karate. With the help of his friend Dr. Ben Mizer (JAMES BEST), Chris undertakes to cure all three girls by making love to them as Elizabeth can be free to wed him. He races from one affair to another. As Rutherford (JERRY LEWIS) a bug and beetles addict, Chris attracts Mary Loe. As Raintree Ringo (JERRY LEWIS), King of the Cowboys, he appeals to Anne Jacque. As Warren (JERRY LEWIS), he practices karate and judo for Susan. Chris manages to keep the three girls apart, and to keep Elizabeth happy. When the girls confide in their psychiatrist that each has met and fallen in love with a new man, Elizabeth happily prepares to leave with Chris for France. She invites her now cured patients to the sailing. Chris is unable to avoid the meeting with his three girlfriends in Elizabeth's private presence.



EMPIRE Air-Conditioned

Jerry Lewis — Janet Leigh in
3 ON A COUCH
in Colour

Air-Conditioned
REGAL

Kenneth Williams - Amanda Barrie
in
CARRY ON CLEO
in Colour

2nd Week

ELPHINSTONE—ROXY

& 10 other centres

Henry Jayasena - Malini Fonseka
Joe Abeywickrema
Nilanthi Wijesinghe
in
G. D. L. Perera's

Dabasak Sithuvili

Photographed by: Nihal Singha

2nd Week

SELLAMAHAL

Jayashanker — Rajshree
in
SELVA MAGAL

GAIETY

Grand Hindi Thriller
THE ADVENTURES OF ROBIN HOOD
in Colour

CROWN

From Thurs Oct. 10
AYEE MILAN KI BELA
Hindi film that ran 253 days in
Colombo when first screened

2nd Week

SAVOY Air-Conditioned

Sean Connery as James Bond
in
THUNDERBALL
in Pana Vision & Technicolor

Air Conditioned
LIBERTY

Charlton Heston
Yul Brynner

in

Cecil B. De mille's

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Technicolor

CENTRAL

From 10th Oct.

Gemini

B. Saroja Devi

in

PENN ENDRAL

PENN

Roman Catholic View

POPE PAUL VI's PROFESSION OF FAITH: BELIEF IN GOD, CHRIST AND THE CHURCH

by Simon Vannia

POPE PAUL issued his *Confession of Faith* on the 30th of June, 1968. It is not, he says, strictly speaking a dogmatic definition, but "repeats in substance, with some developments called for by the spiritual condition of our time, the creed of Nicea". We shall repeat here certain parts of it.

He says he believes in God, "Creator of things visible such as this world in which our transient life passes, of things invisible such as the pure spirits which are also called angels, and Creator in each man of his spiritual and immortal soul". He believes in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is "the uncreated Person who proceeds from the Father and the Son as their eternal Love". He says of the Son: "through Him all things were made". He says the Holy Spirit "is Lord and Giver of Life".

The Son, he says, taught us the way of happiness. The way can be summarized in eight points: (1) poverty in spirit; (2) meekness; (3) suffering borne with patience; (4) thirst after justice; (5) mercy; (6) purity of heart; (7) will for peace; and (8) persecution suffered for justice sake.

The Pope says of the Church: "It is by living by her life that her members are sanctified; it is by removing themselves from her life that they fall into sins and disorders that prevent the radiation of her sanctity. This is why she suffers and does penance for these offences, of which she has the power to heal her children through the Blood of Christ and the Gift of the Holy Spirit".

POPE PAUL continues: "We believe that the Church is necessary for salvation, because Christ, who is the sole Mediator and Way of salvation, renders Himself present for us in His Body which is the Church. But the divine Design of salvation embraces all men; and those who without fault on their part do not know the Gospel of Christ and His Church, but seek God sincerely, and under the influence of grace endeavour to do His will as recognized through the promptings of their conscience, they, in a number known only to God, can obtain salvation".

He says of churches: "the tabernacle (is) the living heart of each of our churches". Then: "We confess that the Kingdom of God begun here below in the Church of Christ is not of this world whose form is passing, and that its proper growth cannot be confounded with the progress of civilization, of science or of human technology, but that it consists in an ever more profound knowledge of the unfathomable riches of Christ, an ever stronger hope in eternal blessings, an ever more ardent response to the Love of God, and an ever more generous bestowal of grace and holiness among men. But it is this same love which induces the Church to concern herself constantly about the true temporal welfare of men. Without ceasing to recall to her children that they have not here a lasting dwelling, she also urges them to contribute, each according to his vocation and his means, to the welfare of this earthly city, to promote justice, peace and brotherhood among men, to give their aid freely to their brothers, especially to the poorest and most unfortunate".

Our final quotation from this *Confession of Faith* is: "We believe that the multitude of those gathered around Jesus and Mary in Paradise forms the Church of Heaven, where in eternal beatitude they see God as He is, and where they also in different degrees, are associated with the holy Angels in the divine rule exercised by Christ in glory, interceding for us and helping our weakness by their brotherly care". Pope Paul finishes his *Confession* with this prayer: "Blessed be God Thrice Holy".

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HOW THEY DO IT

Avis Rent-a-Car Volkswagen and Hubert Humphrey? Bromo Seltzer Cornhusker after-shave lotion and Bobby Kennedy? For Madison Avenue in a presidential election year, they're all products to be merchandized to manipulated consumers in return for payoffs ranging into tens of millions of dollars. Doyle Dane Bernbach, who handled LBJ in 1964, has now signed up his heir apparent, HHH, while Kennedy chose Papert Koenig Lois (guaranteed to be hungry after just losing the lucrative Xerox account) and Nelson Rockefeller tapped Jack Tinker & Associates. These Mad Ad agencies often have a direct tie-in to campaign fund contributions: just before the 1964 election, President Johnson commuted a 12-year extortion sentence against St. Louis labour leader Lawrence L. Callanan (Pipefitters Local 562) and as a payoff Callanan paid at least \$60,000 to the LBJ campaign. To keep it secret, \$25,000 was paid to LBJ's ad agency-Doyle Dane Bernbach.