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Books In The Era Of FEECs: The Bureaucrat, The Bookseller And The Reading Public

The continuing controversy whether books should or should not be imported on FEECs has now reached a crucial stage. The Booksellers' Association have pointed out that the bureaucrats, including the wizard Dr. Gamini Corea, do not know what they are talking about when they say that it was the malpractices of book importers and the unconscionable profits made by booksellers that was responsible for the high prices books had fetched and still fetch. The bureaucrats seem to think that in the period of restricted imports, booksellers and importers had become so greedy that they had charged fantastic prices, and that once the restrictions on imports were removed the booksellers should have voluntarily reduced their profit margins to the normal levels. The bureaucrats further seem to think that the FEECs tacked on to normal pre-restriction prices should have brought down the price of books from what they were in the recent past, and that it was only the profit-greed of

the booksellers that has now pushed up the prices to 50 to 75 percent over the recent import-quota price levels.

All this no doubt seem a little bit mixed up, but the simple fact is contrary to the expectations of the bureaucrats the prices of books have not come down in the FEECs era — as they have in the hardware and housebuilding materials market, for instance. On paper, the arguments of the bureaucrats seem plausible enough, but paper logic like paper tigers take nobody anywhere. The Booksellers' Association in a long memorandum have pointed out why the bureaucrats are wrong and that it was a libel on the booksellers to accuse them of blackmarket profiteering, and that the whole trade should not be punished for the misdeeds of a few importers who could easily be brought under control by other means. The booksellers argue that the only way that the prices of books could be brought within the normal price range of the devalued rupee was to allow

imports on OGL without FEECs. There is much to be said in favour of what the booksellers have stated and the bureaucrats should reconsider their decision on this matter. Because, the FEECs on books is a tax and levy on knowledge and learning, it will make this country a worse cultural desert than what it has become.

Practically every educationist has opposed the inclusion of books under the FEECs which has raised the price of books by about thirty three percent and Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Chairman of the National Council of Higher Education, recently pointed out for the enlightenment of the bureaucrats that this would stop all but the richest students from buying books which would not only hamper study, but also stop the student from acquiring a working tool kit of books which he ought to have by him throughout his academic life. It is to be hoped that even at this late stage the bureaucrats will see reason and remove this impost.

Headlines Of The Week

THURSDAY, November 7 — The FAO in a project report on the development of Asia's primary produce has stated that Ceylon will be producing six hundred million pounds of tea more in 1989 and thereby surpass all other Asian and African producer countries. The Minister of Industries and Fisheries, Mr. Philip Gunawardena and his Parliamentary Secretary refrained from voting with the Government when the Opposition called for a division on its amendment to the Ministry of Land, Irrigation and Power, Mr. C. P. de Silva's Bill to amend the Irrigation Ordinance. Mr. Richard Nixon of the Republican Party was elected the thirty seventh President of the United States of America yesterday. Malaysia announced that it had asked the Philippines to withdraw its embassy staff in Kuala Lumpur.

FRIDAY, November 8 — In a letter to the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake the Ven. Madihe Pannaseeha Mahanayake Thero has stated that the public would be disillusioned if the Government declared Sunday an additional holiday. Over two hundred schools which have an attendance of less than three hundred students will be closed down, according to a decision taken by the Ministry of Education. The Vatican *L'osservatore Della Domenica* made it clear that the Roman Catholic Church regards Mrs. Jacqueline Onassis as a public sinner for marrying a divorced man. President-elect Nixon has called for national unity. The Soviet Union celebrated its fifty first anniversary of the October Revolution yesterday.

SATURDAY, November 9 — Mr. Wilmot Perera, a member of the NCHE, in a memorandum to the Council on Universities has stated that "with all the best will in the world our Buddhist priests, trained as they should be for another worldly life, cannot and should not be at the head of a normal university". The Pakistan Government yesterday closed schools and colleges in four key states as student demonstrations erupted in which one youth was killed after Police opened fire to disperse a crowd of three thousand stone-throwing students.

SUNDAY, November 10 — Mr. L. B. de Silva, retired Puisne Judge, has been appointed Chairman of the new Salaries Commission. The Government has decided that the Vocational Training Programme for which assistance has been promised from the UN Special Fund will be under the control of the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs. South Vietnam militant Buddhist faction challenged President Thieu's assertion that the Vietnamese people had united behind him in support of his stand on the enlarged peace talks in Paris. Britain's Rhodesian envoy said in Salisbury that Britain and Rhodesia had narrowed the gap dividing them since the H.M.S. Fearless summit negotiations on the break away colony's independence.

MONDAY, November 11 — All three accused sentenced to death in the Kularatne murder case were acquitted in appeal yesterday. The Ministry of Land, Irrigation and Power is launching a new colonisation scheme designed to rationalise colonisation work to get the maximum benefit out of the land allotted to colonists and to cut down government costs to the maximum. Three Yemeni immigrants were to be arraigned by the Brooklyn Criminal Court for plotting to assassinate Mr. Nixon. Scuffles and fisticuffs broke out in Prague between pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. The Soviet Prime Minister was believed to be pressing President Johnson to agree to a quick start on US-Soviet talks to reduce the nuclear arms race.

TUESDAY, November 12 — Dr. Daymon Kularatne appealed for the right of the press to visit any prison in Ceylon and urged that in a democracy, the press should expose the conditions of the prisons. Dr. E. W. Adikaram, a member of the NCHE, yesterday boycotted an emergency meeting of the Council as a mark of protest against the leakage of confidential information. Actress Mia Farrow wept as police and waiters ejected her and a party of friends from a London hotel in a pre-dawn row with the Police.

WEDNESDAY, November 13 — The *Sun* reported that the Federal Party was demanding a heavy price in order to maintain the balance of power in favour of the Government in the House of Representatives. The Ceylon Mercantile Union has threatened to down tools if the strike in the Milk Board involving its members is not settled before the 15th instant. The Government has decided to attract women as well as men to careers as scientists, engineers and technicians on a basis of complete parity of status in future. North Vietnam and the Viet Cong pressed their demands for independent delegations to any Vietnam war negotiations.

THURSDAY, November 14 — A proposal to grant an additional payment of Rs. 15 per month to all categories of public servants is now being considered by the Government. The Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. W. Dahanayake, who arrives in Jaffna on the 17th instant will see whether a distillery for distilling arrack from palmyrah toddy can be set up. The President of the Government Clerical Service Union, Mr. I. J. Wickrema, claimed that the strike would be a complete success. The Government has started counter-propaganda over the radio and by leaflets issued by the Information Department against the strike move by public service trade unions. The Ministry of Justice has asked the Commissioner of Prisons for a report, following the shocking details of prison life described by Dr. Kularatne. Czech leaders began a further crackdown on the country's press and ordered the Foreign Ministry to reduce the number of foreign correspondents in the country. The former Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto, and thirteen of his anti-regime followers were arrested in Lahore yesterday.

In Retrospect

★ Government & Strike ★ Interim Allowance ★ Sun, FP & UNP ★ Foreign Aid & Investment

WHILE THERE is a little over a week more to go for the strike in the public service, which is scheduled to begin on the 28th of this month, reports appearing in the pro-Government newspapers would seem to indicate that there is no - go for the strike, and that the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake has not changed his plans of leaving for India on a State visit. The *Observer* quoted an unnamed senior left politician as saying that "you can't have a big strike without the necessary feeling. And it is just not there."

The *Times of Ceylon* reported that Tamil public servants would keep out of the strike if the reinstatement of those who struck work on January 8, 1966, was listed as one of the demands. The report also stated that over forty percent of the members from the Union of Post and Telecommunications Officers had signified they would not join the strike because of an additional January 8th demand had been included. Only time will tell whether the strike will be a success or a failure and whether the press reports have been factual in content or inspired accounts.

The President of the Government Clerical Service Union, Mr. I. J. Wickrema, has claimed that the November 28th strike will be a total success. In an interview with the *Daily News* Mr. Wickrema said that if the Government attempted to use emergency powers to crush the strike it would have grave consequences. The strike was not a war against the Government and therefore it could not be treated as a political strike. He further stated that there was nothing illegal about the proposed strike. Trade unions,

which were scheduled to take part in the strike, were legally registered and, therefore, they had legal status to resort to strike action to gain their demands.

While it would appear that the National Government is prepared for a showdown and the Prime Minister told a deputation from the Public Service Democratic Trade Union Federation last week, "I am prepared to face any strike", it is more than clear that it is anxious to prevent a strike.

The *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* of 14/11 reported that the Government would pay an interim allowance to meet the demands of public servants. The only difference in their reportage was over the amount; the *Sun* said it would be Rs. 20 and the *Daily Mirror* said it would be Rs. 15.

The *Daily Mirror* said that the Government was considering the payment of this allowance in order to placate the public servants and that the Government was expected to announce its decision to pay this extra amount per month on the eve of the Prime Minister's visit to India on November 27. The report also stated that the consensus among the Ministers was that the Government should grant this allowance in order to prove that it is genuinely interested in affording relief to its employees and that most of the Ministers held the view that if this was immediately granted it would not be possible for anti-Government elements to state that the Salaries Commission had been appointed to evade the issue or fool the public servants. The report also stated that the Government had already decided that the

recommendations of the new Salaries Commission should be implemented immediately its report was out.

The appointment of the new Salaries Commission does not appear to have softened the trade unions. The Unions were quoted by the *Sun* as saying that the appointment of a Commission was an insidious move by the Government to arouse the general public against public servants in view of the strike scheduled for November 28.

WHILE THE GOVERNMENT and the United National Party are trying hard to erase from the mind of the Sinhala voter that it has not made a sell out of the rights of the Sinhalese to the Federal Party and the Tamils, the *Sun*, which, by and large, supports the National Government by its reportage seems to whipping up anti-Tamil sentiment. As in the previous weeks the paper said in its issue of 13/11 that the Federal Party was demanding a heavy price in order to maintain the balance of power in favour of the Government in the House of Representatives.

It listed that the Federal Party has asked for the forceful application of the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act in the letter and spirit in which it was enacted; the granting of reprieve to the Tamil public servants who are threatened with dismissal from the public service for not gaining proficiency in Sinhalese within the stipulated period; the development of the Kankasanturai port as a major port of call; declaration of the Koneswaram Temple area within the Fort Frederick, Trincomalee, as a sacred city for the Hindus; establishment of a Tamil University in the North and the improvement of facilities in the schools in the north and the east. The report also stated that a top level delegation from the Federal Party led by its leader, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, was scheduled to meet the Prime Minister and the Minister of State, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, within a next few days to obtain these concessions before the next

general elections, and that the Party was also keen to demonstrate to its supporters that it was not a spent force in the country.

The Prime Minister stated categorically that the Government had no intention to declare Sunday a holiday in addition to the Poya day. The statement was a sequel to a report in the *Daily Mirror* that the Minister of Home Affairs Dr. W. Dahanayake, had proposed to the Cabinet that Sunday also be declared weekly holidays.

THERE WERE not a few among its supporters and others outside the National Government who, rightly or wrongly, held the view that foreign aid was not of much use to Ceylon, but they were poo poohed. But now comes a report published in the *Times of Ceylon* of 14/11 that Ceylon has admitted to the United Nations that the large scale foreign aid obtained in recent years had been unfavourable to Ceylon. Dr. V. Kaneshalingam of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, a member of the Ceylon delegation to the current session of the UN General Assembly has told the Second Committee of the assembly that although the total inflow of capital to Ceylon in 1967 was about seven million dollars more than in the previous year, especially with the commencement of the flow of aid from Ceylon Aid Group of countries, the composition of such aid still remained unfavourable to Ceylon. Of the total official aid received by Ceylon during 1967, as much as 83 percent comprised loans, while grants amounted to a bare 17 percent and that a substantial part of these loans was of medium term duration, some of such loans carrying rates of interest as high as 6 percent and that the combination of shorter duration and high rates of interest of these loans had naturally cast a heavy burden on Ceylon on account of debt service.

Dr. Kaneshalingam also drew attention to the fact that the inflow of foreign private capital had not been as substantial as was expected when Ceylon announced her new

policy on foreign private investment in March, 1966. In spite of the policy measures and the provision of incentives, the response had not been as was anticipated and the flow of foreign private capital had not shown any significant increase.

De. Kaneshalingam's admission is the clearest proof, if proof were needed, that Ceylon must at all times learn to mobilise its resources to the maximum for its economic development instead of relying on foreign aid and foreign investment.

KAUTILIYA

Point of View

Three Federated States In The Union Of Ceylon

Some weeks ago, what may be an exciting chapter in Ceylon's history might well have been opened with the announcement of the intention of some Kandyans to set up a Kandyan or Up-country-Sinhalese Federated state. The prospect of this, together with that of a Tamilnad within a Ceylon Union, makes one ponder on the structural and constitutional aspects of such a Union.

The tendency in the last few decades has been to designate a country not only by its proper name, such as Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan, but also by some attribute which describes the political tie which holds that country together. We have long been used to the United Kingdom, designated U.K. for short, and we have since become used to the United States of America (U.S.A. as it is popularly called), the U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialists Republics), and latterly we have had the Republic of Congo (of which there are two countries claiming the same label), the Republic of Burma, the United Arab Republic (U.A.R.), the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa.

What could be finer than a Ceylon Union, rather than a Republic of Ceylon, or Ceylon Republic, which sounds common place and trite ? It would match the Union of Burma, as that country used to be called, and the Indian Union.

NOW the question is, what degree of independence would these federated States of the Union of Ceylon have ? The American States have a far greater degree of independence than the English counties, and the Swiss cantons, whose country seems to have no economic problems at all and seems set to become the world's banker, seem to have more independence than either. Each American state has the power of hanging a murderer or not hanging him, or of sending him to the electric chair or the gas chamber.

They derive their power from their legislative assemblies. The English counties, on the other hand, seem to make their greatest impact on the public in the spheres of education, which is in their charge—but whose higher educational establishments will accept pupils from all over the country, and of the police, although some counties, such as Cumberland and Westmorland, combine to form their own Constabulary. Each of the Swiss cantons raises more in taxes than the Swiss Confederation or central government. In all these countries, there is complete freedom of movement between one component part of the country and another.

So it must be in Ceylon. Each federated state here would have its own legislative assembly, and no man would have a vote in two federated states; a man must vote where he spends the greater part of the year, and this regardless of his race or place of birth.

As regards immigration, the best system to adopt would seem to be the system used at Oxford for entry to that university. Just as the University authorities lay down the minimum qualifications that a man must have to gain entry to one of the colleges that constitute

the University, so would the Central government here have the power or right to proscribe certain individuals, or, in certain exceptional cases, groups of people, as immigrants; but the power to allow entry might well be left to the state at the point of entry; but once a man gains entry to one state or another, then he will have equal freedom of movement within the island, as any citizen.

HERE another question comes in - that of citizenship. It might well be useful to bring in a law that anyone who is two years in Ceylon, for whatever reason, automatically becomes a citizen of the country at the expiry of these two years, unless, before the end of the two years, he registers, at the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs, his intention of retaining his former citizenship. This will solve at one stroke the economically unsound policy of stateless citizens.

There is a whole world of difference between local government or decentralized government, which is the dispersion of authority, on the one hand, and cultural unities (diversity), which are entities, on the other. The former is a rational problem, a matter of common sense, fully subscribing to the principle of subsidiarity. This is the kind of dispersion of authority that the Swiss use, on the principle of, the smaller the unit the better the government, and the more democratic. The other is a political problem, for it appeals to the emotion rather than to the intellect, and it subscribes to the principle of totality, or unity in diversity.

Now a country may have one or the other, or both; and if it has both, it can have it in two ways. It can either have cultural unities or entities within a dispersion of local authority, or the other way round, a dispersion of local authority within somewhat larger (that is, territorially-larger) cultural unities. In Ceylon it would be possible to have it either way, and the election or decision would be an entirely political one.

FOR INSTANCE, if Ceylon decides to break itself up into the supposed ancient territorial divisions, which are *Rajarata*, *Rohana* and *Malaya*, then *Rajarata* would comprise all the land north of the Mahaveli and the Kalu Gangas, and *Rohana* the land south of these rivers, in each case excluding what is known as the hill country, which would comprise *Malaya*. Each of these would have the full powers of federated states, and within *Rajarata* there might be a further, this time cultural, subdivision of *Sinhalese territory* and *Tamil territory*.

Rohana might also divide into a *Tamil territory*, a *Moslem territory* centred on Kalmunai, and, perhaps, Batticaloa, and a *Sinhalese territory*. *Malaya* might remain either culturally one, if there is no clearly defined *Indian or Tamil territory*, for instance, where the estates are concentrated most, or subdivide culturally into an *Indian or Tamil territory*, and an *Up-country-Sinhalese one*, if there are fairly clearly-defined and cohesive cultural territorial divisions.

The Veddahs are hardly numerous enough, or concentrated enough, to have their own cultural entity, and as the Burghers live cheek by jowl with their neighbours, physically, if they do not socially, they have no prior claim to any territorial recognition.

This division into *Rajarata*, *Rohana* and *Malaya*, might eventually be the solution which is politically acceptable to the racists.

THE OTHER WAY is to declare a *Tamilnad* in an arc from Mannar to Batticaloa, a *low-country-Sinhalese state*, and an *Up-country one*, and perhaps, *two separated Moslem entities* at Puttalam and Kalmunai. This would obviously be more acceptable to the purists, but such an idea might come to a political impasse, like the late District Councils Bill. Each of the larger cultural entities would have full federal power within the Ceylon Union, and it would

be left to each to decide whether to have a strongly centralized administration, such as that prevailing in Ceylon today, or to disperse local government on as large a scale as possible, as their genius might decide, subscribing, in the latter case, to the principle of subsidiarity.

Neither Germany, nor France, nor Italy, and not even Hitler, has wanted to break up the economically-successful Swiss Confederation with its multiplicity of cantons, each so powerful. Whatever decision is made here must be based on a clear understanding of the principle of totality, which takes into consideration the whole man and all his aspirations and his sense of fulfilment, after which he is ever striving.

Titus Handuna

A SHOCKING TV SHOW

London, Oct. 24

British television documentary, featuring a bunch of happy nudists, left many viewers shocked and embarrassed today, but some critics had a different complaint — it nearly put them off sick for life. Male and female anatomy was shown in full frontal frankness in the film screened over the BBC's colour network. After the opening shot of two naked men by a swimming pool, producer Desmond Wilcox warned that some families might find the uncoverage a bit embarrassing. He was right, "We have had a lot of telephone calls from viewers complaining about the programme", a BBC official admitted. The nudists, were later seen romping around in summer camps, and some of them crammed on to a settee, to be interviewed by a fully-clothed girl reporter.

A P

In Sri Lanka Today: Cullings From The Press

Indian Sarees: Ayurveda: Girl In A Hut: Koneswaram: Resthouse Charges: Police Raid: Vegetables: Parliamentary Secretary

BOYCOTT WOMEN WHO WEAR INDIAN SAREES

Everybody should boycott women who wear imported sarees and treat them as enemies of the nation said Dr. W. Dahanayake, Minister of Home Affairs, after declaring open a handloom weaving centre at Pemunagoda, Kalutara Totamuna, a village in the Matugama electorate.

The Minister said sarees woven in Ceylon today were very good and attractive and there was no reason for affluent women to go in for Indian sarees such as Kashmir, Benares or Manipuri. Imports of sarees were banned but still there were smugglers. He said there would be no smuggling if women were patriotic enough to shun Indian sarees....

Daily News, 24/10/68

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AYURVEDA HOSPITALS MAY CLOSE DOWN.

The dearth of in-patients at the ayurvedic hospitals is threatening to bring all Ayurvedic research activities to a complete standstill. The authorities at the Ayurvedic Research Institute Navinna, have told the Government that appalling shortage of accommodation at the ayurvedic hospitals at Borella and Anuradhapura was mainly responsible for this state of affairs. The authorities say that provision should be made immediately for a minimum of 1,000 beds at the two hospitals. Although the buildings have been completed, no amenities have been provided for patients to enter

the hospitals for treatment. The Navinna Institute contends that unless there were more patients at the hospitals, research to improve methods of ayurvedic treatment would become impossible.

Sun, 22/10/68

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YOUNG GIRL WITH FOUR YOUTHS NABBED IN HUT

Panadura

The Wadduwa Police yesterday raided a hut at Talpitiya and took into custody a 14-year-old school girl with four other youths, stated to be students of the same school at Dehiwela and connected to well-known families in the area. On a tip-off received by the Police Sergeant Supathanthri with two other Police Constables raided the hut and took them into custody. The girl is said to have left home that morning under the pretext of going to school, but kept a tryst with four of her male schoolmates who brought her to Talpitiya, in the Wadduwa Police area.

Police inquiries have elicited the information that the boys had come in the morning and temporarily hired the hut. They had turned up later with the girl, it is stated, and the neighbours who suspected their behaviour were about to set upon them when the Police who had received the information rushed to the scene. The girl is stated to have been in possession of a skirt which was also taken into custody. The suspects were later

transferred to Dehiwela Police who recorded their statements. All five were produced before the Colombo South Magistrate who remanded the four youths till October 29. The girl was handed back to her parents.

Sun, 22/10/68

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SANGANAYAKE SAYS SCRAP THE KONESWARAM COMMITTEE

Ven. Dambagasara Sri Sumedhankara Thera, Chief Sanganayake of Thamankaduwa, yesterday, appealed to the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake to scrap the six member committee of Permanent Secretaries appointed by him to consider the question of declaring the Koneswaram temple premises within Fort Frederick, Trincomalee, a sacred area. The Thera in his appeal to the Prime Minister has expressed his surprise at the composition of the committee which he states: "includes the Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Nationalised Services. Mr. M. Rajendra, who is a brother of the former Minister of Local Government, Mr. M. Tiruchelvam. The inclusion of Mr. Rajendra in the committee creates the impression that the task which the elder brother could not do has been entrusted to the younger brother", the Thera states.

He has further stated that the Federalists were out to convert all Buddhist temples in the Eastern province into Hindu shrines and mentions the case of Nirikesvaram Kovil as a specific instance of this attempt. Venerable Sumedhankara Thera has appealed to the Premier not to convert Trincomalee into a Hindu sacred area. He has further appealed that the proposed Hindu University should not be established at Trincomalee.

Sun, 18/10/68

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THE COSTLY TEA PARTY

Local Government Minister Mr. R. Premadasa called for tea at the Polonnaruwa rest house a few days ago. There were nearly 15 people to share it with him. The rest house served the tea in pots. They also served a plate of cake (butter-cake) hardly sufficient for the number at tea. The bill followed. Eyebrows were raised. The bill was paid. But not without a chorus of murmurs and shocked gasps. The cost was just under Rs. 50.

The Polonnaruwa rest house is one of those specially streamlined to cater to the tourist trade. But the consensus of opinion at Mr. Premadasa's tea party was that it was a little too expensive even for the tourists. Among those who voiced this opinion were several high government men who accompanied Mr. Premadasa on his tour. They vowed to take up the question with "higher authorities".

If tea is expensive, so is the common or garden "buth curry" at some 'four star' resthouses of the NCP. At another resthouse close to a tourist attraction a group of unwary pressmen had a severe shock. They ordered what they thought was the cheapest possible meal—rice and curry. They had to pay nearly Rs. 40 for it. When they protested they were told by an apologetic waiter that it was not the rice and curry which was so expensive. There were other charges too — viz. service and 'occupation charges'.

Daily News, 16/10/68

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POLICE RAID HOUSE

The Mirihana Police raided a house at Gangodawila, behind the Vidyodaya University and took five women and one man into custody. The women are said to be from the Kandyan areas. Following the raid police are investigating the activities of a gang of people believed to be roaming the City in

search of women for prostitution. The persons arrested will be produced before the Colombo South Magistrate today.

Observer, 22/10/68

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NO MARKET FOR BUMPER HARVEST

Udumuwara

The vegetable cultivators in Udumuwara have produced a bumper harvest of beans, bandakka, bitter and snake ground but, they cannot find a market for their produce.

Observer, 21/10/68

History

The Fall Of The Portuguese Fort In Batticaloa

by **Kantha Retnam**

Why did the Portuguese fort in Batticaloa fall to the attacking Dutch and Kandyan forces (*Goonewardena, Dr. K. W. The Foundation of Dutch Power In Ceylon (Amsterdam Djambatan, 1958), page 17.*) in 1938 ?

Dr. K. W. Goonewardena of the University of Ceylon attributes that fall in his book *The Foundation of Dutch Power In Ceylon* (Amsterdam, Djambatan, 1958) to the damage inflicted on the fort by cannon-fire, and to the belief of the Portuguese that defence in the face of the large number of beseigers would be far from profitable. "But it did not come to a storm", states Dr. Goonewardena, "because the Portuguese hoisted the white flag. The cannon had so battered the fort, and the enemies were in such numbers that the Portuguese realised that resistance would be useless". (*Ibid*).

There are compelling grounds for the rejection *in toto* of the reasons attributed by Dr. Goone-

No arrangements have been made to purchase their produce at reasonable prices.

No public fairs have been opened and no arrangements have been made by the departments concerned to purchase at least a fraction of the produce. Paddy is the only produce bought by the M.P.C. Societies. The vegetable and yam cultivators have been forced to depend on the private traders. Traders purchase the produce at low prices leaving the producers with no gain for their money and labour.

wardena. The Portuguese garrison was never a demoralized force so as to be intimidated by numbers. Events following the surrender of the Portuguese in Batticaloa lend weight to the belief that the battering of the fort could not have been so heavy as to have caused the cessation of hostilities.

The Portuguese, and the Dutch, and the British after them, exercised suzerainty over the surrounding areas from the forts they possessed. The change of ownership of a fort signalled a change of rule in the neighbouring region.

THERE IS no evidence to show that the beleaguered garrison had wanted to end hostilities with the least possible delay in order to run helter-skelter to the sanctuary of Negapatam to which they were sent by ship no sooner the fort had fallen. (*Canagaratnam, S.O. Monograph Of The Batticaloa District, Colombo, H. R. Cottle, Government Printer, Ceylon, 1921, page 10.*) Though badly out-numbered, the

defenders were not deficient in courage; this was one attribute they seemed to possess in abundance. Captain Manoel Pinto (*Queyroz, Father Fernao De : The Temporal And Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon translated into English from the Portuguese by Perera, Father S.G. (Colombo, A.C. Richards, Acting Government Printer, Ceylon, 1930), page 813*). and his thirtynine followers. (*Canagaratnam, op. cit, page 10*) defied the attack of the mammoth Dutch and Kandyan armies for several days. (*Queyroz, op. cit, page 813*). And with the same tenacity that the French under General Christian de Castries were to show at Dien Bien Phu in the twentieth century, (*the reference here is to show that the war that culminated in the dislodgement of the French from Indo China*), they held fast to their defences.

Constantine de Sa de Noronha, the Portuguese General, had erected the fort (*Perera, Father, S.G. : A. History of Ceylon I, Sixth Edition, Edition (Revised), (Colombo. The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, 1955), page 91*) in a corner of Puliyantivu which was surrounded by the Batticaloa Lagoon. This lagoon formed a natural barrier against attack on two flanks of the fort. The moat served as an adequate line of defence on the land side. Even storm troops could have come within scaling distance of the walls of the fort only by suffering heavy casualties. Dr. Goonewardena himself admits that the fortification was never stormed, (*Goonewardena, op. cit, page 17*).

If it had been pounded into submission, the damage to it would have been extensive. The cannon looming so large in Dr. Goonewardena's explanation would have left gaping holes in its walls. Even its gates may have been blasted into smithereens. But S. O. Canagaratnam, a son of Batticaloa, points out in his *Monograph Of The Batticaloa District* that the defenders soon after communicating to the besiegers their intention to surrender, opened the gates of the fort, and marched out with

their arms, (*Canagaratnam, op.cit, page 10*). *Would there have been any necessity to open the gates if the walls had been blitzkrieged? The survivors could have scrambled over the damaged walls, or come out by the gaps that would have been only too plenty had the cannon been effective in putting a quick end to Portuguese hopes of withstanding the siege.*

HOWEVER, the fact that the Portuguese fort was demolished cannot be denied, (*ibid*). But that happened long after the eclipse of Portuguese power in Batticaloa. That this was so is evident even from Dr. Goonewardena's account of events following the downfall of the Portuguese. Dr. Goonewardena records that at the request of Raja Sinha II, King of Kandy, Admiral Westerwolt left behind under Vice-Commander Willem Jacobsz Coster, a hundred Dutch fighters to garrison the fort. He points out that "after the signing of this treaty, Raja Sinha requested Westerwolt to leave for its protection 100 Dutch as garrison in Batticaloa. Westerwolt accordingly left his Vice-Commander, Coster, in charge of the fort with a hundred men as its garrison" (*Goonewardena op. cit, page 19*.)

If the damage caused to the fort had been so heavy as to signal the capitulation of the defenders by the hoisting of a white flag, (*ibid, page 17*), would there have been any necessity for Vice-Commander Coster to fill the power vacuum caused by the departure of Captain Manoel Pinto? The fort for the defence of which King Raja Sinha II had enlisted Dutch aid within a short time of its takeover was the one which had been vacated by Captain Pinto and his men. It was surrendered in 1668. The Dutch fort which now stands on the ruins of the Portuguese fortification was never constructed till 1682, (*Date inscribed 'seen to this day, above the main entrance to the Dutch fort of Batticaloa*).

Did the Portuguese panic by the vast array of fighters grouped

outside their defences? The Kandyan superiority in numbers had failed once before to stampede them into a surrender. According to a statement attributed to Admiral Westerwolt, points out Dr. Goonewardena, the Portuguese garrison had at one time weathered the attack of a powerful army of the King of Kandy. "As Westerwolt reported afterwards to the Directors of the Company" reports Dr. Goonewardena, "the King's joy at this victory was unbounded. He related with wonder to Westerwolt and Coster that the fort which their artillery had forced to surrender by a battering of only a few hours, had at one time withstood a mighty force which he had sent against it", (*ibid*). If Raja Sinha II had been pleasantly surprised (*Goonewardena, op.cit, page 17*). that the combined operations of the Dutch and the Kandyans had succeeded where the attack of his power-packed army had failed, it would be only fair to conclude that the Dutch-Kandyan joint venture had not been as powerful as the unaided Kandyan effort. The King's amazement could only have come about by the erroneous belief that the cannon had more than compensated the relative decrease in strength of the attacking force this time. The siege of 1638 could not have, therefore, made Captain Pinto quail before his adversaries.

When the reasons adduced by Dr. Goonewardena for the capitulation of the Portuguese in Batticaloa, stand discredited largely by his own account of the events immediately preceding and following the siege of the fort, it does seem strange that he came to the conclusions that he did come to.

What then put an end to the spirited defence of the Portuguese garrison? S. O. Canagaratnam states that the defenders could not continue to have supplies of water, (*Canagaratnam, op. cit, page 10*). The well from which water had been obtained was situated outside the fort; the presence of the enemy had rendered it inaccessible. Corro-

borative evidence is provided by the Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus, a historian from Holland, (*Baldaeus, Phillipus: A True And Exact Description Of The Great Island Of Ceylon, translated into English from the Dutch by Brohier, Pieter (The Ceylon Historical Journal, 1960), page 116.*)

In his book *A True And Exact Description Of the Great Island of Ceylon*, he pointedly refers to the hazard of ensuring supplies of water from a source outside the fort. At the time of the surrender of the Portuguese garrison, the fort had held ample stocks of rice. Powder and lead for feeding the guns had had also been available in plenty, (*ibid*). It would, therefore, appear that a ding-dong battle might have raged had not the fearless exponents of Portuguese might been denied access to the well.



464TH CHINA WARNING TO WASHINGTON

Tokyo, Oct. 24

China yesterday claimed that an American warship and a military plane "intruded" into Chinese claimed territory off South China yesterday "in grave military provocations". Peking Radio, in a Chinese-language broadcast monitored in Tokyo, said a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was authorised to issue China's "464th serious warning" against the alleged intrusions. It said an American warship "intruded into China's territorial waters off Fukien province between 05:04 hours and 11:4 hours (local times) on 22 October." It said a US military plane crossed into Chinese air space off Kwangtung province between 13:52 hours and 14:03 hours (local times) of the same day.

AP

In The Arab World

Reactions To U.S. Sale Of "Phantom" Aircraft To Israel: End Of An Illusion

by Enver Mulahusic

Cairo

Only a few decisions of the White House have caused so much embitterment as President Johnson's instruction to open negotiations with representatives of the Tel Aviv Government about the delivery of fifty "Phantom" aircraft to Israel. The news from Washington has echoed among the Arabs as a bolt from the sky. Not because they have been particularly surprised in view of certain secret hopes for a change in the American attitude but because of the moment at which it has been announced.

President Johnson has announced his decision at a moment when it has become clear to the world, including the Arabs, that the belief prevails in the United Nations General Assembly that it is best in the last resort for the special envoy of the Secretary-General in the Near East, Gunnar Jarring, to continue his mission after eleven months of efforts unfortunately not crowned with success. The Arabs have expected more from the the General Assembly session. Bearing in mind the failure of Jarring's efforts and more frequent incidents on the Arab-Israeli cease-fire line, they have hoped that the world organization would give top priority to the Near East crisis. They have done all in their power so as to warn the world public against the danger from a new conflagration in this part of the world. They have called on the world organization to deal with this question and finally to force the more than one-year aggressor to withdraw. **Stressing that it is a duty of the United Nations, some Cairo commentators have even warned that the present General Assembly session may be the last chance to solve the conflict peacefully.**

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY debate has shown that the world is aware of dangers burdening the Near East and of the need to do something so as to prevent a new conflagration. But, the debate has revealed, at the same time, that a majority of countries are worried just as much or even more by other hotbeds of international tension, primarily Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. Despite its gravity the crisis in the Near East has been pushed to the background by this intervention.

However, people here view the intervention of the Warsaw Pact member-countries through quite a different prism and do not find anything in common between it and Israeli aggression. It is known, and the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Riad, has reiterated this in the General Assembly these days that the foreign policy of the United Arab Republic is based on the principles of non-alignment. These principles lie, among other things, in opposition to the bloc division of the world and the rule of the law of force, in endeavours to achieve peace and the peaceful solving of international disputes, the respect of independence and sovereignty of other countries and non-interference in their internal affairs.

Cairo commentators, however, do not find that these principles have been violated by Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. A whole series of articles and even small studies have been published in the Egyptian press about intervention. It can therefore be concluded that great significance is attached to this event, although not of the same meaning as that talked about by most delegates in the present General Assembly debate. **Cairo commentators**

hold, among other things, that Czechoslovak developments represent "a warning to imperialists." An assumption that this intervention may have only positive and by no means negative effect on the development of the situation in the Near East — that it will force imperialists to withdraw — seems to result from their articles.

SUCH EXPECTATIONS have been manifested, in a sense, in great care devoted to the American behaviour in the past few weeks. Many signs of Washington's more intensive interest in the Near East were noted here in this period. Commentators of almost all Cairo papers have tried to disclose by an analysis of these signs whether they indicate any change in the American attitude towards the just cause of the Arabs.

Johnson's decision to open negotiations with Israel for the delivery of "Phantom" aircraft does not leave any doubt about Washington's attitude. It has dispersed all possible illusions about the possibility of a change in the American behaviour towards the Arabs and, as presently concluded in Cairo, has disclosed "the scope and depth of the total co-ordination of propaganda, diplomatic, military and economic actions between the imperialists in Washington and their base in Israel."

Johnson's decision, it is underlined here, does not represent only support to aggression and Israel's expansionist appetites, but "is an act of aggression" in itself. It is calculated at undermining Gunnar Jarring's mission and helping Israel to insist on its concept of peace with a bigger dose of arrogance — namely as concluded by "*AL AKHBAR*" — "an armed peace or peace which consists of dictating conditions under the threat with force."

Although all these assessments and conclusions are correct, what has really inspired Johnson's decision clearly revealed in the character of Washington's "intensified interest" in the Near East has not been exhausted in this way. Some Cairo commentators mention

as one of possible reasons of this interest "greater Soviet presence in the Mediterranean which reaches the level of NATO's encirclement whose weaknesses have attracted more lively interest of the West after the the Czechoslovak crisis." Johnson's decision undoubtedly leads to contemplations about this assumption.

—TANJUG

From New Delhi

American Move To Arm Pakistan

New Delhi:

The report in the *Washington Post* that the United States is trying to help Pakistan buy 200 American-built Patton tanks abroad to bolster its "defence against India" must necessarily cause concern in New Delhi, though it cannot be called a surprise.

For all their talk of friendship for India and their so-called assurances to the Government of India that they will not rearm Pakistan for another military adventure against this country, it was well-known that the US Government was trying to help Rawalpindi procure tanks and sabre jets from her allies of the Nato and Cento.

NEW DELHI had enough warning of this when West Germany and Iran coordinated a plan to supply sabre jets to Pakistan not long after the 1965 conflict. Later Italy was reported to be arranging sale of Patton tanks to Pakistan. The US Government did not object to the deal.

Every time these reports appeared, the Government of India did no more than take up the matter with these other countries

in a very formal manner and make representations against their selling US arms to Pakistan.

Its pussilanimity would not let it take a firm stand against the Pentagon and the State Department in Washington who were the real people behind these sales and New Delhi would not even tell the US Government that it considered in action an unfriendly act against India.

The present report makes it more than clear that the Americans are themselves persuading their allies to supply tanks and other military equipment to Pakistan. The American Ambassador in Rawalpindi is reported to have urged the sale of Patton tanks to Pakistan using the same old argument about keeping the military balance in the sub-continent.

The attempt to justify these sales by pointing to the supply of arms by the Soviet Union to India is a clear attempt to cloud the real issue. But for the generous military help from the Soviet Union, India would not have had any means to defend herself from outside attacks, since both US and Britain had consistently refused to sell India defence equipment.

On the other hand Pakistan had received from the USA alone enormous military equipment as outright gift in the years previous to her 1965 conflict with India. The US talk of keeping the military balance in the Indian sub-continent is thus sheer nonsense.

It was the Soviet Union that did everything to make Pakistan give up her aggressive policy against India and advocated peace between the two countries. It has tried to impress upon the Pakistani rulers the wisdom of breaking away from their military alliance with the US imperialists.

When in pursuance of these aims the Soviet Union tried to sell some small arms to Pakistan, while continuing to supply India

all its defence requirements, including submarines, the Jana Sangh and the Congress Rightwing here raised a hue and cry and did everything to work up anti-Soviet feeling in this country. It would naturally be interesting to watch what these same people are going to do now to protest against the US move to rearm Pakistan.

New Age

**ALL LIVING THINGS
INHALE NITROGEN**

Gorky

Nitrogen is an indispensable element in the breathing of plants, animals and man. This outstanding discovery was made by Professor Mikhail Volsky of Gorky university who thus disproved the almost two-centuries old theory of nitrogen's "biological inertness". At first the scientist proved that nitrogen is assimilated by chicken embryos during their development. Similar conclusions were made from experiments with bee pupas. Volsky's experiments were confirmed by a number of other scientific institutions in the Soviet Union and abroad. Experiments have also been made with white mice and maize. Volsky established that plants, animals, and man's organism assimilate nitrogen in different ways. They do so with the help of organic compounds formed in plants' chlorophyl and the blood of animals under the influence of atmospheric ions, microelements as well as through the agency of bacteria in the process of photosynthesis. Volsky's discovery, specialists say, gives a new interpretation of the mechanism of protein metabolism. It has great implications for the development of biology in general and space biology, in particular.

TASS

A Balkan Fantasia

Was A Soviet Army Stationed In Bulgaria? How The "News" Was Built Up

Sofia

Falsehood, active, allround and systematic, this is the style of the medium of information of the western countries. This goes on, everyday, every hour and every minute. The flow is uninterrupted and coordinated action runs along the system of escalation. One agency prepares the ground, another heaps on insinuations, yet another adds something more, then comes the "surprise" of the observers, "political circles start asking questions", begins the commentary and the added up falsehood and intrigue present itself as an accomplished political fact.

We need not go far to find an example. On 20th September *Agence France Press* sent a despatch from Belgrade that the visit of Marshal Yakubovski, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries, to Sofia "caused surprise to the observers". A few hours later *AFP* in the same anonymous vein fed the second instalment, that now the "political circles are wondering whether this visit to a country having common border with Yugoslavia should not be considered as an eventual threat to Yugoslavia, with which the relations have sharpened of late".

MAKING USE of this news item, the American news agency *United Press International* immediately sent a cable from London which amidst constantly floating rumours intimated that "Russia will certainly station her troops in Bulgaria". As it will be seen that out of a most ordinary visit of a military commander to an allied country, the insinuation reached up to sending of troops. Only little more had to be added so that the troops themselves could be located in Bulgaria.

And then, while everything up to this followed the wellknown pattern of political intrigues and speculations, of dropping suggestions and hints, the bomb blast came from another quarter. On 21st September the *Albanian News Agency* informed that a note was delivered by the Government of Albania to the Bulgarian Government protesting against stationing of strong Soviet armed forces in the territory of Bulgaria. In stating this, the note most seriously asserted that the Albanian Government was in possession of "undisputable proofs" about amassing of large sections of Soviet armed forces in Bulgaria.

YOU READ and wonder ! It is well known all over the world that Bulgaria is a tourist country with widely open borders. Hundreds of thousands of tourists from West Europe, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and other countries literally criss-cross the small territory of Bulgaria in order to enjoy her natural beauties and see her historical monuments, or to spend a few pleasant days at her famous Black Sea and mountain resorts. Bulgaria is a small country and it is impossible to hide any troops, of whatever origin they may be, from the peering eyes of the tourists.

The troops after all are not needed which could be hidden in haystacks. To the utter misfortune of western agencies and the statesmen of Tirana, in spite of the "undisputable proofs" of which they boast, not a single foreigner now in Bulgaria has been able to find any trace of Soviet troops on the Bulgarian territory. But this concoction was necessary for them in order to unfold the intrigue that Bulgaria has surrendered her territory for a "base of Soviet aggression".

And so began the big gun fire. According to the Athens newspaper "Vradin" Soviet troops were moved into Bulgarian territory a month ago. Other Greek and Yugoslav papers wrote: "Russians prepare for intervention in Yugoslavia", "War atmosphere in the Balkans". To this added AFP in a most innocent manner: "Newspapers gave wide publicity to the news from Belgrade about Moscow's threat and the measures for 'passive resistance', taken by the Yugoslav Government".



NO SUCH THING CALLED A SAFE CIGARETTE

London, Oct. 24

A Government report today warned smokers worried about lung cancer that there is "no such thing as a safe cigarette". This will probably be true for many years, the Chief Medical Officer of Britain's Health Ministry, Sir George Godber, declared in his annual report for 1967. Deaths from lung cancer in England and Wales rose by 1,227 in the year to a total of 28,252. All deaths from cancer totalled 110,072, he reported. He added: "Most of these lung cancer deaths are due to cigarette smoking and could and should be prevented. There are only two courses open—the abolition of tobacco smoking by common consent or a general change to cigars and pipes for those who must continue their addiction". A ban on cigarette smoking could cut Britain's death rate by a tenth and working time lost from sickness by much more. Sir George estimated.

Extract From A Report

The Socio—Economic Development Centre

by Simon Vannia

Here are extracts from a report by the Socio-Economic Development Centre, on the final plenary session of a seminar which was held on the 12th, and 13th. October at Kynsey Road.

Nature and Function of the Centre : Functions - (a) The Centre should conduct seminars to foster social consciousness and promote an awareness of the need for social reform. (b) The Centre should initiate and assist programmes for Social action.

Emphasis was put on the Centre being an autonomous body, free to make its own policy and plan its own programme. It was pointed out that the Centre is for service; it is not intended to perform any function of supervision and/or control. The various members of the Centre are prepared to help, with advice, etc., various programmes in their different stages of preparation. To the question of who may apply for such assistance of the Centre, it was stated that all persons are welcome to avail themselves of the services of the Centre. There was general agreement that the Centre must not be a funding agency but a Service Centre.

THE NEED for social training of youth was felt keenly by all. In view of the proposal at the Convention 'Youth and National Development' that youth should spend a year in National Development, it is proposed that the Socio-Economic Development Centre help form Shramadana working groups of youth who will be supported by their families (to the tune of Rs. 1/50 per day) and that each group will specialize in various types of work such as repairing tanks by hand, irrigation canals or even the old Dutch canals, and so develop a

technique that can be improved upon as their experience grows, and even put to commercial use, providing they do not get too mercenary. It is felt that the families of these youth would probably have to spend at least that amount of money a day keep them (in Colombo). In addition, each youth will buy an agricultural tool at his family's expense, which he will be responsible for, and whose loss his family will also make good.

Technical training - At the higher levels of training and management the opportunities of scholarship and training programmes available abroad at no cost or at the minimum cost be explored without delay. The availability of such opportunities be made known to all who are interested. At the purely local level, say parishes, local sponsorship should be provided for training programmes after normal hours of work.

Labour and Unemployment - If all normal means of solving the unemployment problem are used, and the problem still remains, then it was suggested that the country is in a state of emergency and that the entire social structure needs to be changed.

Since there are few if any opportunities for Stateless youth to better themselves, with the Government providing no training facilities for such youth, the Church (es) must step in to help them. Already a beginning has been made with some girls being trained at Halgashena farm. Since within the next two years, the Stateless plantation workers must opt for Indian or Ceylonese citizenship, and the form filling, etc., is not any easy process, the Centre should devise some means of helping these 1,000,000

people. A special team is needed to fill in the forms, etc., It was suggested that Aquinas youth be invited to be of service to these people during their school holidays.

With the formation of the National Youth Council, the Centre should influence thinking at the top, in order to allow youth to participate in the working of the council itself. In the past, there has been too much paternalism regarding youth programmes.

Something To Think About

Cost Of U.S. Militarism

by

I. F. Stone

SOME PERMANENT ORGANIZATION is needed to protect the United States from the mounting costs of militarism and the military-industrial complex. Perhaps it ought to be called a Washington-Eisenhower Watchdog Society, from the names of the two great soldier Presidents who warned the country against these dangers. The fight ought not to be left to unorganized last gasp efforts like those marshalled in the Senate recently by Cooper of Kentucky against the anti-missile and Clark of Pennsylvania for an \$8 billion cut in the new military budget. These evils will destroy the dollar and undermine free government.

The two-day debate in the Senate, more than half of it in secret session, signal the beginning of a new step-up in the arms race. In some ways the most alarming speech was that made by the chief defender of the new military budget, Russell of Georgia. He admitted he was presenting "the largest appropriation bill in American his-

tory", just short of \$72 million, and that actual military costs during the 1969 fiscal year would be just short of \$ 80 billions. But Russell insisted that substantial increases would be necessary to support the war and "honour our commitments abroad".

If the war ends, Russell indicates, we are going to be pressed hard to divert Vietnam funds to "modernizing" and replenishing our tanks, missiles and bombers. Russell gave some figures on the fantastic rise in the costs of maintaining our armed forces on the scale to which they have become accustomed. A medium bomber in World War II cost less than \$250,000; the latest, the RS-71, costs 100 times as much or almost \$ 25,000,000. The M-16 costs five times what the M-1 did in 1946.

Clark, in a magnificent speech, gave some striking details on what military costs were doing to poverty programmes in his own state. He said the so-called defence bill was really a bill to maintain "an offensive capacity as the policeman of the world." He said the inflation it was causing was "taking money out of the hides" of the poor and aged and all who live on fixed incomes. And he put into the *Record* (S11706, Oct. 1) an extraordinary issue of *Congressional Quarterly* (Sept. 20) summarizing a furious debate between Secretary Clifford and anonymous Pentagon rebels over military waste. But all his cost cutting amendments were voted down.

DESPITE these stupendous expenditures, Cooper failed by a vote of 45 to 25 to block a huge new item, an anti-missile defence, billed as just a little \$5 billion one against China, but which will eventually grow into one costing \$40 to \$70 billions against the Soviet Union, and be worthless as McNamara warned — when it's finished. It will be like playing poker, Hart of Michigan declared, with a worthless hand. He might

have added it will be the most costly bluff in human history. Cooper's most telling quotation in the debate was this—

"The concept of a missile attack originating in China any time in the near future seems to me to be very remote. The Chinese are not completely crazy; they are not going to attack us with 4 or 5 missiles (all they may have by the mid-70s) when they know we have the capability of virtually destroying their entire country... I don't like people to think that I am being kidded by this talk of a defence against a Chinese nuclear attack."

That was Russell himself talking at the anti-missile hearings. He wants a big anti-missile programme against the Russians. The Chinese may not be crazy. But are we entirely sane ?



SMOKERS PRONE TO LUNG CANCER

Tokyo, Oct. 14

The National Cancer Centre reported yesterday that a two-year survey of 2,65118 adults, picked at random, showed that persons who smoke more than 50 cigarettes a day are 28 times more liable to die of lung cancer than non-smokers. The Centre said its findings also showed that those, who smoke 25 to 50 cigarettes a day, are 7.5 time more liable to die of lung cancer. Dr. Tokeshi, Birayama, director of the Centre's immunity department presented the report at the Japan Cancer Symposium, which opened here yesterday. Dr. Birayama said the survey was conducted in five prefectures (states) in 1966 and 1967.

AP

79th Birth Anniversary of

Jawaharlal Nehru—A Great Statesman And A Lovable Human Being

by Arnold Toynbee

The late Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's 79th birth anniversary was observed on the 14th instant. To commemorate the event we publish a special article by the renowned British historian Professor Arnold Toynbee.

I DID not know Nehru at all intimately; in fact, I did not even meet him many times. But his personality made an immediate impression at one's first meeting with him, and this impression did not change over the years. Nor was the effect he made just an impression; the word is too weak and too cold. "Captivation" comes nearer to the truth. Here was a human being who could win one's heart and keep it.

This would be something remarkable in anyone in any walk of life, but in someone whose position was humble and obscure it might not be so surprising as it was in a world famous statesman who has left a deep mark, and this on the whole world and not just on his own country. In this great statesman, the lovable human being was not smothered by the eminent public figure. I should say that, in Nehru, there was not even the faintest touch of pomposity or self-importance or self-consciousness. He retained the spontaneity and the buoyancy of youth after he had been carrying for years an unusually heavy burden of office. It was not till his last years that the unforeseen breach between India and China began to bow him down under its weight.

My first meeting with Nehru happened to bring out the essence of his

personality in a way that was amusing but also illuminating and, above all, normally impressive. The date was one of the interwar years and Nehru had just finished serving one of his terms of imprisonment by the British Government of India. He had come out of prison and had come to England for a holiday. An English lady invited me to lunch in her house to meet him. Nehru was already there when I arrived, but when the door opened for the next guest, it was a British general in uniform, and when the general saw Nehru, his jaw dropped. Apparently he had been implicated in some way in the sentence that Nehru had just been serving. (I never could discover whether our hostess' act in inviting the general and Nehru to meet each other had been deliberate or inadvertent. I dare say it was inadvertent. Her husband's family had a long standing connection with India, and she may have thought vaguely that two men who were both connected with India in some way or other would probably fit well at the same lunch party.)

I wondered how Nehru was going to take the situation. During the few minutes of conversation before the general's arrival, Nehru had left us in no doubt about his militancy. Manifestly, he was going all out to win India's independence from Britain; he was in the battle up to the hilt. Would his reception of the embarrassed British general be stiff? Would it be grim? This question was answered instantaneously by a twinkle that came into Nehru's eye. The situation had struck him as being funny, and he entertained us by teasing the general ever so gently—making him become more and more nervously conciliatory at each sally. This incident, though trifling

in itself, was a revelation. I was in the presence of a human being who could fight — and fight with might and main — without hating his human opponents. There was plenty of fuel for resentments in Nehru's experience at British hands. Terms of imprisonment take painful bites out of a brief human life, and the fighters for India's independence were being imprisoned by the British for acting under the inspiration of ideals to which the British themselves officially subscribed and which they took seriously, for their own benefit, at home. Here were grounds for bitterness, but Nehru showed none. I had known that fighting without hating was one of Mahatma Gandhi's principles. Here, in one of his Chief companions, I was seeing something out of the Sermon on the Mount being practised in real life, and that without any smugness and without any apparent effort. That bowled me over, and the memory of that lunch is as vivid in my mind today as if it had happened yesterday and not thirty years ago.

Another personal memory of mine involves an incident which was still slighter, but it too is revealing. One day in 1956 the University of Delhi was doing me the honour of conferring a degree on me, and I was still far from the university precincts when the hour fixed for the ceremony overtook me. The university is in the old Civil Lines, at the opposite end of the seven (or is it fourteen?) Delhi is from the Asoka Hotel, and we had been held up by the traffic in the crowded streets of Shahjehana-bad. When we were at last within about a quarter of a mile of the university (but about three quarters of an hour late) I was taken aback by the sudden appearance of Nehru running towards us. How could the Prime Minister have made the time to honour and please me by taking a personal part in the academic proceedings? And why was it he, of all people, who had set out in search of me? I had wasted an additional three quarters of an hour of his time, but he was not cross. The sufferers were his security men. When we arrived together at the university we found them in a flap at having

failed to prevent the Prime Minister from darting out through their cordon. That anxiety was well justified. Had not the Mahatma Gandhi been assassinated? And was not the Prime Minister the man on whom Gandhi's mantle had fallen?

THE LAST TIME that I met Nehru was in 1960, and it was sad to see him, not changed in spirit, but now visibly labouring under his load. He had asked me to come and visit him, and at our meeting I tried to keep off the subject of China, since this was, I knew, what was most tormenting him at the time. It was no use. He raised the subject himself and was evidently harrowed and almost obsessed by it. It was a striking contrast to previous meetings, but then, as each time before, came the human act that took one by surprise. I was in New Delhi to give the second series of Azad Memorial lectures (Nehru himself had been the first lecturer). I had just got to my feet to begin my first lecture when the Prime Minister came into the hall. Once again, he had made the time to take a personal part in academic proceedings, in order to give pleasure to a guest. This was generous in a Prime Minister, but it was also most moving on a day on which he had suffered a grievous personal loss. It was the day of Lady Mountbatten's death. Lady Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru had been particularly close personal friends. And, for Nehru's warm heart, close friendships counted, I should guess, for even more than they count for most of us. Again, I was deeply touched.

It seems certain that, for ages to come, Nehru will be remembered as a historic figure, but what is the future picture of him going to be? The lovable human whom his intimate friends knew much better than I did — made his impression on one through one's meeting him in the flesh. At second or seventieth hand, this vivid personal impression will be dimmed, at best, and in time may be almost effaced.

Will Nehru be remembered as a great statesman? Unquestionably he

was that. But I have suggested, and here I believe I am right, that this eminence in public affairs was not the distinctive thing about him. One must be thankful when a noble soul takes on itself the burden of political leadership, for politics are always in need of redeeming. They are a backward field of human activity in which our average standard of behaviour is decidedly lower than it is in family, life or in our professional vocations. A noble soul goes into politics at its peril, for politics are as difficult to redeem as they are in need of redemption. Politics are intractable. They cannot be redeemed in one short lifetime, even by one of those rare spirits that combine high idealism with practical genius. The noble minded statesman cannot altogether escape becoming a bondsman of his imperious circumstances. To be caught on the sorrowful wheel is part of the personal price that the statesman idealist has to pay. It is more blessed to be imprisoned for the sake of one's ideals than to imprison other people, incongruously, in the name of the same ideals. Nehru lived to have both experiences. This was the nemesis of taking over the responsibility for the government of a great country.

For Nehru himself, his political career, eminent though it was, was not, I believe, the most important thing in his life, because for him it was not an end in itself. For him it was a means of serving his fellow human beings — his Indian fellow countrymen in the first place, but not them alone, for his feeling for his fellows embraced the whole of mankind. Nehru has virtually said as much in more than one of his public utterances. He did care intensely for mankind's welfare and destiny, and his vision of this will be the thing in him for which he will be remembered by posterity if the verdict of history faithfully reflects the fundamental truth about him.

I FIND IT difficult to pigeonhole this human personality in any of those impersonal categories in which historians deal. But if constrained to try my hand at this, I should say Nehru served his fellow men most

fruitfully and most characteristically by taking his place in a series of interpreters and mediators between the civilisation of the West and other living civilisation. In modern times the West has been making a revolutionary impact on the rest of the world. The impact has been so potent that non-Westerners have been confronted with the choice of coming to terms with it or being hopelessly overwhelmed by it. Conversely, the West is now finding that it, for its own part, has to come to terms with the non-Western majority of the human race. We seem, in fact, to be in the birth throes of a new society embracing the whole human race, with all the manifold and contradictory traditions of its formerly segregated sections. This seems to be the goal toward which the last four or five hundred years of the world's history have been leading. If this diagnosis is correct, the role of interpretation and mediation is the key role in the present age. It is a more important role than the mere statesman's; and in fact, some of the most effective of the interpreters have done their work outside the political arena. They have done it as scholars, writers, artists, poets and prophets. Nehru was one of those who have played this part on the political stage, and, among the statesman-interpreters of one civilisation to another, one can distinguish more than one type. There is the ruthless sergeant-major who dragoons his troops into putting themselves through the excruciating process of cultural mutation; and there is the seer who inspires his followers to tread the same painful path voluntarily. Famous representatives of the first of these two types were Peter the Great, Mohammed Ali, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and in a rather more deft and light-handed way, the authors of the Meiji Revolution in Japan.

Jawaharlal Nehru is evidently a representative of the type that moves mankind, not by coercion, but by persuasion; and the other representatives of this kind of leader who first come into my mind are all Indians, like Nehru himself. One of them is the Emperor Ashoka, who

was converted, by his experience of life, from being a coercionist into becoming a missionary, but who did his lifework, throughout, on the political stage. The other two whom I think of first are Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, and of course Jawaharlal Nehru's

master and mentor, the Mahatma Gandhi.

This is the company to which Nehru belongs, and in which he deserves to be remembered and to be immortalised.

A Note From Hongkong

China's Discomfiture Over Czech Developments

by A Special Correspondent

Hongkong

THERE is one thing typical about China's approach to world affairs. It is the imprint of China's immediate interest. It will be futile to look for finesse or sophistication. In fact China-watchers here find this knowledge very profitable in following events within China. Thus, when they find great fuss being made one day in mainland newspapers and faithfully reproduced here — most of Hongkong's Chinese language newspapers are Peking-oriented and controlled — about a supposed new upsurge of the masses around the world fired by the thoughts of Mao, the natural deduction is that at home, the thoughts stood in need of some bolstering up, some reassurance of their worth.

But, for a while, even the hardened cynics which most of the China-watchers are thrown into confusion by China's reaction to the Czech events. The reason is that until the *Tass* announcement came on 21 August, Peking had believed that Moscow would not resort to armed action in Czechoslovakia. It was so convinced of this, that Peking propaganda was still attacking Moscow for "compromising, flabbiness and betrayal of the socialist interests of Czechoslovakia", when the announcement came.

A MORE intensified campaign was to come judged by the rising

sharpness of the criticism voiced in the Hongkong papers. The tone had been set ten days before the Soviet action by Hongkong's *Wenwei Pao*, an openly pro-Peking paper, which wrote: "The American imperialists, both secretly and openly, help the Czechoslovakia revisionists", and therefore, "the Soviet revisionist leaders do not dare act resolutely". This position is a "surrender to American imperialism". It could not have been a case of *Wenwei Pao* letting the Soviets have it off its own bat because, at the same time, the Albanian press too was saying the same thing. The Albanian paper *Zeri-i-Populit* was quoted here for the statement: "After the Dubcek group had done away with the Novotny group, with the tacit consent of the Soviet leadership, it gave a free hand to internal counter-revolution so that it could easily get the support of foreign counter-revolutionary groups which have already begun to give strong support to the Czech liberalization movement. All this resembles very much the Hungarian events, but lacks only an open outbreak".

Every statement of the Chinese leaders was faithfully circulated by the *Hsinhua* and reproduced here, including the surmise, for once not far different from the Soviet view, that the Czechoslovak "Club 231" and "Club of Non-Party Activists" were engaged in

activities similar to those of the so-called "Peteofi Circle" in Hungary.

IT WAS QUITE plain that the Chinese were calling for action in Czechoslovakia similar to what the Soviets took in Hungary in 1956 and they were training their guns on the Soviets for their hesitancy. They secretly hoped that Soviet 'inaction' would lead to the break away of Czechoslovakia which would give them a golden opportunity for mounting the fiercest ever offensive against the Soviets.

While the Hungarian parallel was freely cited, no newspaper here recalled what in fact the Chinese then said because there are many formulations which Peking would now wish had not been made at all. Here are the words of the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, in 1956: "Imperialist states seek to capitalize on the problems existing between the socialist countries as well as on some divergence of their viewpoints to provoke a split, to undermine the cohesion of the socialist countries and intensify the subversive activity against them.

"The counter-revolutionary mutiny they concocted in Hungary exposed most graphically their criminal plans designed to make a breach in Hungary and to destroy the socialist countries one by one. However the cohesion of the socialist countries is indestructible and the assistance rendered by the Soviet troops to the Hungarian people in the suppression of the counter-revolutionary mutiny.....fully testifies to the fidelity of the socialist countries to the principle of proletarian internationalism. The criminal plans of the imperialist countries aimed at undermining the socialist community have suffered and will suffer ignominious defeats".

AGAINST this background, the gullible among the China-watchers were induced to speculate, when the Soviet troops finally marched in on 21 August, that hereafter there would be some point of Sino-Soviet understanding which even the defence

of Vietnam had failed to throw up. The speculation gained momentum as North Vietnam gave instant support to the Soviet action. The North Korean position was not stated with the same speed but they recalled Kim Il Sung's statement not long ago that "differences should not hinder the unity and cohesion, for the socialist countries have a common enemy — imperialism — and a common goal — the struggle for the consolidation of socialism".

The more knowledgeable and mature of the China-watchers, who operate in liaison with the research organizations of the United States and Britain in Hongkong, kept their cool reserve. They were rewarded because even before the echo of the calls for intervention broadcast by Radio Peking had died, the Radio started calling on the Czechoslovak people to set up a new party, to open an armed struggle on two fronts at the same time — against their own leaders and against the forces of the Warsaw Pact nations which had moved in, "Plague on both your houses" — this about summed up Chinese reaction.

TO THE AVERAGE pro-Peking Chinese in Hongkong it must normally be uncomfortable to feel that Peking is in strange company in its view of the developments in Czechoslovakia. Peking's reaction runs basically on the same lines as the reactions of imperialist Johnson, revisionist Tito, Zionist Eshkol and neo-fascist von Thadden.

But nothing surprises Maoists and the China-watchers in Hongkong. Eleven years ago *People's Daily* had written: "The cohesion of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union is the most important guarantee for world peace and socialism, and the cohesion between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union is an important factor in the great cohesion of the socialist countries".

The wheel has come full circle. While American imperialism is attacked in the strongest of words, re-

ports alongside speak about continuing secret meetings between representatives of China and the United States. While extending full-throated propaganda backing to Vietnam, China, is reported to have banned flights of planes across its territory carrying urgent drugs to embattled Vietnam.

While imperialist intrigue is acknowledgedly taking newer forms, China is counselling Albania and Rumania to get out of the Warsaw Pact and wreck the one body of collective socialist security.

—PATRIOT, New Delhi

Across Siberia—2

Gigantic Power Plant In Former 'Prison Without Walls'

by P. Unnikrishnan

SIBERIA literally means "sleeping land", a combination of two Tartar words, *sib* and *ir*. It came into use some time in the fifteenth century when the Tartars held sway over the vast lands beyond the Urals. Although the Russians had been interested in the area long before that, their first effective push was in the sixteenth century during the time of Ivan the Terrible.

Adventurers hired by Merchant Stroganov at the instance of Ivan reached as deep into Siberia as Bratsk. The early adventurers had to fight their way through hostile forces of nature and Tartars are known in Russian history as *zemleprokhodtsy* (wayfarers).

While these incursions did make some difference to the way of life of the Siberian tribes, enabling them to learn the use of new implements and the concept of organized religion, they left no impress on the land which time continued to be in a somnolent state. What lent a semblance of life and awareness of authority was the clanking sound of chains that exiled serfs carried with them into Siberia.

The Romanovs gave legal power to Russia's landed gentry to send their serfs to Siberia if they misbehaved. The decree transformed Siberia into a prison without walls which it remained until long after the October Revolution. It was perhaps

nemesis that the last of the Romanovs, Tzar Nicholas II, himself became an exile here and was killed along with his wife and two children in 1918.

RUSSIAN HISTORY books estimate that in the one decade — from 1867 to 1876 — alone, 79,000 prisoners were exiled to Siberia. By 1900 the number rose to 287,000. Not merely serfs but all those whom the Tzars and their presumptuous henchmen considered inconvenient to the established order of things in Petrograd were bundled off to Siberia for long spells of vegetation.

The impressive list of such personages includes revolutionary thinkers like Radishchev and Chernyshevsky, the Decembrists, the writer Foyodor Dostoevski whose *Notes from the Dead* is description of his servitude in Siberia, and finally Lenin.

I had said fruit and man are still scarce in Siberia. Fruit refused to defy weather. Man shunned Siberia not merely because the weather was severe or the land had a dreadful reputation, but there simply was no way of getting there. Man's advent was facilitated only after the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The advent of post-revolution five year plans and even more than

that, the exigencies of the last war which forced the Soviet Union to shift most of its strategic industries to the Urals and beyond brought about a great influx of population. But the density of population is still only 0.27 per square mile.

Russians, Ukrainians, Caucasians and White Russians — all migrated and settled in farflung townships built around newly found industries and mines. The influx changed the political complexion of the land but it did not wipe out the small but numerous nationalities — there are as many as 63 nationalities — which had lived in Siberia from the earliest times — Yakutians, Buryats, Altai, Khakasses, Tuvinians, Nentsy, Dolgans, Evenki, Khanty and Mansi.

The major national minorities like the Yakutians and Buryats have their own autonomous regions, where their language and culture are preserved. The care taken to preserve the way of life of even the smallest of the tribes is indicated by the Toffis, a community of 300 hunters who live in Taiga not far from Irkutsk. No one is permitted to invade the privacy they had enjoyed through history nor are they denied the benefits of modern science. No roads lead to their settlements but medicines and supplies are provided to them by means of helicopters.

IT IS because of the pressing need for manpower that the Soviet system of wages gives added incentives for people working in Siberia. The national minimum in all fields of labour is ten per cent higher in Siberia than in the rest of the Soviet Union and housing and other amenities provided are liberal. You come face to face with this problem of manpower when you see the pressure on the services and public catering facilities in all the 90 odd new cities of Siberia. A group of young men who gathered round us in Bratsk, each one anxious to draw our attention to some novel feature of their less-than-ten-year-old city, were frankly apologetic about the state of the services.

But every time we brought the conversation to that topic they would talk of the plans ahead and the way things were improving and the city was growing in front of their eyes. This sense of pride over one's own city is a quality one misses outside the Soviet Union and even more outside Siberia.

It was difficult to help being infected and impressed by this. I recalled in particular the talk we had with Abxotin, the youthful Deputy Director, who showed us round the Bratsk Hydro-electric project, speaking all the time in superlatives about it. We were a group of tourists drawn from many countries, engineers from France and the US included. One could see the patronizing manner with which questions were asked, getting transformed into admiration as Abxotin went on talking.

HE REELED off a series of stunning statistics : about the Bratsk Hydro electric project being twice as big in capacity as the Grand Coolie Dam of the US, output here being 20 per cent of the power generated in all of France. the dam here being twice as big as at Aswan and the power generated being the cheapest in the world, that is, 0.054 kopek (or roughly 0.4 paisa) per kw hour.

The power station can generate up to 22,600 million kw hours a year. It was built in the unpopulated taiga where the temperature drops to 50 degrees below zero in winter which runs for eight months of the year. The surface of the water freezes but the motor is well below the surface which enables it to work right round the year.

The total working population for this gigantic project is only 815 including 150 engineers. More than a quarter of the labour force is women. The total cost of the project was 730 million roubles; it was cheap despite the difficulties caused by extremes of weather which obliged the construction engineer to have electrodes inserted for concrete to set in winter and cooling

apparatus in summer. The one reason for its cheapness is that the entire equipment for the project had been made in the Soviet Union.

When the plans were being made for the project, there were critics abroad who thought it was going to be a "white elephant". Its soundness was questioned for the reason that it was going to be located in the wilds of Siberia. But Bratsk is now linked with the national power grid.

In any case the demand for power has risen so sharply even in Siberia that it has kept way ahead of supply, causing delay in completion of electrification of the entire trans-Siberian Railway from end to end. At present it is electrified halfway from Moscow and from Irkutsk the train is pulled by diesel power.

by courtesy—PATRIOT,

New Delhi



DO CONTINENTS DRIFT?

The precise answer to this question, which has intrigued scientists for a long time, will be supplied by the unified programme of research work now being done by the astronomers, geophysicists and geologists of many countries. The Soviet researchers have determined the movement of the Earth's poles over the last 60 years. It turned out that the North Pole has been moving at an average rate of 11 cm. per year in the direction of Labrador. However, it is impossible to declare that this movement was the same in the distant past, or that it is expected to continue in the future.

After Czech Crisis

Anglo-American Dilemma Over Nato: Efforts To Strengthen May Weaken It

by Iqbal Singh

THE MOVEMENT of events in the world of international *realpolitik* is governed partly by Pavlovian conditioned reflexes and cold calculation. However, and in the nature of things, as the reflex invariably precedes reflection and calculation, there is often a danger that the latter may fail to catch up with the former to act as a timely corrective. This danger has been particularly acute in the context of the neuralgic situation in Europe since the Czechoslovak crisis. Indeed, almost a month after the Moscow agreement opened up the possibility of return to normalcy in the relations between Prague and its partners in the Warsaw Pact, public attitudes being struck in some Western capitals suggest that there has been no time yet for second or even first, thoughts to assert themselves. The continuing hue and cry over the fate "worse than death" that is supposed to have overtaken the Czechs, combined with calls for the strengthening of NATO forces deployed along the Elbe and elsewhere, must be seen as part of this automatism of reflex.

PREDICTABLY, the hue and cry has been loudest in Bonn where policies have always tended to be conceived without any reference to critical intelligence. Dr. Kiesinger, the Federal Chancellor, himself took the responsibility of calling for an emergency NATO summit to discuss the crisis. As any diplomatic novice might have told him, his allies and protectors were in no position to jump to his bidding. Washington and London remained unresponsive and, as far as Paris was concerned, even the Federal Chancellor did not really expect acceptance of his invitation.

The best that he could get by way of change was a statement, after a meeting of the Defence Planning Committee of NATO at Brussels on 4 September, which was not attended by France, that NATO allies "are replanning the strength and deployment of the military forces" and that "development in Czechoslovakia cannot fail to be of great concern and NATO has initiated a thorough assessment of their implications for allied defence policy, particularly the force postures." The statement went on to add reassuringly, "The alliance must assure a balance of defence forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact nations ! Forces should not be reduced except as part of a pattern of mutual force reductions balanced in scope and timing".

However, all this was small change and contained some counterfeits, or at least ambiguous, coinage. It did not satisfy the West Germans who have continued to press for deeds and not words—or, at any rate, words which would mean firm commitments. Only recently Dr. Kiesinger sent one of his trusted errand-boys, Dr. Kurt Birrenbach, on an urgent mission to Washington. He is reported to have seen President Johnson and Mr. Dean Rusk and explained West German fears and anxieties to his interlocutors. Ostensibly, he pleaded with them for taking the initiative for unilaterally repealing the "energy state clauses" of the UN Charter of which the Soviets have been reminding the Cold Warriors in Bonn. But it is also a safe assumption that he conveyed to the American President and Secretary of State Bonn's desire to see the American garrison

in West Germany reinforced to cure any defects of doubt generated by Senator Mansfield's talk of American troop withdrawals even though, admittedly, that was before 21 August.

WHAT assurance Dr. Birrenbach brought back from Washington for the Federal Chancellor is a matter for speculation. But judging from the testimony of well-informed observers, like the *Times* man in Washington, all that Dr. Kiesinger's special envoy was furnished was promise to talk and more talk. There is, presumably, to be a meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers at Turtle Bay some time between 29 September and 9 October when Mr. Rusk will be in New York to attend the UN General Assembly. This will be followed by the scheduled meeting of the NATO nuclear planning group which, it seems, will be upgraded by the attendance of NATO defence ministers. The climax will, of course, be reached at the pre-Xmas gathering of the North Atlantic Council.

What kind of a climax ? Again, judging by reports from Washington, whatever the public pronouncements, in private there is no disposition to accept the thesis pronounced in Bonn that the Warsaw Pact military presence along the whole of the West German frontier, and not just two-thirds of it, has radically altered the military balance in Central Europe. On the contrary, the *Economist*, was probably paraphrasing an original State Department estimate when it argued the other day that "the patent unreliability of the Czech army suggests that the total strength of the Warsaw Pact armies has suffered a net reduction."

At all events, Mr. Rusk appears to have been of the view that if any strengthening of the NATO effort is called for, the major part of that effort must come from the European themselves. Even the deity, he has been arguing, helps best those who help themselves and here is a never-to-be-missed opportunity for the West European

allies to take upon their shoulders a larger share of the defence load to prove their mettle. The West Germans, for instance, could easily remove the absurd limit of this defence budget when they are bulging with fat, metaphorically speaking, and embarrassed by an excessively favourable balance of payments situations. The British are being urged to keep in West Germany the brigade which they sent to reinforce the British Army of the Rhine just before the Czech crisis came to a head.

IF THE Americans continue to pursue this line of argument which their NATO allies during the series of talks scheduled between now and the festive season — and they may well do so because there is reason to believe that they are not altogether happy about the Czechoslovak exercise which appears to have been a joint Anglo-West German operation, with equal sharing of the palms if not the spoils — then the talk about strengthening NATO is more likely to lead to familiar acrimony rather than harmony. For though all the partners in the alliance want, or say they want, to see its military muscle rejuvenated, the impression is abroad that each wants it to be done at somebody else's expense.

Of course, it is by no means certain that everybody does really want a reinforcement of NATO's force postures. France, in any case, has no intention of being party to any such exercise and has said so straight from the mouth of the Elysee oracle. But some others have joined the ranks of dissenters.

Canada, which under Mr. Lester Pearson and Mr. Diefenbaker, used to do much of the running as recruiting officer for NATO, for example, has changed its tune almost completely under Mr. Trudeau. Before the Czech crisis, the non-conformist Canadian Prime Minister was having "a hard look" at Canada's military role in NATO. The general expectation, however, was that after the entry of Warsaw Pact forces into Czechoslovakia,

he will forget all about his plans to revise Canada's contribution to the military aspect of NATO and even agree to Bonn's plea not to close one of Canada's three air bases in West Germany. Not so. He has surprised everybody by declaring on 30 August that Canada's reassessment of its defence and foreign policy will be carried out that in any case there was greater danger in reinforcing NATO military deployment "to stare down the Soviet tanks"; and that the best policy was to let the Russians 'stew in the mess they had made of Communist brotherhood'. And he is not alone in holding this original view.

But even where the spirit is willing the flesh is weak. The British are answering arguments for troop reinforcements to face the Russians with the plea that there is no room at the inn to house them. The truth, perhaps, is that there is no money in the till to pay the inn-keeper's bills either. Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Roy Jenkins, straining every nerve to correct Britain's balance of payment deficit by the middle next year, are unlikely to be swayed by passionate pleas to increase their liabilities in the name of Atlantic solidarity. The paradox, in fact, is that ostentatious attempt to strengthening NATO are likely, as in the past to weaken it.

ZANZIBAR WAR ON CAPITALISM

Dar Es Salaam, Oct. 26

Any leader in Zanzibar found practising capitalism or with capitalist tendencies would be jailed for life, Tanzanian Vice-President Abeid Karume announced yesterday. Mr. Karume, who leads Zanzibar's socialist administration however, said there should be fairness in the law, avoiding the "bias typical of the British legal system".

Letter

ENGLISH

To The Editor
Sir,

The position of English in Independent Lanka has been widely discussed in the Press and outside it. England annexed vast territories in Asia and Africa and carried on the administration of the occupied countries in its own language. Further, it imposed a system of education which enabled a few to gain a knowledge of English sufficient to fill sub-ordinate positions in Government Service. The study of the indigenous language was discouraged. The English educated minority or many of them favour English as our State Language.

On the other hand, the vast majority in this country, educated in Sinhalese, mostly in village schools, are happy that their mother tongue is the language of administration. The Sinhalese Language, though confined to this Island and to a people numerically insignificant, contains a rich literature. It was developing when foreign conquests suspended its further growth. It is, however, capable of meeting all present day requirements.

The Tamils form the next majority community. Most, if not all, of our Muslim brethren speak the Tamil Language which too should find a place in our educational set-up. The Federal Party, however, clamours for the administration of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, to be conducted in Tamil presumably to the exclusion of Sinhalese. In effect they seem to want linguistic Federalism. They probably have certain mental reservations with a view to consolidating the federal idea further when opportunity occurs. Every citizen of this country enjoys equal rights whatever be his community or religion. The law is applicable to all without any discrimination whatsoever. Still it cannot be denied that this is "Sinhala Dwipa" and that any division by the Federalists or any other community is not

acceptable. The aim is the unity of all in order to form a compact and patriotic Ceylonese society.

England is the last of the foreign powers to rule Ceylon. During its fairly long period every endeavour was made to undermine our attachment to our own language. The English Language is one of the most advanced of the European languages containing as it does a rich literature. Its study can be very useful to our students and has been rightly included as a subject of study.

Sinhalese is our State Language. The transition from English to Sinhalese will cause some difficulties, but they can and must be overcome by greater enthusiasm than is now shown. A study of Tamil by all will tend to narrow the gap and re-establish the unity that prevailed before the Federal idea. The division of this small country is not in the interest of any one, and cannot be countenanced. The essential need is greater unity and this is achievable by promoting the study of the three languages with Sinhalese as the language of administration throughout the whole Island.

W. A. Goonetilleke

"Deepthie"

Hapugala, Wackwella,
Galle



**MOTHER KILLS
STARVING SONS**

Manila, Oct. 18

A despondent mother stabbed her two small sons to death with a six-inch knife because they were starving, police said today. The police said the 27-year-old mother killed the two boys, aged three and four, after seeing them crying for food. The father had abandoned the family leaving it without income, they said.

President Ayub Khan

**No-War Pact If India Binds
Herself To Resolve All Disputes:
Bilateralism Is Basis Of Pakistan's
Foreign Policy**

Rawalpindi

President Ayub Khan said in Rawalpindi on 26th October that Pakistan was most willing to have a no-war pact with India provided it was accompanied by another pact defining how India and Pakistan could resolve the problem that existed at present or might arise in future. In a 55-minute address to the nation on television, telecast on the eve of the tenth Revolution Day, the President said if India was to come to an agreement with Pakistan on the substance of such a pact "we shall be very happy indeed". But he regretted, there had been no settlement of the problems with India whose attitude he termed as "crucial".

He said, "She is our biggest neighbour and has been hostile to us. So far India has shown us no desire to live at peace with Pakistan. She has called us her enemy No. 1 and built an enormous military machine to use against us. She has gone back on all solemn pledges given about Kashmir and its settlement. And in fact, she has taken an irrational attitude on every conceivable thing connected with Pakistan", he added. Of the Farakka Barrage, the President said, Pakistan had approached India time and again, at the highest level, to settle the problem but "we have had no favourable response so far". The President said, Pakistan wanted peace with India but it had to be on a just and honourable basis. "We shall only be too glad to extend a helping hand. Until then we have got to be on our guard and keep our guards up. There is no other solution".

President Ayub pointed out that since the war, India had doubled her armed forces and she was carrying on a feverish military buildup and said "we cannot be oblivious to all this". He said, "Prudent precautions are incumbent on us. Those responsible for the defence of the country are fully alive to the situation and are ready to meet it. The nation can rest assured of that."

Giving some salient points of the foreign policy, the President said that "because of our geographical location and because of the fact that we have to deal with so many major Powers our policy is based on bilateralism, that is to say, we have relations with all these countries but not at the cost of any other country. Bilateralism, he said, was not the same thing as neutralism, whose objective is to use one against the other", We want to have sincere and straightforward dealings with any country with whom we have relationship. That is the meaning of bilateralism". He said Pakistan must keep out of major Power politics and pointed out that since "we believe in bilateralism, we must not expect unlimited support from any country as we cannot give unlimited support in return".

Such a foreign policy, he said, could only be run by honesty, sincerity and straightforwardness. It required sober and dignified men who did their work firmly but quietly. There was no place for demagoguery-chauvinism and tall talk.

FILM PAGE

● **ALVAREZ KELLY**, Sol. C. Siegel production, in Panavision and in Eastmancolor by Pathe, released through Columbia Pictures, now showing at the **EMPIRE THEATRE**, is a drama of violent action and romantic intrigue, based on a true incident of the Civil War when Confederate cavalry fought a series of bloody battles in an effort to steal a huge herd of cattle from the Union army in order to feed the people of Richmond who were being starved into submission by General Grant. Holden plays the title role, that of an Irish-Mexican rancher, who brings the herd north, and he is kidnapped by Widmark, leader of the guerilla forces, and persuaded to train the Confederate cavalry in the techniques of the cattle drive, prior to their seizure of his herd. The persuasion involves shooting off one of Holden's fingers, and the promise that the others

will be shot off, one a day, unless he agrees to co-operate. The feud between the two men becomes as bitter and as brutal as the war that is waged around them. The movie reaches a breathless climax in a battle, with Kelly's cattle over-running a vital military position, a battery of cannon and some 500 soldiers.

Franklin Coen wrote the screenplay for the film, and music is by John Green. The song by John Green and Johnny Mercer is sung by The Brothers Four. The movie is produced by So. C. Siegel and directed by Edward Dmytryk.

Alvarez Kelly (WILLIAM HOLDEN), in 1864, brings a herd of 2500 cattle from Mexico, for delivery to U.S. Army Major Stedman (PATRICK O'NEAL) at the Warwick plantation in Virginia. Aided by Charity Warwick (VICTORIA SHAW), reckless Confederate guerilla Col. Tom Rossiter (RICHARD WIDMARK), kidnaps Kelly and persuades him in a scheme to deliver the herd of cattle to starving Richmond, by cruelly shooting off one of Kelly's fingers and threatening to shoot off the others. At a party in the Rossiter home, Kelly meets Rossiter's reluctant fiancée, Liz Pickering (JANICE RULE), and in revenge for the finger and in gratitude for the night she spends with him, arranges for her to escape from the South. Kelly teaches the Confederate guerillas how to handle the cattle and then accompanies Rossiter in his successful raid on the Warwick plantation. Major Stedman commands the howitzer battery and 500 Union soldiers who set a trap for Rossiter and the cattle at a bridge which must be crossed if the herd is to reach Richmond. Unable to bypass the bridge, Kelly stampedes the cattle into the Union lines. In the disorganised battle that follows, the cattleman risks his life to rescue a Confederate officer. A Rossiter aide tries to kill Kelly in the confusion but is himself slain by the Colonel. With the herd safely on its way to Richmond, Rossiter releases Kelly to

go his own way, North to Liz or South to Charity.

● **THE FASTEST GUITAR ALIVE**: Four Leaf production in Metrocolor, released through Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, opening this week at the **MAJESTIC THEATRE**, features Roy Orbison, sensationally popular recording star, and he makes his motion picture debut in this fast action comedy drama revolving around two Rebel officers. The movie is packed with entertainment values, and is set in the framework

CAPITOL PLAZA MYLAN

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

- Ravichandran
- L. Vijayaluxmi

in ETHIRIGAL YAKRATHAI

2th Month

KINGSLEY

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

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

PARAKKUM PAAVAI COLOUR

16 Week

LIDO

9-30 a.m. 2-00, 6-30 p.m.
& 9-45 p.m.

WEMBLEY—Kandy
9 a.m. 1, 5 & 9-30 p.m.

- RAJ KAPOOR
- VYJANTHIMALA
- RAJENDRAKUMAR

IN
Raj Kapoor's

SANGAM

Technicolor

Music: Shankar, Jaikishan

GAMINI

2, 6, & 9.30 p.m

VANAMOHINI

Air Conditioned

LIBERTY

From 21th Nov.

ROD TAYLOR
CATHERINE SPARK

"HOTEL"

Technicolor

CENTRAL

M. G. R. — Jayalalita

THER THIRUVILA

of an amusing story, in the period of the final weeks of the Civil War era, and revolves on a plot by two Rebel officers, posing as travelling medicine showmen to rob the San Francisco mint of Dols. 150,000 in gold, desperately needed by the destitute Confederacy." The picture abounds in rapid action and more laughs than one can catch up with, a bevy of beautiful girls, and scintillating production numbers of the Can-Can genre.

Punctuating and highlighting the derring-do action is Roy Orbison's singing. Seven of the film's eight songs were composed by Orbison and Bill Dees. They are Pistolero, Good Time Party, River, Whirwing

Medicine Man, Rollin On and the title song. The eighth melody, Snuggle Huggle, is by Fred Karger and Robert E. Kent. The music is scored and conducted by Fred Karger.

Roy Orbison as Johnny, with his cohort, Steve (SAMMY JACKSON), crosses the plains of a horse-drawn medicine wagon, and the laughs begin early, when Johnny fights off an Indian attack with the aid of a unique guitar which converts into a rifle. Attached to the medicine wagon is cooevered wagon which houses the Chestnut Sisters, Fle (MAGGIE PIERCE) and Sue (JOHN FREEMAN), together with a group of dancing barmaids, who offer a generous share of conviviality to both the story's romantic interludes and to the gaiety of the dancing performance at the rowdy Barbary Coast Theatre in San Francisco, and in other sequences. In between the sequences in which Johnny and Steve pull the big theft under the nose of the Sheriff and then become involved in a series of intrigues, chases, double-crosses and gun-fighters before the plot is happily resolved with the help of Johnny's ingenious bullet-firing guitar.

A large supporting cast includes Lyle Bettger, John Doucette, Patricia Donahue, Ben Cooper, Ben Lessy, Douglas Kennedy, Len Hendry, Iron Eyes Cody and Sum the Sham. The movie produced by Sam Katzman is directed by Michael Moore from a screenplay by Robert E. Kent.



S. A. Asokan in a scene of Devar films THER THIRUVILA. Now showing at Ceylon Entertainment Theatres.

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EMPIRE Air-Conditioned

William Holden - Richard

Widmark in

ALVAREZ KELLY

MAJESTIC Air-Conditioned

Roy Orbison,

American's latest singing sensation
in
MGM's

**THE FASTEST
GUITAR ALIVE**

Air-Conditioned

REGAL

From Thurs

One of the greatest "Westerns"
to come from Europe

ADIOS GRINGO

4rd Week

ELPHINSTONE—ROXY

& 14 other centres

Gamini Fonseka—Vijitha Mallika
in

R. T. Studio's

**DEHADAKA
DUKA**

Produced & Directed by:

Robin Tamboue

5th Week

SELLAMAHAL

Sivaji - Padmini - Vijaya in

IRU MALARGAL

CROWN

Asha Parekh—Dharminder in

AAYE DIN BHAAR KE

in Eastman Colour

Last Few Days

SAVOY Air-Conditioned

Sean Connery as James Bond
in

THUNDERBALL

in CinemaScope & Technicolor

Jitters In Top Army Brass In West Germany

Do The Suicides Reveal Spy Infiltration ?

by **Kunhanandan Nair**

Berlin

A series of suicides committed by high-ranking officers and men of the West German Defence Ministry and Intelligence organs, during the last few weeks, rocked the West German capital and the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

AMONG the key intelligence men who killed themselves are. Deputy Chief of Bonn's Intelligence Agency (BND), Lt-Gen Wendtlandt. Fleet Admiral Hermann Ludke, Deputy Director of NATO's Logistic Department, at Brussels, who had the security rating of "Cosmic", giving him the privilege of access to the most confidential documents of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. This 57-year-old officer "came under suspicion" on October 1, when a miniature camera film, which he had "inadvertently" given to a Bonn photography shop for developing, turned out to have pictures of top secret NATO documents. A laboratory assistant, who happened to be an agent of the Bonn counter-intelligence, notified his office and the Admiral was called for questioning. On October 8, Ludke drove to the Eifel Mountains and shot himself. Lt.-Col. Johannes Grimm (54), shot himself, on October 18, through his head, in his office at the Defence Ministry. Heinrich Schenk, an officer of Bonn's "Development Aid" department, killed himself two weeks ago. Gerhard Boem (61), a sergeant in the army who carried sealed containers of secret papers from office to office, was reported missing on October 23. Police found his coat and briefcase under a bridge, in Bonn.

Weeks earlier, an Air Force officer was caught "while stealing a rocket" of the new offensive series. Bonn said he wanted to take it to the GDR.

Chancellor Kiesinger was a very worried man since the defeat of the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia. He was frustrated not only because his "Operation Roll-back" ended in fiasco, but also because the entire secret project to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia had fallen into the hands of the "enemies".

AMONG the devastating leaks was a top secret military plan for the quick conquest of the GDR, or, in their own words, "the far side of the Easter frontiers of the Federal Republic to a depth of 120 kilometres, within 48 hours, in order to change the status quo in Europe".

This plan, if worked, would trigger off a Third World War and was approved by Chancellor Kiesinger's Cabinet on December 5, 1967.

A series of similar intelligence leaks blew up a number of grave NATO provocations and revealed its criminal projects, such as "Target Priorities in Forward Strategy", "Roll-back in East Europe", "Sub-limited Warfare", "Military Code for Divided Nations", "NATO Strategy Reorientation Goals", "Har mel Exercise" "Defence First, Detente Next, Memo", "Nuclear Trigger Perspective" for Bonn.

These Intelligence disasters, as anyone can see, revealed secret imperialist plots to push the world to the brink of a nuclear war.

Finally, the fiasco of "Operation Roll-back" in Czechoslovakia,

since August 21, rudely shook the CIA and the Pentagon, in Washington, CIA Chief Richard Helms flew a team of "Leak Detection" experts to Bonn, to plug the holes in the CIA spy plot in Europe.

Chancellor Kiesinger before he left to Lisbon, had ordered a thorough investigation into the suicide series: but his instructions to throw an iron curtain around the Intelligence leak cases apparently did not work.

Newspapers in West Germany grabbed this sensation with banner headlines in front-page stories. Bonn is trying to divert the attention of the stunned West Germans to East Germany, putting scapegoat stories like "East Zone agents have penetrated" into Bonn's defence system and NATO secrets. As they have no one to arrest on any pretext so far, they alleged that six "Zonen Agenten" slipped back to East Germany after the intelligence suicide series.

In any case, the West German people are generally happy that many a criminal secret plot of German imperialism to create tension, aggression and wars, have been ripped open, no matter by who and how.

BLITZ

THE EARTH'S BIOGRAPHY

Scientists in the Ukraine have compiled a geological map which reflects the biography of our planet. In its compilation, the latest works on the determination of the Earth's absolute age have been used. The radiological laboratories of the Ukraine have conducted about 2,000 of such studies. In the vicinity of the city of Zaporozhye they discovered an ancient layer, which is 3,500,000,000 years old. Similar strata have been previously discovered only in the south of Africa and in the Kola Peninsula.