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## Strike Crisis Only A Reflection Of Growing Economic Unbalance

The confrontation between the Government and its employees — all centred on the question of increased salaries and emoluments — has been a long time in the making and the present deadlock is only the culmination of side-stepping the issue by more than one government during the last 15 years. The problem can be simply stated: the cost of living has been increasing at a much faster rate than the real income of the salaried workers of the government, and the repeated demands for increased wages has been staved off by various devices, including interim allowances and the like. The demand for substantial increases in wages would not have snowballed to the proportions attained today if the cost of living had been brought down or least kept under check. On the other hand, the prices of essential commodities, particularly food, clothing and rent, have spiralled in a manner that makes it very difficult even for upper middle-class income

groups to make both ends meet — the fate of the lower middle class and the various grades of the working class can only evoke sympathy.

But, there is also another side to the picture. The Government does not have the money to pay for these extra salaries, and if it must pay there will be no alternative for the government, at this juncture, other than to increase taxes and cut down expenditure on development projects. There is no doubt that direct as well as indirect taxation has reached saturation point for a capitalist economic set-up and it would also be suicidal to place any further curbs on development expenditure, however doubtful some of these projects may be. In a capitalist economic society, increased remuneration can legitimately come, without either causing excessive inflation or increasing the tensions stemming from economic imbalance, only through increased production and the expansion of the GNP (gross

national product). Increased production will also keep the cost of living down to reasonable limits, or at least to levels which are in keeping with wage levels. But, in Ceylon, ever since it attained political independence in 1948, the economic imbalance between wages and price levels (of essential commodities and foodstuffs) has widened with each passing year. And, it seems to have reached crisis point this year. Even if the Government is able to prevent a major strike immediately through interim allowances and the new Salaries Commission, the day of final reckoning cannot be put off altogether. A major strike will hurt both sides — as the recent history of France will bear testimony. A major strike will also mean the further devaluation of the rupee sooner or later — but the high-handed apathy of the bureaucratic administration and the short-sighted inertia exhibited by the government cannot but drive its employees to strike action.

## Headlines Of The Week

**FRIDAY, November 15** — The Government has decided to decentralise the local administration by grouping all local bodies into five large divisions each coming under the charge of a divisional unit of the Ministry. Ceylon has been granted a loan of ten million dollars by the International Development Association to develop the island's public road system. The Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake has told his ministerial colleagues to get closer to their officers and not to stand aloof from them. The Inspector-General of Police informed the entire Police Force that anyone of them found guilty of assault or fabrication of cases against persons would be dismissed. The former Governor of the Central Bank, Mr. D. W. Rajapathirana, died yesterday. The Big Four western Foreign Ministers at a meeting held in Brussels examined the interim progress reports on how various aspects of the security and viability of West Berlin should continue to be safeguarded and improved. Some 12 million Italian workers went on a twenty four hour strike for higher pensions.

**SATURDAY, November 16** — The Government has accepted in full the recommendations made by the Minister of State and the Minister of Finance on measures necessary to protect and assist national films. Three candidates yesterday handed in their nomination papers to contest the Welimada parliamentary by-election fixed for December 17. The malaria epidemic is on the wane. Four armed men yesterday morning entered a women's compartment of Talaimannar-Colombo mail train and robbed a woman of her chain, jewellery and suitcase after threatening her and firing one shot. President Johnson said that he alone would be responsible for foreign policy decisions in the period up to January 20 when President-elect Richard Nixon takes office. The United States Secretary of State said in Brussels that Austria and Yugoslavia were clearly related to the area of the NATO Security interests.

**SUNDAY, November 17** — The *Daily Mirror* said that the Ceylon Mercantile Union would not launch a general strike as proposed. The Prime Minister told his ministerial colleagues that he had no intention of cancelling his Indian tour despite the general strike by public servants fixed for the 28th instant and that the Minister of State, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, would function as the acting Head of the Government. The Government had decided to restrict the outflow of foreign exchange on the import of non-essential goods. Thirty three persons were arrested in Rawalpindi when demonstrators protested against the arrest of Ali Bhutto. The United States and its North Atlantic allies warned Russia that any new Soviet intervention in Europe or the Mediterranean would create an international crisis with grave consequences.

**MONDAY, November 18** — Professor K. Kularatnam claimed at the Symposium on Conservation of

Resources and the People that "there are undoubtedly vast resources of gold in the country. The Government has pledged to contribute nearly Rs. 25,000 for the setting up of the Secretariat of the Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. W. Dahanayake, has approved the establishment of a distillery in the Northern Province for the distilling of palmyrah arrack. Danang was placed under martial law and a 24 hour curfew was imposed following a night of Vietcong attacks within the city.

**TUESDAY, November 19** — Cardinal Cooray said at a press interview after his return to the island that coming generations would bless Pope Paul for his encyclical on birth regulation, for any other way would have led to world suicide. A forty percent increase in tourist arrivals has been recorded last month. A big fire in a Glasgow warehouse killed about 24 people yesterday. A young bride-to-be was shot to death by her father after a violent argument over which Church she would be married.

**WEDNESDAY, November 20** — The Prime Minister said at a meeting at Mirigama that it was unfair for public servants and other employees to demand a share of newly created wealth by the cultivators. The President of the Government Clerical Service Union, Mr. I. J. Wickrema, said at a meeting of the Kalutara Public Servants that "if the Government tried to clamp down the essential services order, the strike situation would only be aggravated. The Ministry of Defence and External Affairs has turned down a request of the Burmese Government that the Burmese Embassy in Ceylon be permitted to record the evidence of four local witnesses in connection with the death of Madame Shirley Boonwaat. The Government is to set up a Foreign Investment Board to deal with matters relating to foreign private investment and collaboration. Paddy production this year has exceeded the target by over two million bushels, according to tentative calculations. France yesterday sought to weather a storm of speculation the franc on its own, confident that if a real crisis came the world's richest nations would pitch into support the once-strong currency. The US and South Vietnam were nearing an agreement that would end Saigon's boycott of the preliminary peace talks in Paris by having both countries serve as alternating co-chairman of their delegates, according to the *Washington Post*.

**THURSDAY, November 21** — Public Service Trade Unions have rejected the Prime Minister's formula to stay the strike for six months to allow the L.B. de Silva Salaries Commission to submit an interim report. They have decided to strike on the 28th instant. The leave of all police officers and the armed forces have been cancelled if the threatened strike comes off. Prague colleague students defied the Government's call to end their strike and ruled to extend it for at least another day. President Van Thieu of South Vietnam re-affirmed today that Saigon will stay out of the Vietnam peace talks which are to be held in Paris.

In Batticaloa

## Fish And The Fisheries Corporation : Local Consumers Suffer : Total Apathy

by Kantha Retnam

Whose interests does the Fisheries Corporation serve in Batticaloa ? The consumer is certainly not one of those who is benefitted by the Corporation's activities in this town on the east coast renowned for its fishing industry. <sup>1</sup>

If it has consumer welfare at heart, it will not have remained unmoved by the rising prices of all varieties of fish. It will have rushed to ease the burden on the consumer by opening a Fair Price Fish Stall. The reported offer of a stall in the newly constructed market by the Batticaloa Municipal Council still remains unaccepted by the Fisheries Corporation. <sup>2</sup>

One is assured that the Corporation's declared objectives take into account the need for producer as well as consumer welfare. <sup>3</sup> If this assurance has validity, may one inquire why the Corporation has abandoned the rights of consumers in Batticaloa to private price-raising fishing interests ?

**AT PRESENT,** Fair Price Fish Stalls have been established only in certain parts of the Island. This means that the consumer not served by such a stall is not afforded the opportunity of purchasing his requirements of fish at a reasonable price. The denial to one section of the community of facilities given to another will imply that consumers in certain parts of Ceylon matter more than those in other parts. In the eyes of the Fisheries Corporation, are some people more equal than others ? *If every citizen has the same rights whether he be from Colombo or Jaffna or Badulla or Batticaloa, how does one account for the fact that the need for a Fair Price Fish Stall in every district capital has not, so far, been met?*

One may inquire why the need for such a Stall in Batticaloa has become pronounced when it has long been noted for its fish supply. Certainly none will be articulated if a good portion of the fish caught off Batticaloa is made available for local consumption. But the Batticaloanian's grievance is that much of the catch is lorry-freighted out of the district, <sup>4</sup> and that only the leftovers are made to trickle into the market.

Since the leftovers are meagre in quantity, the market price is not appreciably affected by their entry. Medium sized prawns which were bought by consumers in Batticaloa at the rate of Rupees Five per hundred are, after the commencement of Corporation activities, being sold at Rupees Ten per hundred. Once a Fair Price Stall starts functioning, local sellers cannot hold out for high prices without losing many of their customers. If the Corporation has no intention of commencing sales at fair prices in Batticaloa, it must stop its promotion of purchases intended for bulk transport out of the Batticaloa District. <sup>5</sup>

**THERE** is no dearth of fishermen in the Eastern Province. Yet, the Corporation deems it necessary to establish a new settlement in the eastern part of Ceylon with the declared purpose of exploiting the fishing potential off the eastern shore. <sup>6</sup> What prevents it from realising that colonization schemes are best left to the Land Commissioner's Department, and that its share is promoting the welfare of the country will be adequately contributed by providing assistance to indigenous fishermen to widen their operations ? It is small wonder that the international organization

from which it sought assistance pronounced its projects far too ambitious for a comparative beginner !

An advertisement in *The Economist* (London) of 9th March, 1968, highlighting the services offered by the Bank of Ceylon refers to the country in the following terms:

*"Set like a pearl in the sapphire blue waters of the Indian Ocean, Ceylon will enchant you with its warm golden beaches where you can swim, surf and skin dive, and its blue misty mountains where you can fish, hunt or play golf - all within a couple of hours' travelling distance".* (emphasis mine).

Now that one is assured that one can fish on the mountains, one wonders whether the Fisheries Corporation will, without any hesitation, convert the central mountain regions into a fishermen's paradise !

*Even after the Corporation commenced its operations in Batticaloa, the local fishermen continue to live on the borderline of poverty.* Mechanised boats are difficult to come by. This is why they repeatedly make their appearances around the Batticaloa Lagoon with nothing more than their nets for in-shore fishing. It is not uncommon to find three or four fishermen taking turns on one net at the approach to the Koddaimunai Bridge. There are far too many fishermen trying to make their limited resources pay for their livelihood. Meaningful steps must be taken by the Fisheries Corporation to fit them for realizing increased yields from the lagoon. <sup>8</sup>

Fish that is in short supply in the Batticaloa Municipal Market <sup>9</sup> fetches a high price. But the people who gain by the price rise are not those who spend long hours netting the fish, but wholesalers and retailers.

If the Corporation is keen on achieving its aim of providing a wide range fish of for the consumer

to choose from, it must waste no time in giving assistance to the lagoon fishermen. When the lagoon varieties of fish are displayed with the sea varieties, there will be the possibility of meeting the requirements of discerning housewives.

The construction of fisheries harbours is one of the functions of the Fisheries Corporation <sup>10</sup>. Why has Batticaloa, where fishing is carried on for ten months of each year, been denied such a harbour? Surely, the importance of this town to the fishing industry must be recognised at least from the influx of migrant fishermen from South Ceylon ?

*When the Fisheries Corporation opened an office in Batticaloa town the producers and consumers of this district expected it to be a boon to them. They still wait in patience for their hopes to be fulfilled.*

\* \* \*

1. **Thinakaran** (Colombo) of *May* 7, 1968, page 1.
2. **ibid.**
3. **Thomas, Judith**, "Fisheries" in **The Ceylon Observer** (Colombo) of *May* 6, 1968, page 4. Excerpt: "The Corporation is there to give you good fish at steady prices. The fish is good, and the prices are steady.....A second hazard which faces it is that, like the dairy industry, it is committed to help both the producer and the consumer".
- \* \* \*
4. **Thinakaran** (Colombo) of *May* 7, 1968, page 1.
5. **ibid** - wherein it is stated that fish purchased in Batticaloa, Kalkudah, and Punnaikudah by the Fisheries Corporation is sent to Colombo, Kandy, and Badulla,
6. **Thomas in op. cit.** Excerpt: "Back at home the Corporation is encouraging the fishernem with a new settlement on the East of the Island".

7. Page 100.

8. **ibid.** Excerpt: "Unlike the other Corporations dealt so far, the Fisheries Corporation is a more diffuse operation. At the moment they are concentrating on four main fronts: organization and help for the local fishermen, increased equipment for the actual fishing, and the storing of fish, making a start on fish processing industries and attem-

pting to expand the consumers market. and give a wide range of fish !

9. **Thinakaran** (Colombo) of *May* 7, 1968, page 1.
10. **Thomas in op. cit.** Excerpt: "Generally Corporation policy has been to build up and restore harbours round the Island as shelter for the local fishermen".

## Gold In Ceylon: Mining Will Raise Several Problems

by Titus Handuna

A TALK by Professor K. Kularatnam of the University of Ceylon, at the Soil Conservation Society Symposium on the 17th, November, 1968, was reported briefly on the front page of the *Daily News* the following day. The Professor reiterated what many have known all along, that there is any amount of gold to be found within these shores. Samuel Baker, in his Book, *Seven Years in Ceylon*, narrowed the field down to Nuwara Eliya. It is perhaps very fortunate that this gold has not been exploited up to now.

The issue of the mining of gold here raises several problems, and events ought not to be allowed to overtake the adoption of some far reaching policies on this matter, which it will take time, and study, and prayer, to formulate. The people in this country should be quite clear in their minds what they are going to do with the gold before the first sod of the first mine is cut.

No narrow, selfish, insular, cross-grained policy is going to do any good to the people of this country. The gold should be used for the benefit of the world. That it must be used for mundane purposes goes without saying. No hypocritical, righteous, dissembling - a

kind of do-good-with-it attitude will achieve anything at all.

First, thoughtful men must be quite clear about certain principles. One of these might be that the gold is not to be exploited in Ceylon's sole interests. This alone will raise a host of problems in the mere formulation of this policy. A second principle might be that, although the gold is for mundane purposes, certain religious principles must guide the uses to which it is put. A third principle might be that care must be taken to avoid any discrepancy between precept (the waffle that will inevitably be spouted) and practice (that which goes unseen by all but the privileged few), the one a smoke-screen for the other.

**UNITY, LIBERTY AND PEACE** must go in hand in hand with the extraction of gold. The gold must not be a cause of separating people. There must be no camps to which the people cannot gain entry, no barbed-wire or walls separating the miners from the rest. No one person or body of men can be allowed to go it alone, feathering their nest. All must share in the advantages to be gained from the extraction and sale of the gold. The independence of the country and the liberty of all individuals

must not be jeopardized. There must not be a phoney peace, such as prevails in South Africa, maintained by terror or fear, the cat-o'-ninc-tails, the law and the police. There must, instead, be a continuation of the peace that prevails in Ceylon today.

Whatever the prosperity gold may bring Ceylon, there must be no dog-kennel kind of atmosphere, where, however good the kennel, the bars still remain. There is danger of Ceylonese being attracted by the mere wealth and the luxury that the gold will promise, for the gold might alter the balance of payments in favour of this country. Comfort must not be bought at the cost of a man's integrity, which is more precious than gold itself. Every man has a right to his integrity, and this covers every facet of his life. Ceylonese are free men, and free they must remain.

The mining of gold here will jeopardize South Africa's virtual monopoly of it. The owners and the directors of the South African mining companies, with a few exceptions live in London and New York. They all form a cartel, and the British and American governments, forgetting their duty to their own people in the mass, are sometimes very much under the spell of this cartel.

It may happen that even the Indian government may come under its influence and be prodded by it to courses of action which, although they have a political flavour, are really to the advantage of the cartel, unable to impose its will by more direct methods upon an intractable Ceylon government.

**THERE MAY** be danger of foreign occupation, overt or veiled; flagrant if the people of Ceylon appear to be too independent, and otherwise if the Ceylon Government acquiesces in measures disguised as economic sops. Many countries in reality only enjoy nominal independence.

Ceylon will have to look to her defences. She will have to evolve a

system of defence that will not have to rely on foreign arms, for even the manufacturers of these arms are open to the influence of the cartel, either directly or through the government of the country in which they are situated. The Arab-Israeli war has proved that mere arms is not enough; it is the spirit of the people that counts more. Will the people of Ceylon have the spirit of Viet-Cong and of the Israelis, of the British and the Americans who always see a job through ?

**Will Ceylon be willing to sell all her gold on the open market without artificially deflating the price? Gold is much undervalued today, and this has resulted in a shortage of money for international transactions. A lot of the wealth that is in existence today is the result of purely paper transactions, built up**

**on credit, which in turn claims interest. If gold fetched its true price, and everybody was allowed to buy it, there would be a much better distribution of wealth. Gold mining would also be technically more profitable.**

If resort is going to be had to capital in the form of money to develop the potentialities of gold-production here, it will inevitably put the country in the hands of foreign entrepreneurs who will have the full backing of their governments. The capital used must be integrity, brains, co-operation, generosity, agriculture and its produce, and the energy of the people, and the mining must pay its way from the beginning and not rest on a foundation of borrowed money raised in the form of loans. The system envisaged here cannot be built on greed, dissimulation and gilded consciences.

ITALY

## One Way Of Getting Into Jail

It happened in Palermo. Twenty-eight-year-old jobless Liborio Castellano was tramping down a street wondering where to get a plate of macaroni and a bed to sleep in. Suddenly, he saw a parked car, a side window down and the ignition key in its place. And although he knew nothing about driving, the chance was too good to let slip. Castellano opened the door, got behind the wheel and ..... a few moments later was detained by a traffic policeman who became suspicious when he saw the car zigzagging down the road. At the station he readily confessed that he had stolen the car to get into jail.

The trick is not original. At the beginning of this century Anatole France wrote about a ruined vegetable vendor, Crainquebille, who dreamed of getting into a jail where he could warm himself and have something to eat. Three years later O. Henry told a similar story about a New York tramp called Soapy. But there is something new in what happened in Palermo. Anatole France's hero tried to make his dream come true by insulting a gendarme. His American counterpart, Soapy, tried a no less primitive way: he broke a shop-window. As Castellano's case shows, in our day of technical progress there are other opportunities for the unemployed, of whom there are more than a million in Italy alone.

There is yet another difference. Crainquehille, whose troubles began after two weeks in jail for something he hadn't done, was unsuccessful in his efforts to return to prison. Soapy was luckier—he was given three months. As for Castellano, he was sentenced to one year. What better proof of the progress achieved by the "world of free enterprise" in the sphere of social justice !

In India

# Hindi And The "Coming Confrontation;" Symbol Of Division Rather Than Of Unity

by C. N. Chitta Ranjan

The extent of harm done to the cause of national unity and integration by the divisive forces in both North and South is brought out vividly by the campaign recently launched in Tamilnad against the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha's move for a number of single teacher schools to teach Hindi.

The idea behind the scheme was quite simple: the elimination of Hindi from school education in that State had rendered a large number of trained Hindi teachers unemployed, and the Sabah thought that those who desired to learn Hindi and voluntarily came forward for the purpose could be provided for by the scheme.

Normally, a plan of this kind involving no compulsion whatever should have evoked no objection from any quarter; but the vicious atmosphere created by the Hindi fanatics in the North and by those who for political reasons fanned anti-Hindi hysteria in the South, has been such that even a harmless and unexpectable idea like arrangements for voluntary learning of a language cannot be put through because of organised obstruction. It brings out the depth of suspicion and distrust among at least a section of the non-Hindi people.

**GANDHIJI** and the Congress once thought of Hindi as the future national language of free India that would act as a cementing force among the different linguistic groups; Hindi found its place in the Constitution precisely for this reason.

*But in reality Hindi has come to be a symbol of division rather than of unity: the reason is that those who thought that an early switch-over to Hindi as the sole link language would give them a big advantage in controlling national affairs, tried their best or force the pace from the start.*

They did not hesitate to discard Gandhiji's concept of Hindi or Hindustani as a rich combination of Hindi and Urdu further enriched by words from the nation's other languages, many of which have certainly developed to a much greater extent than Hindi and have ancient traditions. Even in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly it was clear that an attempt had begun to impose Sanskritized Hindi on the whole country.

**It was inevitable that politicians in the non-Hindi areas should have begun to be apprehensive that once Hindi occupied the centre of the stage and English was totally eliminated, they would cease to play an effective part as hitherto in shaping the destiny of the nation.**

In such a situation it was natural that unscrupulous elements on both sides should have adopted methods of propaganda and agitation calculated to exacerbate feelings; it has been largely a political game aimed at achieving popularity without hard work among the people; tubthumping oratory to whip up chauvinistic emotions was to them a substitute for campaigns and agitations aimed at bringing about

radical changes in the socio-economic structure of the country.

Votes and power rather than he interests of the common people; were the guiding factors. This is as much true of the anti-Hindi hysteria whipped up first by the Dravida Kazhagam and then by the DMK in the South as of the *Angrezi Hatao* campaign of the SSP and the Jana Sangh in the North.

**FEW** have have so far disputed the need for a common language for the country; the difference really is on what language it should be and how it should be brought into being. Gandhiji was the first to realise that no language could be forced on any section of the population; he wanted all the languages of India to flower and come into their own and also become the instruments of administration in the respective regions so that effective popular participation in Government could be ensured.

So far as the national language was concerned, the very first thing he did after coming to the conclusion that Hindustani was best suited for the purpose, was to organise Hindustani *prachar* in the non Hindi areas. The aim was that the common language should be based entirely on persuasion and acceptance. He was aware of the largely unexpressed misgivings in the non-Hindi areas, and was particular that voluntary acceptance should be ensured over a long period so that there would be no room for such misgivings and suspicions. On one occasion he even referred to the rumblings in Madras and made his position clear.

**BUT** the Gandhian approach, which was later accepted by Jawaharlal Nehru as the best for the country, was not good enough for the Hindi fanatics who saw in the acceptance of Hindi by the Congress a guarantee that they would become virtual rulers of India. Apart from rejecting the Hindustani advocated by the Mahatma, and getting Hindi with Devnagari script into the Consti-

tution by a single vote; they began to apply pressure in various ways to get English eliminated here and now, so as to establish the supremacy of Hindi and the supremacy of themselves in the political context — without further loss of time. The sharp reaction in the non-Hindi areas was a natural consequence to these developments. The attempts to organise a switch-over by the backdoor within the administration by issue of circulars etc. was bound to backfire: they did.

When Jawaharlal Nehru found that Hindi was being converted into a Frankenstein monster threatening the whole basis of national unity, he came out with his famous assurance that Hindi would not be imposed from above, that it would take its place only when all sections of Indian public opinion accepted it of their own accord.

When Lal Bahadur Shastri virtually went back on this assurance within months of Nehru's death, the massive student agitation in Madras State resulted. This was answered with a patently artificial anti-English agitation in some Hindi areas. Then came the Madras objection to the use of Hindi terms by the NCC. And now the agitation against single-teacher schools.

It is true that there is an "economic" aspect to the controversy on Hindi: Ram Manohar Lohia's chief grievance was that the people of the Hindi areas had not advanced sufficiently compared to those of the non-Hindi areas, for this meant that employment opportunities were not available on an even basis. On the other hand, the chief reason why the anti-Hindi agitation swayed the student community in the non-Hindi areas was the fear that the job opportunities open to them so far would be blocked once Hindi became the sole link language. The fears had a big emotional impact despite the fact that the number of jobs provided by the Central Government bears no relation whatever to the number of graduates and others

turned out by the various universities year after year.

However, these fears do not seem entirely justified considering the fact that even with the continuance of English young men and women from Madras are faring less and less well in the competitive examinations — a fact which is reported to have caused considerable concern to the university authorities in that State.

It is also a fact that even with the DMK in office for over 18 months, there is no sign of Tamil coming into its own in its home State. It is necessary to point out because one of the chief arguments put forward against Hindi is that it would prevent the growth of the regional languages and their becoming the vehicles of communication and administration in the respective regions. Whatever the position of Hindi in the national context, there has been nothing to prevent the State Governments from switching over totally to the regional languages for their own purposes; this they have not done.

Some of these aspects of the language question are overlooked by Mohan Ram (*Hindi Against India: the Meaning of DMK—* Rachna Prakashan; pp 137; 1968, Rs. 15). It is no doubt true, as he points out, that Hindu communalism has found a handy weapon in Hindi fanaticism; to the communalist Hindi is a weapon of attack against Urdu, supposedly the language of the Muslims. He is also right in saying that in trying for force the pace on the language question the Hindi politician's aim is to establish the hegemony of the Hindi areas over the whole country. But Mohan Ram's answer to fanaticism is a kind of hysteria, for how else can one view the bland assertion that the "coastlanders" are better endowed in every way than the "midlanders"?

**IT IS TRUE** that the Hindi fanatics imagine that they somehow are superior beings as their language has been given an

honoured place in the Constitution; but the effective reply to this ridiculous assumption does not lie in the equally absurd counter-proposition that the Hindi-speaking people are almost tribal while the non-Hindi people of the coastal belt are highly civilised persons. Mohan Ram says with obvious relish that while the Hindi midlanders agitate on such obscurantist issues like cow slaughter the non-Hindi coastlanders agitate for a steel plant or a shipyard. According to Mohan Ram "the DMK, a separatist movement, though it has ceased to be secessionist, represents an alternative focus to the politics of the midland". Till the DMK was swept into power the speeches of its leaders gave no indication whatever of any kind of programme for social and economic change. Glorification of Tamil and raising of the bogey of Northern domination formed the keynotes. Steel plants and shipyards might have figured as applause-winning gimmicks, but the DMK did not grow to its present size and strength on the basis of any modern political and economic ideas. It is only now, in power, that the DMK faces the realities of political and economic problems. Mohan Ram himself admits at one place that the DMK "is stuck at the dead-centre and has been implementing the Congress policies in its own way". Is this indeed the "alternative focus" he is talking about?

It is difficult to disagree with Mohan Ram when he says that Hindi is not a language issue but a political one; but it is not so for the reason he has given. In a country with several languages, many of them well developed, and used to administrative affairs being conducted by the English-knowing elite, any attempt to change the language equations is bound to become a political question. National and State administration, and the links between the Centre and the States, cannot be divorced from politics; nor can the language question be divorced from these factors and viewed in isolation. Other factors like religious obscu-

rantism and regional chauvinism are also bound to impinge on all these. It may be that the Hindi midland is less advanced in several ways than the non-Hindi coastland; but this should be seen a legitimate reason for economic factors like regional imbalances also having an effect on the language question. Language in the Indian context cannot for a long time to come be separated from politics, and there does not seem to be much point in waxing eloquent over this.

IT CANNOT also be denied that while the anti-Hindi movement of the South had its origins in anti-Brahminism, it has grown into one embracing all sections including the Brahmins of Tamilnad. The old agitation against the Brahmins of the South was the result of resentment among the advanced section of non-Brahmins at the former occupying key positions in the administration and later on even in the national movement. The Justice Party, which represented the non-Brahmin demand for cutting the Brahmin to size, was unfortunately made of sycophants of the British rulers, so much so that even Ramaswami Naicker gave up hope of being able to use it as an instrument for the furtherance of his own ideas and had to found the Dravida Kazhagam. The anti-Brahmin slogan was extended to cover the North, on the ground that the Brahmin of the South was acting as a stooge of the Northern leaders who were out to establish their hold on the whole country. EVR's anti-Hindi agitation during the first Congress Ministry headed by Sri Rajagopalachari was thus aimed at the Brahmins and their bosses in the North; EVR did not leave anyone in doubt about this.

The difference between then and now is that Sri Rajagopalachari, who in 1937 introduced Hindi in the face of EVR's staunch opposition, is now spearheading the anti-Hindi movement—in favour of English, not of Tamil which the ruling DMK is pledged to enthronify. The point is that popular emotions

in the South have been gradually roused over a long period for various reasons, and it will be an over-simplification to say that it is merely a reaction to the stances of the Hindi fanatics in the Congress and outside it in the post-independence period, although there is no doubt that the latter's utterances and activities have helped aggravate ill-feeling.

While no one can quarrel with Mohan Ram's proposition that by their haste to establish Hindi as the sole link language the Hindi fanatics have helped to make the maintenance of national unity exceedingly difficult, one does not know whether to take his remark that "Indian unity is a myth" seriously or not; his theory is that there is a clear line of demarcation in Indian culture between north and south. It is not easy to accept this theory in view of the many common features that obtain in the two parts of the country. Many differences are inevitable among people speaking different languages; the question is whether the differences are decisive or the similarities and the factors capable of forging unity. Emphasis on the dividing line is Mohan Ram's choice.

Mohan Ram's effort appears to be to make out that what is ahead is a people-versus-people confrontation between North and South (or Midland and Coastland, to use his terminology), and that in such a confrontation the Coastlanders will demand only equality while the Midlanders will insist on domination. It may be satisfactory to draw a clear line and imagine that we have found the answer.

The truth however is infinitely more complicated. It is that the common people of both the Midland and the Coastland are not very much in the picture; their lives are dominated by a handful of vested interests whose common aims cut across linguistic barriers. Such interests on one area may finance a particular divisive group, but they also finance other groups

so as to have a measure of security whoever wins ultimately. Vested interests will fight whatever hurts them and support whatever is useful to them. It is an accident that vested interests in Kerala and elsewhere are ranged against the UF Government in that State, but no such organised denigration of the DMK Government in Madras is taking place. Mohan Ram's analysis of the political and economic character of the DMK shows why, though he does not say so. It is a party which as yet has no economic aims which can upset the digestion of the capitalist and the rich peasant. Mohan Ram thinks that a split might take place and the Leftist emerge on top; but that is in the lap of the future.

The coming confrontation, if at all, can only be between the affluent few and the unprivileged many. It is a confrontation that will cut across language and regional barriers. Vested interests are certainly interested in the retention of the barriers, for vertical division of the people and keeping different groups at loggerheads with one another is conducive to the furtherance of their aims. What has to be fought is the dominance of a majority, whether it is the English-knowing one or the Hindi-knowing one or the monied one; in the final analysis it is the last mentioned class that makes use of the other minority groups for its own ends.

A STUDY of the conflicts thrown up by the language question should have led to the conclusion that greater autonomy for the States and guarantee of equal influence for all the States at the Centre will alone ensure national unity and integration on a lasting basis. Instead, Mohan Ram prefers to believe that disintegration is natural and inevitable and it is only "Hindu communalism and the all-India bourgeoisie" which are preventing the process.

The divisive forces are invariably fascist in nature, but Mohan Ram thinks that "if fascism overtakes the divisive forces in good



time, India's unity is assured, as long as the new equilibrium could be made to last". He appears to make the mistake of thinking the DMK is the only divisive force and is a healthy one; the fact is that Hindi fanaticism, Hindu communalism and regional chauvinism represented by groups like the Shiv Sena, are all divisive forces and are invariably fascist in nature and outlook. The DMK at one stage was very much a potential fascist organisation, too. It is these that deliberately keep the country divided.

The answer is to organise the people to fight them back, and not to throw up one's hands in despair and await the arrival of a new fascism. And the answer can be provided only by bringing economic issues touching the common people to the fore through a mass movement on a national basis. And the answer cannot be provided by the Cassandras so familiar to us.



**RE-VEGETATION ON BIKINI TO COST \$ 1 m**

*Honolulu (Hawaii)*

High Commissioner for the Trust Territory of the Pacific, William R. Norwood said yesterday it would cost about one million dollars to make atom bomb-scarred Bikini atoll fit for humans again. If restoration funds are granted, he said, Bikini natives may return to their homes by next July. They are living on other islands in the Marshalls. Bikini natives, evacuated to make way for U.S. atomic tests in 1964, were disappointed recently when a group of them returned to the atoll for the first time in more than two decades and found that most of the life-giving vegetation was destroyed during the series of atomic blasts.

*Myth*

# The Third World: Neither A Practical Political Concept Nor A Reality

by Kwame Nkrumah

*There is much talk these days about the need for "rallying the Third World to ward off the dominance of the two Super-powers", and that India should take the initiative in this direction. In this context, it may be worthwhile knowing the views of Kwame Nkrumah, at one time one of the leaders of the non-aligned world. The following article appeared in the British Left-wing journal, Labour Monthly (October 1968)*

THERE IS MUCH loose talk and woolly writing about the so-called Third World. To some it means all the developing nations; to some it suggests the coloured peoples of the world; others think of it as referring to a vague, amorphous mass of uncommitted peoples, the oppressed and exploited of the earth who are neither 'east' nor 'west' but who are a kind of third, neutral force in the world.

To Frantz Fanon, the 'Third World' clearly meant the colonies and ex-colonies, and in his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, he makes a specific case study of the problems of decolonisation. For him, the 'wretched' are those who have suffered the oppression and exploitation of colonialism. 'The Third World is not cut off from the rest. Quite the contrary, it is as the middle of the whirlpool,' and is characterised by 'neutralism.' Its people are committed to a non-capitalist road, since capitalist exploitation is their enemy. But the 'Third World' should refuse to become a factor in the fierce competition which exists between the

capitalist and socialist systems, and ought 'to find their own particular values and methods and a style which shall be peculiar to them.'

Fanon did not mean non-commitment or non-alignment in the commonly-accepted sense, though both have come to be associated with the term. The very mention of the 'Third World' suggests to some a kind of passivity, a non-participation, an opting out of the conflict between the two worlds of capitalism and socialism. It is this concept which seems to have led to most of the misuse of the term 'Third World', and renders its use so misleading. There is no middle road between capitalism and socialism.

Two questions must be asked. First, does a 'Third World' really exist? Secondly, is it possible, either in terms of ideology or practical politics, in the eversharpening conflict between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in the world to adopt a position of neutrality or non-alignment?

CLEARLY, the 'Third World' is not definable on a racial or colour basis, though in fact most of the oppressed peoples are non-white. Is it then the apparently uncommitted or non-aligned who form the 'Third World'?

The expression first came to be widely used when two Conferences of Non-Aligned States had been held. The first was in Belgrade in 1961. There were 25 participating states and three observer countries. The cold war and nuclear arms race was at its height and there seemed a very real possibility that the world

might be plunged into a war which would mean the end of civilisation as we know it. The main purpose of the Conference, therefore, was to employ all the efforts of the participating countries to bring about the destruction of nuclear stockpiles and to divert the vast scientific and technological resources at the disposal of the great powers to positive and progressive channels.

The Second Conference of Non-Aligned States was held in Cairo in October 1964. There were then 46 participating states and ten observer countries. Non-alignment seemed to be practical politics. In my address at the Conference I said:

"We are all here as Non-Aligned nations but the term 'Non-Aligned' as applied to us has not yet covered every form of policy which it connotes. We came into existence as a protest and a revolt against the state of affairs in international relations caused by the division of the world into opposing blocs of east and west. We came into existence as a revolt against imperialism and neo-colonialism which are also the basic cause of world tension and insecurity."

I went on to say that these states which claimed to be non-aligned had the right to choose the political and economic philosophy which was considered the most suitable for their rapid development and advancement. The fact that Ghana accepted socialism did not necessarily imply opposition to any other country or people. 'Socialism', I said, 'does not belong to the Soviet Union or to China, or for that matter to any other country; it is an international idea.'

Many of us thought at that time that it was the duty of the Non-Aligned States to assert their full weight against the senseless build-up of nuclear weapons which threatened the whole world. With 'east' and 'west', two power blocs of roughly equal strength, poised it seemed on the brink of nuclear warfare, there appeared to be reprieve for the world only in the holding of a balance of power by some third force which would prevent either of the two sides from starting a major war.

After the First Conference, Pandit Nehru and I went to Moscow on behalf of the Non-Aligned States, and President Modibo Keita of Mali and President Sukarno of Indonesia went to Washington. Although there was a sudden and dramatic lessening of world tension as a result of these missions, the threat of nuclear warfare has to some extent lessened.

However, in the present world situation, with the armed phase of the revolutionary struggle well-launched in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and in the USA itself by the Black Power Movement, it is no longer possible to adopt a third position outside the main conflict. The world struggle, and the cause of world tension, has to be seen not in the old political context of the cold war, that is, of nation states and power blocs, but in terms of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary peoples. It cuts right across territorial boundaries and has nothing to do with colour or race. It is a war to the finish between the oppressed and the oppressors, between those who pursue a capitalist path, and those committed to socialist policies.

YET old beliefs die hard. Although non-alignment is an anachronism, there are still a few politicians and heads of state who cling to the idea of neutralism and who advocate the holding of more Conferences of Non-Aligned States. Their thinking is a form of political escapism — a reluctance to face the stark realities of the present situation.

The oppressed and exploited peoples are the struggling revolutionary masses committed to the socialist world. Some of them are not yet politically aware. Others are very much aware, and are already engaged in the armed liberation struggle. At whatever stage they reached in their resistance to exploitation and oppression, they belong to the permanent socialist revolution. They do not constitute a 'Third World.' They are part of the revolutionary upsurge which is everywhere challenging the capitalist, imperialist and neo-colonialist power structure of reaction and counter-revolution. There are thus two worlds only, the revolu-

tionary and the counter-revolutionary world — the socialist world tending towards communism, and the capitalist world with its extensions of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Today then, the 'Third World' is neither a practical political concept nor a reality. It is merely a mis-used expression which has come to mean everything and nothing. It has been used with equal looseness both by those committed to the revolutionary struggle and by those who are its deadly enemies. The western press has gladly made use of it to serve its own ends by associating it with racism, and by equating it with concepts such as non-alignment, neutralism and coexistence. It has thus helped to prevent the full weight of the so-called 'Third World' being identified openly and decisively as part of the socialist world.

If we are to achieve revolutionary socialism, then we must avoid any suggestion that will imply that there is any separation between the socialist world and a 'Third World.' Misused and misleading political terms must be either abandoned or defined clearly. Where the revolutionary struggle is in the armed phase as in Africa, Asia and Latin America, it is particularly important that there should be the utmost clarity of political expression.

The purpose of an article I wrote in 1966 under the title 'African Socialism Revisited' published in *African Forum*, Vol. 1, No. 3, was to show that there is no such thing as 'African Socialism.' The term had come to be employed as proof of the existence of brands of socialism peculiar to Africa, such as Arab socialism, pragmatic socialism, and this or that socialism, when in fact there is only one true socialism: scientific socialism.

I do not deny the existence of the struggling 'wretched of the earth' but maintain that they do not exist in isolation, as a 'Third World.' They are an integral part of the revolutionary world, and are committed to the hilt in the struggle against capitalism to end the exploitation of man by man.

*In The Footsteps Of The CIA*

## US Defence Department Luring Scientists Into Espionage Work

Washington, Oct. 24

Like the CIA, the US Defence Department is pumping money into sociological reserach programmes in various parts of the world, including India, with the hope of luring scientists into its espionage network, according to recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee now available.

Committee chairman Senator Fulbright disclosed that he had got a letter from a California University professor saying that the US Defence Department was financing the University's programmes in India. The University had secured 282,840 dollars from the Defence Department towards its Himalayan border countries project.

The professor was apprehensive that the Defence Department's involvement might have the result of scaring away scientists from other legitimate civilian research programmes as well.

**SENATOR FULBRIGHT** disclosed the contents of the letter when he heard the head of the US Navy's nuclear propulsion programme Vice-Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, express similar fears. The Vice-Admiral had even accused the Defence Department of creating foreign policy problems by financing and conducting behavioural and social-science research programmes abroad.

He gave the example of the Camelot project which the Defence Department launched in Chile in 1965 provoking unrest in many countries of the region. The object of the project was to assess possibilities of guerilla warfare in Latin America by collecting intelligence data on economic, political and social conditions in the countries of the area.

The Vice-Admiral revealed that the Pentagon spent some 50 miollin dollars a year on behavioural and social-science research.

Other reports received by the Fulbright Committee, and some of them are cited in the Congressional Record of July 12, 1967, show that Pentagon had concluded some 1,000 long-term contracts with scientists in 47 countries, of which 107 were with scientists in India and other Asian countries.

**UNDER** the terms of the contract, a scholar must keep the Defence Department interest a close secret. Invariably the Defence Department guarantees anonymity to the scientists — a device whereby it seeks to promote the scientists to use classified data. The informa-

tion required to be supplied under specific projects is ostensibly sociological in character but is of basic intelligence value. Research is not paid for in full until the complete range of information required is provided.

In addition to individual contracts Pentagon also provides funds for work by groups of scientists. Such groups have so far produced some fifty handbooks on different countries including one on India giving details of its separatist movements and its border problems.

Since the scientific value of the studies encouraged by Pentagon is seriously disputed, the inference is clear that Pentagon is using the scheme as a cover for advancing its intelligence interests and in the process drawing unsuspecting scientists into its nefarious service.



ARGENTINA

### THE MISADVENTURES OF A DEPOSED PRESIDENT

"I want to speak," cried a greyheaded man of imposing appearance, addressing himself to newsmen nearby. But the Police and plain-clothesmen surrounding him refused to let him. The newspapermen, on their part, vainly tried to break through the police ring and so never heard what the greyheaded man wanted to tell them. He was hustled off to the waiting room for diplomats and a guard was mounted at its entrance. As he was being led away, one of the men accompanying him said politely but firmly :

"Please do not make problems for relations between Argentina and Peru. . . ."

The scene was the Buenos Aires airport. The leading character, Fernando Belaunde Terry, lawful President of Peru, was not in Argentina of his own free will : a few days earlier he had been deposed by the Peruvian generals who sent him out of the country.

In the Argentina capital everything was done to get him away as quickly as possible. First he was put aboard a Lima-bound plane, but it never took off : the Argentine authorities received a telegram saying the liner would not be allowed to land if Belaunde Terry was in it. The President was forced to return to the waiting room, where he was once again isolated. It was some time before he left Buenos Aires, this time aboard a plane flying to New York.

In Retrospect

## ★ Strike ★ By - Elections

### ★ PM, Ministers & Masses

### ★ Foreign Aid & Investments

**THE OUTCOME** of the strike by the Public Service Trade Unions, which is scheduled to take place on the 28th of this month, is anybody's guess. Reading between lines in the various newspapers and from what one hears in buses and trains, it seems that there is not much enthusiasm for launching a strike among the public servants themselves though they feel that their demands are justified.

At the time of writing of these notes the Public Service Trade Unions have decided to strike on the scheduled date. They have rejected the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake's formula to stay the strike for six months to allow the L. B. de Silva Salaries Commission to submit its interim report and his assurance to them the interim report would be implemented in full. According to the *Daily Mirror* the trade unions had demanded the payment of an interim allowance of Rs. 40 pending the implementation of that preliminary report, but Mr. Senanayake has turned down this request.

Mr. Senanayake will now report back to his Ministers the talk he had with the leaders of the Public Service Trade Unions who, it is reported, will consider and decide whether there is any possibility of granting some relief to public servants. The Ministers will also consider the demand by trade union leaders regarding the withdrawal of punishments on public servants who participated in the January 8, 1966, strike. The *Sun* quoted unnamed informed sources as saying that this demand was likely to be sympathetically considered by the Ministers.

There is, of course, no dispute over the fact that the Government is conscious of the grievances of public

servants, but the difficulty is that if the Rs. 40 increase is given it would have to incur an additional expenditure of Rs. 229 million.

With a view to creating sympathy for the National Government at a time when it is faced with a threatened strike, it seems that the Prime Minister is endeavouring to stall the strike by boosting the efforts of the farmers to salvage the country from the economic crisis it was faced with when the Government took over. Speaking at a meeting at Mirigama last week Mr. Senanayake said *vide Observer* 20/11 that it was unfair for public servants and other employees to demand a share of newly created wealth by the cultivators. When the Government took over there was no money and fortunately the cultivators came to the rescue of the nation and produced the new wealth. Now that the country was progressing and producing more wealth it was unfair for public servants to demand a share of it at this stage. Their demand, he said, for increasing wages was tantamount to snatching the wealth created by the cultivators for the further improvement of the nation.

**THE GOVERNMENT** does not appear to be frightened by the proposed strike, and the Prime Minister will leave for India on the State visit on the scheduled date. During his absence the Minister of state, Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, will act as Head of State. He was reported to have told his ministerial colleagues that Mr. Jayawardena was quite capable of meeting any situation that may develop consequent to the strike.

Commenting on this report columnist Chitra writing in the Communist weekly *Forward* said: "So once again Mr. Dudley Senanayake is

going abroad, leaving his deputy Mr. J. R. Jayawardene to face the music. This talk in political circles about the Premier's departure to India on the eve of November 28th, which several federations of public sector trade unions have fixed as D-day for strike action if their long-standing grievances are not redressed, has begun to surface even in the monopoly newspapers. Partisans of Mr. Jayawardene make no bones about that fact that they consider this a part of the action in the inner-UNP struggle. That is why they have insisted on the Premier taking "meaningful steps" to settle the strike dispute before he leaves. They also say that they have had enough of Dudley evaporating whenever things get tough and leaving it to JRJ to crush opposition with a firm hand - and lay himself open to ever greater unpopularity in the process. Premier Senanayake's supporters are, however, not all happy at the prospect of his absence - even temporarily. They recall what happened when the Prime Minister was away for a couple of months in USA and West Germany in 1966. They have insisted that the Prime Minister should keep his stay in India down to the absolutely necessary minimum. All of which shows that it is not only the head that wears the crown but also the head that aspires to do so that lies uneasy."

**POLITICAL** circles seem to think that the results of the Welimada and the Balapitiya parliamentary by-elections will be the deciding factor for the Government to choose the actual date of the next general election. Welimada will go to the polls on December 17 and the three contestants are Mr. Percy Samaraweera (Independent), Mr. P. B. Ratnayake (SLFP) and Mr. R.A.M. Bandara another Independent candidate. Nominations to the Balapitiya seat was received on the 21st of this month and the election will be held on December 17. The contestants are Mr. Lakshman de Silva of the UNP and Mr. P. D. W. de Silva of the LSSP.

There are also other factors which point to an early general

election before it is constitutionally due. The Prime Minister has advised his ministerial colleagues to get closer to their officers and not to stand aloof from them. The *Daily Mirror* of 15/11 in a front page report said that Mr. Senanayake has told his colleagues that it was their duty to make themselves accessible to all those who worked under them and that they should maintain close contact with all categories of employees in the ministries ranging from the Permanent Secretary to the humblest labourer. The *Daily Mirror* exhorted the Ministers to step down from their thrones and tread the pathways of the Comman Man, to open the doors of trust to their officers and to mix and mingle with those whom they work. It said if the UNP was to get closer to the hearts and minds of the people, it should shed its airs of superiority and merge with those who voted them into power.

The first Opposition paper to comment of The National Government's disappointment on the quantum of foreign aid and foreign private investments was the Communist weekly *Forward*. In a frontpage report the paper writing under the heading "TRUTH WILL OUT" said: "Ceylon has admitted to the United Nations that the large-scale foreign aid obtained in recent years has been unfavourable to Ceylon and that there has been no appreciable increase in foreign investment despite the various guarantees offered by the Government under its new policy of attracting foreign capital. Thus begins the report in the *Times* (14/11) of the speech by Dr. Kaneshalingam, a member of the Ceylon delegation to the current U. N. General Assembly session, to the U. N. This official admission on behalf of the Government by one of its big shots in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development only shows that truth will out and cannot always be hidden. The facts revealed by Dr. Kaneshalingam are familiar enough to those who have followed the speeches of Opposition spokesmen in Parliament. But they are nevertheless interesting as they confirm officially what was glossed

over by the Government in successive Budget debates. Among the many matters that Dr. Kaneshalingam confirmed are: Of the total official aid received by Ceylon during 1967, as much as 83 per cent comprised loans while grants amounted to a bare 17 per cent. Some of these loans carried "rates of interest as high as 6 per cent. The combination of shorter duration and high rates of interest of these loans have naturally cast a heavy burden on Ceylon on account of debt service." Of the total aid of 144 million dollars pledged in the first three meetings of the countries participating in the Ceylon Aid Group, about 105 million dollars have been received.. Dr. Kaneshalingam also states that "a sizable portion of the programme aid constitutes aid given in the form of commo-

dities. This means we are tied down to particular commodities from specific sources. This type of aid places countries like Ceylon at a disadvantage. The Government's incentives to attract private foreign capitalists to invest in Ceylon has also not been a success. Or as Dr. Kaneshalingam puts it, "the response has not been as was anticipated and the flow of foreign private capital has not shown any significant increase". What Dr. Kaneshalingam failed to point out is that foreign capital already in Ceylon has used this "open door" provided by the Government to remove itself abroad..'

—KAUTILIYA



SOUTH VIETNAM

## The Long Binh Riot

American propaganda usually paints relations between white and black U.S. servicemen in South Vietnam in the rosiest of colours. And so when a riot broke out on August 29 at an army stockade at Long Binh, near Saigon, the military authorities hastened to explain that the trouble was due to overcrowding. But, as *Newsweek* magazine revealed in its September 30 issue, it gradually emerged that this, "the worst prison riot in the modern history of the U.S. Army had profoundly racial overtones"

Here is what happened at the Long Binh jail where 700 GIs were confined. The riot began with a fight between Negroes and whites. When several MPs armed with night sticks rushed into separate them, they were overpowered, disarmed and stripped of their keys. The rioters then streamed into the stockade's central courtyard, beat up the guards on duty and set fire to a number of buildings, several of which (including the administration building) burned to the ground.

MP reinforcements were called out and they advanced upon the rioters with fixed bayonets and tear-gas. The Negroes fought back with sticks, rocks and metal rods. Seventy Negroes and 17 MPs were wounded and one white prisoner killed. The stockade commander was among those injured.

For weeks after the riot was suppressed the Negroes refused to obey orders. They complained that the white guards abused them and asked to be discharged and sent home. The black soldiers claim that there is as much racial discrimination in the army as in the Negro ghettos of the United States.

The race riot, the magazine said, "would seem to have ominous import both for the army and for U.S. society as a whole."

On November Fifth

## Yugoslav's Tanjug News Agency Celebrated Its Twentyfifth Anniversary

Belgrade

Workers and employees of the Yugoslav *Tanjug News Agency* celebrated the 25th anniversary of its work on November 5 this year. On that day, in the war year 1943, the Yugoslav *Tanjug News Agency* was established in the liberated town of Jaice in Central Yugoslavia.

*Tanjug* started its information activity in the full swing of preparations for the historical second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia—in a building only a dozen kilometres away from the first fighting ranks of the Yugoslav Partisans. While the delegates hurried from the front to the session in Jaice, radio signals, reports about the liberation struggle of the Yugoslav peoples, were being transmitted. . . .

*Tanjug's* first news item was transmitted from Jaice on November 5, 1943. This was a war report of the Supreme Command of the People's Liberation Army and Partisan Units of Yugoslavia. Afterwards, *Tanjug* was transmitting every day news about war operations of Partisan units, sufferings of the country and the people, about historical decisions of the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council, the first people's heroes of the liberation war.

*Tanjug's* primary task in these war days was to inform the world and Yugoslav public of the struggle waged by the people for its freedom and the establishment of a new community of peoples.

The founder of the *Tanjug News Agency* was the famous Yugoslav revolutionary, Mosa Pijade, and its first Director, Vladislav Ribankar. At that time, they were chiefs

and editors, proof readers and typists. The only equipment *Tanjug* had at the time was a small radio station of the Supreme Command used to cast news agency reports.

**DURING** the 25 years of its existence, the *Tanjug News Agency* has developed from a small, technically very poorly equipped and unknown abroad information centre, into a modern news agency.

Over 50 permanent and part-time correspondents in the country and 27 permanent correspondents accredited abroad cover developments in Yugoslavia and other countries. Foreign correspondents are accredited in all continents except Australia. *Tanjug* receives news from forty foreign news agencies and about twenty radio stations.

Thus, over 2,000 news reports come to *Tanjug* from the world and the country daily, consisting of about half a million words. There are four books of 500 pages each every day. By means of modern telecommunication installations *Tanjug* sends to the world and various centres in the country news which, if taken together, would make two books of 400 pages each in the form of bulletins and various publications.

Making the use of the fastest means of telecommunication and bulletins, the *Tanjug News Agency* sends news, information, commentaries, articles and photographs to the Editorial Boards of 28 dailies and radio television centres in Yugoslavia, many economic organizations and enterprises, state and political organs.

About 150 journalists, translators, proof readers and other auxiliary personnel are in charge of the

selection and editing of these materials in the Agency's centre in Belgrade. Over 80 engineers, radio operators, technicians, mechanics and typists take care of ensuring the functioning and maintenance of radio and other telecommunication links,

*Tanjug's* daily newscasts in English, French, Russian, Spanish and German about developments in Yugoslavia and the world are received in almost all parts of the world—Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America. In its Foreign Language Service, *Tanjug* transmits about 600,000 words a month.

The Special "*Tanjug Features*" Service in five languages are sent regularly to news agencies, daily and weekly papers and radio stations in about 90 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. The Foreign Language Desk also publishes a monthly - "*Yugoslav Life*". The monthly is published in four languages and sent to 107 countries.

By means of modern telephoto devices, *Tanjug's* Photo Service supplies the Yugoslav papers and television stations with photographs about developments in the world which it receives from 30 newspaper photo agencies every day. At the same time, this service sends to the world photographs about events in Yugoslavia, so that it, too, is included into the world system of inter-agency exchange of newspaper reports, commentaries and photographs.

*Tanjug's* special Economic Service receives over 600 reports from the world and about 100 from the country a day. It issues more than a hundred specialized services designed for the Yugoslav economy and various economic and commercial institutions.

Thus, in the course of twenty-five years, the Yugoslav *Tanjug News Agency* has developed into a press institution which, by the scope of materials received and transmitted, rank eighth among news agencies in the world.

Slobodan Lukic  
—TANJUG

Madras Newsletter

# DMK Reverses Reflect Popular Disillusionment

Madras

THE CONGRESS is jubilant over the Madras city civic election verdict earlier this week. It has not only managed to improve its strength from 37 to 52, but also ended the DMK's single party control of the civic body. The satisfaction is all the greater because the expectations had not been high. The landslide in favour of the DMK in all the 10 Assembly constituencies of the city in last year's general election had prevented the Congress from hoping for more than a score of seats.

The D M K is still the first party, with 54 seats. Its communal ally, the Muslim League, has won all the seven seats it contested. Right-wing partner Swatan-tara secured 3 seats, and Left-wing partners CP-M and CPI, one seat each. The regional parties, namely the Toilers' Party and the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, won a seat each with DMK support. The DMK's overall control of the civic body is thus intact.

NEVERTHELESS, the DMK is depressed. This is because its ambitions were out of all proportion to reality. It bragged about-totally wiping out Congress influence in the city through the strategy of anti-Congress alliance. It did not expect the Congress to gain more than a dozen seats in view of its political isolation. The Congress having come so closely behind, with only 2 seats, has come as a rude shock to the DMK leadership.

The Congress has won principally at the DMK's cost. It won 12 new seats in straight contests with the DMK. It has made a dent in DMK strongholds, especially in labour and slum areas. This it has done despite not being

anywhere near the DMK in the matter of resources for the campaign.

The DMK's reverses were glaring. many of its "civic stalwarts" were routed by Congress newcomers from the poorest strata of society. The Party's Member of Parliament, Mr. Chitti Babu, who defeated former Union Minister O. V. Alagesan in the general election, was defeated in a civic ward by a shopkeeper, Mr. S. V. Kandaswami. Three of its ex-Mayors and 4 ex-Deputy Mayors were likewise defeated by Congress newcomers.

The Congress secured nearly 44 per cent of the votes polled, estimated around 55 per cent. This was dull polling compared to the 85 per cent polling in the city in the general election. But the Congress claim is that but for middle class apathy its performance this time would have been even better. In any case the fact that the Congress has won most of the seats from labour and slum areas is creditable.

DMK LOSSES cannot be ascribed to lack of effort on its part. On the contrary, the DMK did high-pressure propaganda on every plant. It appealed to the electorate to make a gift of the Corporation to Anna (Chief Minister Annadurai) on his home-coming from New York where he had undergone an operation for the removal of cancer in the gullet. The DMK Ministers, and even police officers, took an active part in campaigning for the party. The Congress, on the other hand, suffered from lack of resources and faced intimidation of every type. Perhaps the "persecution" brought the Congress much sympathy among the electorate.

The emergence of the Congress as the second largest party is not

surprising. But the result must be deemed to show that the DMK has started losing ground. Mr. C. Subramaniam, Pradesh Congress president, seems justified in making the claim about there being a swing away from the DMK to the advantage of his party.

In DMK circles the losses are ascribed to defections from the party ranks. More than 28 party men, all of whom stand expelled from the party just now, contested against official candidates as independents. Although all of them lost, they succeeded in splitting the DMK votes, it is being said. Assuming that this argument has some validity, only reveals that in 20 months of power the DMK, with its open member organizational setup, has attracted all the weaknesses the Congress developed in the course of 20 years in office.

DMK reverses are ascribed in large measure to the process of disillusionment with it among the industrial working class. The DMK's professions about being a Left party of the toiling masses has not been reflected in its handling of labour disputes. It has shown a clear tendency to allow disputes to prolong, leading to steady attenuation of labour's collective bargaining capacity. In almost every dispute the delayed "judgment" of the DMK have gone in favour of the employers. Labour seems to have lost confidence in the party's pompous professions.

The electorate has no alternative but the Congress once it was disillusioned with the DMK. This is due to the peculiar political situation in the State where all the "conventional". Opposition parties happen to be allies of the ruling party and opponents of the Congress which is in opposition. Naturally the Congress stands to gain, although it is not known to be pro-labour.

THE OUTCOME of the civic elections has not changed the complexion of the civic body. It continues to be under DMK's

control as hitherto, thanks to the Muslim League.

The electorate has been singularly hostile to women candidates. None of the 5 put up by the DMK and the Congress was elected.

The century-old Madras Corporation is conservative in one respect. It elects its Mayor every year by strict communal rotation. The Brahmin too has right to preside over its affairs for 12 months. The DMK, despite its claim of being non-communal, has no Brahmin in its civic contingent. But the Swatantra can help it just now. Mr. C. R. Narasinghan, son of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, has been returned to the civic body on the Swatantra ticket with DMK's support. Next year, when the Brahmin's turn comes, he is the logical choice for DMK support.

*Czechoslovakia*

## Two Trends: The Real Role Of Benes & Masaryk

by R. Palme Dutt

**THE FOUNDATION** of the Republic of Czechoslovakia whose fiftieth anniversary we celebrated last month, reflected two trends. On the one hand, it represented a victory of the popular national liberation struggle of the Czechs and the Slovaks against Hapsburg rule. On the other hand, at the top, it represented the installation in power of the anti-Marxist, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet leadership of the Czech bourgeoisie, headed by Masaryk and Benes, closely tied to Western imperialism.

Masaryk had been a prominent opponent of Marxism from the beginning of the century; and Plekhanov had conducted a famous polemic against Masaryk's critique of Marxism. Previous to 1914 he had sought a deal with the Hapsburgs; 'we cannot be independent outside Austria', he wrote in 1909. In 1915 he sought to bank on a deal with Tsarism and sent a secret memorandum to the British Foreign Secretary, Sir. Edward Grey, proposing the establishment of Czechoslovakia as 'a monarchial state' with 'a Russian dynasty.... The wishes and intentions of Russia will be of decisive importance, (quoted by Benes in Volume 3 of his *The World War and Our Revolution*)

After the victory of the Bolshevik revolution Masaryk became a principal agent of anti-Soviet intervention at the head of the Czech Legion in Russia, financed from London and Paris. The Versailles Powers established the Republic of Czechoslovakia under Masaryk to become, a satellite of French imperialism, the key base of the little Entente of Czech-

slovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania organised by French imperialism to provide an anti-Soviet bastion. In 1919 Masaryk as President of Czechoslovakia dispatched Czechoslovak troops, in association with Romanian troops, to invade socialist Hungary, at the instigation of the Entente, in order to crush the socialist revolution in Hungary.

**THAT** was one side of Czechoslovakia, the side of the Czech bourgeoisie, represented by Masaryk and Benes. But the other side was that of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, a great mass party inheriting the majority of the old Social Democracy, inspiring the devotion of the Czech and Slovak workers, and representing the true future of the country.

This class contradiction at the heart of the record of Czechoslovakia still has its echo in the changed conditions of today; and the danger signal of the old bourgeois conservative tradition endeavouring to masquerade as part of a democratic renaissance became visible when, in the process of the really necessary democratic renewal, attempts were made in some quarters to carry through a resurrection and glorification of Masaryk and Benes and a denigration of the entire era of Communist leadership.

*Labour Monthly*, Oct. 1968.



### UN SPENDS MUCH ON STAFF: USSR

*United Nations*, Oct. 23

The Soviet Union yesterday complained that the UN staff was getting so big and spending so much money that it may soon be working for itself instead of for the 125-member countries. Soviet delegate Nikolai K. Tarassov told the UN budgetary committee that urgent measures were needed to prevent the UN Secretariat from becoming a "supranational organism". He also spoke against a proposed five per cent pay rise for professional and higher-level staff of the organization. Their salaries ranging from about \$9,000 upwards, were already high enough, he said. Mr. Tarassov further complained that among the approximately 6,800 UN Secretariat members worldwide there were too many Westerners and that more Soviets should be recruited.

*Reuter*



*Without Comment*

## G.C.S.U. Calls Upon Its Members To Participate In The General Strike

THE GCSU calls upon all its members to walk out of their places of work on 28 November 1968 and participate in the General Strike called by the Consultative Committee of Clerical, Technical and Allied Services. The Union has been compelled to resort to *Direct Trade Union Action* as the Government has refused to grant the just demands and has failed to offer any solutions.

The Consultative Committee of Clerical, Technical, Local Government and Allied Services submitted two clear demands to Hon'ble Prime Minister on 14th March 1968. The daily press reports that immediately on receipt of our memorandum, the P.M. had a conference with the Chiefs of Army, Navy, Air Force and Police Force. We are surprised that a P.M. who takes pleasure in calling himself a democrat resorts to this show of force against an oppressed Public Service without finding a remedy for our grievances.

Since 1953 we have been placed on a basic salary of Rs. 80/- per month. Even in terms of the economic situation at that time this was an inadequate salary basis. Ever since the burden of the high cost of living had been passed on to the consumer in such great extent that there was a hartal on August 12th, 1953, which showed in no uncertain terms that the people were prepared to fight against oppression even though the Prime Minister showed no hesitancy in resorting to arms and oppression. These tactics failed and Sir John became the Prime Minister.

**OPPRESSION** continued and undaunted by the jack boot and the brass polish the people of this country overthrew that Government in 1956. In 1957 and 1958 the Public Services burst into flames in General Strike asking for higher pay. We

still remember as if yesterday, the General Strike of 1958. Wilmot Perera Salaries Commission was the answer. This hoax which is supposed to confer better salaries on Public Servants has proved to be a mere mirage. We are only sorry that even today this Government appears to be hawking another such Commission which will be completely rejected by every public servant. We are in no mood to be deceived by this smoke screen this time.

In 1962 the Public Servants were on the march for better salaries when an attempted coup led by Col. F. C. de Saram, Sydney de Soysa and Douglas Liyanage overtook the country and thus we lost another opportunity to better our conditions. Numerous Governmental changes since then did not permit the Public Servants to get together in sufficient strength to carry out an agitation for better conditions.

In 1962 we submitted to the then Government the salary demand for Rs. 120/- per month and an increase of Rs. 40/- in respect of all the grades. Since this Government came into being in 1965 and after a sufficient lapse of time, our demands were renewed.

**THIS** is not a new problem. The Governmental authorities have been well informed of these demands continuously for years. Hence we are suppressed that after due negotiations with all the authorities concerned, including the P.M. and when we are convinced that no amount of negotiations will yield any results that the Consultative Committee decided upon General Strike action to be launched on 28th November, 1968, the P.M. is resorting to arms.

Having high-lighted this news in their news sheets in the so-called noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

“democratic national” Press, is warning the country and the people against possible sabotage, the need for security of public property and with other alarming news, thus inciting the people and the Government against us. We declare for the information of the Hon. P. M., his Government and the Press magnates and all the peace loving people of this country that our patriotism for this country and our people is no way anything less than that of the so-called patriots who seek the sunshine of publicity.

RED TAPE

\* \* \*

**WE DO NOT** have arms except the mere pen which is our only weapon. All that we propose to do on the 28th of November is to put down our pens on the desks and thus create a bargaining power as a last resort in order to win our just demands. *The serious problem of a salary demand, hand in hand with a demand for the safeguard of trade union freedom is a must for our existence.*

But the Government immediately following the secret conference with the Armed Forces is further resorting to oppressive tactics. Heads of Departments and Permanent Secretaries are being confidentially instructed to keep a watch on the public servants who are active in the agitation. Trade Union meetings are being outlawed.

This is in clear contravention of democratic practice. This is also a clear withdrawal of the rights conferred on the public servants through their Trade Unions. We are legal Trade Unions accepted under the law of this country and any attempt to withdraw rights conferred on us by the law of this country through administrative procedures is in contravention of the law.

By these suppressive methods the Government is seeking to drive fear into the minds of the public servants and thus subjugate them in slavery and bondage denying their trade union freedom. Hence the urgent

necessity to practically fight and win the second demand for non-victimisation for participation in trade union activities. *It should not be forgotten that 87,000 public servants were fined and punished in various other ways on the pretext that the Strike of January 8th, 1966, was a political one.*

**THIS INTERPRETATION** of Trade Union law has been given by the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Jinadasa Samarakody, in clear contravention of trade union law for such an interpretation can only be made by the Courts of this country and no person in authority can arrogate to himself such powers which are the sole concern of the Courts.

Again when the Postal sorters went on strike for a just salary demand, Essential Services order was imposed and a few gallant public servants who participated in the Strike were also punished. All these wrongs committed by this Government must be corrected. The second Demand stands fully justified on the face of the curtailment of trade union rights and freedom by this Government.

It is ironic that the first intimidation of the democratic meetings held by our members has come to be obstructed by Mr. Philip Gunewardena. For some time he has been involved in trade union activities and was known as a left politician. The other day it was he who has been instrumental in not allowing a meeting of members in his office.

Up to this time we have enjoyed the right of holding meetings in the Government Departments and this is the first time we have been deprived of this trade union freedom. To hold a meeting in the work place is a right of the worker which is even conceded by the private sector. This long cherished freedom of ours cannot be allowed to be robbed in this manner. It has to be recorded in this instance that once Mr. Philip Gunewardena was involved in an incident in the South Western Bus Garage presently known as the Ratmalana Depot in an attempt to stop the buses in a bus strike.

RED TAPE

*For The Record*

## A Tribute To Sir Edwin Wijeyaratne

by Chevalier C. H. Z. Fernando

**THE DEATH** of Sir Edwin Wijeyaratne, who was two years my senior in age, brings back to my mind the memories of one of my oldest friends. I first came into touch with him when he joined St. Joseph's College as a boarder in 1904, and we happened to be in the Third Form together. He shot his way to the front rank in the College Debating Society where he joined what was known as the "forward block".

I remember Sir Henry Blake, at a prize giving in 1906, saying that he was sure that much will be heard in the future of Hebert Fernando and Aloysius Wijeyaratne who will require two bullock carts to take their prizes home. This prophesy came correct in the person of Wijeyaratne as to the other, it is not for me to comment.

**HE JOINED** the Law College in 1909. About that time I lost touch with him as I went abroad. I next heard from him in early 1912. He had read what he called a clarion call to Young Lanka when at the annual dinner of the Students' Association in December 1911. I stated in not very temperate language that we were not satisfied with the crumbs that fell from the white man's table, and that Home Rule was the immediate goal of our aspirations.

I received a number of letters of approval. One from Mr. F. R. Senanayake another from Mr. Francis de Zoysa, a third from Aloy Wijeyaratne, and fourth from a Railway Clerical Servant Alexander Goonesinghe.

In 1914 the Servants of Lanka was formed of which E. T. de Silva was the President, R. Nadarajah, Treasurer and I was the Secre-

tary, and the other members were A. W. P. Jayatileke, E. A. P. Wijeyaratne, J. N. Jinendradasa, Roland Perera, A. E. Goonesingha and P. Jivendrasinghe.

Of this small band, I am the only one left alive. Wijeyaratne was at that time while practising as a Proctor, also interested in the Lorenz Tutor, which was the cradle of the younger politicians of the day.

On the day of the Riots, the house of all the members were searched. My activities were immobilised by being taken up on Town Guard duty. E. T. was asked to remain at home an injunction which he did not carry out, and the others were all locked up in the Welikade Jail except Perera.

We learnt later that the cause of the suspicion was a meeting held at midnight in an empty house of Nadarajah's in Wellawatte. when the Independence oath was taken in the true Fenian manner with the signing of the names with due solemnity.

As that incident could not seriously be trotted out before a Field General Court Martial the obliging Police alleged to find other evidence against the accused.

**AGAINST** Wijeyaratne, it was stated that he had headed a mob at Madampitiya and took them to the temple. The truth is that he was a mob going towards Mutwal he rushed home, wore the national costume and accompanied the people and led them to the temple, where he and that great patriot Muhandiram Don Philip Wijewardene, advised the crowd to get back to their homes.

The Muhandiram too was locked up but was released later as there was no one to give false evidence in Colombo North against him.

At that time I was allowed the use of my car to act as orderly and take my Commanding Officer, Lieut. A. St. V. Jayawardene and Sgt. E. A. L. Wijeyewardene to the Courts and back during the day and keep guard at the Welikade Jail with others at night.

Without the knowledge of Wijeyeratne, I saw Sir Anton Bertram the Attorney-General and gave him the true facts of the case, and assured him that Wijeyeratne believed in non violent methods.

He sent for Wijeyeratne, and I was allowed by the Head Jailer to accompany him and he frankly made a statement to the Attorney-General. Sir Anton asked him, "Well Wijeyeratne you are a Proctor of the Supreme Court, why did you go in the public streets in a white cloth and banyan". His reply was, "I wore it as a symbol of purity and innocence".

Sir Anton advised him to give up Colombo and start practice at Kegalle. "There is a lot of work there, and my former Private Secretary is doing well at Kegalle. You could also take up your public activities and I am sure you will do very well in the future".

The rest of his life was carried in the Legislative Council, in the Senate and in the Diplomatic Service, now a part of the history of Lanka, I shall not dwell on it as tribute will be paid in other places. But there is one incident.

I went to see him in the General Hospital sometime ago and he reminded me of the fact that of the sixty or seventy signatories to the joint memorial for Reforms, put up in 1917, by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and Sir James Peiris, there were only four alive Mr. G. L. Cooray, Sir Wilfred de Soysa, himself and myself.

The first three have now left us, and I am the sole survivor of that gallant old brigade.

*Indira Gandhi's Latin American Visit*

## India's Pointless Dialogue With Puppet Regimes

by E. R. Gopinath

On return from her Latin American tour recently, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told correspondents at Palam that she had a "wonderful tour." It might seem uncharitable to say that the 30,000-mile trip that took her to Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay and Barbados was never expected to mean much more than that.

The vague purpose of the tour was to gain first-hand knowledge of the area which is passing through striking political changes. It was said to be an effort to establish economic and trade relations with countries which share with India and other nations of Asia and Africa the burdens cast by under-development. It was also an attempt to get into the race to gain a foothold in an area which politically and economically continues to be largely the backyard of the United States.

ALL THESE AIMS are justified in the background of India's efforts to encourage inter-regional economic relations among developing nations. But the question is whether it was necessary for the Prime Minister to have undertaken the tour despite pressing problems at home. The question gains point from the fact that the basic factor operating in Latin America today is the instability of the juntas, military governments and puppet regimes of the area. This was underscored by the Peruvian military coup which led to the cancellation of Mrs. Gandhi's visit to that country, and the more recent upset in Panama. This factor appears to have been left out of the calculations. As a result, the whole tour was based on relations with regimes that continue, merely because of historical reasons and due to US plans for the area, to rule the nations of Latin America. The mass

ferment threatening the continuity of these regimes was not taken into account.

THERE IS NO other explanation for the remarks made by Mrs. Gandhi eulogising the army-propped rulers of Brazil for their remarkable achievements in the field of racial integration, only months after the exposure of one of the most inhuman methods of bringing about such 'integration' — mass murder by the administrators in charge of "integration" of thousands of American Indians in the interior of the country. Equally noticeable is the aseptic nature of the communiqués issued from all the Latin American countries and the careful avoidance of any reference to Vietnam. This, despite the massive support that the masses of Latin America give to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression and despite India's own strong views on the subject. Such an attitude was less an effort to establish contacts with the Latin American people than seeking to be friendly with the minorities that rule the Latin American continent with the support of the United States. It is true that Mrs. Gandhi discussed these and other matters with the leaders of the governments of the countries she visited but the way the Foreign Minister of General Organia's regime in Argentina, Mr. Nicanor Costa, was allowed to quote Mrs. Gandhi as having "reaffirmed India's desire to see Czechoslovakia independent" was quite revealing.

Not only did Mrs. Gandhi fail to say that unpopular fascist military regimes are not this country's idea of democracy and freedom, but she is reported to have told a press conference in Chile that she did not want to comment on the status of Cuba

in the Latin American area or on the coups that trouble the regimes of the continent as that would be commenting on the internal situation in other countries. It is to be noted that none of the countries she visited has diplomatic relations with Cuba. India has.

**MRS. GANDHI'S VISIT** might earn India the doubtful privilege of return visits by some of the leaders of the Latin American regimes, but by failing to state in clear terms what India stands for the Prime Minister missed an opportunity to help the common people of South America to understand India.

An incident that left a bad taste in the mouth was the reported banning of Dr. Cheddi Jagan from official functions in Georgetown, organized by Premier L. F. S. Burnham's Government of Guyana. As a result, most members of the powerful opposition People's Progressive Party of Guyana stayed out of the functions. The incident is an indication of the direction in which blind efforts to "build bridges" can lead, since Dr. Jagan, a former Premier a friend of India and a strong believer in non-alignment, who has been kept out of power by British manoeuvres backed by the US, is still the main representative of the people of his country.

It cannot, however, be denied that Mrs. Gandhi's visit to Latin America may help India secure facilities from the Governments of the countries she visited to expand economic relations. The personal contact established may also help us establish closer links with Latin American nations in the endless debates in world forums like UNCTAD for securing a better share of trade and development for developing nations. These will be in spite of the political attitudes of these countries, most of which are dependent on the US financial assistance and investments and on the active operations of the State Department and the CIA against the forces threatening to upset the regimes. This is so because the efforts of the East and West European countries are slowly creating

a class of industrialists who are at least nationalist in approach and may in time help create conditions for the emergence of popular governments in Latin America, truly independent of American political and economic control. It is these elements again who may be useful contacts for India in efforts to expand exports to Latin America.

There is also the hope that under the pressure of public opinion even the leadership of the US-propped governments in Latin America may be forced to adopt new policies. Already, this pressure has forced several Latin American governments to reestablish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other East European nations. Again the availability of alternative to insulated economic relations with the US may help bring about changes of a fundamental nature. India has an interest in working with the new forces that may change the political and economic picture of Latin America and in this sense Mrs. Gandhi's visit might pay off in the long run.

### *Bankrupt*

## **Bloc Policy— Main Threat To World Peace**

### *Belgrade*

ALL the detriments of the bloc division of the world as the antithesis to the desire of peoples for liberation, national independence, democratic co-operation and rapprochement as distinct from any hegemony and exploitation regardless of pretexts under which they may be organized are perhaps clearer than ever before in the past. Developments which have taken place in recent months full of numerous manifestations of the policy of force prove complete bankruptcy of the policy of blocs. It still represents the main threat to world peace

Historically viewed, the blocs are a result and, at the same time, an instrument of the policy of force. They have come into being at the moment of the actual division of the spheres of interest among the leading powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. For their protagonists the forming of one's own bloc had a twofold purpose — offensive, as a means of changing the existing state of affairs in the cold war to one's own benefit and defensive as a tool against changes in this state of affairs to his detriment. This is why efforts are constantly being made to spread the bloc influence by hook or by crook on the one hand and why resistance to all tendencies towards the autonomy of the members of the blocs and their equality is recorded on the other.

Since the very beginning the blocs have been directed against the independence of other peoples which should give way to their subjugation to the interest of the leading power. This has been less striking at the time of the cold war when the outside danger has been a catalyst of the internal bloc cohesion. But, at the moment when the outside danger has diminished, when certain understanding and tacit agreement has been reached between the leading powers of the two blocs on maintaining the *status quo* in the most sensitive regions and when bloc control began to loosen on both sides and the desire for greater autonomy began to be manifested, this hegemonic and oppressive character of the blocs came to expression in all its clarity. Instead of coexistence of nations and states we have been given coexistence between two hegemonomies.

**AN EXPRESSION** of such a concept of coexistence are theories according to which the leading power, defending "higher interests" of its bloc, has the right to intervene in its zone of influence and establish such a situation in it which suits its interests even when the internal development of other members of the blocs is in question. The affirmation of this "right" should also be achieved by means of the theory on

the so-called restricted sovereignty which is now confronted with the principle of inviolable sovereignty of every country without difference. In the final analysis it leads to the loss of national independence not only of the members of the blocs but also of those countries which are outside them. Namely, the policy of force has its legalities and logics. It tends to expand and find its place everywhere the so-called vacuum of force exists, where it is "soft", and where there are no guarantees that it will stop on the border of its bloc.

The reference to "higher interests" is merely an attempt to mask the policy of force and dress it respectably. The protagonists of the theory of "higher interests" have gone so far that they are identified with the interests of peace and independence of the non-aligned countries. Arguments and theories are given that they would not be able to survive without the protective umbrella offered to them by the existence of eastern bloc, for instance.

Where such a logic leads? Does it mean that the world would cease to exist without the blocs? Or perhaps, that protection from one hegemony should be sought from the other?

History has proved that the blocs do not ensure just peace or independence of its members and do not remove conflicts but only deteriorate them which can be seen from the frantic armament race. The bloc policy has not brought stability to the world. On the contrary, it causes instability which — as we can see — affects the fate of the members of the blocs since the law of the stronger more and more openly substitutes partnership and allied relations in them.

Insistence on the preservation of blocs inevitably leads to the forming of spheres of interest and pressure on small countries to "determine" themselves and not to follow their own interests. And, they primarily lie in the elimination of any interference, hegemony and violence and in the respect of the United Nations Char-

ter and the principles of active and peaceful coexistence.

AS FOR "protection" for the non-aligned, it should be recalled that the policy of non-alignment results from the vital needs of all peoples and represents their desire for independence and freedom from anybody's protection.. It is at the same time an expression of their resistance to bloc tutelage and the policy of force in international relations. No "higher" interests can be put above the right of peoples to independence, sovereignty, integrity and free deciding on their fate. Without the respect of these rights, no lessening of tension and stability in international relations can be achieved.

The correctness of the policy of non-alignment has best been proved precisely by the latest developments in the world. These developments show that any efforts are futile to find security in pacts or in the system of separate unilateral guarantees, just as it cannot be found in the lessening of tension between the blocs only and in the least in their agreement on non-interference into the other's sphere of influence.

The lessening of tension cannot be partial or limited. It presumes the abandonment of the policy of force everywhere — inside the blocs, between them and third countries, briefly, in international relations as a whole. In the opposite case its lifetime cannot be long. Genuine security can be achieved only in a system which will protect every people and prevent any aggression, irrespective of weapons used, regions in which it is carried out or motives for which it is resorted to. Such a system can be based only on equality of all peoples and states, the respect of their independence and sovereignty and true recognition of their right freely to decide on their fate.

Milos Marinovic

## TANZANIA BANS MANY NEWSPAPERS

Nairobi, Oct. 19

This has been a black week for the press in East Africa. The Tanzania Government today banned four Nairobi newspapers owned by Aga Khan East African Newspapers group — the "Daily Nation", "The Sunday Nation", "Taifa Leo" and "Taifa Tanzania", the last two in Swahili—without giving any reasons. An Uganda journalist, Rajat Neogy, editor of the monthly magazine "Translation" was placed in detention and earlier in the day the editor of ruling Uganda People's Congress weekly "The People" had his house searched after he himself was taken from his bed to Army Headquarters for interrogation. The editor, Londoner Daniel Nelson, said he did not know why this was done. This is not the first time newspapers have been banned in Tanzania. It had happened once before four years ago after the army mutiny there and the ban was lifted only after several months. While no reasons have been given this time observers note that the "Daily Nation's" correspondent in Arusha, northern Tanzania, M. Kagero, was arrested recently for allegedly putting out false reports in the form of a story that 70 or so people had been arrested in the region for being anti-Government and pro-Oscar Kambonaaye, former Minister for Regional Administration, who is now in self-imposed exile in Britain. Tanzania Government has recently been criticised for banning miniskirts and light trousers and over a proposal to build a new tourist lodge in the world famous Ngorongoro crater. But there has been no hint that it would take such drastic action as banning an entire newspaper group.

Indian Express

# FILM PAGE

● **THE CHASE**, a Horizon Picture, released through Columbia Pictures, filmed in Panavision and Technicolor, now showing at the **EMPIRE THEATRE**, features Marlon Brando as a modern-day Southwestern sheriff in this explosive production set in a small town, with all its hates, infidelities and passions. Starred with Brando are Jane Fonda, Robert Redford, E.G. Marshall, Angie Dickinson, Janice Rule, Miriam Hopkins, Martha Hyer, Robert Duvall, Richard Bradford, Henry Hull, Diana Hyland and James Fox.

The movie is the story of the effect the escape of a convict has on the community from which he came, and to which he returns, during a frenzied Saturday night. The sheriff alone, believing the boy a victim of circumstances created by the town itself, does what he can to restore some semblance of sanity, and respect for the law

itself. But his pursuit of the escaped convict is turned into a grim game, with the entire town out to witness a bloodletting.

Jane Fonda plays the escaped convict's wife, a girl in love with her husband but having an affair with a childhood sweet-heart. James Fox the young British star, appears as her lover, son of a cattle and oil baron and himself enmeshed in a loveless marriage with Daina Hyland. E. G. Marshall plays the father, bitterly opposed to Brando's wife, who shares his own debut as to the wisdom of his course, and Miriam Hopkins plays the convict's mother, convinced that Brando plans to murder the boy. Martha Hyer and Robert Duvall are socialities whose respective mates are having an affair, and Henry Hull appears as a cynical realtor who views the film solely from its effect on his holdings. The convict is played by Robert Redford, brilliant screen newcomer with a powerful Broadway reputation.

The movie is based on the novel and play, "The Chase" by Horton Foote. The play was produced on the stage by Jose Ferrer. The screenplay is by Lillian Hellman, and the movie is produced by Sam Spiegel and directed by Arthur Penn.

When Bubber Reeves (ROBERT REDFORD) escapes from the penitentiary, after a murder committed by another escaping convict, his flight opens a Pandora's box of evil in the small narrow-minded Southwestern community where his wife Anna (JANE FONDA) is having an affair with Jason Rogers Jake (JAMES FOX), son of a cattle and oil baron Val Rogers (E. G. MARSHALL). Sheriff Calder (MARLON BRANDO), refusing to take direction from Val Rogers, takes on the town single-handedly in an effort to save Bubber's life, he is severely beaten by local bullies. Others affected by Bubber's suspected presence in town include Emily Stewart (JANICE RULE), wife of the weaker Edwin Stewart (ROBERT DUVAL); she

is having an affair with Damon Fuller (RICHARD BRADFORD) while his own wife, Mary Fuller (MARTHA HYER), is turning into an alcoholic. Bubber's mother (MARIAM HOPKINS) believes Calder plans to murder her son when he is recaptured. Elizabeth Rogers (DIANA HYLAND), Jason's wife, tries to escape from her loveless marriage. Broggs (HENRY



2nd Week

## CAPITOL PLAZA MYLAN

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

● Ravichandran ● L. Vijayaluxmi

in

## ETHIRIGAL JAKRATHAI

2th Month

## KINGSLEY

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

M. G. R. Saroja Devi

in

## PARAKKUM PAAVAI

COLOUR

18 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

3rd Week!

## GAMINI

2, 6, & 9.30 p.m

## VANAMOHINI

Air Conditioned

## LIBERTY

From 28th Nov.  
WB—7 ARTS

## "BATTLE OF THE BULGE"

Technicolor  
Ultrapanavision 70mm

## CENTRAL

3rd Week

M. G. R. — Jayalalita

## THER THIRUVILA

HULL), the town realtor, cynically watches as the lynch spirit grows in the community; and Ruby Calder

(ANGIE DICKINSON), Calder's wife, pleads with him to stop fighting the town. Bubber ultimately is trapped in the town junkyard, with Anna and Jason trying to help him and Calder trying to protect him from a mob which includes not only better citizens of the town, but the teenagers. An explosion kills Jason, ending Val Roger's own dreams for the future. Calder brings Bubber in, but he is killed by drunks on the jailhouse steps. Defeated, but symbolically a victor, Calder leaves town with Ruby; he has, at last, won his own integrity.

nini and directed by Ferdinando Baldi, now showing at the *REGAL THEATRE*, is a violent western with action, gunplay, suspense, colourful settings and surroundings.

In the village of Widow Rock, after setting a dispute with a ransom seeker, Burt (FRANCO NERO) nominates his substitute and gives up his sheriff's star, for a vacation he has longed for many years. He leaves for Mexico along with his younger brother Jim (COLE KIT-OSCH), to arrest the notorious bandit Cisco, who had killed his father when he was a child, to take him to the States for justice and punishment. The days pass, and after a long ride, both arrive in Mexico, and here they begin the search for the hide-out of the bandit. Secret, loyalty and power protect Cisco, but the courage and the infallible precision of the two brothers triumph all odds and after many adventures, the bandit's hide-out is located. Burt introduces himself to Cisco, and tells him to follow him, the bandit smiles sardonically and reveals to Burt that Jim is not his own brother, but Cisco's son, whom he had abandoned in Burt's mother's arms. A conflict of feelings battles in Burt's mind, but justice and the law triumph tragically. Jim to save Burt looting his own life, and Burt is obliged to kill Cisco. Texas needs Burt, and he devotes his whole life for the betterment of the town.

● TEXAS, ADDIO (Good-bye Texas), an Italo-Spanish co-production, in Eastmancolor and Ultra-scope, produced by Manolo Bolob-



Manimala and L. Vijayalakshmi in a scene from *Modern Theatres Ltd.*, Tamil movie *ETHIRIGAL JAKKIRATHI*, a Bond type of film, packed with action, suspense and thrills, *cinemas Ltd.* release.

<p><b>EMPIRE</b> Air-Conditioned</p> <p>Marlon Brando—Jane Fonda in</p> <p><b>THE CHASE</b></p> <p>For Adults Only</p>
<p><b>MAJESTIC</b> Air-Conditioned</p> <p>Roy Orbison, in</p> <p>MGM's</p> <p><b>THE FASTEST GUITAR ALIVE</b></p> <p>in Colour</p>
<p><b>REGAL</b> Air-Conditioned</p> <p>Franco Nero—Elisa Montes in</p> <p><b>TEXAS, ADDIO</b></p> <p>For Adults Only</p>
<p><b>ELPHINSTONE—ROXY</b></p> <p>Tony Ranasinghe</p> <p>Punya Heendeniya in</p> <p><b>Adarawanthayo</b></p> <p>Also; Ceylon Film unit's</p> <p><b>RANWAN KARAL</b></p>
<p>6th Week</p> <p><b>SELLAMAHAL</b></p> <p>Sivaji - Padmini - Vijaya in</p> <p><b>IRU MALARGAL</b></p>
<p>2nd Week</p> <p><b>CROWN</b></p> <p>Asha Parekh—Dharminder in</p> <p><b>AAYE DIN BAHAAAR KE</b></p> <p>in Eastman Colour</p>
<p><b>SAVOY</b> Air-Conditioned</p> <p>Final Week</p> <p><b>THUNDERBALL</b></p> <p>Next: Jerry Lewis in</p> <p><b>WAY WAY OUT</b></p>

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<p><b>PRINTING</b></p> <p><b>AT</b></p> <p><b>ITS</b></p> <p><b>BEST</b></p> <p>Please Contact:</p> <p><b>C. C. P. S. Ltd.,</b></p> <p>72, Kew Road,</p> <p>COLOMBO 2</p>
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Science

## Finding Out All About Smells

by B. Puchkin

**SMELLS!** What a lot of them there are! And how little we know about them.

What is smell?

The easy answer is that it is a sensation. Yes, but petrol or scent still have a smell even if nobody is smelling them; so smell must exist independently of the smeller. Today science can measure practically anything. We can give a numerical value to the size, weight, composition and even the colour of an object. But smell? Alas, not yet. Smell is a characteristic of matter, but it manifests itself only by the effect it has on the special nerve ends of living creatures. Till recently we had discovered no way of making an odorous substance react with anything else as it does with the human nose.

That is not for want of study. Smell has a hefty literature, and theories about it run into dozens; but there is not a single one in which holes cannot be picked. Only one thing is certain; that there is a parallel between the perception of smell and visual and auditory perception. In each case, a series of electrical impulses is generated which the brain recognises as sight, sound or smell, as the case may be. We have, therefore, two tasks; to record and study the electric pulses sent by the nerve cells in response to odorous substances; and then to produce an instrument which distinguishes smells.

The first is a job for the biologist, the second for the technician. Both come within the scope of bionics — the branch of biology which deals with the relationship between an organism and its environment. We started our investigations two years ago. It is still too early to crow, but we do think

we now understand a little more about the mechanism of smell perception. Biological experiments always take time. They have to be repeated over and over again with changed conditions and changed controls. It may mean years of work for a grain of knowledge. For that reason we had no intention of awaiting final results before proceeding to create a mechanism for smell-reception-an artificial nose, if you like.

This is a legitimate procedure in bionics. You study a process in a living organism and then create instruments to simulate the process. This stimulates biologists to take the next step, which is again simulated, and the process is repeated over and over again. Our first step was to try to convert smell into an electrical signal. Certain peculiarities in our sense of smell suggest that adsorption plays a part in it.

Adsorption, in case you have forgotten is a term used of certain solids (called sorbents) which condense and retain a gas on their surface. In other words, adsorption is the absorption of certain substances by the surface of a sorbent. There is one other important relevant point to note; adsorption is invariably accompanied by the liberation of heat. It is not hard to find a good artificial sorbent, but how to make it record the start of adsorption? Clearly, by making use of its accompanying feature, the release of heat. Semi-conductors have been familiar in radio-electronics for some time. In a semi-conductor thermal resistance, the slightest fluctuation in temperature, produces a sharp variation in its electrical resistance of the order of a five per cent variation for each degree. We are

dealing with far smaller temperature changes — from one degree down to one hundredth of a degree — but our circuits functioned reliably. We used a KMT — 14 semi-conductor — a bead  $\frac{1}{2}$  mm. in diameter, sealed in a protective glass case. We coated the glass with a thin film of sorbent and switched the unit into the circuit.

A STEAM of air containing an odorous substance was then played on the transistor. It heated up lightly, the resistance in the circuit changed, and a recording pen provided a visual record. The greatest amplitude of the signal (shown by the greatest deviation of the pen) was observed from one to two seconds after the odorous mixture was fed in. A second transistor without an adsorptive covering was included in the circuit as a control. Thus we had a prototype instrument with a "sense of smell". We tried the apparatus with many different smells, and it recorded differing signals, some ten times the amplitude of others. We also found we could construct an instrument which would respond to only one smell out of dozens, and modified it so that it operated a light signal. We then rigged up a "toy" shrouded in a hood like a cat's head, in which the sorbent selected responded most strongly to valerian. This gave us an "electronic cat" whose eyes lit up at the smell of valerian — and nothing else. We can thus say that we have progressed as far as producing equipment which "recognises" a wide group of substances.

So far we have not found any way of measuring the concentration of smell in air. But we shall. You can see the important practical uses such equipment could be put to; the control of gas levels in mines; locating domestic gas leaks or damage to oil pipelines; and testing all vessels which work under pressure. I have little doubt that in a year or two our "electric cat" will be working for its living.