

2	HEADLINES OF THE WEEK
3	COMMENT ON CURRENT AFFAIRS
4	IN RETROSPECT
6	CONCEPT OF SOCIAL PROPERTY
15	WHAT GOES ON IN CHINA
18	JAPAN'S FOOD AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
19	SOVIET-CZECH TREATY
21	DHAMMAPADAM & THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS
22	FILMS



VOL. 14 No. 37	SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1968	CTS. 25
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## Dangerous Mood Of Discontent And Revolt Brewing Among Students Whilst Public Service Trade Unions Plan Major Strike.....

If the government and the thinking people of this country think that they can obtain an objective picture of developing political trends within the island from the columns of the big-circulation rightwing daily newspapers, they will be sadly disillusioned within a very short time. These papers, at the moment, seem anxious only to reflect what would help them to secure increasing circulation and greater advertisement revenues, and as the ruling party is now the major patron of not only the advertisements doled out from state funds but also the private sector, these papers are only falling over each other to show how increasing sections of the population (voters) are getting behind the government and the ruling groups of power and finance. In order to show that there are dark patches and unsavoury aspects of life, a few exposure stories about corruption and bureau-

cratism are played up and blood-thirsty campaigns are let loose against individuals or groups *non persona grata* with the powers-that-be. For the rest, it is made out that Ceylon is well on the way to self-sufficiency in rice and food, that Ceylon's image in the money-markets of the West has improved and that an economic miracle and breakthrough in our stagnant economy was only round the corner by the time of the next General Elections.

This picture is no doubt built on half-truths and wishful thinking, but most of this election sales talk will turn out to be just plain moonshine if the common people of the country do not get something substantial and concrete in the form of cheaper food and more jobs within a very short time. It does not look as if people in urban or semi-urban areas will be willing to

wait for redress until after the next general elections, even though the much-pampered "cultivators" in the rural areas are riding the crest of a small boom with high guaranteed prices and easy agricultural loans (with mini-mokes, tractors and land rovers thrown in for good measure). The discontent (and disillusionment among urban and semi-urban sections of the population and the intelligentsia everywhere is now gathering momentum in student unrest and a strike fever in the public service. The students may boil over at any time and the Government will have to do much more than perfect its repressive and security measures to prevent a major strike among public servants at the end of November. In the gathering storm one sees ahead, that the fantastically expensive and highly publicised food drive may prove to be nothing more than a mirage.

## Headlines Of The Week

**THURSDAY, October 17** — The private sector in Ceylon will receive a big boost with 150 new industrial units, in addition to the 116 already sanctioned at the beginning of the last financial year. Mr. Gamini Corea, head of the Planning Ministry, returned to Colombo yesterday from Washington after the meeting of the World Bank and was jubilant that \$ 70 million had been allotted for four major projects in addition to other aid. Ceylon's representative in the UN, Mr. Shirley Amerasinghe, addressing the Assembly; (1) called on the Warsaw Powers to withdraw from Czechoslovakia and restore the right of self-determination to the Prague government; (2) appealed to the USA to halt the bombing of North Vietnam; and (3) rebuked Israel for insisting on direct peace talks and having thereby foiled UN peacemaking efforts. He said that Israel had a right to exist but that recognition must be the culmination and not the commencement of a process of reconciliation.

**FRIDAY, October 18** — The Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake's ancestral home, Botale Walauwe at Mirigama, has become a training centre for electioneering work for UNP Youth Leaguers under the general direction of Mr. Iriyagolla, Minister of Education. The Privy Council has dismissed the appeal of Pauline de Croos sentenced to death by the Chief Justice on March 7, 1968. The Emergency is to continue for a further period but on a "reduced" basis. Despite President Suharto's appeal for clemency, the Singapore Government carried out the death sentences on two Indonesian marines guilty of a bomb outrage during the days of Sukarno's confrontation. In retaliation, in Jakarta, Indonesian students damaged Singapore's embassy buildings and several houses occupied by staff members.

**SATURDAY, October 19** — The Government is reported to be greatly alarmed by the demurrage bill that is paid in foreign exchange as a result of ships being delayed in Colombo harbour. Tension has increased between Singapore and Indonesia with students, encouraged by General Naustion, demanding that Singapore should be 'crushed'. Hopes of peace talks between Manila and Kuala Lumpur over Sabah have become dimmer and dimmer. Reports are rampant that the US is seeking to persuade the Saigon Government to accept a "package deal" for peace talks with North Vietnam combined with the halt of the bombing. The Czech and Soviet parliaments have ratified the new agreement signed between them regarding the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia for an indefinite period — with the withdrawal of the bulk of the Warsaw Power troops.

**SUNDAY, October 20** — The Prime Minister entertained 22 Govi Rajas — the most successful farmers in each district — to a special lunch in Kandy and announced that they would be sent on a fortnight's

tour of agricultural centres in India. Sir Edwin Wijeratne, elder politician and Ceylon's former High Commissioner in the UK, died in his home at Kegalle. The Prime Minister is reported by the *Daily Mirror* to have told the UNP Working Committee that the elections in Ceylon could not be won on the Czech issue — in spite of differences in the Opposition Parties on that issue — and that a successful food drive alone will bring victory at the elections. Mrs. Kennedy was married today to Aristotle Onassis at a private chapel in the "paradise" island of Skorpios by a Greek Orthodox Minister. US Negro athletes continued to demonstrate for Black Power at the Olympic City even after the expulsion of two black US athletes last week.

**MONDAY, October 21** — The NCHE had decided to turn out 76 undergraduates who began their university career at the Colombo University because religion (Hinduism) was not one of the qualifying subjects accepted by the University. The *Sun* today stated that the "right branch of the sacred Bo-tree at Anuradhapura was cut down and burnt several days ago, because disease had afflicted this branch. Indonesia's Naustion wanted diplomatic ties with Singapore to be cut. Apollo 7 was in the final stages of a successful eleven-day orbit.

**TUESDAY, October 22** — The Maha Sangha, according to the *Daily Mirror*, will launch a mass propaganda drive against Marxism and the Communists — similar to what it did before the March 1965 elections. Undergraduates of the Peradeniya campus staged a massive demonstration yesterday against the poor quality of food served in their halls on Sunday night and yesterday morning. A section of the LSSP leadership have demanded that the Communist Party must subscribe fully to the SLFP-LSSP statement on Czechoslovakia "condemning" Warsaw Powers "aggression" and that the latest CP statement was inconsistent with non-alignment policy of the Coalition. The crew of Apollo seven landed safely in their capsule in the Atlantic today.

**WEDNESDAY, October 23** — In view of the predicament of 76 rejected undergraduates, the NCHE has now written to the Colombo University authorities to consider making religion a subject for admission to the University. Students at Peradeniya campus were restive with many grievances and the complaints about bad food may trigger a crisis. The FP boycotted the visit of the Minister of Health, Mr. E. L. Senanayake, to Jaffna yesterday — The TC leader, Mr. G. G. Ponnampalam had accompanied the Minister on the plane. Between fifty to sixty percent of children seeking admission to Grade 1 government schools have been shut out for want of accommodation. Prime Minister Wilson faced a revolt from within the ranks of the Labour Party in regard to his policy on Rhodesia. There is widespread speculation whether there would be "cease-fire" between the USA and North Vietnam — at least a fortnight before the Presidential elections.

## COMMENT ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

### ● THE McNAMARA STRATEGY : shift of emphasis from Asia to Africa.....

The economic pundits who presently preside over the bread and butter (and or rice and curry) destinies of the country place a great deal of (if not entire) reliance on the World Bank, the IMF and the other financial agencies of the capitalist west as the main means of pulling this country out of the economic *malaise* with which it is sadly afflicted. It is not necessary to go over familiar ground about the dangers of this lop-sided approach to economic welfare, but it is important to examine the developing trends within these financial agencies of world capitalism to see how far the hopes of our pundits are justified in thinking that Ceylon will sooner or later become a major beneficiary of World Bank patronage and investment generosity. We are conscious that these pundits believe that the direct loans from the Bank would have only symbolic significance, and that the real thing will be the foreign capital inflow into the island from the money-bags of the west as a result of increasing confidence and trust that the World Bank headquarters place in the economic policies (and pundits) of the Ceylon government. But, taking into consideration even this line of thinking, it is essential to view critically and objectively the new trends in the World Bank particularly after the new Bank President, Robert S. McNamara, took over. At the end of last month, he delivered his maiden speech as the Bank's President at the annual meeting on September 30, to the assembled board of governors from 111 countries. Mr. McNamara proposed that the World Bank should double its loans over the next five years, but shift emphasis from South Asia, mainly India and Pakistan, to Asia, Latin America and other Asian countries.

Among Asian countries, McNamara singled out only Indonesia (and not Ceylon), and in Africa he was most solicitous about the UAR. He stressed that the new direction of policy would involve some risks but was of opinion that these risks had to be taken in the interests of the world. If the Bank lends twice as much as in the last five years, it would involve a sum of approximately ten million dollars. Mr. McNamara said that in the past the Bank had tended to concentrate its efforts in South Asia, mainly in India and Pakistan, but that in the next five years the Bank's investment would more than double itself in Latin America; and that in Africa, just coming to the threshold of investment for development, the greatest expansion of bank activities would take place.

He also indicated that there would also be a need for an increase in the total professional staff of the Bank as it doubled its lending (and many of the pundits in our Central Bank and Treasury can look forward to lucrative posting in the near future). Mr. McNamara also indicated that there would be dramatic changes in World Bank investment policies with increases in the agricultural and educational sectors. He was most concerned about the uninhibited growth of population and made special reference to India — stressing that it was perhaps the highest among developing countries (he does not seem to have bothered about Ceylon's high birth rate). Referring to India's birth rate of 40 per thousand, he said that if this could be halved, then in 25 years the country's standard of living would rise 20 percent above what it otherwise would have been. Mr. McNamara also announced plans by the Bank to finance birth control facilities.

He also went out of his way to point out that it was "a false claim" that some countries needed more population to fill their land or accelerate their economic growth. Apart from the question of birth control to check population explosion, Mr. McNamara paid special attention to "a deep sense of frustration and failure" in respect of foreign aid. "The rich countries," he said, "felt that they had given billions of dollars without achieving much in the area of development — the poor countries felt that too little of the enormous increases in the wealth of the developed world had been diverted to help them". After examining the dynamics of aid, Mr. McNamara concluded that "aid does work, it is not money wasted", and that "it was a sound investment". He also felt that part of the reason for the current attitude to aid was the mistakes made by recipients. "Blatant mismanagement of economies; diversion of scarce resources to wars of nationalism; perpetuation of discriminatory systems of social organisation and income distribution have been all too common in these countries", he complained. This is how the "liberal" Mr. Robert McNamara has approached the problems of the world, but there does not seem to be any basic or fundamental change in the logic of World Bank thinking — there has only been a shift in emphasis and strategy. All in all, he has only perpetuated the traditional approach of the rich nations of the capitalist West — with a directive that it would now be wise policy to increase the quantum of "aid" to countries in Africa and Latin America because they appear to offer a rich potential for investments at the present juncture.

It is important to realise that there is a very close connection between the preferences of private investors in the West and the lending policies of the World Bank. This is only to be expected because it is these private capitalists who feed the Bank's coffers. The much boosted "altruism" of the World Bank is conditioned completely by the investment preferences of private capitalists and their banking institutions.

*In Retrospect*

## ★ Election Fever

## ★ LSSP, CP & Mrs. Bandaranaike

## ★ PM & Food Drive

**ELECTION FEVER** has already begun to grip all the political parties and every action is being subordinated to the compelling imperatives of the General Elections which may be held anytime before April 1970. Many anticipate that the elections would be held sometime in 1969 — some think it may be in the first quarter and others feel that it may be in the last quarter of the year, the deciding factor being the time which the UNP and the Government think it would be most advantageous for them to go before the voters.

The Opposition Parties have begun to clear the decks for the election fray. It is in pursuance of this endeavour the LSSP continues to batter at the CP for not having subscribed fully to the SLFP-LSSP condemnation of the "aggression" of the Warsaw Pact Powers against Czechoslovakia. Certain leading elements in the SLFP and practically the entirety of the top leadership of the LSSP feel convinced that the "election image" of the Opposition coalition would be irretrievably tarnished if the CP too did not condemn Soviet "aggression". Although there is a great deal of mumbo-jumbo about "self-determination", "sovereignty", and the rest of the "democratic" clap-trap borrowed from western political terminology, it does not need much discernment to see that what seems to be at stake is mainly the "image" that was necessary to woo the middle class voters and neutralise the intelligentsia.

The CP too seems to be deeply concerned about this aspect of the matter and its statements seem to have been formulated with a view to sustaining the democratic "image" that the Common Programme of the Opposition coalition had sought to portray. But the dynamics of

the political imperatives of party rivalry for the next general elections is one thing and the realities of the complex situation that stemmed from the Czech crisis are another — and the CP fell between two stools in trying to effect a balancing act on a tight rope vainly trying to be all things to all people.

**THE FIRST** statement of the CP hinted at a "mild disapproval" by suggesting that it was not certain whether the situation in Czechoslovakia had really called for military intervention from her socialist allies. Then the CP went on to "regret" the intervention although it felt that was necessary and essential in order to safeguard socialism. But the "regret" was not considered sufficient by the LSSP which demanded that Mrs. Bandaranaike and the SLFP should get the CP to toe their line or quit the Coalition. The LSSP and SLFP in a joint statement had condemned the "aggression" of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact Powers with much greater vehemence and violence than the UNP, and one LSSP leader had even regretted that the Opposition was not "first" with the "condemnation" statement and had let the initiative pass to the Government and the UNP. The Government's own official statement was couched in the mildest and most cautious terms.

Even with the passage of time and the changes in the situation, the LSSP continued to insist that the CP should recant its ideological identity with the Soviet Union. The SLFP rejected the first statement of the CP, and Mrs. Bandaranaike called upon the CP to clarify its attitude to the Czech crisis in terms of the "non-alignment policy" outlined in the Common Programme of the SLFP-LSSP-CP United Front.

The CP took a long time in formulating this new statement and it would appear that the discussions within the CP revealed serious differences of opinion within party ranks. Nevertheless, a cleverly-worded statement was finally drafted: it explained why the USSR and its allies had to act in the way they had done in Czechoslovakia; and, in no uncertain terms, stated that in the interests of socialism, the action taken by the Warsaw Powers was justified; *but that*, nevertheless, the military intervention in Czechoslovakia on August 21 constituted a breach of "sovereignty as understood in international law".

**IT WAS** political casuistry on the most transparent level and though certain pro-western capitalist papers thought it useful to hail the statement as "condemnatory" of the Soviet Union, other political commentators in the rightwing press exposed the statement as a hypocritical one intended to short-circuit the LSSP hostility to the CP stand on the Czech issue.

**IT IS** now known that though Mrs. Bandaranaike and the SLFP were inclined to accept the second CP "clarification" and drop the matter, LSSP Trotskyite diehards were in no mood to let their old Stalinist opponents get away with it so easily. The *Observer*, in a frontpage splash on October 22 set out the developments within the LSSP in the following way:

*"A group of LSSP Central Committee members have circulated a letter among party cadres pressing the point of view that the Communist Party must associate itself with the SLFP-LSSP statement on the Czech invasion. Otherwise the LSSP will have to resurrect this issue, they have said.*

*"The Communist Party recently issued a statement which was generally interpreted in political circles to be a piece of tight rope walking. The CP 'regretted' Soviet action but at the same time pointed out that bi-lateral agreements between countries of the socialist bloc provided*

for safeguarding the security of the socialist community. In the letter that group of LSSP Central Committee men wrote they have made the point that:

"(1) One of the partners of the Common Programme has violated the non-alignment clause in the agreement. (2) Formidable Communist Parties in the other countries of the world had condemned Soviet aggression, but Ceylon Communist Party which was a signatory to the Common Programme has refused to associate itself with the SLFP-LSSP standpoint on this issue. (3) Soon after the event, the Communist Party had attempted to justify the Soviet action. (4) The CP has now altered its position slightly by saying that though the invasion of Czechoslovakia was "correct", it was contrary to certain tenets of International Law. (5) Under the precedent set by the CP any of the partners of the United Left could alter their principles at any given time. (6) It is clear that the CPs second statement was made subject to pressures applied and the party's desire to keep the coalition intact. Such statements should not be ambiguous and double-tongued but principled.

"The group of LSSPers who have circulated this letter among the party's general membership have observed that as far as they know, the CPs second statement has not yet been discussed by the LSSP Central Committee".

The Observer did not stop at this. In the same issue of the paper, it had sought to point out growing differences of opinion between the LSSP and CP on their attitudes to the Czech crisis and its consequential repercussions. Under the heading "Samasamajaya on new Soviet-Czars" an Observer reporter said:

"While the 'Samasamajaya' has been keeping up a consistent line of attack on Soviet Russia, the 'Mawbima' the organ of the Communist Party (Moscow Wing), has in their latest issue stated that the attempts of their enemies to crack up the Coalition have failed. The 'Samasamajaya', the voice of the LSSP, in its latest issue has come out attacking the Soviet Union for punishing young

intellectuals with exile. The editorial says: 'Having forcibly entered another Socialist country with its armed forces, having shamelessly interfered with the internal affairs of that country, and having disgraced the socialist movement, now the new Czarist bureaucracy of the Kremlin are perpetrating another crime within their walls. They have punished young intellectuals for protesting against the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia. They tried to demonstrate within the walls of Kremlin. The Soviet bureaucracy has shown the world their inhuman terror by exiling them within their own country'.

"The 'Mawbima' which points out that a new solution has been presented on the Czech crisis states: 'Though attempts were made within the coalition parties to create dissension and though attempts were made by our enemies and those who bear a personal hatred towards us to wreak vengeance on us their attempts have collapsed like houses built in the air. Like other communist parties in the world our enemies will not be able to swallow us up. From its very birth our enemies have been hoping to swallow us up but it had never happened', states the 'Mawbima'."

It is now reported, in the right-wing press which is understandably most anxious to exploit the situation to the fullest, that the Opposition Leader, Mrs. Bandaranaike, will shortly summon another conference of the three parties in an attempt to resolve the differences between the LSSP and the CP on the Czech issue. How far she will succeed, it is difficult to say at this stage, but these discussions will soon overlap even more difficult discussions about the number of seats the LSSP and the CP should be permitted to contest.

It is said that the LSSP has demanded that it should be allowed to contest all the seats for which they had nominated candidates at the last elections, and a few more where they felt they were particularly strong. The SLFP on the other hand seems to think that the LSSP and CP should be permitted to contest only those seats they won at the last elections and that only the

SLFP was strong enough to challenge the UNP in the seats the LSSP and CP had lost.

WHILST certain elements in the Opposition are still busy chasing shadows over the Czech crisis, the UNP seems to be adopting a more realistic attitude not only in regard to the coming elections but in regard to the Czech crisis. The *Daily Mirror*, on 21/10/68, in a frontpage report under the heading **FOOD BEFORE CZECHS : DON'T CLOUD THE ISSUES - P.M.**, it said:

"The people of this country are not so much concerned with the Czech crisis. They are only worried about their food and other day to day needs. So observed the Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake at a meeting of the United National Party's Wednesday Committee held last week. Mr. Senanayake made these observations when certain members of the Wednesday Committee expressed the view that the UNP should go all out to win over Coalition supporters on the Russian—Czech issue.

"He said that ideological and other issues of this nature were subordinate to economic factors and, therefore, the immediate task of the National Government was to provide the people with rice and other essential consumer items. He said that the Government food drive has already begun to yield satisfactory results and that a good section of the rural peasantry was now rallying round the UNP.

"Mr. Senanayake asserted that the party could be assured of a victory at the next polls only by making a success of the food drive and ensuring that there were no scarcities of basic consumer items that figure prominently in the day to day life of the people. He however, added that this did not in any way imply that they should not refrain from exploiting other issues too during any future election campaign."

Mr. Dudley Senanayake and UNP are now going all out to make the food drive a success to create an election image that they are the "economic saviour of the country".

SERENDIB

U. S. Presidential Election

## Popular Protest Submerged In Traditional Machine Politics

New York

by Harry Freeman

By an alchemy peculiar to American politics in this election year, gold is being transformed into lead.

The election campaign started early this year with a clear popular call for change, for a way out of the morass into which the Administration and its war policies had led the country. Popular unrest attained proportions unknown in the United States since the catastrophic economic depression of the nineteen thirties.

The problems confronting the country, all aggravated by the Vietnam war, were clear enough. Even the highly conservative Republican Party pointed to some of them in the election platform which it adopted in August at its national convention in Miami Beach, Florida. The platform stated:

"Today we are in turmoil.

"Tens of thousands of young men have died or been wounded in Vietnam.

"Many young people are losing faith in our society.

"Our inner cities have become centres of despair.

"Millions of Americans are caught in the cycle of poverty—poor education, unemployment or serious underemployment, and the inability to afford decent housing.

"Inflation has eroded confidence in the dollar at home and abroad. It has severely cut into the incomes of all families, the jobless, the farmers, the retired and those living on fixed incomes and pensions.

"Today's Americans are uncertain about the future, and frustrated about the recent past."

**THE FRUSTRATION** and turmoil, acknowledged by the Republican Party for its own electoral purposes, were all the greater because of the general realization that America with its wealth, resources and high productivity could alleviate, if not solve, its pressing internal problems under a leadership concerned with public welfare. Popular unrest was made manifest in many ways: huge anti-war demonstrations, black ghetto outbreaks, university campus protests from New York to California, bitter indictments of the Administration by the intelligentsia.

It even found expression in this year's electoral politics, difficult though it is to register dissent in the machine-dominated Democratic and Republican parties.

The demand for change in a progressive direction was strong enough to precipitate a crisis within the Democratic Party. It was strong enough to lead President Johnson to decide against seeking re-election. It was so strong that Senators Eugene McCarthy and the late Robert Kennedy, seeking the Democratic presidential nomination as critics of the Administration's course, received between them about four-fifths of the votes cast in their party's primary elections.

But then the alchemy of the American electoral process began to drain, divert and transmute the popular protest into the dross of the traditional machine politics.

Vice-President **Hubert Humphrey**, who had eagerly gone along with  
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every twist and turn in Administration policy and tried to cover up its every failure, was nominated for the Presidency at the Democratic Party's National Convention in Chicago. He had not entered a single primary election contest. All indications were that he had far less rank-and-file party support than Senator McCarthy. But what counted at the Chicago Convention was machine support. Humphrey, as President Johnson's political heir, had the backing of Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley, Governor John Connally of Texas and other powerful regional party bosses. The Republican Party Convention also followed traditional procedures. Former Vice-President **Richard Nixon** was appointed the party's presidential candidate because he was the favourite of a majority of the party bosses.

**MANY** in the country spoke of a need for "new politics" to meet the country's mounting problems. But the old politics prevailed, and "old politicians", identified with past policies, emerged as the standard-bearers of the Democratic and Republican parties. These circumstances made it possible for **George Wallace**, former Governor of Alabama, to enter the electoral contest as an independent candidate with formidable support. Wallace is a notorious racist, a favourite of the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch society.

But he is also a skilful demagogue who has been playing with much success on what the Republican platform described as the uncertainties and frustrations of the American people. He has recognized and exploited the growing disillusionment in the "two-party system". Over and over again he has told large audiences throughout the country that "there is not a dime's worth of difference" between the two major parties. He has appealed to popular distrust of the Washington bureaucracy by proclaiming that he will throw bureaucratic brief-cases into the Potomac River.

His main theme, however, has been the need for "law and order" in the United States. Wallace heavily emphasizes the growing rate of crime in the country. He points out that ordinary citizens are fearful of walking the streets of American cities at night. And, indeed, crime is on the increase; according to official figures, the crime rate in the first half of this year was 21 per cent above the first half of last year.

But when the former Alabama Governor speaks of "the need for law and order", he has in mind primarily peace demonstrators and rebels in the black ghettos. And resorting to the techniques of the old "McCarthyism", he speaks of "Red conspiracies", which must be crushed.

"Anarchism and communism" he proclaims, "are the cause of the breakdown in law and order.... People making speeches against this country must be ruthlessly dealt with."

WALLACE does not lack financial support for the vigorous campaign which he is conducting. He has ample funds to organize large meetings and to purchase time on television. His financial backers are reported to include H. L. Hunt, the eccentric ultra Texan oil baron, whose personal fortune is estimated at more than a billion dollars. And with such backing he has brought his appeal for "law and order" into cities across the country as well as the villages of the Deep South.

His demagogy, especially his appeals to race prejudice, have met a sympathetic response from backward white workers in steel, automobile and other industrial centres. The ever-increasing pressure of the black people of America for equal opportunities in employment, housing and schooling disturbs many who would prefer to see the Negro "kept in his place".

Wallace's support—political polls estimate that he may receive twenty

or more per cent of the popular vote in the November presidential elections — has given a new twist to the election campaign. *It is even conceivable that he may prevent Nixon or Humphrey from receiving the majority needed for election. In that case, the House of Representatives would choose the next President and Wallace, holding a balance of power, might wield considerable influence over the country's destiny.*

Such a prospect is deeply disturbing to important sectors of the bourgeoisie. Addressing itself to Wallace's financial backers, the *New York Times*, in an editorial on September 22, said: "They have to ask themselves whether in their insensate greed and political recklessness they are prepared to imitate the German industrialists of the early nineteen thirties and go on financing a demagogue whose ultimate aims they cannot foresee or control."

**The strength of Wallace's support has influenced the Democratic and Republican campaigns. Both Nixon and Humphrey, in their search for votes among the bigots and obscurantists in the electorate, vie with Wallace in proclaiming their dedication to "law and order".**

*Nixon* has indicated that if elected President, he will take firm measures to deal with ghetto and campus rebels. His vice-presidential candidate Spiro Agnew has gone even further. "An international conspiracy", he said, is behind much of the unrest in the country. He found in the protest against the Vietnam war "a conspiracy of the type that is legally punishable in this country—a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force". Shades of the old "McCarthyism".

*Humphrey* has not been far behind in this competition. He endorsed the brutality of Chicago's police in clubbing and tear-gassing youthful peace demonstrators who converged on Chicago during the Democratic National Convention. If he is elected President, he has

said, he will ask for "strong legislation" to quell ghetto outbreaks.

**THE BASIC ISSUES** confronting the country? They have been obscured by the fog of oratory about "law and order". The presidential candidates make dozens of speeches in frenzied tours back and forth across the country. But mass poverty, the despair of the black ghettos, unemployment inflation, rising taxes, the loss of confidence in American electoral processes, the disillusionment of youth in the values of the American imperialism — these and other problems go unmentioned.

*Time* magazine, in its September 27 issue, observed: "The whole negative tone of the campaign, with its strong stress on ending dissent, reflects the influence of the former Alabama Governor.... In varying degrees, both Nixon and Humphrey have bowed to the Wallace concept of law and order, neglecting the basic problems that bother the nation."

This, then, is the turn that the election campaign has taken. Out of the primary election contests which lasted for about a third of the year, out of the Republican and Democratic conventions, and out of the swamps of southern bigotry, there have emerged three "national presidential candidates," to use the terminology of the American press.

Voters who are in basic agreement with the country's present course can choose between Humphrey and Nixon, although many find either alternative distasteful. Those beguiled by the demagogy of the far Right turn to Wallace.

**But what of the many millions who manifested their desire for progressive change? The millions who voted for Senators McCarthy and Kennedy in the Democratic Party primaries, who demonstrated for peace and Negro equality in countless cities across the country? The vast majority of them feel that they have no choice. They feel that**

they have, in effect, been disfranchised in the Presidential elections, that they are the victims of a pseudo-democratic swindle.

### ATHEISTS CAN HELP BELIEVERS

VATICAN CITY, Oct. 2

The Roman Catholic church has opened a wide window to the atheistic world by urging Catholics everywhere to promote discussions with non-believers to achieve "a greater grasp of truth". In a major policy-changing document released yesterday, the Vatican secretariat for non-believers declared: "The believer knows that his faith does not provide all the answers to every question under discussion". It indicated that nonbelievers, including Communists, would help find a Christian's understanding of truth.

Cardinal Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna and Secretariat president, noted that some quarters of the church had reacted to the writing of the document with "consternation and disapproval occasioned by the fear that contacts (with atheists) may lead to a yielding on matters of doctrine and discipline". Pope Paul VI approved the document fully. But one Vatican source pointed out that the Pope wanted it issued under Cardinal Koenig's name, not his own.

*For the Secretariat's purposes, a non-believer is one who professes to belong to no religion or Church. The definition embraces Communists and other atheists, humanists, agnostics, and those who hold purely personal beliefs about a divinity.*

There are in a few states some alternatives to Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace. The Communist Party has entered its own presidential and vice-presidential candidates—Charlene Mitchell and Mike Zagarell in the election contests. Several peace and freedom groups have put forward independent candidates. But discriminatory election laws will ban these lists from the great majority of the fifty states. The television, radio and press will erect an iron curtain to prevent advocates of peace and freedom from bringing their views to the public.

**WHY DID NOT** the forces seeking to turn the country's course in a progressive direction forge a broad electoral coalition capable of posing a serious challenge to the Democratic and Republican parties? There were some efforts to do so. But the forces of dissent were deeply divided on questions of tactics and organization. On the one hand, many were unwilling to break with the traditional "two-party system". On the other hand, many in the so-called "new Left" were contemptuous of the entire electoral process and rejected political action.

For all its size and vigour, the new peace and freedom movement, emerging from the socio-political crisis in the country, was too immature and too fragmented to become a major force in the elections. With the breakdown of efforts to build a broad united progressive political front, most progressive dissenters threw their weight behind Senator Eugene McCarthy's fight for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. Their hopes rose with McCarthy's victories in the primary elections. They were dashed when the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago hand-picked Humphrey as the presidential nominee in violation of the mandate of the primaries.

**Thus the presidential elections have been transformed into a farce. For all practical purposes, the**

**electorate confronts a choice between representatives of the unhappy status quo and the far Right.**

With no choice to make among the major presidential candidates, many of McCarthy's supporters are now concentrating their efforts on the election of congressional candidates pledged to a policy of peace and internal reform.

On the surface the prospect does not seem bright. Richard Goodwin, aide to the late President John Kennedy and a McCarthy supporter, bitterly refers to the forthcoming elections as "the oncoming cataclysm". And yet the situation, viewed in historical perspective, does not warrant such pessimism.

The popular forces for progressive change are undiminished in number and determination. Sooner or later they will learn the need for unity and organization and will find a vehicle for effective expression in the electoral arena.

*In a sense this year's electoral campaign has been educational for these forces and for the country as a whole. Not only has it taught the need for united political action on the Left, but it has opened the eyes of millions of voters to the undemocratic nature of the country's electoral processes and convinced them of the need for change in this as well as other areas of American life.*



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*In Developing Society*

# The Concept Of Social Property : What It Is And What It Means

MAN, class, the state, bureaucracy, freedom and democracy, are all fundamental conceptions of human history. So is the concept of property, a complex and controversial notion conditioned by ideological elements and mystification of various historical periods, and tendencies, and determined by various forms of knowledge or ignorance.

Private ownership, thereby capitalist ownership, is a negative and formal legal theory which has generalized the epiphenomenon rather than the essence, the phenomenon rather than the real relationship between people. Private property is the general reification of real social relationships and ideological alienation.

The pattern of development, feudal and capitalist, has taken particular and original forms in various parts of the world.

Property is a negative acquisitive, social phenomenon; it is a negation; a negation which becomes the historical negation of negation; a phenomenon which becomes a non-phenomenon.

Marx, differentiates between common property, and private or class property. Common property is the objectification of nature through labour; it is a form of the appropriation of nature. By turning nature through his labour into property, man creates property in the economic sense.

The origin of the word property lies in the expression of this economic labour relation.

*In terms of philosophy, property expresses a state of the reconciliation of man with himself; men becomes his own property; his*

by P. Chandrasegaran  
*University of Ceylon, Peradeniya*

*own. The realization of property lies in the return of humaneness to man; it becomes an attribute of man's personality.*

In this regard, property is regarded in its socio-political meaning, as a class social category. It becomes a condition of existence and an attribute of man's personality and thereby only personal property and not a right to property.

*In this way property also fulfils itself, in the economic sense, as a relation of man to nature, that surrounding him and his own expressed in appropriation, in the possession of objects for the satisfaction of wants, objects of man's own and freely invested labour.*

This appropriation, this personal property, Marx would contend, 'resembles externally the original, natural raising of the hand to pick fruits, but is different in essence. Initially, it was natural elemental, and necessarily collective, while now it is directly personal and freely social. Once a condition of existence, it is now a manifestation of personal freedom and man's personality. Once the result of personal labour and collective distribution, now becomes the result of common labour, and of the personal and direct satisfaction of man's needs, of appropriation in affluence. "Property is no longer an expression of the relations of production, or a measure of organised and imposed distribution of products, but a form of direct satisfaction of infinite personal wants. It ceases to be possessive, acquisitive, negative and antinomistic and becomes common and personal without any measure, but man's measure."

*This philosophic-economic notion of property is of relevant interest for the conceptualization of property and for the fundamental discussion and understanding of the essence of social ownership, its transformation and historical function.*

Though the concept of common property, is synonymised with the conception of state property and as socialist property, contains a sociological formalism along with dogmatic apriorism, the three could in a very sense of generality, be used to indicate synonymity.

**THE CONCEPT** and essence of state property, cannot be separated from the theory and practice of a socialist society, or at least a social-democratic oriented society. In each socialist country or positive social-democratic countries, state property is a form of nationalization of the means of production, and in most of them and it has to the present day remained the basic form of ownership in industry, transport and trade and partly in agriculture also politically and legally, it represents the transfer of property rights from private holders to a common holder, the society.

State ownership is a legal ownership category of a new form. It negates the pluralism of the subjective property rights of capitalism, but it retains the subjective property right in the form of public right. *Thus the monopoly of ownership now remains in the hands of the state or of 'group personifying it.'* Although not in unalterable form, is still expresses relations of superordination and subordination. On this basis the state has a new owner's power. As the holder of the title to property, the state disposes with the producers labour and its results, on the basis of which surplus labour is appropriated by groups which have their own interests in keeping their commanding functions and thus also retaining power and their social status and prestige.

In all countries which have chosen the road to socialism, state ownership is the first stage of transition to socialism; it is the only possible, necessary, and progressive form of the socialization of the means of production, and also a basis for a national, planned economy. State ownership is also a precondition for the further and genuine socialization of socio-political relation.

But it would be unfounded to suggest, that statism and state ownership is absolutely the first form of socialist transformation. The forms of transition to a new society differ in accordance with previous growth, the level of economic and cultural development, the political system and machinery, and other specific features of the times and the country in which social transformation takes place.

It is suggested that, state ownership of the means of production creates a monopoly of economic and political power, under a social group personifying the state, regardless of how broad and meritorious it may be, or how historically justifiable it is, for it to have a certain position of power. Such a unified power also takes over ideological monopoly institutionalizing itself as a powerful state. The institutionalised system becomes omnipotent; planning and managing of society become all embracing, outside popular control, and real political processes are reduced to personal power, group power, perhaps struggle for power, and to the manipulation of the freedom of people.

*The ideologised view that state ownership provides a solution to the problem of classes and class differences, and negatives economic and political differentiations also stands questioned. Nationalization even in the form of the most developed and powerful ownership does not abolish classes in their possible implications. The system becomes institutionalized and crystallised and even becomes omnipotent; planning and managing of society become all embracing, but outside popular*

*workers' control. The working class continues to exist, often in a sense of losing its autonomy, and losing in its historical right to constitute itself as a state.*

State ownership, should be free from bureaucratism, it should not be an absolute and unchangeable sociological-ideological sub-state. The political and economic relationship, should be democratised; absolute domination of power, and of arbitrariness in distribution, through remuneration according to work performed should be negated developing various forms of drawing the masses into government, would be practical socialist democracy as Lenin would contend.

**ON THIS BASIS,** efficiency the vision of unity of personal and social interests and solidarity among people, faster economic and cultural integration and unified application of science and technology and working discipline would ensure better, the political, cultural and material progress of the working man and the social community; of course socialization of power cannot be fully and freely implemented without very full socialization of property. Hence, social property, is the basic alternative for realistic socialist development.

**Social Property** is an insufficiently defined concept. The term social does not mean belonging to a society as a new abstraction, which under given historical conditions is personified in the only possible holder of property rights, the state; hence it is theoretically erroneous to identify social and state property; this term does not denote the qualification of collective or group property nor is it a synonym for the common property of people, a kind of partnership.

The expression, *social*, here has a negative meaning; it implies the negation of anybody's property rights; anybody's monopoly of power, in relation to the means of production and the product of man's labour. Nobody, not even the state, enterprises, indivi-

duals, has property rights to the social means of production and the product of labour, nor can anybody on the basis of power, dispose with them, as if they were his own. The social character of property implies, a higher degree, a more real and direct socialization of the relations of production and the distribution of the product of labour; this would mean also, the existence of workers' self-management, active decision-making by producers themselves in the process of production and distribution and regarding other common affairs of society.

The basic meaning of the term *social*, inevitably also presupposes a changed meaning of the notion of property. The expression property loses its century old political legal significance which came into being with the creation of private property, and has been retained in all forms of collectivised property, including state property as well. In the context of *social property*, property approximates to the common notion which denotes common appropriation, the attribute, the status of the means of production and labour and also common co-ordination of the labour process in society, and the source of personal property in the marxist sense of the word as a condition for joint and personal labour and appropriation, first according to labour and later on according to needs.

This clarification is semantic and theoretical, but it is indispensable if the science of property and society is to be gradually freed from the mythology of private property, from the dogmatism of state property and from property legal formalism.

**SOCIAL PROPERTY** is a new historical phenomenon; Marx and Engels were the first to define it though rather sketchily. The establishment of state property in socialist countries and even in the non-socialist countries, has not negated the study of the concept of social property as such, but it has definitely set a premium on it.

*Social Property* is of a socio-economic, political, structural nature. The concept of state property has only attempted its function, nationally in most cases; social property is more than state property and ownership. It is the common ownership of the instruments of labour and the disposition of the product of this labour on the part of the producers in contrast to the sub-ordination of those who work.

**Social property is a set of relationship among people, and it is micro organization of labour; it is laso-macrosociety, not only in the work organization, but also in the entire socio-economic structure of the political system, not only in regard to the appropriation of the product of labour, but also in regard to the alienation of this product, not only in self-management, but also in power, not only in the working community but also in the market.**

*Social property* is not property right, but a form of de-propertying the means of production and basic social relationships. It denotes, a non-property social attribute of the means of production. They are mere instruments of labour and at the same time returned to the producer, and inalienable in the socio-political sense. They cannot be the object of private or state appropriation unless, as objects they become subjectivized for the satisfaction of personal and common wants.

It is the legal expression of new social relationships of associated producers who economically dispose of the means of production, utilize them and under the system of self management, constituted as a self governing working community and also self-governing democracy, individually, collectively and jointly dispose of the product of their own and common social labour. Its socio-political substrata is made up of relations of working and social solidarity and not of subordination. Every worker has the right to take part in self-manage-

ment; each producer is also manager; each manager is also a worker.

Social property presupposes, economic motivation; personal and collective interest in economic activities, socialization of means for the development of society; planning of social development as a whole; it would be co-ordination, integration and joint decision making by working people within the framework of self governing economic, scientific and political delegation.

*Social property has a positive philosophic content and attitude. It is a responsibility towards oneself, towards one's fellow workers and towards the community; it ensures the highest possible degree of equality and freedom of man.*

Social property is a social, political, cultural and moral instrument. It is the existence of an organized and internally balanced social community, which is established and develops through the conscious action of people, as a responsible society of responsible people. It would be reduction of political power and its transformation into a social service in the system of self-governing and constitutional democracy decisions would be consciously made and formulated by the people to be imposed on themselves.

**THE MOST** important aspect of the conception of social property would be the creation and self-guarding of culture, and the application of science, technology, knowledge and education; perhaps this would result in the institutionalization, of all relations and the objectivization of values on the basis of the consensus of the people, the concept would also mean, the overcoming of human selfishness in a process of the real and living humanization of the environment and of man in a real and not formalised society, of human warmth and sympathy; this would be the real feeling for the necessity and value of human solidarity.

The concept of social property is a social phenomenon and phenomenon process.

*Social property* is both individual and common interests; self-government and state; man, both social and human being; it would be decision making based on the self-government system of social resources. This circumvents the distance between, manual and intellectual work in economic, social and psychological terms. In passing, it may be noted that, there is more and more consonance and coincidence between manual and intellectual work, and also there is more and more economic, social and psychological engulfment between these today in some form or other. At least there is recognition that it should be so.

**Social property is a challenge to monolithicism: it is positive synthesis, creation and inclusive adjustment, but it demands planning.**

*Planning* is a function; it should be planning with economic potency indicative, declarative and scientific. The recognition of the human factor in economic growth and thereby the consequent need for training of human resource development in terms of social and cultural aspects should be realised.

*Positive education* is the most important instrument for human resource development. This recognition is getting extended to the *planning* in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and South America to-day. In spite of the different definitions of political system, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., U.K., and Israel have recognised this, as the greatest enterprise in a nation's development. Planning is required to take stock of the nation's human resources, project demands for the quantum and type of skills needed for development and take the action necessary to convert the raw human material into the technical and other skilled manpower which is necessary for increasing productivity and accelerating economic growth.

*Planning* is not only putting in the necessary material inputs but also securing their most effective utilisation. Utilisation in a crucial factor in determining the extent and pace of economic development. Material inputs and physical capital formation are necessary but by themselves they do not, constitute a sufficient condition, for economic growth.

*In the last analysis it is the human being who has to operate the instruments of production. Unless he is equipped with the necessary skills and is motivated to play his appropriate role in production and organise himself properly for the purpose with due regard to economic consideration, the developmental facilities that are created will not be utilized economically or at their optimum capacity.*

*Freedom* from material backwardness, the realization of economic development and the marked inequalities in the development of different regions and economic group the application of science and the modernization of production, and the raising of productivity of labour and the application of adequate methods of remuneration according to work performed, would be, and should be the expressions of the concept of *social property*, and this is possible only through horizontal and vertical *planning*.

Under the conditions of the existence of a Negative State and of the insufficient emancipation of man from all kinds of backwardness, irrationality and under the influence of existing aspirations of groups and individuals to use others as to the achievement of their own ends conflicts arise and they should.

**In many countries to-day, where there is an absence not only of a real social mechanism but also of any scientific theory of social reproduction economies are unable to, and unprepared to really produce for the needs of the people. The fiscal, irrational and uneven tax system, and the diffuse, class vested legal**

**system, all persuppose the permanent possibility of social property having neither the material space nor sociomoral conditions for its economic and social positive manifestation.**

**RESPONSIBILITY** is one of the basic derivatives and expressions of social property. Under every system of property and thereby in every society corresponding to it, there is a system of responsibility. The freer a community the greater and more real its responsibilities. Property has always been the basis for responsibility; in every conception of the right of property there is at least a minimum of responsibility in some form or other. In *capitalism* based on private property, the owners are responsible to their class and themselves; the worker producers are as a rule responsible only for the observance of the work order materially and criminally.

Under the system of negative ownership, the responsibility of the workers, the producers remain the same; the responsibility of the owners, the Government in this instance, is primarily hierarchic. The 'lower rung' is responsible for the higher one. Those at the top are not responsible to anyone as long as they rule. As Marx would say, bureaucratic responsibility is in fact internal, and there is no responsibility for bureaucrats for the violation of the interests and the rules of bureaucracy.

Under the system of social property, the responsibility of working communities, and of all those who participate in decision making regarding the labour process and the disposition of the product of labour is and must be both positive and unified.

*Responsibility*, is the confirmation of the right, to self management and the obligations stemming from it. It is the unity of a new right and duty; it is the link between various single rights and should be the basis for socialist co-operation and integration. The unity of responsibility is reflected in the

fact that everybody is responsible, that nobody can transfer responsibility to anyone else, and responsibility is divided according to the measure of right. In other words, man is responsible to himself, to others and to the social community.

*Responsibility, is a condition for a few, hitherto unknown relation between man and the social instruments of labour. It justifies and makes possible the abolition of property as power, and the socialization of property as a higher form of social relationships. All people, in full, should be responsible for all social resources.*

*Only a responsible society can produce responsible people, and only responsible people can create a responsible society. This is a unified process without which there is no transition from the political to the social plane and the resulting creation of social property.*

Without continuous economic progress, without the development of science and its application, without the continuous and real education and culture of people, without the existence of positive values with regard to labour, income, abilities and without an incessant quest for new solution in a true democratic atmosphere, which is not manipulated or exploited by anyone it is not possible to establish the foundations for social property.

*Social property* is a vehicle and an expression of the emancipation of any kind of labour and thereby producers from the domination and exploitation of man and political arbitrariness. It is more than nationalization of capital and the general political status of people is a macrosociety. It should be based on opinion, sincerity and human, vertical and horizontal solidarity. It would be the transformation of the entire working people; everyone in the society would be a working man. The working man's effort should be increased and should increase with a same of positive, common purpose.

Man, should develop a sense of critical attitude towards himself, thereby evolving national, scientific and human living philosophy. The concept of social property, is an economic, political, cultural human attitude and construction, and if necessary reconstruction.

*Politics of Violence*

## YANKEE IMAGE: STILL THE SHARPSHOOTING COWBOY, BUT IN NEWER GARBS

DESPITE the Peace Corps or the Food-for-Peace Programme, the American in 1968 presents an image not very different from the sharp-shooting Hollywood cowboy charging westward with his gun. He has, of course, benefited from the improved technology available to him: fast-moving machines have minimized his dependence on the proverbial mount and improved fire-arms have vastly increased his ability to destroy. But in one respect he falls far short of his film counterpart — he is not always as invincible though potentially still omnipresent “in defence of the Free World.”

by Aswini K. Ray

role have also been considerable. Sometimes the listless voice of a lone liberal is heard questioning “the health and the quality of our own society”; sometimes a cry of anguish, like the confession of the Democratic leaders, “Instead of being the makers of history, we have become the victims of history”; or perhaps like the American apostle of non-violence Martin Luther King, appealing to the essential charity of a human existence. All these “aberrations” are allowed to exist in the realm of ideas as long as they remain within the broad contours of permissible dissent, but when they threaten to be potential sources of a “politics of permissiveness”, the authoritarianism of the “Free World” clamps them with an iron hand. Dallas in 1963, Memphis and Los Angeles in 1968 witnessed the same sordid spectacle.

Nemesis has been swift. The cumulative impact of years of suffering for one-fifth of the American people in the midst of abounding prosperity for the rest, of racial intolerance based on a sense of superiority, of liberal human ideals finding no scope within the permissible limits of capitalist democratic values have led to a series of chain reactions.

It has led to extremism on both sides — those seeking to build a real “New World” and those seeking to retain the old world. Both have become intolerant of each other, the one with the hopelessness of its success and the other with the desperation of its ideals. Black Power, Youth Power, Poor Peoples March, Civil Rights Movement represent the positive

With the emergence of this nation of emigres as the most “powerful” single nation in the world, the logic of absolute power has worked in tune with the inexorable laws of history to its own detriment. Every coffin carrying “our boys” back home from Vietnam or elsewhere has added a new meaning to what Robert Kennedy aptly described as “our position in the world,” about US pretensions “to be the policeman of the rest of the globe”.

It is no wonder, therefore, that with the officially-recorded US war losses in Vietnam crossing the 200,000 mark (27,509 killed, 171,000 wounded and 1,197 missing) — more than the US casualties in Korea or of the French in Vietnam — voices have been raised from under the Statue of Liberty that “we cannot send American troops to assume the burden of the fighting and defend corrupt and repressive governments unable or unwilling to gain the support of their own nation”.

THE REPERCUSSIONS on US society of this world policeman’s

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7. SOCIALIST THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

Quarterly - December 1966.

side of the former and Hippies, Yippies its the negative side. Of the later, the Ku Klux Klan and the White Backlash represent the negative side and the movements for "law and order" and "jobs not welfare" the positive side.

**THE RESULTANT CLASHES** of ideas and interests have led to a situation where, according to the *New York Times*, "almost all of our institutions are in the throes of some kind of trauma which is putting the middleaged generation in particular to terrible tests". The paper bemoaned that "almost nothing — 'as we know it' — seems likely to survive unchanged by the resolution of our youth, the anguish of our disadvantaged, and the strain of involvement in a war that has not been adequately explained along the way and rarely handled with sufficient foresight and skill".

This is exactly what Walter Lippman meant when he quoted Erasmus to describe American society as facing an "irremediable confusion of everything." He said, despite "the glittering promises of science and technology", the American mind is divided and distracted by its inability "to come to terms with the crisis in the the family, the church, the State and the schools".

The present generation of Americans have come to live with the growing phenomenon of political and social violence. Some like President Johnson implicitly eulogize it as when he says: "I'm best when the bullets begin whizzing around my head." Mr Hubert Humphrey continues to be "much happier with the Vietnam policy after March 31 than before", Mr. Nixon expresses his dislike of anything that affects "the credibility of American power all over the world." To be in tune with the general conformism of the bulk of Americans is an urge which the two nominated Presidential candidates can ill afford to ignore.

In the prevailing situation it may prove to be disastrous for any aspirant to the White House, as was underlined by the assassination of Robert Kennedy and the defeat of Senator McCarthy. Hence the resignation of the top leaders to the state of affairs existing in American social and political life despite the indignation of some second-rankers expressed in the secured protection of convention halls to provide an apparent variety to the political life of the New World.

Despite the clamour of the liberal intellectuals to replace the 'law of the gun' by the 'law of the land' the legislators keep appeasing the gun manufacturers and the Rifle Clubs supported by them. The hue and cry raised by some during the recent series of political assassinations was met by the Congress Bill banning inter-state mail order of firearms.

This provision only helped protect local manufacturers whose sales have consequently buoyed up partly because of the new ban and partly because the firearms surrendered to the police and thrown into the sea in the wake of the popular indignation caused by Kennedy's assassination had to be made good. The leader of the "Free World" today remains probably the only civilized country where trading in guns is neither banned nor controlled.

**THE RECENT** American political euphemism calling for 'law and order' reflects a sense of desperation on the part of the beneficiaries of capitalist development keen to perpetuate the status quo. It is the same group who welcomed Mayor Daley after his brutal repression of the anti-Vietnam war demonstrators at Chicago, as "King Richard" with a "Hooray for Daley and Pride of the US-Chicago police". The Mayor in his turn criticised the "terrorists" and "revolutionaries", who, according to him, had the "dual goal of immediate disruption and ultimate destruction". The homily has gone

home and not many are keen to investigate why 15,000 people risked their lives by evoking the wrath of the defenders of "law and order".

Yet there are the incorrigible optimists like Kennedy and McCarthy who see the "winds of change" in the "new lexicon of verbal violence." The New Left, the Liberals, Black Power, Youth Power, Vietniks, Hippies, Yippies all seek to change the status quo. They express, as the noted French author-diplomat Romain Gary said, "the despair of a new romantic generation", 'fighting against the injustices of society in the belief that only violence can lead to change'. They have no blueprint for change, but are "convinced that they must destroy everything in order to build the same thing once more."

**In the process of destroying, often they are destroyed. But they keep parading before the Lincoln Memorial with the spirit of Father Abe whose oration at Gettysburg a century back still inspires them with the thought that "they shall not die in vain."**



### "NO" TO PEACE CORPS

*Hyderabad, Oct. 20*

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has decided not to have any fresh American Peace Corps batch in the State. According to an official spokesman there are about 60 volunteers in the State. They would leave when their terms expired. Following criticism in the State legislature recently, the Government evaluated the work of the Peace Corps and it was found that there was no need to have any Peace Corps volunteers, it was stated.

Hongkong The Keyhole

# WHAT GOES ON IN CHINA ?

*This is the first of a series of articles by the writer, who was till recently PATRIOT'S correspondent in Moscow. He will report on other impressions of Hongkong and on Soviet Siberia which he visited on his way to India.*

by F. Unnikrishnan

enjoy prestige among the colonists and at the best of times sell not more than a few hundred copies.

**THE TRANSLATION** services produce mountains of material. The problem is sifting through it and extracting information. This is China-watching. I do not suggest that the game is futile. Far from it. It can be as rewarding as it is frustrating. For, the best equipped and informed of China-watchers will not know what precisely is going on in China. For that matter, not even the unfortunate diplomats and correspondents stationed in Peking will. The Hongkong specialists I have spoken to, however, believe they are able to follow with a fair amount of accuracy and success the broad trends in China, the tortuous course of the Cultural Revolution and the fortunes of some of the leaders.

For instance, they are convinced on the basis of the material they have, that Mao has virtually called off the Cultural Revolution, having failed to achieve his aims fully, whatever they were. He has not been able to establish his supremacy all over the country, not even in a majority of provinces. The Revolutionary Committees that have sprung up in provinces as the result of compromise far outnumber those over which Mao has absolute authority.

How do they make these deductions and what prognostications do they base on them ? It was early in September that formation of revolutionary committee in the last of the Chinese provinces — Sinkiang and Tibet — was announced. This was accompanied by a lot of festivity, which was suggestive of the end of a phase of the Maoist experiment.

**THE SPECIALISTS** maintain careful lists of places from which resistance had been reported in the various stages of the Cultural Revolution. And when the names that were denounced reappear on the new Revolutionary Committees there, it follows that Mao has not had his way.

*The forecast is that China is now passing increasingly under the influence of moderates and that it is slowly getting back to business. Diplomatic relations and contacts are being brought back as much as normalcy as could be expected. There had been a few official visits lately including visits by personalities from Pakistan, Nepal and Albania. Excesses against resident diplomats have ceased. Abuse of neighbours like Burma, Cambodia and others is in a lower key while, of course the Soviet Union and India are understandably given the usual preferential treatment. It may not be long before diplomats called for cultural brain-washing are sent back to their posts.*

The increasing emphasis now on working class supremacy — a tenet of Marxism conveniently overlooked in the course of the Cultural Revolution — shows that an attempt is being made to put the party machinery back on its track. Many in Hongkong think that a Communist Party Congress will be held before the end of the year or early next year. At the moment there is a great deal of overlapping of administration which is carried on by three parallel organizations — the Revolutionary Committees, the Party, wherever it survives or is being revived, and whatever remains of the normal Administrative apparatus.

**THE BEST GUESS** that I have heard in Hongkong is that at the forthcoming Congress the abolition of the Government may be announced with much fanfare, representing it as another leap-forward — or back-ward, only the future can tell — in socialist development. This is possible because abolition of the rump of an ad-

**MUCH** of the world meets China in Hongkong. It gets more than a keyhole view of China, literally and metaphorically. The border is only about twenty miles from Kowloon, marked by a rivulet and a forbidding wire-fence. Hundreds of tourists gaze across the frontier, at the grazing Chinese cattle which look like any other of their breed, at the distant smoking chimneys, the only other sign of life beyond.

But more look at China from the air-conditioned comfort of their apartments in Kowloon or Hongkong. Newspapers arrive from China. The British and the Americans have vast organizations translating every scrap of printed material received from the other side of the border and distributing them with messianic zeal. Scores of people are engaged to listen in to broadcasts, provincial as well as from Peking. I have heard of a CIA agent who has a radio tuned to a different Chinese station in every room of his multi-storied apartment and hopping all day from room to room "gazing" at China.

The papers and the radio are not the only sources of material on China. Hundreds of refugees arrive by boat or train and they are put to the most thorough questioning. The Hongkong Chinese press, the so-called left-wing press, is supposed to have its own pipeline and they are the only papers with anything like a circulation. The others in English

ministration which is in any case taken for granted by the Revolutionary Committees and the Party can lead to no more disorder. In fact, it will lessen the confusion and will be a step forward.

With these exciting prospects in store, the importance of China-watchers grows at least in their own estimation. However, not a few of them have confessed to me freely that China-watching has its blind-spots too. For instance, as late as in mid-September, opinion remained sharply divided on whether Mao was alive or dead. There were many serious scholars in Hongkong who believe that Mao is dead, that he who passes for Mao is only a dummy. I do not know if they will change their mind, regardless of whatever consequences it may have for reality, in the light or report about Mao's appearance in public on the National Day (1 October).

Other unit area of China-watching are: the relative influence and position of leaders in the hierarchy, and the composition and strength of the extremist, moderate and so-called revisionist sections in the hierarchy. It is generally believed that Chou En-lai leads the liberals and he is on the rise.

**CHINESE LEADERS** are super-sensitive to criticism, particularly people like Mr. Chou En-lai who mistook Nehru's affection at Bandung for patronage. But they are inexplicably tolerant towards the Hongkong pundits. In fact they seem to be wanting to lure more of their tribe into Hongkong, and encourage a past-time which can do no great harm while it yields a lot of hard currency.

It is curious that except for an occasional outburst against impersonal American imperialism China takes no note of the daily calls that American warships make at Hongkong for recreation and supplies. For the GI in Vietnam, Hongkong is a favourite rest resort. There are hundreds of them roaming the streets any time of the day or

night, passing under the banners of Mao outside the scores of Department stores run by China.

The Hongkong administration which is eager to propitiate the gods in Peking lavishes all the hospitality it is capable of on the GIs who in turn spend wads of dollars in brothels and bars. It is an irony that out of fear of Peking, Hongkong is wary of admitting Soviet newsmen or permitting Soviet trade organizations or shipping lines to open branches in Hongkong, although a Soviet ship like the "Baikal" I came in from Nakhodka calls there every month bringing non-Soviet tourists.

*If the "world" meets China in Hongkong, China apparently has no objection so long as it pays. China earns nearly 700 million dollars a year or a substantial part of its hard currency from Hongkong. Apart from running a chain of stores, it sells food and water and receives more than 300 million dollars by way of remittance home from Chinese labourers. "Borrowed land, Borrowed time", they say in Hongkong in describing the colony's political and economic status. A Colony by Consent will be a more appropriate description.*

*Who Are The Main Pillars Behind*

## **Racist Conspiracy In Africa?**

by **Maindy Msimang**

**RACIALISM** in South Africa, the ideology of white supremacy and black inferiority, was born with the invasion of our country by white settlers in the seventeenth century.

During the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Boers carried out their policy of intrusion, theft, fraud and aggression against the African people in our country. The

In the Cape alone there were nine wars of resistance against 9th Boer encroachment, waged continuously over a period of 100 years. In every one of these wars our people were defending their land, their livestock and themselves from enslavement. Today Vorster and his racialists try to distort the facts of history and falsely claim that the whites occupied vast empty portions of South Africa peaceably. Everywhere Boers went, in Natal, Transvaal, Free State and Basutoland, they met with fierce resistance from our people.

The valiant armed resistance of our people which lasted in all for more than 220 years, was eventually subdued, and the grand design for the colonialization of our country, national oppression and the exploitation of our people was completed. All the fertile portions of our country were grabbed by the whites, and Africans were driven into reserves. Every aspect of the development of our people was stifled. Their political and social organizations were completely disrupted. Their culture and languages were despised and they were described as barbarians, savages and kaffirs. Their only value to the whites was cheap labour.

**UNTIL** the discovery of gold and diamonds, South Africa was largely an agricultural country with a feudal economy. The whites owned the land and the Africans were allowed to live on white-owned farms only if the whole family, man, wife and children, worked for the farmer for the greater part of the year. In return the African was allowed to till a very small portion of land for himself. This system still prevails in many parts of our country. Sometimes the reward is a few bags of the produce for the African family.

Even after their military defeat the African did not readily and voluntarily work for the whites; numerous devices were used to compel them to work. Among these, taxation and the pass laws were prominent. The pass laws introduced



during the days of slavery are even today one of the most ruthless instruments of exploitation.

The discovery of gold and diamond laid the foundation for racial discrimination in industry. The original artisans and skilled workers in the mines were naturally whites who came from Europe with experience in modern mining. The Africans who have no such experience were employed for the more arduous unskilled work on very low wages. This system proved extremely profitable to the gold miners and has been maintained in all industries. White workers monopolize all skilled work while all the dirty manual work has to be done by those who are not white. White workers are bribed to support the system by better conditions of work and higher wages. The ratio between the average wage earnings of whites and Africans is approximately 15 to 1.

**THE** mining industry was a marriage between international capital and local feudalism. Both the imperialists and the whites in South Africa found in racialism a common instrument for national oppression, exploitation and accumulation of fabulous profits. It is true that this alliance was not without its internal conflict and contradictions, but these were secondary. This is clearly demonstrated by the history of the agreement between the different white parties on racialism irrespective of whether they represented the imperialists or the mining or farming classes in South Africa. Mining was the beginning of the most ruthless plunder of the mineral resources of our country.

Mining not only attracted international capital and imperialism to South Africa but, just as in the days of slavery, men were brought from many parts of Africa which had been subjugated. They came from East Africa, Angola, Congo, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mozambique and West Africa. The recruiting corporations took the place of the

slave markets but the purpose was basically the same.

The total and absolute exclusion of Africans and non-White minority groups is the basis for the absence of rights in South Africa.

**THE** indigenous people enjoy no recognition as persons before the law and are subjected daily to arbitrary arrest, detention, exile, torture, banishment and inhuman treatment.

Our right to freedom of movement and residence is savagely controlled and regimented by the Pass Laws and the Group Areas Act which prescribe how far we should travel and where we should live.

The free choice of employment and the right to just and favourable conditions of work including the right to form and join trade unions have been eroded by a complex of job reservation laws which enable the racist regime to dictate classes of work in which Africans may not engage. Where employment opportunities exist, these may only be acquired through Government labour bureaux and retained for so long as the labour bureau authorities decide so.

When wages are related to the cost of specific commodities, the considerable differences in income of the race groups becomes clear. To cite a few examples: To be able to buy a suit costing £ 25, a White man has to work 40 hours 40 minutes, a coloured man has to work 166 hours 22 minutes and an African for 238 hours and 8 minutes. A white person, to be able to purchase a quart of milk, has to work for 7 minutes, a coloured person for 28 minutes and an African for 40 minutes. To be able to buy a dozen eggs, a White person has to work for 16 minutes, a coloured person for 1 hour 4 minutes and an African for 1 hour 31 minutes.

Our right to acquire and own property has been removed and arbitrary deprivation of property

continues constantly, as a result of which families and communities are uprooted and herded into barren and unproductive ghettos.

Under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act young men and women of different race groups are denied the right to marry and found families. As a result of the incident involving a South African poet living in Paris who had asked for permission to visit South Africa with his Vietnamese wife, the Government took steps to deny recognition in South Africa of marriages between white South Africans and non-white foreigners living abroad.

Education has been debased, corrupted and designed to condition the non-Whites to their subjugation and to create conditions which ensure that there is no intellectual competition with the Whites. Opportunities for higher education are being controlled even beyond South Africa's borders. In April this year a law was gazetted to the effect that university degrees obtained in India would no longer be recognized.

Freedom of expression against apartheid and the right to peaceful assembly and association are effectively prevented. To advocate the end of apartheid is treasonable and punishable by long terms of imprisonment and even with the death penalty. Popular African political organizations have been proscribed and meetings of more than 10 Africans banned. Some patriotic freedom fighters have been executed and others are languishing in jail. Acts of brutality and torture of Africans by white police in and out of prison are too numerous to recount.

Social gatherings at private houses where Africans are to be present are prohibited and South Africans are unable to attend cultural or sporting events attended by members of any other racial group.

It is admitted by Government and private research organizations that more than 87 percent of African

families live below subsistence level. The infant mortality rate of African children is among the highest in the world — 400 per 1000 live births — while that of White children is 27 per 1,000. Malnutrition takes toll of thousands of African children each year.

The situation is not very different in the neighbouring territories of Rhodesia, Mozambique, Namibia and Angola.

**THE MOST** sinister contrivance by the racist regimes of Vorster, Salazar and Ian Smith in Southern Africa, however, was the setting up and consolidation of an unholy alliance whose principal aim is to fortify their position as bastions of reaction in Southern Africa. South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia have evolved a common ideology which is the maintenance of colonialism, racism and fascism. They now hold a common economic objective which is the ruthless exploitation of the indigenous peoples and their resources. They share a common political and military strategy designed not only for the ruthless suppression of indigenous peoples but also to stem spread of the African Revolution and to subvert it where it has been successful.

Who are the main pillars behind the unholy alliance? It is Britain, the United States, France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium and Japan. They are the only countries with a huge and growing stake in the oppression and exploitation of our people. They sabotage all efforts to end Vorster's apartheid in South Africa and South-West Africa, Salazar's fascism in Mozambique and Angola, and Smith's oppression of the people of Rhodesia.

In order to perpetuate colonialism and fascism the imperialists have actively and directly assisted in transforming Southern Africa into a concentration camp and a military theatre. Race hatred and a war hysteria reminiscent of Nazi Germany are being whipped up among the whites who are being armed to the teeth to protect this obnoxious system. In Rhodesia, Smith's army

is British trained and equipped with British arms. Portugal is being supplied by the NATO powers with arms to fight against the liberation movement in Mozambique and Angola. But perhaps nowhere else in Southern Africa have imperialist efforts been pooled to create a military monster as in South Africa. The United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Belgium have individually and collectively supplied South Africa with arms and equipment as well as with the technical knowhow to create the biggest arsenal in Africa.

#### *Japan Food Aid To Developing Countries*

## High Internal Price Of Rice A Problem

*Tokyo*

The Government has reportedly decided to fulfil its obligation in the proposed international food aid to developing nations suffering food shortage by providing 60 per cent of Japan's aid quota in rice and other grains and the remaining 40 per cent in fertilizer and farming equipment. According to Government sources, the Government has now decided to make up 40 per cent of its aid share with foodstuffs to fully meet Japan's obligations under the International Cereal Agreement for International Food Assistance reached in June last year. The Agreement was concluded among advanced nations at Geneva along with the across-the-board international tariff cut accord reached in the so-called Kennedy Round Talks that had continued for more than four years.

The Government, according to the source, has also opted another plan to ensure the efficacy of the proposed fertilizer and agricultural equipment supplies to developing nations. The plan calls for setting aside a certain amount of funds in its budget and place it at the disposal of food-short developing nations as a monetary grant to buy farming machinery and implements from Japan. The recipients

of the grant is to specify before hand what kind of equipment they need. Under the International Grain Agreement, all advanced nations had committed themselves to supply an annual total of 4,500,000 tons of free food (wheat) to developing nations needing such aid during a three-year period starting this year.

Japan's share of the total was fixed, in monetary terms, at U.S. dollar 14,300,000. Japan was allowed to fulfil its share either in cereals, fertilizer, farming equipment or cash because of its peculiar food supply system. *But, these sources said, the Japanese Government will not be able to give such aid to more than two nations in addition to Indonesia at least for this Japanese fiscal year 1968 because it has already decided to provide U.S. dollar 5 million worth of such aid to Indonesia.*

That leaves a balance of only U.S. dollar 2,500,000 out of a total of U.S. dollar 7,150,000 in such aid budgeted for this fiscal year. (The aid fixed for Indonesia consists of U.S. dollar 3 million in cereals and U.S. dollar 2 million in fertilizer and farming equipment).

To supply the proposed cereal for this fiscal year, the Japanese authorities are most likely to purchase rice from Thailand, Burma or Taiwan and forward it to the countries to be assisted because rice is a Government-controlled commodity in Japan and hard to export, they said. Some officials have suggested the use of more than 2,000,000 tons of last year's undisposed rice crops in the Government's stock. However, they feared that such use will worsen the deficits in the Government's foodstuff control account. Then too, the Japanese rice is much higher priced than the international average, which means that the use of foreign rice is more practical, they added.

Such prospective recipient nations as India, Pakistan, Laos and the United Arab Republic had called for Japan's early start of its promised food aid.

*Kyodo News Service*

*Important and Significant*

# The Soviet—Czech Treaty: Temporary Stationing Of Troops No Breach Of Sovereignty

THE CZECHOSLOVAK topic continues to interest the world public. Signed in Prague and ratified by both sides, the Treaty between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on CSSR territory has become news No. 1. The Hungarian newspaper *Magyar Nemzet* described this document as an event of outstanding international significance. The enemies of peace and socialism are confused and disappointed their instigatory campaign has failed.

It is worth while pondering about the varied aspects of this historic event. The simple, absolutely clear and legally substantiated points of the Treaty just concluded put an end to inventions about 'occupation', 'invention' and 'interference' of five socialist states in the affairs of allied Czechoslovakia. The limited contingents of Soviet troops, that are staying in that country, are designed, together with Czechoslovak armed forces and in close collaboration with them, exclusively for the purposes of defending the country. *There are quite enough 'precedents' in the contemporary world when both modern military technique and tasks of defending against encroachments of imperialism on foreign lands call for vigilant attention to the defence of peaceloving states, the sovereignty and full state independence of a country where these troops are stationed suffer no damage.*

THE TEXT of the Treaty reads: the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. do not violate its sovereignty. Soviet troops do not interfere in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It is pointed out in the Treaty that all the other Soviet troops

by Boris Leontyev

now staying in Czechoslovakia, as well as the troops of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the German Democratic Republic will be fully withdrawn in the course of two months.

The aims of the troops that stay are clear and limited. Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Alexei Kosygin, said in Prague that the Treaty concluded was prompted by the concern of socialist countries for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe where the peaceful life of the peoples is being threatened by growing revanchist aspirations of the West German militarist and the intensification of war preparations of the NATO aggressive bloc".

Chairman of the Czechoslovak Government Cernik, in his report to the CSSR National Assembly, emphasised, among other things, that the necessity of defending the common interests of socialist countries and their revolutionary gains led the governments of both countries to the conclusion about the inevitability of the temporary stationing of a definite contingent of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory. He also recalled that for any crime and offence Soviet servicemen will be tried out under Czechoslovak laws by Czechoslovak organs and the upkeep costs of Soviet troops will be met by the Soviet side. **Czechoslovakia's sovereignty suffers no impingement. The socialist community is not weakened, said Cernik, on the contrary it grows stronger.**

THE FOLLOWING principled point made by the head of the CSSR government is very important: the balance of forces in the world and the common interests of socialist

countries, including Czechoslovakia, impose on us certain duties, which we cannot lightly - minded reject.

Wide international comments speak of the significance of the treaty. It is worth dividing them into three categories. *First*, these are friendly responses from supporters of socialism, those people who in August too saw the peaceful nature of actions taken by five socialist countries and which did not encroach on Czechoslovakia's sovereignty and the reforms she conducted. *Secondly*, it is the impression from the allied treaty between the USSR and the CSSR felt by those of the progressive western circles who initially, under the influence of misinformation from bourgeois agencies and the slander they spread, 'hastened' with their conclusions. Sound correct

## THE BANISHED BOER

To flaunt the colour of one's skin  
In sport is a most heinous sin.  
It's pride and arrogance of race  
Which world opinion must efface.  
For in the classless field of sport  
Where men are equal as in Court,  
The only claim to which they yield  
Is prowess on the track or field;  
And here the victor has the grace  
To hold the vanquished in  
embrace;

A common goal, a high ideal  
Bind sportsmen in a bond so real.  
This spirit must all men uphold,  
Despite the urgent lure of gold,  
Or soulless men would propagate  
Johannes Vorster's hymn of hate.  
So let the leprous Boer remain  
Expelled and exiled - not in vain -  
Till fit to mingle with free men  
Of saner views. We say, Amen.

MERVYN CASIE CHETTY

and sober appraisals are being heard from France, Belgium, Italy and Britain. The Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty has been concluded with the aim of defending socialist gains, strengthening peace and security in Europe, writes the Danish newspaper *Land og Folk*.

But there is also a *third* 'category'. These are western reactionary circles. They understand the failure of their fabrications. Their calculations to split the socialist camp and to tear Czechoslovakia from the socialist community have been dashed. **What have they now to say?** *The Associated Press*, reporting from Prague, that only 10 per cent of the Soviet troops will remain in Czechoslovakia nevertheless mumbles that the Treaty was allegedly born as a result of 'military pressure' on Czechoslovakia.

**THE** *London Times* is now thinking up various versions of internal differences in Czechoslovakia, and a possible, to its opinion, 'split' in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, without giving any evidence to support these fabrications. The same *Times* does not dare to deny that all state organs of Czechoslovakia, including the National Assembly, showed unanimity during the ratification of the Treaty on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops and that the reforms planned in January are continuing.

Nothing is left of all the earlier slanderous and panicky reports in the western press concerning the destiny of Czechoslovakia itself and 'danger' of Soviet 'invasion' of other countries, 'dangers' created by the August 21 events. Nevertheless, two American newspapers *Washington Post* and *Washington Evening Star* commenting on the visit of Katzenbach, US Under-Secretary of State, to Yugoslavia, again make assurances that this visit was paid to underline the determination of the United Nations not to allow a Soviet invasion into Yugoslavia. The gimmick which has been shown to be false and unsuitable, has again been put to practical use, but of late,

*it is clear to the entire world how false were the inventions about 'aggressive designs' of the Soviet Union. These inventions were designed only to galvanise the disintegrating Atlantic military bloc and to step up the arms race.*

**BUT** one side, one of the NATO members, still does not part with fabrications. Brandt, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, while visiting Chile, deemed it necessary to declare that "the Soviet doctrine of socialist solidarity proclaimed in face of the United Nations may have far-reaching consequences, reaching

beyond the limits of the Atlantic alliance". Brandt does not specify the consequences. Nor does he mention that it is the West, not the Soviet Union, that engages in making 'doctrines'. No one will be allowed to interfere in the affairs of socialist states, to try to split them and to undermine the socialist system from inside'. This does not please Brandt.

**The Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty, which is so clearly demonstrating the growing unity of the socialist camp, has dealt a blow to the calculations of those who speak of nothing else but a redrawing of the European frontiers.**

### *Comparative Religion*

## **The Dhammapadam And The Epistle**

### **To The Galatians**

*(The stanzas refer to the Dhammapadam, and the verses to the fifth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians in the Latin version.)*

**THE OPENING** stanza of the Dhammapadam speaks of the mind - the mind is either pure or impure. The Epistle to the Galatians (verse 16) speaks of the impulses or desires of the spirit, and to the impulses or desires of the flesh, and either is clean contrary to the other, it says.

Stanza 3 goes on to speak against anger, and these arise from jealousies and quarrels. Stanza 5 advocates loving-kindness, and it says that this is the ancient Law. Stanza 7 speaks out against delighting in visual forms with senses unsubdued, and against being immoderate in food, or sluggish and inert. These last could almost be equated with incontinence, luxury, drunkenness and debauchery, mentioned in Galatians.

On the other hand, stanza 8, which advocates strenuousness as a virtue, does not seem to have its

by Titus Handuna

counterpart in the twelve beatitudes, imparted by the spirit, which are mentioned in Galatians, unless love, kindness, generosity and gentleness can be regarded as active virtues; for the practice of these would entail some kind of activity and, not only that but, a degree of alertness which would let no opportunity slip of meeting, with these virtues, those opportunities which evoke them, for an opportunity missed is tantamount to practising the opposite vice.

What is said in stanza 11 about the false, and the pasture-ground of wrong thoughts, might be equated with idolatry in Galatians, for the people who practise this - never arrive at the real, says the Dhammapadam.

Stanza 13 speaks out directly against lust, and stanza 15 against the evil-doer. Stanza 20 comes out against hatred. Stanza 27 says plainly - Have no intimacy with sensuous delight. The whole of chapter 2 in the Dhammapadam recounts the blessings that come

from vigilance. Chapter 3 speaks of the perils of an undisciplined mind. Stanza 38 speaks of the inconstant mind. This would appear to be the mind which lacks faith (Galatians).

The virtuous man diffuses fragrance in all directions, says stanza 54 and the next stanza speaks of the fragrance of virtue. The wise control themselves, says stanza 80. This seems to be the whole tenor of Galatians, chapter 5, verses 16-24, which we now quote in full:—

“Learn to live and move in the spirit; then there is no danger of you giving way to the impulses of corrupt nature. The impulses of nature and the impulses of the spirit are at war with one another; either is clean contrary to the other, and that is why you cannot do all that your will approves. It is by letting the spirit lead you that you free yourselves from the yoke of the law. It is easy to see what effects proceed from corrupt nature; they are such things as adultery, impurity, incontinence, luxury, idolatry, witchcraft, feuds, quarrels, jealousies, outbursts of anger, rivalries, dissensions, factions, spite, murder, drunkenness, and debauchery. I warn you, as I have warned you before, that those who live in such a way will not inherit God’s kingdom. Whereas the spirit yields a harvest of love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, forbearance, gentleness, faith, courtesy, temperateness, purity. No law can touch lives such as these; those who belong to Christ have crucified nature, with all its passions, all its impulses.”

Stanza 83 decries lusting for everything and hankering after delights, and the next stanza asks people not to desire sons, wealth or kingdom. Further, “one should not desire one’s success by unjust means”. Stanza 87 and 88 say: “Forsaking the ways of darkness let the wise man follow the ways of light. . . Giving up sensual pleasures.

the wise man should cleanse himself from defilements of the mind.” Stanza 103 says: “Though one should conquer in battle thousands and thousands of men, yet he is the noblest victor who would conquer himself”.

IN THE quotation from Galatians given above, reference is made to corrupt nature and the impulses of nature. The Dhammapadam has more to say about this. Here are some of the phrases it uses: this heap of accumulated noisomeness, diseased (stanza 147), a nest of disease, and perishable (148), a city built of bones and coated with flesh and blood, wherein are deposited decay, death, pride and jealousy (150). “It is difficult, indeed, to control oneself” (stanza 159). Stanza 179 makes a direct reference to conquered passions.

Forbearance (stanza 184 and verse 22), the peaceful (stanza 201) and peace (verse 22), happiness (stanza 206) and joy (22) are fruits that are directly linked in the Dhammapadam and the Epistle to the Galatians. Stanza 231 says: “Be your guard against insubordination of the body, be controlled in deeds. Forsaking evil ways in deeds, follow right ways in deeds”. Stanza 233 says: “Be your guard against insubordination of mind, be controlled in thoughts”.

As regards the virtue of temperateness, this is what the Dhammapadam has to say: “Good is restraint of sight. Good is restraint of hearing. Good is restraint of smell. Good is restraint of taste. (Stanza 360). Good is restraint in deed. Good is restraint in word. Good is restraint in thought. Good is restraint everywhere. (Stanza 361)”. The fruits of joy and faith are mentioned in stanza 381. The impulses of nature are referred to as sense-desires in stanza 383. The vice of impurity is referred to directly in stanza 3-8. Gentleness is referred to directly in stanza 408.

### SUICIDE TRICK

*Djakaria, Oct. 14*

An Indonesian boy who pretended to commit suicide to scare his parents will never play the same trick again. He was rushed to hospital as a suspected poisoning case, but doctors soon found out that there was nothing wrong with the youth, who was upset with his parents, because they stopped giving him money to go out with his girl friend. To teach him a lesson, doctors rushed him to the operation theatre and rigged up an impressive array of equipment for major surgery—before the boy took fright and bolted for his life.

### MAO’S SACRED MANGOES

One of a few mangoes presented by Mao Tse-tung to the Red Guards is on exhibition in the Peking airport runway. It is kept in a glass case and guarded day and night by men of the People’s Liberation Army. It is now rotting and none knows what to do with it. Neither airport officials nor party men dare take a decision for fear of reprisals. The mangoes given by Mao to the Red Guards were presented to him by the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Arshad Husain. Mao gave some of the mangoes to Hong Kong communists and one of them was brought here from Kwangtung province under escort. The mango is now locked up in the Bank of China building and every day dedicated communists go there to have a look at the sacred object. Here again, the bank authorities are unable to decide what to do with the rotting fruits.

# FILM PAGE

● **THE SILENCERS**, Meadway-Claude Productions, Columbia Pictures release, in Colour by Pathe, now showing at the *REGAL THEATRE*, has something new added to the increasingly popular intrigue and action films, with their super villains and super special agents, their glamorous girls and their death-dealing gadgets. The additional new is Dean Martin, and he plays Matt Helm, pleasure loving play-boy photographer with a sense of humour and a flair for fighting in this movie. Dean is suave, sophisticated and always ready to forget his work in order to look at a pretty girl. Abetting Dean Martin are some of Hollywood's loveliest young women as well as some of filmdom's finer villains. Also contributing to the excitement and entertainment of the film, is an imaginative expansion of the ways in which the villains operate are foiled, and a lavish, even spectacular, use of sets and of

locations. Dean's bachelor apartment is a joy to behold, as are the girls who stay therein, either actually or in the dreams inspired by his unique multi-purpose round bed. His private swimming pool is fun, too. Hollywood's most skilled car drivers were used in the spectacular chase scene that feature several existing sequences in the film. One of the more dangerous feats in the movie utilised is a huge moving van that actually disguised an electronics spy agency central room, with a ramp in a trailer that ejects a fast moving station wagon. When filmed, the moving van was travelling sixty miles in one direction as the station wagon roared down the ramp and onto the road, going in the opposite direction as it hit the mountain road.

Chinese Agent Tung-Tze (VICTOR BUONO), from his underground headquarters, masterminds a ring planning to divert an American missile which will destroy Alamogordo. Matt Helm (DEAN MARTIN), retired from the counter espionage agency known as ICE, is living it up in a bachelor's dream world which includes an unique multi-purpose round bed, a bubble bath swimming pool and a secretary named Lovey Kravezit (BEVERLY ADAMS). ICE is unable to persuade Helm to return to action but his former spy mate, Tina Batori (DALIAH LAVI), succeeds after she prevents one of Tung-Tze's more enticing agents from knifing Helm while she is kissing him. With some incredible new weapons at his command, Helm and Tina head for Phoenix, Arizona, where a defecting U.S. scientist is to pass a computer tape over to a Tung-Tze agent. In Phoenix, they tangle with mixed up Gali Hendricks (STELLA STEVENS), either a nice girl of another kissing killer, and with Sam Gunther (ROBERT WEBBER), a singing cowboy who is trying to double-cross the Tung-Tze mob. At the Slaygirls Club, strip-dancer Sarita (CYD CHARISSE) is murdered by Gunther, and Gail is suspected by Helm of having the tape. Trying to prove herself innocent, Gail drives Helm to

Tung-Tze's hideout where, eventually, they are trapped. They meet the cowboy, real leader of the gang, but Helm outwits and out-fights the enemy agents with seconds to go. The missile remains on course, and Helm is at his pleasures again.

3rd Week

## KINGSLEY PLAZA

10 A.M. 2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

**M. G. R. Saroja Devi  
Nambiar Asokan  
Thangavelu** in

## PARAKKUM PAAVAI

COLOUR

14th Week

## LIDO

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

## RAJ—Negombo

9 a.m. 5 & 9 p.m.

- **RAJ KAPOOR**
- **VYJANTHIMALA**
- **RAJENDRAKUMAR**

in  
Raj Kapoor's

## SANGAM

Technicolor

Music: Shankar, Jaikishan

6th Week

## GAMINI

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

## RUHUNU KUMARI

## CAPITOL

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

**Sivaji Savithri  
Gemini Devika** in

## Paava Mannippu

Air Conditioned  
**LIBERTY**

Charlton Heston

Yul Brynner

in

Cecil B. De Mille's

## THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Technicolor

## CENTRAL

Limited Engagement

Siviji Gemini

Jayalalitha Savithri

in

A. L. S. Productions

## KANDAN KARUNI

(Eastman Color)

The screenplay for the movie was penned by Oscar Saul, based on novels by Donald Hamilton. The musical score is by Elmer Bernstein and vocals by Vicki Carr. The film is produced by Irving Allen and directed by Phil Karlson.

● **THE KARATE KILLERS**, an Arena Production, presented by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, in Metro-colour, now showing at the *MAJESTIC*, has those intrepid U.N.C.L.E. agents Robert Vaughn as Napoleon Solo and David McCallum as Illya Kuryakin in this movie, in their biggest, boldest spy adventure to date, joined by an exceptional all-star cast, in this film of spies, intrigue and dangerously beautiful women.

When a top scientist Dr. True (JIM BOLES) is mysteriously murdered, secret agents Napoleon Solo (ROBBERT VAUGHN) and Illya Kuryakin (DAVID McCALLUM) are sent on a world-wide chase aimed at beating THRUSH to the victim's secret formula for extracting gold from sea water and which can lead to ruin the free world. Their first stop is with the scientist's widow, Amanda True (JOAN CRAWFORD). From there the trail leads to Rome, Paris, London, Tokyo, the Austrian Alps and even the Arctic, in search of the five daughters.

Eighteen year old Kim Darby portrays the missing link daughters Sandy True. Diane McBain enacts daughter Margo, who is locked up by her eccentric husband, an Italian Count Valeriane de Fanzini (TELLY SAVALS). Jill Ireland is Imogene, London GO-GO swinger who runs afoul of the law, and most particularly the Constable, portrayed by the favourite British comedian Terry-Thomas. Danielle DeMetz as Yvonne, is embroiled in a romantic tussle with her sking amour Carl Von Sesser, played by international star Curt Jurgens. U.N.C.L.E. agents Napoleon Solo and Illya Kuryakin catch up with her in the Austrian Alps. Irene Tsu the promising

young actress is Reikko, who gives refuge to Sandy, and later as a geisha girl in Tokyo, she gives Solo and Illya a hot welcome when mistaking them for Sandy's THRUSH pursuers.

Spectacular sequences which highlight the this thrilling movie include an attack by one-man, mini-airplanes on the U.N.C.L.E. agents' racing car, an ambush of the heroes by deadly motorcycle riders and a wild brawl on skis over snow-bound mountain trails in the Austrian Alps. Other settings for the around the world caper include U.N.C.L.E. headquarters in New York, a palatial home in sunny California, a count's palace in Rome, a Soho GO-GO club in London, a Tokyo geisha house and THRUSH headquarters in the Arctic. The movie is directed by Barry Shear.



Saroja Devi as circus Star Kala  
in R. R. Films Tamil movie  
**PARAKKUM PAVAI**  
(Eastmancolor)

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2nd Week  
**EMPIRE** Air-Conditioned  
Colombia's  
**The Bridge On The River Kwai**

in CINEMASCOPE AND TECHNICOLOR

**MAJESTIC** Air-Conditioned

Robert Vaughn-David McCallum  
in MGM's

**THE KARATE KILLERS**

In Colour

Air-Conditioned

**REGAL**

Dean Martin as Matt Helm  
in

**THE SILENCERS**

in Colour

**ELPHINSTONE-ROXY**

Gamini Fonseka,  
Vijitha Mallika

in

R. T. Studio's

**DEHADAKA  
DUKA**

Produced & Directed by Robin Tampoe

2nd Week

**SELLAMAHAL**

Sivaji Ganeshan, Padmini  
Nagesh, K. R. Vijaya in

**IRU MALARGAL**

**GAIETY**

Jayashanker Jayalalitha  
in

**YAAR NEE ?**

**CROWN** 3rd week

Rajendra Kumar-Saira Banu  
in

**AYEE MILAN KI BELA**

in Eastman Colour

5th Week

**SAVOY** Air-Conditioned

Sean Connery as James Bond  
in

**THUNDERBALL**

CinemaScope & Technicolor

*In Sri Lanka Today*

## Caterpillars: 'Varsity Life: Neighbour's Wife: Beggars: Chandrawathie

### CATERPILLAR PLAGUE

*Kandy*

Kandy is being plagued by caterpillars. Millions have crawled into almost every home in the district but Kandy municipal men say there is no cause for alarm. They will be gone in another month or so, Health officials said yesterday.

*Daily News*  
14/10/68

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### FRESHER FORCED TO DRINK 12 CUPS OF TEA, COLLAPSES.

*Peradeniya*

Ragging continued today at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, and a fresher from Marcus Fernando Hall was rushed to university medical centre in a state of collapse after being forced to drink 12 cups of tea at a stretch. Last night, an American documentary which was being screened at the Arts Theatre was abandoned half way owing to hooting and jeering. The screening was resumed half an-hour later when the students apologised and pleaded with the operator to continue the show. A marshal who went to check on a report that seniors were attending lectures meant for freshers was hooted out of the lecture hall. After the ragging of a fresher the seniors told the fresher: "Go and tell your Minister Iriyagolle. Let's see what he can do to us."

*Sun*  
12/10/68

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### 'MAY I HAVE YOUR WIFE,' MAN ASKED

*Colombo*

A man infatuated with his neighbour's wife, whipped out a kris knife and demanded intimacy after an attempt to persuade the husband failed. "I will rather beg and support my family than agree to that request", J. M. Charley of McCallum Road, Colombo 10, told his neighbour M. R. John Singho, who promised to look after the family if the request was granted. This blunt refusal angered John Singho, who at the point a knife forced himself on Charley's wife. John Singho was charged with criminally intimidating J. M. Charley and with using criminal force on Charley's wife before the Colombo Chief Magistrate, Mr. B. G. S. David and was sentenced to six months' hard labour after he was found guilty of the charges.

*Observer*  
16/10/68

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### BEGGARS IN BIG BUSINESS DEALS !

*Colombo*

Big business deals are being carried out by beggars. This is the startling revelation made by the police after rounding up several of them a few nights ago. A good number of these men and women who hang round at all the key points in the city were found to be money lenders. In some cases the beggars had even given loans ranging from 1,000 to 2,500 and were getting a regular income from the high rate of interest they

charged. Police sources told the "Daily Mirror" yesterday that most of these beggars were operating in rings. The money collected after begging for a few days is pooled and given out on loans. The interest paid out on these loans is shared. The Colombo Municipal Council is planning to get rid of these beggars once and for all. But according to a Council official this was "well nigh impossible as the number keeps on increasing overnight". "They are a growing menace but clearing them off the streets completely is a task beyond our reach" said this official. Over 15,00 beggars are said to be on the streets in Ceylon.

*Daily Mirror*  
15/10/68

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### CHANDRAWATHIE'S DEATH— RICH MEN WANT THEIR NAMES LEFT OUT

*Colombo*

When the inquest of the death of P. L. Chandrawathie, a beautiful village girl from Kurunegala, was held yesterday at the Coroner's Court: "influential people" approached the Coroner, Mr. Egerton Weerakoon to keep certain names connected with her out, according to Mr. Egerton Weerakoon, City Coroner. At the inquest it was revealed that affluent men had been visiting her home. But Chandrawathie is now due to get a pauper's burial. Mr. Weerakoon said that it was indeed a tragedy that this girl should have been exploited and left to be buried like a pauper. "This should be a lesson", he said, "to innocent village girls who are led astray by men who exploit them...."

*Observer*  
15/10/68